

**Thebes in the First Millennium BC:
Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond**

Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, Kenneth Griffin (editors)

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Cover front

Vignette of the Seventh Hour of the Night in the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) depicting Khonsu (photo: K. Blakeney)

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow the standard used by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO). MATHIEU, B. *Abréviations des périodiques et collections en usage à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, 6th ed (Cairo: Divers 4, 2017) Available from <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/uploads/publications/enligne/IF1098.pdf>

| | |
|-----------|---|
| ÄA | Ägyptologische Abhandlungen |
| AAALiv | <i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> |
| ÄAT | Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments |
| AAWB | Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften |
| Achet | Achet: Schriften zur Ägyptologie |
| ADAIK | Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo |
| AegHelv | Aegyptiaca Helvetica |
| AegLeod | Aegyptiaca leodiensia |
| AegMonast | Aegyptiaca monasteriensia |
| ÄF | Ägyptologische Forschungen |
| AHAW | Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse |
| Ä&L | <i>Ägypten und Levante. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete</i> |
| ÄMPB | Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin |
| AnOr | Analecta orientalia |
| AOB | Analecta orientalia belgica |
| ASAE | <i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> |
| ASEg | Archaeological Survey of Egypt |
| AV | Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo |
| BAÄ | Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten |
| BABA | Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde |
| BACE | <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> |
| BAR-IS | British Archaeological Reports (International Series) |
| BCE | <i>Bulletin de liaison du Groupe international d'étude de la céramique égyptienne</i> |
| BdÉ | Bibliothèque d'étude |
| BeitrÄg | Beiträge zur Ägyptologie |
| BES | <i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i> |
| BESud | Brown Egyptological Studies |
| BIFAO | <i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> |
| BiOr | <i>Bibliotheca orientalis</i> |
| BMMA | <i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> |
| BMOP | British Museum Occasional Papers |
| BMSAES | <i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i> |
| BollSer | Bollingen Series |
| Boreas | Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations |
| BSF | Beiträge zur Sudanforschung, Beiheft |
| BSFE | <i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i> |
| BSGA | Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology |
| CAENL | Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant |
| CahKarn | <i>Cahiers de Karnak</i> |
| CCE | <i>Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne</i> |
| CCE (S) | <i>Cahiers caribéens d'égyptologie</i> |

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|--------------------|---|
| CCEM | Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean |
| <i>CdE</i> | <i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> |
| CEA | Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne |
| CENiM | Cahiers de l'Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne |
| CGC | Catalogue général des du Musée du Caire |
| CHANE | Culture and History of the Ancient Near East |
| CNIP | The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near East Studies, Publications |
| <i>CRIPEL</i> | <i>Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille</i> |
| CSEG | Cahiers de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève |
| <i>CT</i> | DE BUCK, A., <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> , 7 vols. (Chicago: OIP 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87, 1935–1961). |
| <i>CTA</i> | <i>Les Cahiers techniques de l'art</i> |
| D3T | Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives |
| <i>DE</i> | <i>Discussions in Egyptology</i> |
| <i>Description</i> | COMMISSION DES MONUMENTS D'ÉGYPTE, <i>Description de l'Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'Armée française</i> (Antiquités) 9 vols (Paris, 1809–1822). |
| DÖAW | Denkschriften der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften |
| <i>EA</i> | <i>Egyptian Archaeology: The Bulletin of the Egyptian Exploration Society</i> |
| EgMem | Egyptological Memoirs |
| EgUit | Egyptologische Uitgaven |
| <i>EAO</i> | <i>Égypte. Afrique et Orient</i> |
| <i>Enchoria</i> | <i>Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie</i> |
| <i>ENiM</i> | <i>Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne</i> |
| ERA | Egyptian Research Account |
| ERTR | Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations |
| EtudEg | Études d'égyptologie |
| <i>ÉtudTrav</i> | <i>Études et travaux: Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des sciences</i> |
| <i>EVO</i> | <i>Egitto e Vicino Oriente</i> |
| FIFAO | Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale |
| <i>Geneva</i> | <i>Geneva, nouvelle série</i> |
| GHPE | Golden House Publications: Egyptology |
| <i>GM</i> | <i>Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion</i> |
| GOF | Göttinger Orientforschungen |
| HAT | Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches |
| HbOr | Handbuch der Orientalistik |
| <i>HistArch</i> | <i>Histoire et archéologie. Les Dossiers</i> |
| IBAES | Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie |
| IcRel | Iconography of Religions |
| <i>JACF</i> | <i>Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum</i> |
| <i>JANER</i> | <i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i> |
| <i>JARCE</i> | <i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> |
| <i>JEA</i> | <i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> |
| <i>JSSEA</i> | <i>Journal of the Society of the Studies of Egyptian Antiquities</i> |
| JWIS | JANSEN-WINKELN, K., <i>Inschriften der Spätzeit</i> , 4 vols (Wiesbaden: 2007–2014). |
| <i>Kêmi</i> | <i>Kêmi: Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes</i> |
| KRI | KITCHEN, K.A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical</i> , 8 vols (Oxford, 1968–1991). |
| <i>Kyphi</i> | <i>Kyphi. Bulletin du Cercle lyonnais d'égyptologie Victor Loret</i> |

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| LÄ | <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> |
| LD | LEPSIUS, K.R., <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien: nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition</i> , 6 vols (Berlin, (1849–1859). |
| LD Text | LEPSIUS, K.R., <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Text herausgegeben von Eduard Naville</i> , 5 vols (Leipzig, 1897–1913). |
| LGG | C. LEITZ, D. BUDDE, P. DILS, L. GOLDBRUNNER, D. MENDEL, F. FÖRSTER, D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN, B. VENTKER (eds.). (2002–2003). <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> , 8 vols (Leuven: OLA 110–116, 129, 2002–2003). |
| MÄS | Münchner Ägyptologische Studien |
| MDAIK | <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> |
| MEEF | Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund |
| MEES | Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society |
| Memnonia | <i>Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum</i> |
| Memnonia. CS | Memnonia. Cahier Supplémentaire |
| MIFAO | Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire |
| MittSAG | <i>Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i> |
| MMAES | Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Studies |
| MMJ | <i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i> |
| MonAeg | Monumenta aegyptiaca |
| MRE | Monographies Reine Élisabeth |
| OA | <i>Oriens Antiquus</i> |
| OBO | Orbis biblicus et orientalis |
| OIC | Oriental Institute Communications |
| OIMP | Oriental Institute Museum Publications |
| OINE | Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition |
| OIP | Oriental Institute Publications |
| OLA | Orientalia lovaniensia analecta |
| Op. Ath. | <i>Opuscula Athenensia</i> |
| ORA | Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient |
| OUEN | Oxford University Excavations in Nubia |
| PalHiero | Paléographie hiéroglyphique |
| PALMA-Eg | PALMA. Papers on Archeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities. Egyptology |
| PAM | <i>Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean</i> |
| PAM Supplement | Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Supplement Series |
| PdÄ | Probleme der Ägyptologie |
| P.L.Bat. | Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava |
| PM I/1 ² | PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I: The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1960). |
| PM I/2 ² | PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I: The Theban Necropolis, Part 2: Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1964). |
| PM II ² | PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings II: Theban Temples</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1972). |
| PM III/2 ² | PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings III: Memphis, Part 2: Šaqqâra to Dahshûr</i> , 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1981). |
| PM VII | PORTER, B., R.L.B. MOSS, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings VII: Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt</i> (Oxford, 1951). |

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| PMMA | Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art |
| PN | RANKE, H., <i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i> , 3 vols (Glückstadt, 1935–1952). |
| PT | SETHE, K.H., <i>Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums</i> , 4 vols (Leipzig, 1908–1922). |
| PTA | Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen |
| RAPH | Recherches d'archéologie, d'philologie et d'histoire |
| RdE | <i>Revue d'égyptologie</i> |
| RLMF | <i>Revue du Louvre et des musées de France</i> |
| SAGA | Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens |
| SAK | <i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> |
| SAOC | Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations |
| SARS Publication | Sudan Archaeological Research Society Publication |
| SASAE | Suppléments aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte |
| SAT | Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch |
| SDAIK | Sonderschrift des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo |
| ShirEgypt | Shire Egyptology |
| Sokar | <i>Sokar. Die Welt der Pyramiden</i> |
| SRAT | Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel |
| ŚSA | <i>Śląskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne</i> |
| SSR | Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion |
| StudEgypt | Studies in Egyptology |
| SudNub | <i>Sudan & Nubia</i> |
| TbT | Totenbuchtexte |
| TrabEg | <i>Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt</i> |
| TTS | Theban Tombs Series |
| UEE | <i>UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology</i> |
| Urk. IV | SETHE, K.H., H.W. HELCK, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> (Leipzig, Berlin: Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, 1906–1958). |
| USE | Uppsala Studies in Egyptology |
| UZK | Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes |
| VicOr | <i>Vicino Oriente. Annuario del Dipartimento di scienze storiche archeologiche e antropologiche dell'Antichità</i> |
| WVDOG | Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft |
| WZKM | <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> |
| Wb | ERMAN, A., H. GRAPOW, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 7 vols (Leipzig, 1926–1963). |
| YES | Yale Egyptological Studies |
| ZÄS | <i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> |
| ZÄS Beiheft | <i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde – Beiheft</i> |
| ZBA | Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie |

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Introduction

International Research Focusing on the First Millennium BC

This volume, *Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, is a collection of articles, most of which are based on the talks given at the conference of the same name organised by the team of the South Asasif Conservation Project (SACP), an Egyptian-American mission working under the auspices of the Ministry of Antiquities (MoA), Egypt in Luxor in 2016. The conference was organised in cooperation with the Ministry of Antiquities and the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) by a committee that included Elena Pischikova (Director of the SACP), Julia Budka (SACP), Kenneth Griffin (SACP), John Billman (SACP), Essam Nagy (EES), Shaaban Abd el-Gawad (MoA), and Mohamed Mokhtar (MoA). It was a follow-up to a very successful event in 2012.¹ Since the first conference, fieldwork at Kushite, Saite, and other sites of the First Millennium BC have continued and it seemed worth bringing together speakers who would share the most recent results of their field research in the tombs and temples of the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth dynasties in Thebes and other archaeological sites, as well as addressing a variety of issues relevant to different aspects of Egyptian monuments of this era. The aim of this volume is, therefore, to illustrate recent advances, to give an overview of the most important fieldwork projects dedicated to the period on the West Bank and at Karnak and to pinpoint the rich potential of research on First Millennium BC Egypt when it is conducted by a group of researchers in close exchange to each other and in fruitful cooperation.

Papers based on the talks of the participants of the conference form the bulk of this volume. The 2016 conference comprised a total of forty-eight papers of experts in the field and was thus able to give a current state-of-the-art assessment of research focusing on the First Millennium BC in Thebes. However, the conference also brought together scholars working in other areas of Egypt, from the Sinai and the Nile Delta to Saqqara, the Eastern Desert, and Abydos. Thus, this volume covers a wide range of sites, monuments, and issues as well as a broad chronological span.

Kushite Chronology

Since the first conference on Thebes in the First Millennium BC back in 2012, Kushite chronology and especially the sequence of the kings has been debated in several papers. In 2013, the proposal by Bányai to reverse the sequence of Shabaqo and Shebitqo² stimulated a vivid discussion and resulted in a workshop in 2014 in Münster.³ The revised version of Bányai's paper as outcome of this workshop⁴ convinced some of the leading authorities in the field of Kushite chronology to accept this new sequence, making Shebitqo the first king of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.⁵ However, the last word in this matter was obviously not yet spoken and not all experts agreed to this new sequence. Important input came here directly at the Thebes in the First Millennium BC conference in 2016. As one of the most seminal papers at conference, Claus Jurman reviewed the debated sequence once again. His analysis of the Nile Level Records (NLR) at Karnak, especially of NLR nr. 33 of Shebitqo, year 3 and NLR nr. 30, Shabaqo, year 2 has already been published.⁶ Jurman could

¹ PISCHIKOVA, BUDKA, GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium*.

² BÁNYAI, *JEH* 6:1 (2013), 46–129. For this reversal, see already BRUNET, *JACF* 10 (2006), 26–34.

³ Organised by Angelika Lohwasser, on 16 May 2014, under the title 'Die Chronologie der 25. Dynastie im alten Ägypten', see the "Vorbemerkungen" by Lohwasser to BÁNYAI, *JEH* 6:1 (2013), 46–129.

⁴ BÁNYAI, *JEH* 8:2 (2015), 115–180.

⁵ See BROEKMAN, *GM* 245 (2015), 17–31; PAYRAUDEAU, *Nehet* 1 (2014), 115–127. Cf. HOURDIN, *CRIPÉL* 30 (2013–15), 191–200.

⁶ JURMAN, *JEH* 10:2 (2017) 124–151.

put forward strong evidence for the sequence Shebtiqo-Shabaqo and we follow this new sequence of Kushite kings, agreeing that this last argument based on the Nile Level Records is indeed convincing.⁷

Despite the fact that the sequence of the rulers of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty seems now settled, the discussion of some chronological issues is, of course, still open. Future research will also address questions related to how early the Kushite tombs in the South Asasif really are—with well-established evidence for a dating of Karakhamun (TT 223) to Shebitqo, the dating of Karabasken (TT 391) needs to be discussed within the framework of the new royal sequence.⁸

Kushite Thebes

Thebes can be regarded as the key site for Kushite archaeology in Egypt and this is well traceable both on the West Bank and at the temples of Karnak and Luxor. Several papers by the director and by members of the SACP give an overview of the work in the South Asasif necropolis from 2006 to 2016, focusing on excavation and reconstruction work, on texts and decoration, on finds and pottery, and the general implications of the now accessible Kushite temple-tombs within the context of Twenty-fifth Dynasty Thebes.⁹ Of particular importance is new data on the re-use of the tomb of Karabasken (TT 391) by a hitherto unattested High Steward of the God's Wife from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty with the name Padibastet. Thanks to the analysis by Erhart Graefe, Padibastet was identified as grandson of Pabasa A (TT 279) and successor of Padihorresnet (TT 196).¹⁰ This new discovery is therefore of historical importance for Saite Thebes.

In addition to the South Asasif necropolis, the large temple-tombs in the northern Asasif are discussed by several authors. Louise Gestermann and the late Farouk Gomaà present new remarks on the decoration and conception of the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), stressing once again the complexity of the architecture and decoration of this tomb.¹¹ The monumental tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33) is equally intriguing and is discussed in this volume by Claude Traunecker, Silvia Einaudi, and Isabelle Régen. Traunecker's paper presents new ideas about TT 33, particularly its building plan, with a focus on its functional aspects. Einaudi and Régen focus on specific aspects of the decorative programme and discuss relevant funerary texts. In general, the papers on the elite tombs of the Theban necropolis in both the South Asasif and North Asasif address a variety of aspects of work such as archaeology, conservation, epigraphy, and burial assemblages, as well as such relevant issues as archaism and innovations of the decoration and interconnections between the tombs of different parts of the necropolis. The latter still offers much potential for future research.

Kushite architecture and building activity on the East Bank are discussed in the papers by Jérémy Hourdin, Essam Nagy, and Angelika Lohwasser *et al.* Lohwasser re-addresses the question of the original placement of the Triumphal Stela of Piankhy, found in the Amun temple at Jebel Barkal in Sudan. She argues convincingly that this early Kushite stela was originally composed for erection at Thebes, most likely at Karnak. Hourdin presents new evidence for Kushite kiosks in Karnak and Luxor, which allows comparing the constructions of Shabaqo and Taharqo and is therefore of particular importance for royal building activities in Twenty-fifth Dynasty Thebes. Nagy presents a Kushite chapel of Osiris-Ptah Neb-anekh, situated south-east of the Tenth Pylon, between the precincts of Amun-Re and Mut, built by Taharqo and Tantamani.

⁷ See also BROEKMAN, *GM* 251 (2017), 13–20; JANSEN-WINKELN, *JEH* 10:1 (2017), 40.

⁸ Karabasken is generally regarded as the predecessor of Montuemhat, but his precise dating is still debated, cf. BUDKA, KAMMERZELL, *MittSAG* 18 (2007), 166, note 8.

⁹ See also PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*; PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*.

¹⁰ See GRAEFE, in PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries*, 241–50 and GRAEFE in this volume.

¹¹ It fills us with great sadness that Farouk Gomaà will not be able to see this volume in its final form. He passed away on 1st December 2017—a big loss for Egyptology and especially the study of the Theban Late Period.

His work is complemented by the article of Laurent Coulon, Aleksandra Hallmann, and Frédéric Payraudeau who present the results from recent fieldwork at the Osirian Chapels at Karnak. The systematic recording of epigraphic material from the monuments dedicated to Osiris at Karnak and an in-depth study of the development of his cult in this area are already much advanced.

Theban Funerary Archaeology

General aspects of the Theban necropolis and new attempts to reconstruct a detailed history of use during the First Millennium BC are addressed in the papers by Marta Kaczanowicz, Benoît Lurson, and Gábor Schreiber. Kushite burials from TT -400-, a Ramesside tomb situated in the el-Khokha cemetery, are discussed by Schreiber. The use-life of TT -400- is especially interesting because it not only continued well into the Saite Period, but some finds can be termed Saito-Persian and suggest a re-use during the Twenty-seventh Dynasty, which is still poorly understood in Thebes and throughout Egypt.¹² Another new research project has much potential to understand patterns of re-use in monumental tombs: the new project focusing on TT 36, the Saite tomb of Ibi in the Asasif.¹³ Mareike Wagner presents promising initial results connected with the sarcophagus chamber of a person with the name of Psamtik in TT 36. Individual object groups within tomb groups of First Millennium BC Thebes are discussed in this volume as well. Eltayeb Abbas focuses on the iconography and rituals in the decorations of Bab el-Gusus coffins dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty, which represent important pre-Kushite funerary evidence and significant sources for rituals.

Other Topics

Material remains from temple and tomb sites of the First Millennium BC allow addressing questions beyond funerary customs and royal building activities. Of particular interest here are pottery sherds, mainly because pottery from Kushite Egypt has not yet been studied in detail.¹⁴ Much progress has been made in the last years and this is illustrated by the relevant contributions. Julia Budka discusses the current understanding of Kushite ceramics and highlights the strong links between Thebes and Abydos during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Stéphanie Boulet's paper on 'ceramic industry developments in the Theban area during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty' is of particular importance and a significant addition to the discussion of the pottery production during the Kushite rule in Egypt based on new evidence from Karnak.

One of the aspects of Kushite rule in Egypt, which had been addressed quite early by several scholars, is the art of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.¹⁵ Elena Pischikova presents an update of work in the South Asasif necropolis and introduces an experimental methodology for recording Kushite art in the tombs of Karabasken (TT 391) and Karakhamun (TT 223), which examines the interconnections and divergences between iconography and implementation and their disparate routes of transmission. Dietrich Wildung proposes in his paper *Afrikanisches in der ägyptischen Kunst?* thought-provoking ideas contributing to the discussion concerning the underestimated impact of African traditions in Egyptian art history beyond the small time-frame of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.¹⁶

¹² See ASTON, in LEAHY, TAIT (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt*, 17–22.

¹³ Cf. the re-use, as attested in TT 414, tomb of Ankhhor: BUDKA, *Ä&L* 20 (2010), 49–66; BUDKA, MEKIS, BRUWIER, *Ä&L* 22–23 (2013), 209–251.

¹⁴ See, however, the seminal works by Aston, in particular ASTON 1996.

¹⁵ See, for example, BOSSE, *Die menschliche Figur*; BOTHMER, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 1–20; RUSSMANN, *Eternal Egypt*, 223–30; RUSSMANN, *The Representation of the King*; and more recently DALLIBOR, *Taharqo*.

¹⁶ See O'CONNOR, REID, *Ancient Egypt in Africa*.

Outlook

Most of the information included into this volume is being published for the first time and represents the outcome of fresh fieldwork. The research collected in this volume brings together a lot of current studies on royal and elite monuments of the period, puts them into a wider context, and fills some gaps in First Millennium BC scholarship, still one of the least researched and published area of study in Egyptology despite the numerous recent developments in field exploration and research. These developments are illustrated in the present volume with fresh approaches to aspects of research such as epigraphy, artistic styles, iconography, palaeography, local workshops, pottery production, and burial assemblages. We hope that this volume will inspire new comparative studies on these topics—thanks to the most recent efforts of all authors and associated researchers, First Millennium BC scholarship has already advanced to a new level, but needs to be further strengthened in the future.

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The *Book of Nut* in the Late Period Tombs of the Asasif Necropolis: With a Focus on the Decorative Layout in the Tombs of Padiamenope (TT 33) and Montuemhat (TT 34)

Isabelle Régen

Abstract

The decorative programme in four Late Period tombs of the Asasif necropolis includes a previously unnoticed vignette taken from the *Book of Nut*: Padiamenope (TT 33), Montuemhat (TT 34), Pabasa (TT 279), and Mutirdis (TT 410). This vignette is inserted in an original decorative synthesis that is specific to the monumental tombs of this necropolis (Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties). Moreover, it is not on the ceiling, as expected for the Book of the Sky genre, but on walls. In this respect, one can speak of an ‘Asasif *Book of Nut*’.

The vignette shows a falcon upon a standard, associated with the southern region *rth-q3b.t*, as well as the title of the *Book of Nut*. Analysing the similarities and differences in the Asasif *Book of Nut* layout reveals connections between the decorative programmes as well as the tomb owners, especially between the Fourth Prophet of Amun, Montuemhat, and the Chief and Lector Priest, Padiamenope, for they seem to have used the same decorative model.

Introduction

The *Book of Nut* describes the path of the stars during the twelve night hours. It is noted for the first time in the Osireion at Abydos.¹ The decorative programme of four Late Period tombs of the North Asasif necropolis includes a previously unnoticed vignette depicting an *akhem*-falcon upon a standard, which corresponds to the paragraphs 1–4 of the book.² The four concerned tombs are Padiamenope (TT 33), Montuemhat (TT 34), Pabasa (TT 279), and Mutirdis (TT 410) (table 1, figs. 1–9). In the latter tomb, the *Book of Nut* occurs twice (fig. 4).³

The *Book of Nut* present in the Asasif necropolis includes three features. First, only an excerpt of the book appears, in the form of a vignette with a brief caption. Usually, in New Kingdom monuments, the well-known template of the full version of the book shows the body of the goddess Nut covering the ceiling. However, with the exception of Mutirdis’ version 1 of the book,⁴ this emblematic Nut scene is absent from the Asasif necropolis; indeed, an iconographical detail seems to have been preferred to the emblematic Nut scene, in order to include it on the wall decoration. Second, this composition, which belongs to the Books of the Sky genre, is indeed curiously not found, as expected, on the ceiling (except for version 1 of Mutirdis), but on the walls of the Asasif tombs. Finally, this vignette is systematically associated with the final scene of the *Book of the Gates*. More precisely, the *Book of Nut* vignette is always placed above the final scene of the *Book of the Gates*, as if they were forming the same book. As far as I know, this template is found nowhere outside of the Asasif necropolis. In this regard, the three previously described features make it possible to speak of an ‘Asasif *Book of Nut*’. An excerpt from the composition was indeed included in a decorative lay-

¹ von Lieven gathers nine sources: VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, 15–9. Cf. DIELEMAN, *WZKM* 102 (2012), 319–21; KLOTZ, *BiOr* 68/5-6 (2011), 476–91; LEITZ, *Enchoria* 31 (2008–2009), 1–21; SPALINGER, *JNES* 71/2 (2012), 376–80; VON RECKLINGHAUSEN, *JEA* 98 (2012), 307–12. Christian Leitz and Daniela Mendel-Leitz kindly informed me that new fragments of the *Book of Nut* were discovered in 2016 at Athribis. As far as Mendel-Leitz knows, the paragraphs 1–4 of the book, which is the part of the *Book of Nut* this article will deal with, do not appear or are not preserved (personal communication).

² I follow here von Lieven’s hypothesis that the falcon vignette belongs to the *Book of Nut* (introduction of the book) and not to the end of a separate composition (‘Shadow Clock Text’). Cf. VON BOMHARD, *ENiM* 7 (2014), 80, 84–6, 111–4.

³ Version 1: ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 85–7, pl. 39 (version 1); version 2 (Room I, northern wall (eastern part), scene 15 = ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, 66, 70–1, pl. 24a).

⁴ ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, pl. 39 (ceiling).

out that may have been specifically created for these tombs. In a previous article published in 2015, I have edited the mostly unpublished Asasif scenes of this book.⁵ My issue there concerned epigraphical and lexicographical elements. The present paper will, firstly, present briefly the Asasif *Book of Nut* scenes in the four previously mentioned tombs, before focusing on the decorative template.

As previously stated, the Osireion is the first known version of the *Book of Nut*. The Nut tableau appears in the Abydenian monument, preceded by the falcon vignette that is captioned by the composition's title and the first paragraphs of the book (§ 1–4) (fig. 5).⁶ According to Papyrus Carlsberg I, coming from the Tebtynis library (second century AD), this falcon is a morning appearance of the god Ra emerging from the ocean of Nun.⁷ Therefore, the designers of the Asasif *Book of Nut* had chosen to position this solar hawk close to other rising sun depictions documented in various books (*Book of the Amduat*, *Book of the Gates*, *Book of the Night*, *Book of the Earth*).

The clearest illustration of this choice appears in tomb TT 33 (figs. 1, 6). The desire to merge these texts into a single composition led the decorators to move the traditional location of this Book of the Sky genre from the ceiling to the walls, close to other texts concluding with the end of the night. As a consequence, the citation of the falcon vignette in the Asasif tombs appears as a transition between the very end of the night and the very first moments of the day. Indeed, it is not coincidental that, in the Asasif layout, the falcon vignette has been placed above the final scene of the *Book of the Gates*. As shown by von Bomhard, the 'Shadow Clock Text' and the falcon vignette that precede the Nut tableau in the Osireion form a sort of countdown to sunrise.⁸ One can wonder if the Shadow Clock Text was omitted in the Asasif tombs because the previous (twelve) hours of the *Book of the Gates* (and *Book of the Night*) already included this countdown in their decoration, as fully illustrated in TT 33. This countdown ends with the transition between night and day, embodied as a falcon whose rear part is still immersed in the dark waters of Nun, while its front end is bathed in light.

On the basis of current knowledge, six sources document the 'falcon vignette' captioned by paragraphs 1–4 of the *Book of the Nut* (table 1): the Osireion, four Late Period Asasif tombs (TT 33, TT 34, TT 279, TT 410), and the second century AD Papyrus Carlsberg I. One can emphasise the absence of the Ramesside royal tombs in this list; the text was kept in temple libraries at that period (as shown by its use in the Osireion) but the falcon vignette does not seem to have been in favour with the designers of these tombs.

Description of the Scenes

This section contains a brief review of the Asasif falcon vignettes I have published elsewhere,⁹ which will introduce the main characteristics of the scene in each tomb.

*Padiamenope (TT 33)*¹⁰ (figs. 1, 6, tables 1–2)

Although the scene is damaged, the falcon vignette can still be seen in the southern wall of Room XIII (eastern end), above the curved body of Nut from the final *Book of the Gates* scene. No colour remains. The scene occurs on one of the walls facing the huge Osirian cenotaph and is included in a layout gathering several sunrise depictions from the *Amduat*, the *Book of the Gates*, the *Book of the Earth*, and the *Book of the*

⁵ REGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, 217–46 (erratum: on page 219, for TT 279, read 'à l'ouest de la salle hypostyle').

⁶ Vignette: NEUGEBAUER, PARKER, *Astronomical Texts*, pl. 32; RÉGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, fig. 8.

⁷ REGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, 231–2.

⁸ VON BOMHARD, *ENiM* 7 (2014), 84.

⁹ REGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, 217–46.

¹⁰ REGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, figs. 11–2 (photo, facsimile).

Night. In front of this refined decorative interplay between different texts on varying walls, but all concerned with sunrise, one may speak of a ‘grammaire de la tombe’, as a counterpart to Derchain’s expression for the temple.¹¹

| | | | | |
|--|----------|---|---|---|
| Osireion (fig. 5) | Abydos | - | XIXth Dyn. | Sarcophagus Hall, ceiling, W part |
| Padiamenope (Petamenophis) (figs. 1, 6, table 2) | TT 33 | Lector Priest and Chief | End XXVth Dyn. (or beginning of the XXVIth Dyn. ?) | Room XIII, S wall (E part) |
| Montuemhat (figs. 2, 7, table 2) | TT 34 | Fourth Prophet of Amun | End XXVth Dyn. | Room 40, S wall, E part |
| Pabasa (figs. 3, 8) | TT 279 | Chief Steward (Nitocris) | XXVIth Dyn. (Psamm. 1 ^{er}) | Sideroom 5, W wall W (N part) |
| Mutirdis (figs. 4, 9) | TT 410 | Chief companion lady of the God’s Wife of Amun (Nitocris) | XXVIth Dyn. (Psamm. 1 ^{er}) | - Version 1 : room IV, W part of the ceiling (scene 43) - Version 2 : room I, N wall (E part) (scene 15) |
| Papyrus Carlsberg I | Tebtynis | - | IInd Century A.D. | Hieratic text with demotic translation and commentary |

Table 1: List of the sources for the *Book of Nut*, paragraphs 1–4

Montuemhat (TT 34) (figs. 2, 7, tables 1–2)

Only faint traces of the ‘falcon vignette’ remain in Room 40 of TT 34. Nevertheless, thanks to parallel versions, it is possible to propose a facsimile of the scene.¹² The lower part of the falcon’s standard is still visible above the conclusion of the *Book of the Gates*. One can note that Montuemhat is depicted praying inside the sun barque,¹³ in a kneeling position: indeed, on the left side of the sun, in a position usually occupied by the goddess Isis, one can still discern a male figure with a short wig.

Pabasa (TT 279)¹⁴ (figs. 3, 8, table 1)

The Nut tableau is absent in side-room 5 of tomb TT 279. Only the *Book of Nut* vignette including the falcon upon its standard. On the lower part, the remains of the final scene of the *Book of the Gates*, with Nun lifting the solar barque to the sky. This morning falcon was again associated with the final scene of the *Book of the*

¹¹ DERCHAIN, *CdE* 37: 73 (1962), 31–44.

¹² RÉGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, figs. 9–10 (photo, facsimile). I am taking this occasion to warmly thank my necropolis neighbours, particularly Farouk Gomaà and Louise Gestermann. Thanks to their courtesy, I received access to Montuemhat’s version.

¹³ In the final scene of the *Book of the Gates*, the deceased is absent from the solar barque in the Osireion, the tomb of Padiamenope, and Pabasa. The detail is not preserved in Mutirdis tomb. ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, pl. 24.

¹⁴ RÉGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, figs. 13–4 (photo, facsimile).

Gates, one celebrating in different ways the same phenomenon by representing the emerging sun either as a rising scarab or a falcon.

*Mutirdis (TT 410)*¹⁵ (figs. 4, 9, table 1)

The book occurs twice in TT 410: first, on the northern wall (eastern part) of Room I, without the body of Nut (only the falcon vignette); second, on the ceiling of Room IV (western part), with the Nut tableau. This double occurrence demonstrates that the Nut tableau template was still accessible at that time. It also shows the designers' deliberate choice not to use this tableau in the other Asasif tombs described in the present paper. One can also note that the Nut tableau (and the falcon vignette) occurs as expected on the ceiling (Room IV, version 2), while the single falcon vignette of version 1 (Room I) is depicted on a wall.

Summary

It is now clear that a special Asasif *Book of Nut* was created for these tombs. As far as I know, this template occurs nowhere else but, although it is not impossible that Late Period discoveries in Middle or Lower Egypt may reveal parallels. Additionally, this *Book of Nut* vignette is also included in an original decoration synthesis that we may call 'the sunrise room'. It is specific to the tombs of Padiamenope, Montuemhat, Pabasa, and Mutirdis. However, one cannot totally exclude the original presence of the scene in the tomb of Padineith (TT 197). Room 12 of this monument offers a decoration not so different from that described above, but the state of preservation of some parts of the walls is poor and may have included the falcon vignette. On the north wall, a praising figure of the deceased is standing in front of the Twelfth Hour of the *Amduat*. On the adjacent eastern wall, the standing deceased offers flowers in front of columns of texts, including, in particular, the sequence BD 56-55. On the other walls, scenes of the *Book of the Earth* are found.¹⁶

Layout Comparison (figs. 5–9, table 2)

Following this brief review of the scenes, the position of the vignette in the general decorative programme and the decoration template of 'the sunrise room' can be touched upon. The layout of the walls where the falcon appears is summarised in figures 5–9, for they present the closest template. I will concentrate my comments on the tombs of Padiamenope and Montuemhat.

Padiamenope (TT 33) (figs. 1, 6, table 2)

The falcon vignette appears at the very (eastern) end of the southern wall of Corridor XIII, close to the Osirian Cenotaph. The decoration of the zone includes two standing figures of the adoring deceased facing two rising sun scenes in Corridor XIII-3 (*Amduat*; *Book of the Earth*). Additionally, this part of the tomb is dedicated to sunrise: six book ends are present (*Book of Amduat*, *Gates*, *Night*, *Earth*, *Nut*, *Litany of Re*). This anthology seems to gather together all the sunrise scenes ever utilised in the Asasif. Moreover, the architecture and text blend solar and stellar traditions.¹⁷ Consequently, TT 33 contains the most complex template, including the 'falcon vignette' of the *Book of Nut*.

¹⁵ RÉGEN, in THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologie thébaine*, figs. 15–6 (photo, facsimile).

¹⁶ For details of the scenes, see ROBERSON, *Books of the Earth*, 52–4.

¹⁷ See TRAUNECKER, RÉGEN, *BSFE* 193–4 (2015–2016), 82.

Montuemhat (TT 34) (fig. 2, 7, table 2)

The *Book of Nut* is located in a passage room (nr. 40) accessible through two doors. The decoration of this room is totally dedicated to the rising sun. Indeed, the conclusion of four netherworld books were collected in this room: *Amduat*, *Gates*, *Nut*, and probably the *Book of the Earth*. Consequently, four different books as a collection were gathered to offer four different depictions of the rising sun. On both sides of the entrance, the lower part of the preserved adjacent walls of the door contain the remains of two standing figures of the deceased in adoration towards the rising sun, as is the case with TT 33.

Summary

The features of TT 33 and TT 34 can be summed up and compared as follows:

| Petamenophis (Padiamenope) (TT 33, room XIII-3) | Montuemhat (TT 34, room 40) |
|--|--|
| Dead-end corridor (one door) with architectural illusion of depth (ascending floor / descending ceiling) | ‘common’ passage room (2 doors) with classical architecture |
| false-door (‘tomb exit’) | (real) door |
| Two praying figures of the deceased on the same wall of the sunrise scene | Two praying figures of the deceased on the adjacent walls of the sunrise scene |
| 6 Book ends with sunrise scene (12th Hour) following the previous hours (1-11) around the Osirian Cenotaph | 4 Book ends with sunrise scene (12th Hour) without the previous hours (1-11) not surrounding a architectural specific structure |
| Solar decoration running to the East & North | Solar decoration running to the South |
| Solar & Stellar ‘resurrection’ (entrance lintel : TP 690B ‘Imperishable Stars’) | Solar ‘resurrection’ |
| ↓ inclusive model (full version of the Books) ‘Sunrise room’ included in a coherent program Full reproduction of the (papyrus) model? | ↓ exclusive model (= only the end of the Books) Isolated ‘sunrise room’ Citation of the (papyrus) model? |

Table 2: Decorative layout comparison of the *Book of Nut* in Padiamenope’s Room XIII-3 and Montuemhat’s Room 40

After this short review of the scenes, what can we learn from this comparison, in addition to the fact that the tomb of Padiamenope contains the most complex template dedicated to the rising sun, a much more complete and refined decorative template than the one used in the tomb of Montuemhat? The version of Padiamenope is a complete version, for the full notations of the texts present within the sunrise room were noted on the previous walls. It seems that TT 34 has a partial reproduction of a more complex template whose full application had been used in TT 33. In this way, the stellar aspect (Imperishable Stars and Northern Orientation) in addition to the 1–11 hours of the night before the book ends seem to have been present only in the tomb of Padiamenope. They do not seem to appear in the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), Pabasa (TT 279), or Mutirdis (TT 410). Additionally, the decorators of TT 33 had to face higher constraints than in Montuemhat's tomb: indeed, the night hours had to be carefully positioned in order to extend around the full length of the circumambulation corridor of Padiamenope's Osirian Cenotaph (Room XIII) and to end in the same zone.

In addition, the designers had to face the issue raised by the difference of length between the *Amduat* and the *Book of the Gates*, the latter being much shorter than the former. In this regard, it can be assumed that Padiamenope's layout is based on a more refined procedure.

The Abydos Reference

It is now time to bring to light what could be a fourth peculiarity of the Asasif *Book of Nut*: the Abydenian reference. This book reuses the template specific to the Osireion at Abydos where the 'falcon vignette' is used as a transition between the 'Shadow Clock Text' and the Nut tableau (goddess' body). Indeed, the falcon is specific to the Osireion template. Consequently, there is a desire to link the Asasif to Abydos in this template. More generally, the link between the Kushites and the Osireion is known.¹⁸ Greater attention now had to be given to some of the links of Padiamenope and Montuemhat with the city of Abydos.

Padiamenope and Abydos

As previously stated, the TT 33 template including the 'falcon vignette' appears first in the Osireion at Abydos. It should also be noted that, with the exception of some Late Period Theban tombs, the falcon text is only known by the Osireion and the Papyrus Carlsberg I. It does not appear in Ramesside royal tombs.

Other decorative elements point to a link between Padiamenope and Abydos. For instance, the insertion of the extremely rare pelican-headed goddess in BD 146, otherwise only attested in the Osiris Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos and Montuemhat's tomb.¹⁹ Additionally, the thirty-six guardian deities of the burial chamber are identical to the ones noted in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos.²⁰ Moreover, the TT 33 '*Book of Caverns*' version reuses and adapts a comparable illustration that seems to be a feature specific to the Osireion: in the latter monument, the king is depicted entering the Duat behind the sun god,²¹ while in TT 33, the figure of the king was replaced by Padiamenope.²² Unfortunately, one cannot check this detail in TT 34 due to the poor preservation of this area. Generally speaking, the main text of the *Book of Caverns* in tomb TT 33 comes from a copy related to the version in the Osireion.²³

¹⁸ As shown, for example, in the papers of BUDKA and EINAUDI in this volume.

¹⁹ ABDELRAHIEM, SAK 34 (2006), 12, 14 (fig. 1) (ref. Mareike. Wagner); ISKANDER, GOELET, *Temple of Ramesses II*, 304 (pl. 4.2.21), 309 (pl. 4.2.26) (ref. Laurent Coulon); VON LIEVEN, in HARING, KLUG (eds.), 6. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 184.

²⁰ Personal communication with Laurent Coulon. Cf. EINAUDI in this volume.

²¹ FRANKFORT, *Cenotaph*, pl. 23.

²² WERNING, forthcoming.

²³ WERNING, *Höhlenbuch*, I, 64–6.

In addition, as shown by Traunecker,²⁴ a part of the plan of TT 33 is inspired by the Abydenian Osireion plan (Rooms XII–XIII); the Cenotaph (Room XIII) may be a copy and ‘lieu de substitution’ of the Abydenian Osireion (circumambulation rituals). Evidently, the Osireion was used as a reference in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, as it already was in the Ramesside Period.²⁵

Finally, some titles of Padiamenope relate to Abydos. It should be kept in mind that Padiamenope was the ‘Scribe of the Temple of Osiris, Lord of Abydos’ (TT 33; offering table Brussels 5811)²⁶ (fig. 10), or ‘Scribe of the Temple of Abydos’ (Syracuse statue).²⁷

*Montuemhat and Abydos*²⁸

As with TT 33, Montuemhat’s template, including the ‘falcon vignette’, reuses the Osireion template of the *Book of Nut*. Moreover, this official declares having restored the Osirian’s sacred barque at Abydos (Berlin 17271, l. 10).²⁹ In addition, two inscriptions bearing titles and the name of Montuemhat (one inscription including the epithet *maa-kheru*) was left on limestone boulders at the entrance to the wadi leading to the royal tombs at Abydos.³⁰ Petrie suggested that the first inscription was made during a visit by Montuemhat to Abydos, perhaps on the occasion of opening the royal tombs for inspection, but the significance of these inscriptions remains unclear.³¹

Padiamenope and Montuemhat

As a matter of fact, Padiamenope and Montuemhat had clear connections with Abydos. The existence of a link between the templates of Padiamenope and Montuemhat, more than in any other Asasif tomb, has also been previously noticed.³² Does this mean that there also existed a connection between Montuemhat and Padiamenope themselves?³³ This echoes the conclusion of a statuary analysis that has shown the close connexion between the two officials: Coulon suggested the existence of a common statuary project between Padiamenope and Montuemhat and does not exclude the idea that Padiamenope himself may have been its author or backer. This statuary project created by/for Padiamenope would have been reused and adapted by/for Montuemhat.

In a similar manner, could Padiamenope have been the author of the complex decorative layout of the central part of TT 33, including the ‘sunrise room’? Indeed, in the present state of documentation, this layout

²⁴ TRAUNECKER, RÉGEN, *BSFE* 193–4, 53, 65, 66, 70–73.

²⁵ For example, in the decoration of the Ramesside royal tombs (*Amduat*, *Book of the Gates*): ZEIDLER, *Pfortenbuchstudien* I, 126. Cf. BARBERIO-MAURIC, *Amdouat et Livre des Portes*, 628–9, 679–86; WERNING, in CARDIN, GOYON (eds.) *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress*, 1940 and fig. 1.

²⁶ *sš ḥw.t-ntr Wsjr nb 3bdw*: for example, on the door leading to Room VI. Cf. ANTHES, *ZÄS* 73 (1937), 31 (e); DÜMICHEN, *Grabpalast* I, pl. 16 (the *hw.t* sign was drawn like a *sh* by Dümichen).

²⁷ RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen*, 166 [nr. 36g]; SIST, *VicOr* I, 137; SPELEERS, *Inscriptions*, 87 (332).

²⁸ Note that ‘the connection of a vizier from the Montuemhat family with Abydos, with which the [Abydenian] Nespakashuty family had extensive connections, is intriguing’, NAUNTON, *Regime Change*, 5, n. 23.

²⁹ LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, doc. 9.

³⁰ KITCHEN, *Third Intermediate Period*, § 358; LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, doc. 40; PEDEN, *Graffiti*, 267–8. See, most recently, EFFLAND, *Effland*, *Abydos*, 81–2, fig. 9.

³¹ PETRIE, *Abydos*, 31, 47–8, pl. 67; LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, doc. 40.

³² The layout of the ‘sunrise room’ of Pabasa is also similar, but to a lesser degree: the standing figures of the adoring deceased (oriented towards the rising sun scenes), common to TT 33 and TT 34, were indeed replaced by figures of the kneeling Isis and Nephthys (oriented towards the entrance of the side-room) (fig. 3). Despite the poor state of preservation of the burial chamber (Room 10), one can assert that at least the eighth and ninth hours of the *Book of the Gates* were noted in this room of Pabasa’s tomb. Other fragmentary hours (*Gates? Amduat?*) occur in Room 8 (now used as a storage) of Pabasa’s tomb but the decoration is almost entirely lost and deserves further examination. Consequently, (a part of?) the 1–11 hours were noted in Pabasa’s tomb, while they do not seem to appear in TT 34.

³³ Thanks to a statuary analysis, Coulon has shown the nature of their relationships, particularly Padiamenope’s possibly dominant position over Montuemhat. See COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 91–119.

does not seem to have any predecessor. It may be a rewriting of the Osireion's decorative and architectural programme in order to integrate the Abydenian monument inside Padiamenope's tomb. It is therefore no coincidence that the whole decorative units found in the central part of TT 33 are already present in the Osireion (*Book of the Gates*, *Book of Caverns*, *Book of the Night*, *Litany of Re*, *Book of Nut*, *Book of the Amduat*³⁴). Actually, the designer(s) of TT 33 may have only operated a selection of the decorative units before moderating them to adapt to the high spatial constraints caused by the choice of integrating a monumental Osiris cenotaph (15 m per side). In addition, in the same manner that Coulon suggests,³⁵ the common statuary project between Padiamenope and Montuemhat may have originated from the same workshop, is it conceivable that the same decorators would have operated in TT 33 and TT 34? This point would need further analysis in order to test this hypothesis.

Moreover, as noted above, the rare detail of the pelican goddess appears only in the Osireion, in addition to TT 33 and TT 34. This suggests a close link between Abydos, Padiamenope, and Montuemhat. Additionally, Padiamenope may have elaborated a rewriting of the Osireion to integrate it into his own tomb and then Montuemhat copied it. Be that as it may, these elements show the close connection between the two officials, it still does not solve the difficult question of their chronology. Consequently, it is hard to definitely say who comes first. Although it is tempting to assume that the full copy of Padiamenope's indicates that he could have been the first to use this particular layout, it cannot be definitely assessed with absolute certainty. In addition, the chronology of Montuemhat and Padiamenope is a tricky issue and it has to be acknowledged that, in the current state of research and documentation, there are no critical arguments in favour of either hypothesis. The question thus remains open.³⁶ In any case, Padiamenope and Montuemhat were certainly contemporary officials.³⁷

The study of a part of the decorative programme of their tombs tends to confirm the close connection between Padiamenope and Montuemhat. It also shows the deep will of Padiamenope, who most frequently presents himself a 'ritualist priest and chief' (while Montuemhat had chosen to present himself as the Fourth Prophet of Amun), to fix his image as an intellectual for posterity. It has already been noted that there was a 'little correlation' between their wealth and the titles held by the officials buried in the Asasif necropolis.³⁸ Finally, Pope noted that: 'interestingly, despite the comparable scale and chronological and topographic proximity of their tombs, no familial relation is attested between these men, and no single office was held by all four. Their similar wealth and evident desire to be associated with one another must therefore be explained by some factor beyond strict genealogical or official succession'.³⁹ With this in mind, were they all *courtisans*?⁴⁰

³⁴ In his forthcoming book about the decoration of the Osireion, Charles Herzer has formulated the hypothesis that a long version of the *Amduat* was originally sketched in the Central Hall of the Osireion. I warmly thank him for sharing with me this information. However, the absence of *Book of the Twelve Caverns* (ex-BD 168) in tomb TT 33 is striking, although examples are known on papyri and thus Padiamenope may have originally owned one.

³⁵ COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 113.

³⁶ A common hypothesis is that Padiamenope is chronologically later than Montuemhat. For example, Manfred Bietak, Claude Traunecker, Karl Jansen-Winkel, Herman de Meulenaere (summary and bibliography in COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 112–3). However, during discussions at the conference, Laurent Coulon, Meg Gundlach, and Aleksandra Hallmann argued against this. Gundlach's unpublished PhD thesis concerning the Twenty-fifth Dynasty stone shabtis led her to relate Padiamenope to a group of seven other individuals (Karakhamun, Harwa, Montuemhat, Udjarenes, Dieshebsed, Amenirdis I, and Shepenwepet II). GUNDLACH, *Shabtis*, 314–6. On the chronology of Padiamenope, see also COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 111–3, 115 (Montuemhat would have survived Padiamenope); COULON, *BiOr* 73: 5–6, 678.

³⁷ COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 115.

³⁸ Naunton, cited by POPE, *Taharqo*, 203.

³⁹ POPE, *Taharqo*, 201–2 (Harwa, Montuemhat, Akhamenru, Padiamenope).

⁴⁰ COULON, in COLLOMBERT *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 118 ('autobiographie du parfait courtisan'); TRAUNECKER, *EAO* 51, 41–2; TRAUNECKER, RÉGEN, *BSFE* 193–4, 74–6.

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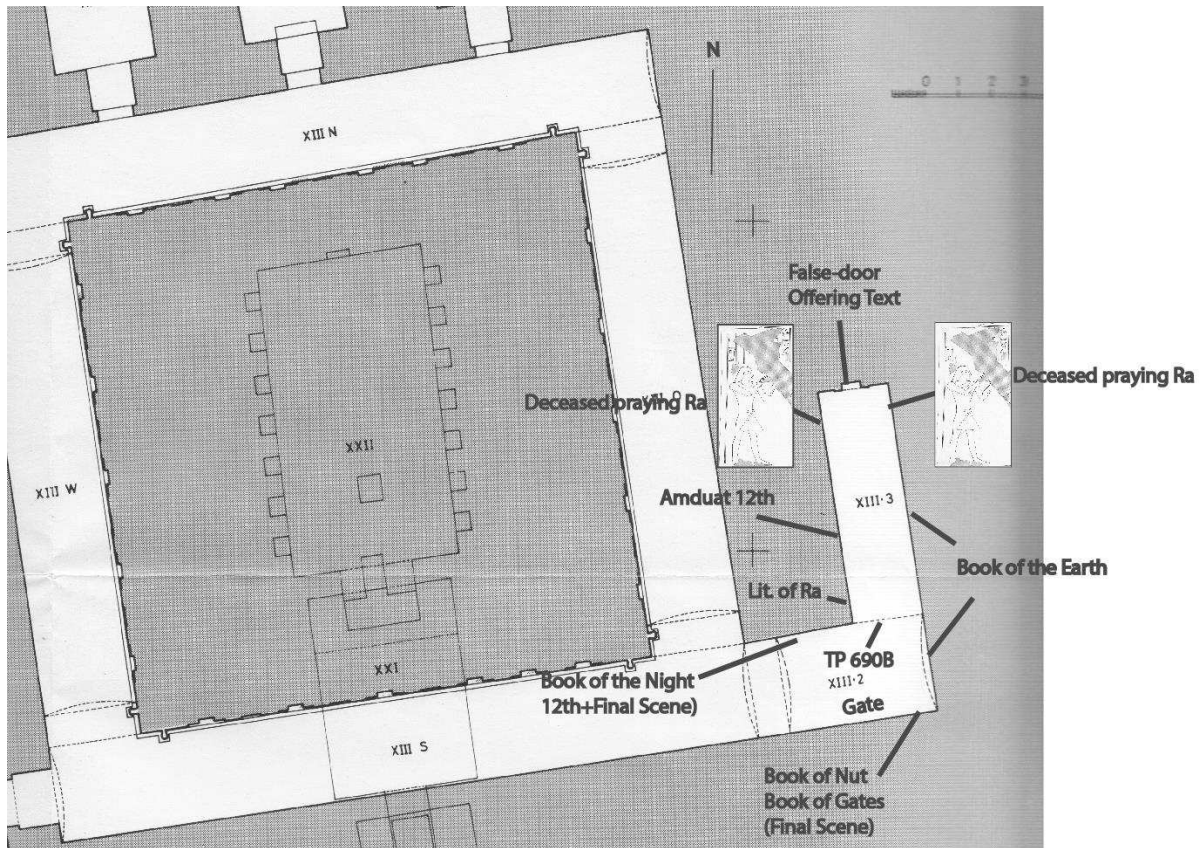


Figure 1: TT 33, Tomb of Padiamenope. Decorative layout of Room XIII-3
(after EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, pl. 14)

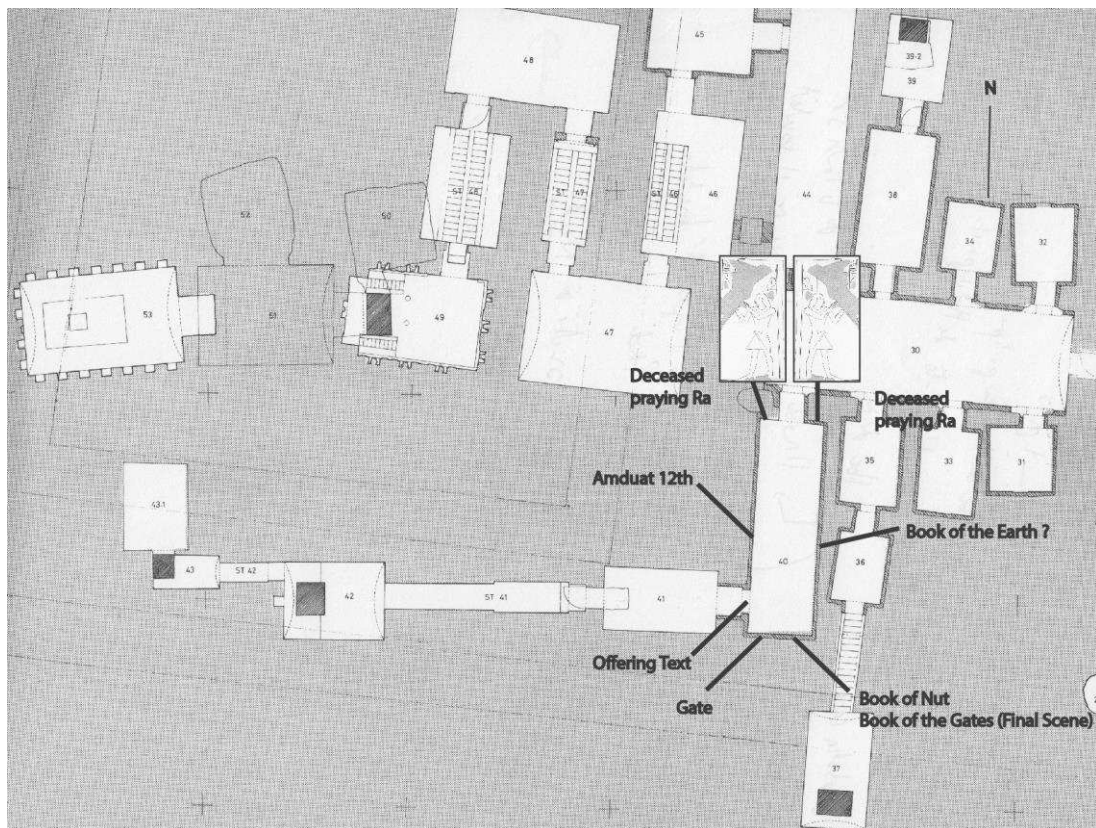


Figure 2: TT 34, Tomb of Montuemhat. Decorative layout of Room 40
(after EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, pl. 13)

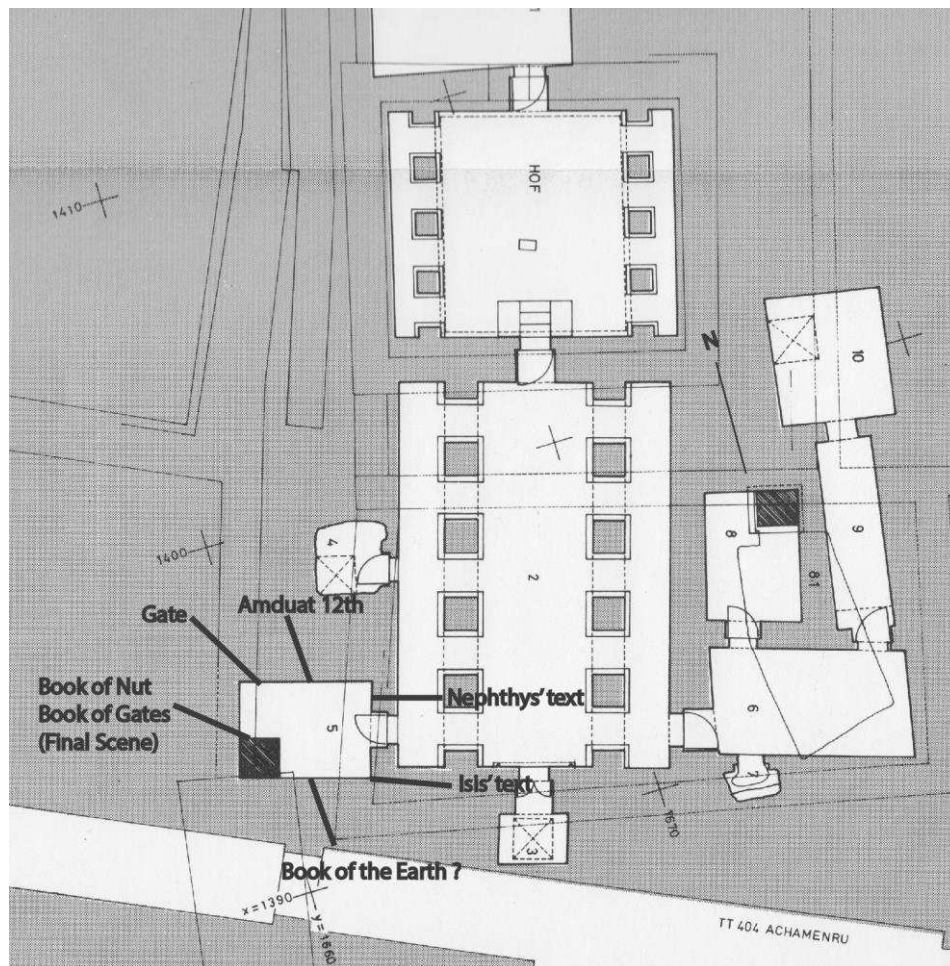


Figure 3: TT 279, Tomb of Pabasa. Decorative layout of Sideroom 5, west wall
(after EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, pl. 18)

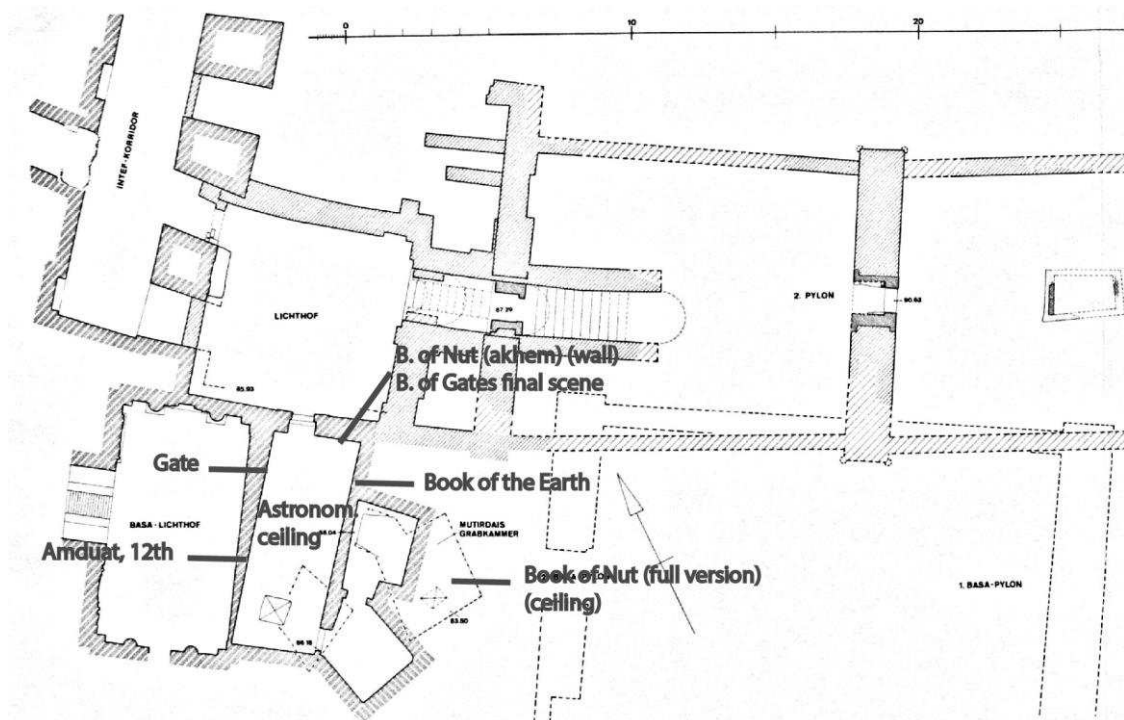


Figure 4: TT 410, Tomb of Mutirdis. Decorative layout of Room I (after ASSMANN, *Mutirdis*, pl. 46)

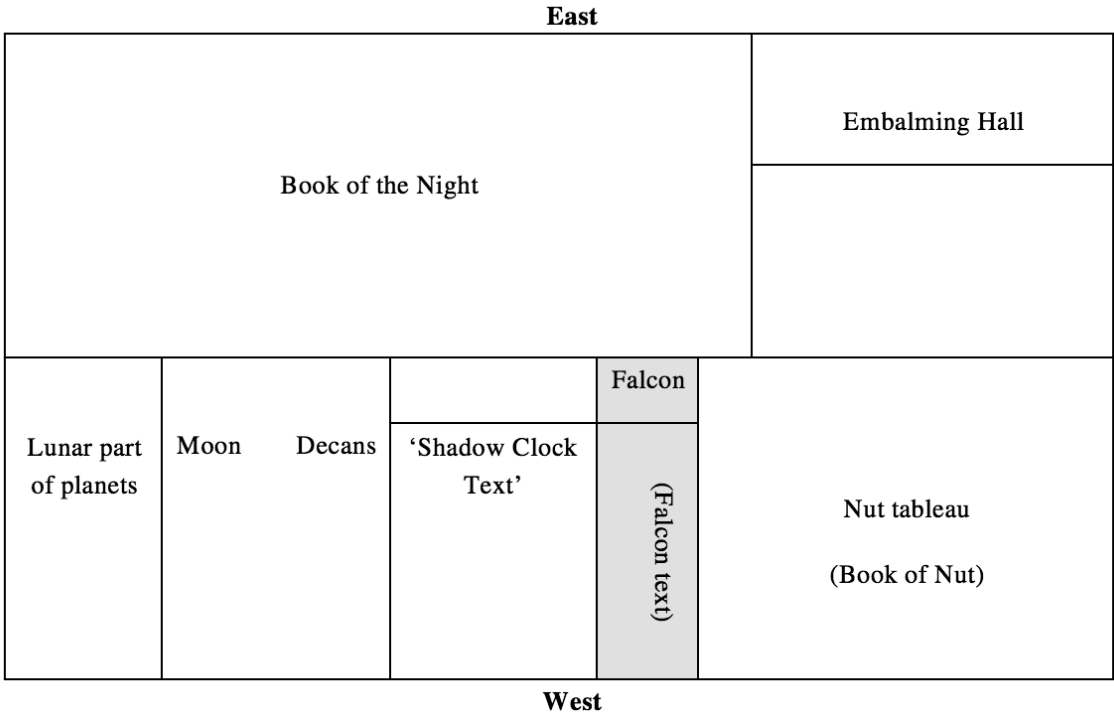
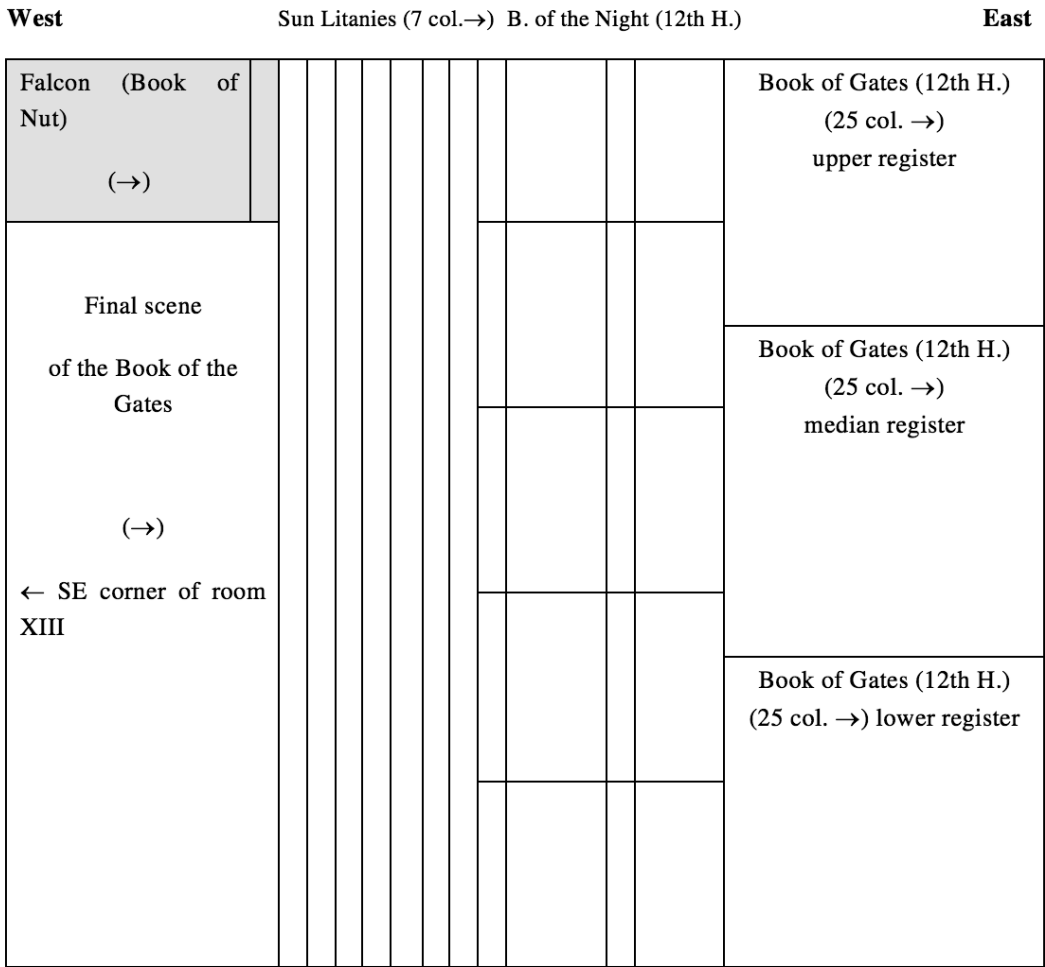


Figure 5: Osireion, Abydos. Decorative layout of the sarcophagus chamber’s ceiling (after VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss*, 15)



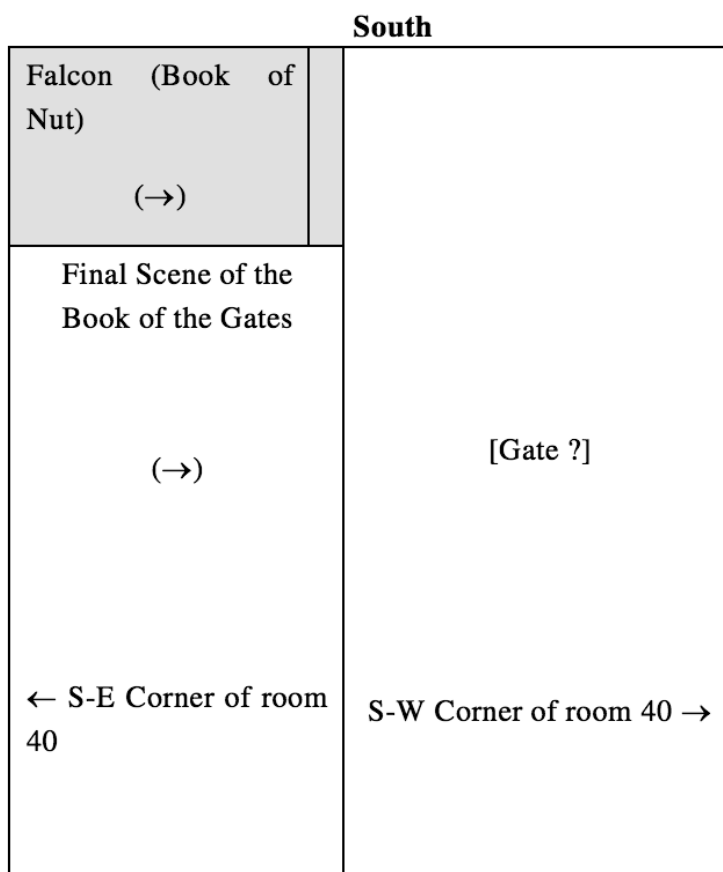
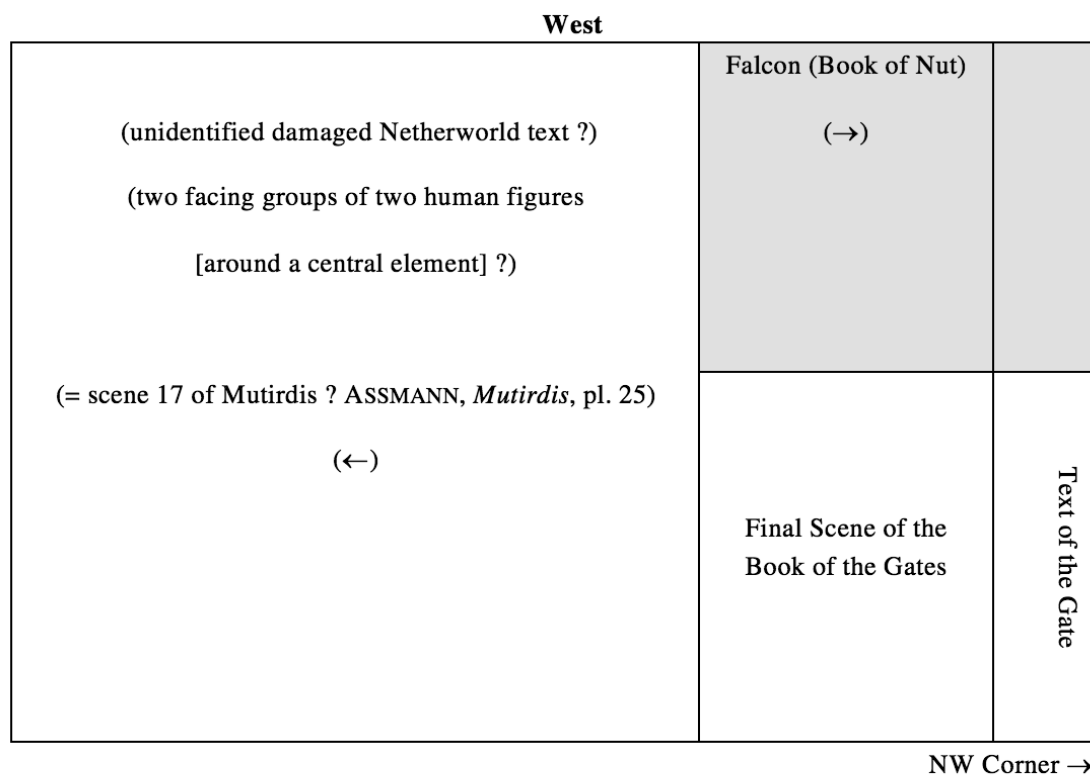


Figure 7: TT 34, Tomb of Montuemhat. Decorative layout of Room 40, south wall



To Amduat Scene (XIIth hour, gate and text) →

Figure 8: TT 279, Tomb of Pabasa. Decorative layout of Side Room 5, west wall

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|---|--|
| North | | | |
| ? | Falcon Book of Nut (←) | ? (two superimposed rows of 4+x deities, including Isis and Hapy) | |
| Fragmentary scene similar to the final scene of the Book of the Gates cf. ASSMANN, <i>Mutirdis</i> , 66 (cf. pl. 40). | | [Rows of 5 deities] (praying for sunrise?) cf. ASSMANN, <i>Mutirdis</i> , 70, pl. 40. | |

Figure 9: TT 410, Tomb of Mutirdis. Decorative layout of Room I, north wall



Figure 10: TT 33, Outer frame of the door leading to Room VI. Detail of Padiamenope's title 'Scribe of the Temple of Osiris, Lord of Abydos' (photo: L. Schmitt)