

*Original article*

COURTIERS WITH DUAL TOMBS

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**Abstract**

*What encouraged the tomb owner to prepare two tombs? The difficulty of determining the reasons for such dual tomb ownership can be generally supplied with inconsistent variables of data. Primarily, a cautious analysis of the official's epithets, status and career promotions will be crucial as part of any synthesis, moving from modifications in socio-economic status within the royal court, political events, and both geological and architectural formations of the tomb. The latter may include the physical location of the tombs and its rock strata. The two tombs' owner accession to an important status, gave him the right to a special burial, afforded by his feeling of self-importance assuming such privilege of a second tomb after his promotion. Furthermore, political and socio-economic status, chronological phases of date of construction and possibly the hierarchical elevations or religious promotions sometimes required cultic dual burial sites.*

**Keywords:** *Courtiers, Theban tombs, Sheikh Abdel Qurna, Deir El Medina, Deir El Bahari, UserAmun, Senenmut, Inherkhau, Djehutynefer*

**1. Introduction**

Mortuary practices changed greatly over the different eras, the need of mortuary provision raised complex patterns of action on the physical setting of mortuary practices of ancient Egyptians' landscapes. It was designed to fulfill individual and group needs such as status, rank promotions, and kinship relationships. Research resulted in proving that besides the lineage, also elite status and royal kinship would have affected the choice of location of a tomb. Thus, the inconsistencies of geographic clusters of tombs were related by either family or (and) by status. It is important to view tombs as archaeological elements that present

new understandings about the lives and careers of privileged officials who played important roles in their community. The significant influence that a family must have held is reflected not only through titles and lineage, but also in the location and number of tomb ownership. In recent analyses, the tomb owners have been under exploration in the broader socio-historical context. The difficulty of determining the reasons for such dual tomb ownership can be generally met with an inconsistent variety of data and study. These investigations include but are not limited to the necessity of two tombs for a single burial; the basis on which a

certain location was chosen to be quarried for the two tombs; the size of the tomb; the position of the tomb; the royal or family kinship; the reason behind the preparation of two tombs; the selection of tomb sites; certain rock quality and the location relative to royal mortuary temples are all factors [1]. Unveiling the question of a dual tomb ownership and affirming the identity of the same owner remains a confusing question. The irrational concept of the possession of dual tombs for the same courtier is soundly puzzling in many cases. The two tombs' owner accession to an important position, gave him the right to a special burial, his self-

importance permitted him to assume such privilege of a second tomb after his endorsement. Moving from modifications in socio-economic status within the royal court and the geological and architectural formations of the tomb, this paper analyzes the justifications that caused an official to be permitted to acquire more than one tomb. Such dual ownership of tombs among New Kingdom Theban private tombs is recurrent of which the most famous tombs belong to the steward of queen Hatshepsut, Senenmut besides UserAmun, Menkheperreseneb, Djehutynefer, Qen, Pashedu and Inherkhau were also other officials that owned dual tombs.

## 2. UserAmun

UserAmun, beyond expectations, was far more significant than any other official of the reign. According to Dziobek, UserAmun was born during the reign of Amenhotep I and served in the Amun precinct. He was promoted to vizier by year 5 until year 28 of the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III when Rekhmire was first verified, as accounted by an event documented in the Turin papyrus. His father, the vizier Amethu

(owner of TT82), was represented as one of the courtiers before Tuthmosis III along with UserAmun. There are texts recording the appointment of UserAmun as co-vizier. In Useramun's case, he was appointed as 'staff of old age' for his aging father, as recorded in the lower tomb (TT131) in the so-called "Co-Installation Text" [2,3]. Definitely, he constructed either two or three funerary constructions.

### 2.1. Theban tomb 61

Located on the upper slopes, this modest tomb consisted of a transverse passage and an oblong chamber with decorative elements of a tomb chapel including offering and hunting scenes as well as UserAmun's adoration of

gods Rahaorakht and Atum, fig. (1-a). The architecture and decorative structure of UserAmun's two tombs are exceptionally revealed by its decorative program of funerary scenes in TT 61, whereas daily life scenes in TT 131.

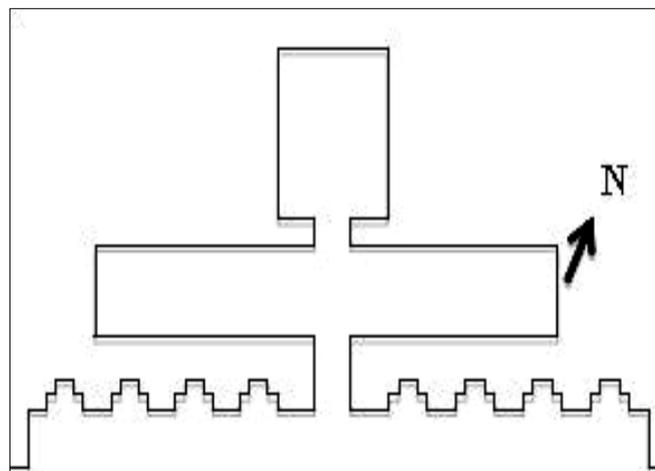


Figure (1-a) Plan of the tomb TT 61.

## 2.2. Theban tomb 131

In the lower slopes TT131, a rock cut tomb with an elaborate niched façade unlike the pillared porticos of UserAmun's father and uncle followed by a long corridor with funerary scenes of the banquet and the funeral procession, fig. (1-

b). The architecture of the tomb is of the classic Theban T shape tomb adorned by elaborate decorations of UserAmun in action during his office. It has no burial shaft.

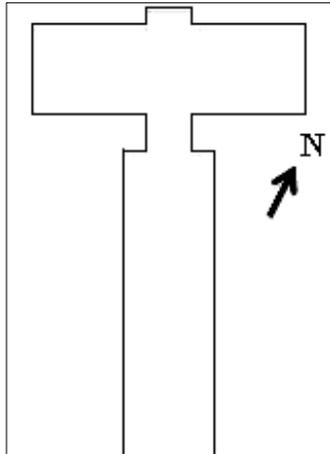


Figure (1-b) Plan of the tomb TT 131 of UserAmun, *Plans drawn by author following (PM I:1) [4]*

Surprisingly in the early 1900s, Mond had cleared possibly a third funerary construction, what he called a "mummy pit" in front of TT61, fig. (2). The chamber was documented to have a complete contemporary version of the Amduat found in the king's tomb but in a slightly re-adjusted form in comparison to KV 35, due to lack of space. It is rare in

the Theban necropolis for a tomb to have such texts. The Amduat appears in no other non-royal tomb during the New Kingdom [5]. This official was the first non-royal individual to have such royal privileges. Formerly, these funerary books were placed only in the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings.

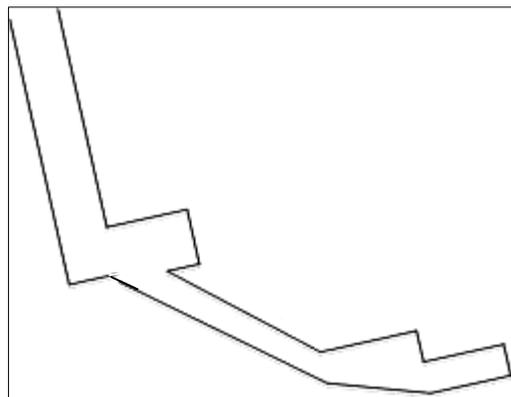


Figure (2) The so-called mummy pit of UserAmun within the forecourt of TT61 [4]

The occurrence of the funerary royal texts in this tomb at first caused to postulate usurpation of royal privileges but it turned out from the texts that the vizier was a supporter, guardian of both kingship and Maat. UserAmun has equally divided the inscriptions of the Litany of Re between his tomb and that

of his king [6]. Another text mentions him giving air to the commoner, a benefit only granted to the King. However, a complicated explanation to the latter would be that UserAmun had no restrictions whatsoever to grant royal consent to himself and hence he was dear to the King who allowed him

such royal privilege. A spatially planned family cluster of tombs are all within a very short distance of each other. They connect the family together in death as they were in life and allowing enough space for festivals' processions as well as visits by family members to their ancestors, fig. (3). Both UserAmun and his father must have had a considerable amount of authority to reach such status

during the reign of Hatshepsut. They remained in office for such a long time and owned elaborate tombs during this critical reign. This vizierate family lived untouched and honored for more than two decades which is mere evidence that their impact was valued and their authorities respected [7]. These viziers' power was derived from being related to the Amun precinct in Thebes.

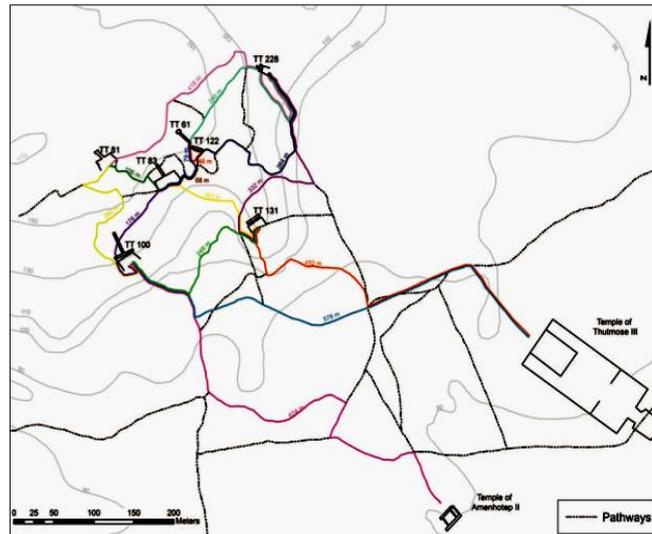


Figure (3) Sheikh Abd el Qurna, natural pathways along the cliff side connect the cluster of tombs of UserAmun's family [3]

From the valley looking up, or from TT61 looking down, clearly both UserAmun's tombs are aligned with each other, and the pyramidal shape of the upper tomb have been deliberately made so that it would rise above and

crown the tomb [8]. Accordingly, moving down the slope it becomes clear that the tombs of these family members are intentionally placed along the same path, connecting the family together in death as they were in life, pl. (1).



Plate (1) Sheikh Abd el Qurna Necropolis: The tombs of the family members of UserAmun [3]

Generally tombs were known to function as both an offering chapel and a burial chamber that was prepared for both religious and ceremonial purposes. However, such arrangement was entirely allowed for royalty detaching their tombs from their mortuary temples. Nevertheless, this detachment was later used for non-royals equally. UserAmun's burial was divided into two separate constructions, including the transverse hall and its burial chamber. These tombs (TT61 and TT131) architecturally complement each other as a single tomb [9]. Undeniably the latter was a royal development detaching tombs from mortuary temples. The separation of the mummy pit leading to the chamber with the Amduat was perhaps a third independent monument. By calculating both the direct vertical and horizontal distances as well as those of the natural pathways between the tombs, it is deliberate that the central cluster of tombs – TT81, TT83, TT61 and TT122

– are all within a very short distance of each other, allowing enough space for festival processions, as well as, visits by family members to their ancestors. The strategy for spatially cutting the tombs for a commemorative purpose serves the entire family as a cultic complex. Finally, what could be called a “family complex” is becoming well defined, by examining the hypothesis of the planned topographical locations, fig. (4). Undoubtedly, the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty's influential positions of royal courtiers, namely viziers, as well as the Amun precinct, were kept in the hands of effectively one great family that used inheritance, marriage and kinship to create a significant powerbase [3]. The power this family must have had in the Theban royal court is revealed in titles, lineage, location of tombs and significantly, in the authorization UserAmun had to possess two tombs with both unique architectural and textual royal honours.

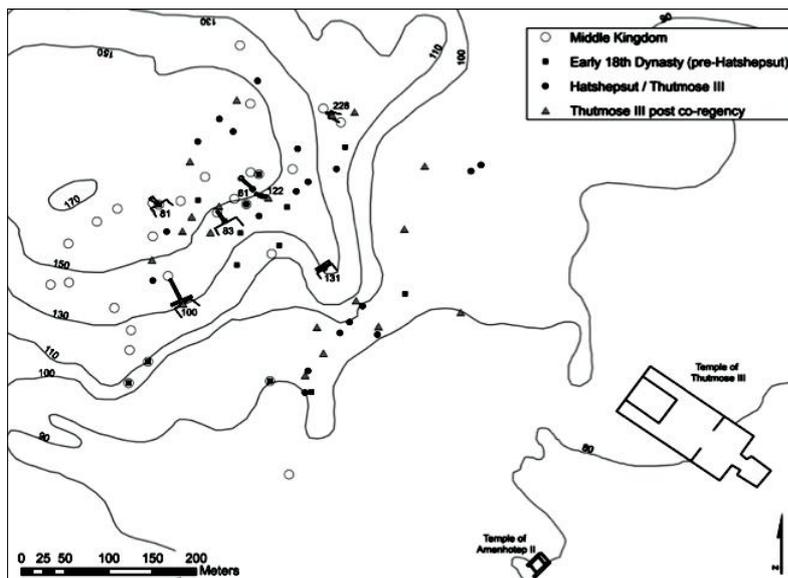


Figure (4) Northern Sheikh Abd el Qurna - The direct line between the tombs of UserAmun TT 131 and TT 61[3]

### 3. Menkheperraseneb

Menkheperraseneb was a High Priest of Amun, a superintendent of the gold and silver treasuries, and the chief of the overseers of craftsmen during the reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. Menkheperraseneb's father was previously

thought to be named Amenemhat but was not to be sited in either tomb. As for the mother's name, it was not found but, the title being “Chantress of some deity”, was to be found in both tombs.

### 3.1. Theban tomb 112

Apart from Menkheperaseneb's tomb TT112, fig. (5-a), there are many monuments bearing the name and title of a "High Priest of Amun Menkheperaseneb" which include a seated statue of a *Second Priest of Amun Menkheperaseneb* in the British Museum numbered (BM 708). A position that refers to either the priest in an early stage of his career but a plausible answer might have been that it was sculptured at an early phase of Menkheperaseneb's profession. Noteworthy, it had no royal name to date it. The titles in this tomb read the first seven honorary titles related to

priesthood. Nevertheless, none of the epithets or titles on the statue were found in either tomb corroborating any association to the second high priest of Amun Menkheperaseneb of this research. A scribe statue of a *Priest of Amun Menkheperaseneb, son of Amenemhat* in the Cairo Museum (CG 42125), cannot be attributed to the previously mentioned Menkheperaseneb because the four titles inscribed do not include the title "High Priest of Amun" and additionally, there are no distinct titles recorded in either tomb TT 86 or TT 112.

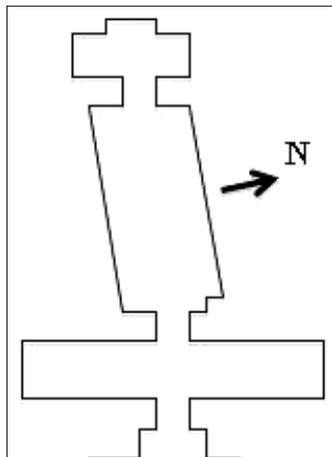


Figure (5-a) TT 112 Menkheperaseneb's tomb [3]

### 3.2. Theban tomb 86

In TT 86, fig. (5-b), the list of titles was more functional and associated with supervisory craftsmen responsible for the construction of projects or specific tasks administered by the High Priest of Amun; Low-level titles that raise doubt of having a second tomb for the same owner. Scholars used to correct older analyses, such as in the case of TT112 in which an ancestral relationship was situated according to three factors: architecture, text, decoration and the re-use of the tomb for family power. Do these two tombs, TT 112 and TT 86, complement each other architecturally or even decoratively-hence, reflecting a unified bi-partite

mortuary complex such as, the tombs of Senenmut and UserAmun? Or, were they two separate tombs prepared in chronological progression? On such note, TT 112, the earlier tomb, has two women with their sons; intricate names causing genealogical confusions as with Menkheperaseneb with his mother, Taiunet; and Hepu, with his mother Nebetta. It is assumed that they are representations of two mothers with their sons. The southwest wall decorations confirm Hepu as Menkheperaseneb's father where he presents offerings to him. It has been formerly implied that these tombs belong to two different high priests by the name Menkheperaseneb.

A nephew TT 112 and his uncle TT 86 who both served Tuthmosis III. In an offering scene, the sequence of the family members is strangely represented: son, grandmother, grandfather and mother. Correspondingly, TT86, tomb of the uncle, was built before TT 112 of the nephew. Menkheperaseneb I was obviously interred in TT86 and

Menkheperaseneb II in TT112 at Sheikh Abd el Qurna. Aashefytemwaset, a priest of Amun during the Ramesside Period, later took over this last tomb. Overwhelmingly, recent research debates these tombs' attribution to a completely distinct individual who might have been also related to Menkheperaseneb.

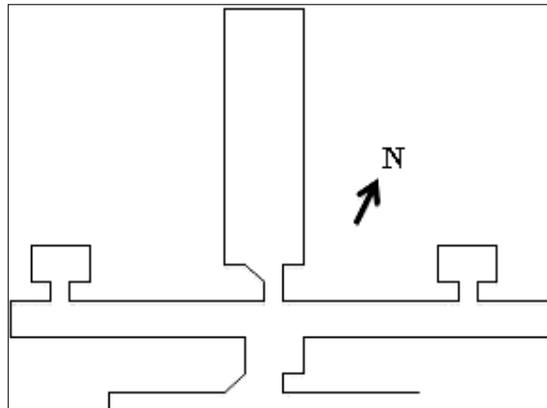


Figure (5-b) TT 86 Menkheperaseneb's II tomb [3]

#### 4. Djehutynefer

Djehutynefer was an official who served during the reigns of Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II. He is known as a royal scribe with honorary titles such as, Favourite of the King,

##### 4.1. Theban tomb 104

The earlier tomb located on the upper slopes comprises a humble chapel, fig. (6-a) and by the end of the reign of

Attendant of the Good God, and Follower of the King in all foreign lands and Lay Priest of Amun. His two tombs TT 104 and TT 80 are both at the site of Sheikh Abd el Qurna.

Tuthmosis III, he decided to start on a second tomb with a notable style of art typical to the reign of Amenhotep II.

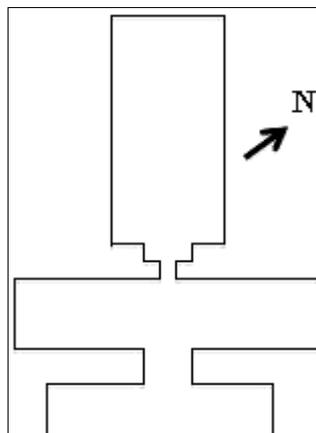


Figure (6-a) Plan of the tomb of Djehutynefer TT 104 [3]

##### 4.2. Theban tomb 80

In TT 80, Djehutynefer was granted functional titles of Scribe and Treasurer. His wife Takht, acquired the

title 'Singer of Hathor, Lady of the West' while Meryt, the daughter, appears with the same titles as her

mother, Mistress of the House and Lay Priest of Amun. As previously mentioned, the distinctive style of art was known to date back to the reign of King Amenhotep II [9]. Djehutynefer is different to the officials previously discussed as he has actually two tombs with all fundamental architectural and decorative elements for a burial; both of

which have T-shaped chapels, burial chambers and a complete assemblage of wall decoration, fig. (6-b). Apparently, he preferred a larger tomb after his promotion. It is definite that both tombs belong to him; as his name, his family members and the compilation of his titles, all match.

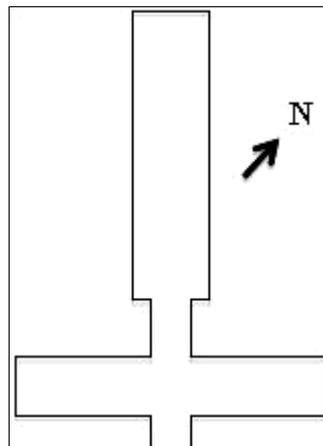


Figure (6-b) Plans of tomb of Djehutynefer tomb TT 80 [3]

Both tombs of Djehutynefer were more or less similar. The slight distinction was in the decoration of his second tomb; the main distinction was that the later tomb was cut close by prominent officials, such as in the case

of the tombs of UserAmun. Clearly, TT 80 was intended to upgrade Djehutynefer's self image, offering him more self-importance when he was promoted and granted higher titles [10].

## 5. Senenmut

Senenmut's titles were 'Chief Steward, Steward of Amun, and the Overseer of the Royal Works' during the times of Queen Hatshepsut. His parents were known to be Ramose and Hatnefert. Senenmut grew up in a middle class elite family from Armant and it is uncertain if he had commenced his career as a military official that shifted to a civil career during the reign of Tuthmosis II who promoted him to be

the tutor and steward of his daughter Neferura. It is possible that it was Hatshepsut who promoted Senenmut to the several positions he reports in the regency, it seems that he had not held at least some of them earlier. It was not till later that he was appointed as Hatshepsut's Steward, a position with great lucrative grants. Senenmut becomes in effect the most powerful official in Hatshepsut's court.

### 5.1. Theban tomb 71

The hill site was reserved for the wealthy, as the remarkable facade of tomb TT 71, a few private funerary monuments existed on the upper slopes. It was believed that Senenmut was the first to build in the area reserving for him one of the most attractive locations

in the necropolis. Architecturally, TT 71 corresponds to the Theban T-shaped tomb plans, facade, location and type. The tombs built in the vicinity of the hill during the early Middle Kingdom had been constructed either along its lower northern flank, facing toward the

mortuary temple or the causeway of King Nebhepetra Mentuhotep. The main entrance opens into the transverse hall, which runs at a right angle to the long axial corridor and is lighted by the eight windows in the façade, fig. (7-a). The depression in the corridor's floor is quite small to place Senenmut's funerary equipment especially his quartzite sarcophagus. An additional subterranean construction of a small rock-cut chamber at the southern end of the southeast aisle lies at the bottom of a nearly 2m deep pit. Due to the size and location of this pit, this chamber is even less likely than the more extensive underground complex to be Senenmut's intended place of burial. If co-existent with the original architecture of TT 71, it must be a provision for a subsidiary burial, perhaps for a member of Senenmut's family. It must also be

stated that TT 71 was assuredly the most prominent and most accessible of Senenmut's monuments, its location known to all, and it is here that the nature of his personal persecution can best be characterized, for it was in a person's public funerary chapel that all aspects of his maltreatment would have been made apparent. The frightful damage to the wall plaster is unlikely to have been vengeance seekers during the reign of Tuthmosis III or any other king. The destruction of the wall paintings must be ascribed largely to natural causes but it was noticed that damage took place in both tombs' decorative plans. However, the usual mortuary elements of a chapel and burial chamber were not present since they were separated in different ideal locations according to function [11].

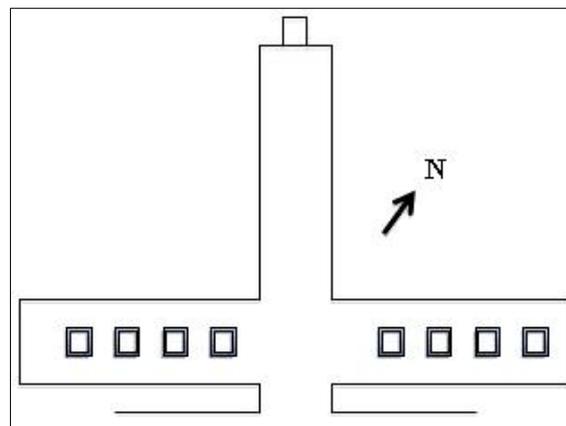


Figure (7-a) Plans of the Senenmut's tomb TT 353 [3]

### 5.2. Theban tomb 353

The lower tomb was entered from a quarry and was planned as an unseen tomb with no chapel for visitors or offerings but included a unique decorative program. Its entrance was planned at a quarry to remain unseen as a subterranean monument, consisting entirely of a series of linear passages reaching more than 90m long and ending with chambers, fig. (7-b), decorated with the famous astronomical ceiling [10]. The consistency of the rock is badly fissured being cut in as part of the Esna shale. Such shale expands when moisturized and thus the tomb was

left partially incomplete. Nevertheless, the lower chambers were rock cut in a remarkable stable stratum reaching a better quality of limestone below the precinct of Hatshepsut. The tomb was abandoned suddenly as it was left incomplete with its construction debris and discarded workmen's tools. The damage found in the tomb was due to small natural causes; but a remarkable stable stratum was located in which the lower chambers were rock cut in. However, such long passages could have had several aims of either attempting to reach a better quality of limestone or

possibly to reach below the area of his Queen Hatshepsut. The tomb's length and the presence of funerary literature were undeniably royal privileges [12]. Remarkably, the unusual architectural plan of this tomb, the presence of funerary literature and its similarity with Hatshepsut's tomb KV20 caused

scholars to ascertain Senenmut's royal credentials offered only to certain officials [13, 14]. Senenmut wished to be close to his Queen Hatshepsut's burial, KV20, within her mortuary temple precinct, fig. (8). Both Senenmut's tombs were different in plan and decorations.

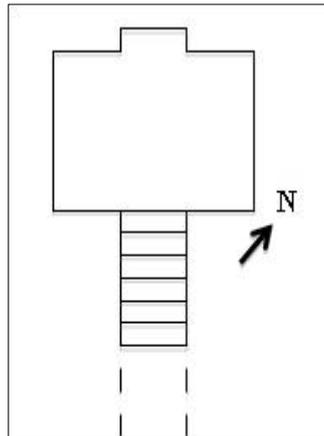


Figure (7-b) Plans of the Senenmut's tomb TT 71 [3]

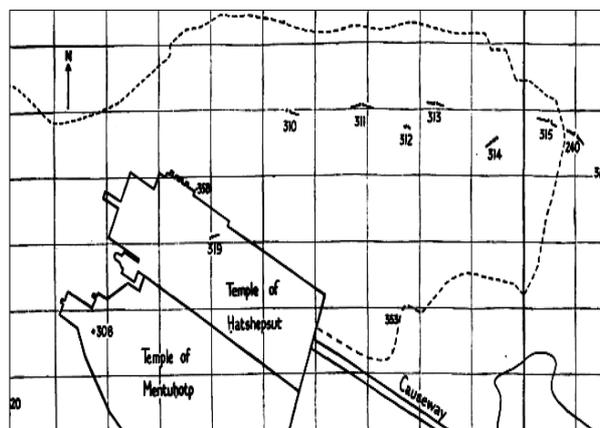


Figure (8) The location of the lower tomb of Senenmut TT353 within the vicinity of the Deir El Bahari temple of his queen Hatshepsut (a) (b)

As for defining comparative chronologies between TT 71 and TT 353, it is possible that work on the two tombs were done concurrently. On architectural grounds, these two tombs noticeably complete the function of a single bi-partite tomb separating the burial chamber from the chapel or the deceased away from the ritual practices. When using the word tomb describing

his two tombs it seems inaccurate in relation to the function of each. Clearly, TT 71 was planned to be visited by worshipers as a mortuary cult site while TT 353 was hidden intentionally to guarantee a safe burial close to his queen, furthermore both tombs were set in locations flanking her mortuary temple at Deir El Bahari.

## 6. Qen

Qen's titles were 'Servant in the Place of Truth' during the Reign of Ramses II. His parents were Thonufer, a

'Chiseller of Amun in the *Khenu*' (same profession) and his mother was named Maatnefert. Qen had two wives, by the

name Henutmehyt, and Nefertari. Children of Nefertari include a son named Meryre and a daughter named Taqari. The children of Henutmehyt are Pendua, Kewer, Tjauenanuy, Huyemtjebutyfy, Baki and Khaemwaset. Also, mentioned in the tomb are Paser (TT 106) and Ramose (TT 7). There were several

monuments associated to Qen including several stelae: one of which has Qen, one of his sons and his wife Nefertari cleaning and performing the opening of the month ritual (Copenhagen Nat. Mus. B3). Qen owns two tombs located at Deir el Medina, fig. (9).

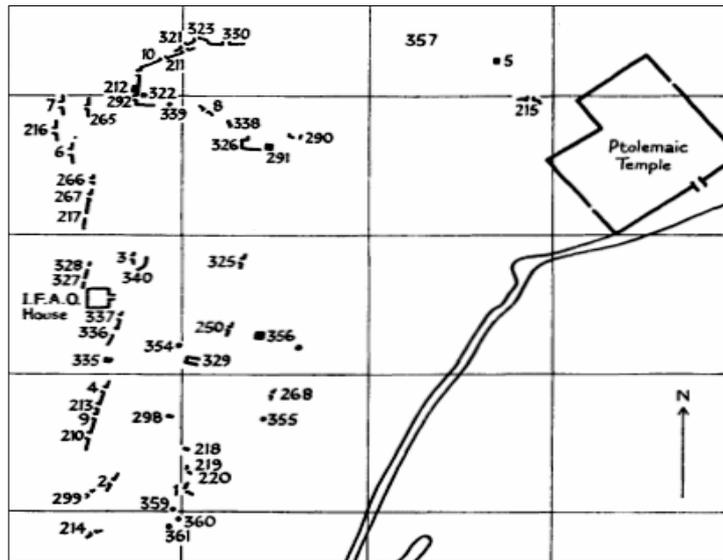


Figure (9) Deir El Medina: The location of the tombs of Qen TT 4 and TT 337<sup>(a) (b)</sup>

### 6.1. Theban tomb 4

The architecture of this tomb comprises an entrance passage followed by a passage that has a niche with statues for the tomb owner and his wife Nefertari followed by an offering chapel with a niche, fig. (10). As for the wall decorations, they include Qen and his

wife Henutmehyt sitting with one of their sons under her chair, the pilgrimage to Abydos, the funerary procession, deity worshipping, and sacrificial scenes to different deities along with the tomb owner.

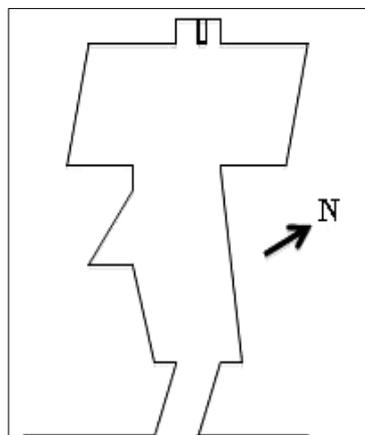


Figure (10) Plans of the tomb of Qen TT 4 [3]

### 6.2. Theban Tomb 337

Tomb TT 337 is “Chiseller in the Place of Truth” who served King Ramses II. This tomb includes both a chapel and a

burial chamber decorated with adoration scenes. It was later usurped by Eshnops of the 21<sup>st</sup> or 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty.

## 7. Pashedu

Pashedu is little known of except from the texts and scenes in his tomb. He lived at Deir al-Medina during the reigns of Seti I and Ramses II and served as a 'Servant in the Place of Truth'. His parents were Menna (named after his grandfather) and Huy while his wife was Nedjmet-behdet. A funerary scene from TT219 refers to Qaha and Menna as 'brothers' of Nebenmaat, the

### 7.1. Theban tomb 3

The architecture of TT3 includes a few stairs at the entrance leading to a vaulted passage and into the burial chamber [15], fig. (11). The sidewalls of the passage are beautifully painted with a scene of Anubis jackals on top of large white chapels with cavetto cornices. Certainly the best-known scene in this tomb has Pashedu kneel and bow down beneath the branches of a dom-palm at the edge of a pond. This is a wonderful

tomb owner. There is a strong likelihood that these men were the sons of Pashedu, since the 'servant in the place of truth on the west of Thebes' Qaha is also known to have been the son of Pashedu from inscriptional evidence in TT3. On this assumption, the true relationship that existed between Menna, Qaha and Nebenmaat remains unclear.

scene, a model of clarity and composition. There are columns from the Book of the Dead; the formula for "Being Transformed into a Divine Falcon" and the Chapter for Drinking Water in God's Domain are all written in a simple manner. Strangely, they are filled with errors, and this carelessness stands in marked contrast to the beautiful scene before them.

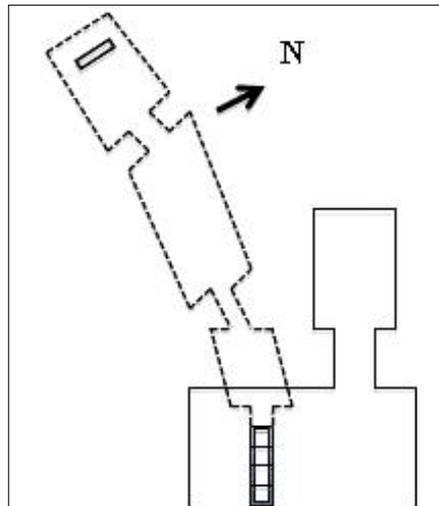


Figure (11) Plans of the tomb of Pashedu TT3 [3]

### 7.2. Theban tomb 326

The architecture of TT 326 includes only a forecourt and a damaged chapel with scenes of *Iaru* and a priest performing the opening of the mouth ceremony on both Pashedu and his wife. The earlier rock cut tomb has just a

chapel and remains of a pyramidion were found in its forecourt. Whilst TT 3, situated on a higher slope, was intended as the final burial place due to the presence of a burial chamber. Both tombs are located at Deir El Medina.

## 8. Inherkhau

Inherkhau is a Foreman in 'the Place of Truth' serving during the reigns

of Ramses III and Ramses IV. Inherkhau belonged to an old family of "Foremen",

the leaders of the craftsmen at Deir el-Medina. These craftsmen were placed in charge of the digging and decoration of the tombs in both Valleys of the Kings and Queens. In his tomb, his wife Wab(et) who carries the title of 'Mistress of the House', and 'Chantress of Amun', proves her role in the temple of Karnak. Many children were first depicted; his sons were named Hay, servant of the Lord of the two lands; another son named Qenro, 'servant in the place of the truth' and 'A Lady of the House', Henutjuu, is also mentioned. The study of Inherkhau's title proved to be fascinating because of his important position among craftsmen and not part of the Egyptian aristocracy. It seems that the progressive corruption at Deir El Medina slowed down development; it was a period of social unrest between the end of the reign of Ramses III and the beginning of Ramses IV. This period was well known

### 8.1. Theban tomb 359

Inherkhau, a member of a large family, as 'Chiefs of Works' would first have quarried and decorated the burial chamber TT 359 to the North of the tomb of his ancestors Huy and Qaha. (Owners of TT 360 - TT361 respectively) - TT 359 consists of only a chamber and probably designed especially for family

for the first strikes known in history as a result of the administration's defaulting of the wages because of the lack of resources in the treasury. Inherkhau's position among craftsmen and not being part of the Egyptian aristocracy and his ability to find the means to construct for himself not only one but two tombs is fascinating. Only the privileged, such as the Chief of Works, Inherkhau, and Hay, the Foreman, seem to have had enough wealth or skill, as well as, enough influence and associations to make for themselves beautifully decorated tombs with polychromatic frescos. The tombs of this era, at Deir el-Medina, were hardly decorated. Whether it was a lack of time and funds, lack of qualified personnel, uncertainty and political unrest or increasing poverty, it seems that the progressive corruption slowed down progress thus, almost terminated the artistic development of painters and their creations.

use. Finally, the assemblage of the three tombs TT359 – TT360 - TT361 was destined for other family members, fig. (12-a). This would thus resolve the ritual problem according to the customs of the community just as Qaha and Inherkhau were both on the left of their ancestor Huy on the wall decorations.

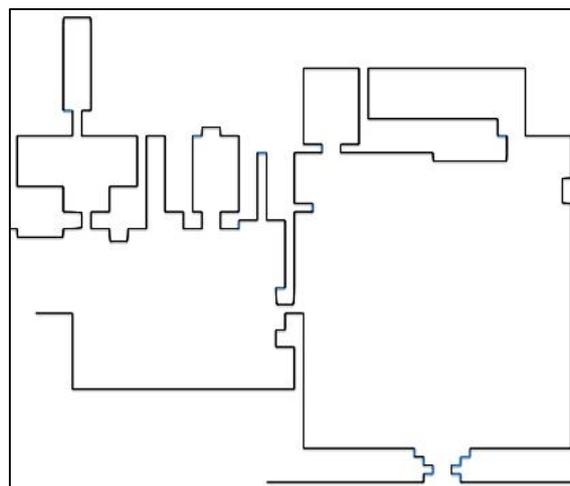


Figure (12-a) Plans of the tombs of Qaha (father) TT360, Huy (grandfather) TT361 and Inherkhau TT359 [3]

It is indeed necessary to consider this burial plot of this family group of tombs, which unites Inherkhau to his

predecessors. It represents a vast terrace, which is elevated artificially with the help of embankments. The three

courtyards of these tombs and facades of the three chapels were all connected. They were surrounded by thick walls and decorated with pyramids on top, made from thick stone blocks bound by a lime mortar and then coated with

white plaster, fig. (12-b). The use of family tombs at Deir el-Medina goes back to the late 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty but, the hill is not expandable and human dwellings caused limitations.

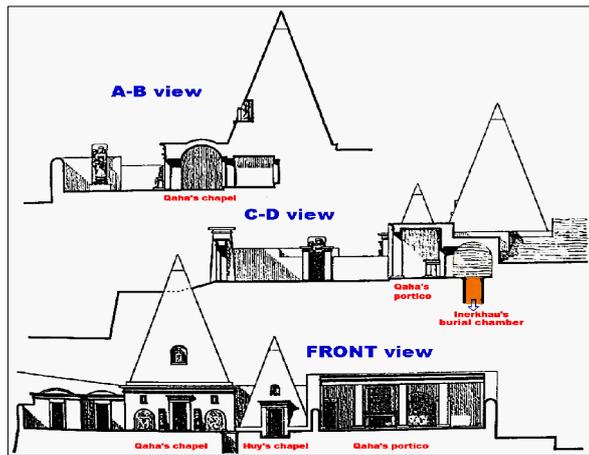


Figure (12-b) Frontal and side view of the façade of the tombs of the family of Inherkhau TT 359, TT360 and TT 361) [16]

## 8.2. Theban tomb 299

Inherkhau's second tomb, TT299, was probably the one that was intended for Inherkhau. Its architecture comprised not just a chapel like his earlier tomb but also a burial chamber, fig. (13). Besides, the damage of his actual chapel, TT359, could be an additional crucial reason for encouraging

Inherkhau to construct a new separate tomb. Consequently, after his hierarchical promotion, Inherkhau requested a large tomb, TT299, for himself. The reports of Bernard Bruyère's excavations are the main evidence remaining to study both monuments [17,18].

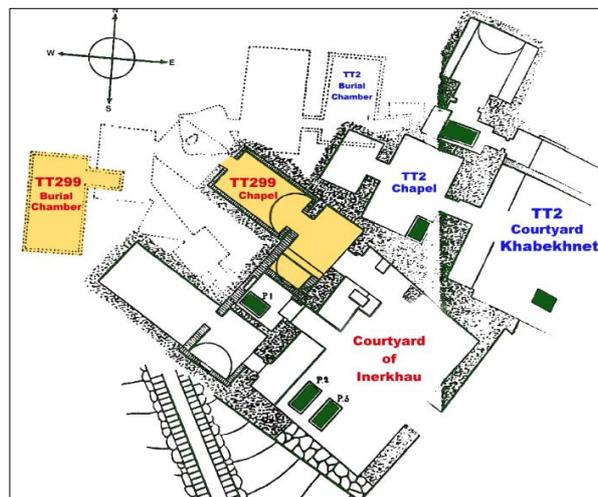


Figure (13) Plan of the tomb of Inherkhau TT 299 [16]

## 9. Conclusion

*The officials' purpose of starting on a second tomb differed according to his rank promotion, his familial rank, and his necessity for both decorative and architectural elements based on religious funerary rituals either for himself or for his family. It was a social structure in which hereditary inheritance of positions was a normal occurrence. The influence and power gained by these officials*

allowed them to maintain control of the vizierate and place several generations of their family members in positions of the Amun domain, and to create a family quarter in the Theban necropolis. Earlier studies record Theban tomb owners to show concern in cutting their tombs along religious processions and nearby mortuary temples. The book of Amduat was placed in the first ever-non-royal case of UserAmun. Upon closer examination of the Theban Mountain, several structural components of different geological formations were discovered. It was best to quarry through at a low angle for facilitation, such as the main chamber of TT 353 of Senenmut, intentionally quarried away from the Esna shale formation hoping to be buried within the premises of his queen's mortuary temple and thus her burial in KV20. In the case of Inherkhau, his tomb chapel, TT359, was eventually damaged, thus he needed a burial chamber and was compensated by the construction of an additional new separate entire tomb only for himself. Ultimately, two eternal resting places, two predominantly decorated tombs that were permitted in some cases to be of complementary architecture and function as a bi-partite tomb that included a chapel within easy access to visitors and a separate safe burial chamber. Perhaps there were causeways connecting the so named tombs as previous Middle Kingdom Theban tombs unquestionably had a chapel at a lower level and its burial chamber on the upper slopes of the hills. This was confirmed in the case of the two tombs of UserAmun depicting complementary scenes in each tomb, there were daily life scenes in one tomb and funerary scenes in the other as a planned decorative structure. A bi-partite tomb of different functional parts was unquestionably a royal grant. On the other hand, other Theban offering chapels were short in burial constructions and some private tombs at the Valley of Kings lacked offering chapels. Disputably, some of the researched tombs (such as UserAmun's TT131) had no burial chambers and were named "tombs"? Should a tomb include a burial chamber? Do these so-called tombs need to be re-numbered? The so-called "tombs" are incorrectly referred to as numbered tombs. Numbering of the Theban tombs should be re-considered according to the presence of a burial chamber.

## Endnotes

- (a) Cairo Museum TN 9/6/26/1; PM I: 1, p. 11 top. (b) PM I: 1, p. 10 at (4-5).

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