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THE MACQUARIE THEBAN TOMBS PROJECT: 20 YEARS IN DRA ABU EL NAGA

Boyo Ockinga and Susanne Binder
Macquarie University

The UNESCO World Heritage List acknowledges the historical significance of the vast region of ancient Thebes, in Upper Egypt c. 700 km south of the modern capital Cairo (fig. 1),¹ located on both shores of the Nile and encompassing the large temple complexes of Luxor and Karnak on the east and the most extensive known ancient necropolis on the west bank. As one of many international archaeological missions, a team from Macquarie University led by Boyo Ockinga has been conducting annual fieldwork seasons on the Theban West Bank over a period of over 20 years, since the early 1990s.² In this time, the Macquarie team of Egyptologists, various specialists, students and volunteers have excavated and recorded three tomb complexes dated to the New Kingdom and commenced work on a fourth in the northern part of the necropolis, in the area called Dra Abu el Naga North (fig. 2).³

The work of any foreign mission in Egypt is dependent on the Egyptian Ministry of State for Antiquities, formerly the Supreme Council of Antiquities, and its Permanent Committee annually assessing the applications, granting and renewing the concessions for the work on the sites. It is with gratitude that we acknowledge the very positive and constructive cooperation with the officials of the MSA/SCA, at the head-office in Cairo, at

¹ Five cultural sites in Egypt were registered with the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1979 (Abu Mena/Ancient Thebes with its necropolis/Historic Cairo/Memphis and its necropolis—the Pyramid fields from Giza to Dashur/Nubian monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae), among the first to be included since the ratification of the convention in 1974; the sixth site, the St Catherine area on the Sinai Peninsula, was added in 2002: <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list> and <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/eg>> (accessed: 2/2012).

² Tombs from the New Kingdom period at other sites also published by Macquarie University: B. Ockinga and Y. el Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh* Part 1 (Sydney, Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, 1988), Part 2 (Sydney, AHDRC 1990); B. Ockinga, *A Tomb from the Reign of Tutankhamun at Akhmim*, Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports 10 (Warminster 1997); B. Ockinga, *Amenemone the Chief Goldsmith. A New Kingdom Tomb in the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara* (Oxford 2005).

³ We would like to thank the other team members who have contributed significantly to the project: Magdy el Badri, Judith Brophy, Leonie Donovan, Helen Wilkins, Robyn Luhrs, Todd Gillen, Mary Hartley and Alanah Buck, as well as the many Macquarie University students who participated over the years.

the regional inspectorates in the south and with the inspectors on site, this team from Macquarie University has enjoyed over the decades. The aim for all archaeological projects, as set out by the Mission Statement of the MSA, is the “excavation, restoration, conservation, documentation and study of the sites and monuments”.⁴

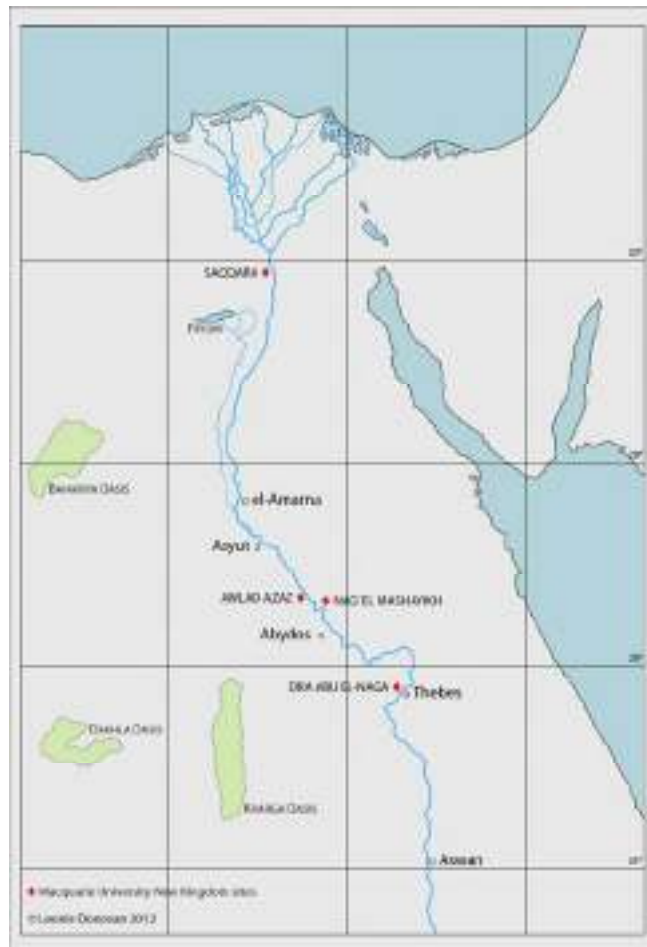


Fig. 1. Map of Egypt showing Macquarie New Kingdom sites (Drawing L. Donovan)

⁴ Official site of the Ministry of State for Antiquities/Supreme Council of Antiquities: <http://www.sca-egypt.org/eng/main.htm> (accessed: 2/2012).



Fig. 2. Map of Western Thebes showing Macquarie site (Drawing L. Donovan)

Countries like Germany, France, the United States and Poland maintain permanent missions and several projects in Thebes, some of which have had a presence there for over 100 years. Our team from Australia is one from a number of other countries, such as Egypt itself, Italy, Hungary, Belgium, Great Britain, Spain, Japan, Argentina and Russia, who are all making a contribution to the understanding and preservation of this world heritage site.⁵ The distance we as Australians need to travel for this fieldwork is offset by the ideal climatic conditions for working that we enjoy, as our academic summer break coincides with the Egyptian winter. The work of the Australian team, while modest by comparison with some of the other missions, has been supported regularly by grants from Macquarie University, the Australian Centre for Egyptology and the Rundle Foundation of Egyptian Archaeology, Macquarie University. The continued interest and enthusiasm of both the student community at Macquarie University and the general public in Australia, where annual progress reports are presented, add to the motivation for the team to take an active part in the further scholarly exploration of this ancient civilization. The aim of this article is to give an

⁵ In 2008, the contribution of Australia to Egyptian archaeology was marked by a special exhibition in the Cairo Museum and a day of lectures at the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Zamalek organised by the Australian ambassador Dr Robert Bowker and the Chairman of the SCA Dr Zahi Hawass: J. Smythe (ed.), *Corroboree. 25 Years of Cooperation between Egyptians and Australians in the Field of Egyptology* (Cairo 2008).

overview of the work of the Macquarie Theban Tombs Project, the diversity of the tasks undertaken, the work processes involved and some of the results achieved so far.

The tombs that our project has concentrated on have been known for a long period of time,⁶ and are included with plans and brief descriptions of their decoration in the *Topographical Bibliography* compiled by B. Porter and R. Moss.⁷ TT 148, for example, was already known to a number of early 19th century travellers, including a member of the Prussian expedition under Lepsius in the late 1840s, who made the first known handcopies of some of the tomb's texts.⁸ In the 20th century, other scholars copied some of the inscriptions and demonstrated an interest in the genealogical information from the tomb,⁹ and photos of the well-preserved parts of the decoration appear randomly in various publications.¹⁰ In TT 147, a scene from the bottom register of the south wall of the Long Hall, which was not obscured by a thick layer of soot, was discussed in the literature.¹¹ TT 233, despite its ruinous condition when we first came across it, with its ceiling partly collapsed and its entrance completely buried, allowing access only through the roof, had also not completely escaped scholarly attention, with a brief

⁶ The chapels of both TT 148 and TT 147 have been protected by the installation of metal doors since the early 20th century. On the installation of the door in TT 148, see B.G. Ockinga, *The Tomb of Amenemope (TT 148)*. Vol. 1: *Architecture, Texts and Decoration*, Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports 27 (Oxford 2009) 17–18.

⁷ B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1960) 258f. (TT 147), 259f. (TT 148), 329 (TT 233). The architecture of the tombs is also discussed in Friederike Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, Theben XIII, vol. 2 (Mainz 1996).

⁸ See Ockinga (n.6) 15f.

⁹ Handcopies, for example, by Davies; Säve-Söderbergh (Griffith Institute); archive of the Heidelberger Ramessidenprojekt; Borchardt (Swiss Institute, Zamalek; many thanks to Dr Cornelius von Pilgrim for showing us these hand-written notes); M. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom* (Warminster 1975); G.A. Gaballa and K.A. Kitchen, 'Ramesside Varia IV. The Prophet Amenemope, His Tomb and Family', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 37 (1981) 161–180.

¹⁰ For example: W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig 1923–25, repr. Geneva/Zurich 1988) vol. 1, 349, 350; W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens* (Stuttgart 1957) Abb. 593; E. Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel. Die Kunst der ramessidischen Privatgräber*, Theben XVII (Mainz 2004) p. 152, Tafel XXX Abb. 86 and 87.

¹¹ Nina de Garis Davies, 'Two Pictures of a Temple', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 41 (1955) 80–82. Photographs from this area of the tomb were also published in K. Sakurai, S. Yoshimura and J. Kondo, *Comparative Studies of Noble Tombs in Theban Necropolis* (Tokyo 1988) pls. 82–84 and R. Parkinson, *The Painted Tomb-Chapel of Nebamun* (London 2008) 43 fig. 48; 60–61 fig. 72.

reference to its version of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth,¹² and the publication of a drawing of the representation of the tomb in the upper register of the south wall of the Broad Hall.¹³

Our project aims to document the tombs and their history of use and re-use as fully as possible. A comprehensive record of the data from the tomb complexes is made—an epigraphic record of their inscriptions and iconography in photography and line drawing, architectural and archaeological plans and drawings, descriptions, drawings and photographs of all objects. The architectural structures and what is left of their decoration add to the corpus of data from the New Kingdom period, i.e., in terms of prosopography (the names of the persons included in the inscriptions), genealogy (the family relationships), history (reference to the reigns of individual kings), socio-politics (the titles of the individuals and their position in the social structure of their time), art history (style of the depictions), technology (materials and methods applied in the production of the tomb and its contents), and religious and funerary practices (through the corpus of texts and depictions in the funerary context, and the material remains within the tombs). In addition, the excavation reveals the history of the various phases of use and re-use of the sites from the original construction to the present day. The complexity of the interest leads to every project being the cooperative effort of many experts or persons with multiple expertises in the area of Egyptology and Coptic Studies: the archaeologist, the conservator, the engineer, the epigrapher, philologist, historian, art historian, the architect, the ceramist, photographer, draughtsperson, anthropologist, papyrologist—and more, as the project unfolds and the situation encountered necessitates.

TT 148 – The tomb of the Third Prophet of Amun, Amenemope

The Tomb-Owner of TT 148

From the royal names mentioned on the tomb walls, we learn that Amenemope lived and worked in the 20th Dynasty, in a time that spanned the reign of three kings, Ramesses III to Ramesses V (c. 1187-1145 BCE).¹⁴ He

¹² E. Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei funerali degli antichi egiziani* (Reale Accademia dei Lincei 1882) ii, 306.

¹³ Nina de G. Davies, 'Some Representations of Tombs from the Theban Necropolis', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24 (1938) 25–40 and fig. 18.

¹⁴ On chronology and dates, see Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MÄS 49 (Mainz 1999).

held titles that identify him as a member of the priesthood of the Temple of Amun at Karnak: Third Prophet of Amun, Greatest of Seers of Re in Thebes and High Priest of Mut in Isheru, titles that had also been held by his father Tjanefer (TT 158). The walls of the Broad Hall of the tomb are decorated with a unique ‘family album’ of men and women of several generations (figs 3 and 4): Amenemope’s two wives, a son and daughter, his parents, his paternal grandparents, two sets of parents-in-law, brothers and sisters, brothers-in-law, uncles and aunts with wives and husbands.¹⁵ During the conservation work conducted by the Macquarie team, remnants of a relief were revealed and consolidated that depict the Vizier Usermonth, a personality well-attested in his time in office during the reign of Tutankhamun (c. 1319-1309 BCE) and mentioned here in TT 148 as one of Amenemope’s forefathers in the distant past (fig. 5).¹⁶



Fig. 3. TT 148 east wall: Amenemope presenting offerings to his father Tjanefer and mother Nefertari (Photo L. Donovan)

¹⁵ For details, see Ockinga (n.6) 20-23.

¹⁶ See B.G. Ockinga, ‘Another Ramesside Attestation of Usermont, Vizier of Tutankhamun’, *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 5 (1994) 61-66.



Fig. 4. TT148 west wall: Three brothers of Amenemope (Photo L. Donovan)



Fig. 5. TT 148 North Wall: Amenemope's ancestor the vizier Usermont (Photo L. Donovan)

The Architecture of TT 148

Apart from shedding more light on to the person of the tomb-owner, the expedition has been able to complete the record of the tomb architecture. The compendium of Porter and Moss only supplies the plans for the decorated and inscribed halls of the tombs, which are only the publically accessible sections rather than a tomb complex in its entirety. In this respect the extensive documentation on the architecture of the Theban tombs by Friederike Kampp¹⁷ supplements Porter and Moss: the decorated and undecorated tombs are catalogued with the aim of analysing the tomb structures, and the plans of the tomb complexes are given in as far as they were accessible or had been published by the early 1990s. The current work-in-progress in the Theban necropolis will build on, add and further complete the information of this corpus. Figures 6 and 7 contrast the schematic plan of Porter and Moss with that produced by the mission. A number of new architectural details of TT 148 have been added: the large courtyard with the foundation of a monumental pylon gateway; inside the tomb, the main sloping passage at the southern end of the Long Hall leading to the Main Burial Chamber and the secondary, yet still New Kingdom, additions of further burial chambers along this descending corridor; the later northern burial passage which also slopes to a far lesser degree; and finally in the courtyard, the later shaft that in its descent just misses the inner shrine of an earlier New Kingdom tomb, so far unknown and therefore unnumbered, located on the mountain side below TT 148, and whose entrance is to the present day hidden behind the loose mountain debris. The opening into the 18th Dynasty shrine half way down the shaft was made by tomb robbers, probably in modern times, who, coming from the shrine, broke through its back wall into the shaft (fig. 8).¹⁸

¹⁷ Kampp (n.7).

¹⁸ B.G. Ockinga, 'Excavations at Drac Abu el-Nagac: Report on the Nov–Dec 2000 and Jan–Feb 2002 Seasons', *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 13 (2002) 135–147, esp. 143–146.

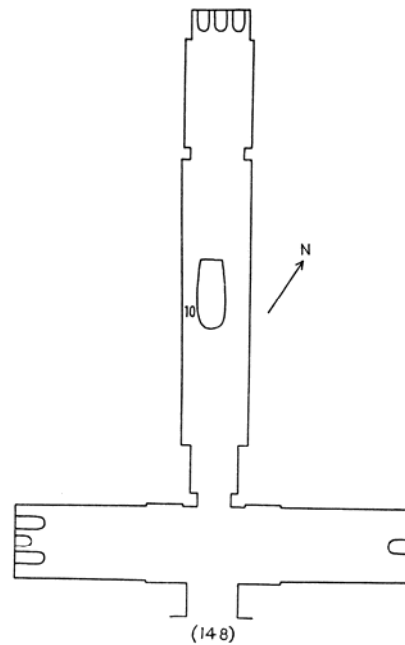


Fig. 6. Plan of TT 148 in Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*

TT 148 is a typical Theban tomb in that its chapel has the characteristic T-shape with east-west orientation composed of a Broad Hall followed by the Long Hall that leads to the Shrine, the focal point of the funerary cult of the deceased and the god Osiris. The significance of the architecture of TT 148 lies in the monumental scale of the entire complex: the courtyard with forecourt area, the pylon gateway and the large courtyard of 14 x 13 m with portico and colonnade; the Broad Hall with a width of 15.2 m and the ceiling 3.70 m high; the Long Hall including the Shrine have a length of 15.75 m; the main (southern) burial passage is 32 m long sloping down to the Main Burial Chamber at a level more than 8 m below the entrance level of the tomb. Another unique and spectacular feature of the tomb, at the northern and southern end of the Broad Hall, are the colossal engaged statues, at the north end presumably the tomb-owner¹⁹ and at the south of Amenemope with his wife and daughter (fig. 9).²⁰

¹⁹ Unlike the statue-group at the southern end, there are no inscriptions that positively identify him.

²⁰ Judith Brophy, 'The Architecture', in Ockinga (n.6) 23–40.

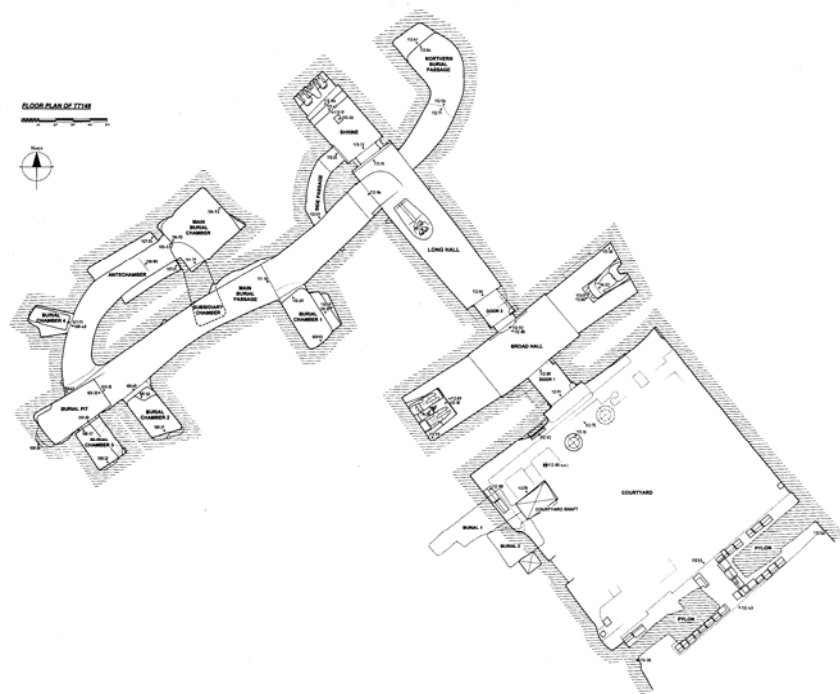


Fig. 7. Plan of TT 148 (Drawing Helen Wilkins)

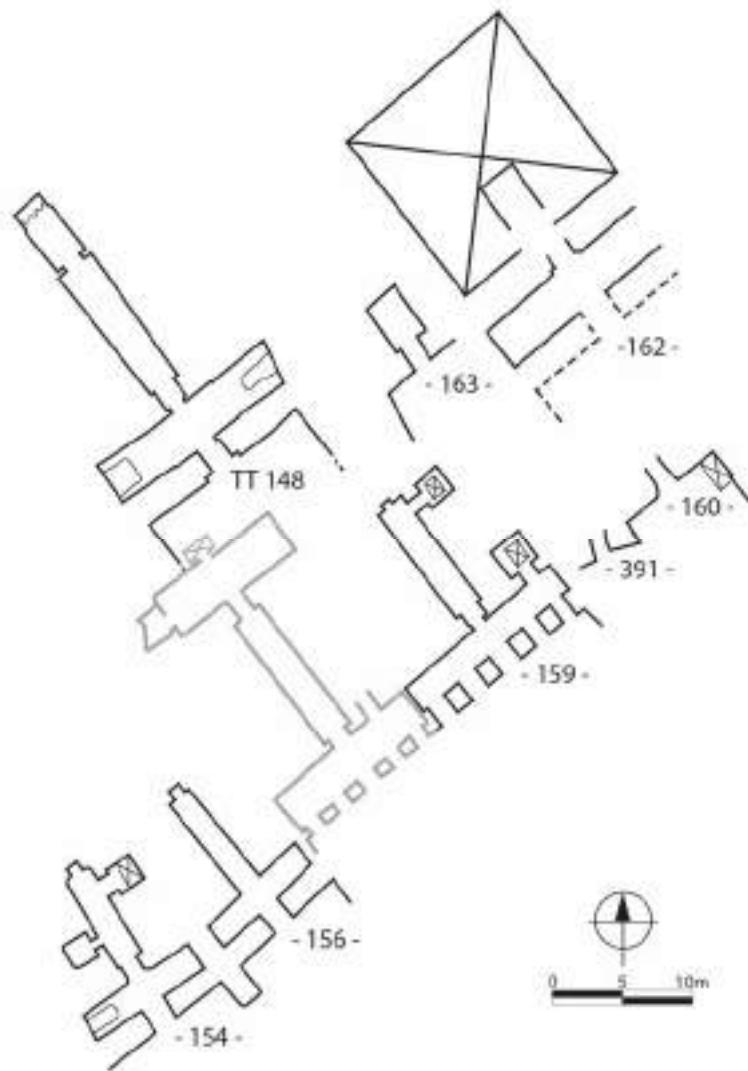


Fig. 8. Plan of tombs in the vicinity of TT 148 showing newly discovered 18th Dynasty tomb (heavy lines)



Fig. 9. TT 148: statue group Broad Hall south end (Photo L. Donovan)

The Finds from TT 148

Every excavation on the slopes of the Theban necropolis uncovers a multitude of finds in a large variety of materials, dating from the original occupation to later phases of use and re-use of the site: human remains, textile, wood from coffins, ceramics, faience, glass, stone, to name the most

common. The nature of the necropolis being such that over the millennia human interference with the material has never ceased, the finds are no longer *in situ* and the condition of most is extremely fragmentary. Not only were the tombs disturbed in antiquity, in early modern times they also attracted the attention of antiquities hunters. This included, in 1817, Lord Belmore, the father of the future New South Wales governor. Inspired by Belzoni, who was active in the tomb of Seti I in the Valley of the Kings at the time Belmore was in Thebes and extracted from it its calcite sarcophagus (now in Sir John Soane's Museum, London), Belmore decided to also take a sarcophagus home and removed that of Amenemope from TT 148.²¹ In the course of this enterprise, the fill of the burial apartment and burial passage was moved around, as indicated by the presence of retaining walls constructed at various points to contain it. When the Broad and Long Halls were cleared early in the 20th century their contents were also emptied into the courtyard, forming two large mounds. Thus next to nothing was in its ancient context and only in exceptional cases could intact objects be recovered. Overall, wood is fairly rare and it is known to have been systematically collected and used as fuel, in all periods from ancient times to the modern era. In the case of TT 148, the finds were scarce by comparison with the size of the site. The most noteworthy finds include the inscribed large red granite sarcophagus of the tomb-owner (now in the Long Hall), a variety of textile fragments and a complete textile tunic, some imported ceramics recovered from the Main Burial Chamber, and a significant corpus of temple blocks from earlier New Kingdom reigns re-used in the construction of the tomb.²² Also, interestingly, not one item was found inscribed with the name of the tomb-owner, but instead a good number of shabtis with the name of Amenemope's father Tjanefer (fig. 10) and his mother Adjedet-aa (fig. 11). This is a curious situation, especially as the father had his own large tomb complex further north on the same mountain side, in Dra Abu el Naga south (TT 158).²³ Together with the observation that the sequence of four burial chambers and a burial pit had been hewn secondarily along the southern sloping passage, as well as the remnants of two further granite sarcophagi, the presence of the shabtis has led to the

²¹ Ockinga (n.6) 14. In the end he decided not to take it back to Britain and left it outside the tomb; at a later point in time, presumably when an iron door was installed, it was placed in the Long Hall.

²² All these are catalogued and discussed in B.G. Ockinga and S. Binder, *The Tomb of Amenemope (TT 148)*, vol. 2 (in preparation); see also B.G. Ockinga, 'Use, Reuse, and Abuse of "Sacred Space": Observations from Dra' Abu el-Naga', in P. Dorman and B. Bryan (eds) *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes* (Chicago 2007) 139–162.

²³ K.C. Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefer* OIP 86 (Chicago 1959).

conclusion that the parents of Amenemope could have been re-buried in this tomb at a later stage in an effort to consolidate the family's funerary monuments. Perhaps on account of TT 148's family-album decoration, it lent itself to being the more desirable of the tombs for the purpose.²⁴



Fig. 10. Shabti of Tjanefer from TT 148 (Drawing H. Wilkins)



Fig. 11. Shabti of Adjedet-aa from TT 148 (Photo L. Donovan)

²⁴ Ockinga (n.22) 139–162, esp. 144–145.

The Significance of the Tomb TT 148 and the Macquarie Project

The significance of TT 148 for Egyptology today lies mainly in the monumentality of its architecture and in the information contained in the texts and representations on the tomb walls: the extensive genealogical data, the historical and biographical information concerning Amenemope especially in relation to his being rewarded with the Gold of Honour (by Ramesses III),²⁵ as well as the repertoire of religious and funerary texts and scenes. The work of the Macquarie mission in the tomb has added to our prosopographical knowledge about the tomb-owner and his family; the name of his daughter, Mutemwia, was established as well as the existence of a son, Usermarenakht, who held the title of First Prophet of Mut in Karnak. The relief of Usermonth (see above, n.16), a vizier of Tutankhamun, and its accompanying inscription that designates him “the father” (i.e., ancestor) of Amenemope, is also of great genealogical significance. We have also been able to bring to scholars’ attention the significance of one of the tomb’s religious scenes, that of ‘Osiris and the Great Serpent’ in the inner shrine. This was previously thought to have been an innovation of the 21st Dynasty, and its presence in TT 148 indicates that innovations in the repertoire of funerary scenes were not first introduced in the 21st Dynasty, as was previously thought, but already began in the later Ramesside Period.²⁶

TT 147 – The tomb of Nefer-renpet, the Counter of the Cattle of Amun*The Tomb-Owner of TT 147*

Prior to our work, the tomb, whose decoration is painted on plaster, was listed as having an unknown owner,²⁷ and therefore one of the main aims of the project was to identify him. The tomb’s walls were covered by a layer of soot and tar obscuring the decoration; once the burial passage and chambers had been located and excavated, it became clear that the source of the smoke was a fire that had raged in the burial chambers. The tomb’s wall decoration, once cleaned of the worst of the soot (see figs 12 and 13 for “before” and “after” images), was not very forthcoming with information on the identity of

²⁵ S. Binder, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt*, Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies 8 (Oxford 2008), esp. 131–133.

²⁶ B.G. Ockinga, ‘Osiris and the Great Serpent in TT 148: Innovations in Funerary Iconography and Texts in the 20th Dynasty’, in Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert and Karola Zibelius-Chen (eds), *Von reichlich ägyptischem Verstande. Festschrift für Waltraud Guglielmi* (Wiesbaden 2006) 91–102.

²⁷ PM I² Pt. 1, 258; Nina de Garis Davies, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 41 (1955) 80, fig. 1.

the tomb-owner since his name, and that of his wife, had been rubbed out. In the course of the excavation of the courtyard with its secondary shaft and burial apartment that extended under the floor of the Broad Hall,²⁸ several examples of two types of funerary cones²⁹ were found in contexts that enable us to assign them to this tomb: both are inscribed with the name Nefer-renpet and one includes the main title that was borne by the tomb-owner, “Scribe who counts the cattle of Amun”. Subsequently, in the epigraphic recording of the inscriptions on the tomb walls, faint traces of the same name could be identified in the Long Hall north, Broad Hall east and north, so that the owner of TT 147 has now regained his name with certainty. Unfortunately, the name of his wife still eludes us.



Fig. 12. TT 147 Broad Hall north wall before conservation (Photo L. Donovan)

²⁸ It was so shallow and roughly executed that it caused part of the Broad Hall floor to collapse.

²⁹ Norman de Garis Davies and M.F.L. Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones* (Oxford 1957).



Fig. 13. TT 147 Broad Hall north wall after conservation. Note the boulder in top left corner (Photo L. Donovan)

The date for the tomb is not indicated by the presence of a royal name but it can be established on the basis of art historical criteria and the characteristic stylistic features of the painted wall decoration, as well as the ceramics in the Main Burial Chamber in the original phase of use of the tomb (see *Finds* below); both point to a date around the reign of Amenhotep III. While the finer detail of the study of the art and iconography of the tomb decoration is still ongoing, the great similarity of some scene details with those in the tombs of Menna (TT 69),³⁰ Nakht (TT 52),³¹ Nebamun and Ipuky (TT 181)³² and particularly with the fragments of the well-known other Nebamun housed in the British Museum all dating to the reign of Amenhotep III,³³ even suggest that perhaps the same artists were at work in TT 147 as well.

The Architecture of TT 147 (fig. 14)

Our project has uncovered the architecture of the forecourt and the hitherto unknown burial apartments; these are accessed through a short shaft and

³⁰ Mahmoud Maher-Taha, *Le tombeau de Mena* (Cairo 2002).

³¹ Norman de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes* (New York 1917); Abdel Ghaffar Shedid and M. Seidel, *Das Grab des Nacht* (Mainz 1991).

³² N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes* (New York 1925).

³³ R. Parkinson, *The Painted Tomb-Chapel of Nebamun* (London 2008).

sloping passage from the south-west corner of the Broad Hall which leads to another shaft providing access into a sequence of two burial chambers on two lower levels. An interesting feature concerning construction methods was revealed in the Broad Hall north, providing insight into the problems encountered by the builders: the entrance doorway originally conceived had to be relocated further to the south as the bedrock in what is now the area of the northern Broad Hall is too dense and hard to be cut by the tools at the workmen's disposal; along the northern courtyard wall and inside the tomb, in the Broad Hall north, the outcrops of rock still testify to this (fig. 13); but they also display the ingenuity of the draughtsmen in dealing with this topographical flaw: they incorporated it into the decorative scheme of the wall and painted one boulder with grapevines (north wall) and gave the other the appearance of a column capital (east wall).

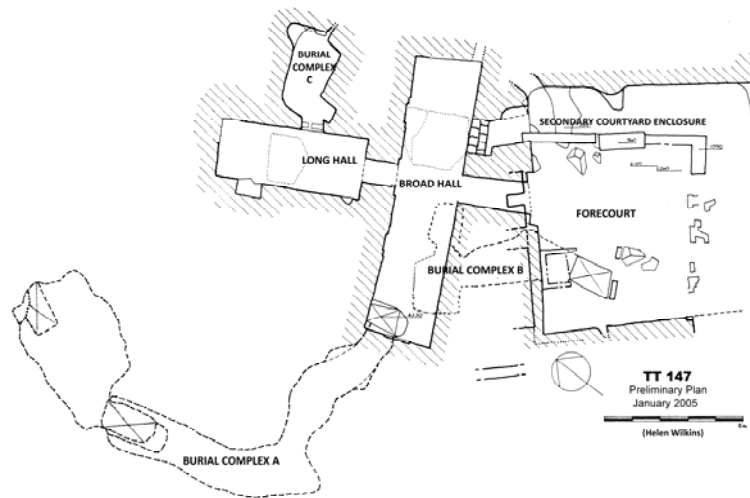


Fig. 14. Plan of TT 147 (Drawing Helen Wilkins)

Two further phases of re-use have added to the architecture and decoration: the construction of a shallow shaft and burial chamber in the later Ramesside period, accessed from the courtyard and extending under the Broad Hall south (Burial Complex B in fig. 14); the hewing of a low subsidiary burial chamber off the northern wall of the Long Hall, cutting through the painted decoration of the wall at random (Burial Complex C in fig. 14), as well as the secondary re-decoration of the lintel above the doorway into the Long Hall. Possibly associated with one of these phases of re-use is the construction of the mud-brick wall still extant in the northern part of the courtyard to a height

of over one metre, which is most likely part of a later courtyard enclosure (Secondary Courtyard Enclosure in fig. 14).

The current damaged state of the upper part of the tomb facade as well as the destruction of the lower parts of the mud-plastered walls of the Broad Hall reveal the main problem with this tomb: it lies in the line of a gully formed by water erosion that runs along the junction where the hard limestone rock meets a softer conglomerate rock. Both the damage suffered by the lower parts of the tomb's plastered walls and the thick layers of compacted silt revealed by the excavations show that the site was repeatedly subject to severe flooding.³⁴ On at least eight occasions³⁵ water gushed down the mountain side gathering in the forecourt and then finding its way further down into the bottom-most burial chamber. The water would have remained there until it finally evaporated or seeped through cracks in the rock, which means the chamber was flooded for an extended period of time, resulting in the destruction of all organic materials. The types of finds recovered from the debris in the courtyard and in the burial apartments clearly reflect this situation. The visible signs of being in a precarious location prone to flooding probably discouraged subsequent re-use of the site. As a result, the finds made here, in stark contrast to those from TT 148 or TT 233, date only to the New Kingdom, from the 18th Dynasty (time of construction) to the late New Kingdom/Third Intermediate Period (time of the subsidiary chamber in the Long Hall). One of the conservation efforts of our mission aims to address the issue of possible future flooding and accumulation of debris; retaining walls have been constructed around the sides and back of the tomb's forecourt and in intervals up the gully to break the force of any future water flows (fig. 15).

³⁴ Very localised heavy rains are a known phenomenon in the Theban region and are also reported on in the literature; see, for example A. Dorn and M. Müller, 'Regenfälle in Theben-West', *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 133 (2005) 90–93; as recent as 1994, the area of the road leading to the Valley of the Kings experienced such rainfall with the mass and the force of the waters causing extensive damage at the mouth of the wadi, from Carter's House, the modern Islamic cemetery to the Funerary Temple of Seti I and the village around it.

³⁵ This number is based on the stratigraphy of the contents of the secondary burial chamber under the floor of the forecourt and Broad Hall.



Fig. 15. TT 147 (Photo L. Donovan)

The Finds from TT 147

The types of finds recovered from the site of TT 147 reflect the history of flooding to which the tomb was subject in that items of wood, textile and bone have not survived in the main burial chambers. Therefore the corpus of ceramics and several types of shabtis represent the bulk of the small finds from this tomb; these can be clearly assigned to four phases of use and re-use of the site.

Phase 1

Objects that date from the time of the first use of the tomb were found on the floor of the burial chamber—strap-handled vessels of fine, burnished Marl that are clearly datable to the period Amenhotep III to Tutankhamun (fig. 16). In the forecourt, paint-pots left by the workmen when the decoration of the tomb was abandoned, were found in a depression in the uneven floor underneath a large fallen limestone block that had formed part of a secondary courtyard wall, built mainly of mudbrick (fig. 17). Also found in the forecourt were the remains of red pottery vessels that were broken in a ritual known as “breaking the red pots” that was performed as part of the funeral rites. These came from a stratum that lies below the surface on top of which the secondary courtyard enclosure was built (fig. 18). The fired funerary

cones belonging to the tomb—Davies and Macadam (n.29) nos 464 and 459—were found in various places, in the forecourt as well as in the fill of the burial passage (fig. 19).



Fig. 16. TT 147 Strap-handled jar (Photo L. Donovan)



Fig. 17. TT 147 Paint jars (Photo L. Donovan)



Fig. 18. TT 147 Smashed red jars (Photo L. Donovan)



Fig. 19. TT 147 Funerary cones with name of Nefer-renpet (Photo L. Donovan)

Phase 2

The objects that date to the second phase of the tomb's use come from the burial complex that is accessed from the Courtyard shaft; most distinctive are fragments of an openwork wooden mummy cover and a wooden pectoral, both well attested in the Ramesside period.

Phase 3

Evidence of a third phase of use comes from the Burial Chamber: impressions in the *hiba*-layer that covered the floor of the main burial chamber were left by the base of a wooden coffin; the coffin was deposited after the fire and before the series of floods; the impressions made by the coffin base in the *hiba* include ones of battens across the bottom of the coffin to hold the planks forming the coffin's base, a method of coffin construction known from the Third Intermediate Period. This date for the coffin is supported by several associated, almost complete, sets of shabtis from the two burial chambers.

Phase 4

To this phase belong several small, blue faience shabti fragments, common in the Third Intermediate Period, that were found in the Long Hall and in the forecourt; some are inscribed for the God's Father (priest) of Amun Re Nes-pauty-tawy (fig. 20), as was a fragment of cartonage found in the forecourt. Nes-pauty-tawy also appears in the inscription accompanying the later decoration on the lintel over the door into the Long Hall.



Fig. 20. TT 147 Shabtis of Nes-pauty-tawy (Photo L. Donovan)

Erasures to Wall Decoration and Inscriptions

Two phases of erasures can be identified, motivated by different factors at different times in the history of the tomb. The first were undertaken in the Amarna period, during the reign immediately following the construction of the tomb (c. 1350 BCE). They are religiously motivated and are primarily aimed against the god Amun. The offending material was removed by relatively carefully made excisions which break through the painted, smooth gypsum wall plaster and expose the straw tempered mud plaster applied to the bedrock walls. The name 'Amun' when it appears as part of a title or the name of a person was removed (fig. 21) as well as several instances of the hieroglyphic group , used to write the plural *netjeru*, "gods", or as part of

the writing of the word 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *pesedjet* “ennead” when it refers to the company of the gods (fig. 26). Cultic objects associated with Amun were also erased such as sistra brought from the temple of the god.



Fig 21. TT 147 Broad Hall east wall south of door showing text erasures at right end (Photo L. Donovan)

The second series of erasures are probably to be associated with the subsequent re-use of the tomb by the Priest of Amun Nes-pauty-tawy in the Third Intermediate Period (see also *Finds* above). At this time, the names of the 18th-Dynasty tomb-owner Nefer-renpet and his wife were rubbed out without, however, damaging the plaster surface of the wall or replacing the names (fig. 21, bottom right);³⁶ the name of Nes-pauty-tawy only occurs in the scene above the doorway leading into the Long Hall.

The Significance of the Tomb TT 147 and the Macquarie Project

The work of our project in TT 147 has contributed to our understanding of the 18th Dynasty in a number of ways. First of all, with the recovery of the name of the tomb-owner, we have added to the available prosopographical

³⁶ B.G. Ockinga, ‘TT 147 – Observations on its Owners and Erasures’, *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 15 (2004) 121–129; B.G. Ockinga, ‘Theban Tomb 147: Its Owners and Erasures Revisited’, *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 19 (2008) 139–144.

information on this period and on the administration of the Temple of Amun in the time of Amenhotep III.



Fig 22. TT 147 Broad Hall west wall south of door: detail (Photo L. Donovan)

The cleaning of the walls and revealing of the tomb's paintings makes accessible new data on the methods and techniques of New Kingdom Theban tomb painting. One insight gained is that one needs to be careful about assigning particular styles to particular schools of artists. For example, on the plausible assumption that the paintings in tombs of officials who were temple employees are likely to have been produced by artists who worked in the temples while those of officials in the service of the king were painted by artists who worked for the palace, it has been suggested that one can identify a 'temple style', characteristic of artists who were employed in the temples, and a 'palace style', characteristic of artists who worked on royal projects (as, for example, the palace of Malkata and the tombs of the Valley of the Kings).³⁷ One of the characteristics attributed to the 'temple style' is forms

³⁷ M. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419-1372 BCE* Monumenta Aegyptiaca X (Turnhout 2004).

painted with fine, relatively precise outlines and many inner details; the figures have a linear quality that call to mind the sharp contours of reliefs. By contrast, the ‘palace style’ is characterised by strong, thick outlines. Since Nefer-renpet was employed in the temple one would expect to find the paintings done in the ‘temple style’. In TT 147 we do indeed find ‘temple style’ paintings with fine lines with a lot of inner detail (fig. 22), but we also find others that have the strong, thick outlines characteristic of the ‘palace style’ (figs 23, 24 and 25). Rather than draw the conclusion that two schools of artists were at work in the tomb, there is another explanation that offers a more plausible reason for the presence of the two styles: the paintings with the fine lines and inner detail are all found in the outer part of the tomb, particularly in the Broad Hall, opposite the entrance on the west wall where there is a lot of light; the paintings with the strong, thick outlines are in the darker areas of the tomb, in the Long Hall and at the ends of the Broad Hall, where light conditions are not as good.



Fig 23. TT 147 Long Hall south wall detail of Nefer-renpet and his wife (Photo L. Donovan)

Further study of the artistic styles and painting techniques displayed on the walls may lead to identifying various artists’ hands, and it may be possible to trace the individual artists in other contemporary tombs.

There are a number of distinct features in the repertoire of scenes that are of art historical interest: the representation of the blind harper, the liveliness of the female musicians in the banquet scene (fig. 24), and the animated depiction of the offering bearers associated with the banquet (fig. 25). In the agricultural scenes some of the workers are almost caricatures, such as the ploughman with the hunched back and wispy hair or the men with a stubble beard. In the funerary procession, the enigmatic *tekenu* drawn on a sled is depicted in a curious manner peeping out from under a black cover (fig. 26).



Fig 24. TT 147 Long Hall north wall detail of banquet scene (Photo L. Donovan)



Fig 25. TT 147 Long Hall north wall detail of banquet scene (Photo L. Donovan)



Fig 26. TT 147 Long Hall south wall detail of funeral procession with *tekenu* (Photo L. Donovan)

**TT 233 – The tomb of Saroy and Amenhotep-Huy,
Royal Scribes of the Table of the Lord of the Two Lands**

TT 233 is a tomb that was known in the Egyptological literature³⁸ but, for several reasons, had only received very cursory attention: its owner was thought to be insignificant and his main title rather uninteresting; the tomb's decoration seemed to be confined to standard Book of the Dead material; the tomb was in a very poor state of preservation, the ceiling of the Broad Hall having collapsed at the northern and southern ends; the courtyard was filled to above the level of the top of the doorway and the effort required to excavate, conserve and record the monument was no doubt thought to be out of proportion with the benefit that the data it held would bring to science so that priority was given to more promising monuments. After examining the tomb it was thought by us that it would yield information of greater value than generally expected and that measures should be undertaken to preserve

³⁸ The tomb is listed in the catalogue of Theban tombs compiled by A.H. Gardiner and A. Weigall in 1913 (*Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes* [London] 36, pl. XIII) and its supplement published in 1924 by Engelbach; it appears in the *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* (n.7) vol. I. Part 1, 329; and in Kampp (n.7) 512–513.

what still survived of its decoration. The caved-in ceiling and the large mountain boulders that had crashed into the Broad Hall posed a considerable challenge at the beginning of our project. Once the doorway was located and excavated, walls and supports were erected in the effort to re-create a lockable tomb and protect the inscriptions that were hitherto open to the elements.

The Tomb-Owners of TT 233

The Macquarie mission has been able to establish that the tomb was in fact decorated for two persons, Saroy and his assistant Amenhotep-Huy, who in one inscription is designated “his son”. Both are attested on the tomb walls as having the same title: Royal scribe of the Table of the Lord of the Two Lands. Saroy, however, also bears a number of further interesting titles:³⁹

“Royal Scribe of the king’s repast”

“Keeper of the royal documents in the presence (of the king)”

“Royal Scribe of the House of Rituals of the Lord of the Two Lands”⁴⁰

“Royal Scribe, Scribe of the smA.y (Archive?) of the Lord of the Two Lands”

“Royal Scribe, Scribe of the smA.y (Archive?)”

“Butler of bread”

“Leader of the Festival”

“Cattle Counter in the Estate of Amun”

“Royal Messenger to the hill country”

“Overseer of the hunters of Amun”

He also has the epithet “confidant, beloved of his lord”.

A fragmentary biographical inscription in the form of an “Address to the Living”, detailing the various stages of Saroy’s career, has been uncovered on the north reveal of the entrance to the tomb.⁴¹ Several of the titles listed are so far not very well attested and understood, opening up avenues for further research.⁴²

The unusual title “Scribe of the smA.y (Archive?)” has allowed us to make the connection between Saroy of TT 233 and Saroy, the owner of the

³⁹ B.G. Ockinga, ‘Theban Tomb 233 – Saroy regains an Identity’, *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 11 (2000) 109, where their significance is also discussed.

⁴⁰ This is a new reading of the title interpreted as ‘Royal Scribe and Guardian of the Mansion of the Lord of the Two Lands’ in Ockinga (n.39).

⁴¹ Ockinga (n.39) 110.

⁴² Work has begun on the title most frequently mentioned in the tomb, ‘(Royal) Scribe of the (Offering) Table’: S. Binder, ‘The title “Scribe of the Offering Table”: Some Observations’, in A. Woods, A. McFarlane and S. Binder (eds) *Egyptian Culture and Society. Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, vol. I, CASAE 38 (Cairo 2010) 1–13.

standard-bearer statue CG 42168 (fig. 27) and the block-statue CG 42167 from the Karnak cachette.⁴³ This is significant inasmuch as the kneeling standard-bearer statue is datable not only by its artistic style but also by the cartouche of Ramesses II on the official's right shoulder.⁴⁴ The collar worn by Saroy on the standard-bearer statue reveals that he was one of a select number of officials who were rewarded personally by the king with the so-called Gold of Honour;⁴⁵ this, along with some of the titles he bears, indicates that he was in the personal service of the king.



Fig 27. Statue of Saroy from Karnak cachette (Cairo 42168) (Photo L. Donovan)

⁴³ B. Ockinga, 'New Light on the Cairo Statues of Saroy', in Mamdouh Eldamaty and Mai Trad (eds) *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World. Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum* (Cairo 2002) 873–884.

⁴⁴ A date in the reign of Ramesses II for Saroy of TT 233 is also backed up by the appearance of the king's name in an inscription in the tomb.

⁴⁵ See Binder (n.25) 336 (Prosopography [188]).

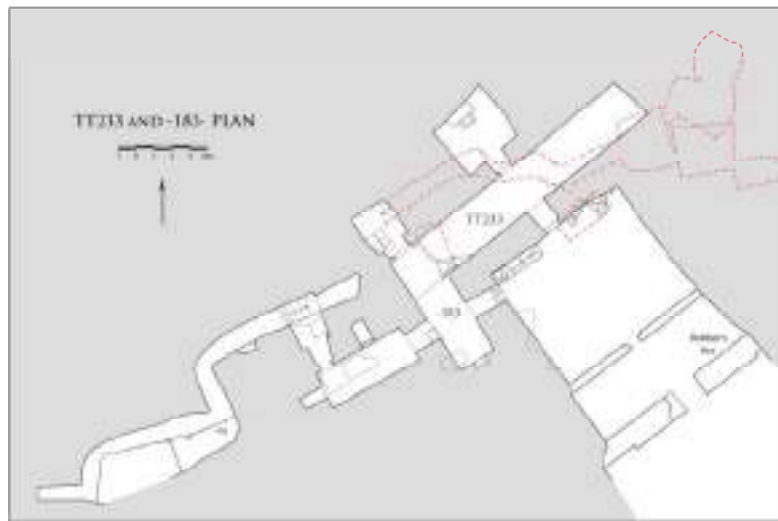
The Architecture of TT 233

Fig 28. TT 233 Plan

The plan of the tomb (fig. 28) is unusual and complex since an earlier 18th Dynasty tomb, whose Broad Hall meets the southern end of the Broad Hall at a right angle, has been incorporated into it. This ‘side tomb’, as we have dubbed it, was completely unknown prior to our investigation. It can be assigned to Amenhotep-Huy on account of the presence of his name in an inscription on fragments that come from the entrance to its Long Hall.⁴⁶ It has the expected traditional T-shape, but an unusual north-south orientation. The vaulted ceiling of its Long Hall probably dates the structure to the 18th Dynasty, with Amenhotep’s and Saroy’s occupation of the site already being a phase of re-use. It has been assigned the Kampp number –183– by us, a number Kampp had given to the chamber at the southern end of the Broad Hall of TT 233, thinking it was another tomb.⁴⁷ That the Broad Hall of TT 233 is the main structure of the whole complex is clear from the symmetry and orientation of TT 233’s courtyard, the scale of its Broad Hall, as well as the decoration of its walls that consistently includes both men.

⁴⁶ Ockinga (n.18) 135–147, esp. 142.

⁴⁷ Ockinga (n.18) 135–147, esp. 141–143.

In search of the hitherto unknown burial apartments of TT 233, the most exciting discovery was that at the south-west end of the Broad Hall. Instead of a shaft or a sloping passage, TT 233 has an antechamber from which a stairway winds down around 20 steps into the mountain along a natural fissure and leads to a landing area, a short shaft and then finally into the Main Burial Chamber.⁴⁸

As with most Theban tombs, TT 233 was re-used in the Third Intermediate Period and two later shafts with associated burial chambers can be dated to this phase of the tomb's use; one is located at the southern end of the Broad Hall,⁴⁹ the other in the courtyard to the north of the entrance into the tomb.

The Finds from TT 233

Although the tomb had been thoroughly plundered and what survived of its equipment was very fragmentary, the finds recovered give us some indication of the tomb's original inventory as well as the history of the tomb's later re-use.



Fig 29. TT 233 Sarcophagus of Saroy (Photo L. Donovan)

The Burial Apartments still contained a wealth of material. The largest object found was the anthropoid sandstone sarcophagus of Saroy (fig. 29); although it had been broken up and pieces were found throughout the Burial Apartments, mixed in the debris in the stairway and even in the courtyard, several large sections of its basin were still in the lower burial chamber and

⁴⁸ Ockinga (n.18) 136; plan p. 141, fig. 2. Note that this discovery leads to the most significant correction of F. Kampp's plan for TT 233 (*Die Thebanische Nekropole*, 513, based on P&M I²/1, 329): as what we have been able to identify as the upper landing area of the stairway was filled with mountain debris to about 30 cm from the ceiling, and as it is uncommon to find a chamber in this position in a traditional tomb, F. Kampp classified this chamber as a secondary tomb and assigned it a new tomb number in her cataloguing system between dashes: -183-.

⁴⁹ Ockinga (n.18) 138.

this part of the sarcophagus could be largely reconstructed. The damage to the lid was much greater and only a few pieces were found. The other object belonging to the equipment of Saroy found here is the lower part of a blue-glazed steatite statuette, with three incised columns giving his name and titles (fig. 30).



Fig 30. TT 233 398 Glazed steatite figurine of Saroy (Photo L. Donovan)

Not surprisingly, shabtis comprised the largest corpus of finds recovered in the Burial Apartments: the foot of a large faience shabti (TT 233:413), several fragments of small blue faience shabtis (TT 233:388) inscribed for a “Royal Scribe of the Offering Table” called Ky-nefer, a fine uninscribed shabti in the dress of the living (fig. 31) as well as fragments of a large red sandstone shabti figure also depicting the person in the costume of the living (fig. 32), which can be dated to the 19th Dynasty based on parallels. But the majority were worker and overseer shabtis of a type that can be dated to the 21st Dynasty inscribed for a “Priest of Amun” called Amun-kha.



Fig 31. TT 233 405 Shabti in dress of the living (Photo L. Donovan)

The ceramic assemblage from the Main Burial Chamber is of some interest, paralleling very closely that from the contemporary tomb of Iurudef⁵⁰ in Saqqara, in the north, thus illustrating quite a degree of material cultural uniformity in Egypt at the time.

Numerous fragments of fine limestone statuettes were found in the courtyard, at least one seated and another stelophorous, the stele held by the latter bears the text of a hymn addressed to the sun-god that is well attested in the New

⁵⁰ M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Iurudef. A Memphite Official in the Reign of Ramesses II* (London 1991) 47ff.; pls. 47–53.

Kingdom.⁵¹ Objects of other materials found include ebony inlay inscribed with the name and title of Saroy; a *wadj*-amulet of amazonite and wax figurines of the four Sons of Horus.



Fig. 32. TT 233 454: Large sandstone funerary figurine (Photo L. Donovan)

Of particular interest is a collection of objects found in the ashes of a fire located in the courtyard at floor level right against the western face of the northern pylon. The stratigraphy here was very clear: the fire was in the stratum below one that can be dated to the Late Period on the basis of the ceramics found there, which in turn was below a layer dating to the Coptic (Late Antique) period. Sifting of the ashes recovered the charred remains of funerary equipment. We can therefore conclude that we have here evidence for the first plundering of the tomb, which took place at the end of the New Kingdom, when the activities of tomb robbers are also attested in written sources. The fire had been laid directly against the inner face of the pylon to shield it from the view of people down in the valley, and the funerary

⁵¹ Ockinga (n.18) 139–140.

equipment was burned to melt the gold foil that would have originally covered some of the objects—indeed we recovered tiny fragments of gold leaf from amongst the ashes. Amongst the objects found was also a pair of ebony clappers ending in hands, the wrists decorated with a Hathor head (fig. 33); a number of blue faience shabti beads inscribed for Saroy; a fragmentary rock crystal scarab, and a wooden figure of Thoth from an open-work wooden mummy cover (fig. 34).⁵²



Fig 33. TT 233 499a
Ebony clapper (Photo
L. Donovan)



Fig 34. TT 233 526 Fretwork figure of Thoth
(Photo L. Donovan)

⁵² One can again draw a parallel with the tomb of Iurudef: Raven (n.50) 38 (cat. 25), pl. 39.

In the latest level of the site's occupation in antiquity, from the Coptic/Late Antique phase, extensive finds were recovered consisting primarily of pottery and numerous ostraca and fragments of papyrus.⁵³

The Significance of the Tomb TT 233 and the Macquarie Project

The work conducted by the Macquarie project has demonstrated clearly that TT 233 has much interesting data to contribute and is by no means devoid of significance. Its primary owner, Saroy, has turned out to be a noteworthy official who was in the personal service of the king and was recognised by him for his loyal service. It is another example of the uncommon situation where the tomb was built and decorated for two persons. The tomb's inscriptions have proven to be of far greater interest than previously thought; it does have extensive selections from the Book of the Dead, including Chapters 1, 17, 18, 68, 69, 71, 125, 130 and 175, but it also includes some very unusual texts. On the west wall of the Broad Hall to the left of the door into the shrine there is a ritual text otherwise only attested in the memorial temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu;⁵⁴ and below that, a litany of offerings to Osiris, a genre of text well known from temples but attested in only one other non-royal tomb, TT 65.⁵⁵ The presence of these unusual temple texts can be explained now that we have more information on the offices held by Saroy: as "Royal Scribe of the House of Rituals of the Lord of the Two Lands" he would have had access to such material.

The tomb of Saroy and Amenhotep-Huy also provides us with a wealth of information on the history of the use of an area of the Theban necropolis over an extended period of time and provides insight into the way the ancient Egyptians of the pharaonic period re-used 'sacred space': we have evidence for the occupation of the site from the 18th Dynasty to the Third Intermediate Period, a period spanning some 600 years. It also contributes data for the reconstruction of the history of the area in Late Antiquity when, from about the 7th to the 9th centuries CE, it was home to members of a Coptic community, as the Coptic graffiti in the Broad Hall and the numerous Coptic

⁵³ H. Behlmer and M. Underwood, 'Coptic Textual Finds from the Macquarie University Excavations at Dra Abu al-Naga (TT 233)', in Gawdat Gabra and Hany N. Takla (eds), *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt*, vol. 2: *Nag Hammadi-Esna* (Cairo and New York 2010) 7–19.

⁵⁴ B.G. Ockinga, 'A Royal Ritual Text in TT 233', in M. Collier and S. Snape (eds) *Festschrift for Kenneth A. Kitchen* (Liverpool 2011) 99–113.

⁵⁵ Tamás Bács, 'A Royal Litany in a Private Context', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 60 (2004) 1–16.

ostraca and papyrus fragments found in the courtyard attest.⁵⁶ The site is in close proximity to the monastery of Deir el Behit, located further south up the mountain, and it may have been part of a forerunner settlement located at the northern end of Dra Abu el Naga^c.

Concluding Comments and Future Perspectives

None of the work of any foreign mission can be conducted without the assistance of the local restorers and conservators, and the manual workforce of trowel-men and carriers. We here also acknowledge the invaluable contribution that these teams of men have made to the results achieved by the Macquarie team.

In Western Thebes, the most significant event in recent years took place in 2006 when the village built among the tombs over the last few hundred years was demolished and its inhabitants re-located to a new village to the north, Gurna Gedida ("New Gurna").⁵⁷ The character of the mountain has completely changed with 'new' tombs being discovered or ones considered long lost being re-discovered. As a new phase in the history of the necropolis is begun, it is also important to continue to strive for the thorough and systematic recording of the already known and numbered monuments. It is a privilege for Macquarie University to be a member of the international community of Egyptologists united in this effort. The work on each of the tombs we have explored so far follows a distinct cycle: after the field work and the compilation and collation of the data are completed, the work on the publication and the study of individual aspects of the data from the tombs begins. With our work on TT 148 now concluded, the tomb is now fully back in the responsibility of the Supreme Council of Antiquities and in late 2010/2011 preparations were being made for it to be opened to the public. As the plans for extending the work of the Macquarie mission to TT 149, the tomb that adjoins TT 233 to the north, begin to take shape and preparations for another field-season are being made, the work on the volumes presenting TT 147 and TT 233 is making steady progress. Our work will only be completed when all these primary sources are made available to the international research community.

⁵⁶ For a preliminary survey of the material, see Behlmer and Underwood (n.53). The textual material is being worked on by other Macquarie University scholars, Dr Malcolm Choat and Mr Matthew Underwood in conjunction with Professor Heike Behlmer (Göttingen). The Coptic pottery is being studied by Dr Thomas Beckh (Munich).

⁵⁷ For an anthropological study of the modern inhabitants of the West Bank, see Kees van der Spek, *The modern neighbours of Tutankhamun. History, Life, and Work in the villages of the Theban West Bank* (Cairo 2011).

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