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THE TOMB OF TJANEFER AT THEBES

BY
KEITH C. SEELE



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PREFACE

THE drawings reproduced in the present work were prepared nearly twenty-five years ago, during the last two seasons of my sojourn in Egypt as a member of the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The recording of the tomb of Tjanefer was, however, entirely a personal venture, though I employed the same process which has been used for all the work of the expedition from its beginning. I executed the copies in pencil on photographic enlargements of the reliefs which were kindly made for me by the late Mr. Henry Leichter, then staff photographer of the Epigraphic Survey. After these copies had been completed and to a large extent collated with the originals on the walls, the inking process was performed at my expense by Mr. Laurence J. Longley, now of Syracuse University, who drew so many beautiful plates for the publications of the Epigraphic Survey. Thus he is responsible for whatever beauty of draftsmanship the drawings display and I for their content and their accuracy or mistakes. The photographic enlargements were placed in the bleaching solution after the inking was completed but before erasure of my pencil lines, in order that they might be submitted to a final checking for errors and omissions. I am convinced that errors are still present, for the reliefs and texts are often damaged or fragmentary, but efforts were made to solve the recognizable problems in the presence of the originals.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to those whose assistance made possible the copying of the tomb: to the late Professor Harold H. Nelson, who released me from duties to afford me time to draw the reliefs and texts; to Mr. Longley and the late Mr. Leichter for their contributions as already described; to Sir Alan Gardiner for copies of texts more specifically acknowledged in the Introduction; to various Egyptian staff members of the Epigraphic Survey, some of whom are still performing their duties after a quarter of a century; and to my wife, whose valuable assistance at the tomb was always utterly indispensable.

My debt has grown in later years. It now extends to Professor Helene J. Kantor, who contributed her skill in drawing a fragment (shown at left on Pl. 20) missed in the original copying; to Messrs. James E. Knudstad and Ronald Slowinski for the sketch plan and section (Pl. 41); to Professor Carl H. Kraeling, Director of the Oriental Institute, for admitting the present volume to the illustrious series of "Oriental Institute Publications"; to Mrs. Elizabeth B. Hauser for her painstaking editing of the manuscript and many helpful suggestions; and, above all, to Mr. William R. Boyd, whose generosity and whose love for the art and history of the ancient Egyptians provided the means for publishing this book.

KEITH C. SEELE

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INTRODUCTION

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB

LOCATION AND HISTORY

THE tomb of Tjanefer¹ has been assigned the number 158 in the Theban necropolis.² It is nearly the highest tomb on the hill of the Dra Abu'l Naga behind the main village, and it is the most conspicuous in this section of the necropolis because of the two small pylon towers which flank the entrance to its large open court (Pl. 1 A). Its lofty situation affords a magnificent view of the foothills beneath and of the broad level plain with its varying colors of black and green and yellow (depending upon the season) which carry the eye far away to the Nile and beyond.

The hills of the necropolis are very irregular in contour and are divided by a multiplicity of wadies, so that the theoretical orientation toward the east of the private tombs is violated as often as it is observed. Tomb 158 was laid out on an axis which points practically due south (as indicated by north arrow on Pl. 41). Nevertheless, in accordance with the practice often followed by Egyptologists, the tomb is treated in this work as if it actually faced toward the rising sun. Thus, as we face toward the hills behind it, the "south" is at the left, the "north" on the right.

As indicated by Porter and Moss,³ modern knowledge of the tomb extends back for well over a century to the time of Champollion, and a few copies from its sculptured walls were made by several of the early scholars who explored the Theban monuments, including—in addition to Champollion—Wilkinson, Rosellini, and Lepsius. Apparently, Richard Lepsius carried off to Berlin other objects from the tomb besides the cartonnage fragments mentioned by him in his notes,⁴ for Varille was able to fit a wall fragment of the Berlin collection to the representation of the blind harper (see Pl. 14 E) whose song in the tomb of Tjanefer he published in 1935.⁵

The tomb possesses the rare distinction of having been mentioned in ancient Egyptian records subsequent to its construction. It was one of the tombs robbed during the latter part of the Twentieth Dynasty, and a report of the confession of the thieves has been preserved to us. They were encouraged by well known methods to make the following statement:

We . . . went to the tomb of Thanufer, who was third prophet of Amun. We opened it, and we brought out his inner coffins, and we

¹ Tj is employed throughout to transcribe the Egyptian *t*. In the court of the tomb the name of Tjanefer is once written . Is this merely an error, or does it indicate that the name means "Good Vizier" rather than "Good Man," "Good Child," or whatever other meaning may be concealed in the *t*³ sign?

² Alan H. Gardiner and Arthur E. P. Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes* (London, 1913) p. 30.

³ Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. I. *The Theban Necropolis* (Oxford, 1927) p. 147.

⁴ *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. Text III (Leipzig, 1900) 240.

⁵ "Trois nouveaux chants de harpistes," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* XXXV (1935) 153-60.

took his mummy, and left it there in a corner in his tomb. We took his inner coffins to this boat, along with the rest, to the Island(?) of Amenôpe. We set fire to them in the night. And we made away with the gold which we found on them. . . .⁶

We may suppose that the body of Tjanefer was rescued from the corner in which it had been abandoned by the robbers, that it was rewrapped and reburied with or without new coffins to replace those which had been burned, that the sarcophagus was properly closed again and the burial chamber resealed, and that the deceased man's funeral cult was carried on for a time, at least, after the robbery. Nevertheless, the tomb could not very long have escaped a repetition of the disaster which had befallen it so soon after the death of its owner. It was ultimately broken into once more and despoiled of all its portable furnishings, with the exception of the granite sarcophagus (see p. 4). The latter still lies in the burial chamber, its lid having been partially removed, probably by a second group of robbers not far separated in time from the group mentioned in the British Museum papyrus quoted above.

The subsequent history of the tomb is unknown. That it ultimately became the residence of one of the native families of the modern village which came to occupy the hill below is easily demonstrable from the destroyed condition of the plastered walls and especially by the smoke-blackened ceiling and upper expanses of all inner walls. Much of the destruction may have occurred centuries ago, for the smoke-covered areas include numerous patches of rock from which the decoration has fallen away, perhaps as the result of landslide or earthquake. In glaring contrast to such early damage are the white surfaces, especially in the broad hall, which represent the saw marks of modern vandals who attempted, usually in vain, to remove portions of the best reliefs for sale to tourists or collectors.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the tomb remained comparatively unnoticed after the time of Lepsius. It was of course visited from time to time by Egyptologists. Eventually it was supplied with an iron door and a lock, probably in connection with the survey made by Gardiner and Weigall, when the latter was Inspector of Antiquities for the Egyptian government. It was in the concession excavated by the University Museum of Philadelphia between 1921 and 1923.⁷ But Professor Kurt Sethe had already copied certain of the inscriptions for the proposed dictionary of the Egyptian language,⁸ presumably in 1904-5, when he made his fruitful tour of the monuments for that purpose, and occasional references to

⁶ T. Eric Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford, 1930) pp. 60-61.

⁷ Cf. Clarence S. Fisher's report in the *Museum Journal* XV (1924) 28 ff.

⁸ Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache* (5 vols.; Leipzig, 1926-31) and *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache: Die Belegstellen* (5 vols.; Leipzig and Berlin, 1940-55).

his copies are found in subsequent literature. Sir Alan Gardiner visited the tomb in 1911, and many years ago he generously placed at my disposal his copies, both from that tomb and from others which have bearing on some of the

problems concerning Tjanefer, his monument, and his family. It is a pleasure to acknowledge here the vast debt of gratitude which I owe to him for his inspiring scholarship and his untiring kindness.

ARCHITECTURAL ARRANGEMENT (PL. 41)

The tomb of Tjanefer is a typical one of the period in which it was created, except for the stone pylon (Pl. 2 *A*) through which access was gained to the colonnaded court. This pylon is, so far as I know, the only surviving example of such a structure built of stone for a Theban tomb, though mud-brick pylons were numerous in the Nineteenth Dynasty at Dair al-Madinah and several huge ones have survived from the Saitic period.⁹ It may be assumed that tombs of other Theban grandees were supplied with this imposing type of stone entrance, after the fashion of the contemporaneous royal temples on both sides of the Nile. Perhaps the location of Tomb 158 at such a lofty point on the hill of the Dra Abu'l Naga, which in antiquity may have been remote from any populated center, explains why the limestone pylon blocks were never quarried away. The pylon has suffered some damage; without parallels among the private tombs, we have no certain means of estimating its original dimensions and appearance. Its present thickness is 2.20 m. at the base, including the socle; the height of the south tower is 4.20 m. and that of the north tower 4.65 m.; the width of the entrance between the towers is about 2.80 m. It is doubtful whether more than a few of the rubble-like courses of masonry have disappeared from the top, for they were laid with mortar and constituted a relatively strong structure.

On the front of each tower of the pylon, near the top, is an irregular depression (see Pl. 1 *A*). These are reminiscent of the rectangular openings in the temple pylons which received the wooden supports of flagstaffs. Whether the depressions here served the same purpose is uncertain, but they definitely confirm the impression that the structure is a pylon rather than remains of an ordinary wall. Whether either face of the pylon was ever decorated cannot now be determined, since the plaster with which they were presumably finished has entirely disappeared. However, by analogy with other tombs of the period which were completed with an open court, but with a hewn front wall or one built of mud brick, such as Tomb 23 (time of Merenptah), it is probably safe to conclude that the structure was once covered with sculptured or painted decoration, at least on the west (inner) face and possibly on the façade as well.

The large court behind the pylon was hewn out of the sloping hillside (Pl. 1). Thus its north and south wall faces are now triangular in form, with the greatest height at the west (Pl. 3 *B*), but originally they were extended to a uniform level with mud brick, which compensated for the slope of the terrain. After they were plastered and decorated, it would not have been apparent that these walls were partly of stone and partly of brick. All three of the court walls, and possibly the rear of the pylon, were adorned with three registers of reliefs¹⁰ and a frieze (Pls. 4-9). The major portions of the mud-brick additions at the north and south have long since disappeared, with the re-

sult that the original three registers of the reliefs are preserved only adjacent to the rear wall of the court, while the descending slope of the hill leaves but a triangle of ever-narrowing carved scenes as one proceeds toward the front (Pl. 3 *B*). The wall surfaces, however, were never carefully hewn to a perfect plane and thus possessed innumerable irregularities. These have been multiplied by the action of weather, with the result that all three walls are filled with faults and crevices, so that there is scarcely a single completely preserved relief or inscription on any one of them (see e.g. Pl. 2 *B*).

The court, which is 20.40 m. in width (north to south) at the pylon and 20.10 m. wide along the west wall, is far from a perfectly rectangular area, for the pylon was constructed somewhat obliquely to the rock-hewn west wall, probably because the contour of the hillside offered thus a less laboriously attained foundation for its heavy mass. In depth the court measures 14.80 m. at the south and 12.65 m. at the north. The entrance between the pylon towers is almost exactly centered.

The floor of the court is the solid virgin limestone, which was more or less evenly dressed as the hillside was cut down. Possibly some of the material quarried from this operation was utilized in the construction of the pylon towers, though considerably more stone was removed than is visibly preserved in the vicinity. A great deal of it may have been employed for filling faults and other irregularities to a required level. All about the four sides of the court (except in front of a stela in the south wall; see below), to a distance of approximately 2.00-2.30 m. from the walls, the floor was cut down to a slightly lower level. Thus the floor beneath the colonnade was lower than that of the open central area, in striking contrast to the arrangement in the courts of the Great Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, where the column and pillar bases stand on a socle about 10 cm. in height and the floors of the unroofed areas are thus lower by that amount.¹¹ In Tomb 158 the line of the cut marks the inner edge of the square bases of the pillars which supported the architraves of the colonnade.

The court is divided by its axis into two similar and nearly equal parts. On each side, at a distance of 1.65 m. behind the socle of each pylon tower, were four approximately square bases of pillars.¹² Only the southernmost of the eight is still present (Pl. 1 *B*, foreground), but markings on the stone floor determine the positions of several more. The intervals between the bases were not exactly equal,

¹⁰ Actually, the east portion of the south (and possibly of the north) wall contained but two registers, a narrower one at the bottom which was similar to the lowest register elsewhere and a register of double width which reached to the level of the frieze.

¹¹ Cf. Uvo Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu. I. General Plans and Views* ("Oriental Institute Publications" XXI [Chicago, 1934]) Pl. 20. Is it possible that the difference in level in Tjanefer's tomb was more than compensated for by a pavement of limestone slabs under the colonnade which raised it to a slightly higher plane than that of the floor of the central area in accordance with general architectural practice in the temples? I know of no parallel in the tombs, and it would seem very strange for the Egyptian to have hewn a floor out of the solid rock and then to have built it up again with paving slabs. But Tjanefer's monument may have been grander than we can imagine.

¹² They probably varied somewhat in size. The one complete base measures 78 by 77 cm. A broken one has a dimension of 92 cm. on the intact side.

⁹ Cf. Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1930)* (Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, "Rapports préliminaires" VIII 3 [Cairo, 1933]) Pl. XXXII; Georg Steindorff and Walther Wolf, *Die thebanische Gräberwelt* ("Leipziger ägyptologische Studien" IV [1936]) Pl. XIII.

and I was not able to locate all of them with absolute certainty (as indicated by question marks on Pl. 41). The space between the central two was slightly greater than the other intervals. From the scorings on the preserved base it is possible to determine that the pillar which rested on it was 50 cm. in width (north to south) and 43 cm. in depth and thus that it was not square. At the rear of the court there were three pillars instead of four on each side of the axis, for here the colonnade was interrupted in the center by a portico or vestibule of mud brick, the walls of which supported the west architrave at this point in lieu of pillars. The colonnade was completed by eight more columns, four along the north and four along the south wall, at distances of 1.20 and 1.15 m., respectively. At the north end of the court a large fragment of the second base from the west is still *in situ* (see Pl. 1 B). The walls of the portico were directly in line with the bases of the central pair of pillars behind the pylon, as would be expected. They are still preserved to a height of nine to twelve courses of brick (see Pl. 1 B), and their ground plans may be accurately determined. At the rear they abutted the stone wall of the court, which is undecorated where its surface was concealed.¹³ That the vestibule was roofed may be assumed by analogy with similar structures in the temples of the period.¹⁴

Over the top of the frieze surmounting the scenes on the west wall of the court is a ledge which apparently supported the rear ends of the roofing planks, the forward ends of which rested on the west architrave of the colonnade.¹⁵ Whether rows of "funeral cones" were ever attached to the west wall in or above this ledge¹⁶ I am unable to state, since I know of the existence of none which belonged to the tomb. The two ends of the west architrave were apparently continued to the ends of the court, for a roughly rectangular socket hewn out to receive the south end is still visible in the stone wall and it is probable that both ends were treated similarly. The distance from the floor to the top of the frieze is 3.70 m. and that from the floor to the bottom of the socket is 3.10 m.

In approximately the center of the south wall the reliefs were interrupted by a stela which was hewn out of the limestone (Pl. 3 A). A few hieroglyphs are still intact at the lower left corner, and sufficient traces of other por-

¹³ The brickwork of the south wall of the vestibule has been removed from contact with the court wall; that on the north side is intact (see Pl. 41).

¹⁴ Cf. the vestibules before the second and third pylons of the temple of Amun at Karnak; Karl Baedeker, *Ägypten und der Sudan* (8th ed.; Leipzig, 1928) plan opposite p. 271.

¹⁵ The meager traces of the frieze were too fragmentary to repay copying. Tjanefer kneels (facing right) with upraised hand in adoration of the Anubis jackal on his pedestal, as in frieze shown on Pl. 26 B but facing left. A vertical column of hieroglyphs separates Tjanefer and Anubis, and the unit is completed by two *kheker*-ornaments (instead of three as in frieze shown on Pls. 18 and 26 B). This four-part motif, consisting of (1) Anubis, (2) a column of hieroglyphs, (3) Tjanefer kneeling, (4) two *kheker*-symbols, was probably repeated throughout the entire frieze, which surmounted the three walls of the court and possibly the rear of the pylon. The column of hieroglyphs is seldom preserved, never completely, and usually contained a longer or shorter variant of the formula "Making (one would expect 'giving') adoration to . . . by the God's Father Pure of Hands, the Prophet of Amun, Tjanefer." The most nearly complete variant reads $\leftarrow (?) \left[\text{Anubis} \right] \left[\text{column of hieroglyphs} \right] \left[\text{Tjanefer kneeling} \right] \left[\text{two } kheker \text{ symbols} \right]$. The Hathor head of the frieze in the broad hall (Pl. 18) was apparently considered inappropriate to the court. For a similarly typical Ramessid tomb frieze, see Norman de Garis Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (London, 1948) Pls. V-XI and *Two Ramessid Tombs at Thebes* (New York, 1927) Pls. VI and XVIII.

The frieze of the broad hall (there is none in the long passage) is likewise fragmentary, but samples were sufficiently well preserved to indicate the character of the whole. Those shown on Pls. 18 A and 26 B reveal an interesting alternation of Tjanefer's principal title between $\overline{\text{ḥm}} \overline{\text{ḥn}} \overline{\text{ḥw}} \overline{\text{ḥt}}$ and $\overline{\text{ḥm}} \overline{\text{ḥn}} \overline{\text{ḥw}} \overline{\text{ḥt}}$, the possible significance of which is discussed below (p. 5).

¹⁶ Cf. Ludwig Borchardt, Otto Königsberger, and Herbert Ricke, "Friesiegel in Grabbauten," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* LXX (1934) 25-35.

tions are preserved to indicate its width and general appearance, though neither its height nor the form of its top could be ascertained. It is slightly recessed into the wall, and before it is a rectangular platform which occupies the entire space between the central two pillars at this end of the court. Leading up to the platform is a sloping ramp of a type frequently employed in the temples.

Immediately before the vestibule, and practically centered on the axis of the court, is a pit or vertical shaft hewn into the floor. This is 1.70 m. in width (north-south) and 1.50 m. in length. It is now nearly filled with limestone rubble. Excavation alone would reveal whether it was originally part of the tomb of Tjanefer. At the north end of the court a forced entrance, once broken through the limestone façade into the broad hall, has been closed with mud plaster. This opening is probably too conspicuous to have been the means of entrance of the robbers of the Twentieth Dynasty. They probably tunneled in from another tomb in order to avoid detection by the necropolis guards.¹⁷

On the slope of the hill directly above the west wall of the court are a few surviving courses of the lower part of the mud-brick pyramid which once surmounted Tjanefer's funeral monument. Many of the other tombs in the vicinity were likewise crowned with such pyramids, and some of them are better preserved than this one.¹⁸ The necropolis at Dair al-Madinah was literally crowded with similar structures.¹⁹ Tjanefer's pyramid, with the colonnaded court, is actually depicted in the reliefs at the south end of the broad hall, but its appearance is somewhat obscured by the conventions of Egyptian drawing (Pl. 25 A).²⁰

The present entrance to the broad hall (Pl. 1 B) is a modern construction of concrete (stippled in Pl. 41) erected by the Egyptian Service des Antiquités to provide a secure frame for the iron door which was installed for the protection of the monument.²¹ The details of the original doorway are thus obscured by the concrete in which its jambs, if they had not already been destroyed, are imbedded. The height of the original opening cannot be determined with accuracy, but it was slightly greater than that of the modern doorway, which is 2.27 m.; the width of the entrance passage beyond the concrete is 1.68 m.

A large part of the broad hall, which constitutes the most important chamber of the tomb, is wrecked beyond recovery.²² It is typical of private tombs of the period²³ in having at the ends colossal rock-hewn statues of the deceased and other members of his family.²⁴ The width of this hall is about 16.70 m.; the depth, 3.44 m.; the height is 3.89 m. in the center and 3.65 m. at the sides. A huge opening has been broken into the north end, and a heap of

¹⁷ The confession of the robbers is vague about their means of ingress (see p. 1).

¹⁸ Cf. Borchardt, Königsberger, and Ricke, *op. cit.* p. 29.

¹⁹ A reconstruction of a group of them is offered in Bruyère, *op. cit.* Pl. XXXII.

²⁰ Cf. Nina M. Davies, "Some representations of tombs from the Theban necropolis," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XXIV (1938) 32, Fig. 15.

²¹ The protection thus provided was largely nullified by the Egyptian guard in charge of that part of the Theban necropolis, who for some years utilized this tomb as his local headquarters. The smoke from his cooking fires added further deposits to those which the walls had accumulated through the ages.

²² I suspect that the reliefs in the court were of even greater importance and would have yielded far more information about the career of Tjanefer, especially those on the north wall and the north half of the west wall.

²³ Cf. plans of Tombs 148, 156, and 157 in Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* pp. 143 and 146.

²⁴ The destruction of the upper part of the statues is so thorough as to suggest the work of vandals, ancient or modern.

debris still lying on the floor contains shreds of linen mummy wrappings and even fragments of mummies. While one is reminded by them of the confession of the tomb-robbers (see p. 1), it is probable that these grisly human relics are vestiges of intrusive burials rather than of the body of Tjanefer, which the robbers had cast "there in a corner in his tomb." I have not explored the passage accessible from this cavity, but I suspect that it leads to other tombs in the vicinity, and there is a genuine possibility that it is the end of the tunnel made by the robbers mentioned in British Museum Papyrus No. 10054.²⁵

In the floor of the broad hall, just inside and to the south of the entrance passage, is a second large pit or vertical shaft which was filled with debris and rubble (see Pl. 16 B), including a number of inscribed fragments (see Pl. 40) from the broken walls of the tomb. One fragment (Pls. 29 C and 40:4) furnishes the only precise(?) evidence for determining the date of the tomb (see p. 7), though more indirect data will be cited from other sources.²⁶ Other fragments found in the pit had been brought from the vicinity, and thus there are some which certainly do not belong to Tjanefer's mortuary chapel. Most of the fragments are unidentifiable, and none can be fitted to surviving reliefs still *in situ*. I am not acquainted with any record of the excavation of this and the other pit,²⁷ nor do I know whether this one leads perpendicularly to the burial chamber, in which Tjanefer's sarcophagus lies. This room is easily accessible by means of a crooked passage crudely hacked from the rear end of the south wall of the long passage and leading by devious turns to a position which may well be under the pit. This could be determined with certainty by a careful survey.

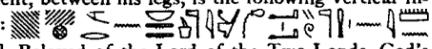
The sculptured walls of the broad hall are sadly damaged and much blackened by smoke. In fact, so little of their decoration remains that it is impossible to conclude precisely what proportion of the reliefs was devoted to the usual banquet scenes and funeral ceremonies and what portion was intended to record Tjanefer's career and achievements (see Pls. 16–26). The ceiling, which is slightly vaulted after the manner of a large number of the Theban tombs, now reveals no trace of decoration. If it possesses a painted pattern bounded at the sides and along the center by long lines of hieroglyphic inscriptions, these are so completely concealed by smoke as to be invisible.

It has already been remarked that colossal statues adorn the two ends of the broad hall. The group at the south end (Pl. 16 B) represents the seated figures of Tjanefer (at left, toward front of tomb) and his wife, Nefretiry (at right), both on practically the same huge scale. Their feet rest on the statue base (*ca.* 30 cm. high), but those of Nefretiry are at a slightly higher (*ca.* 10 cm.) level on what may be conceived to be a cushion. The base is 2.10 m. in width (east-west) and extends 2.77 m. out-

²⁵ Literally miles of such tunnels exist in all parts of the necropolis. They appear to have been growing in length and complexity from the Eighteenth Dynasty until the present time.

²⁶ Fortunately, Tjanefer's family and connections by marriage are well attested in his own tomb and in that of his eldest son, Amenemipet (No. 148). See pp. 5–6, 8–10.

²⁷ Fisher's report in *Museum Journal* XV 28 ff. does not record specifically whether he cleared any of the pits in the tomb, but it appears safe to assume that he did.

²⁸ On the front of Tjanefer's garment, between his legs, is the following vertical inscription, damaged at top and bottom: , "... 'Thebes', Beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands, God's Father Pure of Hands, Prophet of Amun, Tjanefer, j.v.'" His wife was likewise identified by an inscription, but it is destroyed except for the final two signs, the determinatives  after her name. The child's figure bore no identification.

ward from the south wall. Between Tjanefer and his wife, in relief on the front of their seat and thus on a much smaller scale, but now completely destroyed, was the figure of one of their children.²⁸ The statue group at the opposite end of the hall represents Tjanefer on a large scale and beside him a diminutive standing figure of a girl, presumably a daughter. This group occupies a smaller proportion of the end wall of the hall than does the other, and to the west of it is the intrusive opening already interpreted as the possible end of the robbers' tunnel.

From the broad hall a well hewn doorway leads into the long passage (Pl. 16 A). The threshold is slightly higher than the floor of the hall, and the floor of the passage is at the level of the threshold. Doorjamb and lintel of stone slabs once embellished the outside, and there may have been a stone lintel on the inside, possibly in the latter case because of a fault in the rock. All such structural details of stone have vanished, but the hewn surfaces of the walls are ample evidence of their former presence. For the decoration of this doorway see Plates 27–29 B.

The passage (Pls. 30–39) also has a slightly vaulted ceiling, and it is nearly perfectly rectangular in plan. The south wall (15.70 m. in length) is slightly longer than the north wall (15.57 m.). The height in the center is 3.10 m. The width is 2.68 m.

The walls are decidedly better preserved than those of the broad hall, though faults in the rock, an intrusive niche, and loss of gypsum plaster employed to provide a smooth surface for the execution of the modeled and painted reliefs have combined to obscure the effect of the decoration. Close study is required if the efforts of the ancient artists are to be appreciated. The workmanship of the reliefs in this part of the tomb, however, is quite inferior to that of the court and certain scenes in the entrance passage.

Near the rear end of the south wall is an irregular opening into the passage leading to the burial chamber. As already noted, this is crudely hacked out of the rock; it leads downward and curves slightly to the left for a short distance, then makes an abrupt turn to the left and proceeds by a fairly steep descent to the shapeless room in which the sarcophagus (2.40 × 1.00 m. and *ca.* 1.70 m. high) lies askew in a shallow depression. The anthropomorphic lid lies sufficiently to the side of the sarcophagus to reveal the emptiness that reigns within. Neither passage, burial chamber, nor sarcophagus ever bore any decoration. The lid contains a single vertical column of hieroglyphs (see p. 5) which identifies the owner as Tjanefer but fails to inform us to what rank he had advanced by the time of his death and interment in what he intended to be his last resting place.

Behind the long passage lies still another and final room, 3.80 × 2.05 m. and only 2.00 m. in height. This is the so-called "shrine." Access to it is achieved through an entrance (Pl. 39) which was once fitted with a double door, the top socket of each wing of which is still preserved. The top of the south doorjamb was never properly hewn out, and the wooden door must have been constructed with a yawning gap in the left side so that it could be opened and closed. The north jamb is preserved only at the bottom. At some later time, but still in antiquity, the entrance was blocked with stone, several slabs of which still remain. At the rear of the shrine a crude niche (1.20 m. in width,

fer. This Amenhotep and his wife, Henutmehet (𓂏𓏏𓏏𓏏), are shown there seated together and receiving an offering from Amenemipet (who wears on his person the cartouche of Ramesses V³⁵), while to their right Amenemipet appears again, this time offering to his father and mother, Tjanefer and Nefretiry.³⁶ Since we know from Tjanefer's own tomb that his mother was named Henutmehet (see Pl. 26 A, where he is stated to have been "born of Henutmehet"), it is virtually certain that the Amenhotep and Henutmehet in Tomb 148 are at the same time the grandparents of Amenemipet and the father and mother of Tjanefer. If it is a correct assumption that Tjanefer's father was a Prophet of Amun and that Tjanefer thus came of a priestly family of distinction, it is certain that he married into one, for his wife, Nefretiry, who, like his mother,³⁷ was a "Superior of the Harem of Amun," was the granddaughter of the High Priest of Amun Bekenkhonsu. Indeed, this illustrious pontiff and his wife, Meresger (as the name is written), are included among the notables represented in Tjanefer's tomb (Pl. 17). They are seated side by side immediately behind a standing priest designated as "the brother of his (Tjanefer's) father, Hormose," who is performing the ceremony of opening the mouth for his nephew. This close juxtaposition is apparently a conscious device to group the older relatives on the same wall (would that more of them were preserved!).

At this point it is advisable to clear up some misapprehensions about this Bekenkhonsu, whose granddaughter Nefretiry was married to Tjanefer, in order that the setting of Tjanefer's career may appear in its true perspective. Egyptological literature has presented us with a list of three High Priests of Amun in Karnak who bore the name Bekenkhonsu.³⁸ One of these, who for convenience may be designated Bekenkhonsu I, certainly never had a separate existence—he was the same as Bekenkhonsu II³⁹—and efforts have been made to combine the remaining two into one individual—likewise Bekenkhonsu II—who held the pontifical office for twenty-seven years under Ramesses II and lived on, continuing to set up statues of himself, into the reigns of Setnakht and Ramesses III, finally dying at the ripe old age of one hundred and seven or more.⁴⁰ While it cannot be denied that so long a life was possible in ancient Egypt, it is most improbable that Bekenkhonsu II,⁴¹ whose career, according to his statue in the Glyptothek in Munich,⁴² began no later than the reign of Seti I, was still claiming the rank of High Priest of Amun more than a century later under Ramesses III. Besides, it is an established fact that the High Priest Rama-Ray held that office in the closing years of Ramesses II and continued under Merenptah, Amenmose, Siptah, and Seti II.⁴³ And

³⁶ As observed by Sir Alan Gardiner.

³⁷ Wreszinski, *Atlas* I, Pl. 350. The figure of Amenemipet is cut off at the edge of Wreszinski's plate, in the offering scene with Amenhotep and Henutmehet, but the surviving hieroglyphic text, as well as Wreszinski's description, leaves no doubt that he was present. Can this Amenhotep be identified with the first usurper of Tomb 58, who was an Overseer of Prophets of Amun (Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* p. 91)? That the second usurper was named Amenemipet may not be irrelevant, for this, too, was a popular name in the Tjanefer family.

³⁸ She has the same title in Tombs 158 and 148.

³⁹ Lefebvre, *op. cit.* pp. 97–98 and 239–40, 127–36 and 253–55, 162–64 and 260–62.

⁴⁰ See Reginald Engelbach in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* XL (1941) 507–20.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* esp. pp. 515–16.

⁴² I retain the Roman numerals I, II, and III to designate the three Bekenkhonsus in order to conform to references by other writers.

⁴³ See Théodule Devéria in *Bibliothèque égyptologique* IV (1896) 275–324.

Lefebvre tentatively places Mehy and Hory in office after Rama-Ray, later in the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁴⁴

Engelbach, proponent of the one-Bekenkhonsu theory,⁴⁵ ingeniously supported it by claiming that an autobiographical inscription on a statue of Bekenkhonsu in the Cairo Museum (No. 42155), dated to the reign of Ramesses II by a cartouche of that king on the shoulder, intended to name Bekenkhonsu II's father as a Second Prophet of Amun in Karnak Amenemipet, though the name Amenemipet was inadvertently omitted by a haplography occasioned by the similarity of the element *ꜥp.t* in the personal name to the Egyptian phrase *ꜥp.t-sw.t* for "Karnak." Since the father of Bekenkhonsu III (reigns of Setnakht and Ramesses III) was unquestionably a Commander of Recruits⁴⁶ of the Estate of Amun⁴⁷ Amenemipet, Engelbach's theory thus hinges on his emendation of the text on Cairo Statue No. 42155 to give Bekenkhonsu II the same father as Bekenkhonsu III. The great Bekenkhonsu II, however, was very proud that (1) he was a native Theban, (2) his father, whom he does not name on the Cairo statue, was a Second Prophet of Amun in Karnak, (3) he was educated in the temple scriptorium under the personal direction of his father, and (4) he studiously carried on his early priestly duties under parental supervision until he was initiated into the rank of God's Father and well launched in his career.⁴⁸

Though Bekenkhonsu II does not name his father on this or any other statue, it is certain that his father and mother are both named in his tomb.⁴⁹ Among the surviving traces of its decoration is an offering scene⁵⁰ in honor of a man who was a ". . . of Amun in Karnak, [*ꜥm*]-priest of Ka]mutef, Second Prophet of Amun, Rama, j. v.," and "his wife, his beloved, of the place of his heart, the Superior of the Harem of Amun, Ipuu. . . ." Thus, just as Amenemipet in Tomb 148 appeared in a scene offering to his father and mother, Tjanefer and Nefretiry, so did Bekenkhonsu II appear offering to his parents in his monument. While the statement of Rama's relationship to Bekenkhonsu is lost in the text accompanying this scene, two other inscriptions in the tomb which positively name Rama, once called Second Prophet of Amun and once, erroneously(?), High Priest of Amun, as Bekenkhonsu's father were copied by Fisher during his excavation. These copies are still preserved in the recently relocated files of the expedition at the University Museum and were com-

⁴⁴ Lefebvre, *op. cit.* p. 257.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 259–60.

⁴⁶ *Annales du Service* XL 507–20.

⁴⁷ Cairo Statue No. 42159 (Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* II [Cairo, 1909] 26 and Pl. XXIII).

⁴⁸ Margaret Benson and Janet Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (London, 1899) Pl. XVIII, p. 343; see also a plaque and a prism given to the Cairo Museum by the late King Fuad (*Annales du Service* XL 517 [Pl. XLVIII]).

⁴⁹ All clearly stated in his biographical inscription on Cairo Statue No. 42155 (Legrain, *op. cit.* pp. 21–25 and Pl. XVIII)—the very text which Engelbach emended to bolster his theory.

⁵⁰ No. 35, adjacent to Tjanefer's tomb on the south but located on a slightly lower level. It is badly damaged, and little decoration remains. See Fisher in *Museum Journal* XV 43–46, with color plate of Meresger.

⁵¹ According to notes kindly loaned by Sir Alan Gardiner, "at the end of the passage on the south side." While Gardiner's copy of the text shows a lacuna just where the statement of Bekenkhonsu's relationship to Rama occurs, Sethe, who also saw the text, probably interpreted it correctly in spite of Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (Leiden, 1953) p. 119, with n. 2. Actually, the text in question is not the one commented on again by Kees on p. 14 of the *Indices und Nachträge* (Leiden, 1958) to his *Priestertum*; indeed, the latter text appears to have contained a second mention of Bekenkhonsu as the son of Rama and thus to confirm the other.

municated to me (but only after these pages were in proof) through the kindness of Mr. Alan R. Schulman. This Rama, therefore, and not Engelbach's hypothetical Amenemipet, is certainly the unnamed Second Prophet of Amun of Cairo Statue No. 42155. Bekenkhonsu II was perhaps the greatest representative of the famous priestly line which produced also his successor in his high office, Rama-Ray, whose tomb (No. 283), indeed, is adjacent to that of Bekenkhonsu II on the south⁵¹ and who may even have been his son;⁵² numerous other incumbents of the richest benefices of the temple likewise descended from this line.

However, though there is some evidence that the rank of High Priest of Amun in Karnak may have become hereditary in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, Rama-Ray's eldest son, also a Bekenkhonsu,⁵³ did not succeed his father in office, for, as we have seen, Bekenkhonsu III, who must have served shortly after Rama-Ray, was certainly the son of an Overseer of Recruits in the Estate of Amun named Amenemipet, a military man but not a priest. In view of the possibility of confusion because of identical names, it seems excusable to repeat: While Bekenkhonsu II is known to have served as High Priest under Ramesses II—the cartouches of that king are carved on two of his statues (Cairo No. 42155, Munich Glyptothek No. 30)—Bekenkhonsu III is just as certainly dated by royal cartouches on his statues to the reigns of Setnakht (Cairo Statue No. 42159) and Ramesses III (Cairo Statues Nos. 581 and 42160). Even apart from our now certain identification of different fathers for the two Bekenkhonsus—Rama for Bekenkhonsu II and Amenemipet for Bekenkhonsu III—the dating of Bekenkhonsu II to Ramesses II and Bekenkhonsu III to Ramesses III ought to have precluded Engelbach's contention that Bekenkhonsu II and III were one and the same man—a man who lived long years in retirement and who at the age of one hundred and twenty-two (as I have calculated it) under Ramesses III still inscribed two statues which unequivocally claim that he was the High Priest of Amun in Karnak.⁵⁴

If the grandfather of Tjanefer's wife, Bekenkhonsu II, was High Priest under Ramesses II and if Tjanefer's eldest

⁵¹ As Tjanefer's adjoins it on the north.

⁵² Rama-Ray's parents are not named on any of his numerous monuments. This fact does not argue that they were obscure people; more probably their identity was simply taken for granted because they were so well known.

⁵³ Lefebvre, *op. cit.* p. 257.

⁵⁴ It is probable, but not proved, that the office was held for life. It is not safe to conclude that more than one High Priest of Amun in Karnak held office simultaneously, even if one was active and another "in retirement." Bekenkhonsu II was probably born in the late Eighteenth Dynasty. His biography on the Munich and Cairo statues relates in unusual detail all the stages of his life. He was for four years a schoolboy (*ndš ikr*—the phrase does not refer to the period of infancy, as assumed by Engelbach), which he spent in whole or in part in the scriptorium (*is n šw*, lit. "office of writings") of a temple, before he received instruction as a priest from his father. It is obvious that his infancy and earliest childhood must have preceded the time when he was learning to read and write in the scriptorium. Next, according to his biography, Bekenkhonsu spent twelve years as a youth serving as Overseer of the Training Stable of Seti I. Subsequently he spent four years as a Priest of Amun, twelve as a God's Father of Amun, fifteen as a Third Prophet of Amun, twelve as a Second Prophet of Amun, and twenty-seven as High Priest of Amun in Karnak. The eighty-four years of service here summarized must be added to five or six of childhood to make a total of eighty-nine or ninety—his age when the Munich statue was inscribed in the reign of Ramesses II. The length of Seti I's reign is uncertain but is supposed to have lasted not more than fourteen years (*ca.* 1312–1298, according to Drioton-Vandier). Since Bekenkhonsu served twelve years as Overseer of the Training Stable of Seti I, it must be assumed that his four years as *ndš ikr* and the five or six still earlier years of his life fell, at least in part, in the reigns of Ramesses I and Harmhab and that his birth occurred not later than *ca.* 1320 B.C. But from 1320 to 1198, the accession year of Ramesses III, is 122 years. This is, then, the minimum age which Bekenkhonsu II would have had to reach, were he, with Engelbach, to be equated with Bekenkhonsu III! In spite of the fact that the latter's tomb has not been discovered, I consider it safe to believe that it exists somewhere, perhaps damaged beyond recognition, and that this remaining reason for Engelbach's denial of his existence need not be taken very seriously.

son, Amenemipet,⁵⁵ served as God's Father of Amun, Chief of the Mysteries, High Priest of Mut, and Prophet of Amun under Ramesses III, IV, and V, finally to die in the reign of the last, to what period within this long span of time must Tjanefer be assigned? The time from the birth of Bekenkhonsu (*ca.* 1320 B.C.) to the death of Amenemipet (*ca.* 1155 B.C.) totals about one hundred and sixty-five years and represents four generations in the family with which we are concerned—(1) Bekenkhonsu II, (2) his daughter, (3) her daughter Nefretiry, (4) Amenemipet—with an average of forty-one years for each. Since Tjanefer was married to Nefretiry, he belongs to the third of these generations, that is, to the span of time covered approximately by the years 1238–1197.⁵⁶ If we grant that he had a life-span of sixty-five to seventy years, it is evident that he might have been born as early as 1267 or died as late as 1168. Under any circumstances, Tjanefer and his wife could have lived during the reigns of Ramesses II (1301–1235), Merenptah (1234–1224), Amenmose (1224–1219), Siptah (1219–1210), Seti II (1210–1205), the interregnum including Irsu (1205–1200), Setnakht (1200–1198), and Ramesses III (1198–1166). Their children, being of the fourth generation, would have flourished about 1197–1156, and some of them would normally have survived for another thirty to forty years, until about 1126–1116, near the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

This rough chronological reconstruction of the Bekenkhonsu-Tjanefer family has been set up to demonstrate how the four generations might have spanned virtually the entire length of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. It remains now to discover how the actual evidence provided by the tombs of Tjanefer and his eldest son, Amenemipet, fits the reconstruction. In my original study of Tjanefer's monument⁵⁷ I dated the tomb to the time of Ramesses II on the basis of a limestone fragment broken from an unlocated scene in the tomb (Pls. 29 C, 40:4). The scene showed Tjanefer standing with uplifted right arm in greeting before the Pharaoh, who was probably seated in a pavilion or kiosk supported on (engaged?) columns and perhaps in the act of rewarding the faithful Tjanefer with the customary tokens of favor or of appointing him to high office.⁵⁸ The king is identified by the Horus name Mighty Bull, Beloved of Maat and by his prenomen, following the title "Lord of the Two Lands," in a cartouche. Portions of two hieroglyphs only have survived in the cartouche: the sun disk at the top and the tips of the ears of the *wšr* sign ¶ below. It is evident that the prenomen read *Wšr . . . Rc* The king, then, bore a combination of names containing the above-mentioned elements. Since the prenomen of Ramesses II is *Wšr-mšc.t-Rc-štp-n-Rc* and since "Mighty Bull, Beloved of Maat" is by far the most frequent Horus name employed on his monuments, I considered it safe and reasonable to identify the missing king with Ramesses II. The same conclusion had been reached previously, on what basis I do not know,

⁵⁵ That he was the eldest son is assured by his role in a scene shown on Pl. 4 (bottom register, right) where he stands in front of brothers, sisters, and other relatives offering to his father and mother.

⁵⁶ First generation *ca.* 1320–1279; second, *ca.* 1279–1238; third, *ca.* 1238–1197; fourth, *ca.* 1197–1156.

⁵⁷ Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1938.

⁵⁸ Cf. Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes* (New York, 1933) Pls. IX, XIII, XIV; Borchardt in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* LXVII (1931) Pl. 1. Our fragment appears exceptional in that the figure of Tjanefer is represented as standing on the same level as that of the king.

by Varille⁵⁹ and Gardiner,⁶⁰ though Porter and Moss had dated the tomb tentatively to the time of Merenptah.⁶¹ While I still believe that the names on the fragment refer to Ramesses II, it must be admitted that three other kings' names could be made, with a little forcing, to fit the traces. According to our reconstructed chronology, Tjanefer's career extended through the reigns of Seti II, who occasionally displayed on his monuments the wanted Horus name and whose prenomen is *Wsr-hprw-Rc-mry-Imn*,⁶² and Setnakht, whose prenomen is *Wsr-hw-Rc-mry-Imn-štp-n-Rc*, though there is no recorded instance of a Horus name in the form Mighty Bull, Beloved of Maat.⁶³ Finally, Ramesses III, in whose reign Tjanefer's career was probably terminated by death, employed the prenomen *Wsr-mꜣt-Rc-mry-Imn* as well as a number of different Horus names, though Mighty Bull, Beloved of Maat is not among those known. Any one of these three prenomina, therefore, would satisfy the traces on the fragment. As for the Horus name, it would appear advisable to avoid the conclusion that Tjanefer would have employed one which is otherwise unattested for his king or even a relatively rare one. Furthermore, there is every probability that Tjanefer was recording in the lost scene represented by the fragment an event which occurred in an earlier rather than a later stage of his career. For in the family scene in the court of the tomb (Pl. 4, bottom register) he included a smaller number of children than his son Amenemipet depicted as his brothers and sisters in his tomb (No. 148). This fact would imply that the decoration of Tjanefer's tomb was executed before some of his children were born (or grown up, at least), that is, in the first, rather than the second, half of his life. As in other Egyptian tombs, the reliefs in this one certainly record events from various periods of the owner's career.⁶⁴ The dates of the events must not be confused with the date when they were recorded on the monument. Thus honors accorded by Ramesses II may well have been carved many years and even several reigns after their occurrence.

Tomb 158 is strikingly similar in style and plan to those of the High Priest Bekenkhonsu II and Rama-Ray, which in that order adjoin it on the south; this fact suggests that the time of its conception and perhaps even of its execution was fairly close to that of those two tombs of middle and late Nineteenth-Dynasty date. Considering that their owners were both High Priest of Amun and that Tjanefer claimed the same exalted rank, it is not surprising to discover that his tomb was larger and more imposing than either of the other two⁶⁵ or that it was finished off in front with a pylon of stone rather than with the type of brick pylon erected by Bekenkhonsu and Rama-Ray. Indeed, Tjanefer was able to select a loftier and more impressive site for his monument than the other two, and even the

quality of the limestone was superior; thus Tjanefer's reliefs were in large part carved on the dressed surfaces of the native limestone rather than on stone slabs such as were set before the brick facings of the friable limestone into which the courts of Tombs 35 and 283 were hewn. No reliefs from those courts survive, such as we are able to observe in Tomb 158 (Pls. 4-9), since the facing slabs on which they were carved have long since been removed.

But the position and wealth of Tjanefer are reflected not only in the grandeur of his funerary monument and the titles which are inscribed on its walls. His marriage to the granddaughter of Bekenkhonsu II implies important family connections in his own right. If his father was the Second Prophet of Amun Amenhotep, we can be certain that Tjanefer was a leading member of the hierarchy. Bekenkhonsu had held this rank for twelve years before his promotion to the high priesthood, and he had boasted of his own father's service in the same capacity. With such a background, therefore, Tjanefer during the unknown number of years that he spent as Third Prophet of Amun planned his vast tomb complex and watched its decoration advance by now untraceable degrees.⁶⁶ While the work was progressing, he undoubtedly rose in rank and prestige. His family increased also, and some of his children, together with other relatives, are portrayed in the reliefs of the tomb. If the walls of the broad hall were not almost wholly destroyed, it would no doubt be possible to reconstruct the family in some detail. The case is far from hopeless, however, and I believe that some interesting results may be obtained from what is still preserved. We shall be content, however, with a mere sampling, in the hope that later studies may expand the picture.

Tjanefer apparently had at least three brothers of distinction. For one of these, perhaps the eldest, he named his son Amenemipet. This brother, a God's Father and Overseer of the Cattle of the Altar of Amun,⁶⁷ appears on the west wall of the court immediately behind his nephew and namesake (Pl. 4), who in turn portrayed his uncle Amenemipet in his tomb (No. 148). It can be assumed with confidence that this man was rich and powerful, since he had charge of the vast herds belonging to the temple(s) of Amun. Seated behind Amenemipet is a second brother, with the familiar name Bekenkhonsu. His title is damaged but can be restored with reasonable confidence as First Prophet (i.e., High Priest) of Mut. In the broad hall, and hence for an unknown reason separated from the relatives shown in the court, appears another brother, evidently of Tjanefer, who was not only one of the highest-ranking officials of Thebes but also one well known, if our identification is acceptable, in the history of the Twentieth Dynasty. He is no other than the Chief of The City ("No"), Prince of Victorious Thebes, Paser (Pl. 17). Could he possibly be the Prince of No who instigated the investigation of the tomb-robberies, which began in year 16 of Ramesses IX (ca. 1135 B.C.)? There is admittedly a chronological difficulty in the equation. To have lived until the period of the tomb-robbery trial, Paser

⁵⁹ *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* XXXV 153-60.

⁶⁰ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XXII (1936) 187.

⁶¹ *Topographical Bibliography* I 147.

⁶² Henri Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* III (Cairo, 1914) 130-39.

⁶³ *Ibid.* pp. 152-55.

⁶⁴ Kees, *Priestertum*, pp. 127-28, on the basis of correspondence with me, favors dating the fragment to Ramesses III, thus making Tjanefer somewhat younger. My recent studies convince me that Tjanefer's marriage to Bekenkhonsu's granddaughter takes him back in time by thirty years. This does not seriously affect Kees's results, though it would render quite impossible the equation of our Tjanefer with the like-named Second Prophet of Amun in Tomb 65 (time of Ramesses IX). In view of the common practice at this period of naming a son for his grandfather, perhaps the Tjanefer of Tomb 65 was the grandson of the owner of Tomb 158. Under any circumstances, it can be safely assumed that he was a member of this powerful priestly family.

⁶⁵ The court of Tjanefer's tomb measures 20.40 by 14.80 m. maximum; that of Bekenkhonsu, 21.15 by 13.40 m.; Rama-Ray's tomb is 15.50 by 13.50 m.

⁶⁶ It has already been pointed out that the writings of his principal title as  do not reveal the chronological progress of the carving of the reliefs.

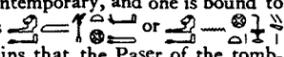
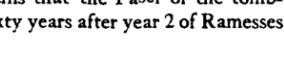
⁶⁷ The relative rank of Egyptian officials of the New Kingdom is still impossible to determine.

would have been much younger than Tjanefer; if he *was* much younger, it is surprising to find him holding such an exalted position in his brother's tomb. Since, however, Paser disappeared from the tomb-robbery drama very shortly after it was opened through his accusations, it is possible that he was by that time a very old man, much incensed at robberies which included the violation of his own brother's tomb but somewhat ineffective because of his advanced years.⁶⁸

Among the elder contemporaries of Tjanefer, in addition to his uncle Hormose (Pl. 17), already referred to (p. 6), and his sister-in-law (Pl. 26 A), whose husband is not named, the Chantress of Khnum(?) Sekhmet, must be numbered his brother-in-law, the God's Father of Amun, Chief Taxing Master,⁶⁹ and Prince of the Southern City, Amenmose, who is depicted in the tomb of Tjanefer's son Amenemipet but not in his own. This high official was still exercising his duties as a member of the quarrying expedition sent to the Wadi Hammamat in the third year of Ramesses IV (*ca.* 1163 B.C.).⁷⁰ One of Tjanefer's sons accompanied his uncle on this expedition, perhaps as an assistant but not necessarily in an inferior rank at all. He bore the popular name Bekenkhonsu and appears both in his father's tomb (Pl. 4, bottom register, upper row, fourth figure from right, with most of titles and name lost; from his position in this scene he may have been the third son) and in his brother's. In the latter and in Hammamat Stela No. 12, Bekenkhonsu bears the titles Chief Taxing Master and Overseer of the Cattle of the Temple of Usermaatremiamun (Medinet Habu).⁷¹ He and his uncle may well have been in charge of the commissariat of this great expedition, which, indeed, is the largest venture of the kind recorded in the entire extent of Egyptian history. Its personnel amounted to no fewer than 8,368 men, and they had to be rationed and supplied while cutting stone in a completely desert environment.

The director of this quarrying expedition was no less a figure than the High Priest of Amun in Karnak Ramesesnakht, who occupied the pontifical office for an undetermined period, probably from the closing years of Ramesses III well into the short reign of Ramesses V. Now the eldest son of Tjanefer, Amenemipet, states in his tomb that he was married to Ramesesnakht's daughter.⁷² No better explanation could be demanded of the presence of his brother and his uncle on the expedition.

Amenemipet himself, though only a God's Father of

⁶⁸ It is equally tempting to equate him with the Prince (Mayor) of the Southern City Paser whose ruined tomb chapel was discovered at Medinet Habu by the Oriental Institute; see Siegfried Schott, *Wall Scenes from the Mortuary Chapel of the Mayor Paser at Medinet Habu* ("Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization," No. 30 [Chicago, 1957]) p. 4, Pl. 1. This official served under Ramesses III and is shown presenting statues to that king with the mention of regnal years 2, 3, and 18 (over an interval of sixteen years!). If he was not Tjanefer's brother, he was certainly a contemporary, and one is bound to wonder how many different Pasers with titles such as  or  officiated in Thebes at one time. The difficulty remains that the Paser of the tomb-robbery investigations was active in 1135 B.C., some sixty years after year 2 of Ramesses III.

⁶⁹ ; the translation seems doubtful but follows Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947) I 34*; *Wilbour Papyrus*. II. *Commentary* (Oxford, 1948) p. 150. Cf. also Kees, *Priestertum*, pp. 123-25. The title appears as early as the Amarna period, when it is certainly associated with quarrying activities or the transport of stone (*Annales du Service III* [1902] 262-66; Maj Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* [Bruxelles, 1938] p. 144). The title evidently has a connotation of high administrative authority, whether it involves collecting taxes or commandeering laborers.

That Amenmose, like his contemporary the Medinet Habu Paser, bore the title Prince (Mayor) of the Southern City and that Tjanefer's brother Paser was Chief (wr) of the City, Prince (Mayor) of Victorious Thebes are good reasons for exercising caution in drawing conclusions about the significance of the titles. If they were honorary rather than functional, perhaps any number of royal favorites may have received them from the king (see n. 68 above).

Amun in his father's tomb (Pl. 4, bottom register, standing before his parents), records in his own monument that he rose to the offices of Chief of the Mysteries, Great Seer of Re in Thebes, High Priest of Mut (perhaps a post inherited from his uncle Bekenkhonsu), and Prophet of Amun. He was eminently qualified for marriage into the family of the High Priest. Amenemipet is known from records in his tomb to have been honored by Ramesses III in his twenty-seventh regnal year and to have served under Ramesses IV and V.

At least two other sons of Tjanefer were born after the decoration of his tomb. They are represented with names and titles in the monument of their eldest brother; they deserve mention because of the testimony they bear to the powerful hierarchic dynasty which their father may have forged. One, named Djehutyhotep, was High Priest of Montu, Lord of Thebes, Dwelling in Hermonthis. The temples at Armant (Hermonthis) were ancient, and the cult was influential, having at one time surpassed that of Karnak itself. The high priesthood of Montu was probably a highly coveted sinecure. The second of this younger pair is best discussed along with two older brothers who must be singled out because of their priestly attainments.

Next in age to Amenemipet, to judge by his position among the relatives shown in Plate 4 (bottom register, top row, behind Tjanefer's brothers Amenemipet and Bekenkhonsu) was the son named Ameneminet. He appears to have been married by the time the tomb was decorated, for he is shown again, if indeed the same person is intended, in the broad hall (Pl. 22) together with his wife, Nefret. Here, however (and again in Pl. 21), he bears a title different from that of Plate 4, where he is merely a God's Father of Amun.⁷³ In the scenes shown on Plates 21 and 22 he is a Sem (priest) in the Temple of Nebmaat (Amenhotep III) on the west of Thebes.⁷⁴ In the tomb of his brother Amenemipet he is God's Father Pure of Hands of Amun in Karnak. The discrepancy naturally raises the question of identification, but I am inclined to believe that it suggests that he was transferred to Karnak and that his benefice passed on to his younger brother Usermontu.⁷⁵ The latter, unrecorded in Tjanefer's tomb because he was still unborn or too young to merit attention, is prominently represented among his brothers in Tomb 148, where he is God's Father Pure of Hands of Amun and Sem in the Temple of Nebmaat.⁷⁶ Furthermore, he is actually seen functioning in this capacity and wearing the appropriate leopard skin in the tomb of another Ameneminet,⁷⁷ per-

⁷⁰ He is named with the same title in the Hammamat Stela No. 12 (see Louis A. Christophe in *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* XLVIII [1949] 20).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² This relationship is stated in his tomb inscriptions which I have from Sir Alan Gardiner.

⁷³ In the scene shown on Pl. 4 the statement of relationship to Tjanefer is lost. That he was a son rather than a brother is assured by his representation in Tomb 148 as Amenemipet's brother. He seems to be named again as God's Father of Amun in Pl. 23 A, behind his brother Amenhotep, but both names were altered by recutting for a purpose which I was unable to determine. All visible traces of original and secondary versions are reproduced in the drawing.

⁷⁴ The final phrase is omitted in the scene shown on Pl. 22.

⁷⁵ Assuming that Ameneminet's rank as stated in Tomb 148 represents a promotion from Sem Priest of the Amenophium in western Thebes. At the end of the Twentieth Dynasty the income from the old foundation of Amenhotep III's ruined temple may have evaporated to a comparative trickle.

⁷⁶ Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, Pl. 349.

⁷⁷ Tomb No. 277; see Jeanne Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux tombes ramessides à Gournet-Mourraï* ("Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire" LXXXVII [Cairo, 1954]) Pls. VI 2, X. However, Mme Vandier (*ibid.* p. 1, with n. 4) is inclined to date Tomb 277 to the period from Seti I to Seti II. Perhaps the evidence deserves re-consideration (see n. 78 below).

haps a relative but certainly not his brother, for the titles of the deceased are distinctly different and both father and wife are named.⁷⁸

If Tjanefer's son Ameneminet was promoted to a higher post in Karnak, another brother closely associated with him in a scene honoring their father (Pl. 23), the God's Father Amenhotep, evidently rose later to still higher priestly rank, for in Tomb 148 he has become Chief of the Mysteries in Heaven, on Earth, and in the Netherworld, 'šm³ of Kamutef, and Fourth Prophet of Amun.

From this incomplete roster of Tjanefer's relatives, by

⁷⁸ His father was Ta-djesert-kai (*ibid.* Pl. XIX); his wife was Nefretiry (*ibid.* Pl. XII). Thus my former conclusion that the Ameneminet of Tomb 277 and Tjanefer's son of like name were the same individual, as stated by Kees in *Priestertum*, p. 142, with n. 6, and corrected by him in *Indices und Nachträge* to the same work (1958) pp. 14-15, must be given up. Kees's error was based on misinformation supplied by me.

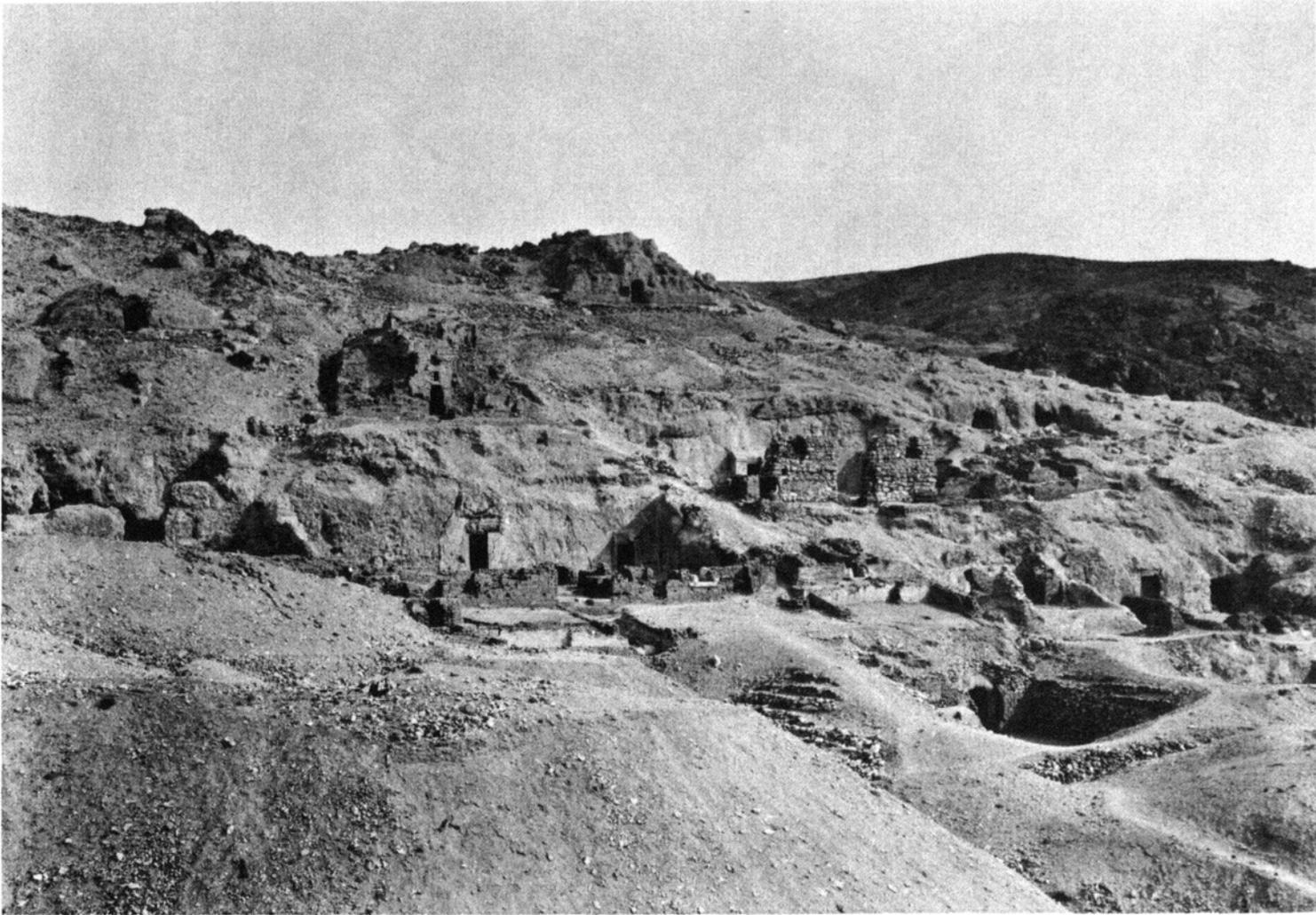
⁷⁹ *Priestertum*, p. 129.

blood and by marriage, it is perfectly clear, as Kees has seen,⁷⁹ that the Tjanefer-Ramessesnakht family controlled much of the religious establishment of Egypt in the declining Ramessid dynasty. This priestly "dynasty" apparently grew in power as the throne declined, until the son of Ramessesnakht—the brother-in-law of Tjanefer's eldest son, Amenemipet—the High Priest Amenhotep, dared at length to represent himself on the same scale as the king himself!⁸⁰

Perhaps it is not too much to say that Tjanefer contributed as much as any single individual to undermining the pharaonic authority and eventually, in consequence, to the collapse of the Ramessids, from which Egypt never fully recovered.

⁸⁰ Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romé-Roy et Amenhotep* (Paris, 1929) Pl. II. Cf. n. 58 above for possible evidence that Tjanefer himself had already displayed the same audacity.

PLATES



A



B

A. VIEW OF NECROPOLIS, SHOWING TOMB OF TJANEFER IN RIGHT CENTER. *B.* COURT OF TOMB, SHOWING MODERN DOORWAY TO BROAD HALL

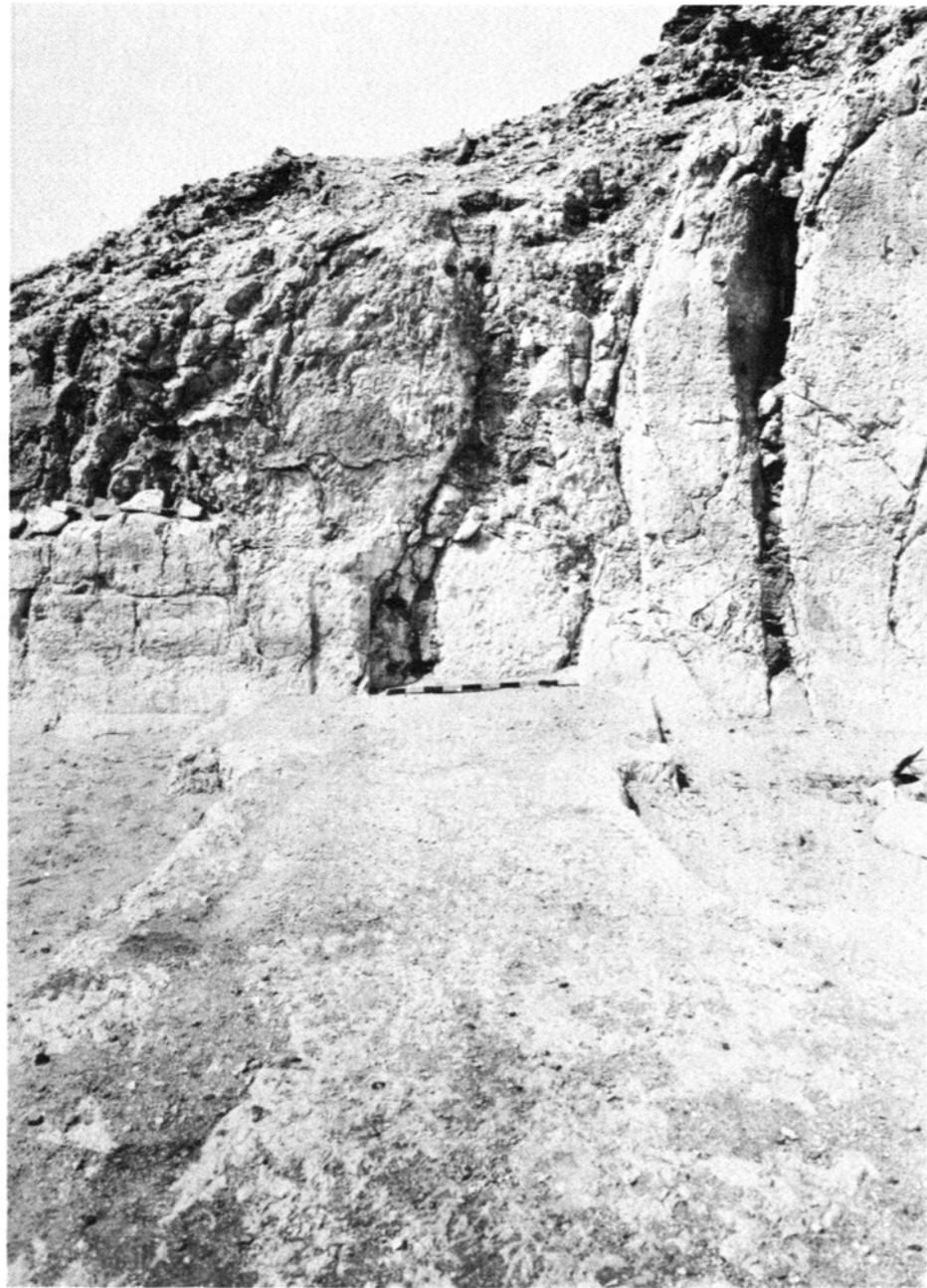


A



B

A. VIEW FROM ENTRANCE TO BROAD HALL, SHOWING TOWERS OF PYLON AND NILE VALLEY BEYOND. *B.* COURT OF TOMB, WEST WALL, SOUTH OF DOORWAY

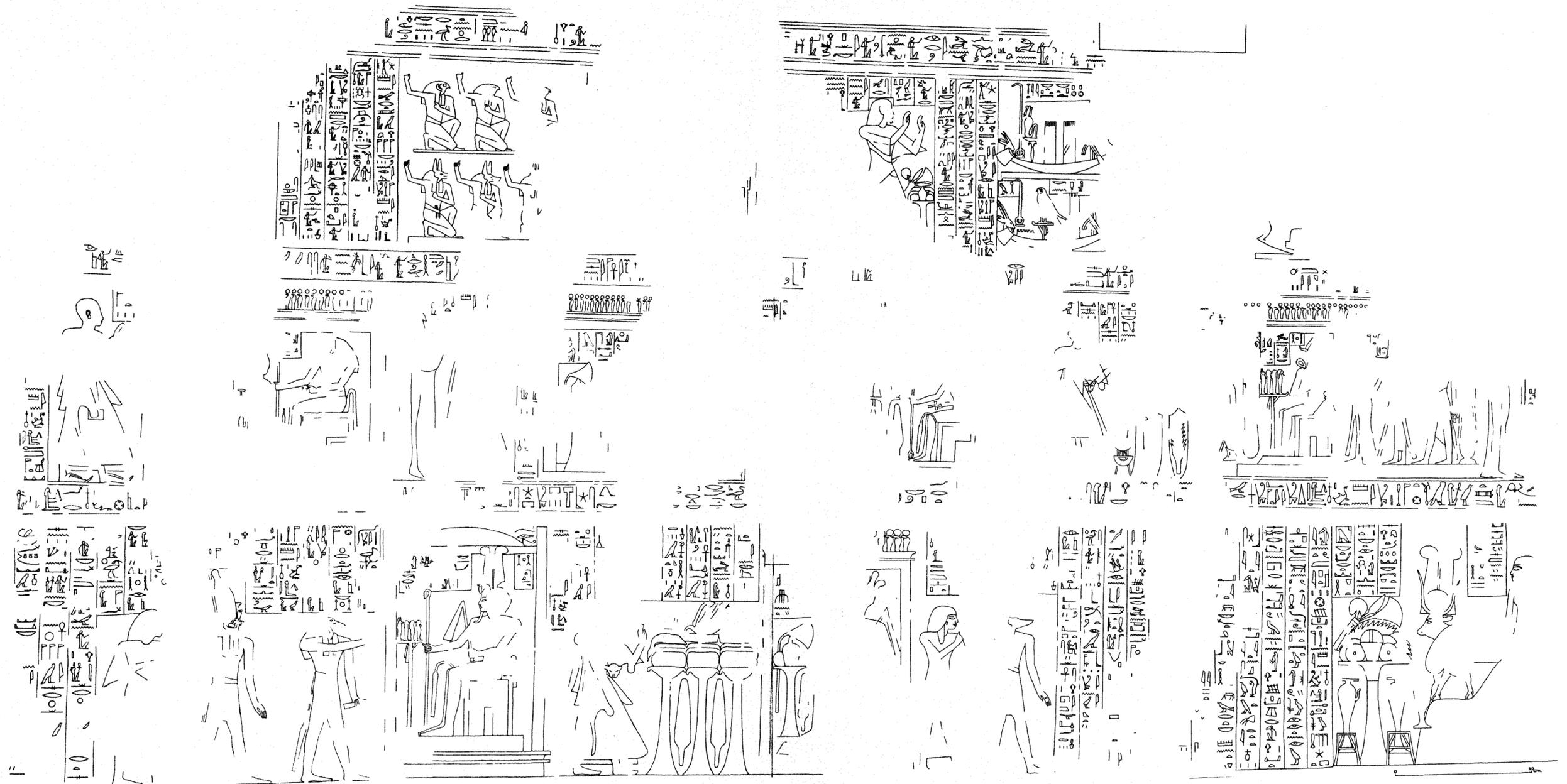


A

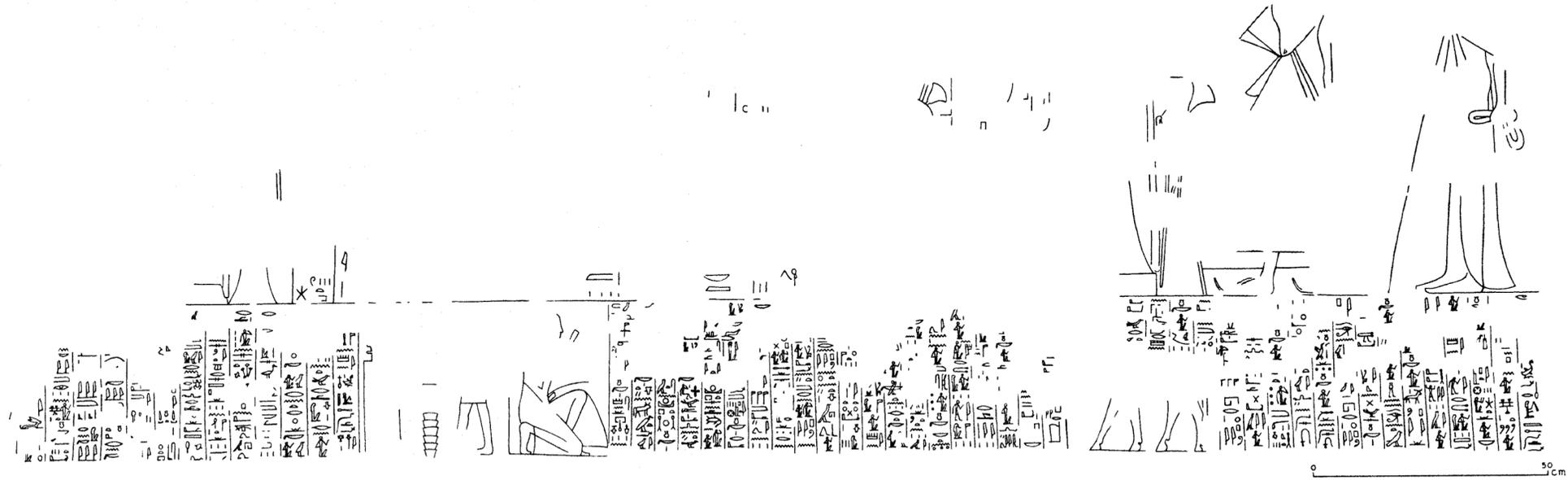


B

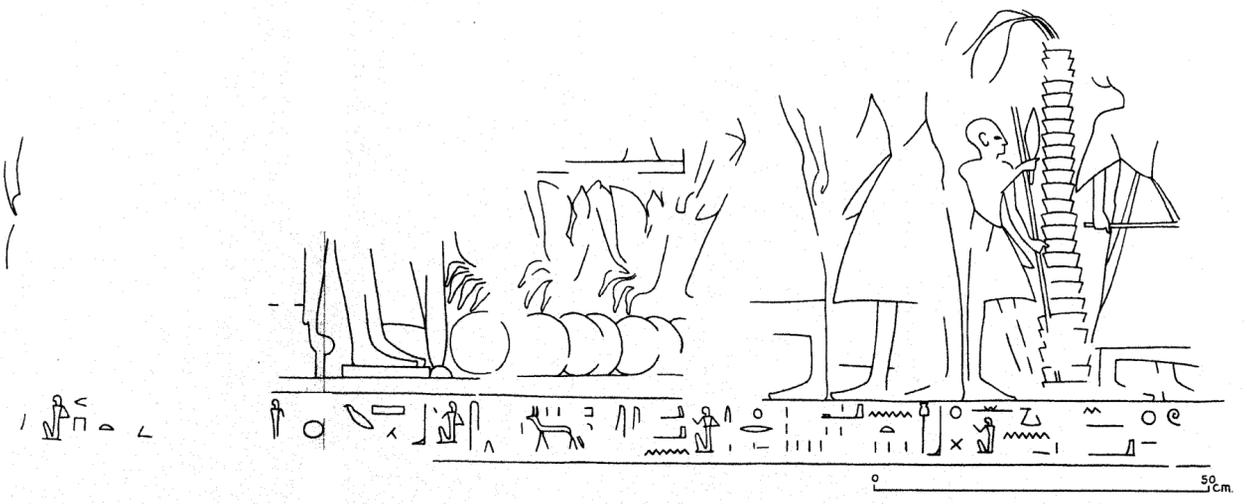
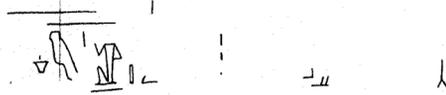
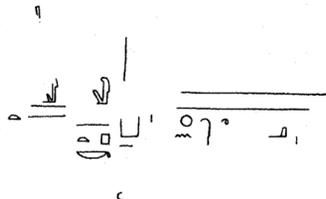
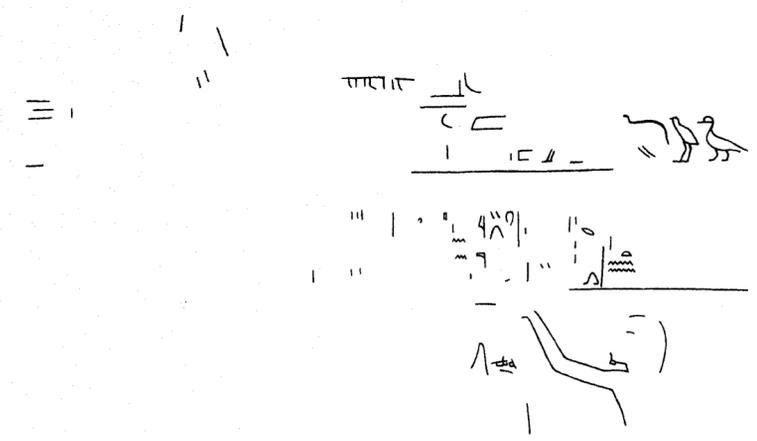
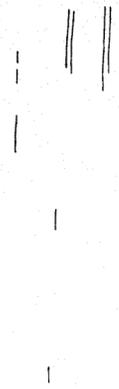
COURT, SOUTH WALL, SHOWING (*A*) POSITION OF STELA AND (*B*) SLOPE OF HILLSIDE WITH REMAINS OF MUD-BRICK ADDITION



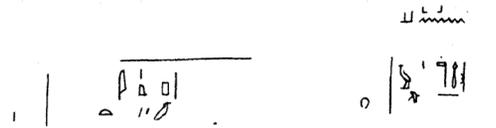
COURT, SOUTH WALL, WEST PART



COURT, SOUTH WALL, EAST PART

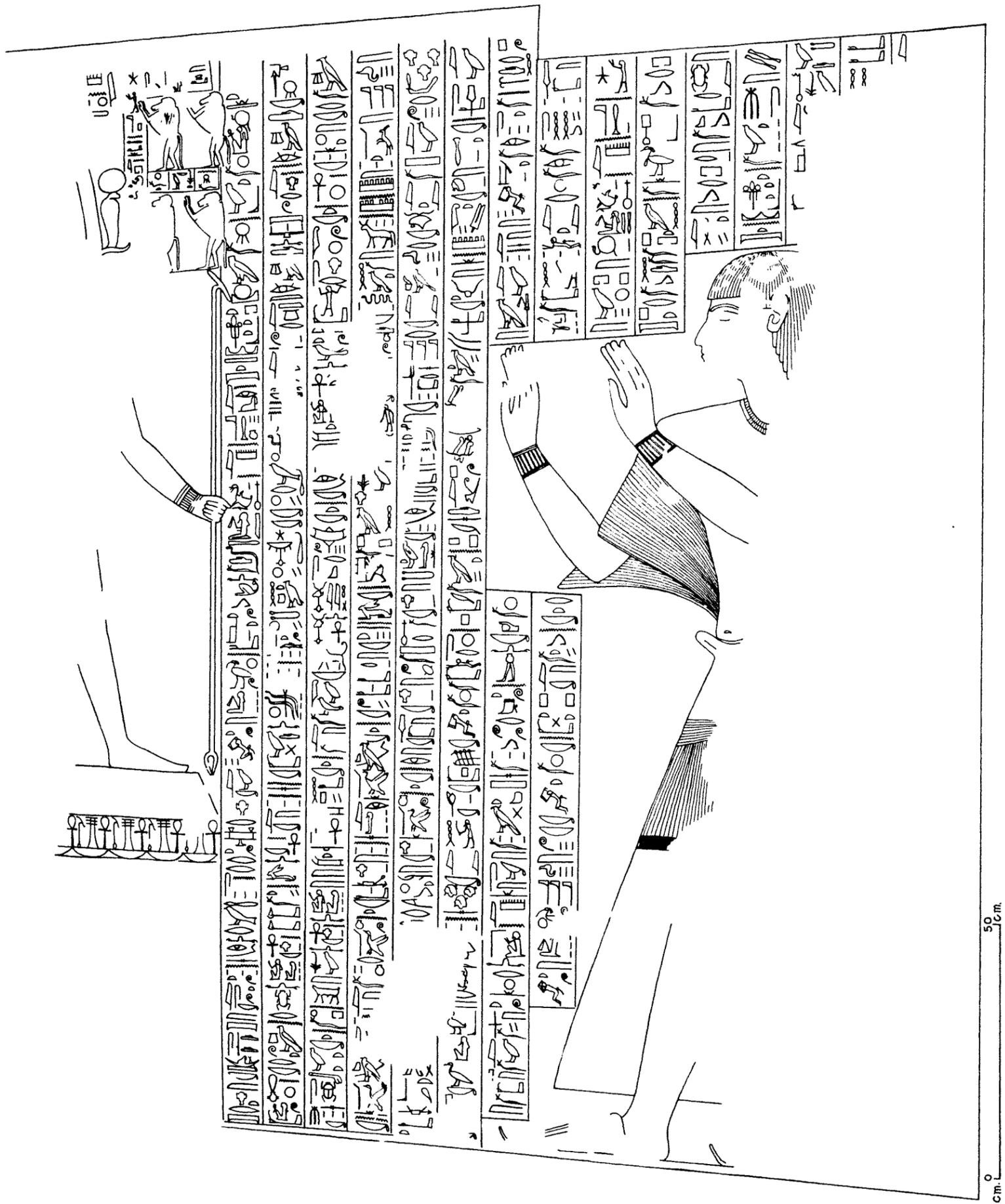


COURT, WEST WALL, NORTH SIDE, LEFT PART



COURT, WEST WALL, NORTH SIDE, RIGHT PART





DOORWAY TO BROAD HALL, SOUTH REVEAL, UPPER REGISTER

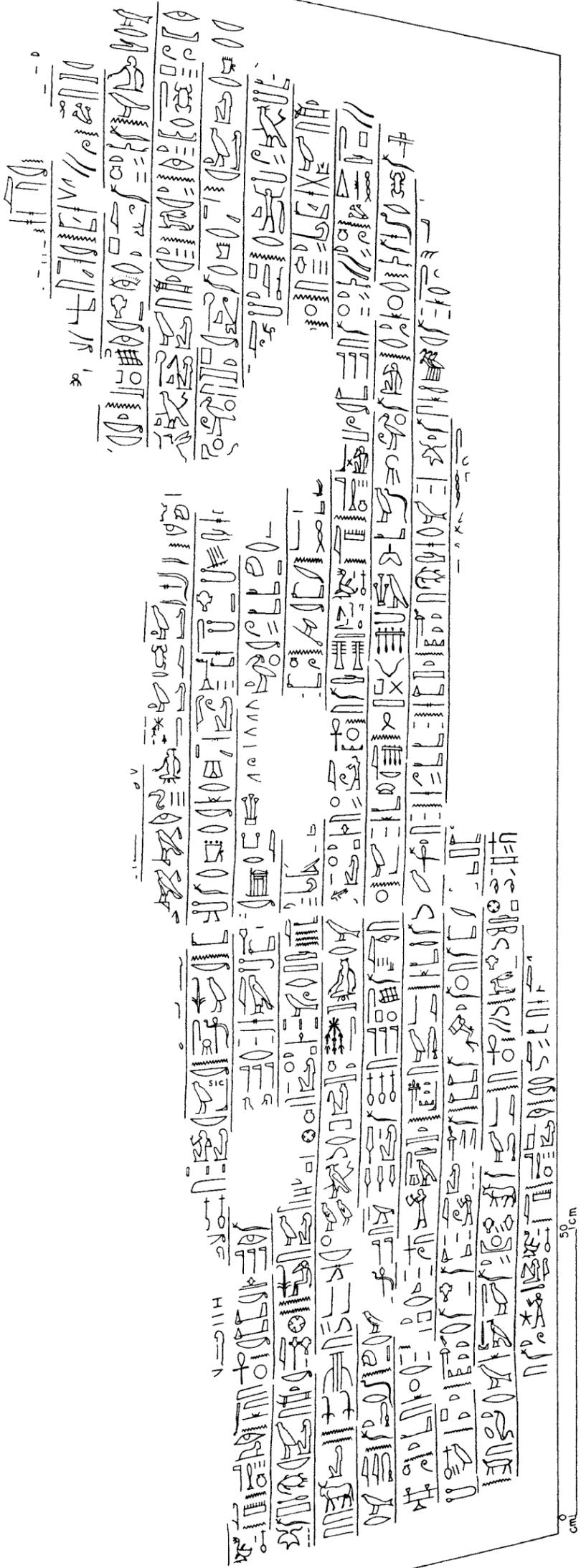
SCALE APPLIES VERTICALLY AND IS ONLY APPROXIMATE



DOORWAY TO BROAD HALL, SOUTH REVEAL, RIGHT PART, LOWER REGISTER



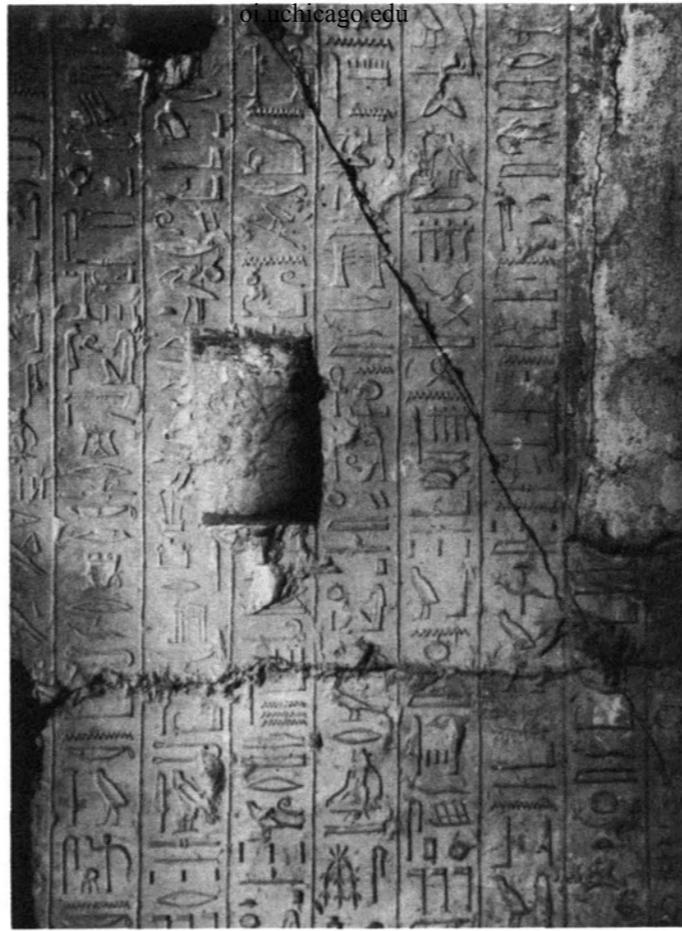
DOORWAY TO BROAD HALL, SOUTH REVEAL, LEFT PART, MIDDLE AND LOWER REGISTERS



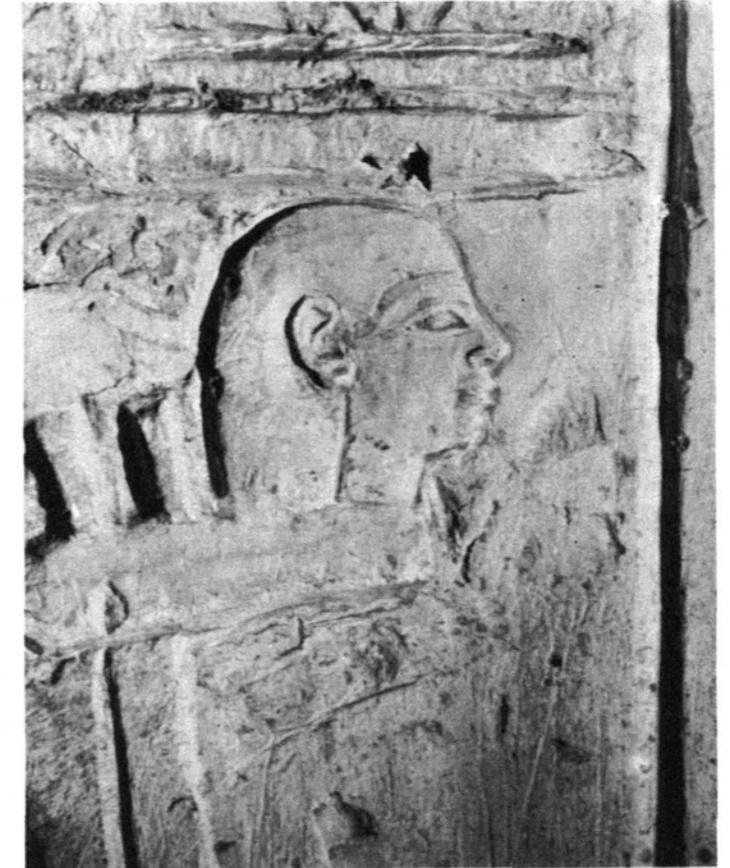
DOORWAY TO BROAD HALL, NORTH REVEAL
 SCALE APPLIES VERTICALLY AND IS ONLY APPROXIMATE



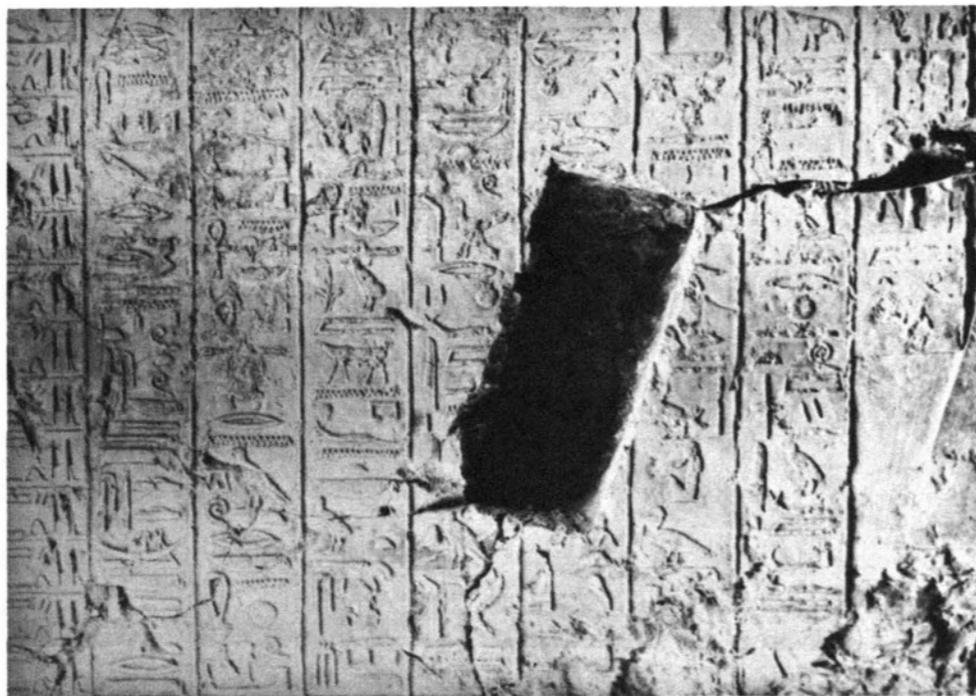
A



C



D



B



E

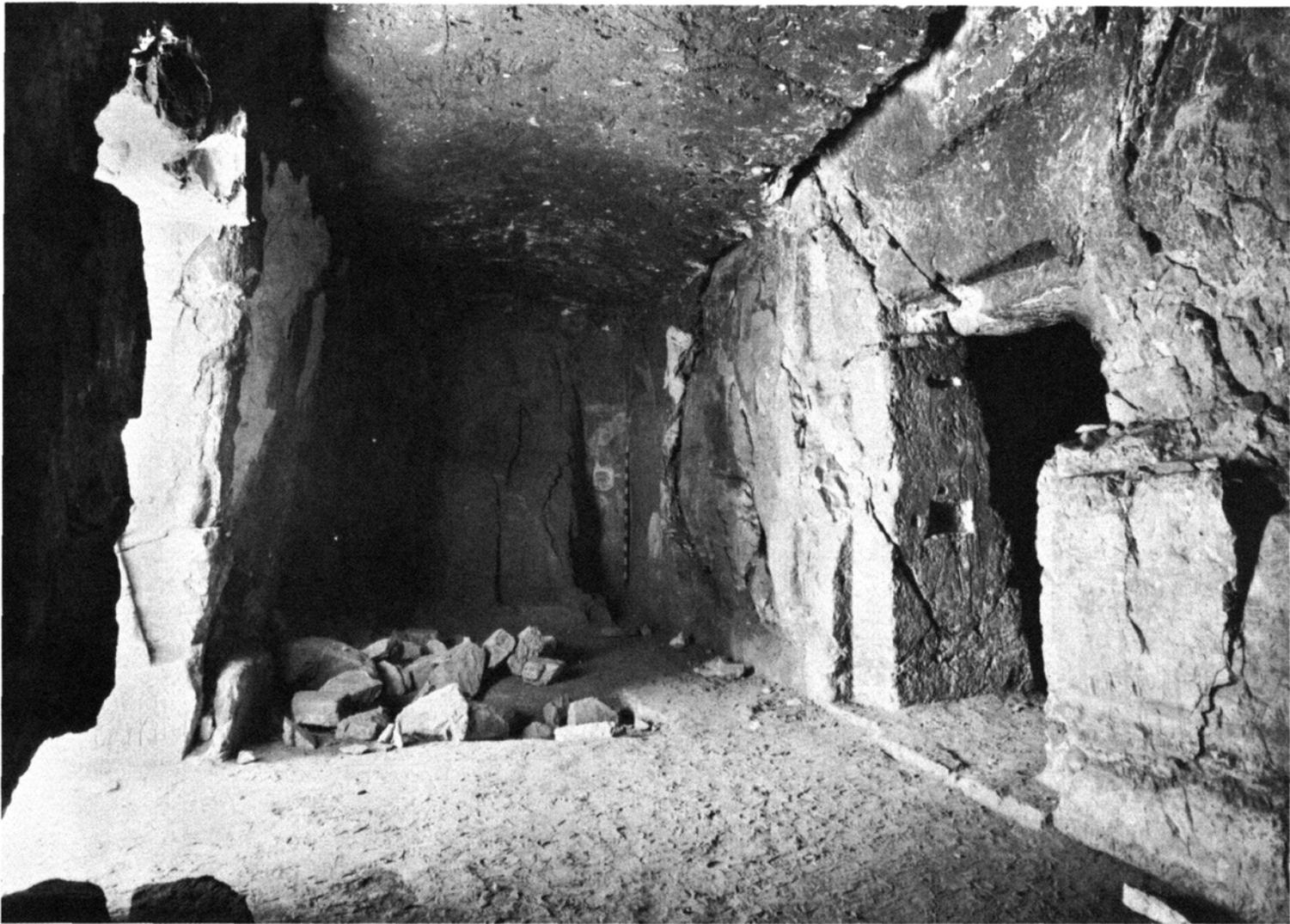
A. DETAIL OF PLATE 10, SHOWING ERASURE OF APES. *B.* DETAIL OF PLATE 10, SHOWING POSITION OF STONE PATCH AND HIEROGLYPHS IN RAISED RELIEF. *C.* DETAIL OF PLATE 13, SHOWING INCISED HIEROGLYPHS. *D.* DETAIL OF PLATE 12, SHOWING DECORATION OF HARP. *E.* THE HARPER AND HIS SONG, SHOWING HEAD OF HARPER IN ORIGINAL POSITION BEFORE REMOVAL OF FRAGMENT TO BERLIN (SEE DRAWING ON PLATE 12)

*A**B**C**D*

SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 11. *A*. GENERAL VIEW. *B*. DETAIL, SHOWING THE TREE GODDESS DISPENSING FIGS AND WATER. *C*. DETAIL, SHOWING TJANEFER'S *BA* IN HUMAN FORM DRINKING FROM THE GARDEN POOL. *D*. DETAIL, SHOWING TJANEFER'S *BA* AS A HUMAN HEADED-BIRD

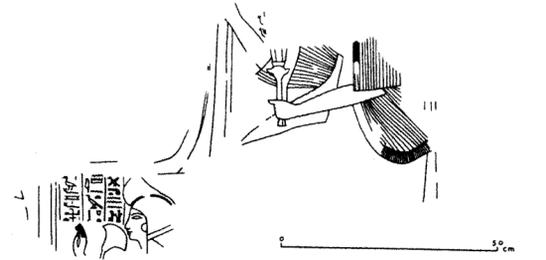
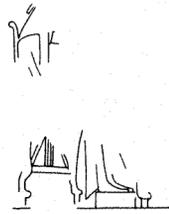
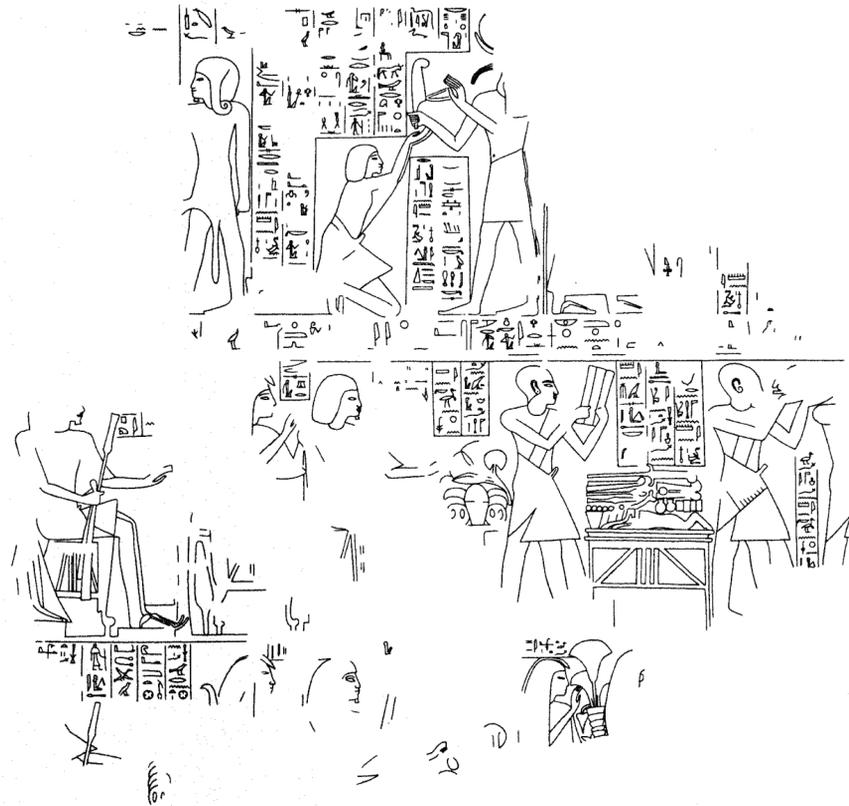


A

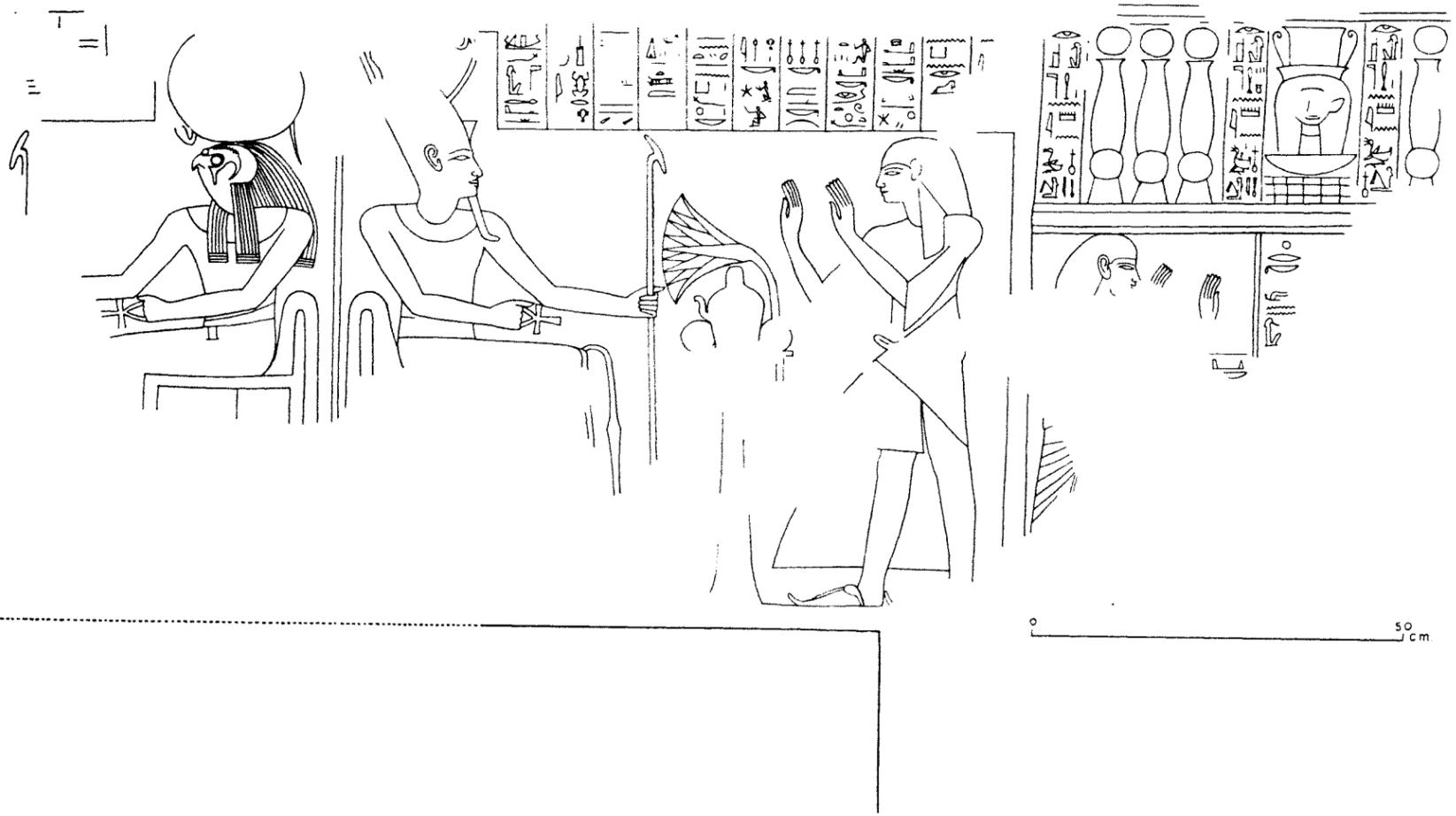


B

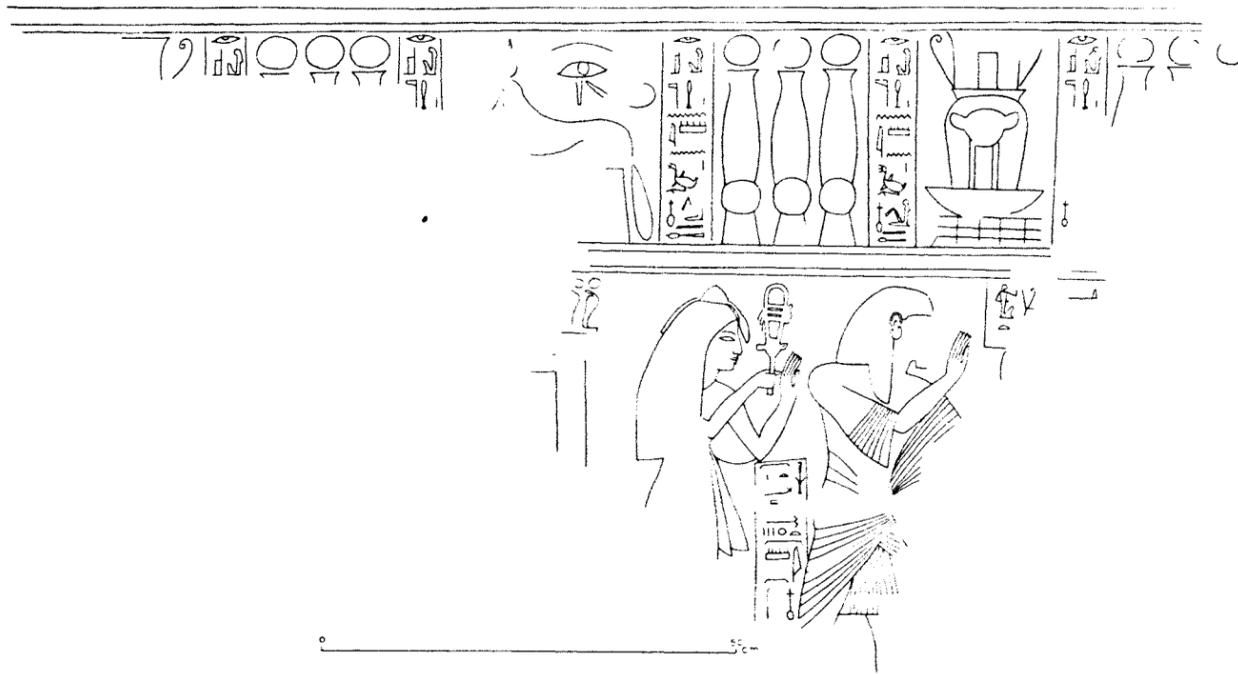
BROAD HALL. *A*. VIEW TO WEST INTO LONG PASSAGE. *B*. VIEW TO SOUTH, SHOWING DOUBLE STATUE OF TJANEFER AND HIS WIFE, NEFRETIRY



BROAD HALL, EAST WALL, NORTH OF DOORWAY

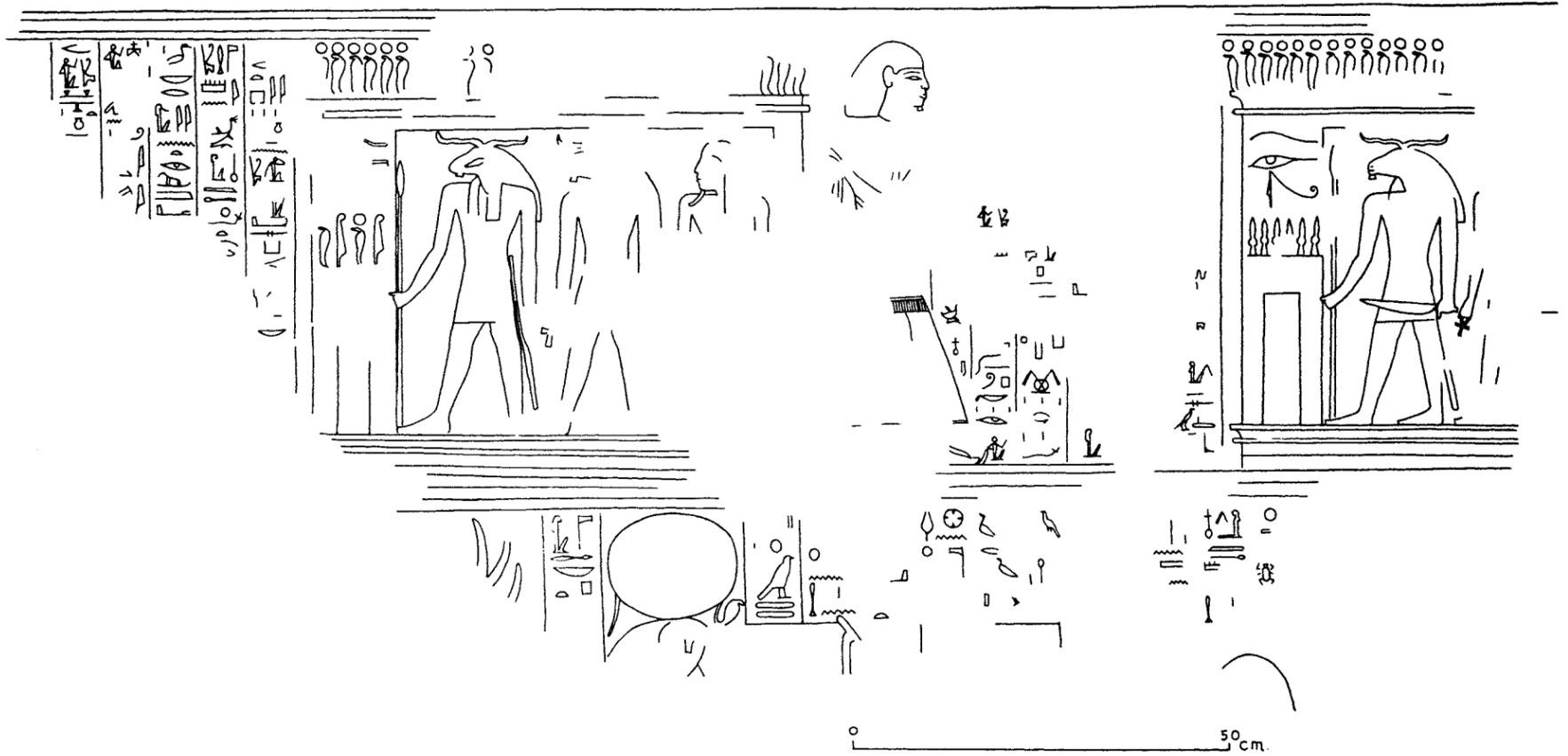


A



B

BROAD HALL, EAST WALL. A. ABOVE AND SOUTH OF DOORWAY. B. SOUTH OF DOORWAY, FRAGMENT OF TOP REGISTER

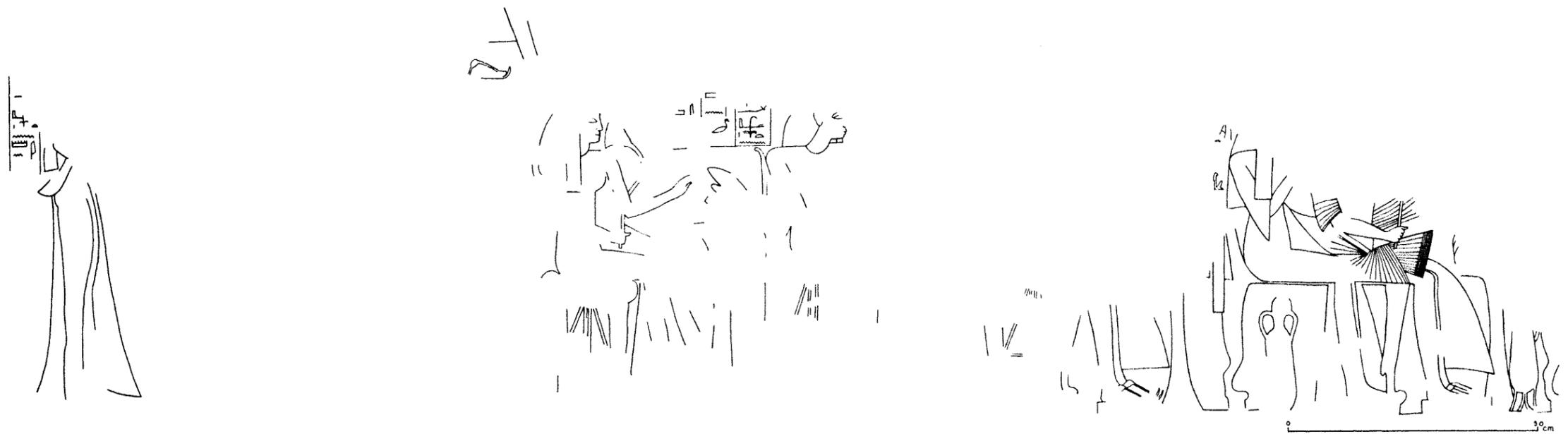


A

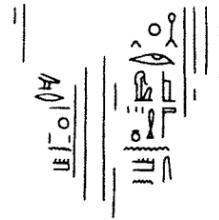
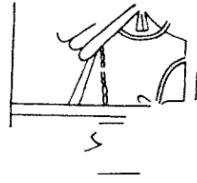
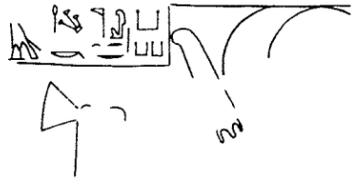


B

BROAD HALL, EAST WALL, LAST SCENE TO SOUTH. A. UPPER REGISTER. B. LOWER REGISTER



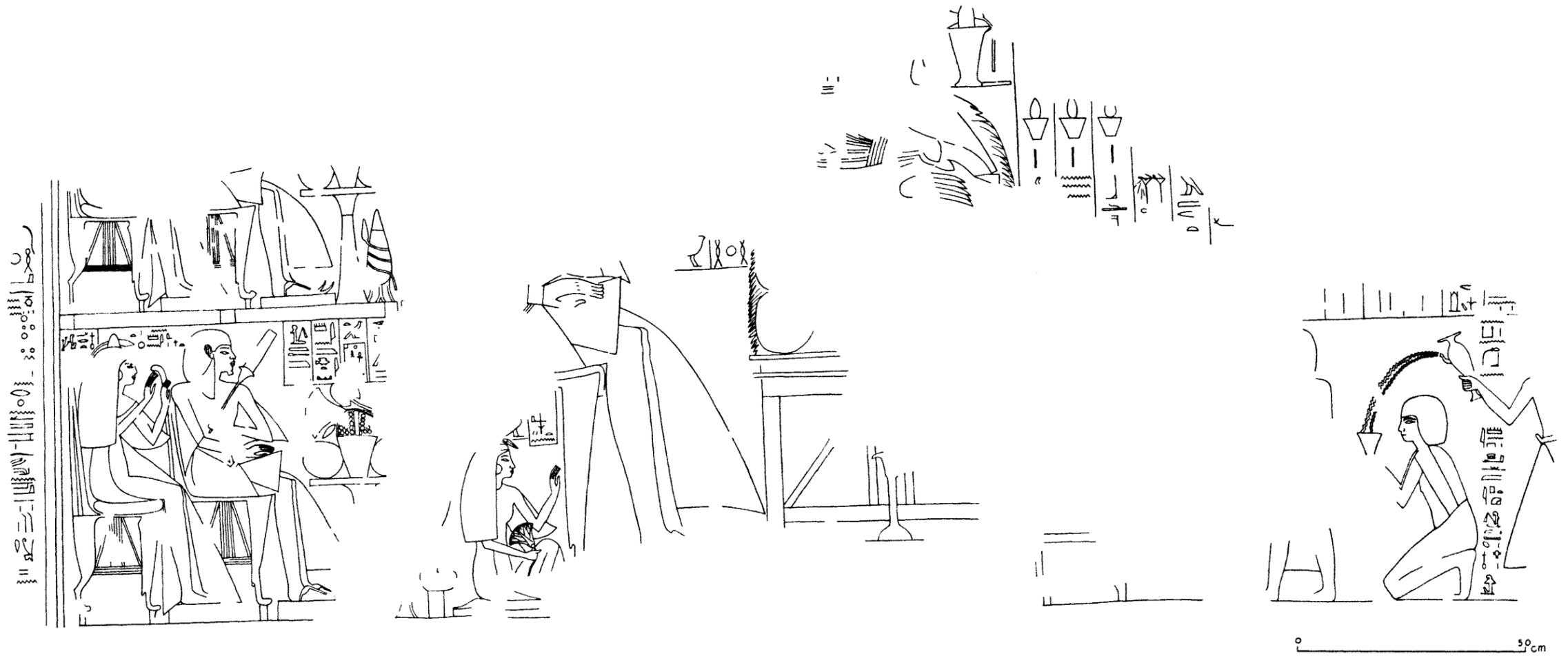
BROAD HALL, WEST WALL, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, LOWER REGISTER, FRAGMENT OF LAST SCENE TO SOUTH AND MIDDLE SCENE



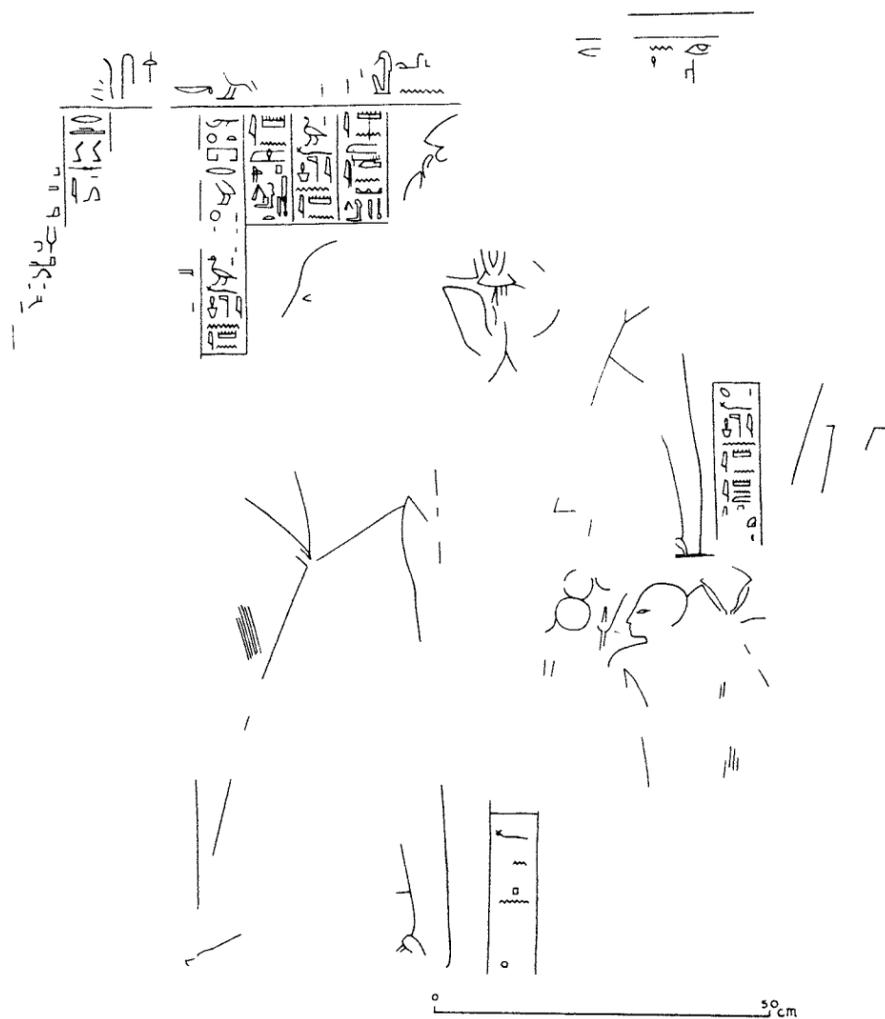
0 50 cm.

RECESS FOR INSERTED DOOR JAMB

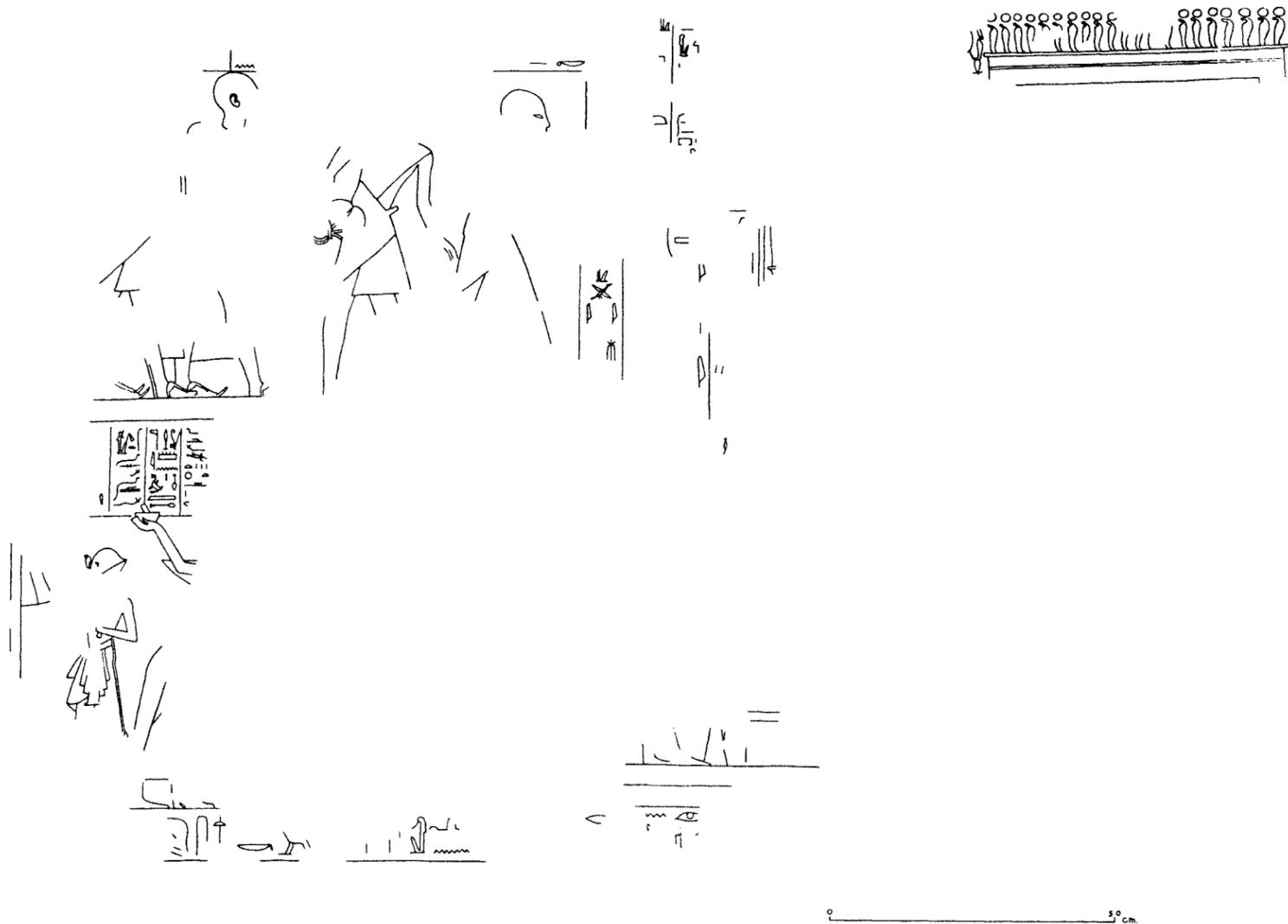
BROAD HALL, WEST WALL, SOUTH OF DOORWAY, FRAGMENTS OF FOUR REGISTERS



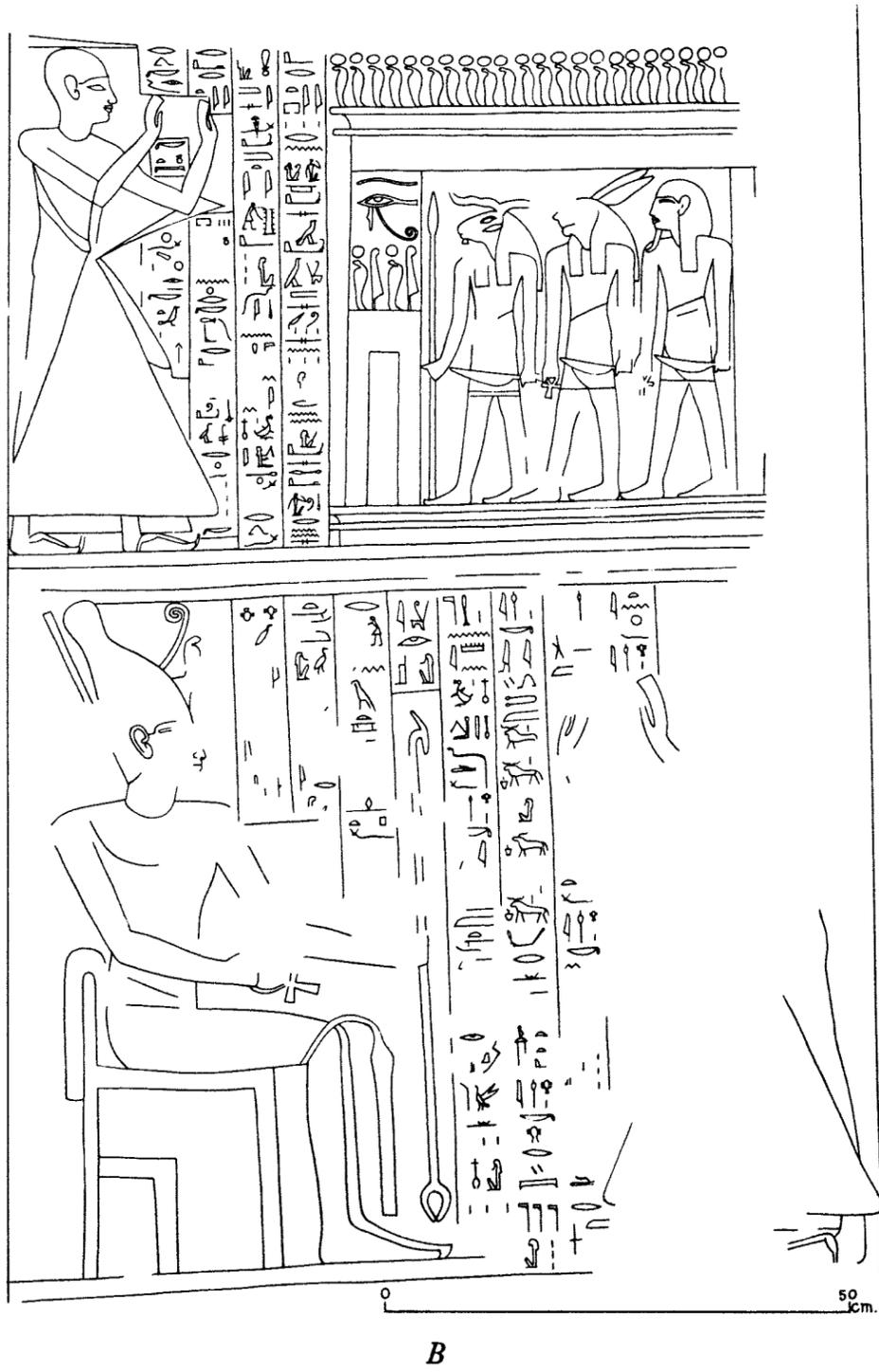
BROAD HALL, WEST WALL, NORTH OF DOORWAY, LOWER REGISTER



BROAD HALL, WEST WALL, NORTH OF DOORWAY, LOWER REGISTER
SCENE TO RIGHT OF BUT NOT ADJOINING SCENES SHOWN ON PLATE 22



BROAD HALL, WEST WALL, NORTH END, UPPER REGISTER
ADJOINS LOWER REGISTER ON PLATE 23



BROAD HALL, SOUTH WALL, EAST OF STATUE. A. FIRST (LOWEST) AND SECOND REGISTERS. B. THIRD AND FOURTH REGISTERS



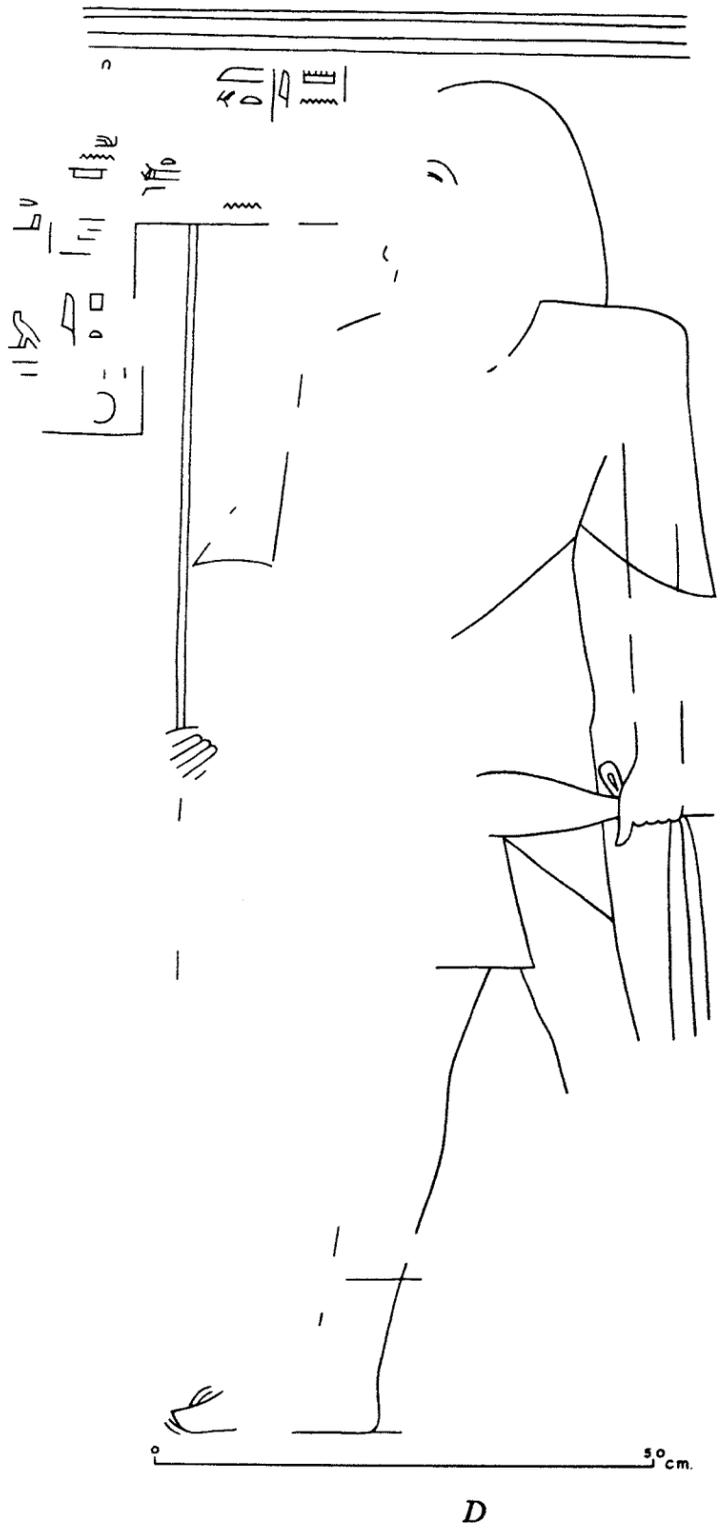
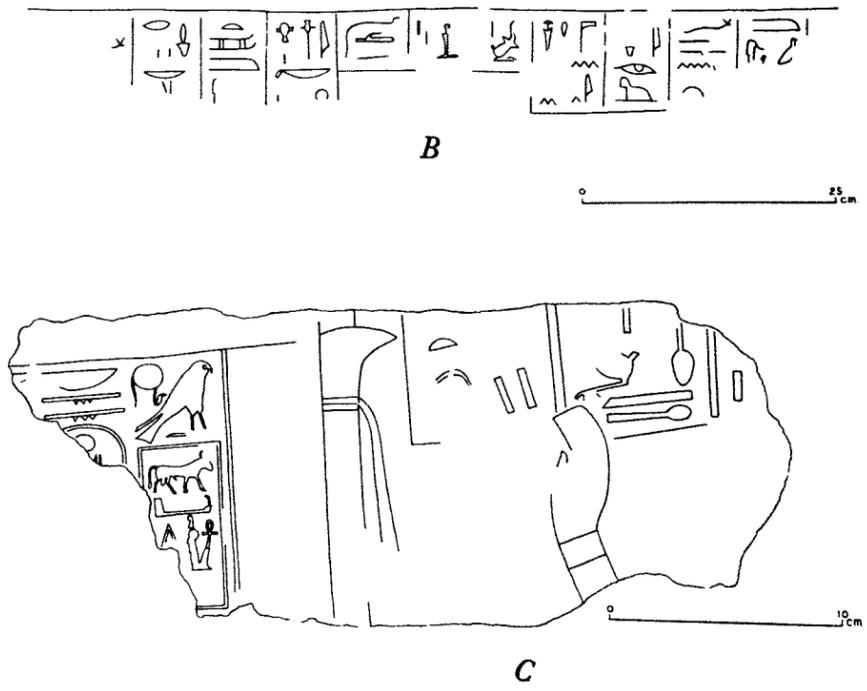
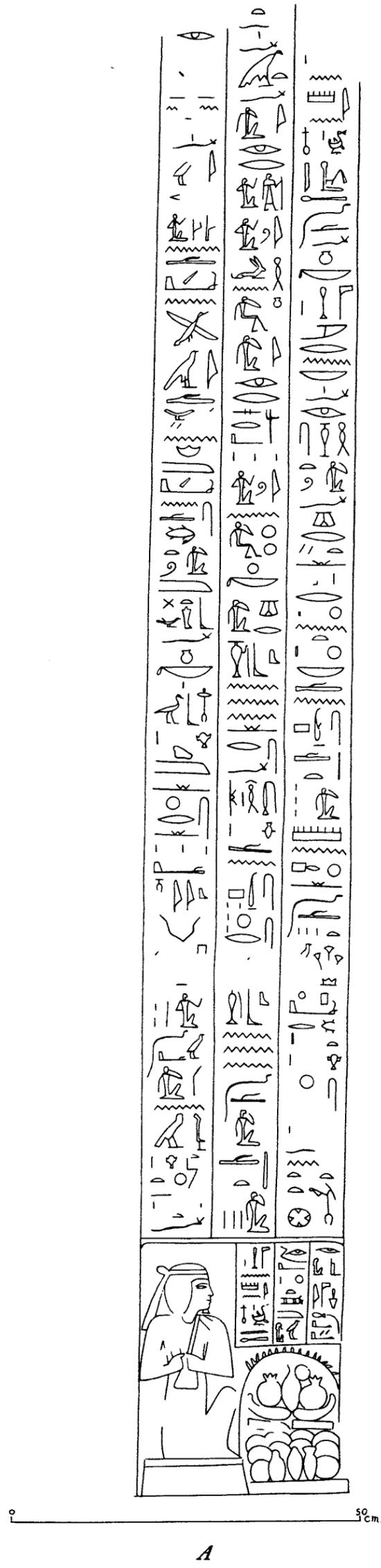
BROAD HALL, SOUTH WALL, WEST OF STATUE. A. FIRST (LOWEST) AND SECOND REGISTERS. B. THIRD AND FOURTH REGISTERS



DOORWAY TO PASSAGE, NORTH REVEAL



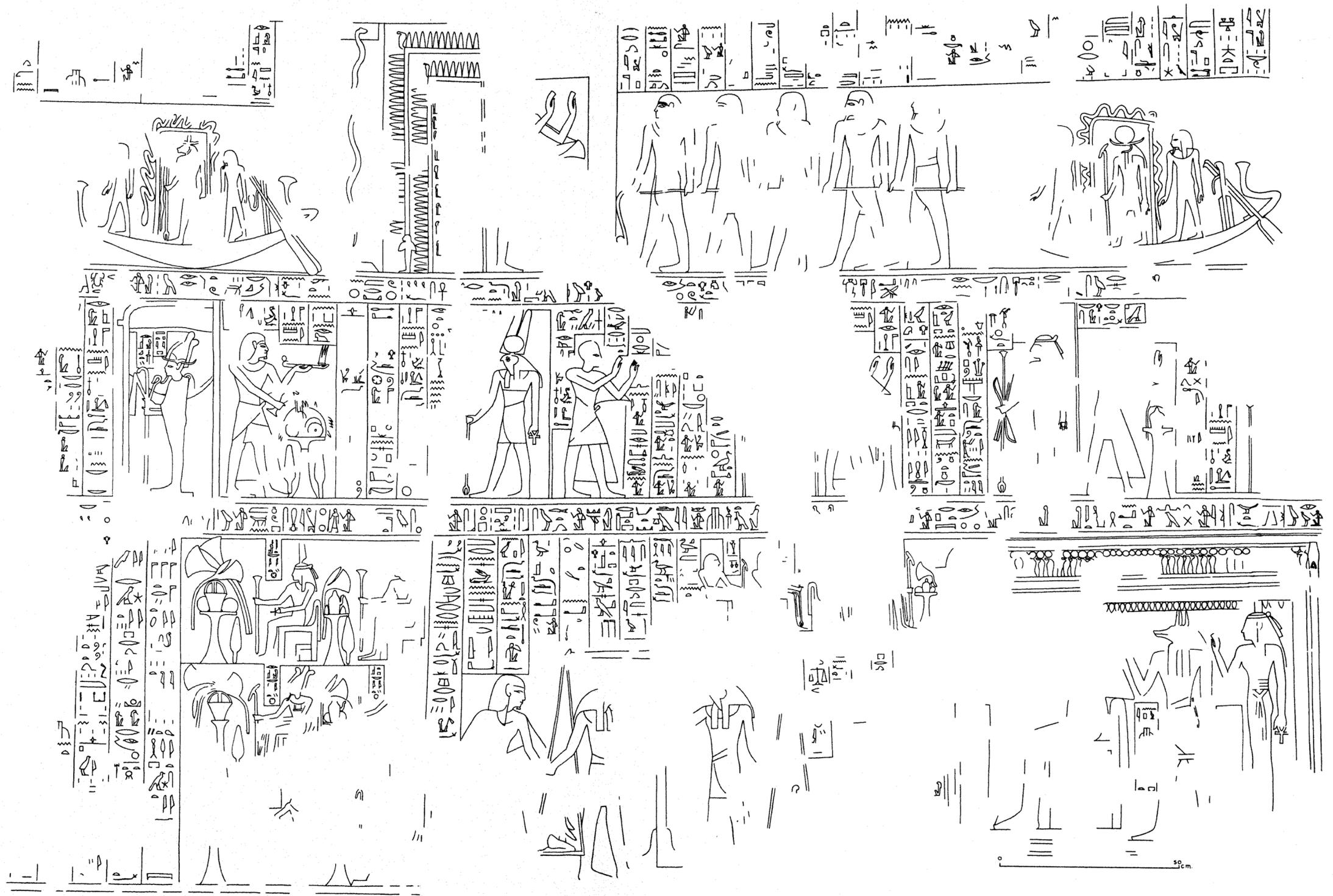
DOORWAY TO PASSAGE, SOUTH REVEAL



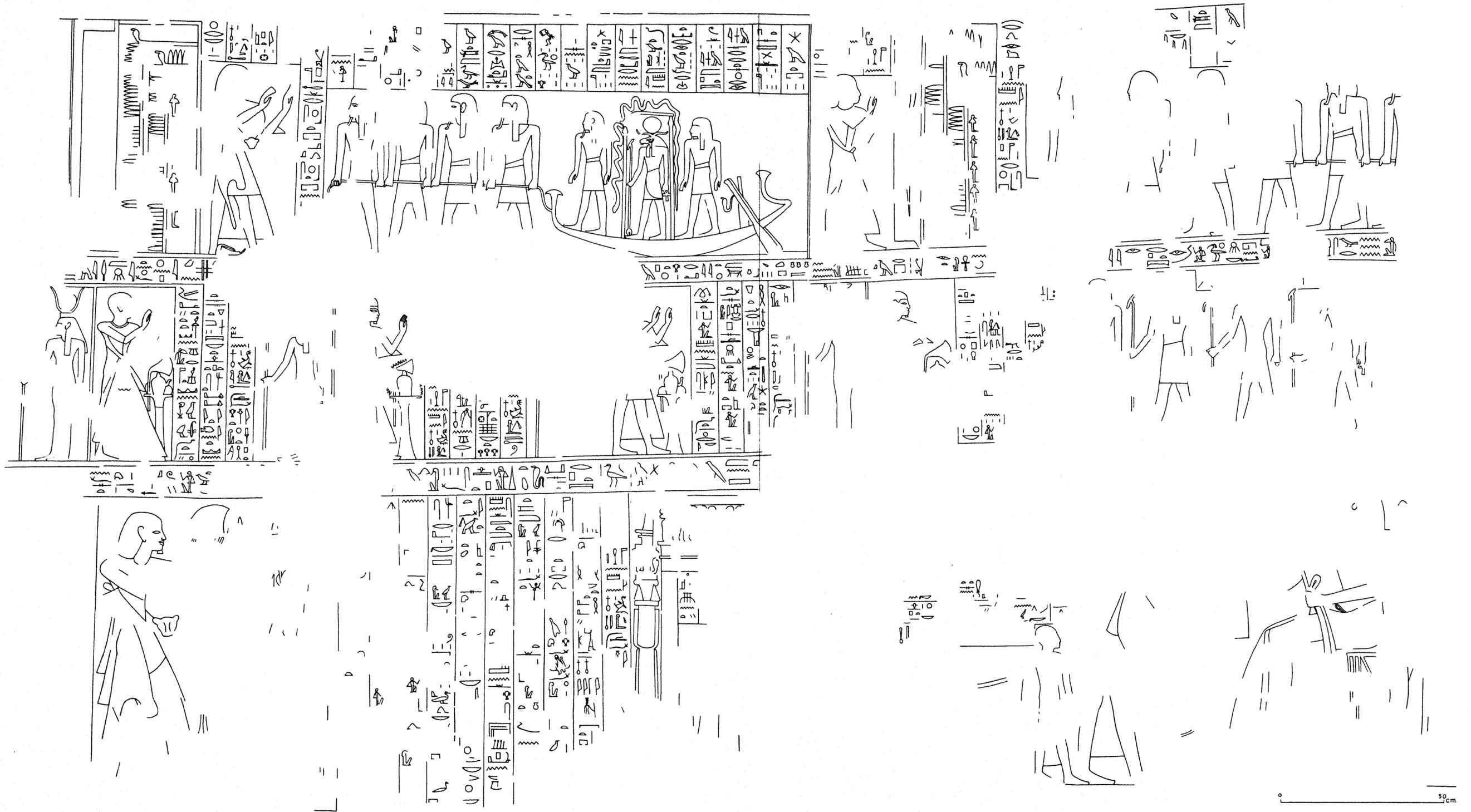
A. DOORWAY TO PASSAGE, NORTH JAMB, WEST FACE. B. PASSAGE, EAST WALL, ABOVE DOORWAY. C. UNPLACED WALL FRAGMENT NAMING TJANEFER AND A KING. D. BROAD HALL, NORTH WALL, ABOVE FIGURE OF GIRL



PASSAGE, SOUTH WALL, FIRST SECTION FROM EAST



PASSAGE, SOUTH WALL, SECOND SECTION FROM EAST

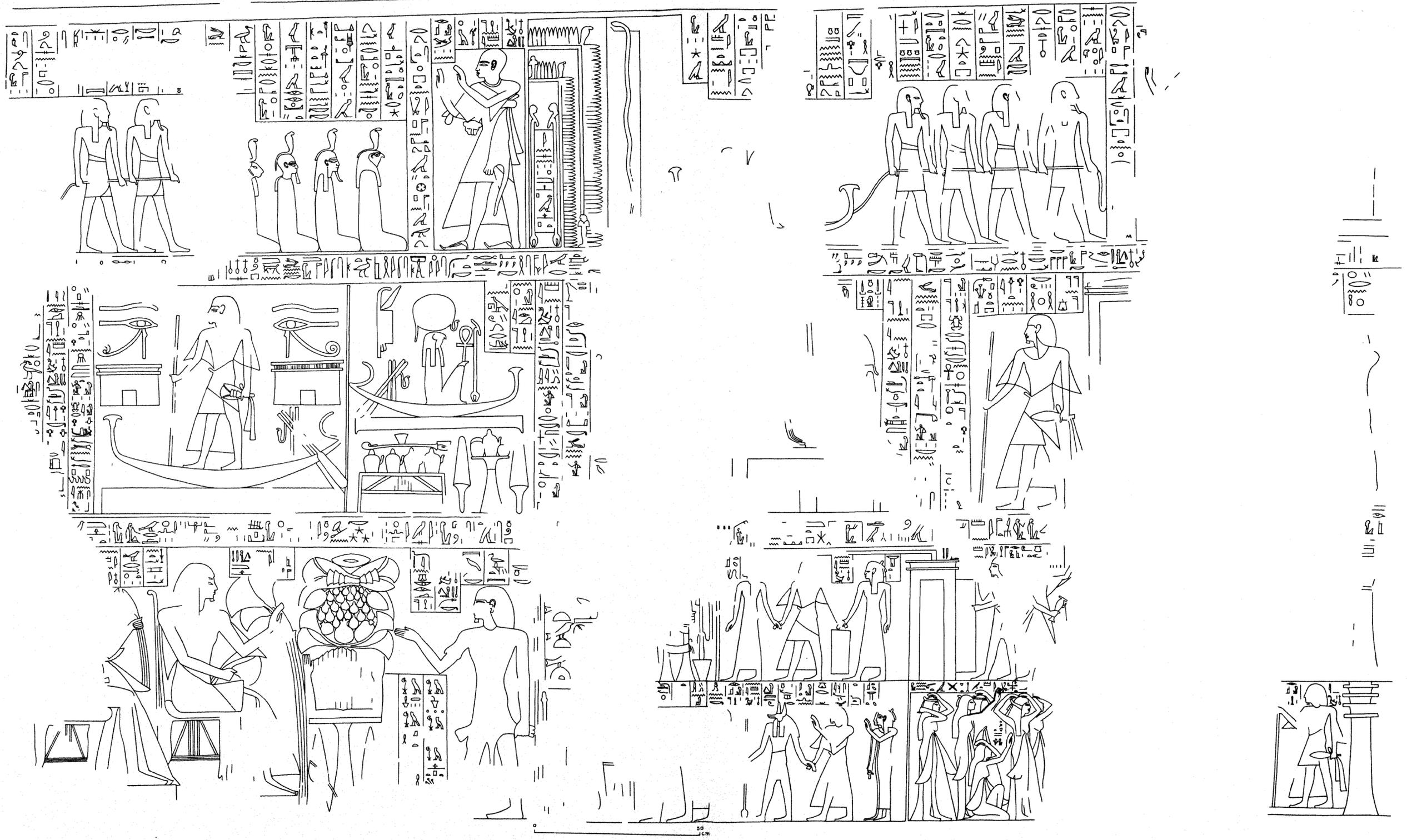


PASSAGE, SOUTH WALL, THIRD SECTION FROM EAST

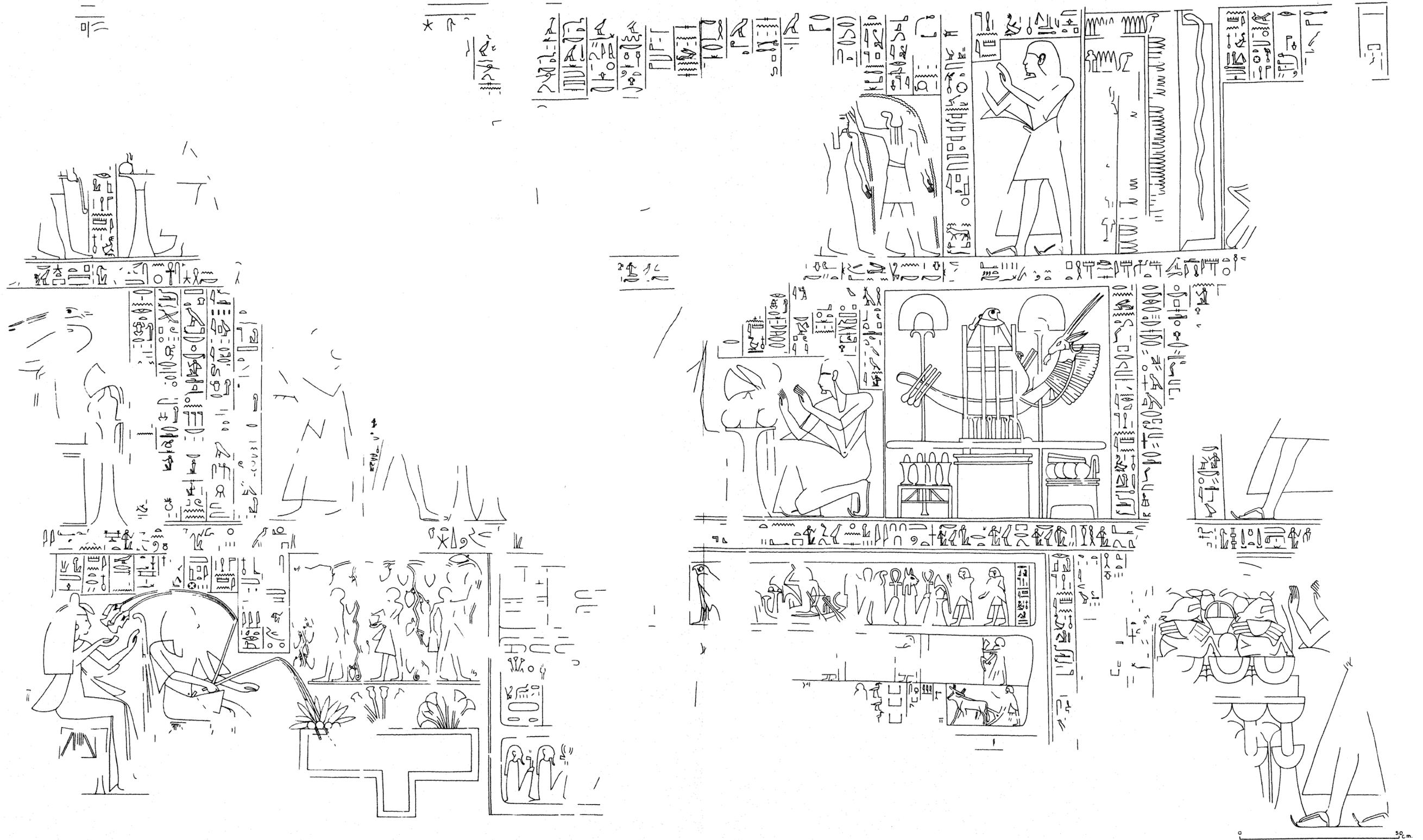
PLATE 34



PASSAGE, SOUTH WALL, FIFTH SECTION FROM EAST (ABOVE OPENING INTO PASSAGE LEADING TO BURIAL CHAMBER)



PASSAGE, NORTH WALL, FIRST SECTION FROM EAST

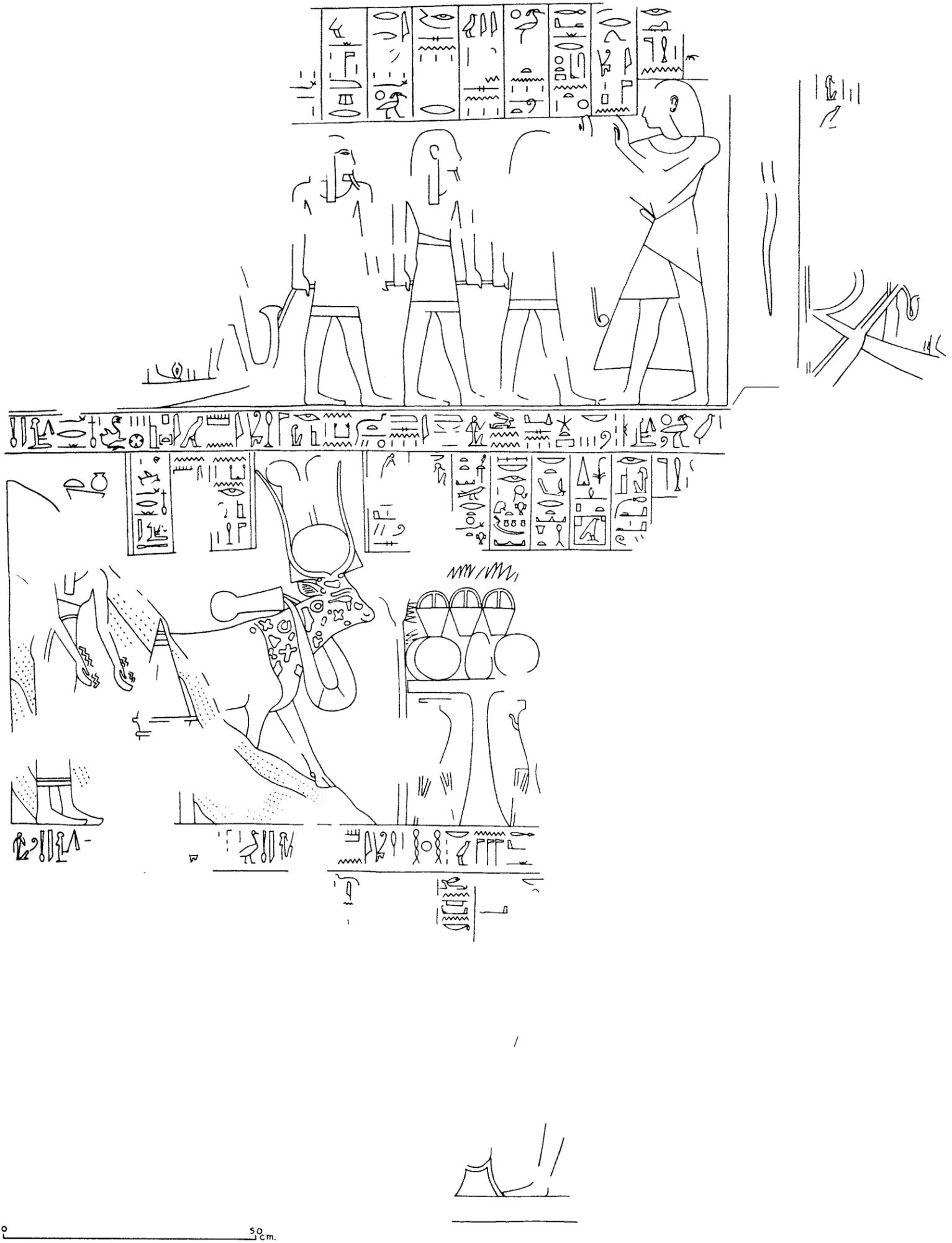


PASSAGE, NORTH WALL, SECOND SECTION FROM EAST

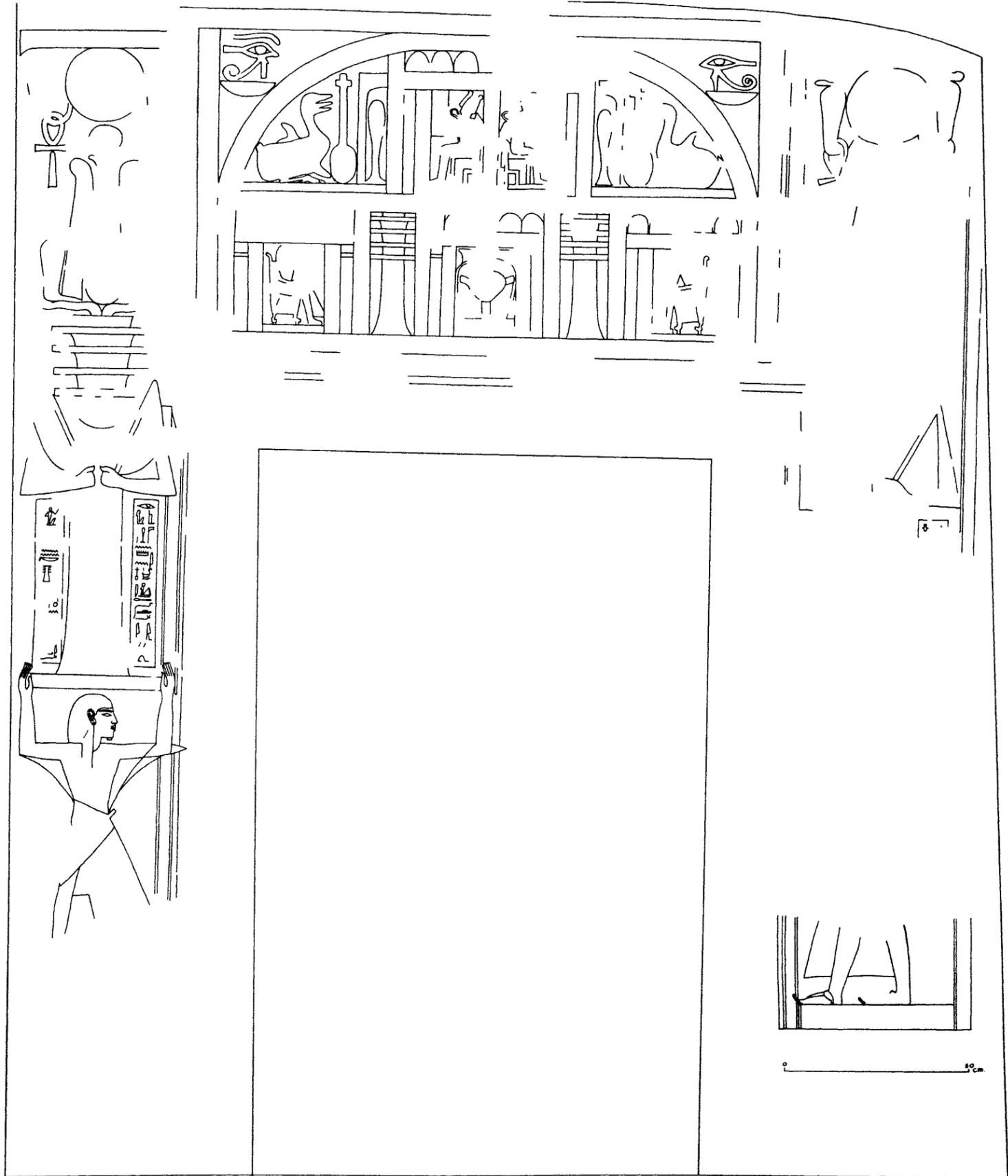


0 50 cm.

PASSAGE, NORTH WALL, THIRD SECTION FROM EAST



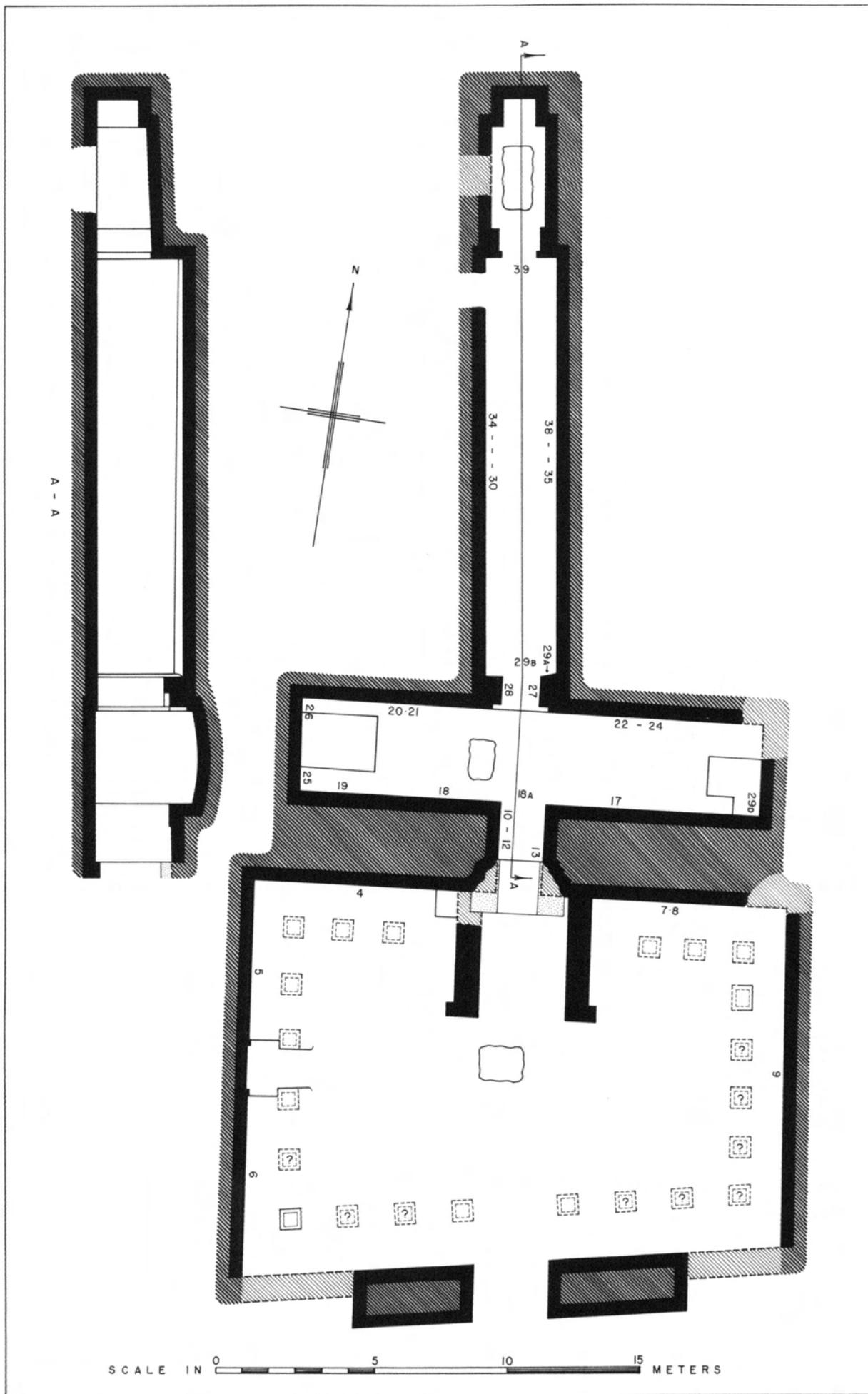
PASSAGE, NORTH WALL, FOURTH SECTION FROM EAST



PASSAGE, WEST WALL, DOORWAY TO SHRINE



UNPLACED SANDSTONE (TWO ROWS AT BOTTOM) AND LIMESTONE FRAGMENTS OF RELIEFS, SOME PERHAPS NOT BELONGING TO TOMB OF TJANEFER



SKETCH PLAN AND SECTION, WITH NUMBERS OF PLATES ON WHICH DRAWINGS OF SCENES ARE SHOWN. (It should be noted that tomb is described as if it faced east, so that "north" wall is at right and "south" wall is at left as one faces hills beyond; see p. 1.)