

THE FUNERARY BANQUET OF HERY (TT 12), ROBBED AND RESTORED

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Abstract

The tomb-chapel of Hery (TT 12), dating to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, is decorated in relief. The banquet scene depicted on the corridor's south/west wall constitutes an important document for the study of the Theban society of this period. It was robbed and heavily damaged in the transition of the Nineteenth to the Twentieth Century. Fortunately, the scene and its inscriptions can be reconstructed using archival material prior to the thefts. Spiegelberg's squeezes, 1895/6, can also be used to search for the stolen fragments.

The rock-cut tomb-chapel of Hery, TT 12, is located in the central area of Dra Abu el-Naga, the northernmost hill of the Theban necropolis.¹ It is one of the earliest decorated funerary monuments of the Eighteenth Dynasty that is preserved.² A Spanish-Egyptian

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¹ Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg and P. E. Newberry, *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the winter of 1898-9* (London, 1908); F. Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole* (Theben 13; Mainz am Rhein, 1996), I, 190-92; J. M. Galán, 'The Tombs of Djehuty and Hery (TT 11-12) at Dra Abu el-Naga', in J.-C. Goyon and C. Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists* (OLA 150; Leuven, 2007), 777-87; *idem*, 'Early investigations in the tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11)', in D. Magee, J. Bourriau and S. Quirke (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius. Studies in honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute* (OLA 185; Leuven, 2010), 155-81. For an overview of the recent history of Dra Abu el-Naga, see the section by G. Miniaci, 'The archaeological exploration of Dra Abu el-Naga', in M. Betrò, P. Del Vesco and G. Miniaci, *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu el-Naga. The Tomb of Huy (TT 14): Preliminary Results* (Pisa, 2009), 36-56.

² Few contemporary monuments have been published and can be used for comparison. Concerning the 'Tomb of the dancers,' see H. Gauthier, 'Sur une campagne de fouilles à Drahou el Naggah en 1906', *BIFAO* 6 (1908), 127, 162-3, pl. 7-10; W. M. F. Petrie, *Qurneh* (London, 1909), 10-11, pl. 1 (frontispiece). TT 15: Lord Carnarvon and H. Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (Oxford, 1912), 12-21, pl. 1-12; N. de G. Davies, 'The Tomb of Tetaky at Thebes (No. 15)', *JEA* 11 (1925), 10-18, pl. 2-5. TT 21: N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs* (London, 1913), 20-27, pl. 18-28. For early Eighteenth Dynasty decorated tombs outside Thebes, see J. J. Tylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Tomb of Renni* (London, 1900); W. V. Davies, 'British Museum Epigraphic

mission has been working in the area since 2002 and, since the final publication of TT 12 will unavoidably need several years, it has been considered appropriate to publish sections of it that have a self-standing identity and have been the subject of an independent and fruitful research. The banquet scene is the first one of these. Aside of its aesthetic merit and relevance for the study of art history, it is also an eloquent *tableau* of the complexity of the kinship relationships in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Unfortunately, significant portions of the wall were heavily damaged by robbers in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth century, but successive records of earlier visitors provide valuable information to reconstruct the scene and inscriptions. In order to stress the relevance of archival material to restore and understand the condition of the monument, the description and analysis of the banquet scene will follow the steps of the first egyptologists that entered inside the tomb-chapel of Hery, their interests and the documentation they left.

I. The tomb-chapel of Hery

The open courtyard is small and quadrangular,³ measuring 4.85 x 4.60 m, and it has a funerary shaft at the south/west side that might have been used by Hery.⁴ The inner part of the tomb-chapel (fig. 1) consists of a corridor 6.20 m long, 1.68/1.60 m wide and 1.84/2.04 m high, leading directly, without a transverse hall, into an almost quadrangular chamber of 5.20 x 6.60 m, with a central square pillar, each side about 1 m long. The corridor does not constitute the central axis of the monument, but reaches the inner chamber at one corner, not even making a right angle with the wall that opens. The ideological or theoretical orientation is east-west, although the corridor is actually closer to a south-north magnetic or geographical orientation. The layout is very simple and similar to the known Eleventh Dynasty tomb-chapels at the nearby area of el-Tarif,⁵ which leaves open the possibility that

Expedition Report on the 2005 Season', *ASAE* 80 (2006), 133-51; *idem*, 'La tombe de Sataimaou à Hagar Edfou', *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 53 (2009), 25-40.

³ Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, I, 78-81; J. M. Galán, 'Tomb-Chapels of the early XVIIIth Dynasty at Thebes', in J. Mynarova and O. Pavel (eds.), *Thebes. City of Gods and Pharaohs/Theby. Mesto bohů a faraonů* (Prague, 2007), 88-101.

⁴ It was so heavily reused and robbed that it is difficult to make any statement yet. Moreover, since the inner chamber is still filled with debris, one should not exclude the possibility that there might be another shaft inside.

⁵ D. Arnold, *Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970. Das Grab des Jnj-jtj.f: die Architektur* (Mainz am Rhein, 1971), 36-48; *idem*, *Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in El-Tarif* (Mainz

Hery actually reused an earlier structure.⁶ We may be in a better position to approach this issue when the inner part of Hery's funerary monument is excavated, as the inner most chamber is today filled with debris up to 1.4 m high.

The relatively good quality of the limestone bed at the level of the hill slope where the tomb-chapel was hewn⁷ must have encouraged the owner and/or artists to decorate the inner walls in relief. The corridor is today completely free of debris and the inscriptions and figurative scenes that filled both walls are perfectly visible in as much as their present state of preservation allows. The walls of the inner chamber, however, have less than the upper half visible, and there is no trace of inscription or scene. At first glance one may conclude that the inner chamber was never decorated, but since the surface is heavily eroded, looking as if washed out, it is possible that it once had some decoration. Again, there will be a better chance to evaluate this possibility when the chamber is finally cleared.

The first written record concerning the tomb-chapel of Hery is due to Jean François Champollion and Ippolito Rosellini, who visited together the site in the first half of 1829 and took some brief notes in their respective notebooks.⁸ At that time the entrance to the inner part of the funerary monument must have been completely covered by sand, since they report that they gained access through another tomb-chapel, very much ruined. The latter is located 5 m to the northeast and 2.65 m higher up the hill-slope. Today we know that it belonged to an overseer of the cattle of Amun called Baki, who lived in the first half

am Rhein, 1976), pl. 30 and maps. See also Petrie, *Qurneh*, 3, pl. 11 (1); Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, I, 13 (IIIa), 18.

⁶ On the reuse of earlier rock-cut *saff*-tombs at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty see E. Dziobek, 'The Architectural Development of Theban Tombs in the Early Eighteenth Dynasty', in J. Assmann, G. Burkard and V. Davies (eds.), *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology* (London, 1987), 69-79; F. Kampp, 'The Theban necropolis: an overview of topography and tomb development from the Middle Kingdom to the Ramesside period', in N. Strudwick and J. H. Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future* (London, 2003), 2-10; D. Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende* (Berlin, 2007), 279-302.

⁷ Massive pinkish limestone bed 3 m thick, intercalated in a nodular limestone formation.

⁸ J. F. Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 1844-1879 (reprinted in Geneve, 1973), I, 543-4, "Tombeau N° 51 (J)"; I. Rosellini, *Giornale della spedizione letteraria toscana in Egitto negli anni 1828-1829, vol. II: Tebe, Alto e Medio Egitto, Nubia. Note e descrizioni prese sui luoghi*, Ms.284 G, c. 61 (no. 51), Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa.

of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁹ The inner walls of his monument were decorated in plaster, but it was almost completely gone when the French and the Italian scholars went inside. Today the debris fills the inner part of the funerary monument to a height of 1.35 m, and it falls down inside the Hery's inner chamber through the connecting passage they used to get into the latter.

The connecting passage reaches Hery's inner chamber at the same corner as the corridor, but at the complementary wall. It is currently filled with debris, except for the end that reaches Hery's chamber, where it can be observed that it was well carved, it has the same height as the chamber, and its width, 1.52 m, is very similar to that of Hery's corridor. The debris do not allow to locate the other end of the passage, and it has to be remembered that the ceiling of both Hery's chamber and the passage is at least 0.65 m below the level of the floor of Baki's tomb-chapel, which means that the passage may continue under Baki's floor. It is possible that the passage was part of the original layout of a more complex funerary monument going back to the Eleventh Dynasty, and was years later partially reused by Hery.¹⁰ In any case, it seems that the ceiling of the passage was later on broken and connected with Baki's floor, and this access was then used by Champollion and Rosellini to descend into Hery's inner chamber and corridor.

II. Scenes in relief

Champollion and Rosellini, once inside, focussed on the decoration of the corridor walls, describing the style and some of the figurative motives. The former wrote down the following: '*...le côté gauche seul de ce tombeau, dans la forme ordinaire, conserve des sculptures; elles sont du meilleur style et d'une grande finesse, et portent un cachet d'ancienneté que confirme la manière dont les sujets sont traités: elles ressemblent à celles d'Eléthya (el-Kab) et sont en effet de la même époque...*'. While the inscriptions are in sunk

⁹ When the Spanish-Egyptian mission excavated the area in 2003 its entrance was hidden under the sand, despite the fact that the interior had been used as toilet at least in the early 1980s, as dated newspaper fragments revealed. In 2005, excavating right outside, two sandstone door-jambs came to light with the incised vertical inscriptions well preserved and identifying the owner of the funerary monument, 'the overseer of the cattle of Amun, Baki'. See J. M. Serrano, 'Baki, supervisor del ganado de Amón', *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología* 15 (2005), 85-98.

¹⁰ See above n. 5-6.

relief, with three levels of quality depending on the size of the signs, the figures are carved in raised relief, with great care and attention to the details. The style fits well in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, with reminiscences of the classical Middle Kingdom art, the figures in movement combining certain stiffness with the muscles shown in tension. The closest parallel can be found in the relief blocks of Amenhotep I now in display at the open-air museum in Karnak.¹¹

The north/east wall of the corridor was ruined already then. Still, Champollion noted that there were scenes of hunting and fishing. Presently, the better preserved area of the wall shows Hery hunting game in the desert: while he draws his bow, a dog is biting a prey and an assistant is handing him a set of arrows from behind. Hery is facing out of the tomb-chapel, while the offering bearers represented in the register above him are walking inwards, confronting a figure of the deceased sitting at the inner end of the wall. The area closer to the entrance has two registers, the upper one shows Hery in the marshes harpooning a hippopotamus, and the lower one includes boats sailing on the river that were probably part of the pilgrimage to Abydos scene. The whole panel is surmounted by a *heker*-frieze and an inscribed band with a *hotep-di-nesut* formula referring to Amun lord of the thrones, which is unfortunately very much damaged.

The south/west wall of the corridor was much better preserved (and still is) than the opposite one. The decorated panel measures 6.77 x 1.30 m, leaving a blank margin at the bottom 0.54/0.71 m high. It is divided thematically into two large scenes. Close to the entrance there is a description of Hery's journey to his Afterlife arranged in three registers, including the dragging of the *tekenu*, a group of four *muu*-dancers performing at the arrival of the cortège headed by a couple of oxen dragging the coffin, and a summarized vision of the Hereafter with the outstanding figures of Anubis and Osiris.¹² The inner scene is slightly shorter, measuring 2.53 m long, and represents the funerary banquet held on behalf

¹¹ PM II, 74; C. Graindorge and Ph. Martinez, 'Karnak avant Karnak: les constructions d'Aménophis Ier et les premières liturgies amoniennes', *BSFE* 115 (1989), 36-64; *idem*, 'Programme architectural et iconographique des monuments d'Aménophis I à Karnak', *ASAE* 74 (1999), 169-82; C. Graindorge, 'Les monuments d'Amenhotep Ier à Karnak', *Egypte, Afrique et Orient* 16 (2000), 25-36; *idem*, 'Der Tempel des Amun-Re von Karnak zu Beginn der 18. Dynastie', in H. Beinlich, J. Hallof, H. Hussy and C. von Pfeil (eds.), *Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen 3* (ÄAT 33; Wiesbaden, 2002), 83-90.

¹² G. Menéndez, 'La procesión funeraria de la tumba de Hery (TT 12) en Dra Abu el-Naga', *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología* 15 (2005), 29-65.

of Hery. It is also divided into three registers, although the main figures take over the lower two.

The end of the outer scene literally touches the beginning of the inner one, since there is no vertical border between them. The two can visually be distinguished from one another because their respective registers and horizontal base-lines do not match: while the upper register of the funerary procession measures 46 cm high, the one of the banquet scene is only 36 cm. In both scenes the upper register is almost two times higher than the lower two registers. Moreover, the similar orientation pattern of the figures that integrate the scenes helps also to single them out easily: in both scenes most of the figures are facing inwards, and they are confronted at the end by a small number of figures facing out. Thus, the four *muu*-dancers that welcome the funerary procession in the upper register, the couple of mummified figures thrust into the ground that are reached by the boats crossing the river in the middle register, and the divine beings dwelling in the Hereafter represented in the lower register are all facing out and stand back to back with Hery's relatives sitting at the banquet and facing inwards, interacting with Hery, his mother and one of his daughters, who occupy the inner end of the wall and are facing out.

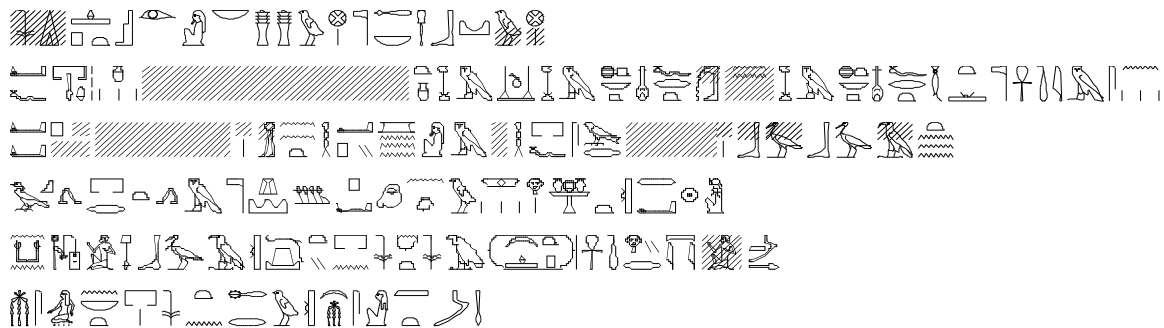
III. Hery's titles, date and filiation

The two scenes of the south/west wall are intentionally integrated in a single decorative unit, within a single frame-band surmounted by a *heker*-frieze (21 cm high) on top of a single-line inscription (6.3 cm high) running from the entrance until the inner vertical border at the opposite end of the wall.¹³ This is, indeed, the main inscription of the wall, written in larger and more carefully carved hieroglyphs than the captions accompanying the figures. It consists of a *hotep-di-nesut* offering formula referring to Osiris, mentioning provisions from Re's altar, and ending with the identification of the monument's owner, by title, name and filiation. It was its final section, at that time in good condition, that interested most Champollion and Rosellini, who copied it in their respective notebooks, without any significant difference between the two records (fig. 2).¹⁴ Their manuscripts

¹³ There is no vertical border-band at the end of the wall near the entrance.

¹⁴ In Champollion's copy this section of the inscription looks as if it was in perfect condition, while in Rosellini's the semantic determinative following Hery's name (Gardiner's sign A1) is missing, and he indicates instead an erasure or damage. Rosellini

contain significant information, since the inscription started to deteriorate soon after. Unfortunately, Rosellini neglected the offering formula, and Champollion only copied its very end, i.e., the wish that the deceased will receive offerings from Re's altar. When the first part of the inscription was recorded sixty-seven years later by Spiegelberg, it had substantial lacunae (see below). The most complete version of the inscription has to combine Champollion's and Rosellini's notes together with Spiegelberg's records, conforming the following text:





*Htp-[di-nswt] Wsir nb Ddw nTr aA nb AbDw di.f prt-xrw t Hnqt [kAw Apdw...] xA m Ss
mnxt xA m xt nbt nfrt wab[t] xA m xt nbt nfrt bnrt anxti nTr im.sn ddi p[t qmAt tA] innt
@apy m [tp]Ht.f swr [mww Hr] bAbAt aq prt m Xryt-nTr Ssp snw Hr xAt Ra n kA n sS wbA
imy-r Snwty n Hmt nswt mwt nswt IaH-Htp anxti @ry mAa-xrw msw n nbt pr Xrw nswt
IaH-ms mAat-xrw*


'A boon [which the king grants], and Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, may he give an invocation offering of bread and beer, [beef and fowl, ...] a thousand of alabaster and linen, a thousand of everything good and pure, a thousand of everything good and sweet on which a god lives, which the sky gives, [the earth creates] and Hapy brings from his cavern, to drink [water at the] watering-place, that he may enter and come out from the necropolis, and he may receive the provisions that are on Re's altar, for the *ka* of

also drew a sketch of one of the *muu*-dancers of the funerary procession, and copied randomly the names of two daughters of Hery, one of his sons and one of his brothers. We are grateful to M. Betrò, and to the Director of the University Library in Pisa, Alessandra Pesante, for granting us permission to publish a photo of the page concerning TT 12 from Rosellini's notebook.

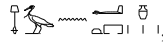

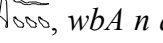
the scribe, butler and overseer of the double granary of the royal wife and king's mother Ahhotep -may she live!- Hery, justified, born of the lady of the house, the royal *Xrw*, Ahmose, justified'.

The spelling of Hery's name, , is consistent,¹⁵ at least in the two occasions where it has been preserved, which are part of the banquet scene. The title 'scribe' comes right after the name, standing by itself, without any qualifier. The second title, , *wbA*, attested since the Middle Kingdom, derives from the verb meaning 'to open', and it is taken as a general term referring to a 'servant' or 'butler'.¹⁶ It seems that the *wbA* was the chief of the servants of a household, and was in charge of the provisioning of victuals,¹⁷ what goes well with the other two titles held by Hery. Its functions seem similar to those of the earlier title *wdpw*, 'cupbearer', and in fact it was also associated with wine and beer, and it was occasionally followed by the epithet 'clean of hands'.¹⁸ In the Eighteenth Dynasty it seems to be related mainly with the royal family.¹⁹

'Overseer of the double granary of the royal wife and king's mother Ahhotep' seems to be Hery's most important title. In a period when it seems that there was no vizier at the

¹⁵ Ranke, *PN I*, 253 (4), only offers the example of the owner of TT 12. A possible variant is , @ri-iry; Ranke, *PN I*, 253 (5), from the tomb-chapel of Paheri in el-Kab.

¹⁶ *Wb.* I, 292 (1-8).

¹⁷ Note the titles: (a) , *wbA n at Hnqt*, 'wbA of the beer pantry'; W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), 85 (704); (b) , *wbA n Sna*, 'wbA of the storehouse'; Ward, *Index*, 85 (705); (c) , *wbA n at iwf*, 'wbA of the meat pantry'; H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom. A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index* (New York, 1997), 14 (703a). S. Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC* (London, 2004), 66, translates it as 'foodbearer'. There is a feminine version of the title, *wbAyt*; see D. Stefanovič, *The non-royal feminine titles of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period: Dossiers* (London, 2009), 47-56. A woman qualified as such is one of the fictional characters at the end of papyrus Westcar, in charge of provisioning the house and very close the mother of the future kings; W. V. Davies (ed.), *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians* (Whitstable, 1988), 15-17 (11,18-12,26).

¹⁸ A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), I, 43* (122).

¹⁹ See the index of titles and epithets of N. de G. Davies and M. F. L. Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones* (Oxford, 1957).

head of the central administration,²⁰ an office related with the collection, storage and/or distribution of grain would have controlled important revenues. The title directly associates him with Queen Ahhotep, wife of Seqenenra-Taa and mother of King Ahmose.²¹ Although it is well known that Ahhotep played a relevant political role during his son's reign,²² it is nevertheless remarkable that Hery did not seem to have any direct connection with the king.²³ It must be pointed out that he did not have funerary cones at the façade of his rock-cut tomb-chapel, so that we are lacking a secondary source for titles.²⁴

It would be of significance, particularly for dating purposes, to determine if Queen Ahhotep was dead or alive at the time when Hery's tomb-chapel was decorated and inscribed.²⁵ The fact that her name is qualified by *anxti* and not by *mAat-xrw* does not necessarily imply that she was alive.²⁶ An early Eighteenth Dynasty date is suggested by the prominence of the names Ahmose and Ahhotep within Hery's family, as it will be seen

²⁰ Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 377; Ch. Barbotin, *Âhmosis et le début de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Paris, 2008), 100-08.

²¹ The problem of identifying one or more Queen Ahhotep from the inscribed funerary material is too complicated to deal with it here. A description of the problem can be found in A. M. Roth, 'The Ahhotep Coffins: The Archaeology of an Egyptological Reconstruction', in E. Teeter and J. A. Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise. Studies on ancient Egypt in honor of Edward F. Wente* (SAOC 58; Chicago, 1984), 361-77.

²² Cl. Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis* (Brussels, 1971), 134-91; Th. Stasser, 'La famille d'Amosis', *CdE* 77 (2002), 26; Barbotin, *Âhmosis*, 70-1, 82.

²³ Kares had, among several other titles, one that associated him with Ahhotep, '...overseer of the double house of gold and the double house of silver, and chief steward of the king's mother, Ahhotep'; see CCG 34003 in P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Nos. 34001-34064)* (Cairo, 1909), 7-9, pl. 4; *Urk.* IV, 45-49. Queen Ahhotep assigned to the *wab*-priest Iuf certain responsibilities and rewarded him with provisions and plots of land in Edfu, so that he would make offerings to her statue, as stated in a stela carved under Thutmose I (CCG. 34009); Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 16-7; pl. 6; *Urk.* IV 29-31.

²⁴ J. M. Galán and F. Borrego, 'Funerary Cones from Dra Abu el-Naga (TT 11-12)', *Memnonia* 17 (2007), 195- 208, pl. 33-39.

²⁵ Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis*, 193, established her death some time before year 22 of Ahmose. However, he changed his mind upon considering the stela of Kares; Cl. Vandersleyen "Les deux Ahhotep," *SAK* 8 (1980), 240 (3); further discussed by M. Gitton, *Les divines épouses de la 18^e dynastie* (Paris, 1984), 20-1, who argued that she should have been alive when the decree for Kares was issued in the year 10 of Amehotep I.

²⁶ In the Abydos stela of Ahmose (CCG. 34002) the name of his grandmother Tetisheri is twice followed by *anxti*, in the lunette, and once by *mAat-xrw*, in the main text; Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 5-7; pl. 2-3; *Urk.* IV 26-29. See Gitton, *Divines épouses*, 20.

below: his mother, two of his brothers and his elder son are called Ahmose, while one of his sisters is Ahhotep.²⁷ The shape of the moon-sign in the writing of both anthroponims constitutes a circumstantial evidence for a date after year 22 of King Ahmose, and, on the other hand, the style of the reliefs relates Hery's monument with Amenhotep I's artists (see above). Thus, it seems reasonable to date Hery's tomb-chapel at the very end of Ahmose's reign or the beginning of Amenhotep I, when Queen Ahhotep was still alive.

Hery is further identified through the matrilineal lineage, a common feature in contemporary private inscriptions.²⁸ His mother, called Ahmose, is qualified as 'lady of the house' and 'royal *Xrw*'. While the former is a generic title, the second, , *Xrw nswt*, is otherwise unknown. Since it is spelled out consistently in two occasions, in the long inscriptions running above the figurative scenes on both walls of the corridor, it should not be taken as a defective writing of the common title *Xkr(w)/Xkrt nswt*, / / ,²⁹ translated as 'royal ornament' or 'concubine', since it is thought to be related to the royal harem. It does not seem likely either that the term , *Xrw*, should be taken as an odd writing for , *Xrw*, 'relative(s)',³⁰ or as a misspelling for , *Xrdw*, 'child(ren)'. It seems clear that, through the title 'royal *Xrw*', Hery's mother was somehow associated with the king (whose identity was left unspecified) and/or with a royal institution. Her position could have granted her son the chance to get into the royal palace

²⁷ Barbotin, *Âhmosis*, 41.

²⁸ S. Whale, *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs* (ACE Studies 1; Sydney, 1989), 264, referring to the cases where the tomb owner attributes filiation to his mother alone, concludes: 'Apart from wishing to claim relationship to a mother with a prestigious title, the main purpose of attributing filiation to his father's *'nbt-pr'* was to establish his position in the family structure. It was the name of his mother which indicated a man's position in the family if there were children by secondary wives or concubines, certain rights may have accrued to him as his mother's son'. Concerning the royal family and the prominent role played by kings' mothers, see Barbotin, *Âhmosis*, 42; Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 376-7.

²⁹ W. Spiegelberg, 'Die Gruppe *Skr stni*', *ZÄS* 34 (1896), 164; *Wb.* III, 401 (6-18); H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period* (New York, 2000²), 31; D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, (BAR 866; Oxford, 2000), II, 794-96 (2899-2902); Ward, *Index*, 143 (1233-34).

³⁰ Whale, *Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty*, 12, interprets the title as 'royal relative', without further comments.

and, eventually, end up at the service of the royal wife and king's mother Ahhotep. The social standing of Hery's mother should have been of significance, and could be part of the reason why Hery only mentions his mother and not his father, and as it will be seen below, why he represents her sitting next to him in the banquet scene, as the monument's most prominent person after him. It is remarkable that Hery's father was not mentioned nor was he represented in any form, being relegated to anonymity.³¹

III. Hery's family

When Richard Lepsius passed by Dra Abu el-Naga at the end of November and beginning of December 1844, he himself copied also the end section of the long inscription of the corridor's south/west wall of Hery's tomb-chapel. The inscription had suffered already collateral damages, as he registers losses in it that later records (Spiegelberg's squeezes, see below) would make clear that were the consequence of an attempt to remove slabs from the wall. In the preparatory hacking around the desired areas of the banquet scene, the robbers did damage three signs of Hery's first two titles, the signs ending Hery's name, and the participles following it, i.e. 'justified' and 'born (of)...'³²

On that same day, Lepsius copied right after the names of Hery's two sons and three daughters. The notebook³³ he used on that occasion was transcribed after his death and published as volume III of the *Text* series of his *Denkmäler der Aegypten und Aethiopien*. However, there was another notebook that got lost and was not taken into account for the posthumous publication of his epigraphic work. He had used this second 'forgotten' notebook on December 5th 1844 to copy the names of each one of Hery's relatives partaking in the funerary banquet, now including also the captions for his wife, three brothers and eleven sisters, as they were inscribed next to their heads (fig. 3).³⁴ This is

³¹ The anonymity of the father in most of the inscriptions of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty (stelae, etc.), including Hery's tomb-chapel, could have been one of the reasons for not including him in the scene(s). Tetiki and Reneni, however, mention both mother and father; see n. 2 above for references.

³² R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler der Aegypten und Aethiopien. Text* (Berlin, 1897-1913), III, 238. See also the drawing based on Spiegelberg's squeezes below (fig. 5).

³³ R. Lepsius, *Notebook 12^oVII*, 159-61, kept at the Berlin Academy of Sciences.

³⁴ R. Lepsius, *Notebook VII*, 421-22 (no. 78). The *Diary* is now part of the collection of the Berlin Egyptian Museum, but it is kept at the Academy of Sciences. We are grateful to Dr.

Lepsius' major contribution to the study of the funerary monument. Hery's family, as portrait in the banquet scene, constitutes a relevant historical document not only for anthroponymic studies, but also for the analysis of family ties and the social standing of a high status group of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

Hery and his mother are represented in a larger scale at the inner end of the wall, facing outwards. They are sitting on a high chair with leonine legs, behind a loaded offering table. Both hold a piece of cloth in the left hand, and the mother's right arm is round her son. Above them, a caption in carefully carved hieroglyphs, with a horizontal line underneath, indicating their names and titles, here abbreviated. The inscription reads:



imy-r Snwty n Hmt nswt mwt nswt IaH-Htp anxti @ry mAa-xrw

mSw n nbt pr IaH-ms mAat-xrw

'The overseer of the double granary of the royal wife and king's mother Ahhotep -may she live!- Hery, justified, born of the lady of the house, Ahmose, justified'.

Hery's wife is depicted in a smaller scale facing him and his mother, sitting on a low stool with her legs folded back. She holds a piece of cloth in her right hand, while stretching toward Hery a long lotus flower for him to smell, which he grasps and directs it to his nose. The composition makes it clear that she plays a secondary role compared to Hery's mother. Moreover, she is identified by a caption carved in smaller hieroglyphs, similar to those used for the rest of the family.



, *Hmt.f nbt [...]*, 'His wife, the lady [...]'. This short and partial inscription has a number of oddities. The word 'wife', contrary to the common way of writing kinship terms in captions, has a semantic determinative.³⁵ The group of signs

Stefan Grunert for providing us with scanned images of the pages concerning TT 11-12, to Elke Freier for transcribing Lepsius' old-German hand writing, and to Dr. Dietrich Wildung for permission to publish the scanned images.

³⁵ Another example can be found in a Seventeenth Dynasty stela from Edfu, now in Cairo Museum (JE 52456); see W. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1983), no. 115; S. Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit. Biographische Inschriften der 13.-17. Dynastie* (Berlin, 2008), 227-230 (Edfu 17). Noteworthy is the observation by H. G. Fischer, 'Redundant Determinatives in

following it were clearly seen by Lepsius, and his reading is supported by the impression in Spiegelberg's squeezes (fig. 4-5) that is reproduced here in the drawing and in the transcription. However, the distribution of the signs is such that one may doubt if the correct transcription is *Hmt.f nbt [pr...]*, 'His wife, the lady [of the house...]', the scribe or artist having misplaced the sign for the suffix pronoun *.f*,³⁶ or if it should rather be transcribed *Hmt(.f) mrt.f [nbt pr...]*, '(His) wife, his beloved one, [the lady of the house...]', reading the sign *mr* (𓄏) instead of *nb* (𓄏),³⁷ the scribe having omitted the suffix pronoun after *Hmt*. The resulting information is practically the same: the figure represents Hery's wife, whose name remains unknown due to an old brake in the wall. A third possibility would be to read the signs as they are written, *Hmt nbt.f*, and take *nbt.f* as the wife's name or part of it, i.e., 'The wife Nebetef[...]', since this personal name is attested at least in the Middle Kingdom.³⁸ However, one would expect to have the term 'wife' qualified by a possessive pronoun, *Hmt.f*, 'his wife', as it seems to be the norm in captions, plus an indication of her status, *nbt pr*, 'lady of the house', like Hery's mother and the mother of his favourite 'sister', Senetneferet (see below). Indeed, there is no doubt that her name must have been written on the wall following the specification of her kinship relation with Hery, as it was for the other members of the family depicted in the banquet.³⁹


the Old Kingdom', *BMMA* 8 (1973), 7-25: 'Women's names were frequently given a determinative in situations where a masculine name lacks it' (p. 22).


³⁶ The caption for Hery's favourite sister has also a sign misplaced in the expression *nbt pr* (see below sister no. 1).


³⁷ The caption for Hery's beloved son Ahmose, however, has the sign 𓄏 for the expression *mr.f*.


³⁸ Ranke, *PN I*, 188 (13).

³⁹ The names are all included in Ranke, *PN I* (although with one error, see below n. 53). The reference for his source on TT 12 is 'Sethe 11, 82', which refers to the '*Abschriften K. Sethe von Gräbern des Neuen Reiches bei Theben für das Berliner Wörterbuch, unveröffentlicht*'. Kurt Sethe spent in Egypt several months in 1904 and 1905 making copies of texts. He says he visited TT 11 in 1905 and collated the so-called 'Northampton stela', as mentioned in *Urk. IV* 419 (17), and recorded also the blocks from another two biographical inscriptions (*Urk. IV* 442 (1)). It can thus be assumed that it was then when he entered into TT 12. For unknown reasons, Sethe did not copy the names of all of Hery's guests, but only that of his elder son and of her ten sisters sitting behind him and occupying the lower two registers. Hermann Grapow, writing the *zettel* for the *Wörterbuch*, completed later on the list of names by using other sources, such as Lepsius and the squeezes (in Strassbourg by then), and got Ranke confused about the real source for some of them. We

 , *sA.f*, ‘His son(s)’:

1.  , *IaH-ms*, Ahmose. He is qualified as ‘his son, his beloved one’, and it can thus be assumed that he was his elder son. In that capacity he is shown standing up and pronouncing aloud the invocation of offerings on behalf of his father and his grandmother, both sitting at the other side of the offering table. Like his father (and unlike the ‘brothers’), he is wearing a translucent long kilt above a shorter one, and a wig with tight curls shown in detail.

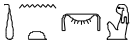
2.  , *Imn-ms*, Amenmose. Depicted as a child, naked, he must have been his younger son. He is represented in a smaller scale, facing his father, touching him on his knee and holding a small linen bag in his other hand.⁴⁰ He is standing up, ‘floating’ in the air in the small space between Hery and his wife (fig. 10-a).

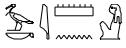
 ,⁴¹ *sAt.f*, ‘His daughter(s)’:


are deeply grateful to S. Grunert for his help concerning the *Wörterbuch* archive at the Berlin Academy of Sciences.

⁴⁰ The small linen bag or pouch that Hery’s younger son and three daughters are holding were used to transport and store granular substances of various kinds, and they remind of those filled with natron that were used in the mummification process. For similar bags, although from a different context, see B. J. Kemp and G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna* (London, 2001), 230-2. On the other hand, it seems to be the infant equivalent to the folded piece of cloth that the adult members of the family grasp in their hand at the banquet; see H. G. Fischer, ‘An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues’, *BMMA* 10 (1975), 9-21, esp. end of n. 13. Similar linen bags, although wrongly identified as lotus buds and a basket, are represented in a small stela found in Karnak’s third pylon and now in Cairo Museum (JE 33238); see A. M. Abdalaal, ‘Three Unpublished Stelae from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo’, in Z. Hawass, Kh. A. Daoud and S. Abd el-Fattah (eds.), *The Realm of the Pharaohs. Essays in Honor of Tohfa Handoussa* (SASAE 37; Cairo, 2008), 50-52, pl. 3, fig. 3.


⁴¹ The peculiar reduplication of the final *-t* in the word *sAt* can be found also in the inscribed statue of Ahmose Sapair in the Louvre (E 15682); *Urk.* IV 11 (16) - 13 (3); Cl. Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapair fils de Séqénenré Djéhouty-Aa (17e dynastie) et la statue du Musée du Louvre E 15682* (Brussels, 2005); Ch. Barbotin, ‘Un intercesseur dynastique à l’aube du Nouvel Empire. La statue du prince Iâhmès’, *La revue des musées de France. Revue du Louvre* 4 (2005), 19-28.


1. , *&i-nt-nbw*, Tinetnebu. Her small scale figure is standing up behind her father and her grandmother, squeezed in the narrow space between the back of their seat and the border of the scene, facing in the same direction they are, i.e., outwards. She is wearing a long tight dress, and holds a closed lotus flower in her right hand, and in the other a small linen bag like that of her brother (fig. 10-b).


2. , *BAk(t)-Imn*, Bak(et)amun. She forms a couple with her sister Nesnebu. Both are shown in the same pose and with the same complements as their sister Tinetnebu (including the linen bag), but the couple is shown facing inwards, towards Hery and his mother. They are depicted in a smaller scale, at the level of the head of Hery's wife, 'floating' in the air (although there is a horizontal line under their feet) as if they were more distant from the viewers eye than the other figures.

3. , *Ns-nbw*, Nesnebu. She stands behind her sister Baketamun.

, *sn.f*, 'His brother(s)'


1. , *%ni-snb*, Seniseneb. He is depicted in the upper register together with two other brothers, facing inwards. Each one of them is sitting on a high chair and behind a high table loaded with food and with a couple of jars underneath. They are smelling a lotus flower, and those at the sides are holding a piece of cloth in their right hand (the one in the middle is not, to brake the monotony of the composition).⁴²


2. , *IaH-ms*, Ahmose.

3. , *IaH-ms Dd(w) n.f aAm*, Ahmose called Aamu. Although it can be doubted if the so-called 'brothers' had really a blood relationship with Hery (see below), it was not uncommon, due probably to the high rate of infant mortality, to name two children with the same anthroponym (fig. 11-a). A nickname could be used later on to distinguish them, although this circumstance was not a requirement to have one assigned (see below sister no. 6). The nickname Aamu, 'the Asiatic', which is the same term that the Thebans used at that time to refer to the hyksos and their people, against whom they fought in the eastern Delta, does not have to be taken as descriptive or pejorative, but it was probably

⁴² For this artistic device, see H. G. Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1986), 30-4.

meant to evoke his involvement in the campaigns that the Theban rulers lead against the Asiatics.⁴³


↓  , *snt.f*, 'His sister(s)':

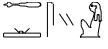
1. ↓  , *%ont-nfr(t) ms(t) n nbt pr ^ri*, Senetneferet born of the lady of the house Sheri. Both daughter and mother are represented together, occupying a preferential place in the banquet, as they are sitting on a high chair with leonine legs (like Hery and his mother), behind a high table loaded with more food than the rest, and leading the row of Hery's brothers in the upper register. In this way, the two women are shown segregated and distinguished from the group of Hery's sisters. Senetneferet holds up to her nose an opened lotus flower and grasps in her right hand a piece of cloth. Her mother sits next to her, embracing her daughter around the shoulder, while holding another piece of cloth in her right hand. Senetneferet is the only sister whose name is followed by a filiation remark. Despite her qualification as sister, her mother is not Hery's mother, making it clear that the kinship term 'sister' does not necessarily imply blood relationship.⁴⁴ Her name means something like 'the best sister' or 'the (most) beautiful sister', what seems to support the idea that she was Hery's favourite one. The fact that the mother's name is mentioned, and that she is even represented enjoying the banquet, might indicate that she was also regarded as a member of the family, and that there was a particular interest in including her in the group. Sheri is qualified by the generic title 'lady of the house', which is the same title that Hery's mother and wife(?) have in the banquet scene (the former has another one, but it is only mentioned in the two long inscriptions above the figurative scenes). It remains


⁴³ P. Vernus, 'Namengebung', *LÄ* IV, 330, interprets literally the descriptive personal names; see also *idem*, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire. Répertoire, procédés d'expression et structures de la double identité du début de la XIIe dynastie à la fin de la XVIIe dynastie* (Rome, 1986), 19-20, 84-5, 126 n. 162. However, Ward, 'Some foreign personal names and loan-words from Deir el-Medineh ostraca', in A. Leonard, Jr. and B. B. Williams (eds.), *Essays in Ancient Civilization presented to Helene J. Kantor* (SAOC 47; Chicago, 1989), 290 n. 13, argues that such names as 'the Nubian' or 'the Asiatic' do not always imply a foreign origin.

⁴⁴ G. Robins, 'The Relationships specified in Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms', *CdE* 54 (1979), 197-217; Whale, *Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty*, 239-40.


unknown who was her husband. If it was Hery' father, Senetneferet would have been Hery's half-sister.


2.  , +*Hwty-snt*, Djehutysenet. She is at the head of the row of five sisters that take up the middle register, sitting down on a large mat with her legs folded back, behind a small offering table or tray, holding a piece of cloth and smelling a lotus flower.

3.  , *aA-sy*, Aasy.

4.  , *Ipw-rsti*, Ipuresti.⁴⁵

5.  , *Ipw-tA-mtt*, Iputamot.⁴⁶

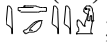
6.  , *IaH-Htp* *Dd(t) n.s Idgy*, Ahhotep called Idagy. This is the only sister that has a nickname. There is no other sister with the same name, and thus her nickname is not meant to distinguish her from another Ahhotep.⁴⁷ The nickname can actually be, as in this case, a second 'regular' name.⁴⁸ It seems that she is a later addition to the scene, since she is depicted in a smaller scale than her sisters, with a smaller table, sitting outside the large mat, and her name is written with smaller signs, squeezed in the small space left between her table and the sister sitting in front of her.

7.  , *%At-Imn*, Satamun. She is the first one of the row of five sisters occupying the lower register. Their pose is the same as those in the middle register, although here not all the sisters are holding a piece of cloth in order to brake the visual

⁴⁵ For the reading, see Ranke, *PN I*, 23 (13).

⁴⁶ Ranke, *PN I*, 23 (9). Concerning the concept of 'death', see J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), 45-8 (A.1.c.).


⁴⁷ See above brother no. 3. The owner and the two women represented on a stela now kept at the Museum Schloss Hohentübingen (formerly in Stuttgart) have their nicknames written, without any particular reason for it; W. Spiegelberg and B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Süddeutschen Sammlungen* (Strassburg, 1902), I, 13 (no. 22), pl. 13. For a general discussion on the use of a second personal name, see Vernus, *Le Surnom*, 84-5.


⁴⁸ Ranke, *PN I*, 54 (18). The name of Reneni's wife is similarly written, but without the g-sign, thus, Idy, ; see Tylor, *Renni*, pl. 8. The name Idy is also attested in a stela of the same period and coming from Dra Abu el-Naga, now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, no. 29.87.462; Cl. S. Fischer, 'A Group of Theban Tombs. Work of the Eckley B. Coxe Jr. Expedition to Egypt', *The Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania* 15 (1924), 37.

monotony. With this same purpose, their small tables or trays are surmounted by one or two jars alternatively, in contrast with the middle register where there are none.⁴⁹

8.  , *Msw*, Mesu.

9.  , *&A-ibs*, Taibes.

10.  , *&A-bint*, Tabinet.⁵⁰ The name literally means ‘the evil one’, and instead of taking it as a moral description of the person,⁵¹ it could be regarded as a prophylactic name, meant to keep evil away from the person with such a name (fig. 11-b).⁵²

11.  , **nA*, Tjena.⁵³

IV. The banquet scene


Wilhelm Spiegelberg, at the age of twenty-five, worked in the Theban necropolis for two months, December 1895 and January 1896, at the ‘funerary temple’ of Amenhotep I. It was then when he says he reopened the tomb-chapel of Hery,⁵⁴ and made a set of squeezes of the south/west wall of the corridor. The process of making the squeezes did not cause any perceptible damage to the wall, as it was never painted; only in few instances the paper removed some of the red paint powder of the demotic graffiti that were written on the wall in the Second Century BC (fig. 9).⁵⁵ In September 1910, he sent the squeezes to Jean Capart, at the Musée du Cinquanteaire in Brussels, but since they did not receive any

⁴⁹ See above n. 42. The jars could be represented above the tables of the lower register to indicate that they were shared by the women shown in the lower and middle registers.

⁵⁰ Ranke, *PN I*, 356 (12), offers this attestation and another one in a stela from the reign of Amenhotep III; E. Bresciani, *Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Bologna, 1985), 56-7 (no. 19), pl. 22-23.

⁵¹ Vernus, *LÄ IV*, 330; see J. Rizzo, ‘*Bjn*: de mal en pis’, *BIFAO* 105 (2005), 295-320.

⁵² J. Sainte Fare Garnot, ‘Défis au destin’, *BIFAO* 59 (1960), 1-28, esp. 20-2. Against this interpretation, see P. Collombert, ‘Un étrange anthroponyme de l’Ancien Empire: ‘Il/Elle mourra par le crocodile’(?)’, *GM* 209 (2006), 36.

⁵³ Sethe, *Abschrift* 11, 82, copied this name wrongly, as  . The error ended up in Ranke, *PN I*, 144 (18).

⁵⁴ Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 34, 164 n. 1; *idem*, *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie der thebanischen Necropolis im Neuen Reich* (Strasbourg, 1898), 7.

⁵⁵ Northampton, *Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, 22-3 (nos. 28-30), pl. 30; N. Strudwick, ‘Some aspects of the archaeology of the Theban necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods’, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds.), *Theban Necropolis*, 172, pl. 93-94. See fig. 9, 11a.

attention after some years, in 1926 Spiegelberg had them sent to F. Ll. Griffith, to be considered for publication.⁵⁶

The set is composed of thirty-eight sheets of thick, porous paper of various sizes, the majority about 70 x 50 cm, now kept at the archive of the Griffith Institute (fig. 4).⁵⁷ The banquet scene took up eighteen sheets (the rest corresponds to the funerary procession). Unfortunately one of them is today missing, the one that covered the head of Hery's son Ahmose, and the torso and name of the sister just behind him in the middle register, Djehutysenet, whose name is only known thanks to Lepsius 'forgotten' notebook. The sheets were photographed with a digital camera and a side-light, each one from both sides, and were drawn separately in the computer.⁵⁸ The drawings were then joined together to compose an overall image of the scene (fig. 5).

Spiegelberg's squeezes record the condition of the wall back in 1895/96, which looked very different than today, as it will be described below. It is noteworthy that the reliefs became the target of robbers between Champollion's and Lepsius' visits, i.e. between 1829 and 1844. The squeezes register the areas that were hacked out in preparation for the theft, which for unknown reasons was not concluded, not before January 1896. The thieves hacked around the semantic determinative of the word for 'scribe' as one of Hery's titles in the long inscription, and around a couple of funerary priests next to the offering list in the upper register of the banquet scene. They stopped when they were in the middle of the process of hacking around the head of Hery's figure.

The squeezes constitute the ideal document to study the composition of the banquet scene and the three sub-scenes or sections that integrate it. The main section, separated from the rest by a huge pile of offerings on top of a high table and two mats, is made up by

⁵⁶ The letter written by Spiegelberg (Munich, 29-5-1926) to Griffith informing him on this matter is kept at the archive of the Griffith Institute, Oxford.

⁵⁷ We are very grateful to J. Malek and the archive staff, particularly to E. Fleming, A. Hobby and N. Harrington, for all their help making the squeezes available and photographing them. The archive has another set of fourteen squeezes that Spiegelberg took from the so-called 'Northampton stela', i.e., the biographical inscription carved at the façade of Djehuty's tomb-chapel (TT 11); see Galán, in Magee, Bourriau and Quirke (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius*, fig. 4-5.

⁵⁸ A vectorial drawing program was used for this task, and it is interesting to note that in some occasions the relief could be more clearly seen on the verso, and definitively before cleaning the dust, as it helped to sharpen the lines of the relief.

Hery, his mother, his wife and four of his five children. The second section is integrated by the guests, distributed in three registers and wrapping up the standing figure of Hery's beloved son pronouncing aloud the invocation of offerings. The third section consists of the offering list written above the deceased and his mother, accompanied by funerary priests performing rituals.

The individuals participating in the banquet have been described above, when listing their names. It ought to be stressed here the originality of the main section. The figures are divided into two groups that face each other, making this section self-sufficient and independent from the rest. The same artistic device was used in the scene of the funerary procession (see above), where the cortège moving inwards meets the realm of the dead facing out: at the other side of the river in the middle register, and when reaching the burial ground in the upper register. Stretching the parallelism between the two contiguous scenes, it can be interpreted that the group facing out, represented at the inner most end of the corridor's wall, are in the realm of the dead.⁵⁹ If this is so, not only Hery and his mother were dead then, but also his daughter Tinetnebu. The attitude of the latter, standing still behind her father and grandmother, unanimated, contrasts with the active character of his brother Amenmose looking in the opposite direction and touching his father's knee.

Hery's mother, sitting beside him, plays a major role in the scene, overshadowing his wife, who is represented in a smaller scale and sitting on a low stool.⁶⁰ In turn, the wife finds herself free to play an active role in the scene and overshadows the role of the beloved son Ahmose pronouncing the invocation of offerings behind her, as she pushes him back into the second sub-scene. Hery's wife becomes in this way the first intermediary between the living and the dead, mainly her husband. Sitting at his same side of the offering table, she faces Hery and hands to him the offering that he takes in the first place, the lotus flower that will help him to be alive again. Hery is embraced by his dead mother, while he remains

⁵⁹ Whale, *Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty*, 254-5.

⁶⁰ For low stools with legs curled under, see H. G. Fischer, 'A Chair of the Early New Kingdom', in *Varia Nova* (Egyptian Studies III; New York, 1996), 147-49, pl. 33, 36. Chairs and stools with legs curled under are attested since the Eleventh Dynasty, and are represented, for instance, at the tomb-chapel of Antefoker, and of Reneni in el-Kab; see N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker, vizier of Sesostri I, and of his wife, Senet* (No. 60) (London, 1920), pl. 30; Tylor, *Renni*, pl. 7. This type of stool is present in the funerary equipments of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty; see Petrie, *Qurneh*, 7, pl. 26; Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 73, pl. 71 (1).

in connection with his wife through the long stem of the lotus flower, acquiring from her the capacity to live.⁶¹

The main section of the scene has almost a circular composition that facilitates the interaction among the characters, and transmits an atmosphere of family caring and relaxation that will reach its peak in the Amarna Period.⁶² The couple of Hery's daughters represented in an upper level, as if they were slightly further away,⁶³ contribute to close the circle. They do not seem to be a later addition, since the figures and their captions are carved in the same style and with the same care as those of the other two children.

The second section is integrated by Hery's relatives that participate in the banquet, all facing inwards, with the prominent figure of the beloved son standing up at the front of the group. Right behind him there are ten sisters distributed in two registers, all of them seated on the floor with a tray of food at their side. Above him, the upper register is higher than the other two, to give room to Hery's three brothers, his preferred sister and her mother, all of them seated on high chairs and behind high tables. The contrast between this and the lower two registers makes even more striking the fact that the men are sitting behind the two women, who lead the group of brothers and sisters.

⁶¹ On the meaning and possible uses of the lotus flower in banquet scenes, see L. Manniche, 'Reflections on the banquet scene', in R. Tefnin (ed.), *La peinture égyptienne ancienne. Un monde de signes à préserver* (Brussels, 1997), 29-36; M. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE* (Monumenta Aegyptiaca 10; Turnhout, 2004), 98-103. The presentation of a lotus flower by a woman to her spouse is discussed in M. Eaton-Kraus and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1985), 31-2.

⁶² The stela of Aametju (New York, MMA 19.3.32) is particularly interesting for the study of the main section of Hery's banquet scene; see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 148 n. 36, pl. 33. Through the way the moon-sign is written it can be dated before year 22 of King Ahmose. The wife of Aametju is sitting next to him, but on a low stool with curled legs, similar to that of Hery's wife. She touches her husband's back, while her daughter touches her. Aametju is sitting on a high chair smelling a lotus flower, while his beloved son hands to him another one, which looks like the continuation of the former. Thus, the deceased, Aametju as well as Hery, receive life through physical contact and through the lotus flower that is handed to him by a caring relative. The touching gesture and the flower's long stem constitute a 'chain of life'. For a similar composition on a Second Intermediate Period stela, see also H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Le trésor de Thoutmosis I^{er}: statues, stèles et blocs réutilisés* (Karnak-Nord VIII, FIFAO 39, Cairo, 1999), 186-7 (no. 116).

⁶³ On the use of a base line in such a way, see H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 2002), 189-202.

Finally, the third section of the banquet scene includes an offering list, recording twenty standard items, plus a reference to its ‘invocation’ or ‘recitation’, *hA snD*,⁶⁴ and a water libation. Next to it, there are several funerary priests in action arranged in three short registers, represented in a smaller scale than the rest of the figures of the banquet scene and carved in sunk relief. The upper register shows a kneeling man conducting an offering granted by the king and by the god Geb, accompanied by a *sem*-priest and a lector-priest. The middle register depicts three lector-priests *irt sAx(w) aSA*, ‘performing multiple transfigurations’ for the deceased, and behind them there is another priest walking backwards and ‘bringing in (i. e., cleaning) the footsteps’, *int [rd(wy)]*. In the lower register five priests are involved in a ritual offering and libation.⁶⁵

The banquet scene in particular has suffered much from Nineteenth/early Twentieth Century robberies (fig. 6), and for that reason Spiegelberg’s squeezes become an essential document to reconstruct the composition of the scene and to study Hery’s family, and by extension the society of the early Eighteenth Dynasty in Thebes.

V. The robberies and the restoration

Spiegelberg came back to the tomb-chapel of Hery almost three years later, this time accompanied by Percy E. Newberry, to worked under the auspices of the Marquis of Northampton,⁶⁶ who applied and got the official permission to excavate through the entire area of Dra Abu el-Naga. They excavated for three months, starting at the beginning of November 1898 and concluding their first and last season there at the beginning of

⁶⁴ *Wb.* II 471 (12); H. M. Hays, ‘!A snD ‘Oh, Be Feastful’’, *GM* 204 (2005), 51-6. The offering list corresponds to type C in W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche* (MÄS 3; Berlin, 1963), 111-28. Hery’s offering list is probably the earliest one preserved of the New Kingdom.

⁶⁵ See G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986); A. Morales, ‘El ritual funerario en el Reino Antiguo: los oficiantes’, *Aula Orientalis* 20 (2002), 123-46.

⁶⁶ Sir William George Spencer Scott Compton, Fifth Marquis of Northampton (1851-1913), was in the diplomatic service and travelled in Egypt in 1898-99; M. L. Bierbrier, *Who was Who in Egyptology* (London, 1995³), 104. He was in Egypt at the beginning of 1896, and it was then when he first met Spiegelberg, as documented by a letter written by the former to the latter (Cairo, 9th, March 1896), kept at the archive of the Griffith Institute. Another letter kept at the archive (Newberry MSS.1.41.13.1-2), sent by Spiegelberg to Newberry on the 30th of December 1896, documents their acquaintance and their scientific collaboration already then.

February 1899.⁶⁷ When the report was published nine years later, it contained only passing references to the tomb-chapel of Hery, listing it as one of the seven ‘inscribed tombs of officials of the Eighteenth Dynasty’ in Dra Abu el-Naga that ‘merit full publication’.⁶⁸ Even more striking is the fact that the ‘Diary of Finds’ that Spiegelberg wrote during those days, now kept at the archive of the Griffith Institute, only mentions Hery’s monument to locate a few of the objects found.⁶⁹ The silence of the two egyptologists about the tomb-chapel of Hery is intriguing, and there is no way to deduce in which condition did they find the wall reliefs, if the thieves had made more damage or not.

Kurt Sethe visited the tomb-chapels of Djehuty and Hery in 1905, and copied several of the inscriptions to be used later on for the Berlin *Wörterbuch*.⁷⁰ Through the notes he took inside the latter it seems that the reliefs and inscriptions were in a similar condition as in Spiegelberg’s squeezes. He copied the long inscription running above the funerary procession and the banquet scene, the name of Hery’s elder son and of the ten sisters sitting behind him. The only difference is that Sethe registers the first half of the caption above Hery and his mother as being already broken, what implies that the couple of daughters, Baketamun and Nesnebu, had been robbed between 1899 and 1905. This document gives a date *post quem* for the rest of the thefts, and shows how the robberies within a tomb-chapel that look alike by using the same method, were not necessarily committed in one single action, but could have occurred in a relatively wide span of time.

⁶⁷ P. E. Newberry was in charge of the workmen’s pay, and his notebook with the accounts and personal remarks is kept also at the archive of the Griffith Institute (PEN/G/IX/N.A.). Their first day with workmen was November 6th, and they stopped excavating on February 9th, although they continued until the end of the month with a few workmen to document some of the finds and finish up the season’s report.

⁶⁸ Northampton, *Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, 13; the others are TT 11, 17, 18, 144, 146 and 161.

⁶⁹ W. Spiegelberg, *Fundjournal – Theben, 7 November 1898 – 9 Februar* (2 vols.). See J. Malek, ‘The Archivist as Researcher’, in J. Assmann, E. Dziobek, H. Guksch and F. Kampp (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen* (SAGA 12; Heildelberg, 1995), 48. Through Spiegelberg’s references it is clear that Newberry must have kept other notebooks of a more scientific character, which today remain unlocated.

⁷⁰ See above n. 39. Sethe, *Abschrift* 11, 81-83, contains some disturbing information, since he writes down signs in the long inscription that were certainly missing at that time according to Spiegelberg’s squeezes: the logogram *sS* and the first sign of the title *wbA*. Moreover, for unknown reasons he did not copy the names of the guests in the upper register.

It must have been soon after Sethe's visit that the robbers went back in and continued cutting violently some of the figures of the banquet scene. Alan H. Gardiner remarked a decade later that 'when the attention has once been called to a tomb, the native will begin cutting out fragments as soon as the excavator's back is turned (...) the most dangerous period for a tomb is that immediately following upon its first discovery'.⁷¹ He dramatically describes the action of the thieves in the Theban necropolis back then: 'they are by no means content with searching for portable objects, but will, with equal readiness, cut fragments of painting or sculpture from the tomb-walls for sale to any Europeans who are Vandals enough to purchase them. (...) The native methods of extracting such fragments are clumsy and unintelligent in the extreme, and almost invariably three times as much is destroyed as is actually carried away. (...) Sculptured limestone walls are now scooped out in slabs about two feet square'.⁷² Unfortunately, this had been the case in Hery's tomb-chapel. The thieves removed seven fragments, chiselling out a substantial area around each one of them, and leaving another one ready to be cut away. They chose small figures or busts of those partaking in the banquet that were in good condition, attractive and easy to sell.

Arthur E. P. Weigall, appointed Inspector-General of the Antiquities Department of Upper Egypt, started the protection of the private Theban tomb-chapels by the end of 1906, locking their entrance with iron doors among other safety measures. When he published a list of monuments that were accessible in November 1909, he included Hery's as no. 12.⁷³ Notably, he does not mention Hery's name, but just that his mortuary chapel was 'leading from 11' (Djehuty), what could imply that the owner's name already got damaged by the thieves' violent action.

⁷¹ A. H. Gardiner and A. E. P. Weigall, *A Topographical Catalogue of Private Tombs of Thebes* (London, 1913), 10-1.

⁷² Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, 8-9. See samples of robbed slabs from Theban tombs in A. Mekhitarian, *La misère des tombs thébaines* (MonAeg 6; Brussels, 1994).

⁷³ A. E. P. Weigall, *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt* (London, 1909), 182. Although he points out that the list includes the accessible mortuary chapels, he remarks that nos. 11 to 15, in Dra Abu el-Naga, have not yet been opened. The tomb-chapels, as explained later on by Gardiner, were opened and cleared so that they could be systematically inspected and controlled.

Gardiner had joined Weigall's enterprise in the late summer of 1909, and when he finished his catalogue of the Theban tombs in September 1913, his reference to Hery's main title is said to derive from notes belonging to a colleague (thus written between brackets).⁷⁴ His file indicates that the tomb-chapel was locked with an iron door already then, and also that of Djehuty, through which one gained access into Hery's.⁷⁵ The entrance to the tomb-chapel of Hery was actually not closed with an iron door, but it was blocked with a cemented stone-wall, leaving a small window with iron bars at the top, since access to it was possible through TT 11, which did get an iron door, and it was considered safer to have just one door for the two of them. Gardiner pointed out later that 'during the past few years the damage done in protected tombs has been very slight'. It can thus be assumed that once the entrance to Hery's tomb-chapel was closed, sometime between the end of 1906 and the end of 1909, there were no more thefts, and therefore, the fragments that were stolen from the south/west wall of the corridor must have been cut out before then.

Norman de G. Davies visited TT 12 in 1926 and copied what remained of the inscriptions. The information that his notebook⁷⁶ conveys clearly shows that the tomb had been heavily robbed, and that the condition of the south/west wall must have been then very similar to how the Spanish-Egyptian mission found it in January 2002. Davies' notebook has been a relevant document in the investigation of the recent history of the monument because he later on filled in the lacunae of the inscriptions he copied by using Lepsius' *Tagebuch*, revealing its existence and setting us on the track to look for his 'forgotten' notebook with all the names of Hery's relatives.

Time after the robberies, following a calm period granted by the locked entrance, the reliefs suffered one further 'unexpected' damage: the faces of some of the surviving figures, those whose busts were in good condition and were more likely to be stolen, got their noses intentionally hacked out. We are not sure exactly when did it happen, but when Siegfried Schott entered into Hery's tomb-chapel at the beginning of 1937 and took some

⁷⁴ Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical*, 12, 16-7.

⁷⁵ Photographs taken before and soon after the protection of TT 11 was built, can be seen in Galán, in Magee, Bourriau and Quirke (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius*, figs. 8-10.

⁷⁶ N. de G. Davies, MSS. Notebook 11.3 (1926), 1-4.

photos of the reliefs, the noses were already broken.⁷⁷ Searching for an explanation, there is an ‘anecdote’ that Ahmed Fakhry recorded that might be, to a certain extent, applicable also here: ‘There are other tombs which were damaged in a very original way. When tomb no. 51 was attacked by cutting five pieces from it in 1941, one of the two guards of the zone was *honest* and he feared lest in his absence the thieves should return and cut more pieces. (...) therefore in order to keep them away he disfigured all the faces in tomb 51’, and in seven other tombs.⁷⁸ These monuments were all in the same area of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna south, but a similar procedure could have been conducted earlier at Dra Abu el-Naga.⁷⁹

The current condition of the banquet scene produces contradictory feelings, as one can still appreciate the delicate work of the craftsmen and the beauty of the figures, but on the other hand the brutal damage assaults one’s eye and heart. Spiegelberg squeezes not only give us the chance to appreciate and study the scene almost in its original form, but they can now be used to search for the robbed limestone slabs in museums and private collections. Indeed, we know how the missing pieces look like (fig. 7), and they can thus be identified with certainty.⁸⁰ It can be the case that the current owner of one of Hery’s stolen slabs does not know from where exactly does it come and the circumstances surrounding it, but now, the detailed drawing taken from the squeezes, leaves no doubt about its provenance.

The search got quickly its reward, as one of the missing fragments was found in New York, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inside a glass case of a secondary, study gallery

⁷⁷ See fig. 11a. Schott, negative 8679. He was in Luxor working for the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute of University of Chicago between 1931-37; Bierbrier, *Who is Who*, 380. The photographer Harry Burton also took some shots in the winter of 1939/40; New York, MMA photos T 3720, T 3721. We deeply thank the Griffith Institute and the Metropolitan Museum of Art for making the photographs available to us.

⁷⁸ A. Fakhry, ‘A Report on the Inspectorate of Upper Egypt’, *ASAE* 46 (1946), 33. The other injured tombs were TT 31, 45, 53, 54, 128, 139 and 342.

⁷⁹ The same damage can be observed in the figures carved at the façade of TT 11. The noses of the figures were hacked after the robberies took place, since the stolen slabs from TT 12 did not suffer this damage, as shown in Fig. 8.

⁸⁰ The drawings reproduce the maximum area of the slab, and thus offer only an approximation of what could be the current shape of the fragments. Hery’s head started being hacked around, and it is only possible that it was finally cut out of the wall before the robbers removed his mother’s bust.

(fig. 8).⁸¹ The provenance was labelled as ‘Thebes(?)’. The object, 17 x 18 cm, was donated in 1950 by Mrs. Morton Nichols (formerly Mss. Allene Hostetter), as part of a set of ‘twenty objects, including fragments of sculpture and limestone relief’, mentioned among the gifts received by the Egyptian Department.⁸² She had married the banker Mr. Morton Colton Nichols on December 28th 1904,⁸³ and it must have been soon after when the piece was acquired in Luxor, since Sethe had been able to copy her name in 1905 and the tomb-chapel was locked in 1909 or earlier.

With the help of Spiegelberg’s squeezes, this fortuitous find inspires the search for other fragments.⁸⁴ Together with the blocks that were found lying on the floor of the corridor and those that have been brought to light in the excavation of the open courtyard and of the neighbouring tomb –399–,⁸⁵ it will be possible to restore and complete to a large extent the relief scenes that decorate the tomb-chapel of Hery (TT 12), a unique monument of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. The aim of the present article was not only to publish Hery’s banquet scene, but also to underline the relevance of archives and archival research when working and studying an ancient monument.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Accession no. 50.19.4. On display in Gallery 13A, S4: wall. We are very grateful to Dorothea Arnold for her assistance and permission to publish the photo, ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁸² See *BMMA* 10 (1951), 20.

⁸³ He was already retired in November 1908, and could have gotten certain interest in ancient Egyptian art through Albert Morton Lythgoe, one of his classmates at Harvard. His father, Mr. William Snowden Nichols, who died in July 1905, was a member of the New York Stock Exchange and charter of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁸⁴ A second fragment from the south/west wall of the corridor of Hery’s monument has been found in the Petrie Museum, UC14549. The piece, 10.5 x 11.0 cm, was said to have unknown provenance, and was on display inside a glass case together with Old Kingdom reliefs; H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection* (Warminster, 1979), II, 11, no. 43 (dated as ‘Old/Middle Kingdom’, without drawing/photo). The fragment belongs to the funerary procession, and shows the bust of one of the two men dragging the canopic chest, as part of the register below the dragging of the *tekenu* near the entrance of the tomb-chapel. We are most grateful to S. Quirke for his assistance.

⁸⁵ In the first eight campaigns, 2002-09, two hundred and twenty fragments of relief coming from the corridor of Hery’s funerary monument have been found. Among them, only five have been identified as originally pertaining to the banquet scene.

⁸⁶ For an enlightening research in the opposite direction, that is, starting from a museum set of objects (wall fragments) and looking for the Dra Abu el-Naga tomb from where they come from, see R. Parkinson, *The Painted Tomb-Chapel of Nebamun* (London, 2008).

CAPTIONS FOR FIGURES AND PHOTOGRAPHS

01. Plan of the interconnected tomb-chapels investigated by the Spanish-Egyptian mission at Dra Abu el-Naga (2009).
02. Ippolito Rosellini's notes taken inside TT 12 in 1829, Ms.284 G, c. 61, © 'Pisa, Biblioteca Universitaria, su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e la Attività Culturali'.
03. Richard Lepsius 'forgotten' *Tagebuch*, with transcriptions of the names of Hery's family partaking in the banquet. *Notebook* VII, 412-22 (no. 78), courtesy of the Berlin Museum and Academy of Sciences.
04. Verso of one of Spiegelberg's squeezes taken from the banquet scene of TT 12, courtesy of the archive of the Griffith Institute.
05. Drawing of the banquet scene of TT 12 composed from Spiegelberg's squeezes taken in 1895/96.
06. Drawing of the current condition of the banquet scene of TT 12, after the robberies and collateral damages.
07. Limestone slabs stolen from TT 12 and now to be searched for in museums and/or private collections.
08. Fragment from TT 12 found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (no. 50.19.4), after a donation in 1950. Photo ©The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
09. Banquet scene at the inner half of the south/west wall of the corridor of Hery's tomb-chapel (TT 12).
- 10 a-b. Details of Hery's banquet scene: (a) his younger son Amenmose; (b) his daughter Tinetnebu.
- 11 a-b. Details of Hery's banquet scene: (a) the two brothers Ahmose, one also called Aamu; (b) his sister Tabinet.