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ELKAB AND BEYOND

Studies in Honour of Luc Limme

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Contributors</i>	XI
<i>Anne CAHEN-DELHAYE. Avant-propos</i>	XV
<i>Bibliography of Luc Limme 1967 – 2008</i>	XVII
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	XXV

ELKAB

Stan HENDRICKX & Merel EYCKERMAN, with the collaboration of Camiel VAN WINKEL. <i>The 1955 excavation of an early Old Kingdom storage site at Elkab</i>	1
Ilona REGULSKI. <i>Early Dynastic seal impressions from the settle- ment site at Elkab</i>	31
Lies OP DE BEECK, with the collaboration of Frans DEPUYDT, Lieven MOELANTS & Françoise ROLOUX. <i>Early Old Kingdom pottery from excavations to the north of the great enclosure wall at Elkab</i>	49
Eugène WARMENBOL & Stan HENDRICKX, avec la collaboration de Frans DEPUYDT, Lieven MOELANTS, Claire NEWTON, Françoise ROLOUX & Marit VANDENBRUANE. <i>Une tombe intacte du début de la 18^e dynastie. Elkab, BE 18</i>	75
Claire NEWTON. <i>Mobilier en bois et offrandes végétales de la tombe BE 18 à Elkab (Nouvel Empire, début de la 18^e dynastie)</i> . .	127
W. Vivian DAVIES. <i>The tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana at Elkab. Documenting the family and other observations</i>	139
Marie-Paule VANLATHEN. <i>Historique des deux temples d’Elkab</i> .	177
Roger O. DE KEERSMAECKER. <i>Two travellers’ graffiti in the temple of Amenhotep III at Elkab</i>	187
Maarten J. RAVEN. <i>Insinger in Elkab</i>	195

STUDIES

Willy CLARYSSE. <i>The real name of Dionysios Petosarapis</i> . . .	213
Herman DE MEULENAERE. <i>Personnages debout tenant un naos dans la statuaire de la Basse Époque</i>	223
Jean-Claude DÉGARDIN. <i>Pérennité d'accès au toit du temple de Khonsou: pourquoi?</i>	233
Luc DELVAUX. <i>Hatchepsout, Senenmout et l'atelier de Neferkhaout</i>	245
Mark DEPAUW. <i>A sale of a house in Thebes on a complete papyrus roll (P. BM EA 10678 & Brux. E 8053 & Brux. E 8051 B-A & Brux. E 8054)</i>	261
Claire DERRIKS. <i>Le soleil, le roi et le rite de passage. Une mutation de forme du disque solaire</i>	283
Didier DEVAUCHELLE. <i>Le texte perdu de la stèle du Louvre C 231</i>	303
Erhart GRAEFE. <i>k3 m3't r'w 'Ursprung der Maat ist Re'</i>	313
Brigitte GRATIEN. <i>Quelques nouveaux portraits de Kerma</i> . . .	321
Eric GUBEL. <i>Héracléopolis et l'interaction culturelle entre l'Égypte et la côte phénicienne pendant la Troisième Période Intermédiaire</i>	333
Elfriede HASLAUER. <i>Einige Dokumente zur Bes-en-Mut-Familie</i> .	351
Christina KARLSHAUSEN. <i>Le papyrus Rochester et la barque d'Amon sous le règne de Ramsès XI</i>	367
Pierre P. KOEMOTH. <i>Les quatre fils d'Horus sur le pavois ou sur le lotus: de l'image au rituel</i>	381
Jean-Marie KRUCHTEN. <i>Le sdm.f passif à sujet pronominal</i> . . .	395
Dimitri LABOURY. <i>La tête MRAH E 2435. Fragment d'une statue de Thoutmosis III prosterné en attitude d'offrande ou d'adoration</i>	413
Guy LODOMEZ. <i>Un buste anonyme saïte retrouve son propriétaire</i>	427
Michel MALAISE. <i>Le basileion, une couronne d'Isis. Origine et signification</i>	439
Olivier PERDU. <i>Une sistrophore d'un nouveau genre au nom du fameux Montouemhat</i>	457

René PREYS. <i>Le vautour, le cobra et l'œil. Jeu de mots et jeu de signes autour d'une déesse.</i>	477
Bettina SCHMITZ. <i>Vier interessante Zeitgenossen der Pharaonen im Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim</i>	485
Claude VANDERSLEYEN. <i>La navigation de Ré pour débarrasser l'Égypte de ses ennemis (Edfou vi: 109-132, texte du temps de Ptolémée XII Aulète)</i>	501
Harco WILLEMS. <i>Carpe Diem. Remarks on the cultural background of Herodotus II.78</i>	511
Jean WINAND. <i>La particule m-r- en néo-égyptien</i>	521
Christiane ZIEGLER. <i>Sur la provenance des peintures Louvre E13 099 A-B</i>	539
Christiane ZIVIE-COCHE. <i>Hatmehyt, le tilapia, le lotus et le Ba de Mendès</i>	545

THE TOMB OF AHMOSE SON-OF-IBANA AT ELKAB DOCUMENTING THE FAMILY AND OTHER OBSERVATIONS

W. Vivian DAVIES

In his recent excellent review of Belgian archaeological research at Elkab, Luc Limme noted the British Museum's current epigraphic programme in the site's main rock-necropolis (LIMME 2008: 25), a project inspired by the early work of J.J. Tylor and Somers Clarke and carried out with the kind permission of the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt and the generous encouragement of the Belgian archaeological mission (DAVIES 2001: 113 and 121, n. 2). Among the aims of the project has been full documentation of the tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana (PM v: 182, n° 5), celebrated for its long autobiographical text (*LD* iii: 12b-d; *Urk.* iv: 1-11; cf. VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 19-21; KAMMERZELL 1988: 522-524), but still incompletely published. As a token of gratitude for Luc's friendship and co-operation over the years, both as a museum colleague and in the field, I offer a report of our work on this important monument, providing a brief account with selective illustration of the decoration on its walls¹. My main focus here is the tomb's genealogical content². At the end, I also publish a small sample of corrected readings in the biographical text.

INTRODUCTION

The tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana (Elkab n° 5) is one of the well-known series of New Kingdom rock-cut tombs hewn out of the southern face of the main, sandstone hill at Elkab (LIMME 2008: 20, fig. 14). The tomb is of simple plan, typical for the place and period (see new plan, Fig. 1, and the old Clarke plan, with adjacent tombs, Fig. 2, D)³. Entered from a

¹ The field-team has comprised Vivian Davies (epigrapher), Peter Hayman (photographer), Günter Heindl (architect), Yarko Kobylecki (photographer) and James Rossiter (photographer). The inking in of the drawings is the work of Will Schenk. I am very grateful to Claire Thorne for preparing the illustrations for publication and to Dr Renée Friedman and Marcel Marée for additional help and useful suggestions.

² Recent studies include WHALE 1989: 13-15, case 4, and 294-295, and HARTMANN 1993: 307-308.

³ The new ground-plan is by Günter Heindl. The Clarke plan, a detail of a larger unpublished plan of the rock-tombs, is reproduced here with the permission of the Griffith

small exterior courtyard through a central doorway in the façade, the tomb-chapel comprises a single chamber roughly rectangular in shape with a vaulted ceiling⁴; at the north end of the east wall, a second, internal, doorway (raised above the floor) gives access to a vertical burial shaft and chamber below, also rectangular⁵. The tomb-chapel was intended to be decorated externally and internally in relief and paint, but the decoration was not fully finished and in certain areas was never started. The remains of preparatory squared grid-lines in red paint are present on the north and west walls, where the relief work is in different stages of completion. There is much damage around the entrance, both externally and internally, and to the north and west walls (made good with modern plaster), and the surface of the ceiling is lost, but the decoration in the chamber is otherwise reasonably well preserved. The floor is newly paved with stone slabs, as are the exterior courtyard and terrace.

At the end of his autobiography, Ahmose Son-of-Ibana states that he made the tomb himself (*Urk.* iv: 10, 9), implying that he lived to see it completed (albeit it was never fully finished), in which case he survived to a considerable old age⁶. We know from the accompanying scene that work on the tomb was directed by his grandson, Pahery (see below, east

Institute, Oxford (I am grateful to Dr Jaromir Malek and his staff for their assistance in making the material available). For the geographical situation of Elkab with more recent general maps of the site and the necropolis respectively, see VANDEKERCKHOVE & MÜLLER-WOLLERMANN 2001: 1, 12, and 2, pls. 1-2. So as to avoid confusion, in the description below I follow the tomb's magnetic north-south orientation as indicated in the plan (Fig. 1), as opposed to river (and ritual) east-west. The issue of orientation is particularly interesting here, as the Elkab tombs are located on the east bank (cf. POPKO 2006: 202, n. 173). The tomb's river-east location is acknowledged in an inscription on the doorway leading to the burial chamber (see below, east wall, n° 4, left), invoking a "perfect burial in the eastern desert", while an incipient scene on the opposite wall (see below, west wall, n° 12) portrays the traditional goddess of the west. For the Nile as "the central organizing element of geographical cognition and the axis of orientation in the world as sacred space", see TÖRÖK 2002: 15.

⁴ Max. length: 5.55m; max. width: 3.25m; max. current height: approx. 3m. It is now impossible to determine the original height accurately, as the floor is covered with modern paving slabs.

⁵ The chamber measures 3 x 1.8m. The shaft has a maximum depth of 2.2m.

⁶ It is likely that Ahmose Son-of-Ibana was born some years before the ascent to the throne of King Ahmose, as he was a youth during the early years of the latter's reign; see REDFORD 1967: 46-47, with n. 97; VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 26-27. The most recent reasonable estimate (with considerable scope for adjustment) of the combined reign-lengths of Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, and Thutmose II produces a maximum total of 60 years or so; see HORNING 2006: 198-201, and HORNING *et al.* 2006: 492-493; cf. MÜLLER 2006: 212ff. On this basis, Ahmose Son-of-Ibana would have been between 60 and 70 years of age at the beginning of the reign of Thutmose III.

wall, n° 6), whose own tomb, n° 3, is located near-by (see Fig. 2, B), probably assisted in some part by his half-brother, Heriry (see below, west wall, n° 10). Both tombs may be dated on stylistic and other grounds to the reign of Thutmose III (VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 18, with n. 3, and 226-227; MANNICHE 1988: 85-87; WHALE 1989: 283, n. 62; ROEHRIG 1990: 83-85; BRYAN 2006: 100 and 120, n. 166; POPKO 2006: 205). A more precise dating remains to be established.

DECORATION

The numbers below identify the location of the decoration as indicated in the plan (Fig. 1). On none of the walls, except perhaps for the façade (Fig. 3), was the decoration completed. It was most advanced, internally, on the east wall (Fig. 4), the tomb's focal wall⁷, containing the entrance to the burial-shaft and bearing a large figure of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, the main actor, shown, as if having exited from the shaft, addressing the visitor at length, with Pahery, as always, in close attendance. Of the remaining figural decoration, the nearest to completion are two sets of offering-scenes featuring two branches of the family respectively: that of Pahery on the north wall (Fig. 8) and that of his half-brother Heriry on the adjacent part of the west wall (Fig. 11). The remaining area of the west wall, underneath the frieze, bears the beginnings of a funerary scene and is otherwise largely blank. In terms of the partial completion of the decorative programme and its bearing on the functionality of the tomb, it is instructive to note where the priorities lay: that the presentation of self and of social identity — of the family-members and their relationships — took precedence over purely mortuary content.

Façade (Fig. 3)

The decoration on the façade is essentially a less elaborate version of that of the tomb of Pahery (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: pl. i; TYLOR 1895: pl. i), displaying the same basic constituents. Sunk relief.

1. Right jamb. At top, figure of Pahery (height: 61.2cm) shown wearing a short, round wig, collar, and double skirt (long over short), standing facing inwards towards a central scene once located on the lintel above the doorway (probably featuring the tomb-owner), now lost, accompanied

⁷ On the function of the “focal point representation” or *Blickpunktsbild* in (Theban) tomb-chapels, see HARTWIG 2004: 17, 35, 51, 121-122.

by dedication text, three last columns surviving: “(x + 1) [...scribe] (x + 2) of forms of [A]mun, [confidant of] (x + 3) the treasurer, (x + 4), Pahery”. Below are the remains of an inscription in three columns of large hieroglyphs, the first two columns, now almost entirely gone, comprising an offering-formula for the benefit of the “[commander of a ship’s conting]nt, Ahmose, justified” and the third stating: “It is the son of his daughter, who causes to live his name, scribe, grain-accountant of the southern [distri]ct, Pahery, justified”.

2. Left Jamb. Much damaged but clearly same basic arrangement and content as on right. Remains of standing figure shown wearing round wig, collar and short skirt, facing inwards, almost certainly, again, Pahery, with traces of the title, “[scribe of forms of A]mun”, before him, and below, remnants of beginning of same dedication text, “It is the son of his daughter [...]”.

The façade inscriptions, previously undocumented, confirm that the Pahery responsible for the work on Ahmose Son-of-Ibana’s tomb is the same as the Pahery, governor of Elkab, owner of tomb n° 3 (cf. VANDERSEYEN 1971: 18, n. 3). The unusual epithet restored as “[confidant of] the treasurer” ([*mḥ-ib n*] *imy-r ḥtmt*)⁸ recurs among Pahery’s titles in tomb n° 3, on the great stela in the inner niche, lines 44-45, in the sequence: “governor of Elkab, governor of Esna, confidant of the treasurer in the southward journey, scribe excellent of accounting, Pahery, justified” (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: 31, pl. ix; TYLOR 1895: pl. xvi; *Urk.* iv: 122, 2-5; SETHE 1914: 60, with n. 6; HELCK 1958: 80-81; LICHTHEIM 1976: 20; ROEHRIG 1990: 80-81). The titulary on the façade probably began with the title “governor of Elkab” (*ḥ3ty-‘ n Nḥb*), now lost but for which there is ample room. The sequence “scribe, grain-accountant” (*sš ḥsb it*)⁹ is applied to Pahery once more in Ahmose’s tomb (on the north wall, lower register, see below, n° 9 (ii)), and several times within tomb n° 3, where he is shown to have oversight of the “fields of the southern district” (*3ḥwt nw ‘ rsy*) (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: 6, pl. iii; TYLOR 1895: pl. iii; see LOFFET 2000: ii, 430-432), evidently a primary responsibility of his office (BRYAN 2006: 100).

⁸ For a recent discussion of the office of “treasurer”, lit. “overseer of what is sealed” (VERNUS 1994: 253-254), and the office-holders during the reign of Thutmose III, see BRYAN 2006: 77-81. The treasurer in question here might well have been Sennefri (so ROEHRIG 1990: 81, n. 238), who is known to have had charge of granaries and grain taxes (*Urk.* iv: 530, 11-16; BRYAN 2006: 77-78, 79-80, 83-84). Probably appointed during the period of the co-regency, Sennefri was still in office in Year 32 of Thutmose III (MEGALLY 1977: 279-281; DZIOBEK 1995: 132; DZIOBEK 1998: 132, 134; EICHLER 1998: 217-218; EICHLER 2000: 317(504); STRUDWICK 2000: 243; BRYAN 2006: 79-80).

⁹ On the function of the office, see EICHLER 2000: 38, with n. 159.

It would appear that only the first name, Ahmose, was written here (at the bottom of the middle column), as it is followed by a determinative and the epithet *m3' hrw*, “justified” (so also twice on the façade of the inner doorway, east wall, nos. 4-5, below; see VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 22, n. 2). As elsewhere in the tomb (see below) and in tomb n° 3 (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: pl. vii; TYLOR 1895: pl. xi), Ahmose’s name was preceded by the title *hry-hnt*, “commander of a ship’s contingent”¹⁰, of which only remnants of the plural strokes survive in this case.

Interior

East wall (Fig. 4)

3. Beginning of offering-formula (Fig. 5A), unfinished, framed by red guide-lines which extend along the length of the wall above the rest of the decoration: “A gift which the king gives and Nekhbet, white one of Nekhen, and Osiris, foremost of the westerners, that they may give a *peret-kheru* offering consisting of bread, beer, beef, fowl, cloth, alabaster, incense and oil, an abundance upon earth of all things, a going forth as a living soul, the allotting...” (cf. KAMMERZELL 1988: 528, IV; POPKO 2006: 201)¹¹. Noteworthy is the unusual geometric sign (omitted in LD iii, 12d) which intervenes between the *n* and plural strokes of *dī.sn*. It appears to be a space-filler. Sunk relief.

4-5. Two offering-formulae (PM v: 182, n° 5, 7-8; cf. KAMMERZELL 1988: 529, VI), framed by red guide-lines, symmetrically arranged, one horizontal line above and two columns to the sides of the entrance to burial shaft, parts missing (Fig. 6). Left: “(1) A gift which the king gives and Anubis, who is upon his divine booth, (2) that he may give a *peret-kheru* offering consisting of bread, beer, beef, fowl, all good and pure things, and a perfect burial in the eastern desert¹², in peace, in peace, before the great god (3) for the *ka* of the commander of a ship’s contingent, Ahmose, justified. It is the son of his daughter who causes his name to live in this place, Pa-her[y], [justified]”. Right: “(1) A gift which the king gives and Anubis, lord of the mouth of the cavern¹³, (2) that he may

¹⁰ On the title, see SCHULMAN 1964: 56-57 (136), and 154, n° 427; JONES 1988: 91, n° 181; CHEVEREAU 1994: 133, 17.01; GNIRS 1996: 17-18, n. 133.

¹¹ For *sīpt*, “alloting” or similar, in such a context, cf. *Urk.* iv: 1014, 17-1015, 1, cited in BARTA 1968: 118, Bitte 97.

¹² See n. 3 above.

¹³ There is room for a stroke-determinative in the damaged area under the *r(3)*, “mouth”; for the epithet, see *Wb.* 5: 62, 7; BARTA 1968: 38,c, and 56, c; BEINLICH 1984: 149.

give a *peret-kheru* offering consisting of bread, beer, beef, fowl, all good and pure things, a going forth upon earth to see the appearance of this goddess¹⁴ in her festival (3) for the *ka* of the commander of a ship's contingent, Ahmose, justified. It is the son of his daughter who causes to live his name in this place, scribe Pahery, justified"¹⁵. Sunk relief.

For the particular form of the *i'h*-sign (an important dating criterion) in the two cases of the name *'I'h-ms* here, and once on the north wall, upper register (see below), see VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 226-227 (type 5).

East and south walls (Figs. 4 and 7)

6-8. Scene (PM v: 182, n° 5, 4-6 and 1; VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 17-18, pls. 2-3; DAVIES & FRIEDMAN 1998: 120-121) showing large figure of the tomb-owner (by far the largest and most finished figure in the tomb)¹⁶ in his official finery, wearing bracelets and armlets, possibly the "gold of honour"¹⁷, and holding a stave and scepter, with smaller figure of grandson holding a scribal palette, both standing facing long retrograde inscription, the famous autobiographical text, a narrative represented as an address to the visitor (VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 18; POPKO 2006: 202; cf. HARTWIG 2004: 42)¹⁸. The tomb-owner wears a short round wig with curls, a short beard, a collar, and a double skirt tied at the waist; the grandson a similar wig and collar, and a single short skirt¹⁹. The hieroglyphs are arranged in 31 columns on the east wall, with a further eight columns on the south wall to the east of the doorway (nine were intended but column 32 was left blank and column 33 unfinished), followed by a concluding section (again unfinished), arranged in horizontal lines, to the

¹⁴ "this (= "the aforementioned") goddess" refers to Nekhbet, the first deity mentioned in the offering-frieze above.

¹⁵ This line is *Urk.* iv: 128, 10-11.

¹⁶ Immediately to the right of the tomb-owner's face is a fine secondary drawing, of uncertain function, representing part of his profile and face, on a slightly larger scale, done in red overdrawn in black.

¹⁷ Present also on his figure on the northern wall, upper register (see below), as noted by VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 43 (cf. BINDER 2008: 36 and 287 [009]).

¹⁸ Following a local precedent, to be found in the tomb of Sobeknakht (Elkab, n° 10) (DAVIES 2003a: 52-53, fig. 2; DAVIES 2003b: 39-41, fig. 3), an inscription which Ahmose Son-of-Ibana and his family would certainly have known (the tomb contains many visitor-inscriptions of the early 18th dynasty, including one dated to year 22 of king Ahmose recording the visit to the tomb of the future governor of Elkab, Reneny; see DAVIES 2001: 120, col. pl. 45.2; POLZ 2007: 15; DAVIES, forthcoming).

¹⁹ The round form of wig is the most popular in the tomb, though the shoulder-length type is favored for seated men who are the recipients of offerings (see north and west walls); females are invariably shown wearing a simple tripartite wig and sheath dress. On hairstyles and wigs as markers of social identity, see ROBINS 1999.

west of the doorway²⁰. There is considerable surface erosion and other damage affecting the lower parts of the inscription in the south-east corner. Traces of lines surviving beneath the decoration suggest that a series of coloured bands was intended.

The principal figure, damaged in parts, is identified in the first column as “commander of a ship’s contingent, Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, justified”, the grandson in a separate smaller inscription, in three columns, located directly above his figure (Fig. 7), which reads “(1) It is the son of his daughter who directed the work (2) in this tomb, being the one who causes to live the name of the father of his mother, (3) scribe of forms of Amun, Pahery, justified” (*Urk.* iv: 128, 14-16; VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 18; FRANKE 1983: 36, bottom; POPKO 2006: 51-52, 205-206). Ahmose Son-of-Ibana’s father and paternal grandmother are named in columns 4-5 of the long inscription in the sequence “Baba (*B3b3/Bb*)²¹ son of Ra-inet (*R(3)-int*)”²². The figures are in painted raised relief, the inscriptions in sunk relief; those attached to Pahery are painted blue²³.

As is well known, the autobiography gives an account of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana’s early life (he followed his father, a soldier of King Sekenenre, into the army) and his subsequent military career in the service of the first three kings of the 18th dynasty (Ahmose, Amenhotep I and Thutmose I)²⁴. It is invariably studied for its content alone as pure text divorced from its physical situation, but it also has meaning as a part of the larger monumental context. Associated with the main figure of the tomb-owner and covering a significant proportion of the tomb’s available wall space, its prominence and extent signal its exceptional importance – as an

²⁰ This section is not a simple continuation of the biographical text (as *Urk.* iv: 10-11) but, as its administrative form and orientation indicate, is to be understood as a separate if closely related document (cf. POPKO 2006: 63, 200).

²¹ *PN* i: 95, n° 7; VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 24-25; BEYLAGÉ 2002: 90, n. 67.

²² *PN* i: 216, n° 16; GARDINER 1947: ii, 8-9*, 321A; VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 24-25; cf. VANDEKERCKHOVE & MÜLLER-WOLLERMANN 2001: 12, with n. 22. On the preference for maternal filiation, see FEUCHT 1995: 464-465.

²³ The figures were finished in paint on a white ground. Of the tomb-owner, the body, face and stave are dark red, the wig originally black, the dress white (or yellow); the collar multi-coloured (alternating bands of white, blue, light red and yellow), the armlets light red (or orange), the bracelets red and blue, the scepter mostly green but with a thin red line separating the head from the handle. There are tiny traces of blue around the tomb-owner’s eye, which is picked out in white. Of Pahery, the body and face are red, the kilt white, and the collar red white and blue.

²⁴ Recent translations/treatments of the text include LICHTHEIM 1976: 11-15; KAMMERZELL 1988: 524-527; SCHULZ 1995; VANDERSLEYEN 1995: 213-4; REDFORD 1997: 15, n° 70 (cols.1-16); BEYLAGÉ 2002: 82-98; POPKO 2006: 187-206; BARBOTIN 2008: 197-202 (n° 14); BINDER 2008: 145-148 (Text n° 1).

expression of identity and achievement fundamental to the well-being and continuity of the family and associated community. Ahmose Son-of-Ibana's career had brought rewards and prosperity, advancing his family's social and political interests²⁵, progression documented in the scenes and inscriptions on the other walls, including those of tomb n° 3.

North wall (Figs. 8-10)

9. Two main near-completed registers (PM v: 182, n° 5, 3), each containing an offering-scene featuring Pahery and members of the family, the upper larger than the lower in accordance with the status of the subjects; figures in raised relief, inscriptions in sunk relief, sections of original red grid-lines visible²⁶. Above are traces of the initial draft in red of a third scene.

(i) Upper register (Fig. 9): on the right is a scene of the tomb-owner (accoutred with armlets and bracelets, as on the east-wall figure)²⁷ and wife, facing left, seated (with monkey under the chair)²⁸, his hand extended towards a pile of offerings; described in seven columns of hieroglyphs above as: "(1) Partaking of all the good things by (2) the commander of a ship's contingent (3) Ahmose, Son-of-Iba-(4) na, justified, (5) and his wife, mistress of the house, (6) Ipu, (7) justified". They are faced by a standing figure of grandson Pahery, accompanied by nine columns of hieroglyphs: "(1) A gift that the king gives and Re-Harakhty (2) and Nekhbet, white one of Nekhen, and Osiris, ruler of eternity, (3) that they may give a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of beef and fowl, a thousand of (4) every good and pure thing for the *ka* of Ahmose, (5) Son-of-Ibana, justified. (6) It is the son of his daughter (7) who causes to live his name, scribe (8) Pahery, (9) justified". A further column directly in front of him reads: "Making a *hetep-di-nesut* by scribe Pahery".

²⁵ On the rise of the military class during the early New Kingdom, see GNIRS 1996: 3, with nn. 10-11, and 150, nn. 927-8; cf. also FEUCHT 1995: 75; BINDER 2008: 223, 238-239.

²⁶ From what remains of the grids, it can be estimated that the main seated figures occupy fourteen squares between the soles of the feet and the hair-line, as is normal at this period (see ROBINS 2001: 60-61); so also on the west wall (see below).

²⁷ See n. 17 above.

²⁸ Cf. the close parallel in the tomb of Pahery (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: pl. vi; TYLOR 1895: frontispiece and pl. ix). Monkeys were popular at El Kab. The motif of the monkey under the seat is known already from the tomb of Senwosret of the early 12th dynasty (PM v: 184, Senusert, Hall [2]; unpublished, personal observation) and they populate the tomb of Sobeknakht (n° 10); on some of the latter cases see DERCHAIN 1975: 67-69, arguing for an erotic connotation.

Behind Pahery are two sub-registers. The upper, unfinished and damaged towards the end, depicts four seated figures, the father and close male relatives of the tomb-owner, including at least one son, all holding lotus-buds. The first two (both seated on stools) are identified respectively as “his father Baba, justified”, and the second as “his son Ah” (*Iḥ*), the name possibly to be completed as “Ahmose” (*Iḥ-ms*), followed by the epithet *m3' hrw*, “justified”. Of the third figure, the label text was barely begun; there is part of a sign, possibly intended to be an *f*, “his”. The fourth figure was left without inscription²⁹. The lower sub-register is almost entirely lost, but again probably depicted four figures in all, including in this case the mother and daughters of the tomb-owner, shown as squatting. Only the leading figure, holding a lotus-bud, survives, labelled “his mother, Ibana”³⁰, her figure notably larger than that of her husband above. Behind her was depicted a figure of “his daughter” (only the inscription remains), almost certainly Kem, followed no doubt by the daughter Satamun, and one other female relative or nurse.

(ii) Lower register (Fig. 10): scene on right, similar to above, showing, in this case, Pahery offering to his father and mother, identified in the last four columns of a now fragmentary inscription (estimated six columns when complete) as “(3)...sc[ribe (4) [Iti]rer[i], justified, and (5) his wife, mistress of the house, (6) Kem”. The top of Pahery’s figure is lost together with much of the accompanying inscriptions, consisting of at least four columns, the first three reading: “(1) A gift that the king gives and Osiris (2) that he may give a *peret-kheru* offering consisting of bread, beer, beef, fowl, and all things [good and pure for] your *kas*”. Of the final column only the name and epithet, “Pahery, justified”, survive. The columns of inscription preceding Itireri’s name would have included the title “tutor of the king’s son of his body” (only remnants of which remain), as on the west wall, upper register (see below), the “king’s son” in question being Wadjmose (the son of King Thutmose I), as we know from the tomb of Pahery (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: pls. vii and x, east side; TYLOR 1895: pls. xi and xv; ROEHRIG 1990: 26-27; and see below).

²⁹ These last two are possibly to be identified with “May” and “Meshau”, figured among the family members in Pahery’s tomb (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: pl. vii, right, upper register; TYLOR 1895: pl. xii), where they are each identified as “brother of his mother” (i.e. brother of Pahery’s mother, Kem), and may thus be accounted as sons of Ahmose and Ipu (cf. WHALE 1989: 14-15, 295).

³⁰ PN i: 21, n° 11; probably a foreign name, see HELCK 1971: 101, 362, XII, I; VANDER-SLEYEN 1971: 24, with n. 5; SCHNEIDER 1992: 17-18, N 8, and 299, N 8; HOCH 1994: 17-18, n° 2.

Behind Pahery, as in scene above, two sub-registers show family members, in this case the sons and daughters of Itireri and Kem. Originally, there were probably six figures in each register, the last three now completely gone, and the leading figure in each case badly damaged with name and title lost. In the upper register, the second and third son are identified, in short columns of inscription, respectively as “(1) his son, Djehuty(2)e[m]hat, justified” and “(1-2) his son, who causes their names to live, scribe, grain-accountant, Pa(3)hery, justified”, this the same Pahery as the larger figure offering to his father and mother in the adjacent scene. In the lower register, the second female is identified as “(1) his daughter, [Nub](2)emheb” (see below), and the third as “(1) his daughter, (2) Satamun”. All are shown holding a lotus-bud, except for Pahery, who holds a scribal palette, as he does in the main scene on the east wall (Fig. 7). The daughters wear the commonplace tripartite wig, but with floral decoration at the forehead.

The scene is closely paralleled by one located on the east side of the niche in Pahery’s tomb (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: 32, pl. x; TYLOR 1895: pl. xv), which is better preserved and helps to fill our gaps. Here the main register shows Pahery offering to the king’s sons, Wadjmose and Amenmose, and to his father and mother, Itireri and Kem (the former identified as the “tutor of the king’s son, Wadjmose”), while beneath are depicted Kem’s children by Itireri: five sons, including Pahery, and three daughters. The four other sons are named “Ahmose”, ‘Pamiu’, “Senmose”, and “Djehutyemhat”; the daughters are named “Tjupu”, “Nubemheb”, and “Satamun”. The final figure is “his brother, Amenhotep”, possibly a half-brother of Pahery. These are also depicted in the two middle registers of the banquet scene in the centre of the east wall of Pahery’s tomb (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: 25, pl. vii; TYLOR 1895: pls. xi-xii). Four of the siblings are already identifiable in our broken scene (see above) and it seems clear that the others were also once represented, together with other personnel. The leading son may again have been Ahmose, and there is room in the lacuna for the other two, Pamiu and Senmose (and the “brother” Amenhotep), the order of the sons running differently in this case. The leading daughter must surely be Tjupu, completing the known trio of daughters with Nubemheb and Satamun, followed by three other female relatives or nurses (cf. TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: pl. vii, right, third register; TYLOR 1895: pls. xi-xii).

(iii) Vaulted area above main registers covered with red grid-lines. At left end (Fig. 9, upper left) are faint traces of scene with standing figure

outlined in red and in front a framed column of hieroglyphs in red, mostly illegible, but including the group *hmt.f*, “his wife”. Intended perhaps was a scene showing the tomb-owner offering to his parents, with each of the three registers in that case representing (from top to bottom) a generational cycle.

West wall (Figs. 11-12)

10. Offering-formula, in sunk relief, damaged in parts, extending along length of wall, surmounted by painted kheker-frieze (Figs. 11 and 5B): “A gift which the king gives and Nekhbet, white one of Nekhen, the one with outstretched arm, mistress of the two lands, and Osiris, foremost of the westerners, and [A]nubis [...], that they may give a *peret-kheru* offering consisting of bread, beer, beef, fowl, clothes, alabaster, incense, oil, all things good and pure, [offerings], all vegetables, a smelling of the sweet breath of the north wind, a going forth as a living soul, the drinking of water at the pool of the river, for the *ka* of the commander of a ship’s contingent, Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, justified, and his wife, mistress of the house, Ipu, justified. It is the son of his daughter who causes their names to live, scribe Heriry, justified”.

11. At the northern end, below the frieze, are two offering-scenes (PM v: 182, n° 5, 2), an upper and lower, the former incomplete, featuring the other grandson Heriry and members of his side of the tomb-owner’s family (Figs. 11-12), the figures in flat raised relief, the inscriptions in sunk relief, original red grid-lines still visible³¹.

(i) Upper register: scene of tomb-owner’s son-in-law, Itireri, and daughter, Satamun (top half of figures missing) seated on the right before table of offerings; fragments only of label text, to be restored: “(1) Tu[tor of the king’s son of] his [body], (2) scr[ibe Itireri...]”. They are faced by a standing figure of their son Heriry, accompanied by eight columns of hieroglyphs: “(1) A gift which the king gives and Re-Harakhty and Osiris foremost of the westerners (2) and Anubis, lord of Ra-setjau, and Hathor, who is in the desert, that they may give a *peret-kheru* offering consisting of bread, beer, beef, fowl, (3) cloth, alabaster, incense, oil, and everything good and pure for the *ka* of my father, tutor of (4) the king’s son of his body, scribe Itireri, justified, and for the *ka*

³¹ The main seated figures, as already noted above, occupy fourteen squares from the soles of the feet to the hair-line; the standing figures before them occupy eighteen squares, again as is usual at this period (ROBINS 2001: 60-61).

of my mother, (5) his wife, mistress of the house, Satamun. (6) It is their son (7) who causes to live their names, (8) scribe of forms of Amun, Heriry, justified". Two sub-registers were evidently intended for the area behind the main scene (presumably to depict Heriry and his siblings), as in the lower register (see below), but were never properly begun, though faint traces in red are discernible.

Note the full writing of the name of the father as *'It.î-rrî* (cf. *PN* i: 51, n° 1, citing only the abbreviated form as written in the tomb of Pahery).

(ii) Lower register: similar scene, finished and better preserved, depicting Heriry and his wife seated on the right before large *ka*-symbol and offerings, faced by standing figure of their son, Pahery, with behind him Heriry's children, sons and daughters, arranged in two sub-registers and shown squatting. Inscriptions arranged in seven (originally eight) short columns apply to the seated couple: "(1) (Partaking of) all [thin]gs good and pure (2) by the scribe (3) of forms (4) of Amun, (5) Heriry, (6) justified and (7) his wife, mistress of the house, (8) [name lost]". The man's action in extending his arm towards the *ka*-symbol is labelled: "extending a hand towards his *ka*"³². Seven columns of hieroglyphs accompany the son: "(1) A gift which the king gives (2) and Osiris, (3) foremost of the westerners, and Nekhbet, white one of Nekhen, that they may give bread, beer, beef, fowl, cloth, alabaster, [incense, oil], (4) all things good and pure for the *ka* of my father and my mother, his [favourite]³³ son, (5) scribe of forms (6) of Amun (7) Pahery".

Behind Pahery are two sub-registers, featuring the sons and daughters of Heriry, squatting and holding lotus-buds. The upper depicts three male figures identified respectively as "(1) his son, scribe (2) Pahery" (the same Pahery as the large standing figure offering to his parents in the adjacent scene), "(1) his son, beloved of him, (2) Kenamun", and "(1) his son, beloved of him, (2) Amenmose". The lower depicts the females as "(1) his daughter, (2) Nebettawy", ["his daughter (?), name lost"], and "[(1) his daughter?] (2) Nub-r[...]".

12. The surface to the left of the offering scenes (Fig. 11) bears red grid-lines and the initial drafts of two scenes, an upper and lower. The upper scene shows the figure of a man, probably the tomb-owner, stand-

³² The scene is noted by WEIGALL 1911: 173-174, fig. 8A, and further discussed by FISCHER 1996: 154-156, fig. 5, who suggests that the *ka*-symbol in such scenes may represent "nourishment", cf. BAINES & McNAMARA 2007: 66, with 64, fig. 1, and 68, fig. 3.

³³ Reading *n [st.îb.f]*; the restoration fits the space and gives good sense.

ing facing right with arms upraised before a figure of the goddess of the west. They are outlined in red with a thin overlay of black in parts. Of the lower scene, part of the outline in red of a standing female figure is discernible. The grid-system in these two scenes is the same as that employed for the offering figures to the right³⁴. To their left the grid changes to smaller squares, probably an indication that smaller sub-registers were intended in these areas, though they were never started. The presence of the goddess of the west here suggests that scenes connected with the funerary ritual were planned for the remainder of the west wall, the southern end of which is much damaged and otherwise blank.

AHMOSE SON-OF-IBANA'S FAMILY

The members of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana's family, as identified in his tomb, are listed below. Note that the two men with the same name, Pahery – one the well-known grandson of the tomb-owner, the other the son of Heriry – are distinguished as Pahery I and Pahery II respectively.

1. *Tomb-owner*: Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, var. Ahmose (commander of a ship's contingent). Façade, n° 1, right jamb; east wall, nos 4-6; north wall, n° 9 (i); west wall, n° 10.

2. *Wife*: Ipu (mistress of the house). North wall, n° 9 (i), and west wall, n° 10.

3. *Mother*: Ibana. North wall, n° 9 (i), lower sub-register, and several times also in Ahmose's filiative second name (see above, n° 1).

4. *Father*: Baba. North wall, n° 9 (i), upper sub-register; and east wall, n° 6, biographical inscription, column 4.

5. *Grandmother* (father's mother): Ra-Inet. East wall, n° 6, biographical inscription column 5.

6. *Son(s)*: Ah{mose?} (and possibly two other sons). North wall, n° 9 (i), upper sub-register.

7. *Daughter*: Kem, wife of Itireri (mistress of the house). North wall, n° 9 (ii).

8. *Daughter*: Satamun, wife of Itireri (mistress of the house). West wall, n° 11 (i).

9. *Son-in-law*: Itireri (tutor of the king's son of his body, scribe). North wall, n° 9 (ii); west wall, n° 11 (i).

³⁴ The standing figures again occupy the usual eighteen squares up to the hair-line (see n. 31).

10. *Grandson* (son of Itireri and Kem): Pahery I (scribe of forms of Amun, [confidant of] the treasurer, scribe, grain-accountant of the southern district, scribe and scribe, grain-accountant). Façade, n°1; east wall, nos. 4 -6; north wall, n° 9 (i) and (ii).

11. *Grandsons* (full brothers of Pahery I): Djehuty[em]hat and probably three others (Ahmose, Pamiu, Senmose). North wall, n° 9 (ii), upper sub-register.

12. *Granddaughters* (full sisters of Pahery I): [Nub]emheb, Satamun and probably Tjupu. North wall, n° 9 (ii), lower sub-register.

13. *Grandson* (son of Itireri and Satamun): Heriry (scribe of forms of Amun). West wall, nos. 10 and 11 (i) and (ii).

14. *Great-grandson* (son of Heriry): Pahery II (scribe of forms of Amun, scribe). West wall, n° 11 (ii).

15. *Great-grandsons* (full brothers of Pahery II): Kenamun and Amenmose. West wall, n° 11 (ii), lower sub-register.

16. *Great-grandaughters* (full sisters of Pahery II): Nebettawy Nub-r[...], and one other. West wall, n° 11 (ii), lower sub-register.

This new documentation substantially expands the number of family-members known to be represented in the tomb and clarifies the nature of the various relationships (see the family tree, covering six generations [Fig. 13])³⁵. It confirms that Ahmose Son-of-Ibana had male progeny – at least one son if not more – who presumably predeceased him, hence the leading role in the tomb of the senior grandson, Pahery I. It also confirms that Ahmose and Ipu had two daughters, namely Kem (probably the senior daughter) and Satamun, both of whom were married to “tutor of the king’s son of his body, Itireri”, a dignitary with close ties to the Theban court (liaisons perhaps with social advantage for one party and economic for the other). The progeny of the two marriages (whether polygamous or not is unclear) form two separate but closely related branches of the family, the one represented by eight siblings, including Pahery I, the other by Heriry (Pahery I’s half brother) and his six children, including his senior son Pahery II. Heriry’s status and close relationship to Pahery I are recognized in the latter’s tomb, where “his brother, scribe Heriry”, is shown as the leading figure in the top register of the banquet-scene (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: pl. vii; TYLOR 1895: pl. xi). It is possible that

³⁵ The genealogies constructed by WHALE 1989: 294-295, and HARTMANN 1993: 307-308 (50), are based on incomplete secondary sources. For a perspective on the traditional (Eurocentric) definition of “family” and its limitations when applied to such contexts, see FITZENREITER 2005: 84ff.

his half-nephew Pahery II is also depicted in the tomb, in the form of “his beloved brother, excellent scribe ... Pahery”, shown several times assisting Pahery I in his official duties (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: pls. iii and vi; TYLOR 1895: pls. iii, iv and ix; cf. LOFFET 2000: ii, 563)³⁶.

THE THEBAN CONNECTION

In Ahmose Son-of-Ibana's tomb, Pahery I, Heriry and Pahery II have the title *sš kdw t n 'Imn*, “scribe of forms of Amun”, signaling their professional competence to decorate monuments and indicative again of the family's Theban connections (EICHLER 2000: 159, 271, n° 213, and 307, n° 441)³⁷. The elite and privileged status of these connections is well evidenced in Pahery I's tomb, where, clearly related to Itireri's original tutorship of the king's son Wadjmose, a mortuary cult of Wadjmose and his brother Amenmose is shown as being celebrated within the wider family ritual in the niche (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: pl. x, lower; TYLOR 1895: pl. xv; DODSON 1990: 92, nos. 5-6; ROEHRIG 1990: 26-27, 83-84, pl. 17; LOYRETTE 1992: 131-132; VANDERSLEYEN 1995: 251-252)³⁸. The image on the west wall showing Pahery I transformed into a “tutor of the king's son Wadjmose” holding the infant prince on his lap on the occasion of the festival of the New Year (TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: pl. iv; TYLOR 1895: pl. vi; ROEHRIG 1990: 82, 84-85, 289, pl. 16; LOYRETTE 1992: 133, 135, pl. xxvi; DODSON & HILTON 2004: 140-141; cf. *Urk.* iv: 109, 9-17)³⁹ is probably a function of the same cult⁴⁰. Such significant

³⁶ For *sn*, lit. “brother”, in the sense of “nephew”, see ROBINS 1979: 202, with n. 9, and 207, with n. 3; BIERBRIER 1980: 104-106; REVEZ 2003: 123.

³⁷ Note in this context the close relationship of the decorative programme in the tomb of Pahery with that of the tomb of Wensu at Thebes; see MANICHE 1988: 85-86; cf. LOFFET 2000: ii, 424-425; HARTWIG 2004: 13, n. 67, and 45, n. 71.

³⁸ The cult echoes that of the “chapel of Wadjmose” at Thebes (PM ii²: 444-446; SPALINGER 1984: 631, 633, n. 5, pl. 1; SNAPE 1985: 181-183; QUIRKE 1990: 173-174; LOYRETTE 1990-1991; LOYRETTE 1992), a foundation thought to have been initiated or renewed under Thutmose III (QUIRKE 1990: 174; LOYRETTE 1992: 133-135; VANDERSLEYEN 1995: 252). For the results of recent archaeological investigation of the site, see LECUYOT & LOYRETTE 1995, 1996, 1997.

³⁹ This is the earliest known two-dimensional representation of this particular motif (seated tutor with royal ward on lap) (ROEHRIG 1990: 289). The earliest known example in three dimensions is statue BM EA 174 (Senenmut seated with Princess Neferure on his lap), datable on inscriptional grounds to the period of Hatshepsut's regency (ROEHRIG 2005: 112-115, cat. n° 60).

⁴⁰ Pahery can hardly have been, like his father, an actual tutor of Wadjmose, who died young predeceasing Thutmose I; see ROEHRIG 1990: 84-85, who suggests an alternative possibility: that the infant Wadjmose depicted in Pahery's tomb was a son (otherwise

royal content could not have been included in the tomb without the knowledge and assent of the court.

PARTS OF A LARGER WHOLE

Unlike those of Heriry, Pahery I's wife and children are not included among his branch of the family in his grandfather's tomb (north wall), their presence probably deemed to be unnecessary, as they are depicted in full in Pahery's own tomb, as are other relatives (WHALE 1989: 70-74, case 24; HARTMANN 1993: 308-309). This makes the point that these two decorated chapels — close neighbours and, to judge from their artistic style and iconography, created within a very short time of each other — were designed to be viewed as a unity, as a complementary presentation of family achievement and continuity⁴¹. Other tombs in the same terrace may have belonged to the Ahmose/Pahery clan, forming a family cluster (after all, where were other senior members of the family buried?). Note in particular the two tombs located between B and C and to the left of D respectively in Fig. 2, which are very similar in plan to that of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana and one of which (that between B and C) is known to have borne decoration in the form of a stela (SOMERS CLARKE, unpublished notes)⁴². Such a context offers opportunity for further investigation and better understanding of the mortuary dispositions of a single extended family, in this case the family of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, within the wider question of the development, use and organization of the necropolis as a whole.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION

Recording and study of the inscription have resulted in a considerable number of corrections, mostly palaeographic, to the text as published (LD iii: 12b-d; *Urk.* iv: 1-14). They include the following:

Columns 2, end, and 4, end (*Urk.* iv: 2, 2 and 11; Fig. 7). Note the form of the *sp*-sign (in *nbw sp* 7 and *B3 sp* 2 respectively), rendered here

unattested) of Thutmose III. On the New Year and Nehebkau-festival as a celebration of rebirth and rejuvenation (and thus of transformation), see HARTWIG 2004: 11.

⁴¹ This was something of a tradition at Elkab. Further up the same cliff, the neighbouring tombs of Renseneb and Sobeknakht (Elkab nos. 9 and 10) contain complementary genealogical texts on their inner doorway, each representing a different branch of the same family (DAVIES, forthcoming).

⁴² These tombs are currently inaccessible.

as an incised ring with the centre unsunk (and no internal detail)⁴³, which distinguishes it from the circular *h*-sign, which is entirely sunk (see, for example, line 2 end, in *hft-hr*).

Column 7, middle (*Urk.* iv: 3, 5; Fig. 7). The determinative of *ity*, “sovereign”, represents a figure of a king standing on a pedestal wearing a *khat*-headcloth and *uraeus* at the forehead, holding a stave in his front hand and an *ankh* in his rear hand (a variant of GARDINER A22/23, line cited directly in GARDINER 1957: 390, §471, n° 2, and 239, n. 11).

Columns 19 and 21 (*Urk.* iv: 5, 16, and 6, 6; Figs. 14-15). The two aleph-signs, the first signs of the name *33t3*⁴⁴, form a monogram (GARDINER G2; cf. TYLOR & GRIFFITH 1894: pl. iii, scene top left, col. 3; TYLOR 1895: pl. iii). Unusually, the front claw of the leading bird is shown in both cases as turned upward, as if blunted.

Column 26, near end (*Urk.* iv: 7, 9; Fig. 16, left). The reading here is not *knt* but *knn*, as in column 38 (*Urk.* iv: 9, 16). Delete from GARDINER 1957: 226, §301, n. 2, and LEFEBVRE 1955: 203, §399.

Column 27, near end (*Urk.* iv: 7, 15; Fig. 16, right). The usual reading here is *in.n. i* (or *in.i*) *hm.[f] m hrw 2 r Kmt*, “I brought his majesty back to Egypt in two days” (LICHTHEIM 1976: 13, and, among many others, VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 54-55; SCHMITZ 1978: 194-195; BRADBURY 1984-1985: 15-16; KAMMERZELL 1988: 526; VANDERSLEYEN 1995: 241-242; POPKO 2006: 197; BINDER 2008: 147-148). An alternative reading, *in.n.i hm l*, “I brought back one slave...”, has also been proposed (SCHULZ 1995: 336, with n. 27; cf. BEYLAKE 2002: 95-96). However, the vertical sign here is not *hm* but *s* (GARDINER S29) and the sign to its left, above the *m*, which is mostly obscured by plaster, is almost certainly a *t*. The correct reading is *in.n.i st m hrw 2 r Kmt*, “I brought them in two days to Egypt”, with “them” here referring to the people, cattle, and prisoner mentioned in the previous section of the inscription.

Column 28, end (*Urk.* iv: 8, 1; Fig. 17). Not *hrw nn* but *hrw-r nn*, “apart from those”, with the full, not abbreviated, form of the compound preposition (delete from GARDINER 1957: 135, §179, n. 21, and FAULKNER 1962: 176). Distinct traces of the *r* are visible in the gap between the *hrw* and *nn*. Note that the adjacent cartouche (in col. 29) is now unfortunately

⁴³ So also the example in n° 4 (Fig 6, left). It is not so carefully done in the second example of the name of *B3b3*, on the north wall, upper register, left (Fig. 9).

⁴⁴ On the uncertainty in the reading and meaning of the name see VANDERSLEYEN 1971: 75-76; KAMMERZELL 1988: 525, 19a; SCHULZ 1995: 331, n. 23; POPKO 2006: 194, n. 136. Note that the aleph-bird and the *tyw*-bird (GARDINER G1 and 4 respectively) are not consistently distinguished from each other in the inscription.

less complete than when recorded by Lepsius (LD iii: 12d; cf. *Urk.* iv: 8, 4), but the crucial survival of part of the right arm of the *k3* at the bottom confirms the reading as ‘3-*hpr-k3-r*’, the prenomen of Thutmose I.

Column 35 (*Urk.* iv: 9, 5; Fig. 18). Note the variant-form (appropriate to the context) of the determinative of *shd*, the “man upside down” (GARDINER A29), in this case representing the Nubian leader, hung from the front of the royal boat, with the king’s arrow stuck in his chest (cf. DAVIES & FRIEDMAN 1998: 131; on the symbolism of being “upside down”, see RITNER 1993: 168-172, especially 171; and DARNELL & MANASSA 2007: 18-19).

Column 39, near top (*Urk.* iv: 10, 1; Fig. 19). Read here probably the expected *ssm[t]* not *ssm*. There is room for a *t* in the hole to the left of the *m*, which is indicated in LD iii, 12b, but not in *Urk.* iv: 10,1 (followed in FAULKNER 1962: 245). Note that *ssm[t]* probably refers here not to a single horse, but to the chariot-team (*Wb.* 4: 276, 19; cf. KRUCHTEN 1981: 181, C; also possibly *Urk.* iv: 36, 11), with the line reading, “I brought a chariot and its team, and the one upon it (the charioteer) as a living prisoner” (cf. POPKO 2006: 199, with n. 160).

A full record of the long inscription will be included in the final publication of the tomb.

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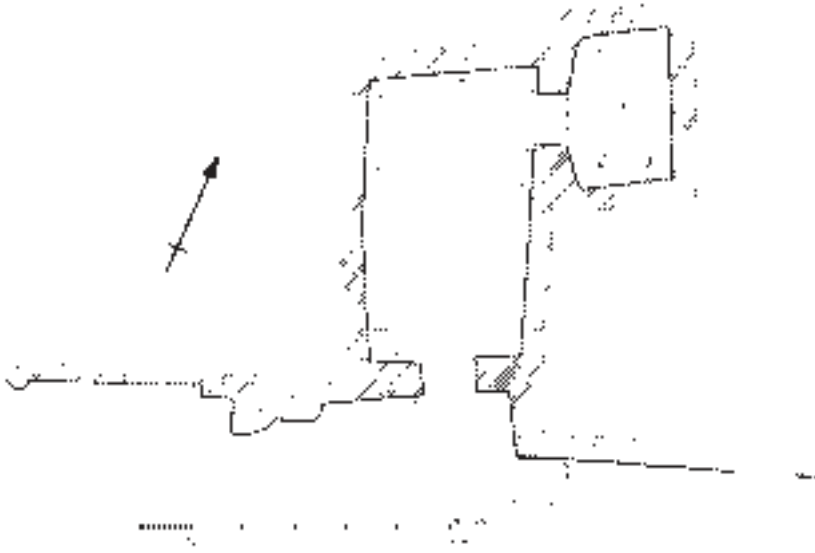


Fig. 1. Plan of tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana (Günter Heindl)

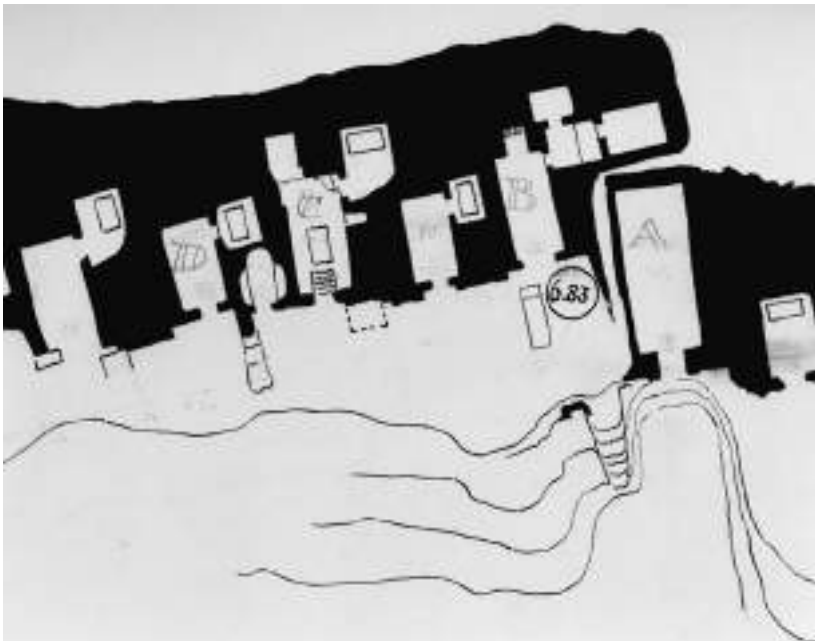


Fig. 2. Plan of part of terrace of rock-cut tombs at Elkab:
A = Ahmose Pennekheb, B = Pahery, C = Setau, D = Ahmose Son-of-Ibana
(Somers Clarke) (Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford)



Fig. 3. Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, façade (Photo W.V. Davies)



Fig. 4. Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, interior, east wall (Photo Yarko Kobylecki)

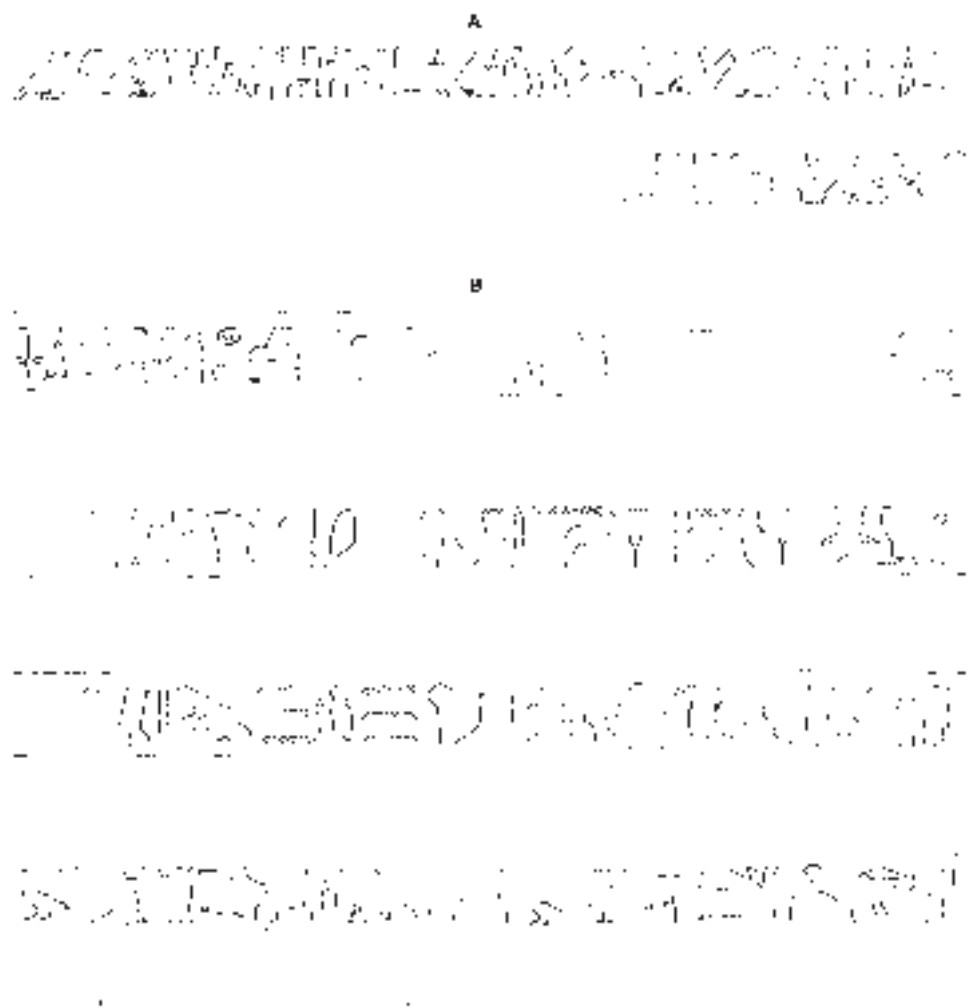


Fig. 5. Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, frieze-inscriptions



Fig. 6. Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, inner-doorway inscriptions

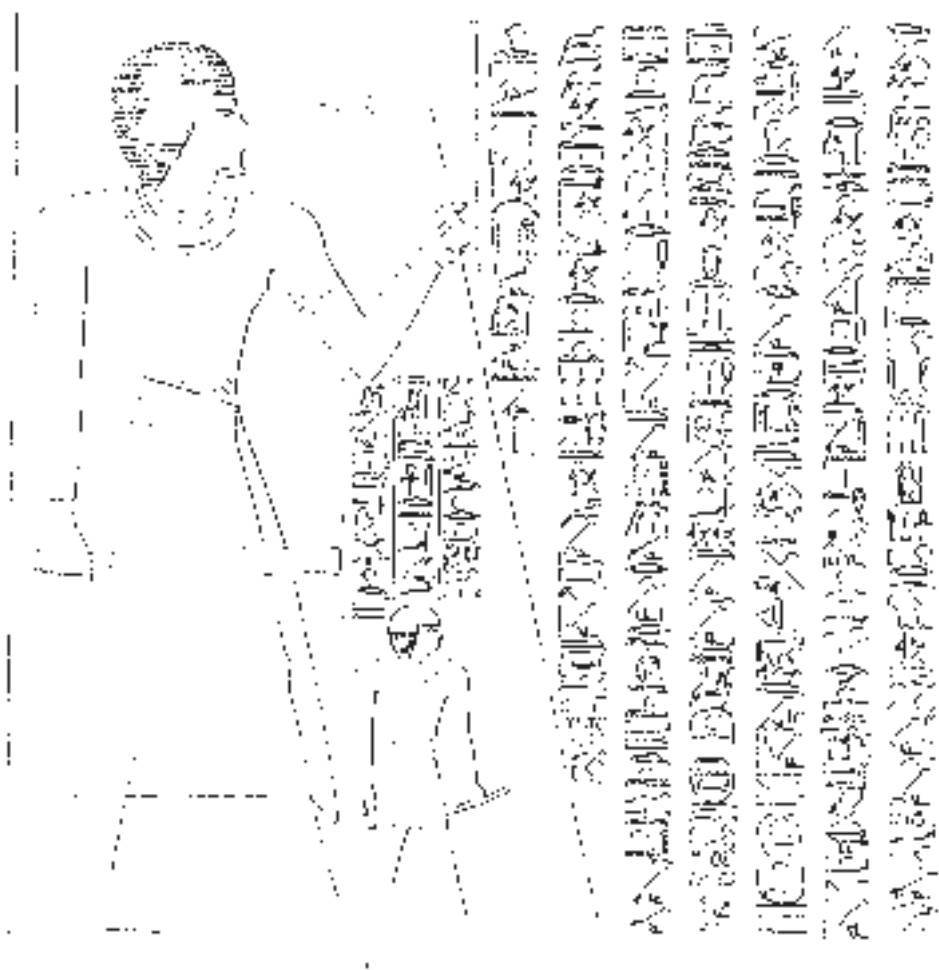


Fig. 7. Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, east wall, main scene



Fig. 8. Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, north wall (Photo Yarko Kobylecki)



Fig. 9. Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, north wall, upper register



Fig. 10. Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, north wall, lower register



Fig. 11. Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, west wall (Photo Yarko Kobylecki)



Fig. 12. Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, west wall, main scenes



Fig. 15. Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, long inscription,
col. 21, detail (Photo Peter Hayman)



Fig. 14. Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, long inscription,
col. 19, detail (Photo Peter Hayman)

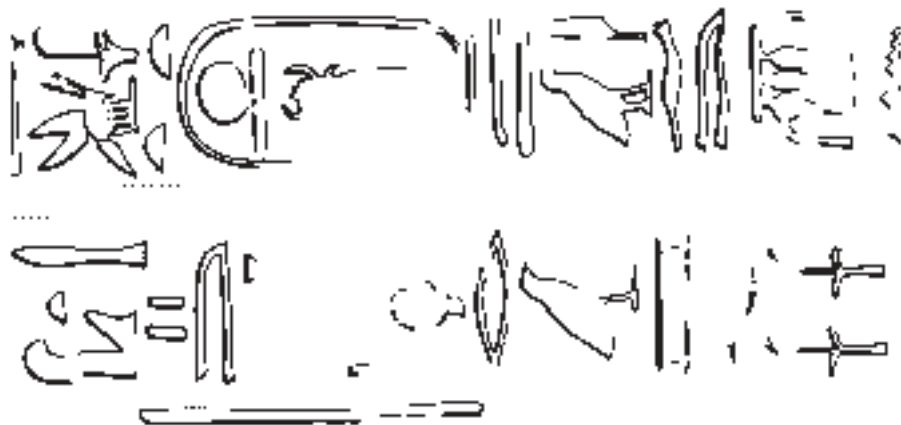


Fig. 17. Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, long inscription, cols. 28-29, detail



Fig. 16. Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, long inscription, cols. 26-27, detail (Photo James Rossiter)



Fig. 19. Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, long inscription, col. 39, detail (Photo Peter Hayman)



Fig. 18. Ahmose Son-of-Ibana, long inscription, col. 35, detail (Photo Peter Hayman)