

# The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)

*Contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources*

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Edited by

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Front cover: Model of a scribe from shaft 16L25/1C (2710/144) at Deir el-Bersheh, compare colour plate XIII

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## Tombs in transition: MIDAN.05 and windows in the early Eighteenth Dynasty

Marilina Betrò

### Abstract

Windows are a very rare element in Theban tombs, present only in the Eighteenth Dynasty, mainly in its early part. The University of Pisa excavations at Dra Abu el-Naga recently added three new examples of tombs with this feature: MIDAN.05, whose investigation has been completed in 2014, and two new tombs, T1 and T2, opening onto its forecourt, not yet excavated. The first phase of MIDAN.05, a T-shaped tomb with one single window, probably dates to the true beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when *rishi*-coffins were still in use. This paper suggests that the evolution of new models of funerary architecture in the New Kingdom must be slightly backdated to the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, before Hatshepsut. At the same time the importance of openings –both intercolumnia and windows– in saff-tombs as well in the early Eighteenth Dynasty Theban funerary architecture stresses the vitality of a tradition well rooted in the Middle Kingdom, possibly related to the solar cult.

The tomb MIDAN.05 was discovered in 2004 by the archaeological expedition of the University of Pisa at Dra Abu el-Naga (MIDAN, *Missione archeologica Italiana a Dra Abu el Naga*), and investigated since 2005.<sup>1</sup> The excavation, documentation and conservation work in the area, which had started in 2003 with Theban Tomb 14 –the Ramesside tomb of Huy, a priest attached to the cult of Amenhotep I–, revealed that MIDAN.05 was the oldest and largest of a cluster of rock-cut tombs arranged around its forecourt. With the only exception of TT 14, all these tombs were completely unknown and unrecorded: two of them, brought to light in 2010 and not yet investigated, had been hewn out of the northern side of the court and were probably contemporary with MIDAN.05;<sup>2</sup> on the southern side, Huy's TT 14 was cut into the rock (or maybe used a pre-existing tomb);<sup>3</sup> in the Third Intermediate Period a secondary tomb, 'E', was added, exploiting the still intact rock between MIDAN.05 and TT 14. A fifth tomb lies still buried under the modern stairway and path to TT 14<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 1).

MIDAN.05, datable to the very beginning of the New Kingdom, underwent multiple interventions over the years (and centuries), which modi-

fied the original project.<sup>5</sup> Its oldest design prefigured a T-shaped tomb, later expanded, originally made up by a portion of the present transverse hall, approximately corresponding to the length of the façade, and by a chapel –room 'd'– whose door is aligned with the main entrance of the tomb (Fig. 2). The chapel is almost entirely occupied by a rectangular shaft, dug into the rock ('f'), about 4.50 m deep, which houses at its bottom four funerary chambers.

A very important clue for dating the first stage of the tomb might be represented by some finds in the west funerary chamber of the shaft, room 'j'. This chamber, re-used during the Late Period, contained hundreds of fragments belonging to one or maybe two entirely destroyed *rishi*-coffins, lying next to the rock floor on the lower layer of the deposit filling the room.<sup>6</sup> They are in too poor a state of preservation to offer a precise clue for their dating and can only be "broadly dated between the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth dynasty",<sup>7</sup> but the almost total disappearance of *rishi* coffins after the reign of Thutmose I<sup>8</sup> provides

<sup>5</sup> BETRÒ, DEL VESCO, *EVO* 29, 8-9, fig. 2.

<sup>6</sup> BETRÒ, MINIACI, *EVO* 32, 9-20.

<sup>7</sup> MINIACI, *Rishi Coffins*, 76.

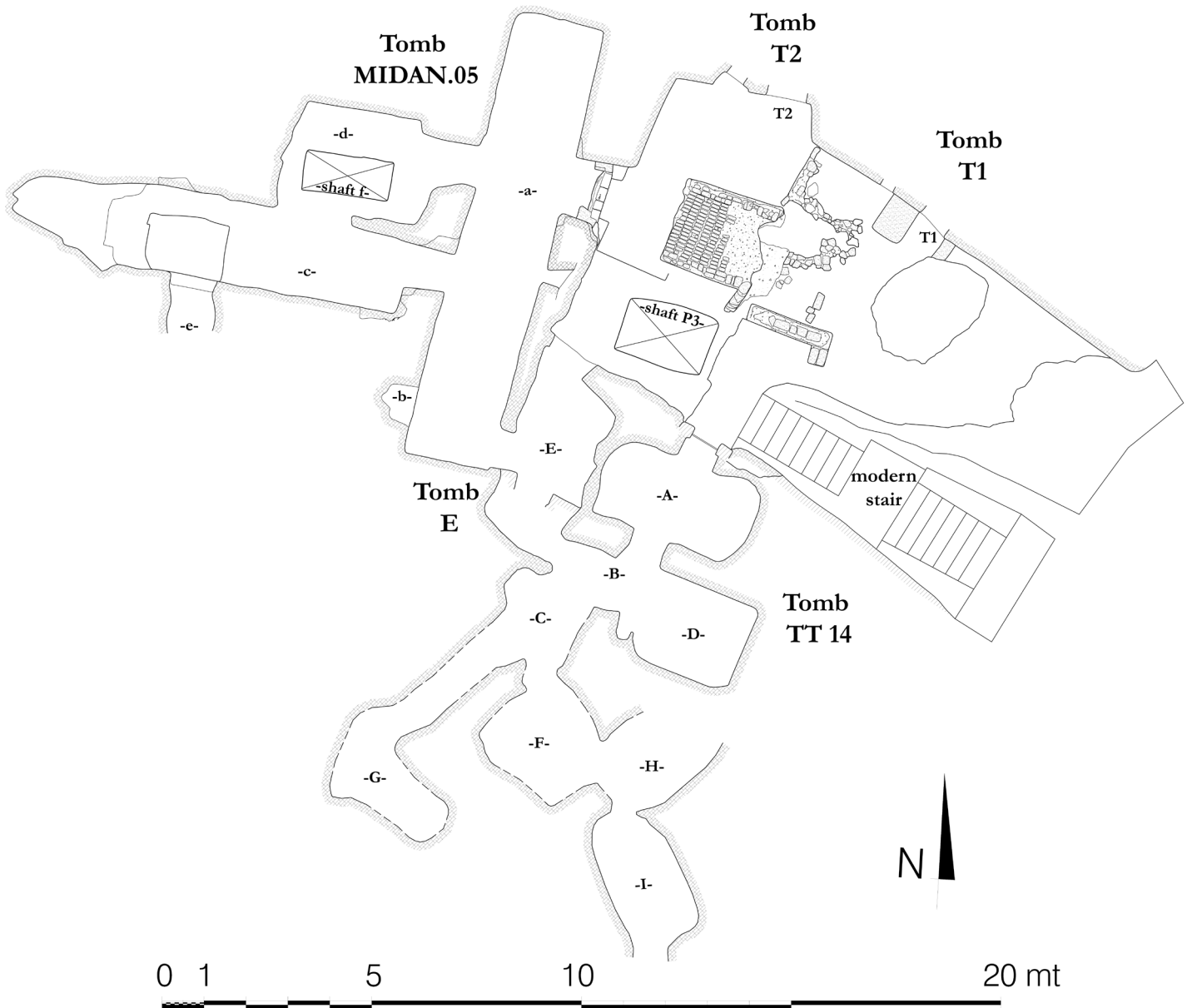
<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, 129. Although Miniaci says here that "the latest use of *rishi* coffins dates to somewhere between the reigns of Thutmose I and Thutmose III", the analysis of the only three examples datable after Thutmose I induces him to specify, a few lines below, that "it is remarkable that all the *rishi* coffins attested during the phase of Thutmose III pose some chronological problems". In one case (Khay, cat. rT16MMA), Thutmose III "is only the *terminus ante quem*"; the second coffin

<sup>1</sup> BETRÒ, in BETRÒ, DEL VESCO, MINIACI, *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu el-Naga*, 10; BETRÒ, in BETRÒ, MINIACI, DEL VESCO, *EVO* 35, 2012, 21-7; BETRÒ, MINIACI, in TAYLOR, VANDENBEUSCH (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Coffins*.

<sup>2</sup> BETRÒ, MINIACI, DEL VESCO, *EVO* 35, 37-8.

<sup>3</sup> BETRÒ in BETRÒ, DEL VESCO, MINIACI, *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu el-Naga*, 82.

<sup>4</sup> BETRÒ, in BETRÒ, MINIACI, DEL VESCO, *EVO* 35, 22-3.



**Fig 1** – Plan of the area with MIDAN.05 and the cluster of tombs around its forecourt (plan by P. Del Vesco, E. Taccola)  
© MIDAN – University of Pisa

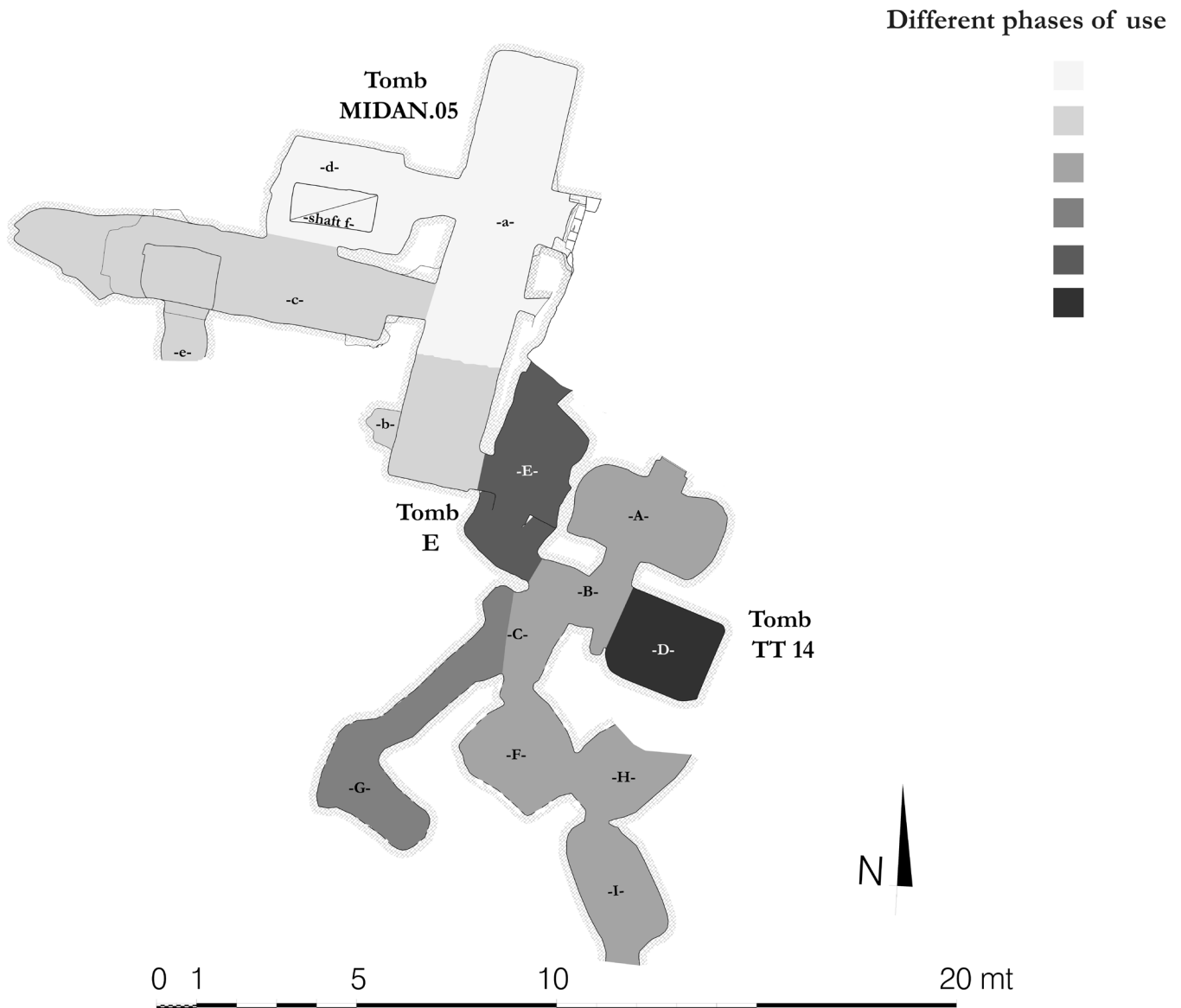
a significant *terminus ante quem* for dating the first phase of the tomb.

A further peculiar feature of this tomb contributes, together with the *rishi* fragments, to define MIDAN.05 as an early T-shaped Theban tomb: the presence of a single window to the left of the door (Fig. 3). This architectural element is shared with the two yet unexcavated tombs (T1 and T2) discovered in 2010 on the northern side of its forecourt (Fig. 4).

The window of MIDAN.05 opens in the south wing of its façade at 112 cm from the door and 116 cm from the floor. It is 98 cm high, 60 cm wide and 49 cm deep.

(cat. *rT01PH*) comes from a disturbed context and has parallels with earlier *rishi* types, while the attribution of the third (cat. *rT01Ry*) to Sitre, nurse of Hatshepsut, “is nothing more than an engaging hypothesis”.

Its lower part was found blocked by three rows of mud-bricks accurately laid and joined by a whitish mortar (Fig. 5 a-b). Looking at the window from the inside, in the transverse hall, the mud-bricks can be seen to have been plastered with the same pinkish and very fine gypsum used as the base for the largely destroyed paintings. In places where the bricks are now missing, the pink mortar, still *in situ* in spite of the loss of its support, forms a kind of thin but hard screen (Fig. 6). These details suggest that the window, which was part of the original plan (first phase of the tomb), was closed by bricks in a second phase, and plastered and painted on the inside face. The type of bricks, mortar and plaster seems to be contemporary with the decoration of the hall, which can be dated, according to the few preserved scenes, to sometime before the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty,



**Fig 2** – Chronological sequence of architectural modification in MIDAN.05 and its neighbouring tombs, highlighted with different levels of grey (lighter = older; darker = earlier) (plan by P. Del Vesco, E. Taccola, adapted by G. Miniaci) © MIDAN – University of Pisa

from Hatshepsut-Thutmose III to Thutmose IV.<sup>9</sup> It must be concluded that the window represents an element older than the decoration and that its closure was functional to it and made just before.

At the moment, it is not possible to know whether the two windows in the nearby tombs T1 and T2 underwent the same modifications: they are completely filled by deposits of flash-floods and debris. Anyway, if they too were blocked by bricks, these are no more in place.

Windows are a rare element in Theban tombs, present only in the Eighteenth Dynasty, mainly concentrated in its early part (up to Hatshepsut) and from Amenhotep III to Ay.<sup>10</sup> Only sixteen tombs with windows are listed

by Friederike Kampp among the many hundreds recorded in the Theban necropolis: nine of them are datable to the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, not later than Hatshepsut/Thutmose III (TT 81, -177-, TT 67, TT 71, TT 252, TT 397, TT 317, -141-, -216-); the remaining seven date from Amenhotep II to Ay (TT 93, -28-, TT 48, TT 192, -281-, -396-, TT 271). A further tomb belonging to the first part of the dynasty could be added to the group, but its typology is still dubious (Table 1).<sup>11</sup>

It should be noted that the above mentioned examples

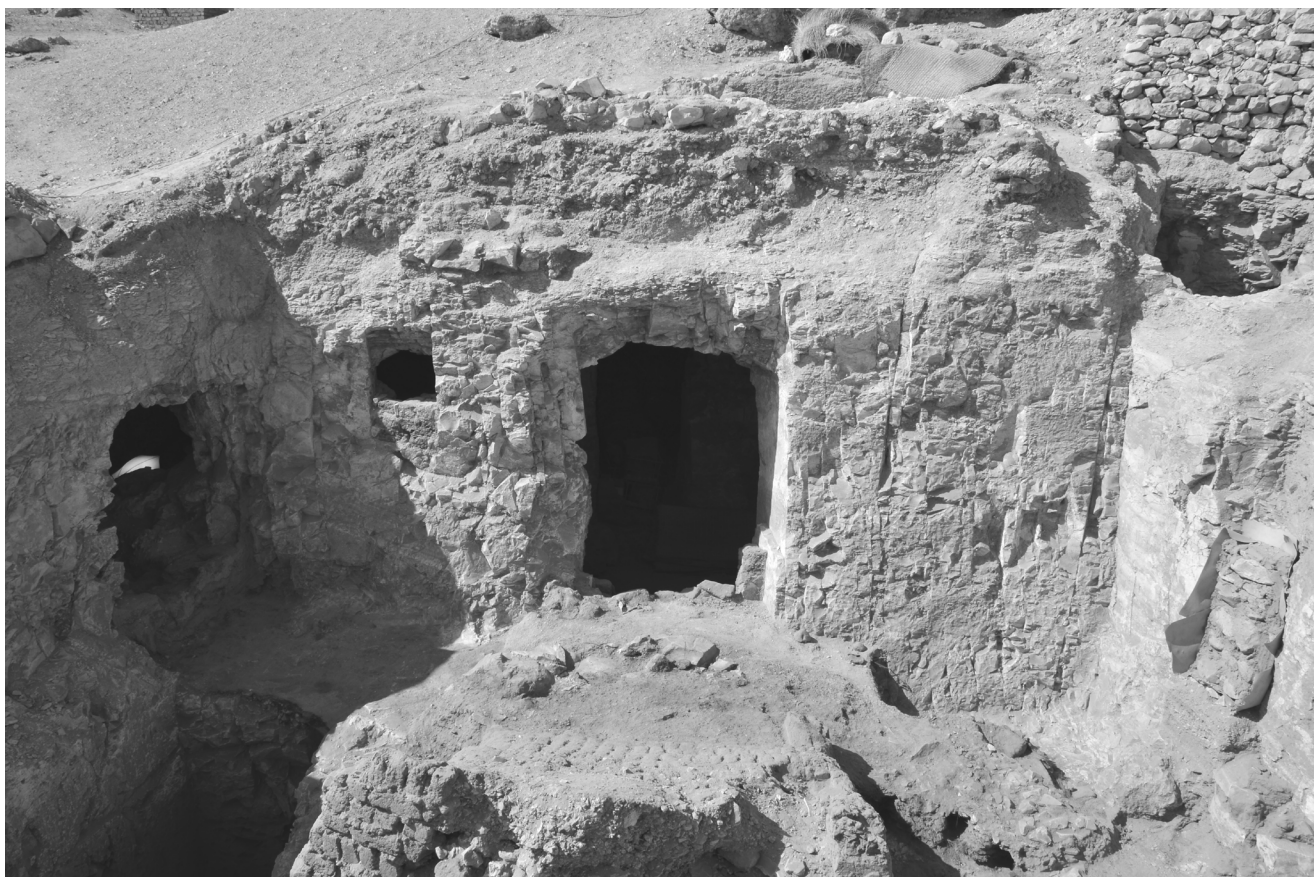
*Innovationen und Extravaganzen*, 16.

<sup>11</sup> KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 639, in contrast to Melanie Wasmuth, does not include in her list tomb -30-, which, being still partially buried, could be “ein kleines Portikusgrab mit 2 Pfeilern oder eine Grabfassade mit zwei Fenstern zu beiden Seiten des Eingangs”.

<sup>9</sup> For a study of some of these scenes see SIMINI, *EVO* 35, 53-62; MARINI, *EVO* 37, 89-100.

<sup>10</sup> KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 70, table 51; WASMUTH,



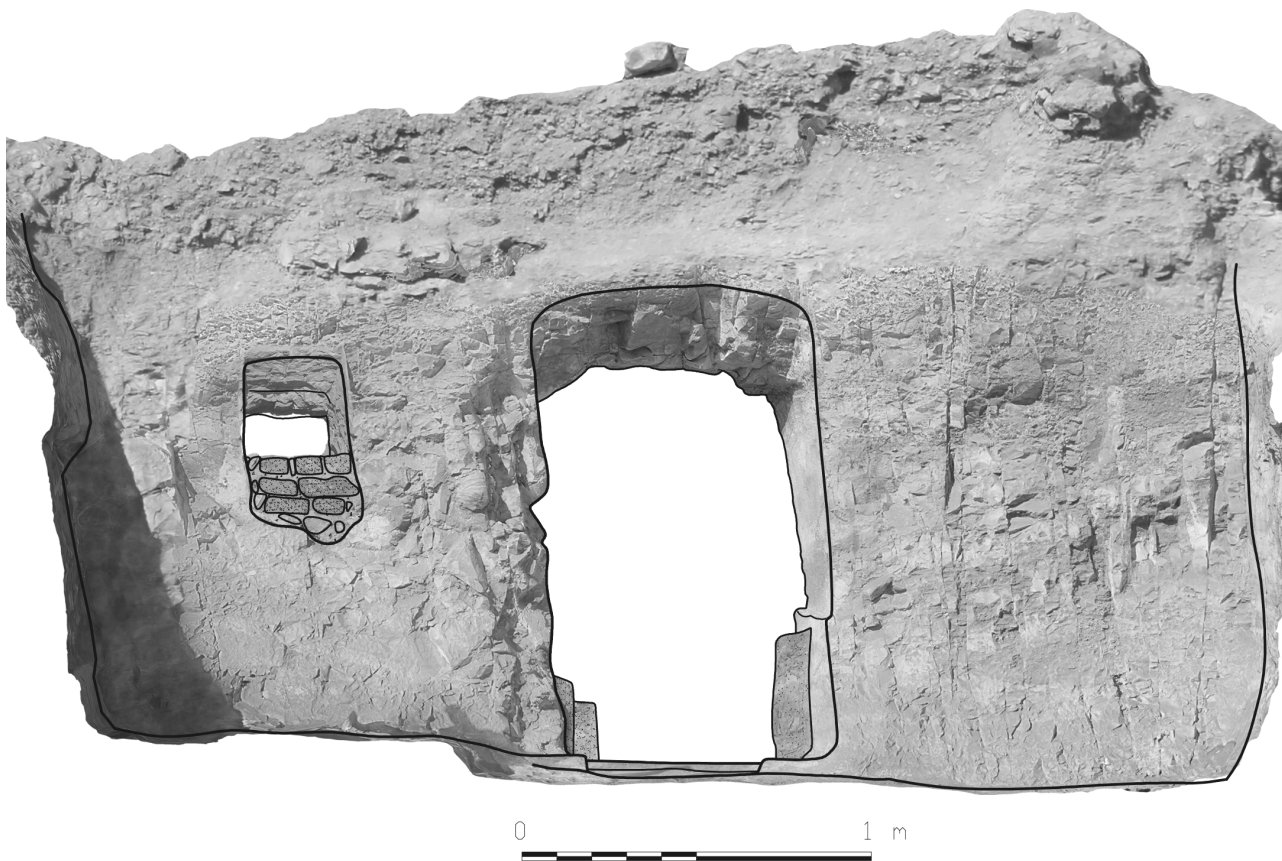


**Fig. 3** – The façade of MIDAN.05 with its single window © MIDAN – University of Pisa



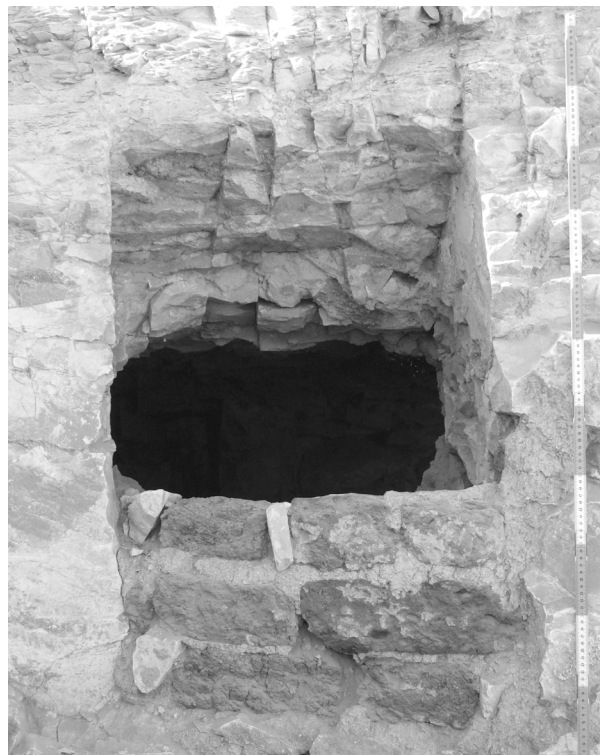
**Fig. 4** – T2 and T1 with the combination ‘single window-door’ (from left to right), during the excavation of the forecourt. View from the South © MIDAN – University of Pisa





**Fig. 5a** – Orthorectified photo of the façade of MIDAN.05 overlapped with the line drawing of the window and its partial brick closure (by E. Taccola) © MIDAN – University of Pisa

concern mostly tombs with an even number of windows, symmetrically arranged. In three cases this cannot be stated beyond any doubt, because of the lack of detailed archaeological information: in TT 397 (= Kampp –87–) a rectangular breach in the extreme upper right of the façade is certainly to be interpreted as a window; a corresponding opening on the left side can be argued, but this was not seen by Kampp as the forecourt was completely buried under masses of rubble (Fig. 7a).<sup>12</sup> A similar situation can be found with tomb –216–, presenting to an observer only a small portion of its upper left façade above ground. Here Kampp could recognize an opening which she identified as “ein artifizuell angelegtes Fenster”.<sup>13</sup> Whether a symmetrical window on the right side of the façade exists has yet to be established. Evidence of what seems to be a one-window T-shaped tomb is provided by TT 317: judging from the plan provided by Sakuji Yoshimura and Jiro Kondo,<sup>14</sup> the tomb certainly has a single opening on its left aisle, south of the main door, but Kampp’s description leaves in doubt whether it is a true window or just a breach, and the Japanese

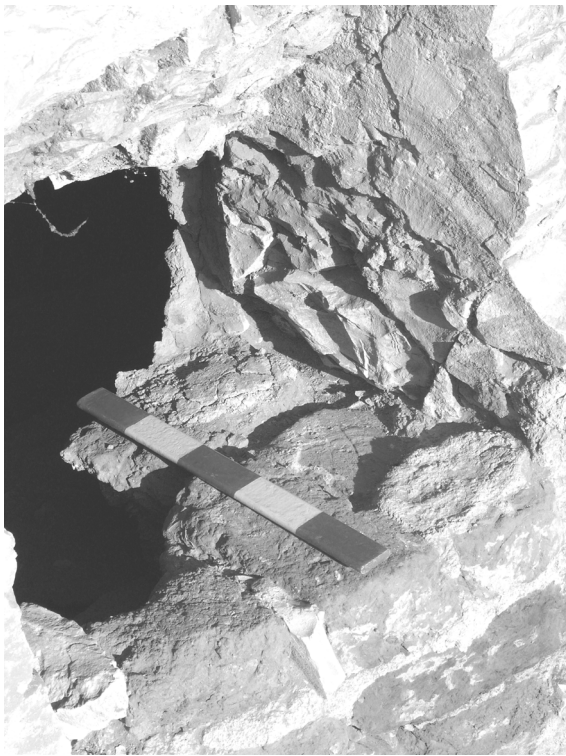


**Fig. 5b** – Detail of the window from the outside © MIDAN – University of Pisa

<sup>12</sup> KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 606.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, 732.

<sup>14</sup> YOSHIMURA, KONDO, *LDA* 149-50, 110.



**Fig. 6** – Detail of the window, remaining part of the brick closure; view from above. Note, on the back of the window, a fragment of gypsum and mortar –still in situ–, plastering the bricks which closed the window © MIDAN – University of Pisa

mission, unfortunately, gives no detailed description of the tomb (Fig. 7b).<sup>15</sup>

The single windows of MIDAN.05 and the two tombs T1 and T2 are therefore so far the only solid archaeological evidence of this feature.

Although the second part of the Eighteenth Dynasty shows an interesting revival of this architectural element, probably to be connected with the importance of light and the cultic use of windows in the Amarna Period,<sup>16</sup> the distribution of a significant percentage of tombs with windows in its first part is not casual and awards attention.

Eberhard Dzierzek's hypothesis that windows represent the intermediate passage between *saff* and T-shaped tombs<sup>17</sup> has a strong rational appeal and provides a good reason for such a concentration in the transition from the Middle Kingdom models to the new T-shaped Theban tomb. Nonetheless, this theory has been challenged by the new interpretation of many of the so-called *saff* tombs as 'pseudo-*saff*', that is to say archaizing tombs newly carved at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty (or slightly earlier), and, above all, by the coex-

istence of different models – the traditional *saff*, tombs with windows, and possibly T-shaped tombs – in the same period.<sup>18</sup> The resulting scenario is that of a period filled with new ideas and experimentation, leading to different innovations, rather than following a single linear 'genealogical' derivation.<sup>19</sup>

Hatshepsut's reign, as recent research trends stress, is certainly marked by exceptional creativeness and open-mindedness.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, the possibility exists that some of this, particularly the process of evolution and definition of new models of funerary architecture, must be slightly backdated to the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Chronology is here a fundamental discriminating factor, yet at the same time one that is difficult to manage with the necessary precision: we are speaking of little more than a generation, 30 or perhaps 40 years, that can also concern changes in the life and in the choices of single individuals. It is well known that the construction of a tomb could be a long process, starting well before reaching old age. It would be ideal to be able to specify the lifespan of the owners of the graves concerned, the progress of their careers, and the exact moment they began construction of their own tomb. Such a date is available, e.g., for Theban Tomb 71, one of the two funerary monuments of Senenmut, thanks to the discovery of an *ostrakon* from its forecourt by Norman de Garis Davies in 1926.<sup>21</sup> The *ostrakon*, dated to year 7, month 4 of *pr.t*, day 2, records "the beginning of work in the tomb on this day" and the approximate amount of quarrying material.<sup>22</sup> The date coincides with that of a jar label found in the burial chamber of Senenmut's parents, Ramose and Hatnofer, located below his own tomb and certainly hewn out before the construction of the artificial terrace, during the very first works for TT 71.<sup>23</sup> Although the exact date of Senenmut's death is not known, it seems certain that he lived at least until the year 18 or 19 and probably later.<sup>24</sup> He started, therefore, to prepare his first funerary monument more than ten years before his death.

This could be true also in the case of other high officials of the time. Ineni (TT 81) started his activity earlier than Senenmut: according to Dzierzek, Ineni was already placed by Amenhotep I in charge of many offices in the domain of Amon and, by Thutmose I, as overse-

<sup>15</sup> KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 573; plan at p. 574.

<sup>16</sup> KEMP, *JEA* 62, 81-99; VOMBERG, *Sokar* 19, 86-9.

<sup>17</sup> DZIOBEK, in ASSMANN, DAVIES, BURKARD (eds.), *Problems and Priorities*, 69-79.

<sup>18</sup> KAMPP-SEYFRIED, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 6-7; POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 279-302.

<sup>19</sup> See also KAMPP-SEYFRIED, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 6.

<sup>20</sup> GALÁN, BRYAN, DORMAN (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*.

<sup>21</sup> HAYES, *Ostraka and name stones*, 4.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, #62, 21, pl. 13.

<sup>23</sup> DORMAN, in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 32. See also DORMAN, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 95-6.

<sup>24</sup> DORMAN, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 177-9.



er of the treasury, granaries, fields and all works of Amon, beyond being mayor of Thebes and architect for the king's royal tomb.<sup>25</sup> He had already reached the *apex* of his career when Thutmose II died and was retained by Hatshepsut among her most trusted and powerful officials. It is still debated whether he re-used an ancient *saff*-tomb or made for himself *ex novo* a pseudo-*saff*.<sup>26</sup> In both cases it is not known the date he started works nor when he decided to alter the

*saff*-model of his tomb and to close the *intercolumnia* with brick walls, leaving windows at their top. The change to the project was made before proceeding with the decoration,<sup>27</sup> which, according to Barbara Engelmann-von Carnap, dates to before Hatshepsut's ascent to the throne.<sup>28</sup> This places the second phase of TT 81, with the construction of brick walls among the pillars and the making of windows, *before* Hatshepsut.

It is highly probable that, in such a fervid cultural climate, Ineni was "a true innovator in the area of tomb construction",<sup>29</sup> tracing the path to the following tombs of Senenmut, Hapuseneb, Useramon. His key-role in the conception of a completely new model for the king's tomb, as architect of Thutmose I, and the fact that one and the same person was involved in the architectural-religious revolution in the royal funerary complex and in the transformation of his own tomb cannot be neglected. Nonetheless, a full appreciation of the dynamic processes acting in that period must look also at the choic-

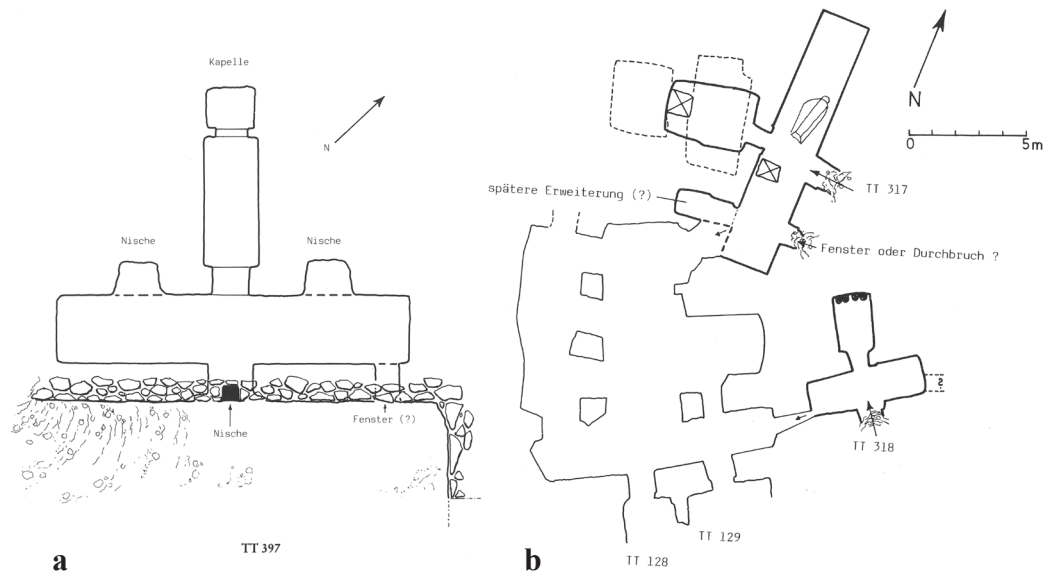
<sup>25</sup> DZIOBEK, in ASSMANN, DAVIES, BURKARD (eds.), *Problems and Priorities*, 122-3; SHIRLEY, in GALÁN, BRYAN, DORMAN (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 176-7.

<sup>26</sup> In favour of the first thesis are DZIOBEK, in ASSMANN, DAVIES, BURKARD (eds.), *Problems and Priorities*; KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 323-6; DORMAN, in GALÁN, BRYAN, DORMAN (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 4; while POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 284-6 does not exclude the second.

<sup>27</sup> POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 301.

<sup>28</sup> ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, *Thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs*, 82-3. A different view in LABOURY, in GALÁN, BRYAN, DORMAN (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation*, 54-5, according whom Ineni's biography is retrospective.

<sup>29</sup> DORMAN, in GALÁN, BRYAN, DORMAN (eds.), *Creativity and innovation*, 4.



**Fig. 7** – (a): Plan of TT 397 from KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 606; (b): Plan of TT 317 from KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 574

es of other officials coeval with him. While the vizier Ahmose-Aametu, who probably married Ineni's sister, opted for a very traditional model, making for himself a pseudo-*saff* tomb anew (TT 83),<sup>30</sup> the choice of Senmen, owner of TT 252, was completely different and deserves attention: his funerary monument is indeed an orthodox T-shaped tomb with two windows.<sup>31</sup> A further remarkable feature of this monument, recurring also in the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71), was a three-chambered superstructure with statues above the tomb, whose parallels were traced back by Karl Seyfried to similar Middle Kingdom structures in the Theban necropolis.<sup>32</sup> It represents the oldest example of Seyfried's 'Obere Ebene' in the evolutionary line of New Kingdom tombs. Daniel Polz notes that, although TT 252 plays no role in the studies of Dziobek, Kampp and Engelmann-von Carnap on the early evolution of the Theban tomb, it is worth considering that Senmen was coeval with the owners of the earliest tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty and his tomb has the two extraordinary features of a superstructure and two windows.<sup>33</sup>

Senmen is better known as the steward and tutor of princess Neferura, daughter of Hatshepsut.<sup>34</sup> This ap-

<sup>30</sup> The decoration of his tomb pre-dates Hatshepsut's ascent to the throne and is probably contemporary to that of Ineni: ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, *Thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs*, 82.

<sup>31</sup> KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 527-30.

<sup>32</sup> DAVIES, *PSBA* 1913, 282-5 (only the superstructure); SEYFRIED, in ASSMANN, DAVIES, BURKARD (eds.), *Problems and Priorities*, 235-9 and 242-3.

<sup>33</sup> POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 289-90.

<sup>34</sup> ROEHRIG, *The Eighteenth Dynasty titles royal nurse*, 57-8; ROEHRIG, DORMAN, *VA* 3, 127-34; SHIRLEY, in GALÁN, BRYAN, DORMAN (eds.), *Creativity and innovation*, 181.



parently places him among a later series of officials and tombs, but actually he was rather aged at the time and could have started the construction of his tomb before Hatshepsut, maybe under her father Thutmose I or her husband Thutmose II. No traces of its decoration are preserved and the available scant evidence with his titles (mostly a few remains of inscriptions from the superstructure, his statue and some bricks from the area)<sup>35</sup> is liable to support contrasting theories. The seal impressions stamped on the bricks, listing an almost complete set of his known charges<sup>36</sup>, give him the title of *hrd n k3p n Nb-ph̄tj-R<sup>c</sup>*, ‘child of the *kap* of Ahmose’, together with those related to Neferura: *3tw n ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w ntr:t n ḥm.t-ntr Nfrw-R<sup>c</sup>, mn<sup>c</sup> n s3.t ḥm.t-ntr ḤB.t-šps.wt, jmj-r3 pr n s3.t-nswt*, ‘keeper of the divine body of the god’s wife Neferura, tutor of the daughter of the god’s wife Hatshepsut, steward of the king’s daughter’.<sup>37</sup> The title ‘child of the *kap* of Ahmose’ means that the official grew up at the court of Ahmose, being either contemporary with the king or raised in the school of pages renewed and restored by Ahmose. Bernard Mathieu proposes that the recruitment of pages in the *kap* was determined according to the birth of a boy on the same day as the Crown Prince. An alternative to the birth of Senmen on the same day as Ahmose –he adds– could have his birth on the same day as Ahmose’s son, Amenhotep I.<sup>38</sup> The two interpretations imply of course two drastically different appraisals of Senmen’s age when he was tutor of Neferura: in the first case he would be a rather aged man; in the second he could be around 35 years. It is noticeable that the above-quoted inscription, although putting the name of the queen inside a cartouche, does not mention her royal name Maatkara and refers to her only as god’s wife. This is convincing proof that the text was composed before her ascent to the throne. The fact that on the bricks her daughter Neferura holds the same title of god’s wife, which it is supposed she assumed only after her mother’s enthronement,<sup>39</sup> is no more a difficulty: in at least one scene from the so-called *Netjery-menu* at Karnak, belonging to the pre-coronation period, the title of ‘god’s wife [and god’s hand] of Amun’ was borne by

Hatshepsut as well as her daughter Neferura.<sup>40</sup>

A reappraisal of Theban Tomb 345 could equally give important information: this is a T-shaped tomb, without windows, whose owner Amenhotep had the title of *wab-priest* and *s3 nswt tpj n 3-ḥpr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>*, ‘first King’s son of Thutmose I’. Kees rejected its dating to Thutmose I, rather connecting Amenhotep to the funerary cult of that king and placing him in the age of Thutmose III,<sup>41</sup> but Kampp thinks that the title, as well as stylistic details of the scenes drawn by the Lepsius Expedition (*LD III*, 9 a-c), suggest the earlier date given in PM, and Polz agrees with her.<sup>42</sup> In this case, we would have here the oldest example so far known of a closed T-shaped tomb.

It is within this framework that the evidence brought by MIDAN.05 must be evaluated: here the information provided by the *rishi* fragments found in its shaft ‘f’ assumes a decisive meaning. Although it cannot be excluded the possibility that they represent a late persistence of a funerary custom about to disappear, the consistent picture of *rishi* distribution not later than Thutmose I<sup>43</sup> raises the question whether MIDAN.05 is not to be considered as one of the very first examples of T-shaped tomb.

The meaning of windows in the funerary architecture of early Eighteenth Dynasty and, in a broader perspective, the importance of openings –both *intercolumnia* and windows– from the Middle Kingdom onwards, is an aspect which deserves a thorough discussion, which, however, is beyond the limits and scope of this article. The need to let light filter inside seems to be the crucial reason for such a feature, but the failure of the ‘house-model’ theory<sup>44</sup> leaves no more than a pragmatic or cultic-religious explanation. The former does not account for the absence of windows in the closed T-shaped tomb.

Windows were part of the ‘upper level’ (in Karl Seyfried’s sense) of a funerary monument, mainly related to the solar cult and including not only superstructures but “all architectural elements *within* or above the tomb façade”.<sup>45</sup> From the reign of Amenhotep III on, solar aspects were developed through architecture and decorative programs in a more manifest way, with large pyramid chapels above the tomb, and, inside it, solar hymns along the central axis, on doorways jambs or thickness, sometimes accompanied by a representation of the ador-

<sup>35</sup> SEYFRIED, *Entwicklung*, 250-3.

<sup>36</sup> He also was *jrj-p<sup>c</sup>.t ḥ3tj-<sup>c</sup>*, ‘noble and count’, and, in the tomb of Senenmut, also *ḥtm.w bj.tj*, ‘seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt’.

<sup>37</sup> SEYFRIED, *Entwicklung*, 251.9. Seyfried notes how very probably the ‘funerary cone’ Davies-Macadam no. 120 is actually the seal impression on the many bricks found on site and copied first by Lepsius (*LD III*, 25), who misinterpreted the first signs. See also *Urk.* IV, 418, 4 ff.

<sup>38</sup> MATHIEU, *GM* 177, 41-8.

<sup>39</sup> SHIRLEY, in GALÁN, BRYAN, DORMAN (eds.), *Creativity and innovation*, 181.

<sup>40</sup> GABOLDE, *Monuments*, 55, pl. 11; LABOURY, in GALÁN, BRYAN, DORMAN (eds.), *Creativity and innovation*, 67, who stresses the political meaning of Hatshepsut’s emphasis on her daughter.

<sup>41</sup> KEES, *ZÄS* 85, 45-56.

<sup>42</sup> KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole*, 584-5; POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 345.

<sup>43</sup> See above n. 8.

<sup>44</sup> STEINDORFF, WOLF, *Die thebanische Gräberwelt*, 44.

<sup>45</sup> KAMPP-SEYFRIED in STRUDWICK, TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 8. Italics in the quoted sentence is mine.

Inventory number	Owner	Architectural typology	Dates of construction /finishing	Evidence for dating
MIDAN.05		T-shaped tomb with 1 window	1 <sup>st</sup> phase: c. Thutmose I	<i>Rishi</i> -coffins in chamber <i>j</i>
T1		T-shaped tomb with 1 window	Probably same dating as MIDAN.05	Location in the forecourt of MIDAN.05; architecture
T2		T-shaped tomb with 1 window	Probably same dating as MIDAN.05	Location in the forecourt of MIDAN.05; architecture
TT 81	Ineni	<i>Saff</i> or pseudo- <i>saff</i> with windows	Before Hatshepsut's reign	Career and tomb decoration: DZIOBEK, in ASSMANN, DAVIES, BURKARD (eds.), <i>Problems and priorities</i> , 122-3; ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, <i>Thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs</i> , 82-3; POLZ, <i>Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches</i> , 301
TT 252	Senmen	T-shaped tomb with 2 windows	Before Hatshepsut's reign	Titles on seal-impressions; Hatshepsut as God's wife; no use of her royal name Maatkara
-177-		T-shaped tomb with 2 windows	Hatshepsut	KAMPP, <i>Die thebanische Nekropole</i> , 721, on the ground of the cartouche of the queen
TT 71	Senmut	Pseudo- <i>saff</i> with windows	Year 7 of Hatshepsut beginning of work	Ostrakon: HAYES, <i>Ostraka and name stones</i> , 4; #62, 21, pl. 13
TT 67	Hapuseneb	Pseudo- <i>saff</i> tomb with windows	Hatshepsut	Career and tomb architecture and decoration: KAMPP, <i>Die thebanische Nekropole</i> , 289-292; POLZ, <i>Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches</i> , 290-1; BACS, <i>Current Research of the Hungarian Archaeological Mission</i> , 8-21
TT 397	Nacht	T-shaped tomb with 1 or 2 windows	Hatshepsut	KAMPP, <i>Die thebanische Nekropole</i> , 606, on the ground of the owner's genealogy
TT 317	Djehutjnefer	T-shaped tomb with one window?	Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III	KAMPP, <i>Die thebanische Nekropole</i> , 573, on the ground of a possible identification of the owner with the same person mentioned in the tomb of Pahery at el-Kab
-141-		T-shaped tomb with 2 windows (MANNICHE, ASAE 72)	Probably Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III	KAMPP, <i>Die thebanische Nekropole</i> , 645: dating on the ground of the window and kind of mortar
-216-		T-shaped tomb with window/s?	Probably Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III	KAMPP, <i>Die thebanische Nekropole</i> , 732: dating on the ground of decoration and kind of plaster
-30- (?)		T-shaped tomb with 2 windows (WASMUTH, <i>Innovationen und Extravaganzen</i> , 16) or "Portikusgrab mit 2 Pfeilern" (KAMPP, <i>Die thebanische Nekropole</i> , 639)	Early Eighteenth Dynasty	KAMPP, <i>Die thebanische Nekropole</i> , 639: dating on the ground of decoration, plaster, proportions of the windows or pillars

Table 1 – Tombs of the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty with windows

ing deceased.<sup>46</sup> The presence of prototypes of later pyramid superstructures in at least two tombs with windows of the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty (TT 252 and TT 71) is certainly an interesting point to evaluate in light of this perspective, as well as its Middle Kingdom ancestors identified by Seyfried.<sup>47</sup> The renaissance of windows in the second part of the Eighteenth Dynasty is a further element pointing to a relationship of this architectural feature with the solar cult since its true beginning. During the Eighteenth Dynasty the relationship between the circuit of the sun god and funerary conceptions is best known through the texts and representations in royal tombs. The theme of solar renewal belongs to the esoteric literature of the Books of the Netherworld, a wisdom apparently reserved only for the king as well as his capacity to share the destiny of the sun god and be reborn to a new eternal life.<sup>48</sup> Nonetheless, the hope of joining the journey of Ra and enter the equipage of his bark is also expressed in some chapters of the Book of the Dead, available to many officials of the period. Some of these spells were already part of compilations circulating during the first part of the dynasty: BD 119, exhorting the deceased as Osiris to raise and travel in the sky with Ra, and BD 102, ‘Going Aboard the Bark of Ra’, are inscribed in the burial chamber of Djehutj, owner of TT 11, dating to the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.<sup>49</sup>

Whether windows had a role in these conceptions and in rituals performed in the forecourt or in the transverse hall, is difficult to ascertain: most tombs with windows were not investigated in a proper way or the results of archaeological researches on the site were not fully published. In some cases, as mentioned, they have not yet undergone clearance. In the case of MIDAN.05, the extensive modifications of its forecourt made during the Late Period, especially in the area in front of the main door and façade, obliterated any remains of possible previous traces of usage. In the transverse hall, the total loss of wall paintings in the southern aisle – both the eventual wall decoration of the first phase and the later one following the closing of the window – prevents us from formulating a hypotheses. A study of the scenes placed around or in front of windows in other tombs could possibly give valuable hints in regard to this question. Attention must be drawn to the fact that not only is the immediate context next/under a window possibly meaningful, but all the space affected by the light

beam entering from the window: light was the immaterial but effective manifestation of the sun god. In the above mentioned later doorways with solar hymns, the object of the adoring deceased’s veneration is always invisible, substituted by the daylight entering from the main door. Paintings, reliefs, cultic objects and architectural elements onto which a window projected light could be therefore equally meaningful: statues, offering tables, niches,<sup>50</sup> etc.

What is the meaning of single windows, such as those of MIDAN.05, its neighbouring tombs T1 and T2 and possibly that of TT 317? In this speculative scenario it remains difficult to say. An intriguing parallel could be provided by the still unclear and debated interpretation of the single window room in the memorial temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>51</sup> But the possibility to consider them as ‘Extravaganzen’ cannot be excluded.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> ASSMANN, *Sonnenhymnen*, xiv-xv.

<sup>47</sup> SEYFRIED, in ASSMANN, DAVIES, BURKARD (eds.), *Problems and Priorities*, 242-3.

<sup>48</sup> HORNUNG, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*; HORNUNG, *Die Nachtfahrt*; ASSMANN, *Egyptian solar religion*.

<sup>49</sup> GALÁN, in GALÁN, BRYAN, DORMAN (eds.), *Creativity and innovation*, 257.

<sup>50</sup> In the tomb of Amenhotep, vizier of Lower Egypt, in Asasif, two niches exactly correspond to the two windows on the opposite wall: EIGNER, *MDAIK* 39, 42; EIGNER, in GORDON, *MDAIK* 39, 80.

<sup>51</sup> STADELMANN, *MDAIK* 29, 221-42; BIALOSTOCKA, *ET* 27, 37-60.

<sup>52</sup> WASMUTH, *Innovationen und Extravaganzen*.



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