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Preface

This publication from archive records of Theban Tomb 297 has taken much longer than was originally anticipated when the remains of the tomb chapel were first visited in 1984. Nonetheless, the project has benefited profoundly from the opportunities which have arisen to find more material and examine the whole tomb in greater detail. It is important to be able to present both the epigraphic and archaeological material wherever possible, and this has been achieved.

My greatest debts are to the two institutions who hold the archive material used here. I should like to thank Roger Moorey, secretary, and the Committee of Management of the Griffith Institute for, many years ago, granting permission for me to publish the Davies drawings and for other illustrative material which is theirs, and for reaffirming that permission in 2000. I particularly wish to thank Jaromir Malek and Diana Magee for granting me access to the drawings and notebooks, and for answering queries on them.

I am equally indebted to Dorothea Arnold of the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for permitting me to include some of the material from the Museum's excavations at Thebes in this publication; I also thank Dorothea Arnold, Marsha Hill, Christine Lilyquist, Diana C. Patch and James P. Allen for allowing me to consult the Museum's archives and displays, for copies of photographs, notes and plans, and for answering questions about the material.

My thanks are due to the Permanent Committee for Archaeology of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation (now the Supreme Council of Antiquities) for granting me permission to work in TT297 many years ago, and to the Director of the West Bank at that time, Dr Mohamed Nasr, and the inspector with me that season, Mr Ibrahim Soleiman, for their help in the search for the tomb back in 1984. Funding for that season was provided by the Councils of Worcester College, Oxford and Christ's College, Cambridge.

Finds from the tomb came in the late 1990s from a somewhat unexpected source, the excavations of the University of Münster Archaeological Mission to the Assasif in TT196. Erhart Graefe has been most generous in informing me about this material, and has been kind enough to permit me to publish it here. He encouraged Petra Vomberg to undertake and write up the reconstructions in Appendix 2, for which I am extremely grateful.

Numerous friends and colleagues have contributed observations and other help at various points. Many of these persons are also mentioned in the text, but I list them here as an expression of my appreciation: Janine Bourriau, Stephen Harvey, Ulrich Hofmann, Friederike Kampp-Seyfried, Irmtraut Munro, Daniel Polz, Karl Seyfried, John H. Taylor, Suzanne Woodhouse. Some of the research was undertaken in the University of Heidel-

berg during a stay funded by a fellowship from the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, and I thank Jan Assmann for extending a welcome to me in 1996–7. I am especially grateful to Daniel Polz and the German Archaeological Institute for agreeing to take this work into the ADAIK series, and to Norbert Düring and Achet Verlag for seeing it through to its printed form. Lastly, I thank Helen Strudwick for reading and re-reading this manuscript and for numerous helpful suggestions, as well as her constant assistance, advice and support in the field and at home.

This text has been written over far too many years; I take full responsibility for the inevitable inconsistencies resulting from this over-long gestation period.

Nigel Strudwick
Cambridge, February 2003

Introduction

The tomb of Amenemopet called Tjanefer (TT297) is located in the Assasif, the area corresponding approximately to the valley leading up to the cliffs at Deir el-Bahari on the West Bank at Luxor. TT297 is one of the few known 18th dynasty sepulchres in the area, and is situated on the south side of the valley, at the western end of the modern Metropolitan House, now the headquarters of the Polish–Egyptian Mission in Luxor, just to the south-west of the present garages and storerooms.¹ The location of the tomb and the principal relevant monuments in the Assasif are illustrated in **Fig. 3** (p. 15), with more detail in **Fig. 22** (p. 66). The outline of the proposed house is shown superimposed on that of the tombs; TT297 is just outside that outline.

The choice of this tomb for study was determined by the existence among the tracings of Norman and Nina de Garis Davies in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, of a number of inked facsimile copies of its scenes,² complemented by a description of the chapel in the Davies notebooks.³ These tracings, unlike most of this body of material, are not pencilled or partly inked on what has become brittle yellow paper but are fully inked on paper which is still white and could be photographed relatively safely in the 1980s.⁴ I presume that they were redrawn from the originals referred to in the notebooks with a view to publication, an idea supported by blue mark-ups on the tracings; when is unknown, but I suspect that they were worked on in the post-war period, along with other material, by Nina Davies, who very much wanted to produce a volume of her and her husband's work on Thutmoside tombs, but which never saw the light of day.⁵

¹ Survey of Egypt, Map D5, a, 7; PM I², Map IV, D5, a, 7; Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, Plan V, B 3.

² Griffith Institute archive numbers 10.66.1–7, reproduced here on **Plate I–III**. See Murray and Málek, *GM* 37 (1980), 31–6 and Malek and Magee, *GM* 65 (1983), 62 for general details of this material. Note that 'Davies' can refer to either Norman or Nina unless otherwise specified, although most of the work in connection with TT297 appears to have been done by Norman.

³ Davies Mss 11.2, p. 85–6. These pages are reproduced here as **Fig. 1–2**. A forthcoming article by Jaromir Malek contains a list of all the tombs covered by these notebooks (to be published in the proceedings of the British Museum Colloquium 'The Theban Necropolis: past, present and future' held in July 2000).

⁴ At the time of writing (early 2002), the Davies drawing archive has been for some time closed to visitors until a decision can be made as to the best manner of conserving these fragile tracings.

⁵ Some of the material was later used for *Scenes from some Private Tombs* and a number of articles in the *JEA*, as well as Säve-Söderbergh's *Four eighteenth dynasty tombs*. See my forthcoming biography-

This seemingly complete record of a tomb prompted the proposal for a fieldwork season leading to publication, and TT297 was selected as the first subject in the initial campaign of the Cambridge Theban Tombs Project in 1984.⁶ However, following inquiries by the EAO Inspectorate, we were informed that it had collapsed at some point. A visit confirmed that the chapel is indeed completely inaccessible and that all the paintings have presumably been destroyed (**Plate IX**). Revisiting the site again in December 1987, it appeared that a further collapse had taken place in the intervening three years, perhaps not unconnected with work on improvements to the house's water supply. Given that the tomb does not appear in any other known archival source since the days of Davies—not even in the photographs of Burton, the Metropolitan Museum of Art's photographer—the initial destruction most likely took place not long after the original discovery, for details of which see further below. Four further photographs here show different aspects of the area in 2001 (**Plate X**).

The fortunate existence of further archive material permits description and analysis of the architectural and archaeological aspects of the tomb-complex. The tomb was in fact discovered by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA), and in that institution there exists a complete set of tomb cards and many photographs and drawings relating to the tomb.

The following account is thus based wholly on archive material in Oxford and New York. In particular, the Davies material in Oxford is not as complete as at first hoped; there are no photographs of any of the paintings, and thus some comments may be incorrect. The indications of colour are sparse. Nonetheless, I believe this work shows just how much can be gained by the careful study of archive records, and just how important such records are.

cal article on Nina Davies to appear in G.M. Cohen and M.S. Joukowsky (eds), *Women in Archaeology: The Classical World and the Ancient Near East. Vol. II: A Biographical Dictionary*.

⁶ The background to this work is also described in Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, xix–xx. Annual notices of the work have appeared in the reports of J. Leclant and others in *Orientalia* entitled 'Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan'. A report on the first season was presented at the München IAE Conference in 1985 (cf *Fourth international Congress of Egyptology: Abstracts of papers* (München 1985), 239). The first major publication of this project is Strudwick, *Amenhotep*; current work in TT99 is presented in N. Strudwick, 'Theban Tomb 99—an overview of work undertaken from 1992 to 1999', *Memnonia* 11 (2000), 241–66, and progress may be followed on the web site www.newton.cam.ac.uk/egypt/tt99.

Work prior to 1984

No-one other than Davies appears to have worked on the decoration of this tomb, and in consequence its scenes are completely unpublished and appear in none of the well-known photographic archives. All material relating to the archaeology of the tomb is kept in the MMA in New York, and none of this has yet been published.

Some details of the tomb's discovery are revealed by Engelbach.¹ He indicates that it was found by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition in 1914, but was not given a modern door. Data from it was collected by Davies and Engelbach. More information may be gained from the excavation records in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The excavation number given to the tomb was initially 'H5' ('H' indicating Khokha), but it and the rest of the cemetery around the house was soon fitted into Winlock's Cemetery 800, which covered the southern part of the Assasif; in that system it was given the number 831. MMA records show that the tomb was actually dug in 1915 under the supervision of H.G. Evelyn-White (from MMA card 2987) and that it was 'renoted' in 1927. The nature of this 'renoting' is not clear, but it certainly involved checking the object records made in 1915, as there is at least one comment on the tomb cards that an object was not seen in December 1927.

The date of Davies' copying in the tomb cannot yet be ascertained, although the evidence from the *Topographical Catalogue* implies that his first notes were probably made not long after its discovery. The notebook was presumably written at a different date to when the tracings were made, as several scenes appear only in the notebooks. Whether this indicates that some of the scenes were lost between the two visits is uncertain. It seems most likely that Davies wrote his notes not long after the discovery, and that he subsequently returned to the tomb from time to time to make the drawings. This pattern of work seems to fit most of the tombs which did not form the subjects of his major publications.

For a number of years I assumed that the tomb had been discovered in the course of a survey of the area during preparations for the construction of the house, but this does not now appear to be the case. Marsha Hill has directed my attention to a comment by Winlock in his later account of the excavations in the Assasif that the house was in fact under construction in 1912.² If the discovery and excavation date to 1914–15 as indi-

¹ *A Supplement to the Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, 22–3.

² *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri*, 1.

cated above, then I can only assume that work was being contemplated at that time for further work on the house, perhaps the construction of the room which now stands in front of the tomb, visible in **Plate Xc–d**.

Although unpublished, TT297 has received the occasional attention in the literature.³ In particular I note references to the equids (Scene 6.2.b), the harp (Scene 4), and the crop-measuring (Scene 6.2.c). A funerary cone is in the Daressy and Davies–Macadam corpora. The tomb features in Kampp’s survey of the Theban necropolis.⁴ In addition, a number of relevant items have been found in nearby work of the University of Münster. All will be considered further below.

³ Compare PM I², 379 and 652, the former as TT297, the latter as MMA 831.

⁴ Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 567–8.

The tomb owner and his family

Amenemopet

Even more noticeable than the damage suffered by the scenes in the tomb is the almost total lack of surviving texts; none is very informative, not even giving the name of the owner. Our principal sources of information on the owner are thus archaeological ones. The tomb has long been attributed to Amenemopet called Tjanefer purely on the basis of funerary cones noted by Davies in the tomb (below p. 31, find [27]). However, other material excavated by the MMA confirms this attribution of the tomb (see also below p. 20 ff).

Table 1: Names and titles of Amenemopet

Names and titles		Source (find numbers in [])
<i>imn-m-ipt</i>	Amenemopet	cone [27], door lintel [14] (probably), stelaphorous statue [17], papyrus [15] (incomplete)
<i>tj-nfr</i>	Tjanefer	cone [27], stelaphorous statue [17], papyrus [15] (incomplete)
<i>sš ḥsb it n imn</i>	scribe who counts the grain of Amun	cone [27], door lintel [14] (probably), stelaphorous statue [17], papyrus [15] (incomplete)
<i>imy-r šht [n imn]</i>	overseer of the fields [of Amun]	cone [27], stelaphorous statue [17], papyrus [15] (incomplete)

Table 1 lists the data from the tomb. Only the first title is found (damaged) in the tomb (Scene 6.1.a), and in that case anyway probably belongs to a son. The name Amenemopet is very common in the New Kingdom; Tjanefer is not unusual, but a little rarer.¹ The title *sš ḥsb it n imn* belonged to officials who were part of the granary administration of Amun, a sizeable organisation in the New Kingdom; the tombs of a number of these officials are well-known.²

The title of *imy-r šht* on the cone is probably either haplography for the fuller version *imy-r šht n [imn]* on the statue base caused by the presence of a further *imn* in the tomb-

¹ cf Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 27.18, 387.9.

² See Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 23–4 for more on this and similar titles and holders. This aspect of Amenemopet's life would have been under the control of the overseers of the granary/granaries of Amun, who also very often held the title 'mayor' of Thebes (*imy-r niwt (rsyt)*)—for some examples, Helck, *Verwaltung*, 522–31.

owner's name, or the deliberate omission of one *imn* better to fit the space available.³ Holders of the title *imy-r šht n imn* seem to fall into two groups, those of comparable rank to Amenemopet, and those more elevated than he.⁴ Those in the former group generally exhibit no honorific titles, and are frequently scribes, including scribes who count the grain of Amun.⁵ Among the higher officials, titles of the rank of overseer of the two granaries are not unusual, as well as other high state offices; holders include Senmut (TT71), Puyemre (TT39), Senneferi (TT99), Mery (TT95), Sennefer (TT96) and Amenemhat Surer (TT48), each of whom was among the most important men in Thebes in their lifetimes.⁶ Aspects of the administration of the fields of Amun could also be in the oversight of an official without the actual title 'overseer of fields of Amun', such as Ineni (TT81).⁷ Helck saw this situation as the increasing involvement of high state officials in the administration of temple domains,⁸ a view treated with some scepticism by Haring.⁹ The mechanics of title-holding are still imperfectly understood, as is the selection of titles which any official would choose to inscribe on his monuments. I have never been happy with the idea of a title being at the same time both utterly practical (as might have been held by Amenemopet) and indicative of the importance of another person (Senmut). Nonetheless, I do have to admit that such a situation seems to fit the data for these two groups of holders of apparently the same title, with the owner of TT297 fitting more into the practical group. The exact lands which Amenemopet and his colleagues might have administered is unclear (but compare the comments of Dziobek in n. 3 on p. 6 above); these might have included lands of temples on the West Bank at Thebes, as, although these were not necessarily under some central control, there may have been more centralisation of agricultural management.¹⁰

³ Comments on the administration of the fields of Amun in the 18th dynasty will be found in Dziobek, *Das Grab des Ineni*, 131–4. See Helck, op. cit., 113–15 for the title *imy-r šht* in contexts other than that of the Domain of Amun; the title also appears in the 'Duties of the Vizier' text, and some of the duties are considered in van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier*, especially 152–7.

⁴ Using the lists in Davies–Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Funerary Cones*, index B; Helck, *Materialien* I, 34; Taylor, *An index of male non-royal Egyptian titles*, 9–10.

⁵ Examples from Davies–Macadam, op. cit.: cones 431, 61, 504, 530, 243, 435, 405. Further examples, Menna (TT69), Helck, *Urkunden* IV, 1608–9; Neferheb (from Abydos), Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, pl. XLVIII; Wia (Papyrus Czartoryski, now the Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie Inv. MNK XI 746–751), Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, 108 (Pp). A variation of the title relating to the 'estate of Amun' is held by Akhenmenu in the tomb robbery papyrus BM EA 10052 (T.E. Peet, *The great tomb-robberies of the twentieth Egyptian dynasty* II, pl. 26).

⁶ Respectively Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 203; Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê* I, 31 (13); Sethe, *Urkunden* IV, 542,3; Davies–Macadam, op. cit., nos 384 and 400; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 526, cf 423–4; Säve-Söderbergh, *Four eighteenth dynasty tombs*, 36.

⁷ Sethe, *Urkunden* IV, 55.14; see also Dziobek, *Das Grab des Ineni*, 123, 132–4.

⁸ *Verwaltung*, 133–8.

⁹ *Divine Households*, 392–6.

¹⁰ Haring, op. cit., 385. Note how few titles there are of 'overseer of fields' of any specific Theban institution; the only one I can locate in Haring's list (op. cit., 426–59) is an official of the temple of Thutmose III (Davies–Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Funerary Cones*, no. 251).

Wife

The name of the wife of Amenemopet does not appear in the tomb, although at least one of the surviving depictions of couples in the tomb most probably represents these two persons. However, the MMA excavated a pottery vessel painted to imitate stone bearing the title and name *šmꜣyt nt imn nbt pr twy*, ‘singer of Amun, the mistress of the house, Tuy’ (find [18], Fig. 8, Plate XIb), and the sandstone door lintel mentioned above appears to bear the same name (see ‘Finds’ below, [14]).¹¹

Children

The male figure in Scene 6.1.a may be that of a son, whose name perhaps began *ꜣm* (perhaps *ꜣmꜣw*?) and who bore the same title *sš ḥsb it n imn* as his father. The female figure attending on the couple in Scene 1.2.a could be a daughter.

¹¹ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 379.8.

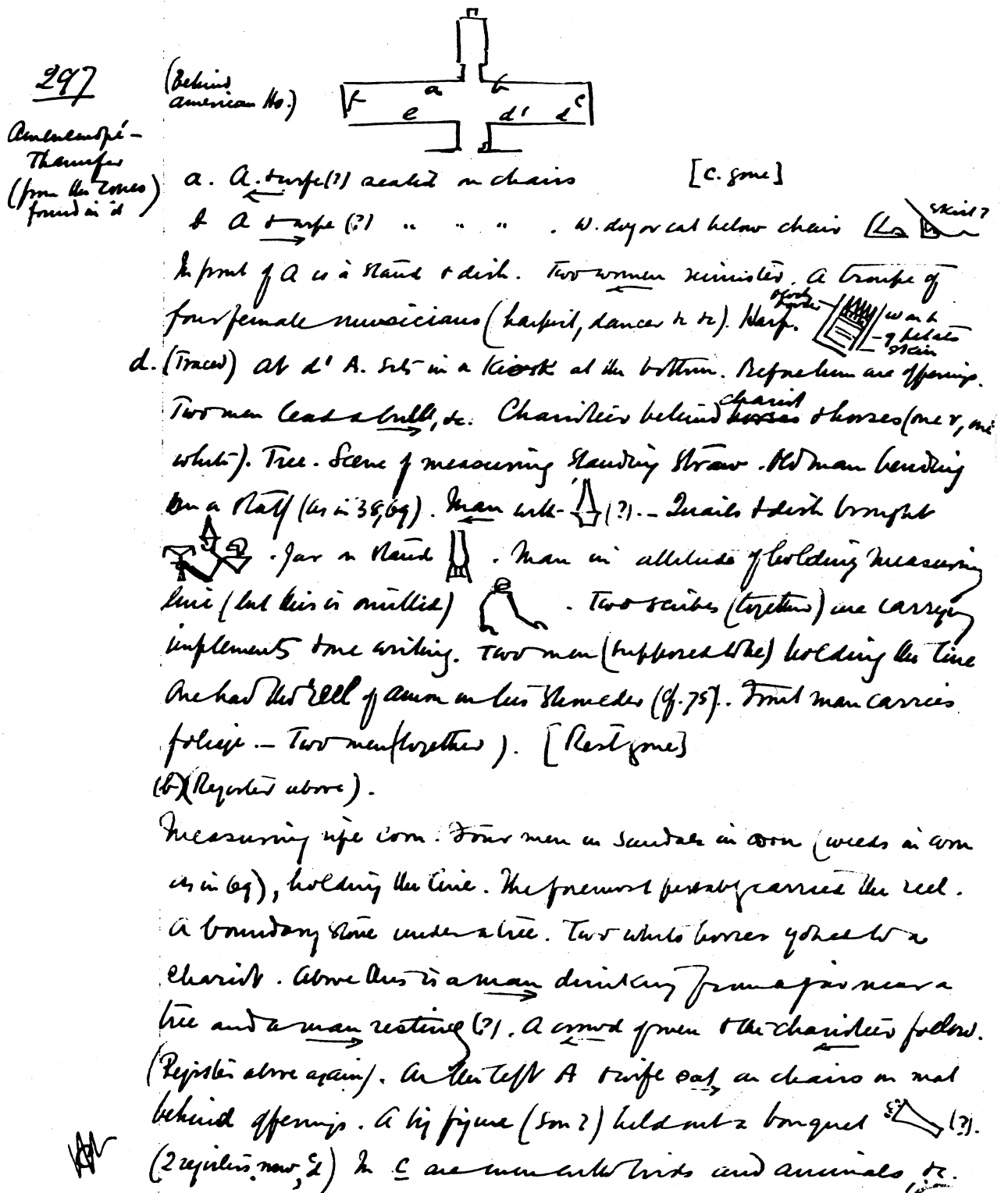


Fig. 1 Page 1 of Davies notebook referring to TT297 (Davies Mss 11.2, p. 85)
 Reproduced courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Oxford

Transcription of Fig. 1

{} usually sketch indications added by Strudwick; the annotations to the sketches are those of Davies

297

Amenemopé—Thanufer (from the cones found in it)
(Behind American Ho.)

a. A. & wife ← (?) seated on chairs [c. gone]

b A & wife → (?) " " ". W. dog or cat below chair {sketch with annotation} skirt ?

In front of A is a stand & dish. Two women ← minister. A troupe of four female musicians (harpist, dancer &c &c). Harp {sketch with annotations} block border, W on b, 9 petals, skin

d. (Traced) At d' A. sits in a kiosk at the bottom. Before him are offerings. Two men lead a bull →, &c. Charioteer behind chariot & horses (one r, one white). Tree. Scene of measuring standing straw. Old man bending on a staff (as in 38, 69). Man ← with {sketch} (?).—Quails & dish brought {sketch}. Jar on stand {sketch}. Man in attitude of holding measuring line (but this is omitted) {sketch}. Two scribes (together) are carrying implements & one writing. Two men (supposed to be) holding the line One has the reel of Amun on his shoulder (cf. 75). Front man carries foliage.—Two men (together). [Rest gone]

(b) (Register above).

Measuring ripe corn. Four men in sandals in corn (weeds in corn as in 69), holding the line. The foremost probably carried the reel. A boundary stone under a tree. Two white horses yoked to a chariot. Above this is a man → drinking from a jar near a tree and a man → resting (?). A crowd ← of men & the charioteer ← follow.

(Register above again). On the left A & wife sat → on chairs on mat behind offerings. A big figure (son?) held out a bouquet {sketch} (?).

(2 registers now, ^cd). In C are men with birds and animals, &c.

Transcription of Fig. 2

(d). Two men bring flowers &c. Women bring food or sit at feasts (?). Over A is {sketch of text}. Above is block border & thin pendant lotus & buds.

(e) (only the bottom left)

On the right A & wife ← sit on chairs on mat behind table of offgs. A girl → ministers (hem of dress flounced as in 52). Then tree dividing scenes. To left of this 3 men ← (one with a black stick) to the right of a pile of grain {sketch}. To the left 3 men go ← with sacks on their shoulders and 2 return → with empties. On the left is a grain-fleet of 5 ships on water (together). (traced) [f gone]

Ceilings

Y. Bands blank. Pattern of chains of diamonds with crosses

(2) {sketch with annotation} bk on w, bk on y. Frieze {sketch}. Squares $2\frac{1}{8}$ " apart.

Fragments

1 Lady ← seated in backed chair; arm round man in front. (From S.E. - right)

2 Girl's face →. Good work

3 Girl's ← head (musician?). To left 2 men make *hnw* {sketch}. Then lector →.

4 Alabaster laver {sketch} from scene of purification (see 3)

5.6. Deep water. To the r. a lector →. (6) {sketch with labels} w b water. Illegible text.

7. Man throws pellets into vase.

8. 4 men (together)

9 Male guests on camp stools

10 {sketch}

11 Man ← with calf

12. Decorated stand {gap, sketch} r on y

13 {sketch of text}

14 Man being thrashed &c.

15 {sketch} ←

(son?)

The date of the tomb

None of the limited parts of the original decoration which survived to the time of Davies, and which are described in detail below, offer any straightforward dating criteria, such as the name of the king whom Amenemopet served. Thus suggestions have to be based principally on stylistic and architectural indications.

The plan of the chapel in **Fig. 4** (p. 18) is common within the 18th dynasty, particularly for small- to medium-sized tombs of the second half of the dynasty, with a particular concentration in the period between the later reign of Thutmose III and the middle of that of Amenhotep III.¹ More significant are parallels to the paintings. In the description of the scenes, comparisons will often be made with the chapels of Djoserkaresoneb (TT38), Menna (TT69), Amenhotep-za-ze (TT75) and Khaemhat (TT57), as well as the painting fragment British Museum EA 37892, from the famous but uncertainly located tomb of Nebamun. These five chapels seem to date to the reigns of Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III.² Many of the closest parallels are in TT38, perhaps slightly later in date than the tombs of Nakht (TT52) and Amenhotep-za-ze (TT75), and normally dated to the end of the reign of Thutmose IV or the first years of his successor.³ Similarities of design do not automatically indicate similarity of date, but I also note examples of unusual individual scenes which might favour the same period. The best examples are the man making the oath over the stela (Scene 6.2.b), and the equids with chariot (Scene 6.2.c), both of which are only found in TT297, TT57 and on BM EA 37892; the oath scene occurs alone in TT38. Such scenes may represent a particular fashion in one time-period only, and thus be more useful for dating than the more general parallels.

The form of the chariot is of limited use as a dating criterion.⁴ The wheel of the example in Scene 6.2.b has six spokes, but depictions of Egyptian chariots up to the latter part of the 18th dynasty vary in having wheels with four or six, and occasionally eight, spokes. Six spokes is only likely to suggest that TT297 does not antedate the reign of Thutmose IV. Erasure of the name of Amun in Scene 6.1.a and on some of the finds

¹ Kampp type Vb (*Die thebanische Nekropole*, 24–5).

² Note that several of them (apart from TT57) have the same plan type as TT297 (cf Kampp, loc. cit.).

³ Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, 1–2. See Kozloff in Berman (ed.), *The art of Amenhotep III: art historical analysis*, 55–64, and id. in Kozloff–Bryan (eds), *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, chapter IX for general discussions of the styles of tombs of this period

⁴ Littauer–Crouwel, *Chariots and related equipment from the tomb of Tutankhamun*, 78–9, with other bibliography on the subject.

shows, although it is hardly necessary to prove the point, that the tomb was finished before the reign of Akhenaten.

Amenemopet thus probably built his tomb sometime after the middle of the 18th dynasty, perhaps within a few years of the transition between the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III (c. 1390–1370 BC). The location of the tomb next needs to be considered briefly.

The location of the tomb, and the Assasif in the New Kingdom

A rapid examination of the area around the tomb shows that there are few tombs of the 18th dynasty in the main central and western parts of the Assasif, which contrasts strongly with the adjacent necropolis areas of Dra Abul Naga, Khokha, and Sheikh Abdel Qurna. The area was clearly somewhat out of the ordinary, and it is hardly necessary to look further for an explanation than the temple and causeway complexes of Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut, and Thutmose III, and the 'Beautiful Festival of the Valley' for which they were one of the main foci. This festival has its origins in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, and, with the building of the two New Kingdom temples, not forgetting the early 18th dynasty temple of Amenhotep I, it made the Assasif a very special and holy place. Presumably construction of tombs there was very tightly controlled.¹

Occupation of sites in the Assasif at the end of the Second Intermediate Period and in the first part of the 18th dynasty was principally in the eastern part of the valley, reusing some tombs of the Middle Kingdom as well as building new ones of similar type.² Bietak speculates that there could have been a processional route between the Deir el-Bahari and Dra Abul Naga temples of Amenhotep I.³ Dorman speculates that this area may be a continuation of the Dra Abul Naga cemeteries of more ordinary people excavated in the early 1990s.⁴

The first major New Kingdom tombs known are located close to the temples. The earliest is that of Merytamun, wife of Amenhotep I, whose tomb almost surely antedates Hatshepsut's temple.⁵ The next in date is the second tomb of Senmut.⁶ Both persons were presumably buried close to the temples of rulers with whom they were associated, and

¹ The best account of the development of the Assasif is that by Bietak in Bietak-Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor I*, 19–29. See also Helck, *JESHO* 5 (1962), 225–43, and Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole*, 21–8. None of these studies mentions TT297.

² See PM I², 615–22; the principal published group are those excavated by Carter and Carnarvon (*Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*). Here was also found the intact tomb of Neferkhuit and his family (Hayes, *BMMA* 30 (1935), part 2, 17–36).

³ op. cit., 27.

⁴ In a paper to be published in the proceedings of the British Museum Colloquium *The Theban Necropolis: Past, present and future*, held in July 2000.

⁵ Winlock, *The Tomb of Queen Meryt-Amun at Thebes*; some comments on the likely date by Roth, in Teeter and Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise*, 368.

⁶ Dorman, *The Tombs of Senenmut*, 81–151. There is also the early 18th dynasty tomb of Minmose in the same area (cf PM I², 628).

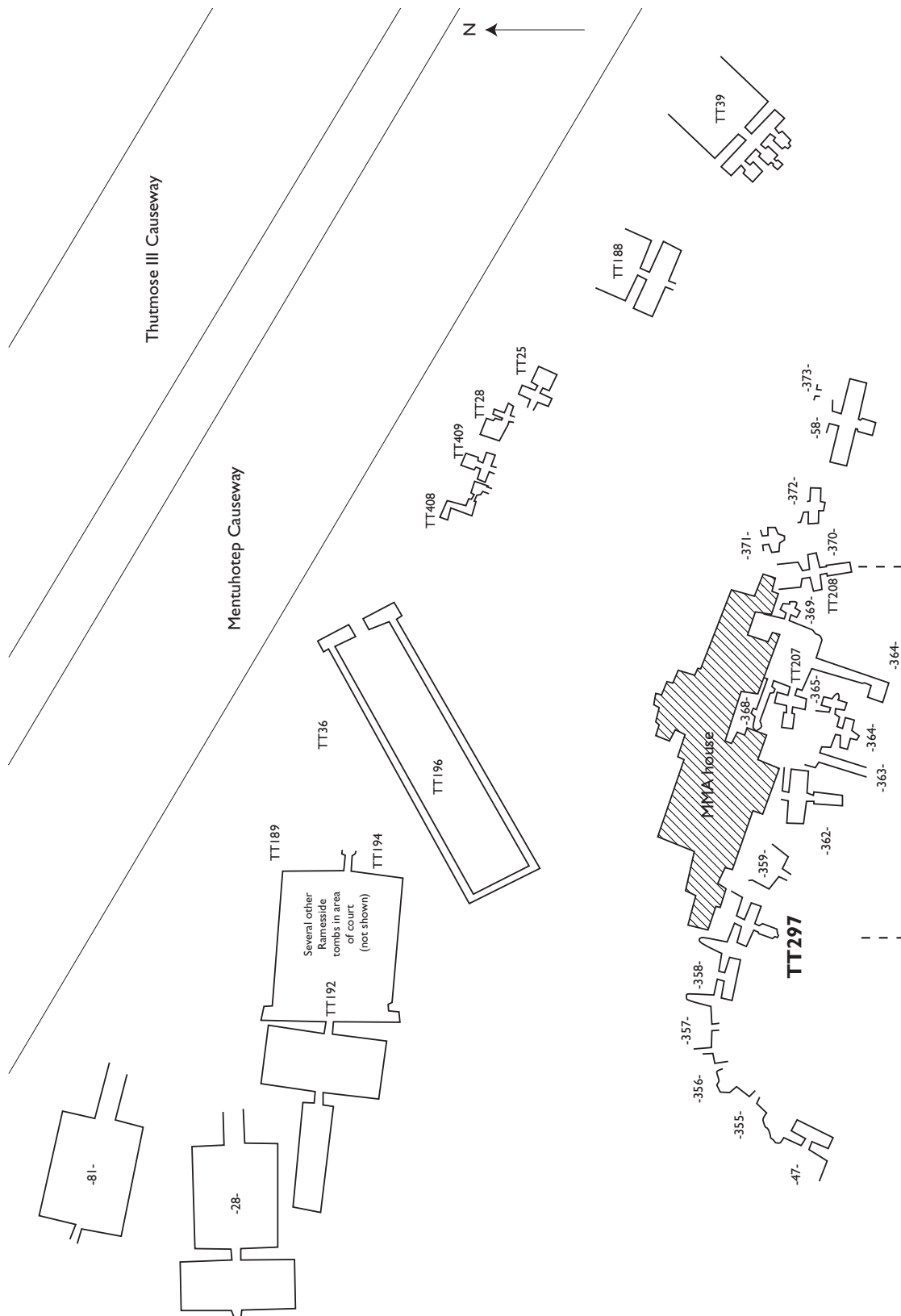


Fig. 3 Sketch plan of the area of the Assasif discussed here, indicating principal tombs in the area of TT297. Redrawn from plans of Kampp and Eigner. Not to scale. The area bounded at the bottom by the broken line is given in more detail in **Fig. 22** (p. 66)

should be regarded as being rather special. The earliest tomb of an person of more 'conventional' status there is that of Puyemre (TT39).⁷ Puyemre's reason for building where he did may have resulted from his association with Hatshepsut, suggested by his probable involvement in the construction of her valley temple.⁸ TT297 seems to be the next known tomb in date (together with other similar tombs in cemetery 800—see summary in Appendix 1), perhaps closely followed by those of Kheruef (TT192),⁹ Amenhotep (Kampp -28-),¹⁰ perhaps Menkheper (Kampp -81-)¹¹ and Parennefer (TT188),¹² the commencement of all of which can be dated to the later reign of Amenhotep III.

There are, briefly, a few more tombs of Ramesside date in the area, mostly of persons not so elevated in status as the owners of the great 18th dynasty tombs just mentioned.¹³ These cluster around the area of the MMA house and in and around the courtyard of the tomb of Kheruef. This tends to suggest that the special nature of the Assasif continued, even if the Valley Festival is no longer so prominent in tomb decoration. There is a difference between the two dynasties in that the 18th dynasty tombs orientate themselves north-south towards the valley and the causeways of Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, along which the processions of the Valley Festival would have passed, while the Ramesside ones concentrate more on the focus of particular courtyards.

The status of Amenemopet (and, for that matter, that of most of the Ramesside tomb owners) was much lower than that of Puyemre, Kheruef and Amenhotep, also reflected in the size of his tomb, and it is not easy to guess why he should have been able to build on this apparently very special site. Perhaps TT297 and other tombs possibly of the same date on the periphery of the Assasif in the immediate area of cemetery 800 should be considered differently, and seen more as an extension of the Khokha necropolis on the other side of the hill than as belonging with those of the particularly privileged officials, whose tombs seem to be in specific groups located nearer the causeways.¹⁴ This illustrates that the mechanics of importance and status in Egypt are not always clear to us, in particular as they relate to tomb-building in the New Kingdom necropolis of Thebes.

⁷ PM I², 71–5.

⁸ Based on graffiti in Carter and Carnarvon, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 39, fig. 10; cf Helck, *JESHO* 5 (1962), 231.

⁹ PM I², 298–300 and the Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*.

¹⁰ Eigner, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), 39–50 and Gordon, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), 71–80; cf Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 637–9.

¹¹ *ibid.*, 676.

¹² PM I², 293–5. This tomb has been worked on in the 1990s by S. Redford; see *KMT* 6.1 (Spring 1995), 62–70.

¹³ I have marked in **Fig. 3** only a few of these: TT189, TT194, TT408, TT409, TT25, TT28. For most, see PM I²; TT194 is now published in Seyfried, *Das Grab des Djehutiemhab* and TT189 is in the course of publication by P. Bartelmess.

¹⁴ The difficulty of assigning a tomb to one or other of these (modern) archaeological areas is illustrated in PM: the entries for TT207 and TT208, both of which are located behind the MMA house, locate them in Khokha, while TT297 is considered as Assasif.

Architecture

Little detailed information is available about the architectural elements of the tomb as a result of its destruction. A plan exists, however, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,¹ from which **Fig. 4** here has been redrawn and some *approximate* dimensions derived. No elevations exist from which heights of rooms or depths of shafts may be reliably calculated, although there are two notes on the original plan which probably relate to heights.

Also in the MMA archive are some photographs of the area in which the tomb was located, termed by the MMA cemetery 800. None of these photographs show the front of TT297, but the southern wall of the courtyard can be seen in several of them, in particular that reproduced as **Plate VIa**.

Like many of the tombs in the Assasif, TT297 is orientated in the local approximate north-south direction as opposed to the more normal east-west. This is partly because the tomb follows the alignment of the valley, but perhaps also because it was attempting to align itself with the important processional ways it contained (see previous section).

Courtyard and superstructure

No illustrations are available other than the photographs and plan mentioned above. No obvious traces of a superstructure are visible, nor any clear remains of building-up or plaster on the facade in the small area visible in **Plate VIa**. However the presence of a stelaphorous statue of the deceased (find **[17]**) suggests that the superstructure may have contained a niche for such a statue.² The facade of the tomb was approximately 9m wide, and the courtyard is at least 7m deep.³ The east side of the courtyard seems to have been very short. The plan suggests that what is presumably a brick wall was later constructed in the area; this might be part of a superstructure of a later tomb chapel, although it does appear to have been much thicker than that of one such chapel in the neighbouring tomb MMA 832.⁴

¹ MMA plan AM 989; scale probably 1:100.

² cf Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 70.

³ Kampp's reconstructions (ibid, Figs 67–9) give some idea of what the tomb might have looked like.

⁴ Compare the plan in Kampp, op. cit., 567 (her tomb -362-).

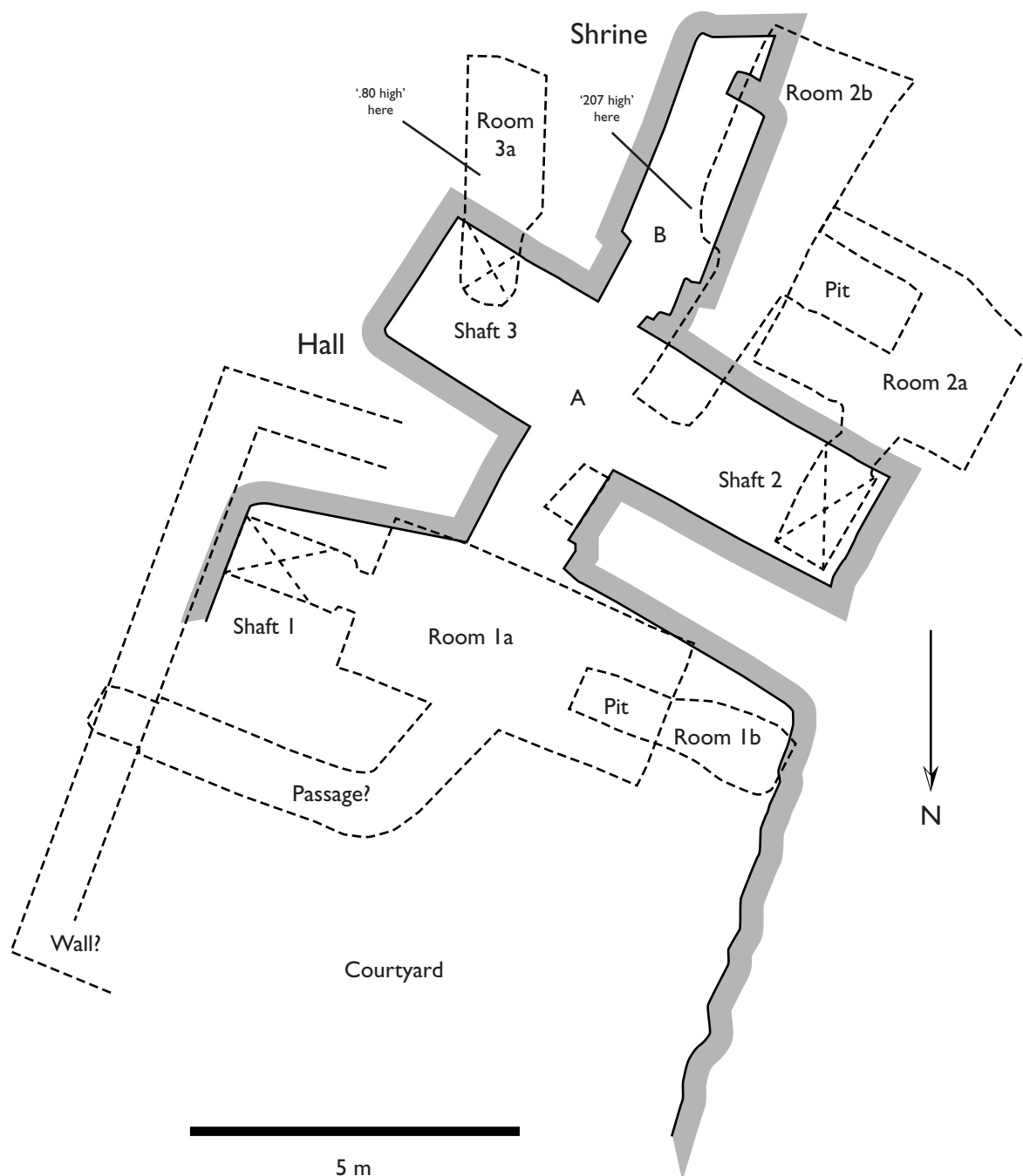


Fig. 4 Plan of TT297, redrawn from part of plan MMA 989.
The labels and numbering of the shafts and rooms is that of the present author

The chapel

The central axis of the tomb was excavated approximately southwest–northeast. That there may have been a set of inscribed external jambs, a portico or perhaps even a stela is indicated by a fragment of sandstone found in the excavations (find [14], **Plate XIa**). An otherwise unexplained shape indicated in the plan by a broken line in the entrance doorway is perhaps a small excavation in the floor or just possibly a later blocking. The front

hall (room A) lies, as usual, at roughly right angles to the axis, and measures approximately 7.75 m by 2 m, the southeastern part being shorter by 1.25 m than the northwestern. Room B, which never appears to have been decorated, is aligned more in the southwest–northeast direction, and consists of an entrance 1.1 m wide and 1 m in (irregular) length leading to the room itself, measuring approximately 2.75 m by 1.5 m. The reason for this slight change of axis is uncertain, but is by no means unusual (compare TT75⁵); perhaps the quarrymen were following a fault in the rock.⁶ At the back appears to be a niche, perhaps for statues (see below for the mention of a tiny fragment of a ‘life-size’ statue (find [26]). In this room on the MMA plan is the comment ‘207 high’, which I assume to be the height of the chapel at this point in cm, and which I use below in reconstructing the decoration.

Shafts

The MMA plan indicates the presence of three shafts. The first (shaft 1) is in the eastern side of the courtyard; its opening measures 2 m by 1 m and leads to a rectangular room (room 1a) approximately 5 m by 2.5 m, aligned southeast–northwest. At the far end of this room is a pit opening to a smaller room (1b) measuring 1.75 m by 1 m. On the northeast side of room 1a is an opening to a curved passage (?), perhaps unfinished, which is initially excavated in a northeast direction, and then turns east, at the end of which may perhaps be a narrow niche. It is almost 7 m in length and averages about 1 m wide.

Shafts 2 and 3 are located in the main hall (room A) of the tomb. Shaft 2 lies in the northwestern end and consists of an opening 1.7 m by 1 m, at the bottom of which a door leads southwest, giving onto an approximately rectangular chamber (2a) 3.6 m by 2.6 m in size. In the eastern part of the room lies a pit, the opening of which measures 1.8 m by 1.1 m. This leads to an elongated room to the east of irregular shape (2b), the main part of which is approximately 4 m by 2 m with a northern extension measuring approximately 2.5 m by 1 m.

The third shaft is in the southeastern corner of room A. It seems to be more of a hole in the ground with an adjoining small room rather than a proper shaft. Including the hole in the offering chamber floor it measures 3.6 m in length, with a maximum width of 1.2 m. A note on the MMA plan indicates that it is 0.8 m high.

See the summary on p. 23 for suggestions of the date of the various shafts.

⁵ Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. III.

⁶ See also comments by Heindl in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens. Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet*, 293–301.

Finds

A number of finds from this tomb are noted in the records of the MMA, from both the 18th dynasty and the Third Intermediate Period, as well as a few which could not be dated. The excavation notes do not indicate the precise provenance of material from inside the tomb, although it is grouped by date. The following is an interpretative summary of the finds. Bold numbers in [] refer to objects listed starting on p. 23.

18th dynasty: I begin with items which belong to the tomb but would not have come from the burial. In the forecourt of the tomb were found fragments of a sandstone door lintel showing a man and a woman adoring a solar deity [14]. The presence of a title beginning *sš*, the erasure of the name of Amun, and reconstruction of the name of the woman as Tu(y) are all suggestive that it is the tomb-owner and his wife who are shown here. A small fragment, found somewhere in TT297, is apparently all that remains of a granite seated statue of the deceased [13], which might have been placed somewhere inside the chapel. The name and title of the deceased appears on a limestone stelaphorous statue, which is likely to have been placed in a niche or similar in the facade above the entrance of the tomb [17] (see above). There is also mention of a thumb from a 'life-size' statue, material uncertain [26]; could this have been from an engaged statue at the rear of the tomb?

95 examples of the cone of Amenemopet were also found in and around the area of the tomb [27] (Fig. 10), and these cones have been until now the principal source for the attribution of the tomb to him.¹ The locations of at least three further finds of cones of Amenemopet are known in the area near TT297: in or around the tomb of Userhat (TT47) in Khokha,² in the passage leading to the entrance of the tomb of Kheruef (TT192),³ and in the superstructure of TT196.⁴ All locations are relatively close to TT297;

¹ Davies–Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Funerary Cones*, no. 73. This supersedes the earlier collection of Daressy, *Receuil de cones funéraires*, 277 (45).

² Discovered during an authorised excavation by the Omda of Qurna in 1902–3: Carter, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 178 (B).

³ Habachi, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 332 n. 1.

⁴ Found in excavations of the University of Münster in early 1999: find no. P99056, length 7.5 cm, diameter 7.5 cm. I am very grateful to Erhart Graefe for permitting me to mention this material, and to include a drawing of this example in Fig. 10. See Appendix 2 by Petra Vomberg below for further material from this excavation which belonged probably to TT297.

TT196 and TT192 are marked in **Fig. 3**, while TT47 is approximately 500 m from the tomb. Examples of the cone may also be found in several museums.⁵

Turning to the burial of Amenemopet, it is clear he was buried with a Book of the Dead funerary papyrus [15]. A number of fragments of furniture are presumably from the 18th dynasty interment. These include parts and feet of chairs or tables [21], [22], one in the shape of a lion (from a chair [21]), and braces [23], as well as parts of the backs of chairs [24], and also some box fragments [25]. Two knobs referred to in the cards in the 'Late dynastic or not dated' section could also be from 18th dynasty boxes [37], while [43], perhaps not from this tomb, is also from a chair or box. The faience rings [32] could be of this date or later. A brush [30] could have been associated with the burial (as well as with the later ones). That his wife was also buried here is evident from the vessel bearing her name [18].

Very little pottery appears in the excavation notes as coming specifically from the tomb: there is the vessel of Amenemopet's wife Tuy just mentioned, painted in imitation of stone [18], of a type particularly common in the 18th dynasty, plus an apparently similar fragment which could be from a canopic jar [19]. There are, however, two photographs of ceramics labelled 'Tombs 830–2' and 'Tombs 827–835', some vessels of which are clearly 18th dynasty [44]. A fragment of mud from the sealing of a jar seems to bear the cartouche of an 18th dynasty ruler [20].

While these surviving fragments of material from this period are rather meagre, there is evidence for all the principal separate architectural elements of such a tomb (lintels, statuary and cones). A number of the essential elements of a burial of the 18th dynasty (furniture, ceramics, papyrus) can also be seen.⁶ The principal missing elements are fragments of 'black-painted' wooden coffins typical of the mid 18th dynasty,⁷ although it is possible that these were not recorded by the excavators. There is also no record of human remains of any period, but these again might have been set aside for separate study, as they do not seem to appear in any of the excavation cards of this particular cemetery.

End New Kingdom/Third Intermediate Period and later: There is little material noted from this period, principally fragments of cartonnage [28], [29], beads [35], [36], rings [32] (though these could be earlier) and amulets [33], [34]. The cartonnage appears to be of two types; one fragment bears the classic polychrome decoration of the 22nd dynasty [28], but the other is more intriguing. [29] appears to be a part of a type of mummy-board attested in the late 20th or early 21st dynasty. It is unlikely that the

⁵ Daressy (*Receuil de cones funéraires*, 304 (45)) mentions examples in the Egyptian Museum and in the Musée d'Orléans, Collection Baillet (no. 623). Two examples are in the British Museum: one is from the Harris Collection, acquired in 1875 (EA 35678), and the other is EA 65948, acquired in 1959. Published examples are in the Petrie Museum (UC 37565: Stewart, *Mummy Cases and Inscribed Funerary Cones in the Petrie Collection*, 29 (14)) and in Berlin (1028, 1030–1: Berlin, *Ägyptische Inschriften* II, 300).

⁶ Compare Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 193–231.

⁷ Compare Taylor in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, 168–9; id., *Death and the After-life*, 224–9.

scarab of Ramesses II [34] has any significance for dating, it being such a portable object, although there should be no reason why they were also not produced long after that king's death. The beads [35], [36] might suggest a bead net of the later Third Intermediate Period or later, as does the Isis and Horus amulet [33], but there are no surviving coffin fragments of that period.

Material of this period is thus meagre. These fragments perhaps indicate that there are two or three very minimally attested phases of use at the end of the New Kingdom and in the Third Intermediate Period, but they have been robbed and cleared out in a manner which precludes further conclusions being drawn. There are also a number of items which could belong to any period of use of the tomb. However, there is insufficient ceramic information available to discern whether the site was used in later times; neither is a mention of this area apparent in Winlock's fascinating survey of Coptic sites in Thebes.⁸ The fact that the tomb only came to light when the Metropolitan House was about to be built probably excludes its occupation in relatively recent times. The available evidence of destruction of the burial contents makes it impossible to say whether this damage took place before or after the European quest for antiquities began in the early 19th century.

Intrusive finds mainly consisted of a number of other funerary cones, which category of objects stray widely around the necropolis [2]–[12]. **Table 2** is a summary by tomb number.

Table 2: Summary of cones found in the excavation of TT297

<i>Tomb number</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>DMC^a</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Ascription^b</i>
TT34	Montuemhat	1	486	Assasif	K
TT34	Montuemhat	1	420		S
TT97	Amenemhat ^c	1	44	Sheikh Abdel Qurna, upper enclosure	M, P
TT118 ^d	Amenmose	2	325	Sheikh Abdel Qurna, upper enclosure	P
TT317	Djehutynefer	2	176	Sheikh Abdel Qurna, lower enclosure	K
TT344	Piay	1	6	Dra Abul Naga	K
C1	Amenhotep	2	314	PM: North-east slope of Sheikh Abdel Qurna	M, K, P
Kampp -62-	Se (?)	1	31	Khokha	P
None	Neferrenpet	6	335		
None	Neferabet	14	405		
None	Sennefer	1	423		

a. Number in Davies and Macadam, *Corpus*.

b. The association of cones with tombs uses the lists of Kondo, *Orient* 28 (1992), 119–21, and Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 66–8, both building on the work of Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, 3–12. M = Manniche, K = Kondo, P = Kampp, S = present author.

c. Called Pabasa in excavation records [6].

d. Kampp notes that this cone could perhaps also belong to TT89.

⁸ *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes I*, 3–24.

There are in excess of 600 cones in the Davies-Macadam and Daressy corpora and perhaps more than 800 tombs in the necropolis (417 of which have TT numbers), but only in the region of 110 tombs can be associated with cones; this list of cones found in these excavations, despite its small sample, is a typical representation of the state of present knowledge about the provenance of these objects. It stresses that more information is needed to obtain a better picture of the manner in which these objects have ‘travelled’ around the necropolis; even allowing for the relatively isolated nature of TT297, only three cones (two tombs, TT34, -62-) come from relatively nearby monuments. This illustrates how information which might in future be culled from the MMA excavation tomb cards like those noted here will be of inestimable value.

Several relief fragments of New Kingdom date, mainly of sandstone and thus almost certainly from destroyed porticos and other additional elements to tombs, were found in the region of the tomb [1], [41], [42]. None of them can presently be attributed to the tomb, although evidence has been noted above for a sandstone lintel over the tomb; these fragments bear funerary prayers and offering formulae.

Summary: I suspect that the pattern of shaft-chamber-shaft-chamber in shaft 2 favours this as the location of the original interment; principal shafts of this date in the 18th dynasty tend to be inside the chapel.⁹ Shaft 3, because of its simple nature, is very probably an intrusive addition of later date,¹⁰ while shaft 1 could belong to either period of use. This just might be associated with the brick wall noted above.

TT297 seems to have a typical history for Theban sepulchres for the period of the New Kingdom to the later Third Intermediate Period, with the burials of the original owner later supplanted or supplemented by interments inserted into the tomb. It is perhaps less usual in that later evidence of use seems to be limited (or is missing from the record), and the date of its rediscovery raises the question of when the robberies in the tomb might have happened. It is reasonable to assume that the New Kingdom interments might have been cleared out in the succeeding dynasties, but when were these later burials robbed?

List of finds from MMA tomb 831

This is not intended as a full-scale publication of the finds from the tomb, but is a listing of objects mentioned in the relevant tomb cards in the MMA and selected by myself as coming from the tomb or the immediately adjacent area. Most are discussed above in context in the ‘Finds’ sections; no further cross-references are given here unless they are mentioned in a different section of the text.

It mostly reproduces the order and grouping of finds in those cards. Dimensions are not available for many objects. Headings and other material enclosed in quotes come directly from the cards, and the section headings are given in the order of the cards; the exception to this is that material is given at the end which might come from a number of

⁹ This is also the opinion of Kampp (*Die thebanische Nekropole*, 568). The burial shaft and chamber of TT295 provide a possible parallel from about the same date: Hegazy-Tosi, *A Theban Private Tomb*, folding plan.

¹⁰ This simple shaft and chamber is reminiscent of shaft B in TT254 (Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 63).

tombs as well as MMA 831. The numbers in [] are allocated by the present author and not those of the MMA cards; the latter are given as ‘MMA Card nnnn’. Comparable material is adduced where possible; a number of unpublished objects in the British Museum are also mentioned as comparanda.

‘Rubbish in the Neighbourhood of tomb 831’

- [1] ‘Fragments of sandstone blocks. Thickness about 7 cm. Courses 32 cm high. Inscription incised and completely coloured. probably door-jambs’. These bear the beginning of a hymn text, perhaps to the sun god, and other fragments of it. MMA Card 2988, photo M9C-16 [**Plate XIIIa**]. To the left of the text appears to be a block border, which suggests that it might come from the interior of a tomb and be adjacent to a scene. The photograph shows other blocks adjacent to it which are clearly of Ramesside date, but it is not clear whether these actually belong with it—the MMA record photograph has the other blocks excised from the image as if they did not belong.

‘Intrusive cones found in court’ [MMA Cards 2990–2]

—*noted as ‘discarded’ and not sketched on cards*

[2]	Daressy 7 ^a	Piay	1	DMC 6	TT344
[3]	Daressy 144	Amenhotep	2	DMC 314	C1
[4]	Daressy 175	Montuemhat	1	DMC 486	TT34
[5]	Daressy 203	Montuemhat	1	DMC 420	TT34
[6]	Daressy 282	Pabasa (<i>sic</i>) ^b	1	DMC 44	TT97

—*sketched on cards*

[7]	MMA 15.10.25 & Cairo 8 7.20 7	Amenmose	2	DMC 325	TT118
[8]	MMA 15.10.24 & Cairo 8 7.20 10	Djehutynfer	2	DMC 176	TT317
[9]	Cairo 8 7.20 32 ^c	Sennefer	1	DMC 423	
[10]	Cairo 8 7.20 29	Se (?)	1	DMC 31	-62-
[11]	MMA 15.10.30 & Cairo 8 7.20 20	Neferrenpet	6	DMC 335	
[12]	MMA 15.10.28–9 & Cairo 8 7.20 12; 8 7.20 7	Neferabet	14	DMC 405	

a. The Daressy numbers are those given on the tomb cards; I have added the Davies–Macadam corpus (DMC) numbers. See further the discussion above on p. 22.

b. As on the card; Daressy 282 in fact belongs to Amenemhat (DMC 44). The tomb of Pabasa (TT279) is of course closer to TT297 than TT97.

c. ‘14 examples also found in the sloping passage of Tomb 830 A’.

'Tomb 831'

- [13] 'Fragment of a small granite seated statue. Inscription on the back' [Fig. 5], which seems to include part of a *hṭp di nswt* formula and probably the name *ḥ-nfr mḥ-ḥrw*. MMA Card 2993. No further detail of location given.



Fig. 5 Object [13]

'Rubbish from forecourt of tomb 831'

- [14] 'Fragments of sandstone door lintel'. Thickness 13 cm, decorated in sunk relief with inscriptions in blue and column dividers in red. The reliefs were apparently coloured blue, but the colour remained in the incisions only. Two fragments appear in MMA photo M9C-17 [Plate XIa]: these show a couple adoring, with offerings at the left. From the traces of an epithet, they may have been adoring Anubis. According to the tomb card, the style is 'distinctly Amenhotep III', and the name of Amun has clearly been erased; the enveloping style of the woman's wig is also appropriate for this period. At the left the text seems to have *nb ḥ dsr di.s[n]*; the third column has the beginning of the indication of the person performing the activity: *i[n]* *sš* 'by the scribe' and the word *imn* at the bottom of the fourth column may be part of the name of Amenemopet or the end of a title, while the *tw* in the last surviving column may be the beginning of the name of Amenemopet's wife Tuy. It thus seems very likely that it came from TT297.¹¹

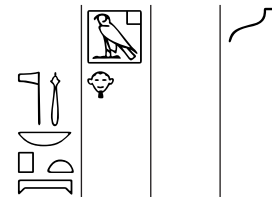


Fig. 6 Object [14], second fragment

The second fragment [Fig. 6, not photographed] bears the remains of 'the great god, lord of heaven' and 'Hathor who dwells [in...]'. The possible *h* (error?) suggests a change in orientation. Both MMA Card 2994.

'Tomb 831. 18th dynasty material'

- [15] A great number of fragments of a Book of the Dead papyrus with coloured vignettes (all MMA Card 2995). These are now in New York, and bear the MMA registration number 28.3.299 [Plates XVI–XXIX].¹² These photographs of the fragments are here published for the sake of completeness, as their broken nature will render them

¹¹ It could be from an external door surround at the entrance to the tomb; see generally Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 71–4 for these features. Entrance lintels tend to show the deceased worshipping Osiris or Anubis (or both)—see examples from TT38 (almost certainly Scott, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*, 96–7 (48)) or TT74 (Brack and Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni*, 55–6, Taf. 44a). Hathor features in such a lintel from TT79 (Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb*, Abb. 64).

¹² Rogers Fund, 1928. The fragments are now mounted in four frames, which will be evident in the overlap in some photographs. The photographs relate to these frames as follows: 1) **Plate XVI** and **Plate XVIII**; 2) **Plate XX** and **Plate XXII**; 3) **Plate XXIV** and **Plate XXV**; 4) **Plate XXVI** and **Plate XXVIII**. There is also a small dish containing a number of further tiny fragments. I wish to thank Diana C. Patch for permitting me to inspect the papyrus and note details of colouring.

Table 3: Textual information from the papyrus of Amenemopet

<i>MMA Photograph</i>	<i>Book of the Dead</i>	<i>Names, titles</i>
MN217322 Plate XVI Key Plate XVII	BD 153a, BD 125c, BD 30b, BD 130	A: two fragments of name ‘Tjanefer’ B: beginning of title ‘overseer of fields...’ C: one fragment of name <i>ḏd.tw.n.f t̄-nfr</i> , ‘called Tjanefer’
MN217323 Plate XVIII Key Plate XIX	BD 125c, BD 30B/64R/137A	A: beginning of title ‘scribe who counts the grain [of Amun]’ B: part of a title ‘of Amun’ C: two fragments, perhaps part of the name ‘Tja[nefer]’
MN217325 Plate XX Key Plate XXI	BD 62v	A: end of name ‘[Tja-]nefer justified’
MN217324 Plate XXII Key Plate XXIII	Vignette of BD 100	A: end of a name with ‘true of voice’
MN217326 (Plate XXIV) and MN217327 (Plate XXV): no references		
MN217329 Plate XXVI Key Plate XXVII	BD 93	
MN217328 Plate XXVIII Key Plate XXIX		A (inverted fragment ^a): title ending in ‘...Amun’ and beginning of name ‘Amenem[opet]’ B: ‘the Osiris, scribe’

a. Now corrected in the mount in the MMA.

difficult to understand for anyone other than a specialist. Nonetheless, a number of general remarks can be made. The fragments seem to belong to only one papyrus, and it clearly belonged to Amenemopet. Both his names appear, as do parts of all his main titles; compare the title listings above (p. 5).

These photographs have been examined by Irmtraut Munro,¹³ and she has been able to identify the following Book of the Dead spells on this papyrus: BD 30 B (2 fr.), BD 62 V, BD 93 V, BD 100, BD 125 C (3 fr.), BD 153A. **Table 3** summarises the locations of these texts and the fragments which bear the names and titles of Amenemopet; **Table 4** summarises details of the polychromy of the papyrus. A schematic diagram is provided opposite each plate of the papyrus to facilitate location of these details.¹⁴

¹³ I should like to thank Dr Munro for her kind help in this difficult matter. Many aspects of these 18th dynasty papyri are discussed in her *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie*.

¹⁴ These key diagrams are provided purely to enable readers to locate the fragments. They were automatically generated from the photographs and do not follow the outlines of the pieces with total accuracy. Finding a scheme to represent this data on so many broken fragments has not been easy.

Table 4: Colour detail from the papyrus of Amenemopet

<i>MMA Photograph</i>	<i>Details of colours</i>
MN217322 (Plate XVI) and MN217323 (Plate XVIII): no colours	
MN217325 Plate XX Key Plate XXI	<p>BD 62V: foot of figure, red; robe of figure, white; ground on which figure kneels, pink with blue and red dashes</p> <p>A: leg, red; robe, white; baseline, yellow</p> <p>α: end of platform, blue; area above and right, white</p> <p>β: arm, red; kilts, white; area above right-hand kilt, blue; sash on right-hand figure, yellow</p> <p>γ, η: kilt, white; skin, red</p> <p>δ: candle, white with red stripes</p> <p>ε: vertical bar, yellow with black outline</p> <p>ι: group bearing areas of white with red lines</p> <p>κ: foot and vertical object, red; platform, green</p> <p>λ: left of object, red; right, white; small blobs are blue</p> <p>μ: feathers, red</p> <p>ν: foot and vertical bar, red; small green blobs of vegetation (?)</p> <p>ο: offering table, green; on it, red and white objects</p> <p>π: upper fragment, all yellow; lower, vertical yellow bar</p> <p>ρ: bar at top, blue with black outline</p> <p>σ: group with vertical bars, yellow with black outline; there is an area of Egyptian blue colour at the left side of the leftmost fragment</p> <p>τ: group of fragments of snakes—see MN217324, φ</p>
MN217324 Plate XXII Key Plate XXIII	<p>α: group of three fragments, decoration yellow with red outline</p> <p>β: three fragments: two blue and red on a yellow background; one (right-hand fragment), yellow</p> <p>γ: group of five fragments, decorated in yellow with red lines</p> <p>δ: yellow pole, sail, or other part of a ship (?)</p> <p>ε: four fragments, possibly a decorative border, yellow with blue rectangles</p> <p>A: yellow bar with black outline between texts; green area to right</p> <p>η: yellow bar at bottom with black outline; green area at top</p> <p>ι: two fragments which contain areas of green</p> <p>κ: contain areas of green and black</p> <p>λ: all black</p> <p>BD 100V: scarab beetle black, collar blue, body red</p> <p>μ: female figure bending forward; skin yellow, hair black, collar and bracelets blue</p>

Textual fragments are marked with either the BD number or with a capital letter; fragments with polychromy, unless already in the previous group, are indicated by Greek letters, and the same letter can appear numerous times on a key. Some baselines which extend widely are marked by straight broken lines. Only main coloured items are indicated.

Table 4: Colour detail from the papyrus of Amenemopet (continued)

<i>MMA Photograph</i>	<i>Details of colours</i>
MN217324 Plate XXII Key Plate XXIII (continued)	<p>ν: two fragments showing female faces, skin yellow, hair black</p> <p>\omicron: yellow bar to left with black outline, then male head: skin red, collar blue, hair black</p> <p>π: small red figure with hand to mouth</p> <p>ρ: red male hand, white nails, possible trace of something green to the left</p> <p>σ: male head, red skin, probable white robe, blue-green collar</p> <p>τ: part of red male head, white robe</p> <p>ω: perhaps part of female head, skin yellow, hair black</p> <p>ξ: Egyptian blue shape at bottom left</p> <p>ψ: blue and white, perhaps bird (?)</p> <p>ζ: bird, red legs, white belly, blue and white body</p> <p>θ: black wig, trace of red face</p> <p>ϕ: fragments showing snakes. Most have a thick blue/black line at the front, a yellow band with red dots, and on the back a white band with red hatching. Some have a yellow band at the front with red hatching. On one there is an area of Egyptian blue</p>
MN217326 (Plate XXIV) and MN217327 (Plate XXV): no colours	
MN217329 Plate XXVI Key Plate XXVII	<p>On this frame are fragments of red and yellow bands which form borders to the content of the papyrus. Broken lines indicate the approximate location of the bands</p> <p>α–α: red above, yellow below</p> <p>β–β: yellow above, red below</p> <p>γ–γ: red only</p>
MN217328 Plate XXVIII Key Plate XXIX	<p>Most of the fragments on this photograph bear hieroglyphs accompanied by vertical or horizontal yellow bands, usually with black outlines</p> <p>α: vertical yellow bands</p> <p>β: horizontal yellow bands</p> <p>γ: tail of a bird (?), blue upper, red lower. A yellow vertical band at left</p>

The palaeography of the papyrus is like that of better-known examples from the 18th dynasty.¹⁵ Traces of a few vignettes are found, one at least of which included Amenemopet (marked on plate). Evidence of a vignette of the sun god in his barque is seen,¹⁶ and there are remains of at least two serpents; traces of further scenes are also evident.

¹⁵ A good palaeographical parallel is the unpublished papyrus of Nebamun in the British Museum (EA 9964; cf Quirke, *Owners of funerary papyri in the British Museum*, 46 (121)). It can also be compared, for example, with that of Nu in the BM (EA 10477: Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*), that of Bak-su in Hanover (Kestner-Museum 1970.37, Munro, *Das Totenbuch des Bak-su*), and various papyri, particularly those of two Amenhoteps (JE 40002 and 40003) and Maherpri (CG 25095), in Cairo (Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften*).

¹⁶ Compare Lapp, op. cit., pl. II, bottom right.

- [16] 'Tomb-makers materials. Chisel tip broken off 15 mm from the cutting edge. Cutting edge 16 mm wide'. MMA Card 2996.
- [17] 'Base, part of back vertical inscription, and part of right forearm (?) of kneeling statue of Tjanefer, holding a stela. Indurated white limestone. Base is rectangular, 0.24 × 0.175 m'.¹⁷ MMA Card 2996; MMA photo M9C.162; cf PM I², 652 [**Plate XII, Fig. 7**].

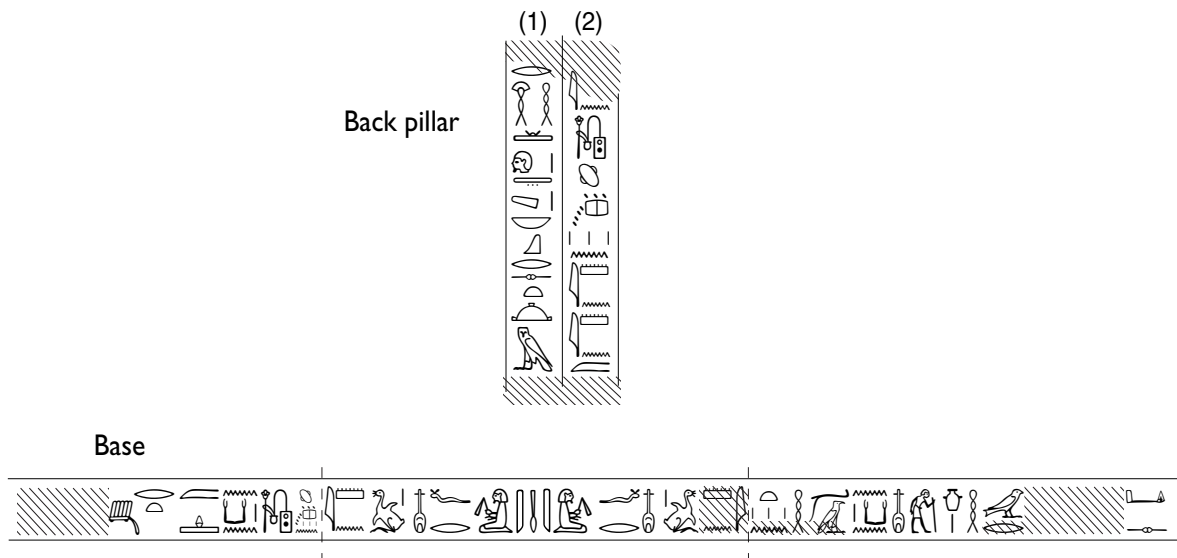


Fig. 7 Object [17]

The texts on the base read:

(left) */// im3h/3w ? m htp n k3 n sš hsb it n imn t3-nfr m3c-hrw* 'in peace for the *ka* of the scribe who counts the grain of Amun, Tjanefer, justified'

(right) *di.s /// wrh 3w nfr n k3 n imy-r 3ht [n imn] t3-nfr m3c-hrw* 'that she may give *///* anointing and perfect old age for the *ka* of the scribe of the fields [of Amun], Tjanefer, justified'

(back pillar fragment) (1) *r w3h tp-t3 nb qrst m ///* (2) */// in sš hsb it n imn imn-m-[ipt] ///*
 (1) *///* 'in order to survive on earth (as) a possessor of burial in [the necropolis?] *///*
 (2) *///* by the scribe who counts the grain of Amun, Amenem[opet]' *///*

One fragment of the vertical inscription was found in the neighbouring shaft MMA 830C.

¹⁷ Despite its incomplete state some comparanda may be quoted. A granodiorite statue of not dissimilar date of Khaemhat, probably from TT57, is in Brooklyn (37.48E: James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in The Brooklyn Museum*, 112, pl. X, LXV–LXVI; photograph in Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, 191, Abb. 5). A limestone example without text on the base and back pillar is that of Sennetjer (BM EA 65340: Stewart, *JEA* 53 (1967), 36, pl. III.2; other possible parallels are in the same article). Compare also the statue of Nentaweref (Boston MFA 1986.747: D'Auria Lacovara and Roehrig, *Mummies & Magic*, 148–9(89)).

- [18] 'Pottery jug'. Single-handed pottery vessel painted red and yellow, presumably in imitation of stone, probably Egyptian alabaster, now in the MMA, registration number 28.3.23A–B (Rogers Fund, 1928); as reconstructed in the museum, its height is 21 cm. MMA Cards 2996–7; MMA photo M9C-108; cf PM I², 652 [Plate XIb, Fig. 8].



Fig. 8 Object [18]

It bears a text in black: *imšhyt hr imntyw nfr(w) wsir šm'yt nt imn nbt pr twy*, 'the one provided for before the perfect westerners, the Osiris, the singer of Amun, the mistress of the house Tuy'.

Over its mouth has been placed a piece of cloth which is glued down under the lip. This vessel has a wooden lid painted with a rosette design in blue, red and yellow, found in two fragments with a hole drilled through the lid. The type is common in the 18th dynasty.¹⁸

- [19] 'Part of the neck of a similar jug, with same inscription beginning' *imšhy hr hpy*. In view of the naming of Hapy, it is perhaps rather from a canopic jar.¹⁹ MMA Card 2997.

- [20] 'Fragment of mud (or sealing) from XVIII Dynasty amphora with parts of two stamps'. MMA Card 2997.²⁰

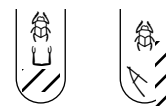


Fig. 9 Object [20]

- [21] 'Fragments of wooden chair with lion's foot painted white'.²¹ MMA Card 2998.

- [22] 'Square foot of small table or stand—also white'.²² MMA Card 2998.

- [23] 'Corner-brackets from two or more chairs or tables'.²³ MMA Card 2998.

- [24] 'Bits of panel from back of chair, painted black, with white panel decoration'.²⁴ MMA Card 2998.

¹⁸ For example, Rose in Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 169–70, 175, pl. 64 (vessels 76–8); Brack and Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni*, Taf. 46a–d; Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb*, Abb. 61, Taf. 48b–e. Similar vessels are often made of wood and dummy in function, such as those in the tomb of Iuya and Tjuya (Davis *et al.*, *The tomb of Iouiya and Tuiyou*, 32, pl. XXVII–XXVIII) or those in Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II, 154, 229, fig. 136.

¹⁹ 18th dynasty pottery canopics can also be painted in imitation of stone, see Rose in Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 170, 176, pl. 66 (vessels 96–9). See also Hayes, *Scepter* II, 228, fig. 135.

²⁰ Such oval-shaped stamps usually bear the names of a king—see for example, Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, 68, Taf. 47ab, 63, with further references. The combination of *hpr* and *k3* might suggest Thutmose I or III, while *hpr* and the *mry* sign could include Thutmose I–IV and Amenhotep II.

²¹ Perhaps like that of Hatnefer of the early 18th dynasty (Hayes, *Scepter* II, 201, fig. 115), or those in the tomb of Iuya and Tjuya (Davis *et al.*, *The tomb of Iouiya and Tuiyou*, 37–44, pl. XXXIII–XXXVII).

²² Or perhaps even from a chair. Possible examples: Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture* I, 46–7 (22–5), pl. 74–77.

²³ See a set of possible comparable items illustrated in Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, pl. 48–9. Compare also 'P' in Killen, *op. cit.* I, fig 30.

²⁴ Possibly such as chair BM EA 2480 (Killen, *op. cit.* I, 57 (4), pl.88, fig 30).

- [25] 'Bits of cavetto cornice from a box (black and white)'.²⁵ MMA Card 2998.
 [26] 'Thumb from a life-sized statue painted white'. MMA Card 2998.
 [27] Funerary cones of Amenemopet, DMC 73; length 20 cm, diameter 7.5 cm [Fig. 10]:

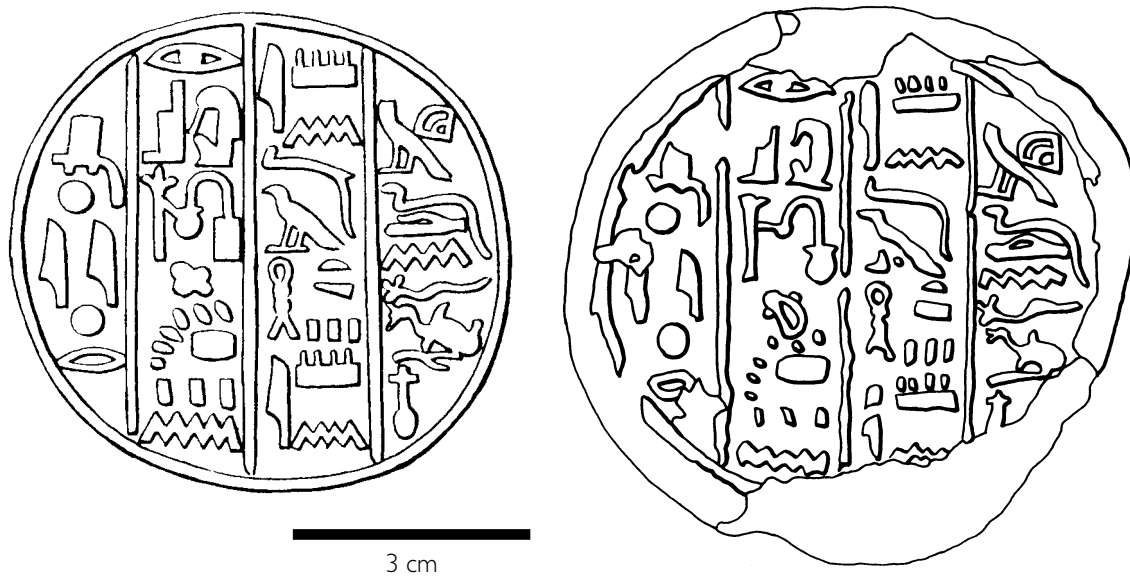


Fig. 10 Object [27]: left, from Davies–Macadam, *Corpus*, no. 73; right, drawing of example P99056 found by the Archaeological Mission to the Assasif, University of Münster, in 1999. Reproduced courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Oxford and E. Graefe

46 in court of tomb 831; 21 in court of tomb 832; 28 in court of tomb 828
 5 now in Cairo 8|7.20|27–8; 5 in MMA 15.10.2–4, 22–3.
 All MMA Card 2998.

The hieroglyphs on the cone read as follows:

imšhy hr wsir sš ḥsb it n imn imy-r ʔht imn-m-ipt dd n-f ʔ-nfr

The one provided for in the sight of Osiris, the scribe who counts the grain of Amun, the overseer of fields, Amenemopet called Tjanefer.

See above p. 20 for references to other known examples of this cone, and p. 5 for consideration of the titles.

'Late dynastic or not dated'

- [28] Cartonnage fragment, with the beginning of a *ḥtp di nswt* formula written down the shaft of a large Abydos fetish. Either side are traces of feather decoration. MMA Card 2999; MMA photo 7A60 [Plate XIV]. The card makes reference to 'style of burial as in "H3" ' (see p. 3 for explanation of this term), referring to an interment in the tomb now called MMA 832, presumably that of Pakharekhonsu (PM I², 652–3). This fragment exhibits the classic polychrome decoration of the 22nd dynasty.²⁶

²⁵ Such as perhaps Louvre Inv. No. 2915 (Killen. op. cit. II, 37, pl. 28).

²⁶ I am grateful to John H. Taylor for comments on this and [29].

- [29] Fragments of a plain white cartonnage, with text in blue and red with yellow varnish overlay. The text is a so-called Nut text. MMA Cards 2999–3000; MMA photo 7A60 [**Plate XIV**].
This object appears to be a part of a type of mummy-board attested in the late 20th or early 21st dynasty, with a white background and polychrome central inscription. The name of the female owner appears to be ///-mut.²⁷
- [30] Grass brush, perhaps used on a black resinous or oily substance. The butt end is formed by turning the ends of the grasses down the centre of the brush, and the whole was then secured by ten turns of a piece of string.²⁸ MMA Card 3000; MMA photo 7A66 [**Plate XIIIb**].
- [31] Fragments from a faience canopic, said to be probably from the adjoining tomb 827.²⁹ MMA Card 3000.
- [32] Three blue glaze (faience) rings, at least two with a *wedjat* eye as bezel. Diameters: 0.022, 0.19 and 0.019 (m).³⁰ MMA Card 3000; MMA photo 7A65 [**Plate XVa**].
- [33] 'Blue glaze amulet figure, 0.017 (m) high, of seated Isis with child Horus'.³¹ MMA Card 3000; MMA photo 7A65 [**Plate XVa**].
- [34] Faience scarab, said on the card to bear the name of 'Ramesses III (?)', but the text seems clearly to read 'Ramesses Meryamun', and is hence most probably Ramesses II.³² 0.019 (m) long. MMA Card 3001; MMA photo 7A65 [**Plate XVa**].

²⁷ Compare the mummy-board of Nesamun in Leeds (D.426.1960: Niwinski, *21st dynasty coffins from Thebes*, 14 (fig. 12–14), 145 (no. 220)), and that of Panebmontu in the Louvre (E.13046: Niwinski, op. cit., 164 (no. 330)).

²⁸ A similar object from a funerary context is perhaps that found in TT294 (Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 110, pl. 23 (294.274)). A number of brushes have been found in domestic contexts at Amarna: Wendrich in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* VI, 194–7. Similar unpublished objects in the British Museum include EA 36879 and 36892, both from the collection of Robert Hay.

²⁹ My impression is that canopic jars of faience are overwhelmingly of Ramesside date. Faience is almost certainly the least common material for such jars.

³⁰ Rings of this type can also be of the New Kingdom as well as the later periods; see the 18th dynasty examples in *Egypt's Golden Age*, 249 (346). Also Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, 16, pl. XII (67–8); Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, fig. 45 (BM EA 2977). Some other examples noted in the BM are EA 54565–6, 54568, 57668.

³¹ Such amulets are most likely later Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, and are very numerous. See for example, Petrie, *Amulets*, 35 (148), pl. XXVI (148c–e. h–k); *Les réserves de pharaon*, 32–3 (28); Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 22. Several of the latter examples are rather larger and more elaborate than that from the tomb—better parallels are unpublished examples BM EA 11418, 11706, 13444.

³² Compare very similar examples (in all but minor details) BM EA 29242 and 32309 (Hall, *Scarabs I*, 210 (2098–9), both of glazed steatite); Petrie, *Scarabs and cylinders with names*, pl. XLII (125–8); Newberry, *Scarabs*, 181, pl. XXXV (4), from the Amherst Collection. An oversized faience example is ECM 1656 in the Myers Collection (Spurr et al., *Egyptian Art at Eton College*, 42 (62)). Very similar are cartouche-shaped scarabs Hall, op. cit., 210 (2095, BM EA 45369); Petrie, op. cit. pl. XLII (119), and Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, 71 (400). See Hornung and Staehelin, op. cit., 70 for some comments on the scarabs of Ramesses II.

- [35] 'Fragments of a string of beads': one long black tubular bead, two small yellow disc spacers, one long blue tubular bead, two more yellow spacers, and another long black bead. MMA Card 3001.³³
- [36] 'Usual beads for shroud—two blue ball-beads'. MMA Card 3001.
- [37] 'Wooden knob for box, black. Wooden knob for box, roughly shaped, uncoloured'.³⁴ MMA Card 3001.
- [38] 'Ivory: Circular disc, 0.026 (m) diameter, slightly convex. On back remains of glue'. MMA Card 3001.
- [39] 'Circular limestone object, 0.022 (m) in diameter, 0.008 (m) thick, with edge concave'. MMA Card 3001.
- [40] 'Leather: Pair of child's shoes, 0.17 (m). Baby's left shoe, 0.12 (m) long'. MMA Card 3002.

The following material is labelled as coming from several possible tombs, one of which is MMA 831.

'(Rubbish in the) Neighbourhood of tombs 830–2'

- [41] Parts of (probably) a pair of sandstone doorjambs, width more than 33 cm. MMA Card 2985; MMA photo M9C-24 [Plate XVb]. That on the left bears the top of two columns of text each beginning with the first part of the *hṭp di nswt* formula:

1. 'An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re-Horakhty-Atum lord of Karnak ...'
2. 'An offering which the king gives to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris who dwells in Shetyt ...'

That on the right bears some of the second part of the formula from the opposite jamb:

'...town, that he may permit going and coming in the necropolis and to be whole, for the *ka* of the Osiris, the scribe of the chamber (*sš n ʿt*), he who is over [the chamber? ...]

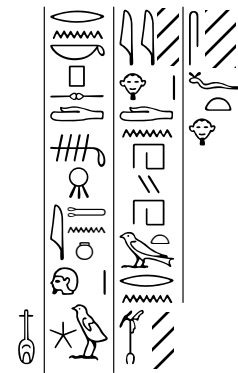


Fig. 11 Object [42]

- [42] Sandstone block, probably with part of a hymn to the sun god. MMA Card 2986; [Fig. 11]. The columns are 8 cm wide.

'XVIII Dynasty Material (could have come from 830–832 or 834)', but with MMA cards for tomb 829

- [43] A wooden *djed* pillar, painted red, yellow, blue and green, 32 cm high. Now MMA 28.3.21 (Rogers Fund, 1928): MMA Card 2843; Field number 28048; MMA

³³ Probably from a bead net, late Third Intermediate Period or later. cf *Mummies and Magic*, 174–5 and Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 206–7.

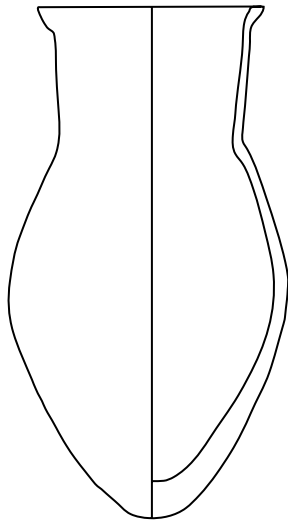
³⁴ Perhaps like some examples from the TT294 complex (Strudwick. *Amenhotep*, 104, 109, pl. 49).

photo M9C.133 [**Plate XXX**]. At the top it has a protruding trapezoidal sectioned tang (2.8 cm in length, measurement based on sketch) for insertion into another piece of wood; at the bottom is a similarly-shaped recess (8 cm deep, measurement based on sketch) for fixing. The presence of the fixings suggests that it is most likely a decorative element from an item of furniture.³⁵ Compare [**21**] above.

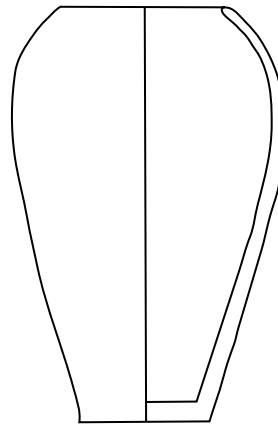
- [44] Pottery. Two MMA photographs of ceramics are labelled 'Tombs 830–2' (M9C.232) and 'Tombs 827–835' (M9C.74) [**Plate XXXI**], and vessels sketched on MMA Cards 2840–42 (part of the sequence for tomb 829) are labelled as 'XVIII Dynasty Material (could have come from 830–832 or 834)'. The interpretation of these provenances is open to question, as it could indicate all areas covered by those tomb numbers, and thus include 831, or the contiguous area just between tombs 830 and 832 as well as 834, and thus exclude 831. It is thus with some hesitation that I include them here. Janine Bourriau kindly offered some comments on these two photographs. The vessels in **Plate XXXIb** are Middle Kingdom, and so are unlikely to have come from TT297; those in the upper row of **Plate XXXIa** are Thutmoside in date and those in the lower could be as late as the later 18th dynasty. Some could thus have come from TT297.

The drawings on the cards would appear to be quick field sketches and I have redrawn them as **Fig. 12**, which also gives the comments about the vessels on the cards. A note on MMA card 2839 says that the objects having field numbers 28094–5 were given MMA numbers 28.3.183–188, 192–206 and 268.

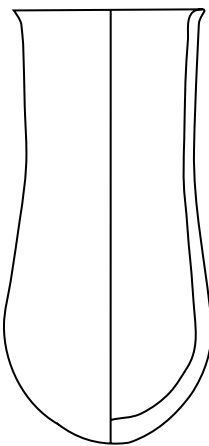
³⁵ For example, a chair of Hatnefer (Hayes, *Scepter II*, 201, fig. 115) or a box from the tomb of Yuya and Tjuya (Davis, *The tomb of Iouiya and Tuiyou*, pl. XXXVIII).



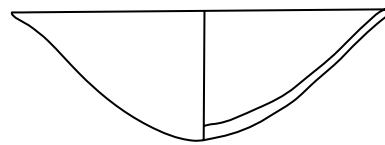
1 'Fairly good ware—red slip. Field number 28094.' In photo M9C74 [**Plate XXXIa**, lower, second from left]



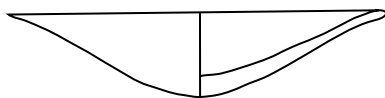
2 'Brown ware—no slip—rough foot.' In photo M9C74 [**Plate XXXIa**, lower, second from right]



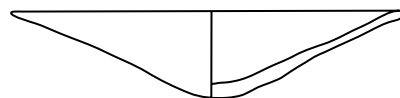
3 'Brown ware—no slip.' In photo M9C74 [**Plate XXXIa**, lower, centre]



4 'Brown ware—no slip. Has been used for glue or resin.' Field number 28094



5 'Brown ware. Red band around lip 1 cm wide'



6 'Brown ware. Red band around lip 1 cm wide'

Fig. 12 Pottery from tombs 830–832 or 834. Scale 1:4.
Redrawn by the author from MMA tomb cards.

The decoration of the tomb

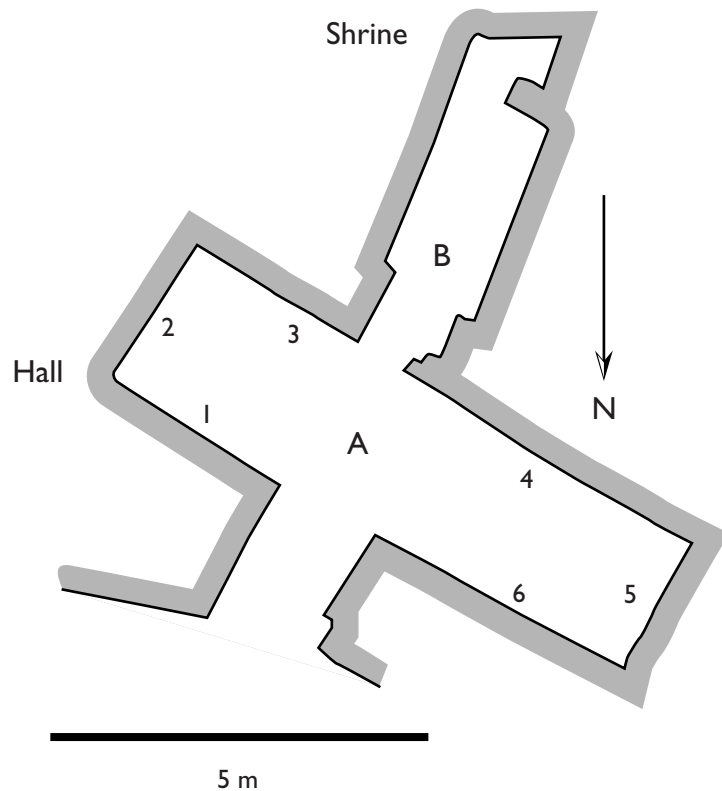


Fig. 13 Sketch plan of chapel of TT297 showing wall numbers used in the present publication

The necessity of producing this description from a mixture of drawings, notes and only approximate measurements has rendered reconstructions of the wall scenes difficult. Although the Davies drawings presented here were left in a completed state, it will be seen below that he had by no means copied all the scenes in the tomb, and it appears that some quite sizeable areas, as well as small fragments, were not drawn. Perhaps Davies did not consider certain small fragments as worth drawing. It is not unusual for a Davies publication to omit parts of scenes which were very badly damaged or barely visible.¹

¹ For example, see his treatment of most of the scenes on the pillars of the tomb of Neferhotep (TT49)—*The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes*, 62–4.

Thus many of the suggestions below for the decoration of individual walls should be regarded as tentative and based only on the examination of possible parallels. The only notes available for the colours of the elements of the scenes are mainly the small letters added by Davies to the tracings ('R', red; 'W', white, 'G', green, and so on), supplemented by the occasional indication in the notebooks. A complete transcription of the two notebook pages will be found with **Fig. 1–2**. Sometimes the Davies descriptions of walls can be a little confusing, and thus the transcription for each wall is repeated at the appropriate point in the text.

The sketch plan in **Fig. 13** shows the wall numbering used in the description of the scenes; simplified cardinal points (such as 'north' rather than the strictly correct 'north-east') have been used for the orientation of each wall. Davies' terminology from his notebooks has been added in the heading for each scene or wall. Wall plans have been generated for those walls with enough surviving decoration to make an attempt at reconstruction worthwhile. The general principles used in making the reconstructions are that the one ceiling height of 2.07m indicated in **Fig. 4** (p. 18) has been taken as an average for the whole tomb, and the lengths of the individual walls deduced from the plan; the height of the dado has been guessed at about 50cm, and only a small space has been left for friezes at the top of the wall. The Davies drawings have been inserted into the wall plans, and the missing register heights calculated on the basis partly of the Egyptian standard canon of proportions, and partly on the amount of space filled by parallel scenes. As a general rule I err on the side of caution in suggesting reconstructions and placement of fragments.

The scenes are numbered in the following way: using the example 'Scene 6.2.a', the first part of each scene number is that of the wall, followed by a numeral representing the major registers of that wall (those which run completely across the width of the wall), starting from the top. The third element of each scene number is a letter designating the sub-scene within that register; the main scene in the register is usually 'a', and the subsequent divisions usually run from the bottom up. A marked change of subject within the same sub-register warrants a further scene number.²

Wall 1—East wall (south), PM (1), Davies 'e' **[Wall diagram Fig. 15]**

Davies notebook transcription

'(e) (only the bottom left)

'On the right A & wife ← sit on chairs on mat behind table of offgs. A girl → ministers (hem of dress flounced as in 52). Then tree dividing scenes. To left of this 3 men ← (one with a black stick) to the right of a pile of grain {sketch}. To the left 3 men go ← with sacks on their shoulders and 2 return → with empties. On the left is a grain-fleet of 5 ships on water (together). (traced)'

² This explanation is given in response to the surprising criticism levelled at the system by H. Guksch in *JEA* 85 (1999), 251. This system has the advantage of relating a particular scene to its location

Scene 1.1—Upper register (destroyed)

According to Davies, the only scene remaining on this wall (Scene 1.2) was at the bottom, and the resultant space left (see wall plan, **Fig. 15**) permits of another register above. This wall is immediately adjacent to the entrance, and it is possible that the left-hand part of this lost scene showed the deceased, perhaps with his family, making the common burnt offering to the gods, as found in almost all 18th dynasty Theban tombs before the Amarna period. See also the reconstruction of Scene 6.1 (p. 47). Any number of other depictions could have filled the remainder of the register.

Scene 1.2—Lower register [Plate Ia–b]

Davies would appear to have copied the entire surviving contents of this register, as the drawing scales to about 2.4m in length, only fractionally shorter than the 2.7m length of the wall derived from the MMA plan. It consists of the remains of a scene of offering to the deceased and his wife who also watch the activities taking place in two sub-registers.

The reconstruction assumes that the couple at the right were drawn more or less to the full height of the register as in scene 4. This does not however allow for the presence of any texts above the seated couple. The size of these figures has been estimated by scaling on the basis of a seated couple in TT38 (**Fig. 14**). The resulting height has the advantage of suggesting that the two intermediate sub-registers (Scenes 1.2.b and c) were each half the height of the whole register.



Fig. 14 Scene in TT38: Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, pl. III. Reproduced courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Oxford

Scene 1.2.a: Right end—woman presenting food to couple [Plate Ia]

A couple, presumably the deceased and his wife, are seated on lion-legged chairs placed on a mat, bound at the ends and in the middle. The figures of both persons are destroyed above their waists. The man wears a long (white) robe; his left arm is held above his lap and there is a bracelet on his wrist. His wife is dressed in a long (white) gown with possibly a scalloped hemline; only her left hand is visible, in which she holds the stem of a lotus flower. The chair on which she sits has a high back. The outline of the seat and posterior of the deceased is visible behind the knees of the figure of his wife, showing that he was first drawn completely and her figure painted subsequently.

Before the couple, facing right, stands a female figure in a long dress with a scalloped hemline;³ only the lower part of her figure is preserved. I suspect she is a daughter, as

within the tomb, something which cannot be achieved by simply numbering scenes from 1 upwards as in many publications.

³ The Davies notebook 'hem of dress flounced as in 52' presumably refers to id., *The Tomb of Nakht*, pl. XII.

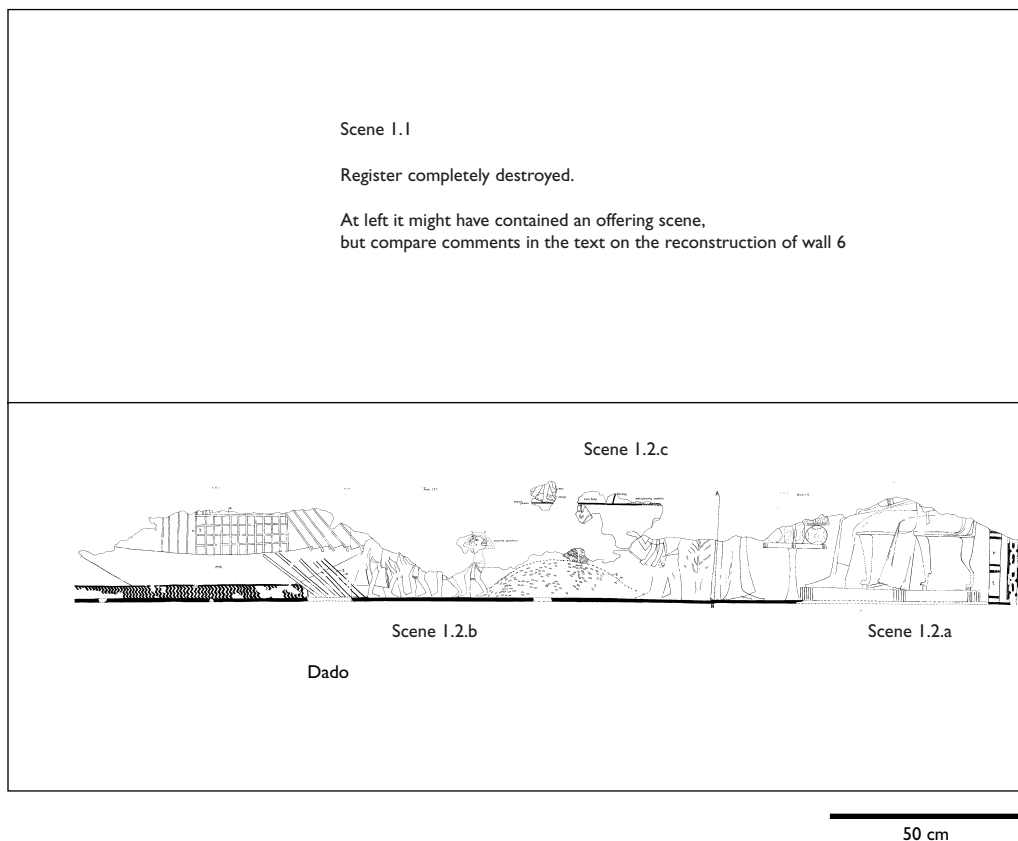


Fig. 15 Diagram of Wall 1 (Davies wall 'e')

other attendants in such scenes tend to be less well-dressed. Between her and the couple is a table, with the bindings marked at the ends and in the middle; in the middle are two oval loaves with dots (seeds) marked on them and finger marks on the edges. Either side is a round loaf similarly drawn. Above the right-hand loaf is a tray with two compartments, probably containing cakes.

The register then divides into two sub-registers.

Scene 1.2.b: Lower sub-register—loading grain boats [Plate 1b]

At the right-hand end of this scene is a tree, probably a sycamore; to the left stand three figures in layer depiction, slightly bent forward. The right hand of the rear figure is raised, that of the middle figure grasps a black stick or similar, while the right hand of the nearest man is held much closer to his body; their left hands are lost. The tops of their kilts are visible although much of the area down to the feet is destroyed. They wear short-sleeved tunics, and are probably representatives of some important institution (such as the estate of Amun) supervising the filling of the grain ships shown to the left.

Next is a large heap of grain composed of a number of white ovoid shapes against a yellow ground. A tree stands behind the heap, partly obscured by the grain but also partly damaged. Left of the grain are the remains of five male figures, all wearing knotted loincloths. The first three figures face left and carry sacks of grain on their shoulders; they bend their knees slightly, either weighed down by the load or intended to be shown as moving quickly. The upper part of only one of them survives, on a separate fragment,

and Davies was uncertain whether it was correctly positioned on his drawing. The two remaining figures face right, and are preserved up to their shoulders. Their legs are bent as if hurrying. They hold empty sacks in their right hands, having just descended the gangplanks of the grain vessels.

Five freight boats lie at anchor at the left of the surviving part of this scene. The number of boats is indicated by the five gangplanks, mast stays and the square ends of the prows. The hull of the nearest vessel is painted red. The central feature on deck is the freight hold shown in plan, consisting of a number of small compartments outlined in red with a yellow background, the latter indicating the presence of grain. Just visible above the hold are some posts or rigging ropes. Aft of this hold are four vertical posts which may represent the superstructures of the four boats behind or perhaps the support for the steering oar. Comparison with a similar scene in TT253⁴ suggests the latter as more likely, but then one would perhaps expect even only a small part of the oar itself to be visible. The rigging of the boats is presumably not unlike the parallel in TT253 and would have filled the remainder of the register. It seems unlikely that the boat fragments (see below, *Fragments*) belong here, as the boat type is completely different and is anyway under sail.

The water beneath the boats is the conventional pattern of vertical zig-zags. This finishes just after where the prows of the boats leave the water, and the gangplanks then touch ground. The latter are shown as yellow with red outlines. Damage to this scene is relatively light, the rigging above the superstructure and the rear of the stern (including the steering oars) being the principal casualties.

The loading and unloading of grain vessels is attested in at least four other New Kingdom tombs.⁵ In the chapel of Paheri at el-Kab, three men carry sacks up a gangplank and another empties his into the hold.⁶ The same scene occurs in an unidentified tomb-painting now in the Louvre,⁷ while in the tombs of Khnummose (TT253) and Ipuy (TT217), grain is unloaded from ships.⁸ The loading of grain into ships probably relates to the state harvest tax.⁹ In these tombs the taxed grain may either be that from the men's estates, or more likely the harvesting and loading of it is shown to stress the tomb-owner's functions and project his personality into the next world by illustrating his activities in this one, particularly since Amenemopet, Khnummose and Paheri held similar titles concerned with the 'counting of grain' (*ḥsb it*).

Scene 1.2.c: Upper sub-register—Measuring grain [Plate Ib]

This is only a short sub-register, filling the space between the woman attending on the couple and (probably) the rigging of the boats. It is only visible immediately above the pile

⁴ Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 40, pl. XVI.

⁵ Examples of the unloading of other produce are: Syrians, in the tomb of Qenamun (TT162), Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, pl. XV, and Egyptians with pots in that of Khaemwaset (TT261), Mackay, *JEA* 3 (1916), pl. XIV (after p. 124).

⁶ Tylor-Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at el Kab*, pl. III.

⁷ Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* V, Album, pl. XLVI (fig. 362).

⁸ Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, pl. XVI; Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, pl. XXX.

⁹ As in p.Turin 1896 + 2006, 3.12–14: Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 39; id., *JEA* 27 (1941), 30.

of grain in Scene 1.2.b. A separate, but probably correctly placed, fragment shows a man bending forward measuring another pile of grain (depicted in much the same way as the large one in Scene 1.2.b). The right-hand visible part of this scene shows more of the grain heap, with the remains of a standing figure wearing sandals and holding a black staff, clearly a man in a supervisory attitude watching the measuring of the harvested grain. Most New Kingdom measuring scenes of this type show scribes supervising and recording the work;¹⁰ supervisors with a staff tend to stand behind (not in front of, as here) the men scooping up the grain.¹¹ It might be an illustration of a colleague of Amenemopet at work.

Wall 2—South wall, Davies ‘f’

Any paintings on this wall had entirely disappeared by the time Davies wrote the description in his notebook. A false door or stela might be expected here (cf Scene 5). Some of the unplaced fragments from the tomb might have shown a libation or Opening of the Mouth scene (see below, ‘Fragments’, nos 3, 4, 7 [p. 57]), which are commonly found around stelae. Other scenes, for example agriculture as in TT38,¹² are also possible.

Wall 3—West wall (south), Davies ‘a’

This wall is not illustrated among the tracings, but in Davies’ notebooks we read: ‘A. & wife ← (?) seated on chairs’. This scene was almost certainly at the right-hand end of the wall. A wide range of possible scenes could have filled the rest of the wall;¹³ see below ‘Fragments’ (p. 57) for another piece (no. 1) which might have come from this wall and perhaps belonged with a banquet. Note however, that Wall 4 also shows a banquet, and these fragments could also go there.

Wall 4—West Wall (north), PM (4), Davies ‘b’ [Wall diagram Fig. 16]

This was the longest wall in the tomb, but only one small area of decoration has survived at the left end.

Davies notebook transcription

‘b. A & wife → (?) [seated on chairs]. W. dog or cat below chair {sketch with annotation} skirt ?

‘In front of A is a stand & dish. Two women ← minister. A troupe of four female musicians (harpist, dancer &c &c). Harp {sketch with annotations} block border, W on b, 9 petals, skin’

¹⁰ Such as in TT75 (Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. IX).

¹¹ For example, Khnummose (TT253): Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, pl. XXIV.

¹² Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, pl. II.

¹³ Compare, for example, the scenes on the comparable walls of TT253: Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, pl. XVIII–XIX, XXII.

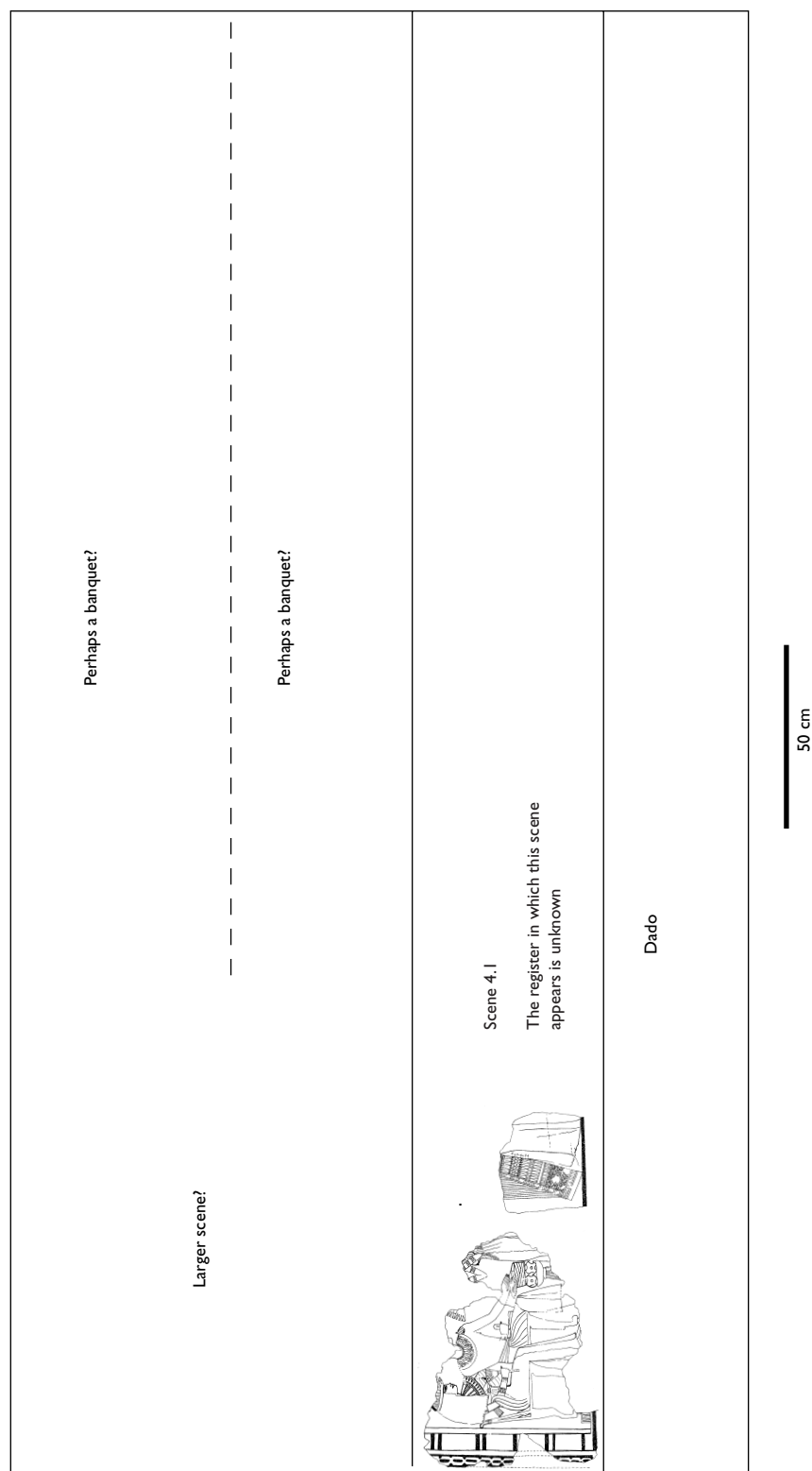


Fig. 16 Diagram of Wall 4 (Davies wall 'b')

Scene 4.1—Couple before servants and musicians [Plate IIa]

This scene, depicting a couple seated on chairs with lions' legs placed on a mat (→), is only a small part of the whole wall, although its precise location is not indicated by Davies. There is more information in the Davies notebooks than on the drawings. For example, certain details, such as an animal below the chair, appear in the notebooks but not the drawing; could they have disappeared in an interval between the making of the two sets of documentation?

Most of the head of the man is lost, but what survives shows that he was shaven-headed. Around his neck is an elaborate floral collar, of freer form than normal: the inner part consists of a number of petal-like shapes, and the remainder is filled with a pattern of curly lines. He wears a long robe; on his right wrist is a bracelet, and his hand holds a folded piece of cloth, while the left hand rests upon the offerings before him.

The woman has her left hand on the left shoulder of her husband, while her right holds a lotus flower above her lap. She wears a long heavy wig, and around the crown of her head is a garland of lotus flowers with one flower over her forehead. Her broad collar is highly detailed with a number of short radial bands and lotus petals at the edges,¹⁴ and the various folds of her dress are shown with great care. Two bracelets are to be seen on her right forearm, and over her elbow is draped a length of cloth of uncertain purpose, perhaps a napkin. The chair on which she sits has a high back. Below the chair seems to once have been an animal, although it was not included in the drawing.

The offerings over which the man extends his hand are placed in a dish on top of a stand; at the bottom are two round loaves; above are two triangular items (either meat or cakes), and on the top a lettuce. To the right of these, a girl presents lotus flowers to the couple. Most of her figure has disappeared, but we can still see her arms, her breast, parts of her detailed collar (perhaps like that of the seated woman), and the bottom of her long wig. The folds of her robe are also shown. On her arms are many bracelets: three on the left forearm, one on the right forearm, and two on the right lower arm. The final vertical line before the break may be the robe of a second woman; Davies without question refers to two women ministering.

A separate area of decoration just to the right of the last shows the lower part of a woman, dressed in a long flounced gown, playing a harp. This instrument is of the angular ('boat-shaped') type, usually only a little less in height than its player. This particular example has fourteen surviving visible strings, and perhaps the most elaborately decorated soundbox of any example in a Theban tomb.¹⁵ Most frequently such harps are decorated with random patterns of small circles,¹⁶ but this one is far more complex. Two

¹⁴ The wife of Qenamun (TT162) is shown with similar headdress and collar, Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, pl. XVI.

¹⁵ See Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments*, 55–8 for general information and further examples.

¹⁶ Such as in TT38, Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, pl. VI.

of its sides are decorated with a block border reminiscent of that at the edges of the wall paintings, part of which is blue, while the lower part of the soundtrack bears a pattern of curly lines like that on the collar of the man in the same scene. The upper side of this latter pattern is edged with a block border; above is a row of eight petals, another block border, and another seven petals. The latter are white with red areas at the tops and are drawn on a blue background. A narrow band of small dots separates the petals from two rows of six and one row of five circles, coloured respectively blue, green and red. Finally comes another row of five petals, bordered top and bottom with the line of dots. According to the notebooks, but not drawn, there were the figures of three further dancers or musicians surviving on the wall.

Reconstruction notes

The existence of only one small fragment makes reconstructing this wall difficult. The surviving scene, which must have belonged to a register no more than one-third of the height of the wall, would appear to be far too small to represent the deceased; he is much more likely to appear in a register occupying at least half of the wall height.¹⁷ The remaining walls in the tomb (as far as can be ascertained) seem to have consisted of two main registers. Hence I suggest that this scene was at the bottom left corner of the wall, with further banqueting scenes in the same register. I tentatively place the main scene at the left of the principal register, adjacent to the entrance to the rear room of the tomb, above the scene just described. This register might well have also contained banqueting scenes as there are no obvious traces of this motif elsewhere in the tomb. Among the fragments below are two which might belong on this wall (nos 9–10, p. 58).

Scene 5—North Wall, Davies ‘c’

Any paintings on this wall had entirely disappeared by the time Davies wrote the description in his notebook. As with Scene 2, a stela or false door might be expected here; the right-hand end wall (on entering the tomb) seems to be the most favoured place for stelae in the front hall during the 18th dynasty.

Scene 6—East Wall (north), PM (3), Davies ‘d’ and ‘d’ [Wall diagram Fig. 17]

A complete description of this wall is to be found in the notebooks, although its arrangement there is far from immediately obvious. The wall was originally divided into two registers, only the lower of which was actually copied by Davies, and then not completely.

¹⁷ Compare an otherwise similar scene in the tomb of Djoserkaresoneb (TT38), where the deceased and wife are served by two girls before two registers which include musicians, guests at a banquet and offerings, which occupies two-thirds of the wall height (Davies, *op. cit.*, pl. V–VI). Comparable scenes are also found in the tombs of Nakht (TT52), Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht*, pl. XV; Amenhotep-za-ze (TT75), *id.*, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. IV–V; Nebamun (TT90), *ibid.*, pl. XXIII; Nakht (TT161), Manniche, *JEA* 72 (1986), 75, fig. 10.

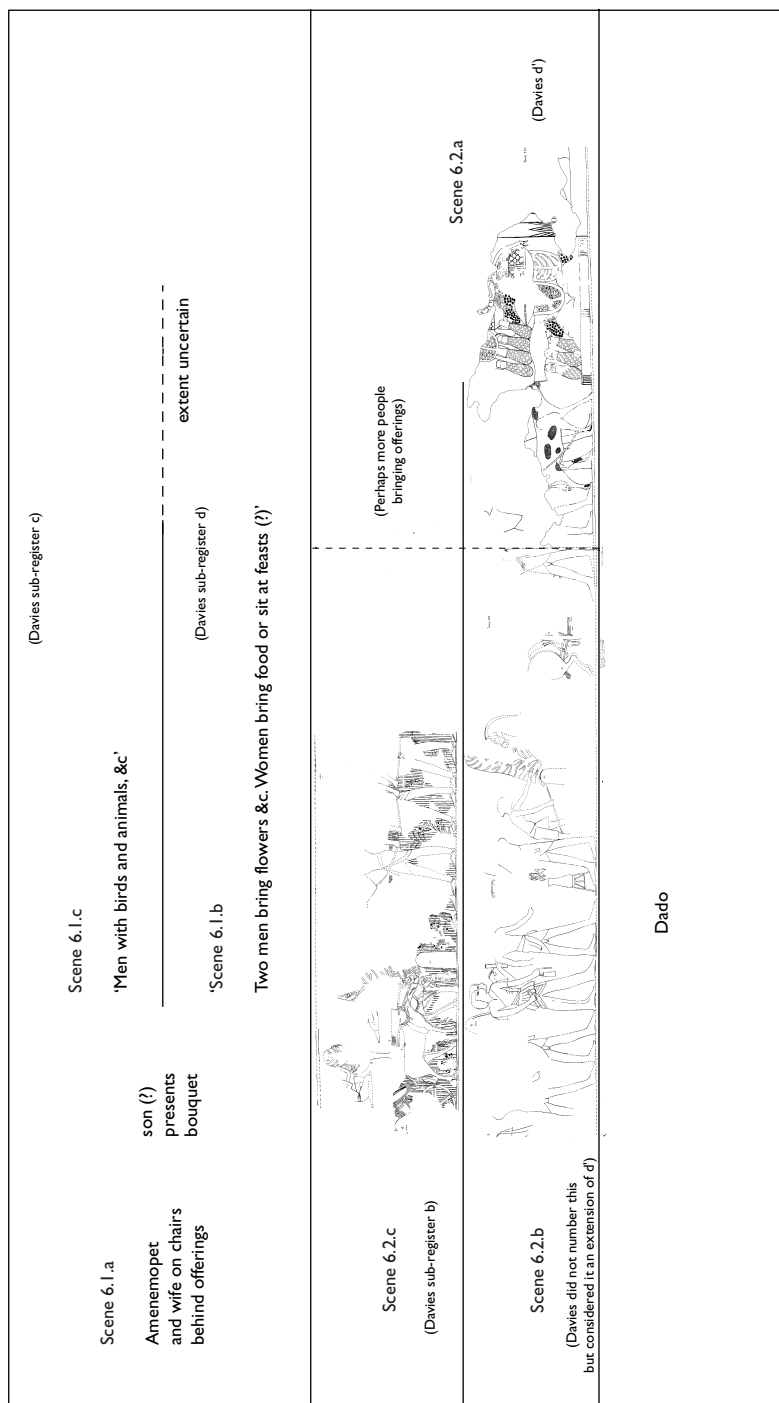


Fig. 17 Diagram of Wall 6 (Davies wall 'd')

Davies notebook transcription

'd. (Traced) At d' A. sits in a kiosk at the bottom. Before him are offerings. Two men lead a bull →, &c. Charioteer behind chariot & horses (one r, one white). Tree. Scene of measuring standing straw. Old man bending on a staff (as in 38, 69). Man ← with {sketch} (?).—Quails & dish brought {sketch}. Jar on stand {sketch}. Man in attitude of holding measuring line (but this is omitted) {sketch}. Two scribes (together) are carrying implements & one writing. Two men (supposed to be) holding the line One has the reel of Amun on his shoulder (cf. 75). Front man carries foliage.—Two men (together). [Rest gone]

'(b) (Register above).

'Measuring ripe corn. Four men in sandals in corn (weeds in corn as in 69), holding the line. The foremost probably carried the reel. A boundary stone under a tree. Two white horses yoked to a chariot. Above this is a man → drinking from a jar near a tree and a man → resting (?). A crowd ← of men and the charioteer ← follow.

'(Register above again). On the left A & wife sat → on chairs on mat behind offerings. A big figure (son?) held out a bouquet {sketch} (?).

'(2 registers now, ^cd). In C are men with birds and animals, &c.

'(d). Two men bring flowers &c. Women bring food or sit at feasts (?). Over A is {sketch of text}. Above is block border & thin pendant lotus & buds.'

Comments on the above: it would appear that Davies became confused when assigning numbers to his notebook text at this point. He separated the wall into two parts, d and d', and then the four sub-registers were labelled a, b, c and d. The sub-sigla 'a' for the bottom sub-register was not written down, and the uppermost sub-register was c, hence the reference to '(2 registers now, ^cd)'. These additional sigla are marked on the wall diagram.

Scene 6.1—Upper Register

The left part of this register is only described by Davies in his notebook, '(Register above again)'. Notes on the reconstruction will be found at the end of this section.

Scene 6.1.a—Main scene (left): Couple receiving flowers, probably the bouquet of Amun
[no illustration]

Davies describes two figures, those of the deceased and his wife, seated facing right on chairs placed on a mat. In front of them were offerings, while to the right was a large (male) figure, presumably a son, holding out a bouquet to the couple. The bouquet is illustrated with a sketch.

Davies presents a damaged text which appeared 'over A.(menemopet)'; it reads (**Fig. 18**):

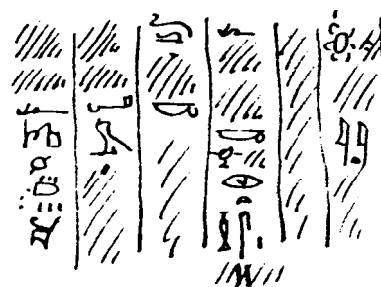


Fig. 18 Text in Davies notebook from Scene 6.1.a

(1) [s3].f sš ḥsb it n (2) [imn]¹⁸ /// ʿm¹⁹ /// (3) dd [.f n k3].k /// (4) .f /// .k ḥr irt ḥss [t]
(5) /// (6) ḥpr /// yt ///

His [son], the scribe who counts the grain of [Amun], Am..., he says: [for] your [ka?] /// doing what is favoured ///

The scene was almost certainly that of the presentation of the bouquet of Amun, in association with the flowers presented by the figure below, and the words spoken by the son may have begun ‘for your ka, a bouquet of Amun,²⁰ may he love you...’, for which compare a text in TT253.²¹

Before the couple, the register splits into two sub-scenes.

Scene 6.1.b/c—Two sub-registers: perhaps bringing offerings and a banquet [no illustration]


In the upper of these (Scene 6.1.b) are ‘men with birds and animals, &c’, while in the lower ‘Two men bring flowers &c. Women bring food or sit at feasts (?)’. This would seem to be a procession of offering bearers in the upper sub-register with perhaps part of a banquet in the lower, although I have already tentatively identified wall 4 as the location for the banqueting scene.

Above these scenes was a block border and a lotus frieze. See further below, p. 59 and Appendix 2.

Reconstruction notes

The extent of the two sub-registers in Scene 6.1 is unknown, but we might expect on this wall to find at the right-hand end of the upper register a scene of Amenemopet making offerings towards the doorway (see comments on Scene 1.1, p. 38). There is a slight difficulty here in that the two upper registers of walls 1 and 6 would appear to have been of slightly different sizes, and these offering scenes usually tend to mirror each other in size. As an alternative, by the time at which this tomb was constructed it was not abnormal for a tomb to have only one scene of making offerings on the walls adjacent to the entrance,²² and so it could have been rather on wall 1, especially as that register is the taller.²³

¹⁸ If this restoration is correct, then this tomb clearly did not escape the attention of the ‘agents of Akhenaten’, as Davies calls them elsewhere. See also find [14].

¹⁹ The name of the son is obscure; if we are correct in restoring the name of Amun at the beginning of line 2, then there is precious little room left for any other element of the name there. Names beginning ʿm are uncommon, and are usually preceded by . One possibility is along the lines of ʿmy (Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 60 (25)); a similar name in the Theban area is ʿmṯw, the short name of the famous vizier of Thutmose III (ibid., 61 (6)).

²⁰ Or perhaps ‘of your lord Amun’, as in TT42 (Davies–Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and Another*, pl. XLVI (F)).

²¹ Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 42–3.

²² As in TT181 (Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*, pl. V and IX) or TT295 (Hegazy–Tosi, *A Theban private tomb*, pl. 4 and 7).

²³ Note that TT295 has on this same wall (op. cit., pl. 4) a scene of a seated couple and an offering scene, as does TT90 (Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. XX–XXI) and TT253 (Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, pl. XXIV).

Scene 6.2—Bottom register [Plate IIb and III]*Scene 6.2.a—Main scene (right): Deceased under canopy [Plate IIb]*

A figure, presumably of the tomb-owner, is shown seated on a platform beneath a canopy. Most of this part of the scene is destroyed, the only parts remaining being the bottom of the front support, in the form of a large lotus column, the feet of the figure and the bottom of the stick he holds. A more complete example of the scene, and an excellent parallel, is to be found in TT38 (**Fig. 19**), which scales neatly into the height of the register as indicated further to the left.²⁴

Before the canopy is a pile of offerings, probably as tall as the canopy itself, placed on a mat slightly lower than the platform on which the deceased sits. This mat is bound at either end and in the middle. In the middle and slightly to the right, directly on the mat, are two piles of unclear shapes, probably bread or cakes. Immediately left and right of these heaps are bunches of grapes. At the left end of the mat are three containers, the outsides of which are decorated with a criss-cross pattern; the mouths of these vessels are covered either by wrapping with cloth or with mud seals. These seals suggest that they are containers for some sort of liquid;



Fig. 19 Canopy scene in TT38: Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, pl. II. See also **Plate VIIb**. Reproduced courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Oxford

the pattern on the outside may be a small net of rope or cloth used to carry them.²⁵ Above these vessels is an enigmatic item, reminiscent of the *msn* hieroglyph (𓄿, Gardiner V32), although why a wickerwork float should be among a pile of offerings is unknown.²⁶ To the right of that are two baskets, the left-hand of which resembles the containers used to carry cut ears of grain;²⁷ here it possibly contains figs. The right-hand basket appears to hold cucumbers. On top of the enigmatic object are four more of the sealed vessels described above, while to their right is a dish with a lid, the contents of which are indicated by a criss-cross pattern, while on top are two bunches of grapes. A dish with two compartments is seen to the right, perhaps containing onions or figs. On

²⁴ The tomb of Nakht exhibits two scenes on the same wall of the deceased, seated under a canopy, watching agricultural activities (TT52 (Davies, *The tomb of Nakht*, pl. XVIII).

²⁵ cf Davies–Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, pl. XX (lower); similarly shaped vessels without the pattern appear in the parallel scene in TT38 (**Fig. 19**).

²⁶ A small example of this is to be seen in the TT38 parallel. Another similar shape is 𓄿, Gardiner W8, a deformed granite bowl, but this is said to be an eleventh dynasty form.

²⁷ Other less likely possibilities are the objects identified as mats laden with figs in TT343 (Guksch, *Das Grab des Benja*, Taf. 7, p. 17), or else the baskets on the end of a yoke carried by men in TT82 (Davies–Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, pl. XXII, XXIII).

top of this are two dead birds. The uppermost group of items is partly destroyed; at the left is perhaps another basket of figs, then perhaps a bowl of eggs; on top of the birds is probably another cucumber.

To the left of the offerings a man drives a bull (→) towards the deceased. Although physically and in scale part of the sub-register to the left (Scene 6.2.b—indicated by the register line above), this section of the scene clearly belongs with Scene 6.2.a.²⁸ The legs and part of the torso only of the man are preserved. The bull has survived well; it is clearly drawn, with a great amount of care paid to the cross-hatching of the pattern on its darker patches. A rope is attached to its right foreleg which would in all probability be held by the man driving the animal.²⁹ The figure of a second man (very damaged) is drawn behind the animal; his arms were probably raised to carry something.

The right-hand part of the sub-register above (Scene 6.2.c) presumably contained further figures bringing offerings to the man under the canopy.

The scenes to the left are divided into two sub-registers.

Scene 6.2.b—Lower sub-register: checking the field boundaries [Plate III]

The sub-register proper begins with a pair of horses (←) yoked to a chariot with their guardian standing behind. Very little of this scene is preserved except the lower part of the figure of the guardian and the edge of the wheels, part of the box-front and the yoke of the chariot (a substantial amount has also been restored by Davies). Very little can be said about the details except that the nearer of the horses is red, the further white, and that part of the box-front of the chariot was also painted red.³⁰ The horses are shown in the conventional tensed, almost prancing position, and contrast strongly with the equids above in Scene 6.2.c.

A sycamore tree separates the horses from the next figure, that of a man bent forward facing the tree. Below the tree are traces that suggest a stela and a staff, and together these prompted Davies to reconstruct the scene as that of a man leaning forward to make an oath over a boundary stela. Such an image occurs occasionally in 18th dynasty tombs, and seems also to be found in the upper register of this wall (above Scene 6.2.c).³¹ Parallels show an older man, with longish hair on the rear of his head (a trace of which is also present in this example, although Davies has reconstructed the majority of the figure in his copy), his left arm holding the sceptre and his right raised before his face; the sceptre is apparently held over the stela. In TT297 the left hand of the man is in the sycamore tree and his right holds the staff. It is likely that he is making an oath, as revealed by the text on BM EA 37892 [Plate VIb]:

²⁸ A broken line in **Fig. 17** indicates where the subject-matter of these sub-registers changes.

²⁹ cf the similar example in TT38: Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, pl. I.

³⁰ See Raulwing, *GM* 136 (1993), 71–83, for a general discussion on the subject of horses and chariots.

³¹ Other examples are from the tomb of Nebamun in the British Museum (EA 37892, **Plate VIb**), Djeserkaresoneb (TT38, **Fig. 20, Plate VIIa**—damaged), and Khaemhat (TT57, **Plate VIIIa**).



Fig. 20 Swearing over a stela in TT38: Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, pl. II. See also **Plate VIIa**. Reproduced courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Oxford

wšḥ p3 nṯr ʿ3 nty m t3 pt iw p3 ʿb3 mty ʿḥw p3y:f

As the great god who is in heaven endures, the stela is right, it stands in its (right place?).³²

Such a text could have been present in TT297.

While these scenes of swearing an oath over a stela are quite well-known, relatively little attention has been paid to what they represent and what they might mean. Berger was among the first to draw attention to this activity.³³ Each of the four (five if one includes the probable second example in Scene 6.2.c) examples is in close proximity to a scene of measuring the fields.³⁴ These scenes show either a farmer swearing on his boundary stone that it is correctly placed in association with the official measuring of the likely yield of his crop, or, perhaps more likely, the same being performed by a local village elder whose job it was to make this oath on behalf of everyone concerned;³⁵ in the tomb of Menna (TT69) the elder is not shown in the process of making an oath over a stela but does appear in among the crop-measurers.³⁶

The time of the year at which this process takes place is not clear. Just because the standing crop is shown does not automatically mean that the measuring took place before harvest; it might just be an artistic device to make the context clearer, and should

³² See also Guglielmi, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, 30–1; cf Berger, *JEA* 20 (1934), 54.

³³ *JEA* 20 (1934), 54–6; interpretations prior to 1934 are summarised on pp. 54–5. cf Klebs, *Reliefs und Malereien des neuen Reiches*, 6–7.

³⁴ An interesting parallel has been drawn between the Nebamun scene and oaths of the Graeco-Roman period in Helmis in Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten*, 327–40.

³⁵ Berger, loc. cit.

³⁶ Berger, op. cit., 54, pl. X (4); Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, Taf. 232.

not be taken literally.³⁷ It is perhaps more practical for this whole process to have taken place after the annual inundation had receded, at which point it would be necessary to check the location of the boundaries and make sure markers were in the correct place; this would also be an appropriate and practical time to assess the likely yield of the crop.³⁸ However, there is also evidence, primarily from the Wilbour Papyrus, which suggests that the measuring might have happened shortly before the inundation.³⁹ It seems that we do not have sufficient evidence to be sure of the timing, unless it was very flexible or happened on different occasions during the year.

There is some Greek evidence as to timings of field and boundary assessment. Both Herodotos and Strabo speak of the need to redefine boundaries after the stirring-up caused by the inundation.⁴⁰ Evidence for surveys and their timing is considered for Kerkeosiris in the Fayum by Verhoogt,⁴¹ building on the fundamental study by Crawford.⁴² The evidence suggests two surveys per annum, one in February and another in September. Verhoogt terms the first survey as that of agricultural production and the second of land usage.⁴³ The first seems to have been concerned more with the likely yield than with the total amounts of land available, but the second's primary concern was to note down every scrap of land, cultivated or not. Nothing is revealed about the mechanics of the survey, but the officials carrying it out seem to have been from outside the village, and the results were presented at a nome level and even at Alexandria in some cases.

Presumably the February survey was carried out at a time when it was clear what was growing where, and the September one would have taken place once the inundation had receded. Extrapolating this evidence back more than one thousand years must be done with caution, but, allowing for the standing crop to be an artistic device as well as a

³⁷ Note that the crop actually does not appear to be shown in the present sub-register, although it is present in the one above.

³⁸ This is suggested by Papyrus Haraga 3, where the measuring apparently took place in January (Smither, *JEA* 27 (1941), 76).

³⁹ One of the principal dates suggests that the measuring took place in July (Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* II, 10) which would probably be after harvest but before the inundation. Gardiner attempted to argue that the fact that the fields in some cases are referred to as 'dry' meant that some measuring dates in the text are post-inundation (*ibid.*, 70), but the case for the period before the inundation is at least partly maintained by Baer (*JARCE* 1 (1962), 40 n. 98). Graefe has attempted to suggest a possible margin for variation in the date of the inundation as allowing for the measuring to take place *after* the height of the inundation (*CdE* 48 (1973), 44–6).

⁴⁰ Herodotos II, 109; Strabo XVII, 1,3.

⁴¹ Verhoogt, *Menches, komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris*, 131–42. I thank Dorothy J. Thompson for this reference.

⁴² Crawford, *Kerkeosiris*, Chapter II, especially pp. 24–8.

⁴³ There is evidence for some experimentation with sowing a second crop after harvest in Ptolemaic times, which might also have required a second measuring of the fields. P.Cairo Zenon 59155 records watering the land immediately after harvest in order to sow a second crop following the instructions of the king (Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs*, 103–4). Evidence for summer cropping in pharaonic times is discussed by Baer in *JARCE* 1 (1962), 40 n. 98. I am grateful to Helen Strudwick for these references.

depiction of reality, it is certainly possible to argue that the measuring scenes could refer to either survey.

Several different examples of possible real boundary stelae have been suggested. Two Middle Kingdom records of land ownership take the form of small stelae, although their physical form is such that it is more likely that they were set up elsewhere than on the boundary of the land to which they referred, for example in a temple.⁴⁴ The same can be said for a number of other stelae from the New Kingdom, which I believe are more concerned with recording and presenting in an important place (such as a temple) a grant of land, often to an official, from the king.⁴⁵ These objects would seem to be just too elaborate to be placed in a field context, and would of course, being mostly of limestone, suffer terribly from decay during and after the inundation, unless they were temporarily removed. Possibly more plausible as boundary markers, although not necessary of fields, are two simple stelae in London and Cairo,⁴⁶ although again decay is rather to be expected.

Is it possible to detect a symbolic meaning in this scene in TT297 and those like it? The purpose of tomb scenes in the 18th dynasty was not simply to recreate the life of Egypt as it was then, but was aimed at ensuring the rebirth of the deceased and the provisioning of his spirits. Thus scenes are full of complex symbols (see summary below p. 61). Not wishing to overstretch the reader's tolerance for possible over-interpretation of these scenes, I would like to suggest that the scene in question could be seen as a visual metaphor for the continual need to reassert *maat*. By swearing an oath over a stela which might only recently have emerged from the chaotic, watery but life-giving flood, in particular using a *was* sceptre of domination, the village elder may also be reasserting that all is well in the world and that *maat* has been set up aright again.



To the left of the man by the stela stands a man facing left. Before him is a jar on a stand, and he is carrying three separate items. In a notebook sketch, Davies reconstructed the arms of the man as shown here, carrying a small offering stand and a cone of white fat;⁴⁷ three birds, identified by Davies as quails, were attached to a loop around his arm. This man is doubtless presenting gifts to the officials to the left.

⁴⁴ Fischer, *RdE* 13 (1961), 107–9. They have no uninscribed area below the text which might have been inserted into the ground to support them.

⁴⁵ Some examples: Berlin 14994, naming Thutmose I (Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, 116 (129)); Cairo JE 88879, a temple stela of Usermaatenakht recording donation of land to him by Ramesses III (Habachi, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 507–14, pl. XXIX); two donations of land from Thutmose IV (Cairo CG 34021, Lacau, *Stèles* I, 41–2, pl. XII; Helck, *Urkunden* IV, 1611 and a stela in the Ashmolean Museum in Helck, *Urkunden* IV 1637 (552)); Berlin 345/67, a gift of land to a temple of Hathor at Memphis in the reign of Tutankhamun (*Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* 1967, no. 776, p 73 + plate).

⁴⁶ BM EA 59205 and JE 47261: Fischer, *CdE* 55 (1980), 13–16. The former now also appears in Parkinson, *Cracking Codes*, 162 (74).

⁴⁷ cf TT38: Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, 3 n. 3.

The final part of this register shows a procession of men facing right, principally scribes. Six or seven figures are visible, the second and third and the sixth and possibly seventh of which are dressed in more elaborate kilts, with the torso also covered; of the two best preserved examples, the nearer is carrying his scribal equipment (palette and reed-holder) while the other is writing. Such scribes as these are perhaps of very great importance, and were very likely officials of the king (or at least attached to an important institution) engaged in surveying and recording the produce of the land and assessing revenue. An elevated position would explain the rather elaborate style of dress; similarly dressed scribes may be found in the crop-measuring scene in the tomb of Menna (TT69).⁴⁸ The three remaining figures are probably dressed more simply; nothing remains of anything they may have carried to identify their function, although the prominent shoulder of the fifth figure suggests that he may have held something before his face. They may be assistants to the scribes.

Davies' notebooks explain this procession of men as another scene of measuring the crop, with the cord omitted and the crop itself not shown (the latter as in TT38 and TT75). He believed that one of the two men following the principal scribes originally had the ram-headed measuring reel on his shoulder, but it is unclear whether this idea originated in a guess or from traces of damage on the wall. However, the pose of the men does not support this idea. Only the first man has his arms in anything like the pose necessary for holding the measuring cord. It is of course possible that the traces which prompted Davies' suggestion were visible on the section of the wall to the left which he did not copy.⁴⁹ I would prefer to interpret this group of men as making an official inspection of the boundary stelae, in this case separate from the assessment of the potential yields of the fields.

Other tombs with measuring scenes show offerings or provisions being presented to the scribes—for example, in the tomb of Menkheperresoneb (TT86), the grain measurers are preceded by three men carrying offerings, one of whom holds a pointed cone of fat and a number of birds tied together.⁵⁰ These items must be either an offering for an unrepresented deity (such as Renenutet) or some sort of gift to the scribes or the institution they represent. Quails were without doubt caught in the cornfields in the course of the measuring operation.⁵¹

The remains of Scene 6.2 would seem to be very much related to the tomb-owner's professional interest, as 'scribe who counts the grain of Amun'. The owners of four of the other six 18th dynasty tombs which contain scenes of the measuring of the crop were in

⁴⁸ Berger, loc. cit; Wreszinski, loc. cit. Compare also the clothing of Khaemhat in LD III, 76b and 77c. The same attire is worn by army officers, as in TT74 (Brack-Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni*, Taf. 35d).

⁴⁹ Compare comments on a related scene in TT253: Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 40–1.

⁵⁰ Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresoneb, Amenmose, and Another*, pl. XVIII.

⁵¹ Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, 4. cf TT253 (Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 40).

some way associated with the administration of granaries and land, and the appearance of these depictions can surely not be due to chance.⁵²

Scene 6.2.c—Upper sub-register: Measuring the crop [Plate III]

The rightmost part of this scene is lost but was doubtless part of the measuring scene to be described. The first remaining section at the right of this scene shows the measuring of the standing crop. Only the lower parts of the legs remain of three men holding the measuring cord, and the front foot of a fourth. As reconstructed by Davies, these men wear short kilts. The first of them might have borne on his shoulder the holder for the measuring rope in the shape of a coil with a ram's head, the latter representing Amun (compare Scene 6.2.b). The crop is shown as the usual series of vertical lines, with the ears depicted at the top. Behind the figures of the men are visible other plants with flower heads (weeds?) growing in the cornfield. These men wear sandals to protect their feet from the sharp crops.⁵³

In front of these figures are the feet and ankles of another smaller man, who appears to have been omitted from Davies' description. To the left of him are more plants growing in the cornfield, on the branches of which are flowers. To the left again is a white round-topped boundary stela. This suggests that the smaller figure may have been checking boundaries, as in Scene 6.2.b above. If so, this tomb would be unique in having two such representations.

Left of the stela the cornfield continues. First is a sycamore tree, and to the left of that a chariot with two (male) equids attached. Part of this register further to the left appears to have survived but not to have been copied by Davies, since in his notebook is found 'A crowd of men & the charioteer follow'.

The depiction of the two animals is substantially complete, although with some damage to the girth and back of the nearer one. The reins are only visible where they approach the animals. They pass over the collar of the nearer one; it is not clear whether they would have passed through a fixing as with some examples.⁵⁴ The collar, the purpose of which is to attach the yoke of the chariot to the animal, is fixed to its wearer in two places, one band passing just behind the forelegs (reconstructed by Davies) and the other under the neck (in two narrower bands). There is clearly an element of decoration on the collar of the further animal in the form of small elliptical shapes. The elements of the bridle radiate from a circular fixing just below the animals' ears.

Much of the chariot pulled by these animals has been lost. It clearly had six spokes, and enough remains of the front part to be able to reconstruct it as very similar to that in the lower register of a fragment from the famous painted tomb of Nebamun in the British Museum (BM EA 37892 [**Plate VIb**]), also discussed in Scene 6.2.b above, and a scene

⁵² Tombs of Khnummose (TT253), Djeserkaresoneb (TT38), Menna (TT69) and Khaemhat (TT57), cf Wegner, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), 67. Only Menkheperresoneb (TT86) and Amenhotep-za-ze (TT75) were not so associated, both being priests of Amun.

⁵³ cf TT38, where only one official—perhaps the deceased himself—wears sandals, and sports some sort of shin-guard for extra protection (Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, pl. II); the same may be true in TT57 (LD III, 77e).

⁵⁴ Such as Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. VI.

in relief in the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57 [**Plate VIIIb**]). The parts surviving show the box-front to bear embossed or applied decoration in small circular shapes while the upper part of the bow-case at the front was painted with a number of coloured bands. Whether part of the cage of the chariot extended above the charioteer's head is unknown, although BM EA 37892 appears to be almost unique in this respect. The similarity between these two chariots is emphasised by both having the almost unique feature for the time of the box-front set back behind the front of the wheel.⁵⁵ On the drawing is noted '← man', meaning the remains of a figure of a man sitting on the back of the chariot; the shape of the back of this figure suggests that he is asleep as in the Nebamun and Khaemhat parallels.

The equids and chariot stand against the background of the field of grain, with the occasional plant (perhaps weeds) visible between the legs of the animals and the spokes of the chariot. The nearer animal is browsing in the tree by the stela, while the further one appears to be more interested in the ground or perhaps even the grain crop (compare again BM EA 37892). The chariot presumably served as transport for an official elsewhere in the scene.

There is some uncertainty as to the precise identification of the type of equids.⁵⁶ This painting is one of only three similar depictions, the others being those already noted in the tombs of Nebamun and Khaemhat. These animals have been variously identified as mules,⁵⁷ Przewalski horses,⁵⁸ hinnies (the crossing of a female ass with a stallion)⁵⁹ or onagers.⁶⁰ In their arguments for identifying these animals, the authors often rely heavily on a belief in the fidelity of the Egyptian artist's drawing of these and similar creatures; can the 'normal' alert, almost prancing, Egyptian horse really be considered zoologically accurate? However, the artist was surely making some deliberate differentiation in these two types of depiction, particularly in the case of BM EA 37892 or even the present wall of TT297, where they appear in adjacent sub-registers. The unusual equids are clearly distinguished from the normal horses in being shown in a more docile attitude,⁶¹ with a dorsal and shoulder stripe, different tail carriage and donkey tail. Their identification as Przewalski horses is implausible and has been ruled out by both Rommelaere and Boessneck. From the features which differentiate them from horses, an identification as either onagers or hinnies is the most likely. However, the onager is not

⁵⁵ I am grateful to Ulrich Hofmann for this and other very useful observations on this chariot from research on his dissertation 'Untersuchungen zum Streitwagen in Ägypten in Text und Bild'. He is of the opinion that this and the BM scene were copied from one another.

⁵⁶ I particularly thank Helen Strudwick for her assistance with the following discussion of these animals.

⁵⁷ Davies-Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* III, 130–1; Kitchen, *GM* 13 (1974), 17; *LÄ* III, 1249.

⁵⁸ Nibbi, *ZÄS* 106 (1979), 164–6.

⁵⁹ Boessneck, *Die Tierwelt des alten Ägypten*, 82; Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*, 37–8. Houlihan (loc. cit.) and Nibbi, op. cit., 165 quote Clutton-Brock as being of the same opinion.

⁶⁰ Rommelaere, *Les chevaux du Nouvel Empire égyptien*, 65, n. 7; *LÄ* I, 897.

⁶¹ Compare the comments on the Nebamun scene by Hansen, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 173–4.

an easy animal to domesticate,⁶² and if it was used in Egypt it has left no trace of its presence. It is also unlikely that onagers could be bred in captivity, and there is a little evidence from the ancient Near East that they might have been kept for stud to produce crosses with donkeys.⁶³ A difficulty with the hinny is that this animal itself is rather rare.⁶⁴

A solution is thus difficult. Perhaps the artist intended the animals to be recognisable as some sort of equid that was not a horse, and, on the basis that mules are a much more frequent cross than hinnies, that he may have intended to depict a mule. However, it cannot be denied that the appearance of the animal depicted is most like that of a hinny or an onager. It may be significant that this scene is so rare and seemingly confined to one particular time-period. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to speculate that some institution in the Theban area in the late reign of Thutmose IV or that of Amenhotep III may have possessed an unusual pair of equids, and that this appealed to one particular artist or person responsible for composing tomb scenes. It is impossible to tell whether the same person was responsible for each of the three scenes (although see the comment of Hofmann in n. 55 on p. 55 above), since one is in relief, and of the two painted scenes we can only fully observe the style of the extant one (BM EA 37892), but of course the composer of them all might have been the same.

Stephen Harvey has made the intriguing suggestion that the juxtaposition of the conventional horses and the unusual equids is another element to add to the complex meaning of 18th dynasty wall paintings.⁶⁵ His thesis is that, while sleep can be seen as positive and among a group of states which evoke ideas of rebirth, it can also hint at the negativity of chaos which, for the Egyptians, was never far away and which contrasts strongly and deliberately with the strongly positive nature of the depiction of the conventional horse. Perhaps this contrast was all the more emphatic to the ancient Egyptian as it appears in scenes of such a fundamental activity as agriculture?

In a tiny sub-scene above the chariot is a small sycamore tree.⁶⁶ Two men kneel either side of the tree; the man on the left raises both his arms before him. Davies interpreted this as 'a man drinking from a jar near a tree and a man resting (?)'. Another possibility is that the first man may be drinking from a water-skin, as in the tomb of Khaemhat (TT57).⁶⁷ Both figures are damaged, that on the right particularly so.

⁶² Boessneck, loc. cit., states that there is no evidence of their ever having been used in harness.

⁶³ Wapnish in Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: new historical and archaeological perspectives*, 335–7.

⁶⁴ Boessneck, loc. cit., who also notes that all cross-breeds of horse and donkey are usually infertile.

⁶⁵ In a paper presented at the 2001 ARCE meeting in Providence, Rhode Island, entitled 'The Sleeping Charioteer: observations on equine representations in Egyptian art'. I thank Stephen Harvey for drawing this to my attention and for permitting me to mention his as yet unpublished paper.

⁶⁶ A tree over a cornfield scene in the tomb of Menna (TT69) serves as a partial parallel (Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, Taf. 232).


⁶⁷ Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, Taf. 194.




Fragments

In his notebooks, Davies listed a number of fragments, most of which do not feature among the copies published here. Numbers 1 to 15 are the designations used by Davies; words in quotes are from these notebooks (compare **Fig. 1–2**, p. 8 and p. 10). Lack of comment indicates that its original position or context in the tomb is unknown.

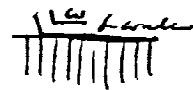
Fragment 1: ‘Lady ← seated in backed chair; arm round man in front (From S.E.—right)’. Davies presumably considered this as belonging to our Wall 3. It might represent a seated couple in a lower register, giving the wall a general appearance not unlike that of the equivalent wall in TT38.⁶⁸

Fragment 2: ‘Girl’s face →. Good work’.

Fragment 3: ‘Girl’s ← head (musician?). To left 2 men make *hnw* . Then lector →’. Men making *hnw* are most likely lector priests taking part in the offering ritual,⁶⁹ although how the girl in fragment 3 (if Davies’ identification of her as a musician is correct) can be associated is unclear. See comments following the next fragment.

Fragment 4: ‘Alabaster laver from scene of purification (see 3) ’. This represents the deceased (or perhaps his statue) standing on a bowl (, the festival hieroglyph) on top of the hieroglyph , ‘mountain’, and being purified.⁷⁰ Davies seems to have believed that this and the previous item were part of the same scene. *Comments:* two possibilities present themselves for the original context of such fragments, either the offering or the purification rituals. These two scenes can appear separately, but elements of each, such as the two on the fragments here, can also be combined, as in a scene in TT125.⁷¹ The location of an offering ritual on one of the main walls in the front hall of TT69, of similar date to TT297, could be used to locate such a scene there, while the most common location of the purification ritual is on one of the shorter side walls (2 or 5), suggested particularly by the association of the purification rituals with side walls. Fragment 7 below might also be from such a scene.

Fragment 5 and 6: ‘Deep water. To the r. a lector →’, followed by a sketch of (6), and the words ‘illegible text’. Perhaps this is associated with the boats in fragments B–D below, and/or an Abydos journey.



Fragment 7: ‘Man throws pellets into vase’. This is clearly our fragment A [**Plate IIc**]. A man, the only surviving element of whose dress is a sash across his left shoulder, holds a small trapezoidal vessel with his left hand and with the other drops small pellets of incense (?) into it. To the right is the rear of another man, also wearing a sash, leaning slightly for-

⁶⁸ Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, pl. III.

⁶⁹ In TT82 (Davies–Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, pl. XXI) and TT100 (Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mire at Thebes II*, pl. CI) these priests bear the caption *irt sšht ʿšš*, ‘making many transfigurations’. Another parallel of similar date to TT297 may be seen in the tomb of Menna (TT69: Spiegel, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), Taf. XIII.2). See *ibid.*, 190–207 for the offering scene in general.

⁷⁰ Paralleled for example on a stela in TT75: Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. XV (top), p. 16.

⁷¹ Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*, Taf. 6c.

ward. This man is either a lector or *sem* priest from a offering ritual,⁷² or from the purification ritual in fragments 3 and 4. See the discussion of those earlier fragments.

Fragment 8: '4 men (together)', presumably meaning in layer depiction.

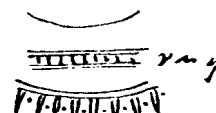
Fragment 9: 'Male guests on camp stools'. This and fragment 10 are obviously from a banquet scene.

Fragment 10: This is an example of the type of seat used by male feast guests and termed by Davies 'camp stools'; the feast to which it (and fragment 9) belong might be located most plausibly on Wall 4.



Fragment 11: 'Man ← with calf'. Presumably part of a procession of bringing offerings, for which there are many possible locations.

Fragment 12: 'Decorated stand' with sketch as here. It seems likely that this is in fact part of a jar with a decorated band on a stand.⁷³



Fragment 13: A fragment of text as shown at right.

Fragment 14: 'Man being thrashed ♂c'.—perhaps from a scene of defaulters, possibly accompanying one of the agricultural scenes.⁷⁴ The existence of this fragment perhaps implies the original presence of further scenes associated with the measuring and cultivation of grain. The missing part of Scene 6.2 is one possibility, as is a separate set of agricultural scenes in an upper register, such as perhaps Scene 1.1 (compare TT253⁷⁵).



Fragment 15: A sketch as at right, with the text '(son?)'. He would appear to be facing left and wearing the type of bulbous kilt worn by some of the scribes in Scene 6.2.c above.



Several fragments are found among the group of Davies facsimiles from TT297, but only one is mentioned in the notebooks. The capital letters refer to parts of **Plate IIc**.

Fragment A: See Fragment 7 above.

Fragment B: [**Plate IIc**] Two adjoining fragments of the upper part of probably five ships. In the top left-hand corner is a tree, like those seen elsewhere in the tomb, perhaps symbolising the Egyptian landscape. The central feature of the fragments is the top and bottom spars of the lowered sail. Below this is the cabin, principally yellow in colour, again perhaps due to the use of mats as covering. What is presumably rigging is shown above the cabin, although it seems somewhat unusual for it not to extend to the end of the main spars. The large shape to the rear of the cabin is suggestive of the oars of five ships.

⁷² See Davies–Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, pl. XVIII for a not dissimilar example (second standing man from right in second register).

⁷³ Compare vessels in Scene 3.1.b of TT253: Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, pl. XIX.

⁷⁴ Such as in TT75 (Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, pl. IX) or TT253, Scene 1.1.c (Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, pl. XIII).

⁷⁵ Strudwick, loc. cit. Very occasionally agricultural scenes can appear on a side wall, as in TT38: Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs*, pl. II.

Fragment C: [Plate IIc] Three further parts of a representation of a ship. The bottom left corner could represent the cabin, and the whole be part of the right-hand counterpart to (B) above. We again see the lowered sail spars, perhaps even with the sail furled between them. At the bottom right are parts of the arm, hand and head of a man, probably the captain or lookout man.⁷⁶ *Comments:* fragments B and C could be part of the same scene. Although they apparently show the same number of boats as Scene 1.2.b, they do not fit together. Thus there was another group of boats somewhere else in the tomb. A voyage to Abydos seems unlikely as it would not include such a multiplicity of boats.

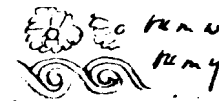
Fragment D: [Plate IIc] The stern of a ship. The hull, mainly yellow in colour but red at the end, is of a different hue to that of the ships in Scene 1.1.b, and so the fragment presumably belongs elsewhere. The body of the steering oar is evident in this fragment, painted white above the hull and yellow to dark red above the waterline. The tiller for this oar is red in colour. The support for the oar and perhaps part of the rear of the cabin is also visible. It is too small to be part of the boat in fragments B and C. An Abydos scene should be considered a possibility.

Fragment E: [Plate IIc] Fragment with remains of some texts and part of a scene. The texts are too incomplete to admit of a reading. The object in the scene is white at the top; it is of an unknown nature, but I wonder whether it could perhaps be associated with one of the shrines or other objects seen in funerary processions.⁷⁷

Fragments F and G: [Plate IIc] Two fragments showing men, one facing left (F) and one right (G), perhaps naked, in positions of pulling, pushing or lifting.

Ceilings, friezes and borders

Davies' notebook descriptions include some brief comments on the ceilings and friezes. He relates that the yellow ceiling bands were blank in the tomb. He refers to two ceiling patterns, the first as 'Patterns of chains of diamonds with crosses', and for the second he gives a sketch (as here).




The colours of this second pattern were (upper) black on white and (lower) black on yellow, presumably a curled motif interspersed with coloured rosettes. The two patterns resemble two found in the tomb of Nebamun (TT90),⁷⁸ of similar date to TT297. The plan

⁷⁶ He could be adopting a pose similar to the men at the prows of ships in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT49); each man has a sounding pole and is presumably communicating with the crew (Davies, *The Tomb of Neferhotep*, pl. XLII–XLIII). These boats are apparently on the Nile in the area of the temple of Karnak.

⁷⁷ I cannot quote a parallel, but I think of the various episodes in earlier 18th dynasty tombs such as in TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, pl. X–XIII). I thank Helen Strudwick for this suggestion.

⁷⁸ Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, XXXVIII [A, D], p. 20. A coloured, although less accurate, version of the second of these is published in Jéquier, *Décoration égyptienne*, pl. XXIII (cf colour photograph in Brack–Brack, *Das Grab des Haremheb*, Taf. 2). The diamond pattern is of course very common and found in almost every 18th dynasty tomb.

of this tomb is rather similar to that of Amenemopet, and Davies' diagram of the ceiling inscriptions of Nebamun give us some idea of what TT297 must have been like.

Davies' notebook also contains a sketch of one frieze showing lotus flowers and buds around the tops of the walls, probably that noted as  being above Scene 6.1. This frieze is of a type which is common in tombs of the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep IV, such as TT38, TT75 and TT253.⁷⁹ He also refers to 'squares 2½" [inches] apart', presumably the basic square of the diamond and rosette pattern noted above. No mention is made of kheker friezes.

Block borders and corner patterns have survived in the drawings of Scene 1.2.a and 4 (**Plate Ia, Plate IIa**). At the far right of Scene 1 is a block border, the first two segments of which are red and green, separated by two black bands. At the end of the wall, in the corner, is a pattern of dark coloured lozenges on a lighter ground with a darker edge; the darker colour is probably blue.⁸⁰ The block border and lozenge pattern around Scene 4 is visible at the left of the drawing of that wall, and appears to be the same as that in Scene 1, although no colours are marked.

In their 1999 and 2000 seasons, the Archaeological Mission to the Assasif (TT196) from the University of Münster, led by Erhart Graefe, discovered a number of fragments of ceiling paintings of 18th dynasty type in the debris over Court III of TT196 [**Plate VIIIc, Plate IV–V**]. These fragments have been reconstructed to form both of Davies' patterns from TT297. It seems almost certain that they came from this tomb and had somehow been thrown into the Assasif below, along with funerary cones.⁸¹ See Appendix 2 below for discussion of this material by Petra Vomberg.

⁷⁹ TT38: Davies, *Scenes from some Theban tombs*, pl. IV–VI; TT75: Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, 3, with an example on pl. XI; TT253, Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 55. See also the selections in Jéquier, *Décoration égyptienne*, pl. XXXVIII, and Mackay, *Ancient Egypt* 1921, frontispiece, opposite p. 33.

⁸⁰ As, for example, in TT253: Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 55.

⁸¹ I am very grateful to Prof. Graefe for permitting me to publish these fragments. The cones are discussed above under 'Finds' (object [27]). **Plate IVa** is Davies' 'diamonds with crosses' and **Plate V** his 'frieze' of lotuses. I differ from Petra Vomberg in Appendix 2 below in believing **Plate Va** and **b** to be from the same frieze.

The decorative programme

The very damaged nature of the paintings in this tomb is emphasised by the fact that even approximate wall plans can only be produced for three walls. A number of tombs with parallels, however, have made frequent appearances in the preceding discussions, in particular TT38 and TT253, where there would seem to be comparable locations for similar scenes on the three walls for which plans have been produced (nos 1, 4 and 6). It is instructive to recall that these two tomb owners had similar titles to Amenemopet.

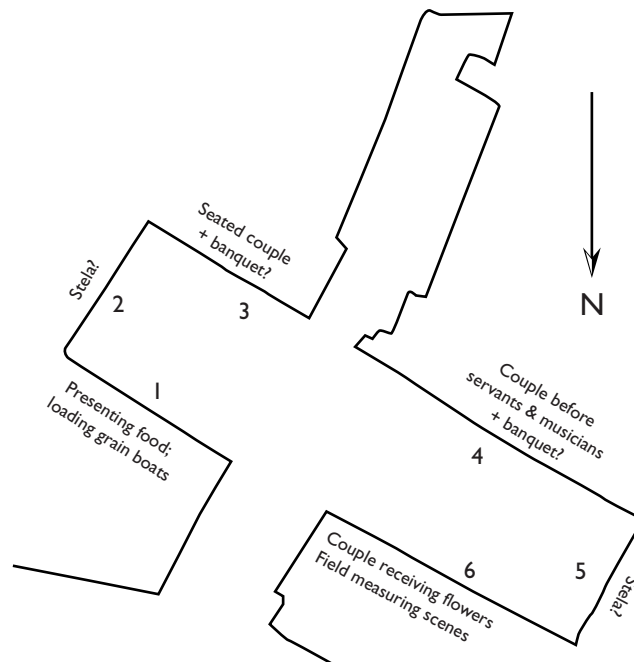


Fig. 21 Summary of decorative layout of TT297

I do not wish to speculate further on what was where, but it is clear from fragments that most of the basic elements of a Theban tomb were present: offering and provisioning scenes, banquets (two possible alternative locations), agricultural scenes, and probably also the voyage to Abydos and elements of the offering ritual. The only major scene which is not clearly attested in the surviving fragments is the funeral, although one small fragment has been tentatively suggested as belonging to such a scene. Like a number of

tombs, the second chamber of the chapel was not decorated. The orientation of the scenes shows no obvious change from that of a tomb cut in the more typical east–west arrangement.¹

This mixture of scenes in a tomb such as TT297 shows the complexity of a tomb, and the many levels of meaning in these scenes. The offering scenes represent the need for provisioning of the *ka* of the deceased, while the (largely destroyed) banquet would have been full of symbols which lead to the ultimate purpose of the tomb, the ensuring of the rebirth of the owner. By far the most difficult scenes to understand in this context are those so erroneously termed ‘daily life’; while they do tell the gods and the visitor about the personality and qualities of the deceased, research is also showing that they themselves contain subliminal symbols which hint at both the maintenance of the cosmic order and the wish for rebirth.²

¹ Unusual orientation is best attested in the rare case of west–east orientation of TT56 (Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, *Das Grab des Userhat*, 14–16).

² There is a growing body of literature on the largely neglected (until the later 20th century) aspects of meaning of all these scenes. See for example, Manniche in Tefnin (ed.), *La peinture égyptienne ancienne*, 29–36; Cherpion, *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 79–106; id., *Deux tombes de la XVIIIe dynastie à Deir el-Medina*, 93–105. An overview of the subject by Manniche will be published in the proceedings of the British Museum Colloquium ‘The Theban Necropolis: past, present and future’ held in July 2000.

Conclusion

Although seemingly now lost for ever, the paintings in this tomb as recorded by Davies present us with a number of unusual and interesting scenes. The quality of the execution of these scenes appears to be of a very high standard, as far as can be judged from the material at our disposal. I hope that this account does justice to the owner and his craftsmen, and we should never forget that without the labours of Norman and Nina Davies, we should know next to nothing about this tomb. The comments of Lansing could not be more apposite:¹

It is not only our generation of archaeologists and art lovers who owe Norman de Garis Davies a debt. Many of the ancient Thebans too are under obligation to him, for he has extended for generations to come the benefits which they hoped to derive from their tombs.

Combining the information left to us by Davies with that from archaeological sources shows that harnessing all available material produces a much broader and better picture. In the case of the present tomb, the MMA's excavations have helped confirm the attribution of the tomb to Amenemopet, and provide evidence of the later use of the tomb. Let us hope we can all strive to extract the maximum information from what is available to us.

¹ In his preface to the (posthumous) publication of Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re' I*, v.

Appendix 1—Summary of tombs in the area of the Metropolitan House

The following table summarises the tombs in the area in which TT297 is located. It combines data from MMA records with that from Kampp's survey of the necropolis. The area is to the west of TT297, where the path in from the Khokha and Sheikh Abdel Qurna region enters the Assasif, and runs along the southern side of that valley to a point to the east of the MMA house, just beneath the modern Qurna police station. The central part of this area is the cemetery excavated for the construction of the MMA house, for which MMA records are available, and which is shown in more detail in **Fig. 22**.

I have no wish to pre-empt a proper study of the whole cemetery, but I believe it is clear that at least two tombs were cut here in the early Middle Kingdom, perhaps simpler versions of their larger counterparts on the opposite side of the valley, with courtyards and long central passages. Finds of this date were also made. The majority of rock tombs were cut in the New Kingdom, some in the 18th dynasty and some later, and several of the tombs were used for burials; the Middle Kingdom tombs may also have been reused. Almost every chapel was reused for burials at various points, some several times, in the Third Intermediate Period, from which date the most spectacular objects were found. The excavation records indicate a small amount of Ptolemaic material, but it would appear that use after the pharaonic period was very light, and the area was also not inhabited prior to the construction of the MMA dig house (see further above p. 22).

Table 5: Tombs in the area of the Metropolitan House

Kampp /TT	MMA	Date ^a	Notes	MMA finds		
				MK	NK	ThIP
West of TT297						
-47-		NK (K)				
-355-		--				
-356-		--				
-357-		--				
Behind the Metropolitan house						
-358-	827	MK (S)	My dating based on plan			
TT297	831	D18 (K)	PM I ² , 379, 652. See the present publication		♦	♦
-359-	828	NK (K), MK (S)	My dating based on plan	♦	♦	♦
-360-		--				
-361-	in court of 832	NK, Ram. (K)				
-362-	832	D18 (K)	See PM I ² , 652–3 for some finds; a Third Intermediate Period re-user of the tomb constructed a brick chapel typical of that period in the courtyard	♦ ^b	♦	♦
	833		Small chamber beside tomb 832			♦
-363-	829	MK (K)	Kampp incorrectly writes ‘839’ for ‘829’	♦	♦	
-364-	834	D18 (K)	See PM I ² , 653 for some finds		♦	
-365-	in court of 834	NK (K)				
-366-	830	MK (K)	See PM I ² , 624 for some finds	♦	♦	♦
	830A		Small burial complex in the courtyard of tomb 830, to the right of the entrance of the latter			♦
TT207	830B	D19 (K)	See PM I ² , 306 for description of tomb			♦
-368-	830C	NK (K)				♦
-369-	830D	NK (K)			♦	♦
TT208	835	D19 (K)	See PM I ² , 306 for description of tomb, and p. 653 for some finds		♦	♦
East of TT208						
-370-		--				
-371-		--				
-372-		--				
-373-		--				
-58-		D19 (K)				

a. Of the original construction: (K) = Kampp, (S) = present author

b. Possibly intrusive

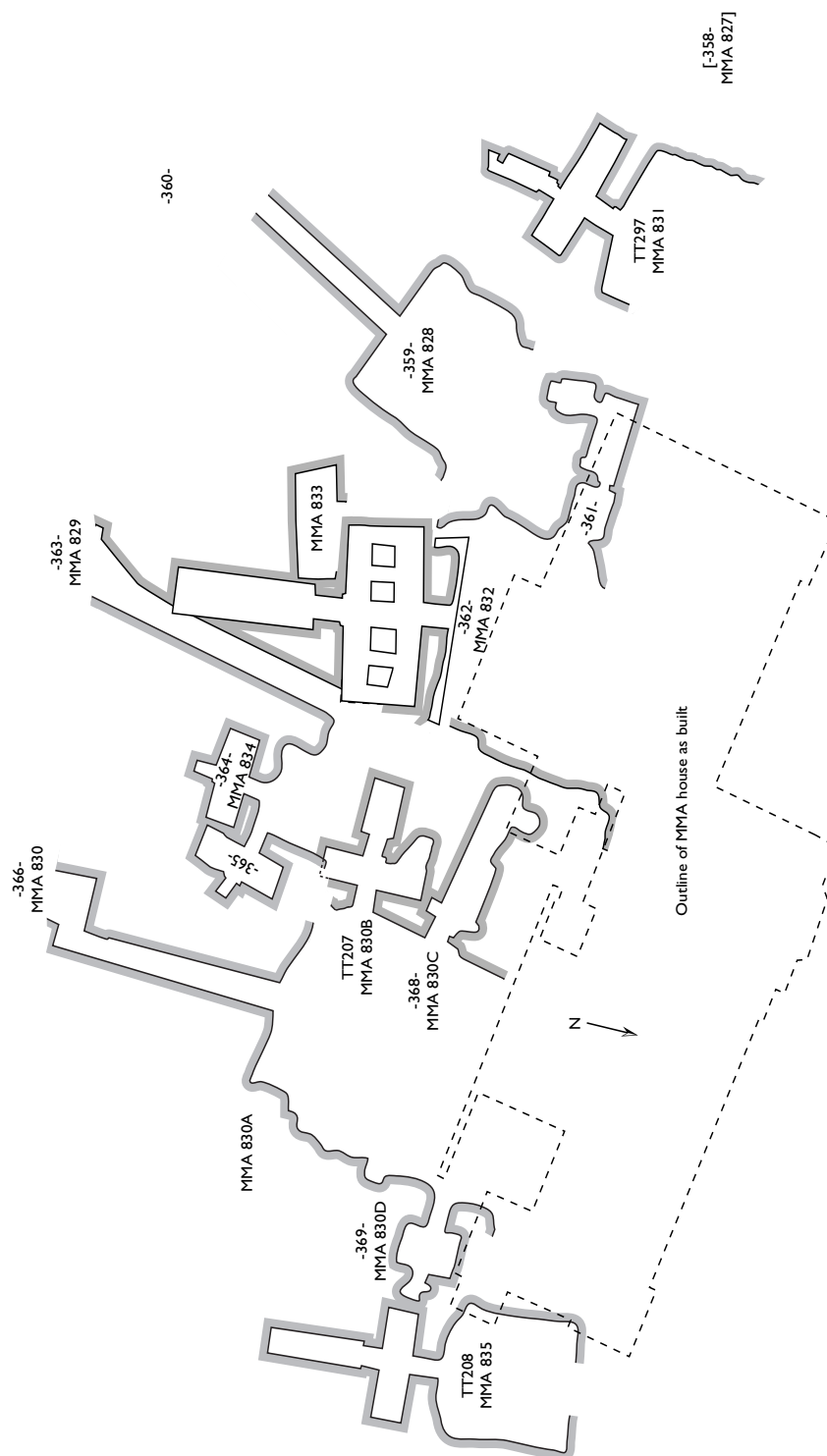


Fig. 22 Sketch plan of the area around the MMA house. Based on Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, figs 386 and 461, with further information from MMA plans and notes. Not to scale

Appendix 2—Deckenfragmente aus TT196

Petra Vomberg¹

Beschreibung der Rekonstruktion einer Rosettendecke (P99004-8) (Plate IV a)

Diese Fragmente wurden 1999 im Schutt über dem Hof III des Grabes des Padihorresnet (TT196) gefunden.

I. Rekonstruktion und Beschreibung des Rapports:

Die Fragmente gehören zu einer Deckendekoration, die typisch für Gräber des Neuen Reiches ist. Die Decke ist weißgrundig. Auf den weißen Grund der Decke wurden die Farben aufgetragen.

Das Hauptmotiv, das aus in Quadraten eingeschriebenen Rosetten besteht, wird von einem umlaufenden und mehrfachen Streifenband umrahmt. Von innen nach außen folgen farbige Streifen in Schwarz, Weiß, Rot, Weiß und Schwarz, d.h. ein roter Mittelstreifen wird an jeder Seite von einem weißen und dann einem schwarzen Streifen eingefasst. Alle Streifen weisen in etwa die gleiche Breite auf.

An dieses Streifenband, das ca. 3,5 cm breit ist, grenzen an der Außenseite gelbfarbige Deckenteile an. Die gelben Flächen weisen keine erkennbare Begrenzung auf. Das größte Fragment zeigt diese gelbe Fläche bis zu ca. 6 cm von dem Streifenband entfernt. Die Krümmung eines anderen Fragmentes in diesem gelben Bereich der Decke deutet auf eine Unebenheit hin. Bei diesen gelben Bereichen handelt es sich um breite Streifen, die verschiedene Deckenmuster in rechteckiger Paneelform trennen. Die Unebenheiten in der Decke sowie die Trennstreifen sind vergleichbar mit der Decke im Grab des Sennefer (TT96, 18. Dynastie).² Auch das seitliche Streifenband stimmt in der Farbabfolge mit denen im Grab des Sennefer überein. In anderen Deckendekorationen treten diese gelben Streifen ebenfalls auf und bilden eine regelmäßige Unterteilung der Decke.³ Diese

¹ Note by Nigel Strudwick: I wish to thank Erhart Graefe for permitting the material from his excavations in TT196 to be published here and for encouraging Petra Vomberg to write this report on the only fragments of decoration seemingly now in existence from TT297. Note that these patterns follow closely those noted by Norman de Garis Davies in his notebooks (above p. 47 and p. 59). Lastly, colour images of **Plate IV** and **Plate V** will be found on the web site <http://www.newton.cam.ac.uk/egypt/tt297>

² Sennefer. *Die Grabkammer des Bürgermeisters von Theben*, S. 43, 59.

³ z.B. Seyfried, *Das Grab des Amonmose (TT 373)*, Farbtafel VI; Shedid und Seidel, *Das Grab des Nacht*, S. 82.

gelben Streifen werden als Umsetzung von Deckenbalken aus der Wohnhausarchitektur verstanden.⁴ Manchmal zeigen diese gelben Streifen die Imitation einer Holzmaserung.⁵

Das Streifenband rahmt das Rosettendekor. Die Rosetten sind in blau oder grün umrandete gelbe Quadrate eingeschrieben; diese haben eine Seitenlänge von ca. 4 cm. Drei verschiedene Rosettenquadrate sind zu unterscheiden:

1. Rosettenquadrate mit grünem Rand und schwarzer, vierblättriger Rosette mit schmalen Blättern, die diagonal in die Quadrate eingeschrieben sind, mit rotem Zentrumspunkt (im folgenden: grünes Rosettenquadrat).

2. Rosettenquadrate mit blauem Rand und roter, vierblättriger Rosette mit schmalen Blättern, die diagonal in die Quadrate eingeschrieben sind, mit schwarzem Zentrumspunkt (im folgenden: blaues Rosettenquadrat mit roter Rosette).

3. Rosettenquadrate mit blauem Rand und schwarzer, vierblättriger Rosette mit schmalen Blättern, die diagonal in die Quadrate eingeschrieben sind, mit rotem Zentrumspunkt (im folgenden: blaues Rosettenquadrat mit schwarzer Rosette).

Die Rosettenquadrate einer Sorte sind wie die Perlen einer Schnur an ihren Spitzen aufgereiht. Diese 'Perlenschnüre' oder Reihen bilden die Längsrichtung des Musters. Die Schmalseite wird durch versetzte Rosettenquadrate bestimmt.

Durch die gefundenen Fragmente ist folgender Übergang von dem Streifenband zu den Rosettenquadraten dokumentiert: Das Rosettenmotiv beginnt mit den grünen Quadraten. Die Rosettenquadrate stoßen mit jeweils einer Spitze des Quadrates an das Streifenband. In den entstehenden Zwickeln sind rote Dreiecke eingeschrieben, die mit ihrer Spitze zur Deckenmitte zeigen.

Ob zwei kleinere Fragmente tatsächlich zu einem roten Dreieck zu vervollständigen sind, oder ob es sich bei diesen um den Übergang zu einer Zickzack-Linie (s.u.) an einer Schmalseite handelt, kann nicht beantwortet werden.

Das Fragment mit der Krümmung zeigt neben der an das Streifenband anstoßenden Spitze des grünen Quadrates einen weißen Freiraum. Dieser könnte darauf hindeuten, daß an dieser Seite zwischen den grünen Rosettenquadraten und dem Rand keine roten Dreiecke eingezeichnet waren. Wenn zwischen den Rosettenquadraten ein weißes Dreieck frei bleibt oder ein rotes Dreieck auftritt, deutet dies auf eine Langseite des Musters. Möglicherweise handelt es sich aber auch nur um eine Flüchtigkeit, in der das zu erwartende rote Dreieck etwas zu weit vom Rosettenquadrat entfernt gemalt worden ist (siehe §II), so daß es auf dem Fragment nicht erscheint, weil der Ausschnitt zu klein ist. Ein breiter Abstand zwischen der roten Linie und dem grünen Rosettenquadrat wird auch durch andere Fragmente dokumentiert.

Vergleichbar ist dies erneut mit der Decke im Grab des Sennefer, die diese Zwickel-

⁴ Shedid und Seidel, *Das Grab des Nacht*, S. 21–22; LÄ I, Sp. 1003.

⁵ Wilkinson und Hill, *Egyptian Paintings*, Abb. 26, S. 71 30.4.4.

dreiecke ebenfalls aufweist. Allerdings können innerhalb einer Längsseite am Streifenband diese Dreiecke auftreten oder auch nicht.⁶

Die Flächengliederung der Rosettenreihen wird durch rote Zickzack-Linien von ca. 0,5 cm Breite bestimmt, die gegengleich verlaufen und so in den Freiflächen annähernd quadratische Flächen freilassen. In diese Freiflächen sind die Rosettenquadrate eingeschrieben, die die Reihen bilden. Durch die gegengleiche Anordnung der Zickzack-Streifen entsteht für die Rosettenquadrate in den Reihen eine Phasenverschiebung um jeweils eine halbe Phase, d.h. um ein halbes Rosettenquadrat von Reihe zu Reihe. Die Reihen beginnen einmal mit einem vollen Rosettenquadrat, und zwar der grünen Rosettenquadrate (P99004-8A, B, F) und einmal mit einem freien weißen Dreieck vor jeder Reihe mit den blauen Rosettenquadraten. Der Schnittpunkt zweier grüner Rosettenquadrate liegt auf einer Höhe mit einer Spitze eines blauen Rosettenquadrats. Durch diese Anordnung ist die Dekoration akzentuiert, und die formal homogenen Reihen in farbiger Varietät kongruieren mit der Phasenverschiebung. Die Gewichtung der roten Zickzack-Streifen tritt in dieser Deckendekoration hinter die der Rosettenquadrate zurück. Die Rosettenquadrate sind deutlich dominant. Rechts und links der Zickzack-Linien ist jeweils ein weißer Freiraum, durch den die Grundfarbe der Decke hervortritt. Es sind keine Fragmente mit halben Rosettenquadraten oder mit blauen Rosettenquadraten an dem Streifenband belegt.

Die grünen Rosettenquadrate sind mit den blauen Rosettenquadraten mit roter Rosette in alternierenden Reihen kombiniert. Es liegt ein formal homogenes Deckenmuster in farbiger Varietät vor.⁷

Von den blauen Rosettenquadraten mit schwarzer Rosette ist die Anzahl der Fragmente wesentlich geringer als die der beiden übrigen Rosettenquadrate. Auch sind die Ausschnitte der Decke wesentlich kleiner, so daß die Fragmente nur Teile blauer Rosettenquadrate mit schwarzer Rosette wiedergeben. Das größte Fragment (P99004-8T) weist noch die rote Zickzack-Linie auf. Die Anzahl der Fragmente mit grünem Rosettenquadrat ist deutlich höher als die der beiden anderen. Daraus ergeben sich zwei Möglichkeiten für die Rekonstruktion des Deckenmusters:

1. Die grünen Rosettenquadrate wechseln sich mit den blauen Rosettenquadraten mit roter Rosette ab und bilden so einen Rapport für eine Decke oder einen Teil derselben. Ein Muster von homogenen Reihen in farbiger Varietät in der um ein halbe Phase verschobenen Flächengliederung der Form ABAB liegt vor. Grüne Rosettenquadrate mit schwarzen Rosetten, auf die dann blaue Quadrate mit roter Rosetten folgen, sind in den Fragmenten belegt.

2. Die grünen Rosettenquadrate wechseln sich mit den blauen Rosettenquadraten mit

⁶ Sennefer. *Die Grabkammer des Bürgermeisters von Theben*, Abb. 42.

⁷ Fortová-Sámalová und Vilimková, *Das ägyptische Ornament*, S. 22.

schwarzer Rosette und bilden so einen weiteren Rapport für eine Decke oder einen Teil. Ein Muster von homogenen Reihen in farbiger Varietät in der um ein halbe Phase verschobenen Flächengliederung der Form ABAB liegt vor.

Jedes der unter 1. und 2. beschriebenen Rapporte kann einen eigenen Deckenteil gestalten. Das können zwei verschiedene Deckenteile einer Decke sein. Diese werden meistens durch breite gelbe Streifen voneinander getrennt. Vergleichbar ist dies mit der Decke im Grab des Sennefer (TT96, 18. Dynastie), auf der verschiedene Rosettendeckenteile miteinander kombiniert sind.⁸ Dort ist das unter 1. beschriebene Muster nahezu exakt wiederzufinden. Nur sind den Rosetten in den Quadraten noch Punkte hinzugefügt. Das unter 2. beschriebene Muster findet sich ebenfalls auf der Decke des Sennefer-Grabes mit der Variante wieder, daß alle Rosettenquadrate eine blaue Umrandung aufweisen und nur die roten Rosetten zusätzlich Punkte zeigen.

Deckenteile des Grabes des Nacht (TT52, 18. Dynastie) zeigen auch eine Variante des Rosettenmotivs.⁹ Auf dieser Decke weisen die Rosetten eines Deckenteils immer nur eine Farbe auf bei in Reihen alternierenden Farben (blau und grün) der Umrahmungen der Quadrate.¹⁰ Zusätzlich ist der Deckenteil mit den schwarzen Rosetten weißgrundig und hat gelbe Rosettenquadrate. Hingegen ist der mit den roten Rosetten gelbgrundig und hat weiße Rosettenquadrate.

Das Deckenmuster unter 1. ist exakt, aber mit zusätzlichen Punkten um die Rosetten, im Grab des Nebamun (TT90, 18. Dynastie) zu sehen.¹¹

Die unter 2. beschriebene Musteranordnung ist nahezu genauso im Grab des Nebamun und des Jpukj (TT181, 18. Dynastie) wiedergegeben.¹² Im dortigen Muster C sind alle Zentrumsunkte rot, während die Rosetten noch durch rote kurze Blätter erweitert wurden. Im Muster G des Grabes sind den Rosetten lediglich zusätzlich einerseits Punkte und andererseits kleine rote Striche hinzugefügt worden, und alle Zentrumsunkte sind schwarz.

Im Grab des Amonmose (TT373, 19. Dynastie) und im Grab des Wah (TT22, 18. Dynastie) sind auch Deckenteile mit diesem Rosettenmotiv in Variation versehen.¹³

Diese beiden Deckenmotive stammen überwiegend aus der 18. Dynastie, sind allerdings noch weiter im Neuen Reich vertreten. Wahrscheinlich gehört das Rosettenmotiv zu den häufigsten ägyptischen Dekorelementen.¹⁴ Es ist in der Grabarchitektur als Dekendekoration besonders im Neuen Reich weit verbreitet. Insofern gewinnt die Möglichkeit, daß diese Rosettendecke aus dem Grab des Amenemopet (TT297), ebenfalls 18. Dynastie, stammt zusätzlich an Wahrscheinlichkeit.

⁸ Sennefer. *Die Grabkammer des Bürgermeisters von Theben*, Abb. 42.

⁹ Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht*, S. 45, Tafel XIV.

¹⁰ Shedid und Seidel, *Das Grab des Nacht*, S. 82.

¹¹ Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, Tafel 38A; Wilson, *Ancient Egyptian Design*, Tafel 27 unten.

¹² Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*, Tafel 30G.

¹³ Seyfried, *Das Grab des Amonmose*, Farbtafel IV, Abb 167, Typ 4; Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, Tafel 40. Ähnliche Deckendekorationen kann man auch in Prisse d'Avennes, *Atlas of Egyptian Art*, Tafel I, 28 und Fortová-Sámalová und Vilimková, *Das ägyptische Ornament*, S. 22, Nr. 32, 33, 35 finden.

¹⁴ Fortová-Sámalová und Vilimková, *Das ägyptische Ornament*, S. 24.

Eine dritte Variante ist eine Kombination aus beiden Mustern, die allerdings ohne Parallele ist und deshalb eher unwahrscheinlich:

3. Zunächst ist eine Reihe mit grünen Rosettenquadraten angebracht; darauf folgt eine Reihe mit blauen Rosettenquadraten, die die rote Rosette enthalten; dann kommt wieder eine Reihe grüner Rosettenquadrate, an die sich eine Reihe mit blauen Rosettenquadraten anschließt, die die schwarze Rosette enthalten. Ein Muster ABACABAC entstünde.

Da dieses Muster alle gefundenen Fragmente berücksichtigt, gibt die Abbildung diese Varianten an.

II. Ausführung der Malerei und Phasen des Farbauftrages

Die Decke ist flüchtig und mit großer Schnelligkeit ausgeführt. Die Linien stehen nicht exakt zueinander. Die Streifen und Bänder weisen keine einheitliche Breite auf. Diese variieren mit der Pinselbreite und dem Pinselaufdruck. Die Rosettenquadrate wurden zuerst in Gelb gemalt und der Rand in Grün oder Blau anschließend über das Gelb aufgetragen. In der flüchtigen Ausführung kommt es vor, daß die Rosettenquadrate daher auch am Rand Gelb aufweisen. Diese Übermalung macht auch die Unterscheidung zwischen Grün und Blau oft schwierig. Die roten Trennlinien zwischen den Rosettenquadraten, die eine Zickzack-Form haben, zeigen in den Umkehrpunkten nicht immer Spitzen, sondern auch Kurven, was auf die flüchtige Ausführung zurückzuführen ist. Manchmal gibt es in diesen Umkehrpunkten auch geringfügige Überschneidungen der beiden Linien.

Der Duktus und die Ausführung stimmen mit den oben genannten Parallelen überein. Diese flüchtige Art der Deckendekorationsausführung ist für das Neue Reich typisch. Auch dieses erhöht die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß die Decke zu dem Grab des Amenemopet (TT297) gehört.

Beschreibung der Rekonstruktion weiterer Fragmente von Fries- und Deckenbemalung (P99004-1,2,3,4 + 6)

Diese Fragmente wurden 1999 und 2000 im Schutt über dem Hof III des Grabes des Padihorresnet (TT196) gefunden.

P99004-1: Blütenmotiv (Plate IVb)

Die wenigen Fragmente, die gefunden wurden, lassen ein Blütenmotiv erkennen. Die Blüten haben einen roten Zentrumspunkt, den eine blau-grüne Kreisfläche umgibt. Diese blau-grünen Kreise umschließen ungefähr 12 Blütenblätter. Sie sind weiß mit schwarzem Rand. Die Flächen zwischen den angrenzenden Blüten zeigen die Form von Rauten, an den Seiten eingezogenen Quadraten, die rot gefüllt sind. Einige Fragmente zeigen, daß die Blüten aneinander stoßen. Es ist also zumindest von einer Blütenreihe auszugehen. Diese Blütenreihe ist vergleichbar mit der in dem Deckendekor des Grabes eines Unbekannten, wahrscheinlich Heqa-reschu (TT226).¹⁵ Ein Dekor von aufgereihten Blüten kommt auch

¹⁵ Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose and Another*, Tafel 30C.

auf dem Deckel einer Truhe aus dem Grab des Cha (TT8, Amenhotep II–Amenhotep III) vor.¹⁶

Ein einzelnes Fragment weist eine gelbe Fläche und eine schwarze gewölbte Linie an den Blütenblättern auf, so daß eine Kombination aus Blütenreihen und einem weiteren, gelbgrundigen Motiv nicht auszuschließen ist. Alternierende Blüten und Spiralen sind ein gängiges Flächenmotiv.¹⁷ Möglicherweise sind diese Blüten mit dem Spiralmotiv (s.u.) in alternierenden Reihen kombiniert worden und entsprechen dann dem Deckenmuster im Grab des Heqa-reschu. Dagegen sprechen nur die Fragmente des Spiralmusters, die gerade parallele Linien zeigen, die in Spiralreihen nicht vorkommen. Dort gibt es nur gebogene Linien. Auch die rautenförmigen Zwischenflächen, die sowohl in der Flächengliederung des Blütenmotivs als auch in der des Spiralmotivs rot sind, sprechen gegen diese Kombination, da beide zwei verschiedene Rottöne zeigen.

P99004-2: Lotusmotiv (Plate Va)

An ein Streifenband grenzt ein Lotusmotiv, das nur in wenigen Fragmenten erhalten ist. Das Streifenband zeigt dieselbe Form wie bei der Rosettendecke, allerdings ist der ganze Streifen nicht erhalten. Von innen nach außen folgen ein schwarzer, weißer, roter und nochmals ein schwarzer Streifen aufeinander. Der bei der Rosettendecke erhaltene abschließende schwarze Streifen sowie die gelben Flächen sind in den Fragmenten nicht vorhanden.

Das Lotusdekor ist gelbgrundig. Die schwarz umrandeten blau-grünen Knospen weisen am Blütenboden je drei schwarze Kreissegmente auf. Zwischen den schwarzen Linien ist der gelbe Grund sichtbar. Zwischen dem Streifenband und den Knospen ist als Verbindung eine rote kurze Linie bzw. ein roter Punkt angegeben. Die Knospen alternieren mit offenen Blüten. Sie unterscheiden sich von den Knospen durch die unterschiedliche Gestaltung der Außenkanten. Die Knospen weisen konvexe Außenkanten auf, während die der Blüten gerade sind. Die äußeren Blütenblätter sind von hellgrüner Farbe, die daran anschließenden von blaugrüner. Der Blütenboden der offenen Blüten ist genauso gestaltet wie der der Knospen. Knospen und Blüten sind durch rote schräge Linien getrennt.

Die Fragmente zeigen nur das Motiv an dem Streifenband. Es ist nicht mit einer Flächengliederung, sondern mit einer linearen Ausdehnung des Motivs zu rechnen. Es liegt nur eine einfache Reihung vor. Dieses Lotusmotiv kommt als oberer Abschluß von Wänden vor, wie im Grab des Amenhotep, genannt Huy (TT40, 18. Dynastie).¹⁸ Letztgenanntes liegt sogar auch an einem mehrfarbigen Streifenband und weist die Kreissegmente am Blütenboden auf wie die vorliegenden Fragmente.

¹⁶ Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture* II, Tafel 42 (Diesen Hinweis verdanke ich Nigel Strudwick).

¹⁷ Fortová-Sámalová und Vilimková, *Das ägyptische Ornament*, Nr. 143–146, 149 z.B. Hofmann, *Das Grab des Neferrenpet*, Farbtafel XIII A und Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors*, Tafel 30 E und H.

¹⁸ Davies und Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy*, Tafel 35.

P99004-3: Spiralmotiv (Plate IVc)

Auf gelbem Grund zeigt sich ein Spiralmuster. Zahlreiche Fragmente zeigen schwarze, gebogene Linien, die an der Innenseite der schwarzen Linien teilweise grüne Flächen aufweisen, während an der Außenseite manchmal roten Flächen auftreten. Die meisten Linien weisen einen ca. 1 cm breiten Abstand auf, der zum Mittelpunkt der Kreisspirale enger wird.

Das Bewegungsschema des Spiralmusters ist S-förmig und fließend. Dies ist erkennbar durch die Gabelungen der schwarzen gebogenen Linie. Die innere Linie der Gabelung führt zum Mittelpunkt des Kreises, der grün ist, während die äußere Linie der Gabelung den Bogen zur nächsten Kreisspirale zieht.

Einige Fragmente haben nahezu gerade parallele Linien, die die Strecke zwischen zwei Kreisspiralen angeben. Diese ist gerade, nicht gekrümmt wie bei ähnlichen Motiven.¹⁹

Die Spiralen weisen vierfache Umkreisungen auf, wie an einigen Fragmenten zu erkennen ist. Diese vierfachen Umkreisungen zeigen an, daß die Flächengliederung des Spiralmusters nebeneinander angeordnete Reihen mit Spiralen aufweist. In den Zwischenflächen der Spiralen entstehen Rauten, Quadrate mit eingezogenen Seiten. Diese Rauten sind von roter Farbe. In diesen Rauten sind häufig Blüten oder ähnliches belegt.²⁰

Von dem grünen Mittelpunkt von ca. 2,5 cm Durchmesser gehen jeweils vier schwarze, kreisförmige Linien ab, die je zu einer neuen Spirale führen sowie je einem weiteren grünen Mittelpunkt.

Diese Flächengliederung ist vergleichbar mit Fortová-Sámalová und Vilimková, *Das ägyptische Ornament*, Nr. 151. Auch im Grab des Nefersecheru (TT296, 19. Dynastie) ist ein Teil der Decke mit einer ähnlichen Flächengliederung gestaltet.²¹ Spiralen hat auch die Decke im Grab des Nebamun und des Jpukj (TT181, 18. Dynastie).²²

P99004-4 + 6: Lotusblütenmotiv (Plate Vb)

An ein mehrfarbiges Leiterband grenzt ein Lotusblütenmotiv. Die offenen Blüten liegen abwechselnd mit dem Blütenboden oder mit den Spitzen der Blütenblätter an dem Leiterband. Zwischen den Blüten gibt es keine Zwischenräume. Die Blüten teilen sich sogar jeweils die äußeren Blütenblätter und haben diese gemeinsam.

Die Lotusblüten, die mit den Spitzen der Blütenblätter an das Leiterband stoßen, zeigen blaue und grüne Blütenblätter auf weißem Grund. Die Blüten weisen als zentrales Blütenblatt ein grünes mit schwarzer Umrandung auf, während die mittleren Blütenblätter blau ausgefüllt sind. Die äußeren sind grün mit schwarzer Umrandung und sind doppelt zu lesen.

¹⁹ Fortová-Sámalová und Vilimková, *Das ägyptische Ornament*, Nr. 142

²⁰ Fortová-Sámalová und Vilimková, *Das ägyptische Ornament*, Nr. 151, Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors*, Tafel 30F.

²¹ Feucht, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru*, Farbtafel V.

²² Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors*, Tafel 30E und H.

Von den Blüten, die mit dem Blütenboden an das Leiterband grenzen, ist nur eine und die auch nur fragmentarisch erhalten. Die äußeren Blütenblätter sind grün und der Blütenboden rot. Von der restlichen Blüte sind nur noch die Farben Schwarz und Gelb zu erkennen.

Das Leiterband wird seitlich von grünen Streifen, die schwarz eingefärbt sind, gerahmt. Die innere Struktur des Leiterbandes besteht einerseits aus kleineren weißen Rechtecken mit starken schwarzen Linien oben und unten. Andererseits werden diese weißen Rechtecke von blauen, weißen und roten rechteckigen Flächen umgeben, deren Abfolge aber unklar ist.

Bei diesem Motiv handelt es sich um die gleiche lineare Reihung wie bei dem Lotusmotiv.

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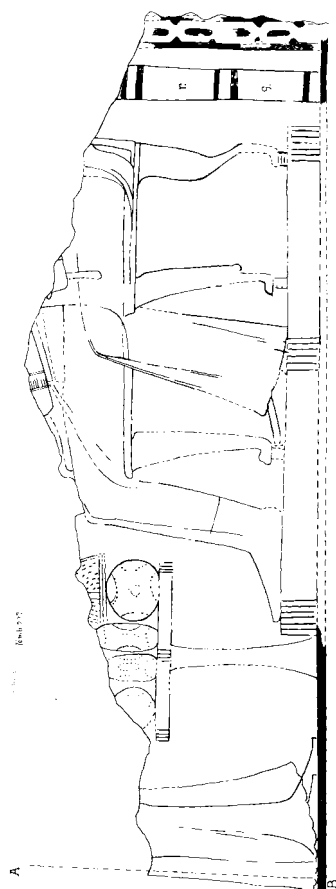
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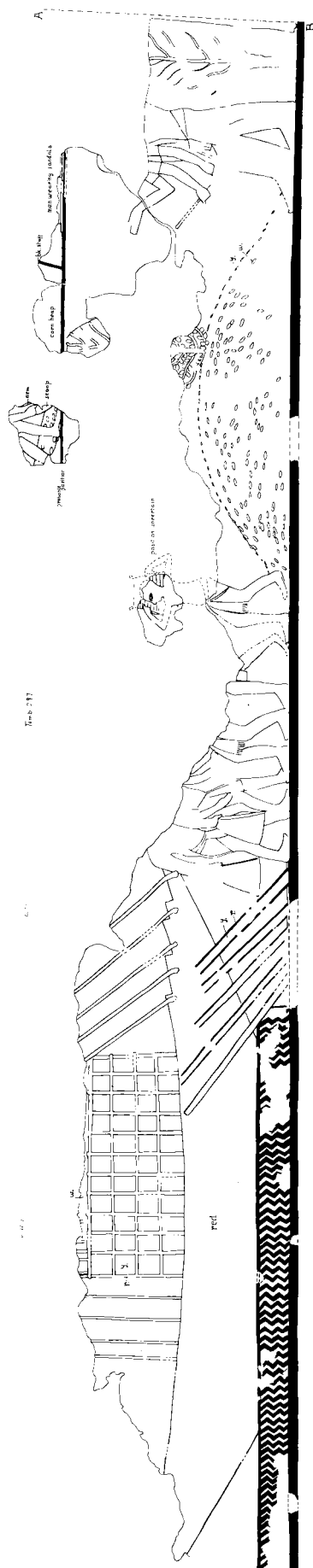
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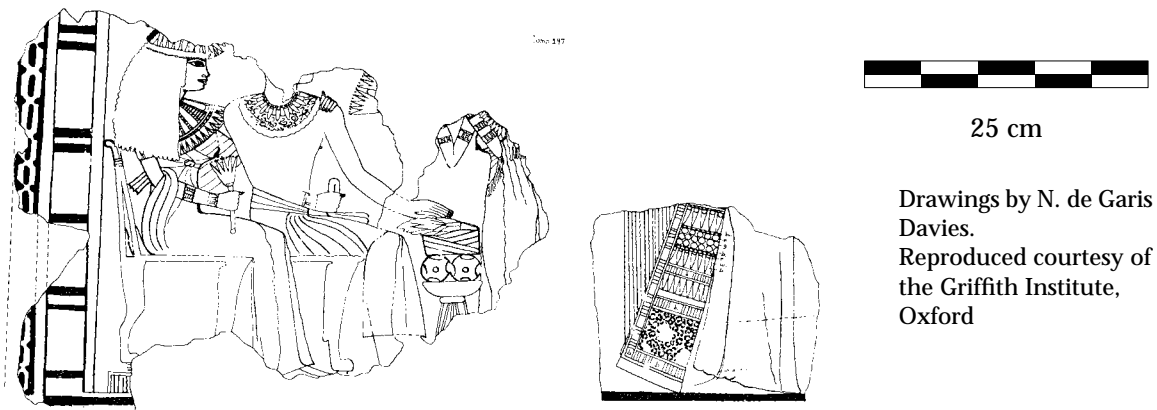


25 cm

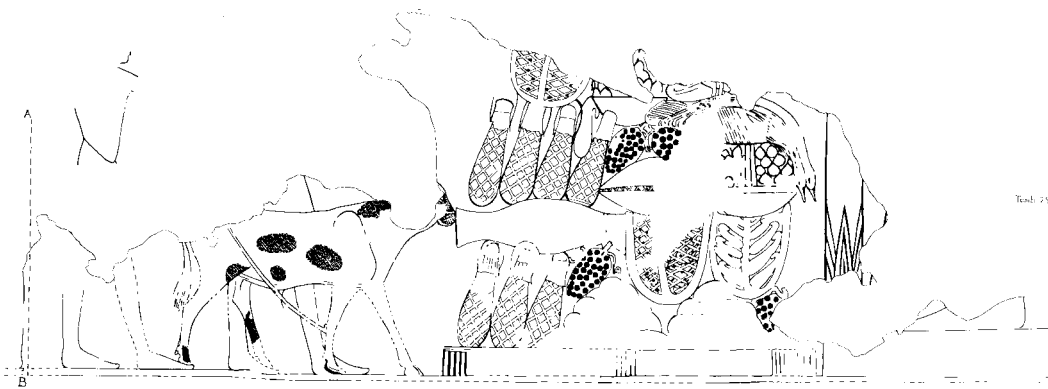
a Scene 1.2.a: Woman presenting food to couple (see p. 38)



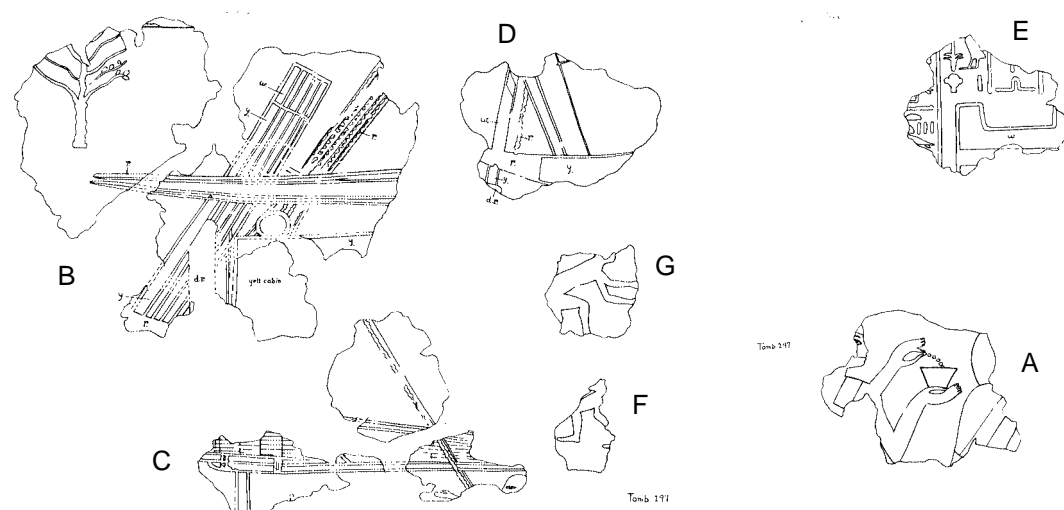
b Scene 1.2.b-c: Loading grain boats and other activities (see p. 39)



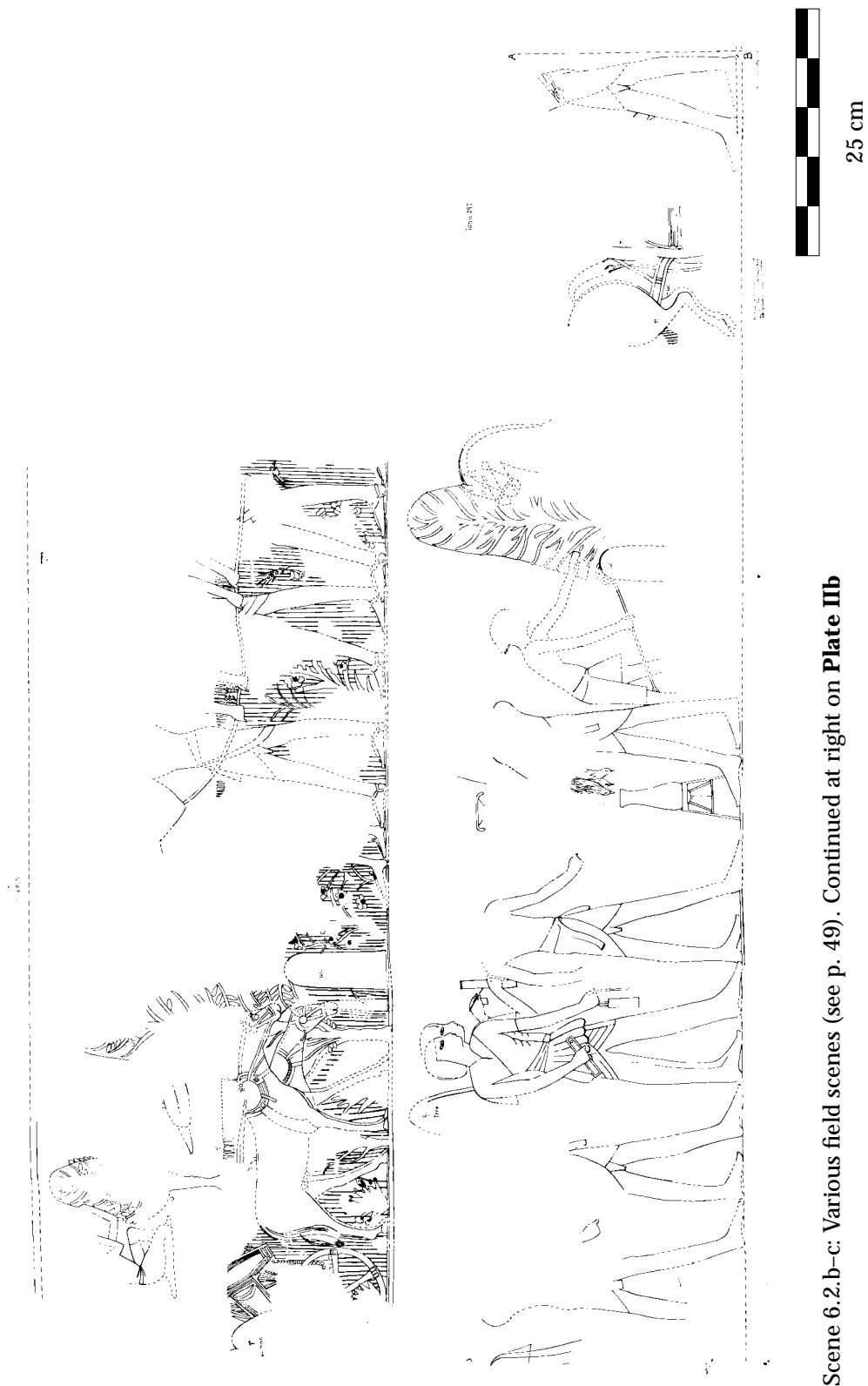
a Scene 4.1: Couple before servants and musicians (see p. 43)



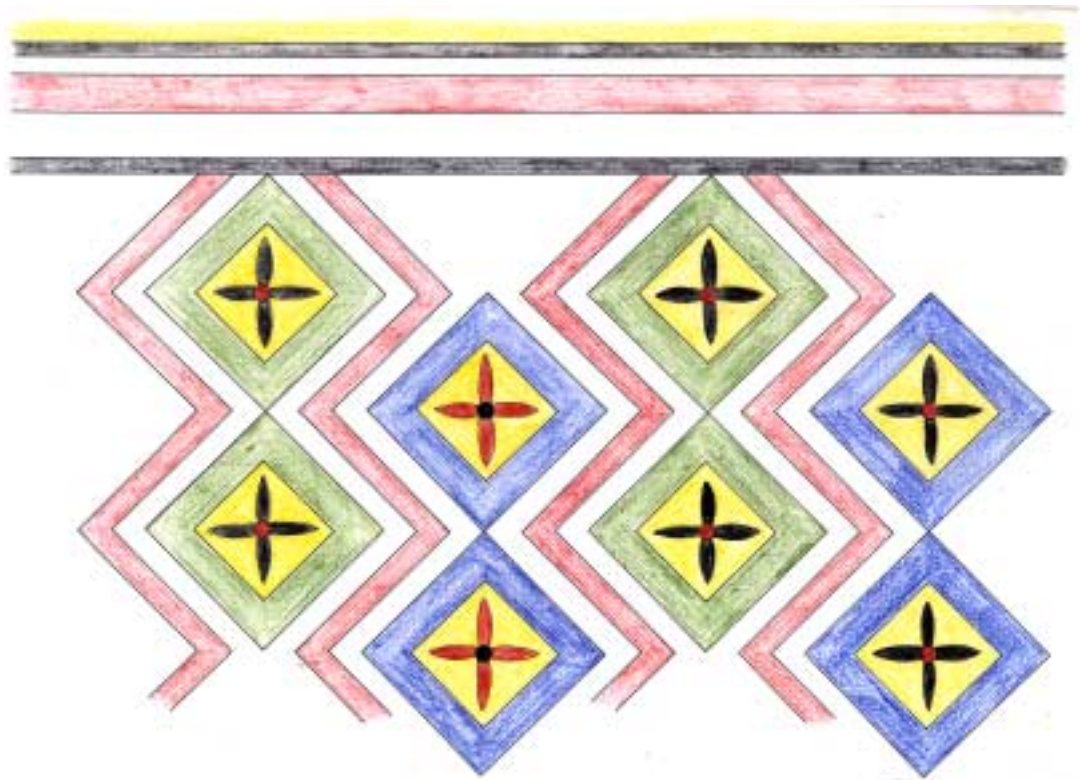
b Scene 6.2.a: Deceased under canopy with offerings being brought (see p. 46). Continued at left on **Plate III**



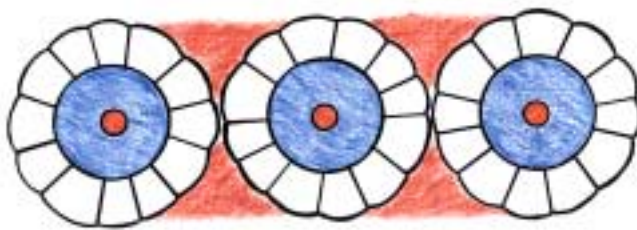
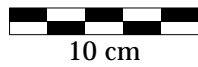
c Various unplaced fragments (see p. 57)



Scene 6.2.b-c: Various field scenes (see p. 49). Continued at right on **Plate IIb**



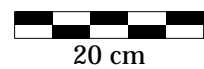
a Reconstruction of fragment P99004-8 (see p. 67)



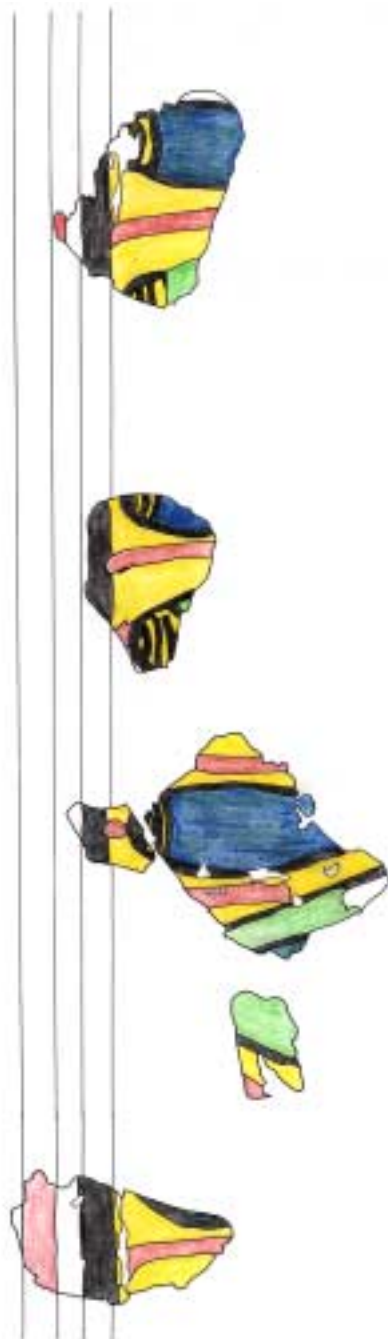
b Reconstruction of fragment P99004-1 (see p. 71)



c Reconstruction of fragment P99004-3 (see p. 73)



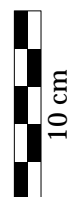
Reconstructions of fragments of tomb
decoration from TT297 found by the
Archaeological Mission to the Assasif,
University of Münster.
Drawings by Petra Vomberg



a Reconstruction of fragment P99004-2 (see p. 72)



b Reconstruction of fragment P99004-4 + 6 (see p. 73)



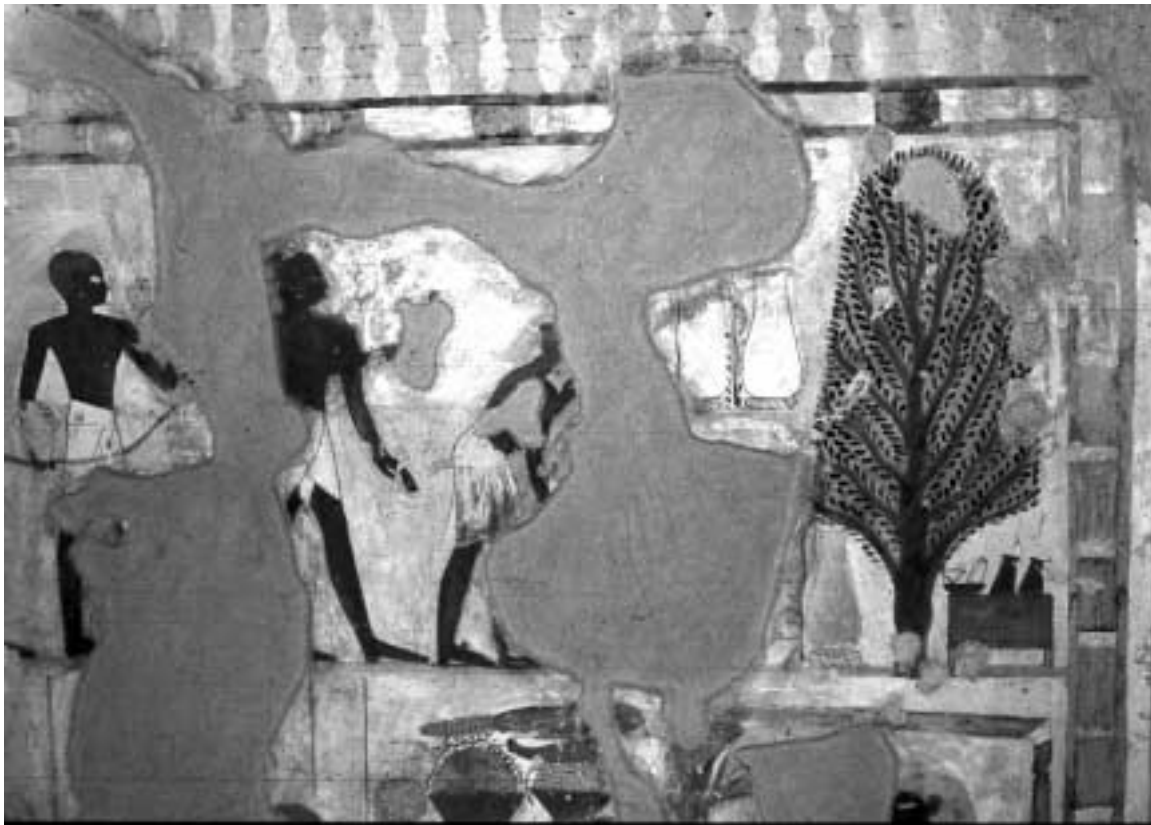
Reconstructions of fragments of tomb
decoration from $\pi\pi 297$ found by the
Archaeological Mission to the Assasif,
University of Münster.
Drawings by Petra Vomberg



a View showing (at left) part of the courtyard of TT297 (MMA831). At the right of the photo is the Davies house. Photograph taken in 1911–12 before excavation preceding the construction of the MMA house. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



b Scene from the tomb of Nebamun, BM EA 37892. © The Trustees of the British Museum



a Checking a stela in TT38. Photograph N.C. Strudwick



b Canopy scene in TT38. Photograph N.C. Strudwick



a Checking a stela in TT57 (from Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, 191)



b Equids with chariots in TT57 (from Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, 192)



c Fragments of ceiling patterns found by the Archaeological Mission to the Assasif, University of Münster in 1998 (see p. 67). Photograph E. Graefe



a Remains of TT297 as seen in 1984

b Remains of TT297 as seen in 1984
looking into the rear room



Photographs N.C. Strudwick



a Site of TT297 from the west in 2001



b Close-up of TT297 in 2001



c Area of TT297 from above in 2001,
looking towards the west end of the
Metropolitan House



d Area of TT297 from above in 2001,
looking towards the east end of the
Metropolitan House



a Fragment of sandstone lintel **[14]** (see p. 25).
Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



b Pottery imitation stone vessel with wooden lid bearing name of Tuy,
Amenemopet's wife **[18]** (see p. 30). MMA 28.3.23.
Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



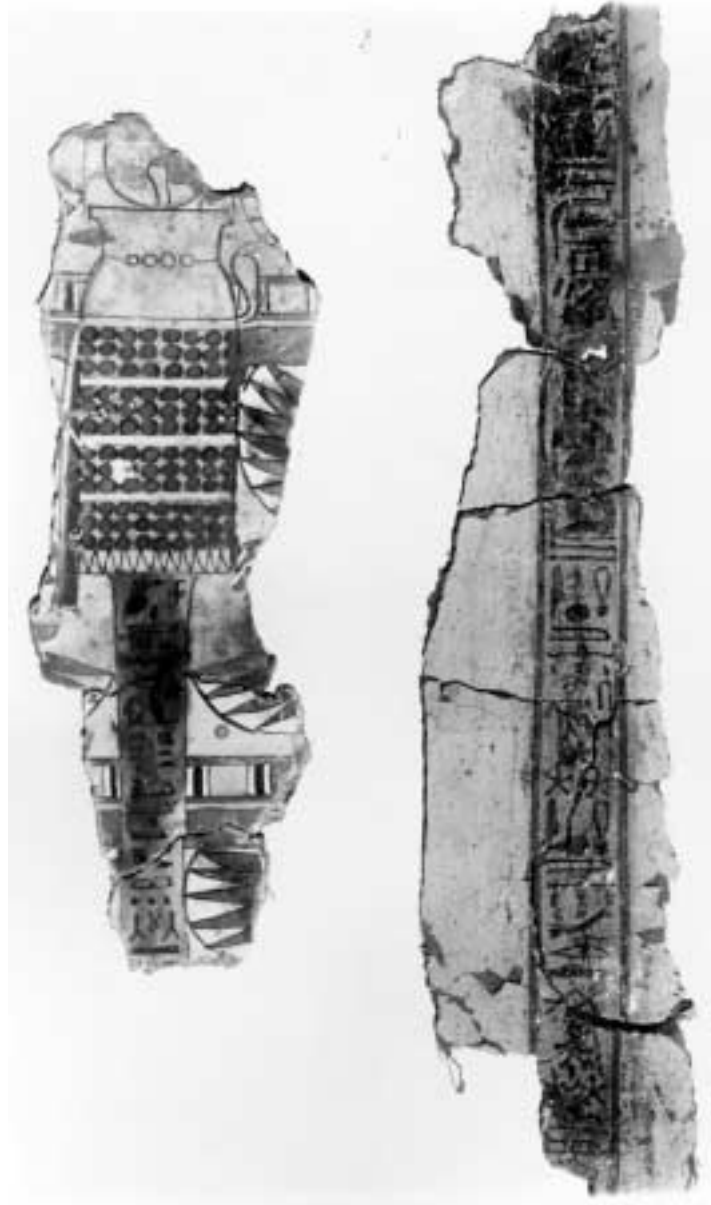
Fragments of stelaphorous statue of Amenemopet [17] (see p. 29).
Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



a Doorjamb with hymn text [1] (see p. 24).
Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



b Brush [30] (see p. 32). Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



Third Intermediate Period coffin fragments: left **[28]**, right **[29]** (see p. 31). Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



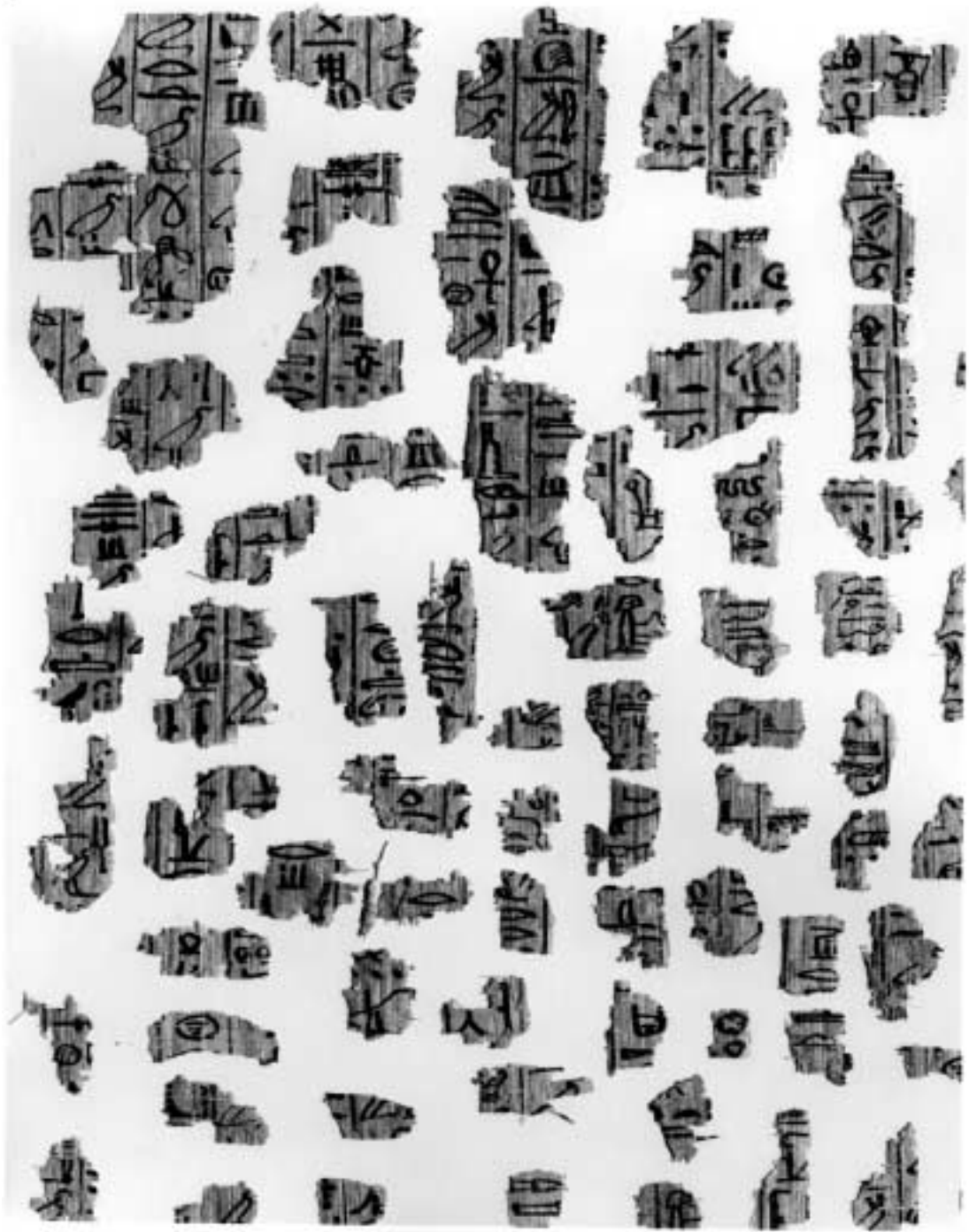
a Amulet, scarab and rings: left [32], centre [33] (upper) [34] (lower), right [32] (upper and lower) (see p. 32).

Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

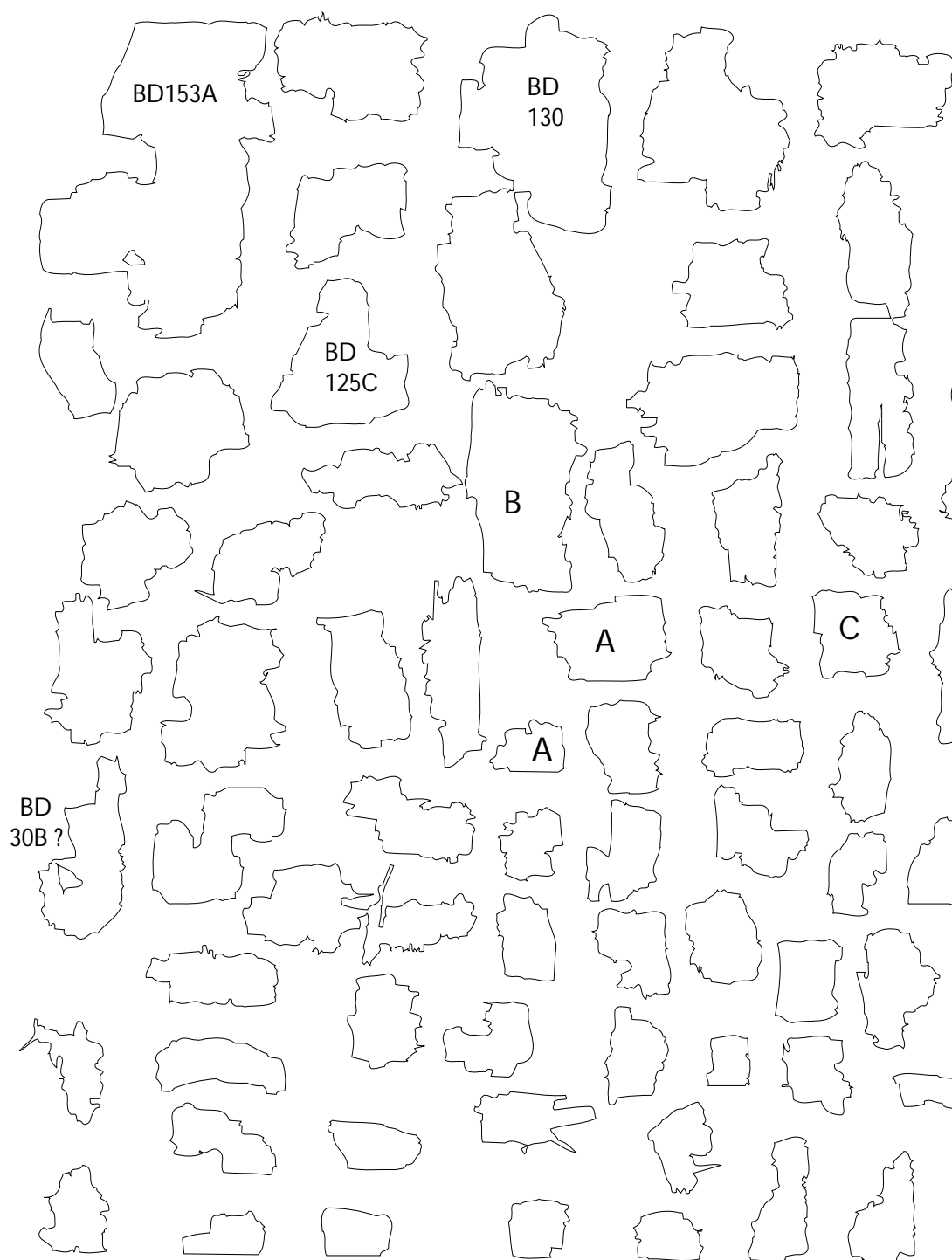


b Parts of a probable pair of sandstone doorjambs [41] (see p. 33).

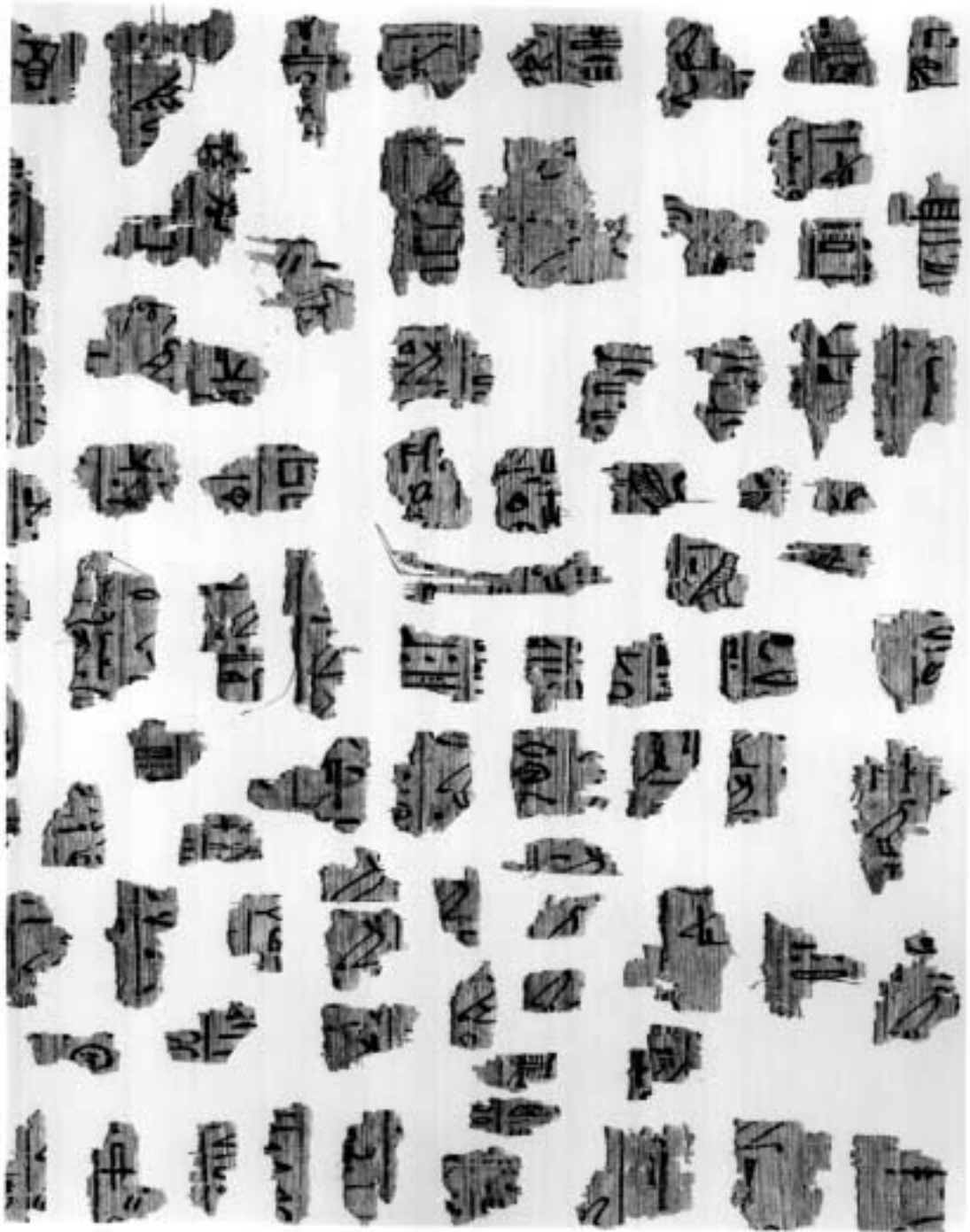
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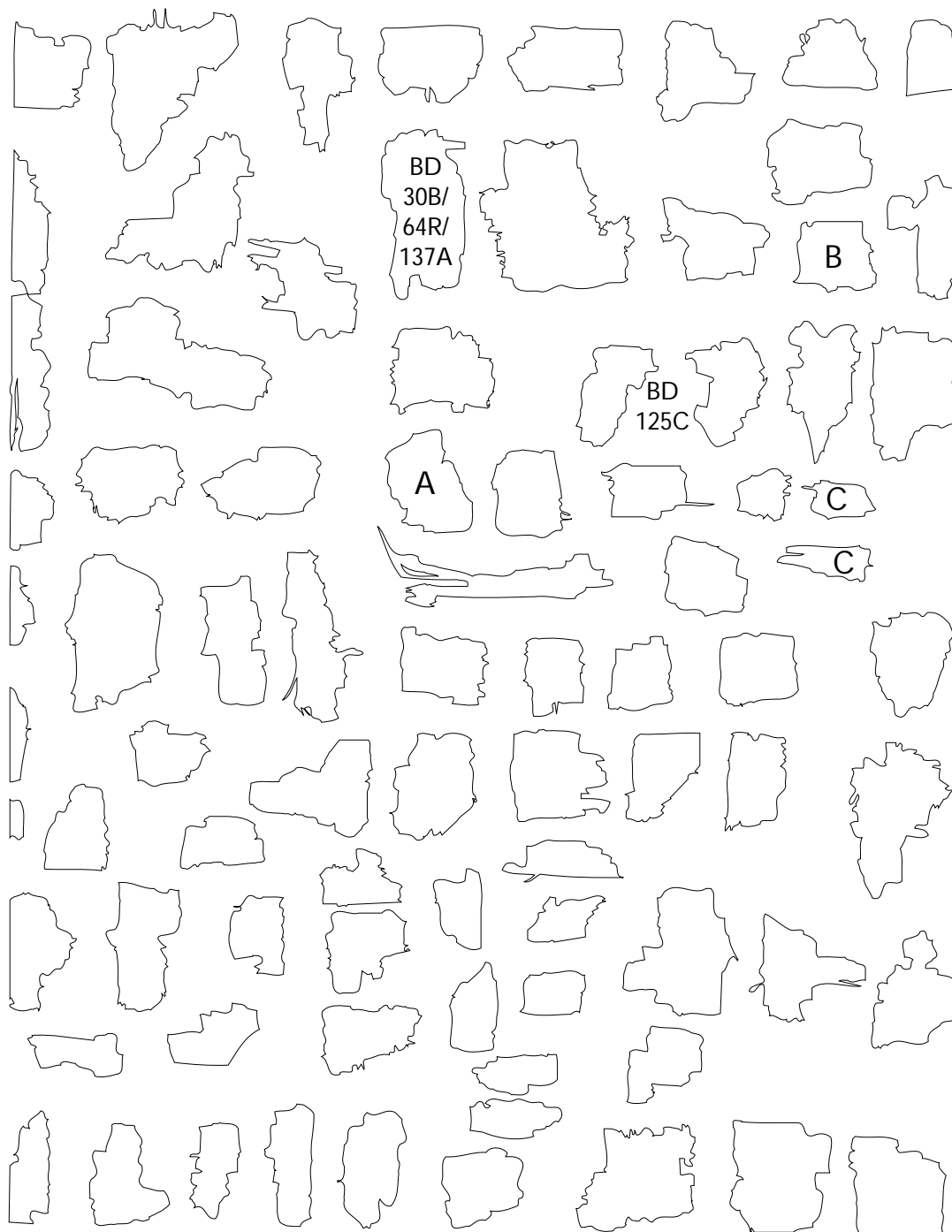
Papyrus fragments from TT297 [15] (see p. 25). MMA 28.3.299. Left-hand side of same frame as fragments in **Plate XVIII**. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See **Plate XVII** for key



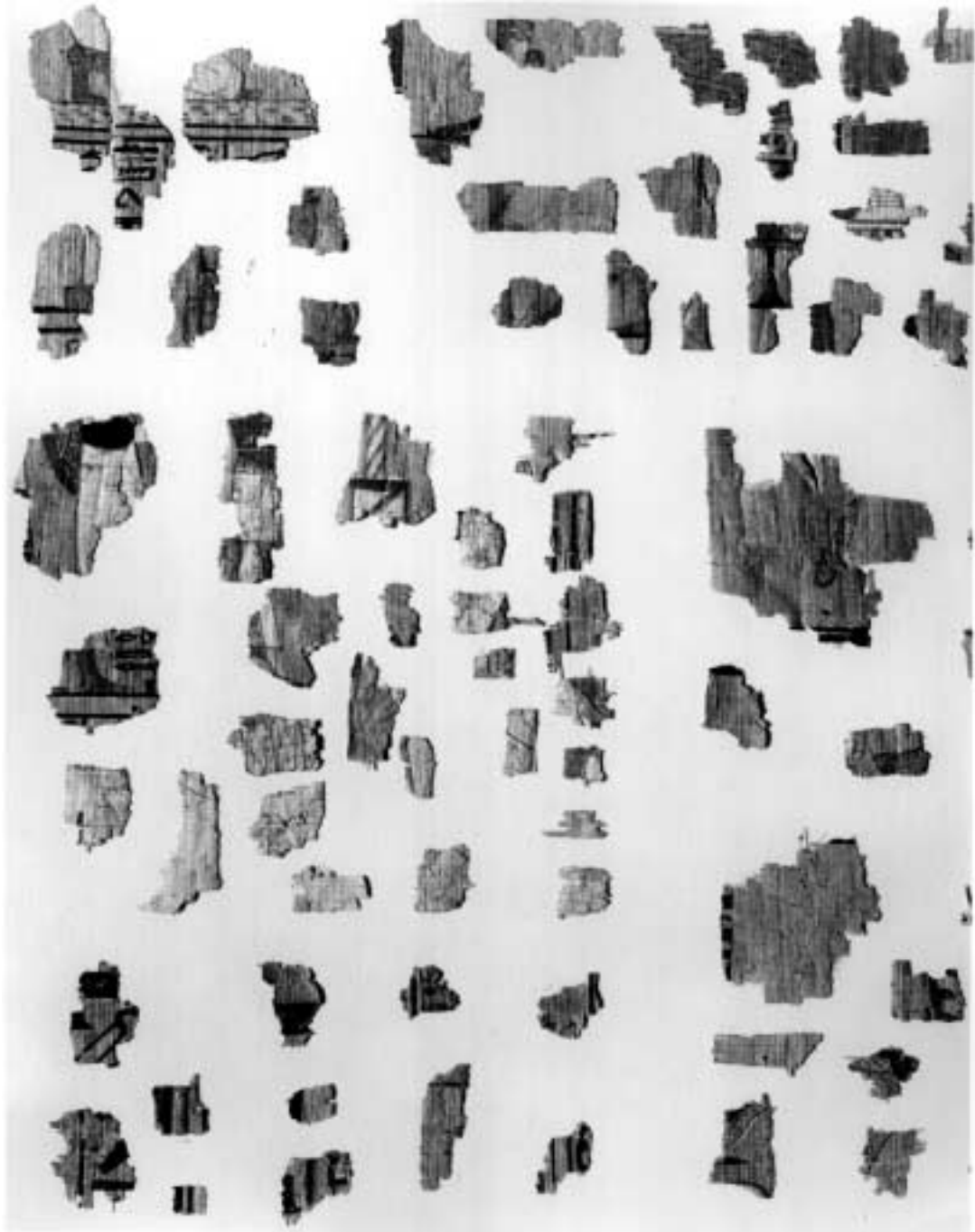
Key plate for textual and colour information for **Plate XVI**. *Sigla* are explained in **Table 3** (p. 26) and **Table 4** (p. 27)



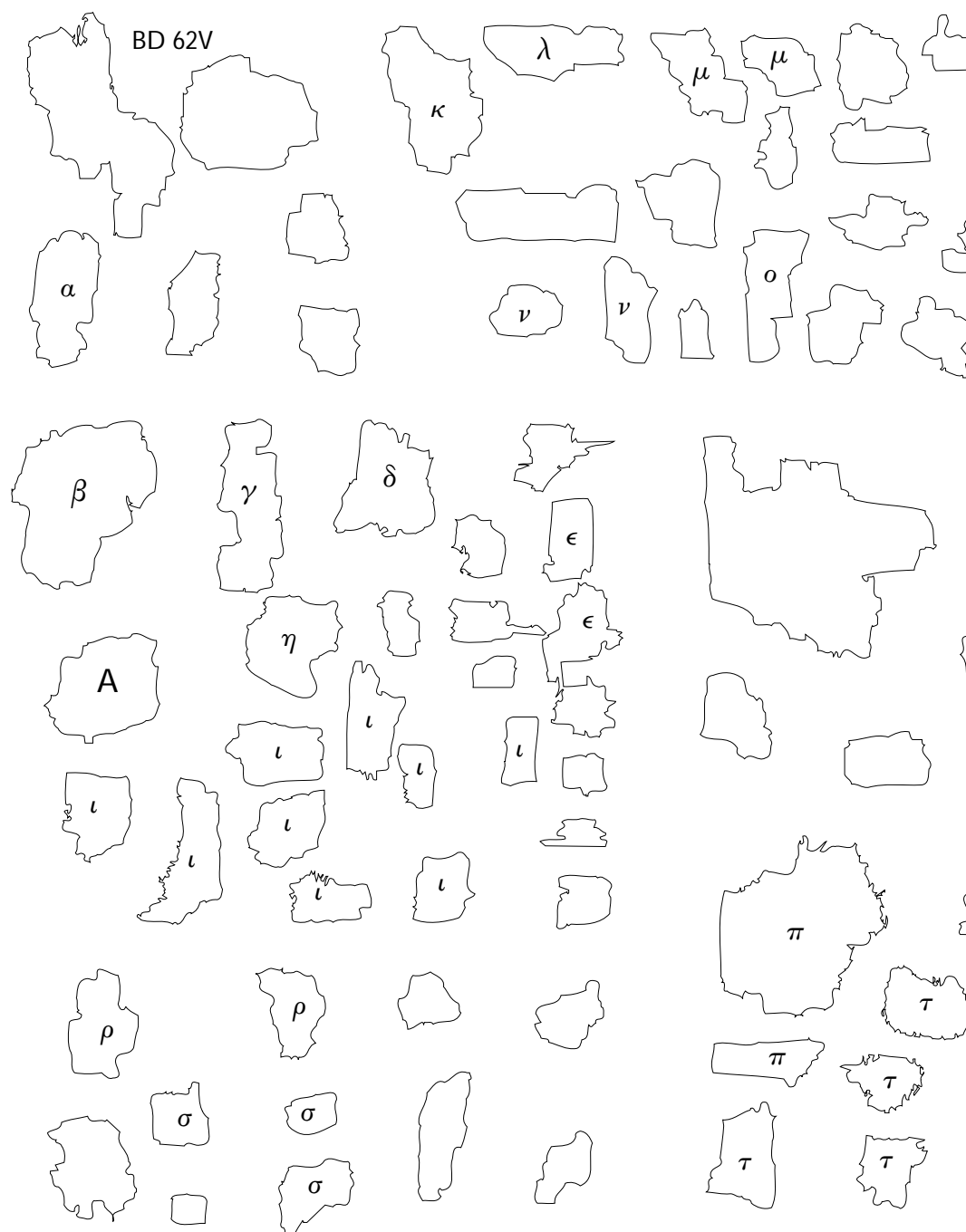
Papyrus fragments from TT297 [15] (see p. 25). MMA 28.3.299. Right-hand side of same frame as fragments in **Plate XVI**. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See **Plate XIX** for key



Key plate for textual and colour information for **Plate XVIII**. *Sigla* are explained in **Table 3** (p. 26) and **Table 4** (p. 27)



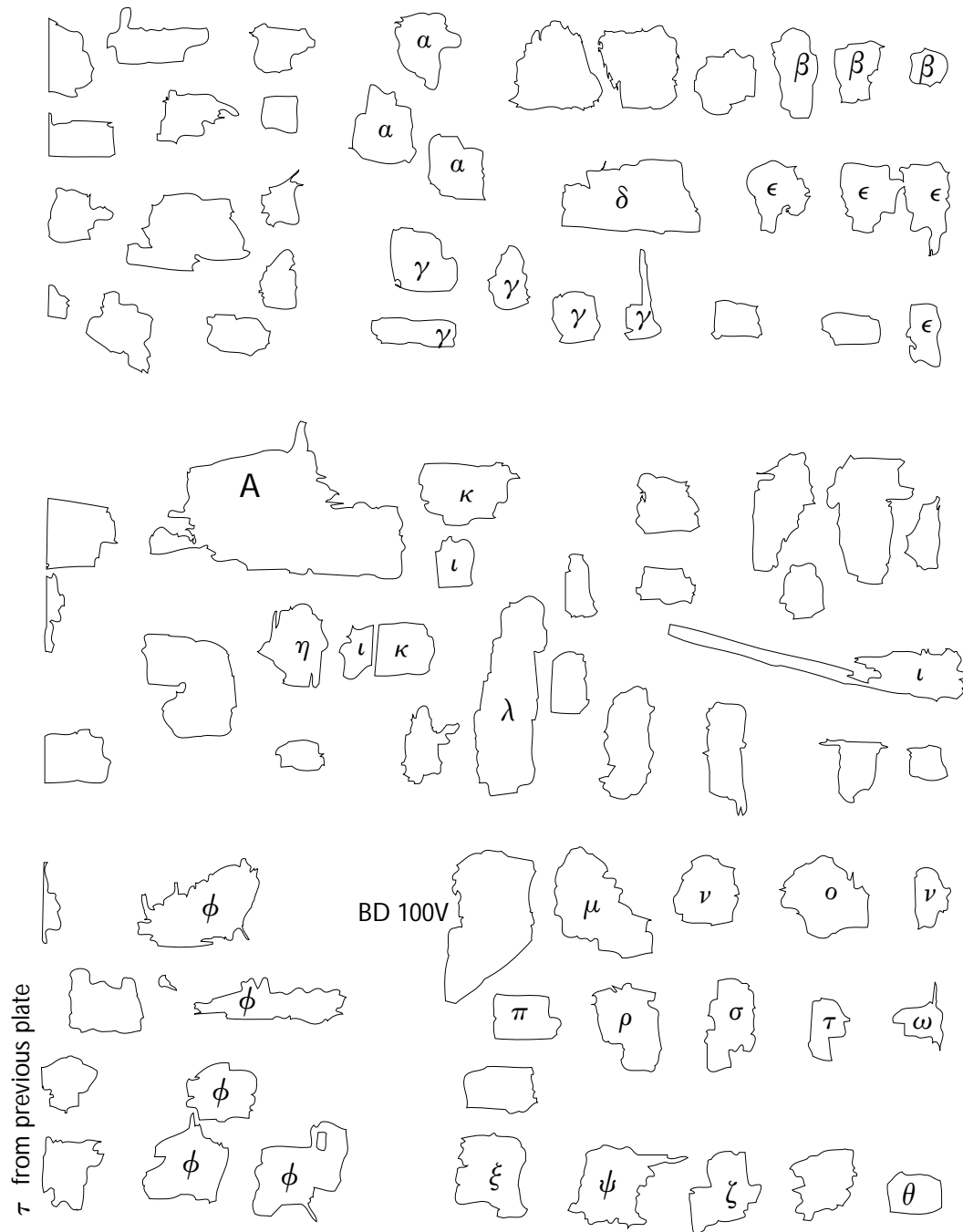
Papyrus fragments from TT297 [15] (see p. 25). MMA 28.3.299. Left-hand side of same frame as fragments in **Plate XXII**. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See **Plate XXI** for key



Key plate for textual and colour information for **Plate XX**. *Sigla* are explained in **Table 3** (p. 26) and **Table 4** (p. 27)



Papyrus fragments from TT297 [15] (see p. 25). MMA 28.3.299. Right-hand side of same frame as fragments in **Plate XX**. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See **Plate XXIII** for key



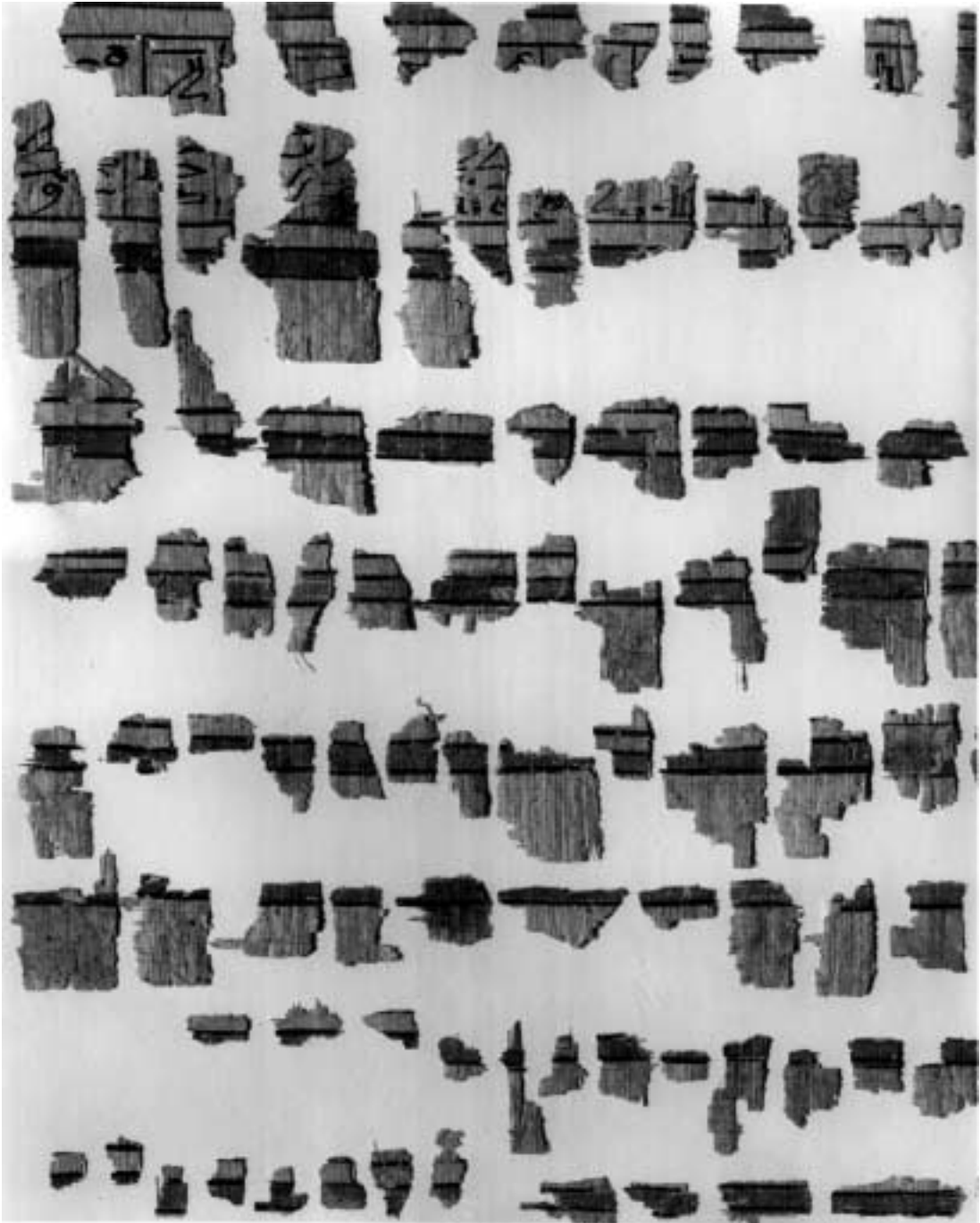
Key plate for textual and colour information for **Plate XXII**. *Sigla* are explained in **Table 3** (p. 26) and **Table 4** (p. 27)



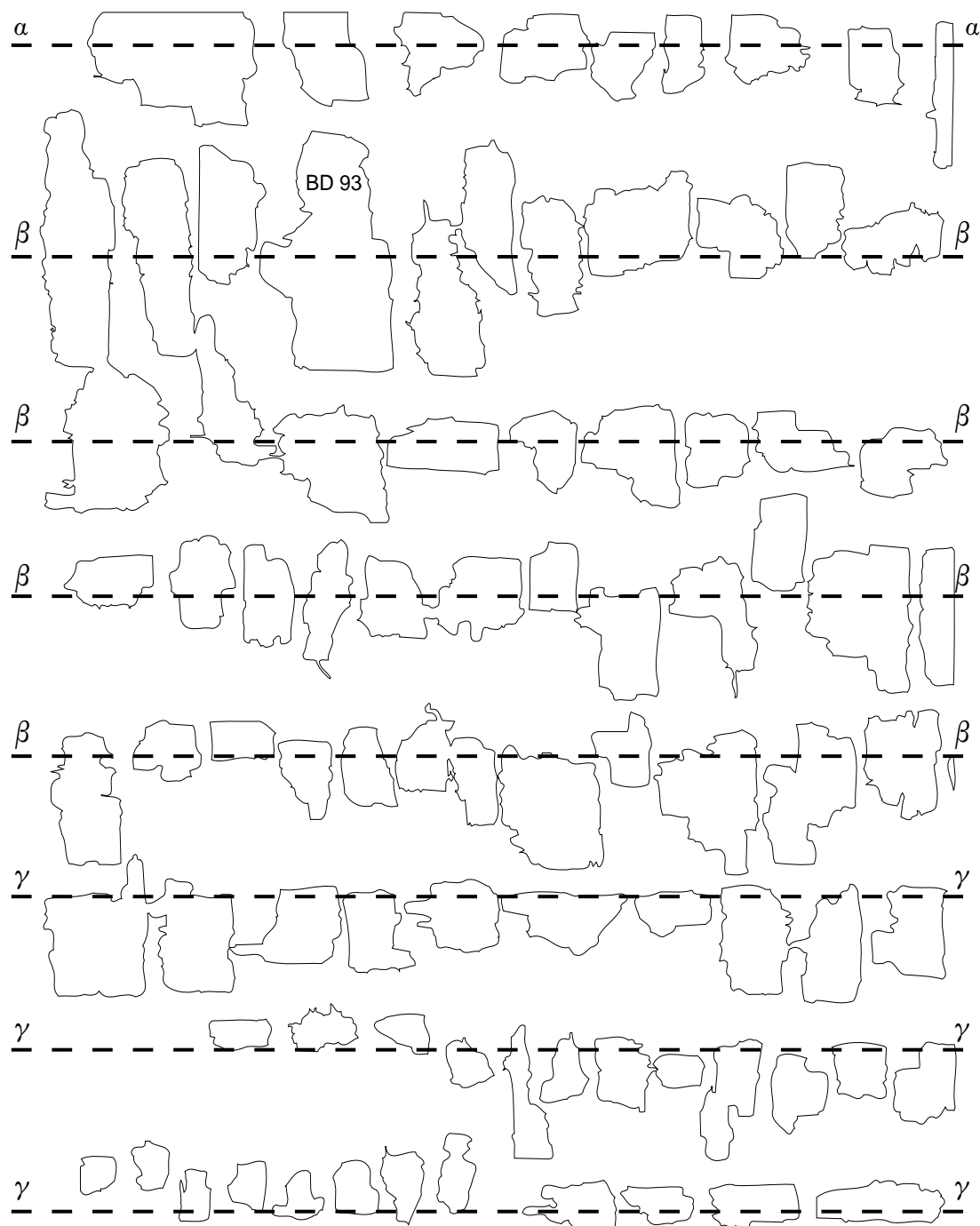
Papyrus fragments from TT297 [15] (see p. 25). MMA 28.3.299. Left-hand side of same frame as fragments in **Plate XXV**. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. No key plate



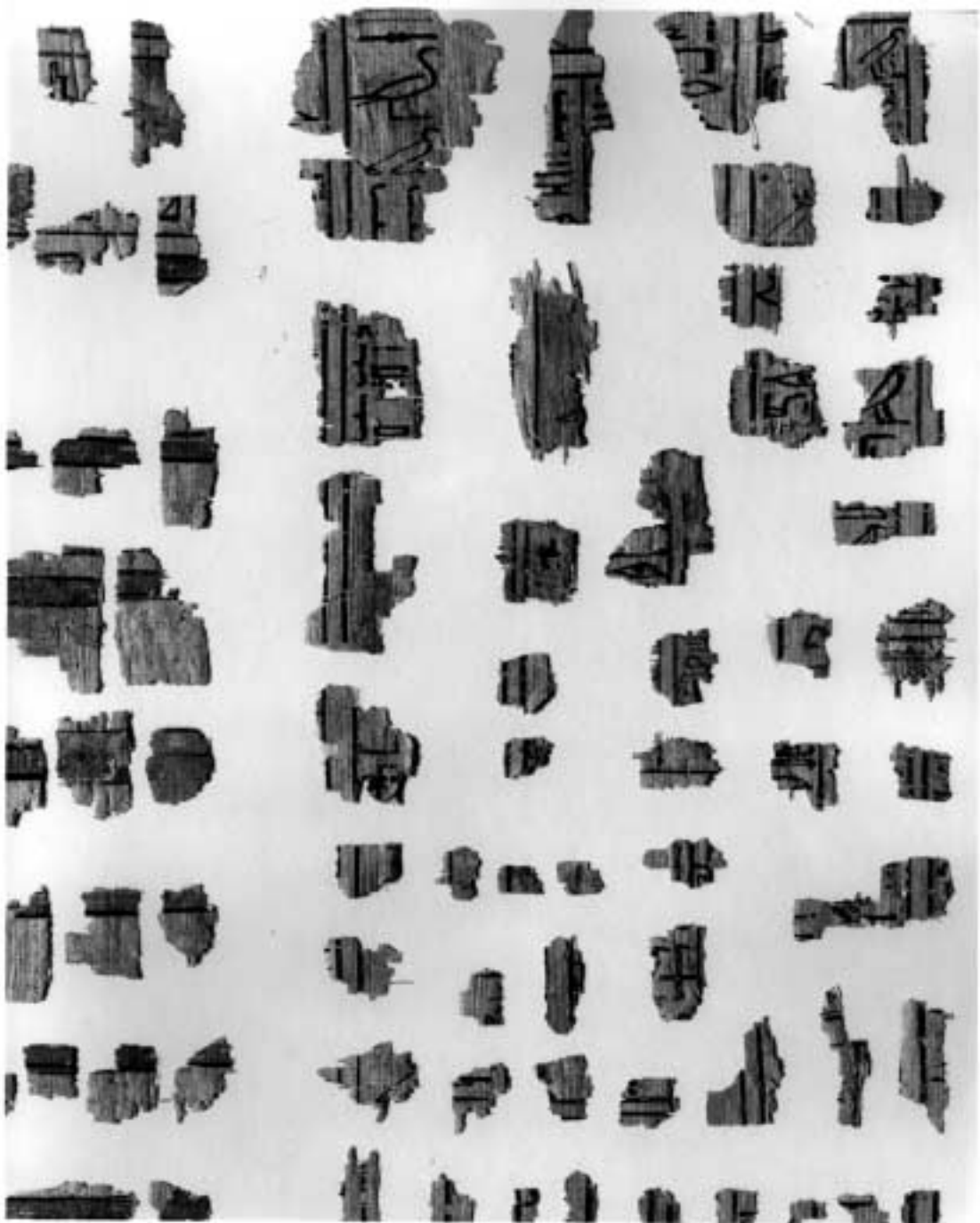
Papyrus fragments from TT297 [15] (see p. 25). MMA 28.3.299. Right-hand side of same frame as fragments in **Plate XXIV**. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. No key plate



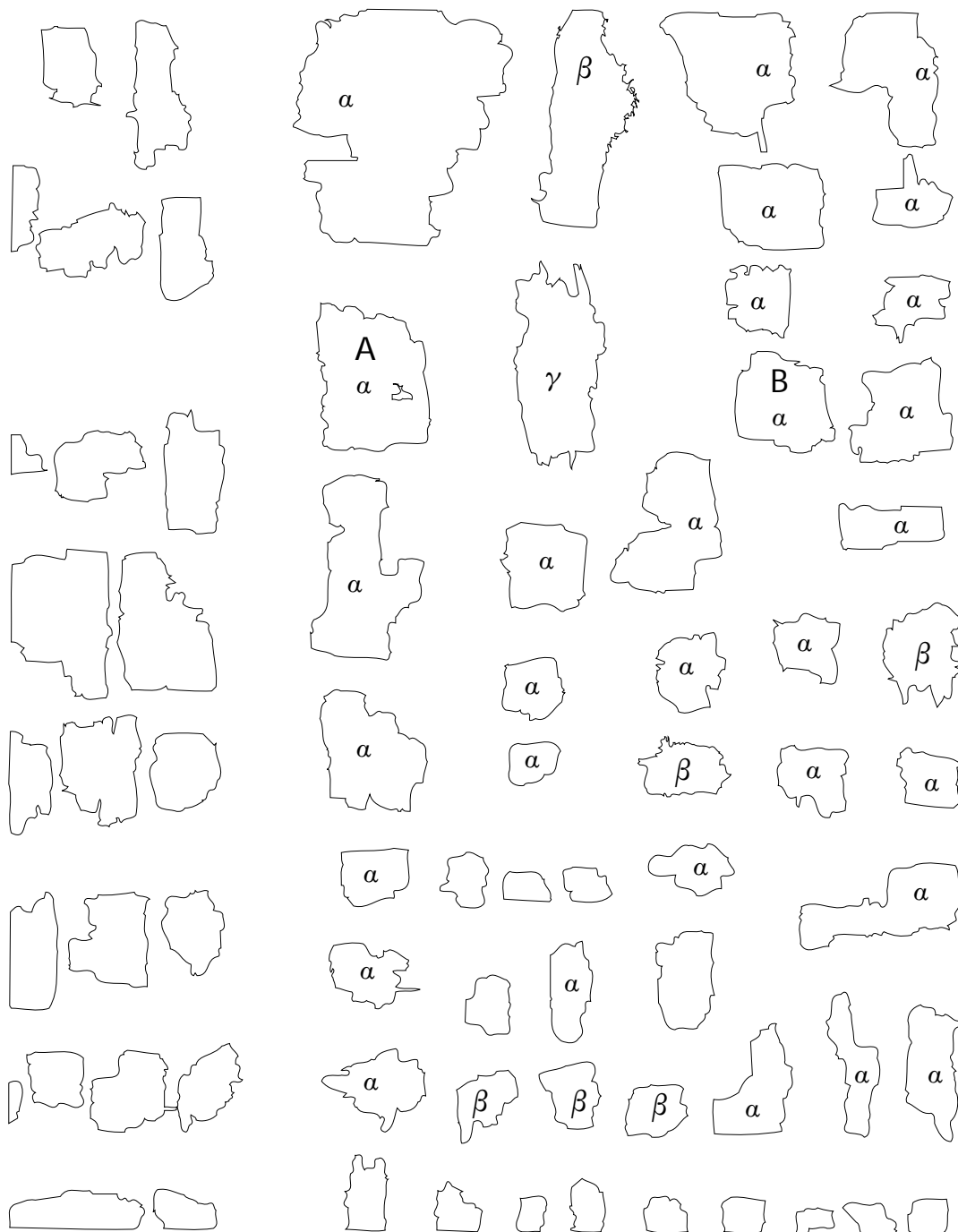
Papyrus fragments from TT297 [15] (see p. 25). MMA 28.3.299. Left-hand side of same frame as fragments in **Plate XXVIII**. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See **Plate XXVII** for key



Key plate for textual and colour information for **Plate XXVI**. *Sigla* are explained in **Table 3** (p. 26) and **Table 4** (p. 27)



Papyrus fragments from TT297 [15] (see p. 25). MMA 28.3.299. Right-hand side of same frame as fragments in **Plate XXVI**. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See **Plate XXIX** for key



Key plate for textual and colour information for **Plate XXVIII**. *Sigla* are explained in **Table 3** (p. 26) and **Table 4** (p. 27)



Wooden *djed* pillar [43] (see p. 33). MMA 28.3.21. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



a Ceramics labelled 'Tombs 827-835' [44] (see p. 34). Compare **Fig. 12**.
 Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



b Ceramics labelled 'Tombs 830-2' [44] (see p. 34).
 Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art