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THE TIP OF A HORN: THE POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF AN ICONOGRAPHIC THEME IN THE ELITE TOMBS OF NEW KINGDOM THEBES

Summary: The article attempts to identify the possible origins of the iconography of a scene depicting Osiris in TT 65, the late Ramesside tomb of Imiseba. Revealing an apparent dependence on representations of the ruling king in Theban tombs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, an analysis is presented of these, most particularly of that of the vizier Useramun (TT 131). Consequently, it also offers an argument in favour of considering the Middle Kingdom tomb TT 60 as providing the eventual model for the early Thutmoside scenes.

Key words: Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, Theban tombs, kiosk scene, Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, TT 60, Useramun, TT 65, Nebamun, Imiseba.

The dependence of early Eighteenth Dynasty monumental art on Middle Kingdom antecedents is a commonplace, but one that is simpler to perceive in a general sense, than to single out the actual models that demonstrate it. One of the principal reasons for this in basic terms is that the actual models that served as direct inspirations have not survived in great number, thus frustrating a true appreciation of this dependence, be it in architecture, sculpture, relief or painting. It is rather rare in Egyptian art history, therefore, that the concrete origin of an iconographic element or theme can be identified. The case in point here is the genre scene representing the king in a number of elite tomb-chapels of the Theban necropolis. The point of departure in the following discussion will be a rather ambiguous depiction of Osiris in the late Ramesside tomb of Imiseba (TT 65) that, as will be seen below, is clearly dependent on representations of kings in early Eighteenth Dynasty tombs that are separated from it by ca. three hundred years.

The scene, part of which shows the enthroned Osiris in a kiosk, occupies the entire southern rear wall of the tomb-chapel's transverse hall (fig. 1).¹ Both concep-

¹ The scene as a whole shows a procession of Imiseba and his family before Osiris; for an earlier brief discussion of the scene, see Bács, T. A.: Art as material for later art: the case of Theban Tomb 65.



Fig. 1. Osiris seated in a kiosk (TT 65) (photo by Marcell Nagy and Ferenc Pfeffer)

tually and stylistically it fits neatly into the overall Twentieth Dynasty design of the hall, being balanced by a similar depiction featuring the Theban triad on the northern rear wall.² Its spatial position is nonetheless meaningful in another respect as well. The figure of the deity, who is seated with its back to the entrance (here a recess) of the axial corridor, occupies the same position, viz. that of a so-called “Blickpunktsbild”,³ as the king in pre-Amarna Eighteenth Dynasty tomb-chapels.⁴

In DAVIES, W. V. (ed.): *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*. London 2001, 98–99. An analogous Twentieth Dynasty example of the scene type albeit with a more traditional rendering of Osiris is to be found in TT 68, see SEYFRIED, K. J.: *Das Grab des Paenkhemen (TT 68) und die Anlage TT 227* [Theben 6]. Mainz 1991, 43 (Szene 7), Beilage VIII.

² See BÁCS, T. A.: A Royal Litany in a Private Context. *MDAIK* 60 (2004) 1–16.

³ The term was introduced in ARNOLD, D.: *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches* [MÄS 2]. Berlin 1962, 128.

⁴ Where with a few exceptions the king is represented on either sides flanking the entrance, see ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, B.: *Die Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs in der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie. Analyse von Position, Grundrissgestaltung und Bildprogramm der Gräber* [ADAIK, Ägypto-

Indeed, images of Osiris in a kiosk feature in various contexts in the standard repertoire of Ramesside tomb decoration, however, certain details of the Imiseba scene indicate that it differs from these in having an unrelated and unusual iconographic ancestry. This can be asserted with confidence despite the fact that admittedly most of the iconographic motifs, whether individually or in groups, can be recognised in other such Ramesside scenes. For as it appears, the Osiris scene on closer inspection reveals itself to be a transmutation of an early Eighteenth Dynasty representational type that displays the enthroned king in a kiosk. The points of special interest in this connection are the apparel of Osiris, in particular the rendering of the curved ram horns, as well as the emblematic figure behind the deity's throne and the bull's head protome of the kiosk. On comparison, then, the most striking parallel is clearly offered by the representation of Thutmose III in the tomb-chapel (TT 131) of his vizier Useramun (fig. 2). Before attempting to explain this curious association, to which I shall return later, the question of the possible origin of the Eighteenth Dynasty kiosk scene itself should be addressed.

The first to dedicate a separate study to the appearance of the motif and its variants in the Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty was Ali Radwan.⁵ More recent treatments, like those of Engelmann-von Carnap or Hartwig on the other hand, have discussed it within the framework of their respective analyses of the decorative programmes of Eighteenth Dynasty elite tomb-chapels in general, with Engelmann-von Carnap terming it in her formal scheme as "Segment V: NN vor König", while Hartwig as the "Royal Kiosk Icon".⁶ With a slightly different accent, El Menshawy in turn has focused on its value as pictorial evidence relevant for the study of the court ritual surrounding the ceremonial appearance of the king.⁷ All appear to agree, however, that the motif was a true innovation of the early New Kingdom, as it apparently did not belong to the standard motif inventory of either Old or Middle Kingdom tomb art, the sole exception being the representation of Senwosret I in the tomb of Senet (TT 60), the mother of the early Middle Kingdom vizier Intefiqer.⁸ While the

logische Reihe 15]. Berlin 1999, 245–246 with Abb. 146, 378–380, 410 Abb. 273; see also HARTWIG, M. K.: *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes 1419–1372 BCE* [Monumenta Aegyptiaca X, Série IMAGO no. 2]. Turnhout 2004, 55.

⁵ RADWAN, A.: *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie* [MÄS 21]. Berlin 1969; for a previous compendium, see for example, ABDUL-QADER MUHAMMED, M.: *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes*. Cairo 1966, 57–77.

⁶ ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP (n. 4) 245–246 with Abb. 146 deals with examples from the first half of the 18th Dynasty, while those of the latter half are discussed in HARTWIG (n. 4) 54–73; see also more generally HARTWIG, M. K.: *Style and Visual Rhetoric in Theban Tomb Painting*. In HAWASS, Z. – BROCK, L. P. (eds.): *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists*. Cairo 2000. Vol. 2. Cairo 2003, 298–307.

⁷ EL MENSRAWY, S.: *Pictorial Evidence Depicting the Interaction between the King and his People in Ancient Egypt*. In MCDONALD, A. – RIGGS, CH. (eds.): *Current Research in Egyptology 2000* [BAR International Series 909]. Oxford 2000, 83–89; and also EL MENSRAWY, S.: *The Protocol of the Ancient Egyptian Royal Palace*. In HAWASS–BROCK (n. 6) II 400–406; for an earlier treatment, see DAVIES, N. DE G.: *The place of audience in the palace*. *ZÄS* 60 (1925) 50–56.

⁸ DAVIES, N. DE G.: *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostri I, and of his Wife, Senet (No. 60)* [TTS 2]. London 1920, 18, pl. XVI. For Intefiqer, see more recently ALLEN, J. P.: *The high officials of*

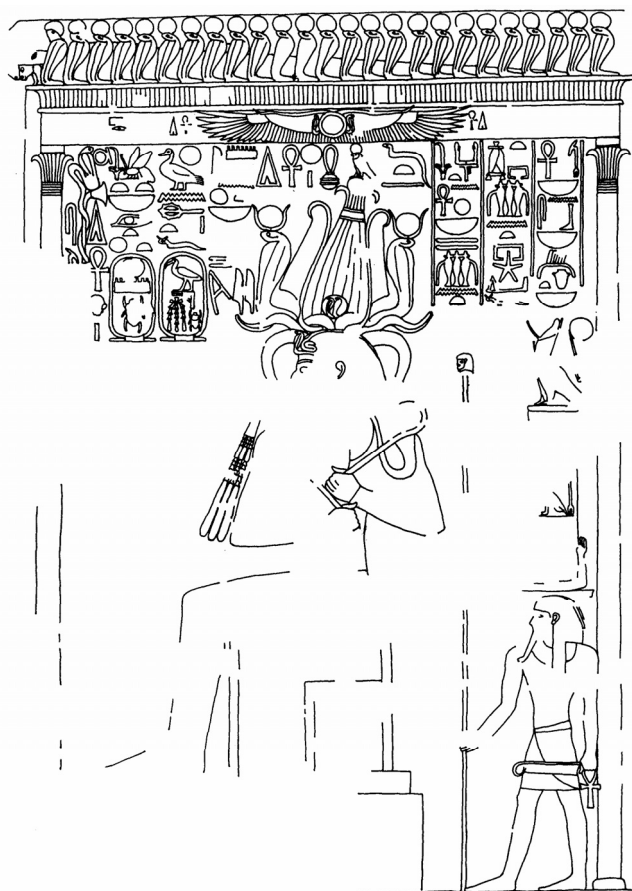


Fig. 2. Thutmose III in the tomb-chapel of Useramun (TT 131)
(drawing by Fruzsina Bartos after DZIOBEK 1994, pl. 42)

exceptionality of the scene's occurrence in TT 60 cannot be denied, overemphasising or dismissing it for this reason, however, potentially underestimates and misjudges the role and influence this tomb-chapel had on the emergence of early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb decoration. In effect, it is precisely the uniqueness of the scene that argues for seeing it as the particular model that directly inspired the later ones.⁹

the early Middle Kingdom. In STRUDWICK, N. – TAYLOR, J. H. (eds.): *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*. London 2003, 23–24; earlier OBSOMER, C.: *Sésostris Ier: étude chronologique et historique du règne* [Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne 5]. Bruxelles 1995, 165, 167–170, 489–491.

⁹ Although in theory the motif could have belonged to a persisting, but by now unrecoverable, iconographic tradition at Thebes, on present evidence this seems unlikely. The two other possible examples noted by Fischer-Elfert, namely TT 311/MMA 508 (Khety) and TT 386 (Intef) are both earlier, dating to the Eleventh Dynasty, see FISCHER-ELFERT, H.-W.: Representations of the Past in New Kingdom Literature. In TAIT, J. (ed.): *"Never Had the Like Occurred": Egypt's view of its past*. [Encounters with Ancient Egypt.] London 2003, 137, n. 14.

Among the factors that predestined the corridor tomb of Senet in general to serve as one of the points of departure for early Eighteenth Dynasty patrons and artists were foremost its location and its state of preservation. No doubt the tomb-chapel's coming to the fore as a monument to be used as a source of prototypes is closely tied to the transference of the centre of the elite cemetery to Sheikh Abd el-Gurna.¹⁰ This change in the mortuary landscape was what ultimately favoured the reception of TT 60 as a venerable tomb, being conveniently situated in a prominent location on the hill.¹¹ Equally important was the excellent condition in which its wall paintings were preserved and therefore easily accessible. Although it is difficult to estimate the number of Middle Kingdom tombs on the eastern slope of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna that might have survived with fairly intact decorations till the time of the early New Kingdom, if indeed TT 60 was not the only one, their number even with a generous allowance could not have been high to say the least. In fact, the high percentage of Middle Kingdom tombs reused here in the early Eighteenth Dynasty argues against it, considering that this reuse seemed to have been restricted to tombs that were never completed or used for burial.¹² Location and perceptibility, as in the more celebrated cases of early Eighteenth Dynasty sculpture and relief,¹³ were key aspects therefore, since as aptly noted by Russmann: "Artists could imitate only what they could see, so only visible monuments could serve as prototypes".¹⁴

Direct evidence for the interest in TT 60 during the early Eighteenth Dynasty is provided by the exceptionally high number of hieratic graffiti, thirty-six, recorded on its walls by Davies.¹⁵ On palaeographic grounds Gardiner dated their majority to around the reign of Thutmose I with a wider fifty-year allowance, except for one (no. 33) that can be attributed to that of Thutmose III, since its writer Amenemhat could be identified as the owner of nearby TT 82.¹⁶ It has been long recognised that in the latter case at least the highly stylised text of the graffito commemorated more

¹⁰ For the early development of Theban tombs, see DZIOBEK, E.: The Architectural Development of Theban Tombs in the Early Eighteenth Dynasty. In ASSMANN, J. – BURKARD, G. – DAVIES, V. (eds.): *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology. Studies in Egyptology*. London–New York 1987, 69–79; also now KAMPP-SEYFRIED, F.: The Theban necropolis: an overview of topography and tomb development from the Middle Kingdom to the Ramesside period. In STRUDWICK–TAYLOR (n. 8) 2–10.

¹¹ See e.g. KAMPP, F.: *Die thebanische Necropole: zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie* [Theben 13]. Mainz 1996, Plan III, E 4; also *PM² I 1*, Map V.

¹² For a reconstruction of the Middle Kingdom cemetery on Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, as well as a discussion of the patterns of reuse see ROHRIG, C. H.: The Early Middle Kingdom Cemeteries at Thebes and the Tomb of Djari. In ASSMANN, J. – DZIOBEK, E. – GUKSCH, H. – KAMPP F. (eds.): *Thebanische Beamteneekropolen. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung. Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9–13.6.1983* [SAGA 12]. Heidelberg 1995, 259–261, 258 fig. 2. For corridor tombs of the Middle Kingdom (her Type IIIa) see also KAMPP (n. 11), 18.

¹³ For the interrelatedness of site, standing monuments, and the stylistic development of sculpture and relief in the early 18th Dynasty see ROMANO, J. F.: Observations on Early Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Sculpture. *JARCE* 13 (1976) 102–111.

¹⁴ RUSSMANN, E. R.: Art in Transition. The Rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Emergence of the Thutmoside Style in Sculpture and Relief. In ROHRIG, C. H. – DREYFUS, R. – KELLER, C. A.: *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*. New Haven–London 2005, 23.

¹⁵ Translated and commented on by A. H. Gardiner in DAVIES (n. 8) 27–29, pls. 35–37.

¹⁶ A. H. Gardiner in DAVIES (n. 8) 27; also now in PARKINSON, R. B.: *Voices from ancient Egypt. An anthology of Middle Kingdom writings*. London 1991, 147–148.

than a simple display of reverence for an ancient monument on the part of Amenemhat: his tomb's decoration has been convincingly shown to have drawn heavily from scenes of TT 60.¹⁷ Unfortunately enough, in the case of the other graffiti such a correlation is difficult to establish. We cannot be more precise about the identity of those inscribing them because the only title they give is that of 'scribe', a feature that in its humbleness actually looks suspicious of being a prerequisite of the graffiti genre rather than presenting the actual office of the individual.¹⁸ Still, the undeniable presence of elements drawn from TT 60 in other tombs as, for example in perhaps the earliest Eighteenth Dynasty tomb on Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, that of Ineni (TT 81), suggests that some of the "scribes" visiting Senet's tomb probably came with the very specific purpose of acquiring models for their work.¹⁹ In this respect the often cited misunderstanding of some of the graffiti as regards the date or ownership of TT 60, viz. some attributing it to Queen Sobekneferu (nos. 2, 3), while others to Intefiqer (nos. 6, 17, 31, 33, 36), also becomes meaningful. Thus, the scribal incompetence it reveals is less important than the fact that it indicates that due to this mistake the tomb was seen as a queenly or vizierial funerary monument worthy of emulation probably by virtue of its high status alone. This might also help in understanding why the particular motif of the king passed into the repertoire of some of the tombs in the early New Kingdom.

The earliest occurrence of the motif in a New Kingdom tomb-chapel or the first Eighteenth Dynasty tomb-owner to incorporate it into the decorative scheme of his chapel is difficult to identify. The main reason is the total or near-complete destruction of the decoration of the wall-sections that would have carried the scene in the relevant tomb-chapels. Of these, such is the case with perhaps the earliest one besides that of Ineni, namely the tomb of the vizier Aametju (TT 83), where the portico's rear wall has completely lost its decoration.²⁰ In the next generation of early Thutmoside period tombs the motif (representing Hatshepsut) is attested in that of the high priest Hapuseneb (TT 67), the overseer of the royal household Amenhotep (TT 73), the overseer of the estate of Amun Duauyerneheh (TT 125), and the royal

¹⁷ DAVIES (n. 8) 10, 22; DAVIES, N. DE G. – GARDINER, A. H.: *The Tomb of Amenemhet (no. 82), TTS 1*. London 1915 (repr. 1973), 46 n. 2; PEDEN, A. J.: *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt. Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c. 3100–332 BC)* [Probleme der Ägyptologie 17]. Leiden 2001, 68–69. TT 82 itself is in fact an adapted corridor tomb of the Middle Kingdom, see ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP (n. 4) 24–27, 107.

¹⁸ This may be explained by the display function of these graffiti that in many cases show unmistakable signs of scribal rivalry, see the pertinent discussion in FISCHER-ELFERT (n. 9) 131–133.

¹⁹ See e.g. ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP (n. 4) 98 Abb. 10; for the tomb, DZIOBEK, E.: *Das Grab des Ineni: Theben Nr. 81* [AV 68]. Mainz 1992.

²⁰ Although the tomb-chapel of Aametju seems to be early, its decoration or at least parts of it dates later to the reign of Thutmose III (after Y5), since the few preserved inscriptions speak of his son Useramun as already vizier, see Urk IV 489–492 (158); DZIOBEK, E.: *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun* [SAGA 18]. Heidelberg 1998, 97–98; also DORMAN, P. F.: Family burial and commemoration in the Theban necropolis. In STRUDWICK–TAYLOR (n. 8) 37. For the tomb, see *PM*² I 1, 167; KAMPP (n. 11) 330–331, 332–333 figs. 213–214.

butler, Djehuty (TT 110).²¹ It is very likely, albeit beyond confirmation due to the severe damage suffered by the walls of the transverse hall, that Senenmut also included it in his decoration of TT 71.²² Again, slightly later examples of the motif, depicting in turn Thutmose III, include besides the above mentioned one of Useramun that of the overseer of the granary Amenemhat (TT 123), the high priest Menkheperreseneb (TT 86),²³ the chief royal herald Yamunedjeh (TT 84), the overseer of the seal Senneferi (TT 99), and finally the vizier Rekhmire (TT 100) (fig. 3).²⁴ The above list allows for two observations to be made. Firstly, it clearly exhibits a restricted distribution that indicates, as pointed out by Engelmann-von Carnap in her discussion, that the motif's use was a privilege enjoyed only by the highest officials and served therefore as a vehicle of internal status distinction.²⁵ In the exclusive adoption of the motif by the high elite, it is not improbable then, that the mistaken attribution of TT 60 to a queen or vizier may have played some part. Secondly, in all these early Thutmoside cases the motif appears in conjunction with another scene-type, e.g. the vizierial installation, the presentation of foreign tribute, or the presentation of a bouquet of flowers or products, that in accordance with its purpose of iconic self-thematization is related to the tomb-owner's office with special stress on the individual's access to the person of the king in the context of a royal audience.²⁶ Since in Senet's scene both

²¹ TT 67: DAVIES, NI. M.: A Fragment of a Punt Scene. *JEA* 47 (1961) 19; of the two kiosk scenes only small fragments of the one on the northern rear wall of the portico have survived, as confirmed during the ongoing research currently undertaken by the *TT 65 Project* of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. TT 73: SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, T.: *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*. Oxford 1957, 2, pls. I–II. TT 125: here the identity of the royal person shown is unclear, namely Hatshepsut or her mother, ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP (n. 4) 249, 253; *PM*² I 1, 240 (9); RADWAN (n. 5) 92–93; KAMPP (n. 11) 415, 416 fig. 307. TT 110: DAVIES, N. DE G.: *Tehuti, Owner of Tomb 110 at Thebes. Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*. London 1943, 281–282, pls. 35, 41.

²² Indicative is the presence of the famous tribute scene, which might have been combined with the kiosk scene, as already noted in ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP (n. 4) 248; for the tribute scene, see DORMAN, P. F.: *The tombs of Senenmut: the architecture and decoration of tombs 71 and 353* [PMMA 24] New York 1991, 32–33, pls. 8a, 21d.

²³ Or Menkheperreseneb the Elder, as proposed by Dorman, who distinguishes an uncle and nephew of the same name, Menkheperreseneb the Younger, who would then have been the owner of TT 112, DORMAN, P. F.: Two Tombs and One Owner. In ASSMANN–DZIOBEK–GUKSCH–KAMPP (n. 12) 148–154; accepted in DZIOBEK (n. 20) 138–139; rejected, however, in ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP (n. 4) 42–44.

²⁴ TT 123: *PM*² I 1, 236 (2); RADWAN (n. 5) 36. TT 86: DAVIES, N. DE G.: *The Tomb of Menkheperreseneb, Amenemose, and Another* (No. 86, 112, 42, 226) [TTS 5]. London 1933, 2–4, pl. III; now also B. ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP (n. 4) Tafel 7. TT 84: *PM*² I 1, (5), (9); DAVIES, N. DE G.: Syrians in the Tomb of Amunedjeh. *JEA* 27 (1941) 96–98, pl. XIII; DAVIES, N. DE G.: Nubians in the Tomb of Amunedjeh. *JEA* 28 (1942) 50–52, pl. V. TT 99: *PM*² I 1, 205 (3), (5); RADWAN (n. 5) 33; for the archaeology of the tomb, see now also STRUDWICK, N.: The tomb of Senneferi at Thebes. *EA* 18 (2001) 6–8.

²⁵ Based on her classification of tomb-chapels according to size, the majority of the examples belong to her Groups 1 and 2, with only TT 123, TT 125, and TT 110 being exceptions, see ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP (n. 4) 247–253. While the former two are too damaged to allow an adequate explanation, in the case of Djehuty (TT 110) its exceptional use can be justified by his personal contact with the king as a royal butler, see also with mostly later Eighteenth Dynasty examples EL MENSCHAWY (n. 7) 85–86.

²⁶ Generally EL MENSCHAWY (n. 7) 83–89; for later tomb-chapels from the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, HARTWIG (n. 6) 298–307; also briefly ROBINS, G.: The Role of the Royal Family in

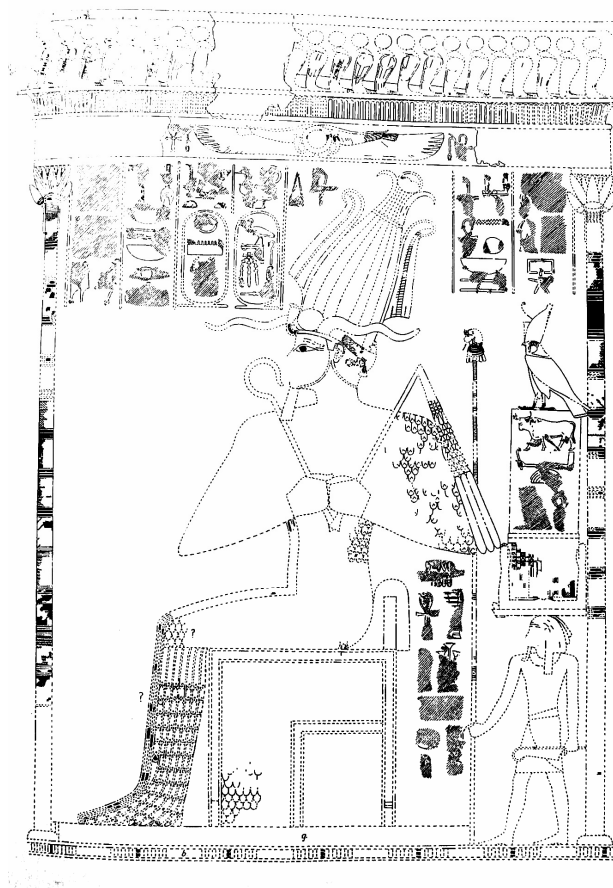


Fig. 3. Thutmose III in the tomb-chapel of Rekmire (TT 100)
(after DAVIES 1943, pl. XIII)

the figure of Intefiqer and that of Senwosret I have been for the most part destroyed, its original meaning is now beyond recovery.²⁷ Tempting as it is and however well it would fit the context, unfortunately Radwan's suggestion that it might have initially represented the installation of the vizier cannot be confirmed either.²⁸ Thus in this respect, Ineni's conspicuous omission of the scene from his tomb decoration, despite including the presentation of foreign tribute with textual reference to the king, might be explained by the scene having such a specific meaning, but it could equally have

the Eighteenth Dynasty up to the End of the Reign of Amenhotep III. 1. Queens. *Wepwawet. Research Papers in Egyptology* 2 (1986) 11.

²⁷ While the figure of Intefiqer seems to have suffered proscription, the damage to that of the king appears not to be ancient, see the comments by Davies in DAVIES (n. 8) 13.

²⁸ RADWAN (n. 5) 19, n. 86.

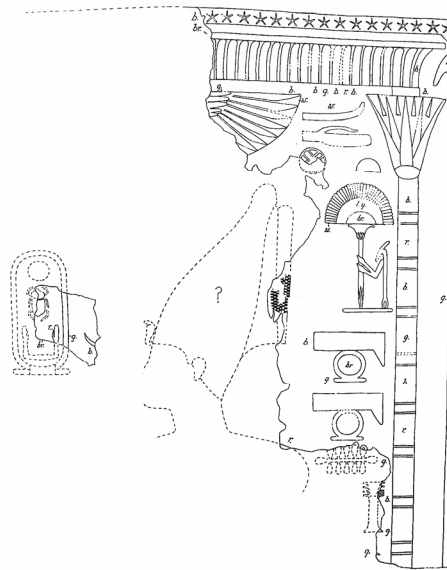


Fig. 4. Senwosret I in the tomb-chapel of Senet (TT 60)
(after DAVIES 1920, pl. XVI)

had another, unknown reason.²⁹ Even if the exact significance of the scene was properly understood, however, its adoption by others besides the viziers signals that it was recreated in combination with other scenes into a motif that was meaningful for a wider, although not an all inclusive circle.³⁰ Indeed, it might even be ventured that it may have been purposefully stripped of any such meaning that linked it to a specific office.

Regrettably enough, a detailed comparative study of these early Thutmoside depictions or the establishment of any typological stemmata is unworkable due to the extremely fragmentary state of the scenes. It is equally difficult for the same reason to appreciate the degree of their dependence on the kiosk scene of TT 60 besides the basic design. All the more so, seeing that even the earliest preserved scene fragments display a range of dissimilarities and variation in iconographic detail. The baldachin under which the enthroned Senwosret I is shown (fig. 4), for example, has a lotiform capital as do most of the early Thutmoside exemplars (e.g. TT 110, TT 86, or TT 100,) but others (e.g. TT 73 and TT 131) carry a palmiform one. The greatest loss, how-

²⁹ See DZIOBEK (n. 19) 33, pls. 2–3. It seems doubtful, therefore, that Ineni's scene would have been the precursor of the later depictions that combine the tribute scene with the kiosk scene, so ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP (n. 4) 248, n. 1.

³⁰ The fragmentary scenes showing the herald Intef before the Horus-name of probably Thutmose III in TT 155 at Dra Abu el-Naga appears to be an early and curious variant, see SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH (n. 21) pl. XIXa.

ever, is undoubtedly that of the king's figure in most cases without which the few surviving ones are nearly impossible to assess.³¹ Of the effaced figure of Senwosret I merely tiny fragments of his crown survive, among these significantly the tip of a blue horizontal horn, that lead Davies to surmise that: "it may be only the Osiris crown with flanking feathers, ram's horns, and disc".³² Although a variety of crowns are worn by the king in kiosk scenes of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the blue or *hprš*-crown being the most frequently used,³³ in the earliest surviving depictions, viz. that of Useramun and Djehuty, the king wears an elaborate *3tf*-crown (TT 131) or the *šwtj*-crown³⁴ with wig and *ssd*-fillet (TT 110) respectively. Lacking the earliest depictions it is admittedly hazardous to be definitive, but the available evidence strongly suggests that the symbolism of Senwosret I's royal apparel, including the *3tf*-crown combined with a pair of ram's horns and a sun disc, provided the initial iconographic template. The iconography of Useramun's representation of Thutmose III or that of Rekhmire, however, also indicates that in the formulation of specific details the origin of these should be sought for outside the realm of funerary art and not surprisingly in the influence of contemporary temple decoration. In Useramun's representation Thutmose III is shown seated on a block throne³⁵ wearing an ornate combination of the *nms*-headcloth and *3tf*-crown, possibly a false beard,³⁶ while his body is wrapped in a garment with his arms crossed and holding the *hḳ3*-sceptre and *nḥḥ3*-flail. Turning to details: the *3tf*-crown, a striped crown resembling the white crown³⁷ flanked by two ostrich feathers, is surmounted by a small falcon with a sun disc,³⁸ while its base is formed by a combination of horizontal, spiralled ram horns, cow horns, and a sun disc bearing two *uraei*.³⁹ Four other horned and disc-crowned *uraei* enhance the

³¹ To give one example: in TT 86 Thutmose III wears the blue or *hprš*-crown for which this might be the first appearance in such scenes, but it could also be merely a copy of a now lost earlier representation, see DAVIES (n. 24) 3.

³² Davies also noted the red-white and blue-white chequered pattern of the feathers, see DAVIES (n. 8) 13 n. 6.

³³ For later kiosk scenes with the blue-crown, see HARTWIG (n. 4) 61 with n. 74.

³⁴ The conceptual background and symbolism of this crown type is extensively treated in BUDDE, D.: "Die den Himmel durchsticht und sich mit den Sternen vereint". Zur Bedeutung und Funktion der Doppelfederkrone in der Götterikonographie. *SAK* 30 (2002) 57–102.

³⁵ By the analogy offered by the thrones in the scenes of Rekhmire and TT 65, it would have been decorated by a feather pattern and the *sm3-t3wy* motif.

³⁶ This part of the figure is too damaged to verify the presence of the false-beard, but it can be assumed to have been shown on the grounds that it was also included on the royal figures of both Djehuty's and Rekhmire's scenes.

³⁷ The crown lined with yellow (representing gold) had a central red vertical stripe flanked by alternating blue and green ones, as shown for example by the well-known Deir el-Bahari block of Thutmose III (Luxor Museum J.140). It should also be emphasised that the crown of Osiris in the TT 65 scene displays the same colour scheme.

³⁸ Possibly one of the earliest occurrences of a feature that is better attested from the successive reign of Amenhotep II and later, see MYŚLIWIEC, K.: Quelques remarques sur les couronnes à plumes de Thoutmosis III. In *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar II* [BdÉ 97/2]. Le Caire 1985, 159.

³⁹ On the combination and evolution of ram horns and the *3tf*-crown, BICKEL, S.: L'iconographie du dieu Khnoum. *BIFAO* 91 (1991) 55–67.

crown, two rearing and two hanging ones.⁴⁰ The assemblage of *nms*-headcloth and *3tf*-crown symbolising solar-osirian unity and first attested in the pictorial record for Thutmose I⁴¹ was here further supplemented by a pair of curving ram's horns. These were rendered in a rare manner in frontal view as opposed to the more conventional way in two-dimensional representations of showing only one in profile curled around the ear.⁴² Apparently an innovative feature of royal iconography, the curved horns associated the king with Amun of Luxor (as well as Amun of Napata) and the deity's special link with the inundation.⁴³

Although almost all of the colouring of Thutmose III's garment has disappeared, some remaining pigment fragments indicate that it was identical with the one represented in Rekhmire's tomb and TT 65. Enveloping the whole body, the two-piece garment was adorned with patterns of stylised feathers in a layout reminiscent of the *rishi* pattern of royal coffins. Thus, the upper body and the thighs to below the knees was uniformly decorated with blue scale-shaped feather ends that each have a yellow lining, a chevron and a red triangular tip on a green background imitating the body feathers of a falcon; the pattern of the lower legs and feet consist of the longer tail feathers of the bird. This feathered garment represents a variant of the "Horus dress",⁴⁴ one of the most frequently depicted royal costumes in the Thutmoside era that reflects the centrality of the concept of the king as Horus in the kingship ideology of the period.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ An enrichment also found on other, similar crowns depicted in reliefs of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, see for the former e.g. Hildesheim 4538 in ROEHRIG-DREYFUS-KELLER (n. 14) 155 no. 83; for the latter MYŚLIWIEC (n. 36) 156 fig. 2.

⁴¹ GOEBS, K.: Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des *nms*. *ZÄS* 122 (1995) 180 with n. 191.

⁴² In the later tomb of Qenamun (TT 93) the manner in which the curved horns of Amenhotep II's figure were shown represents an intermediate solution. Here one horn is shown curled around the ear, as will be the norm, while the other still protrudes from the king's forehead, see DAVIES, N. DE G.: *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes* [PMMA 9, Vol. I]. New York 1933, pl. X. For later depictions, see GOEDICKE, H.: *Problems concerning Amenophis III*. Baltimore 1992, 56–61.

⁴³ See PAMMINGER, P.: Amun und Luxor – Der Widder und das Kultbild. *BzS* 5 (1992) 93–140; GABOLDE, M.: L'inondation sous les pieds d'Amon. *BIFAO* 95 (1995) 235–258; TÖRÖK, L.: *The Image of the Ordered World in Ancient Nubian Art. The Construction of the Kushite Mind, 800 BC – 300 AD* [Probleme der Ägyptologie 18]. Leiden–Boston–Köln 2002, 10–14. For the curved horns interpreted more as a political rather than a theological declaration, GOEDICKE (n. 41) 52–69.

⁴⁴ Defined as such in GIZA-PODGÓRSKI, T.: Royal plume dress of XVIII Dynasty. *MDAIK* 40 (1984) 111.

⁴⁵ The different types of the plumed dresses appearing in Thutmoside representations are discussed in GIZA-PODGÓRSKI (n. 43) 103–121; see also with earlier literature ALDRED, C.: The 'New Year' gifts to the pharaoh. *JEA* 55 (1969) 73–81. The invention of the king-falcon statue type also underlines the concept's importance in the period, see KRIÉGER, P.: Une statuette de roi-faucon au Musée du Louvre. *RdE* 12 (1960) 37–58; note also the comments by C. A. Keller to nos. 39 and 40 in ROEHRIG-DREYFUS-KELLER (n. 14) 90–91. The garment was not restricted to the king and deities could also be shown wearing it for which a good illustration is provided by the well-known gilded wooden statue of Ptah from the tomb of Tutankhamun, CARTER, H. – MACE, A. C.: *The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen*. Vol. III. London 1933, 52–53, pl. LVB.

The only comparable representation of the king is that found in the tomb-chapel of Useramun's nephew and successor as vizier, Rekhmire,⁴⁶ who also followed Useramun in setting the kiosk scene in the context of his vizierial installation.⁴⁷ The image in Rekhmire's tomb, however, is not a slavish copy, but a consciously created variant articulated through iconographic variation.⁴⁸ This may be demonstrated by comparing the most notable disparity between the two, namely the different crown types worn by Thutmose III. Thus, in contrast to the above described complex type employed by Useramun, Rekhmire chose a more restrained version of the *3tf*-crown, the only distinctive element being the small Horus falcon on the crown's back.⁴⁹ This latter feature proves that, like Useramun's, Rekhmire's choice was also undoubtedly influenced by temple iconography from where this type of crown is attested for both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.⁵⁰

The question of concern to be raised then is where the distinctive iconography of the Osiris figure of TT 65 originated from. In other words, how to explain the relation between the early Thutmoside kiosk scenes and the imagery of Imiseba's late Ramesside one. That Imiseba in part sought to recreate the spirit of an early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb-chapel through the archaizing aesthetics of some of its decorative elements is well attested.⁵¹ The Osiris scene with its all too readily recognisable late Ramesside mannerisms, however, does not pretend to imitate an earlier model. And although Useramun's iconography offers the closest known parallel, divergences in minor details, such as the missing falcon from the top of the *3tf*-crown or the human-headed *mdw-špsy* pole holding the *hwi*-fan⁵² behind Osiris instead of the

⁴⁶ From Y34 of Thutmose III, see HELCK, W.: *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* [Probleme der Ägyptologie 3]. Leiden-Köln 1958, 293.

⁴⁷ For an analysis of the text, see DZIOBEK (n. 20) 55–66; also VAN DEN BOORN, G.: *The Duties of the Vizier. Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*. London–New York, 1988.

⁴⁸ As repeatedly stressed here, the loss of the majority of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III period kiosk scenes hinders almost any attempt to explain the internal developments that lead to the iconographic diversity observable in the later Thutmoside tombs, for which see RADWAN (n. 5) or HARTWIG (n. 4) 54–73.

⁴⁹ Otherwise, the crown type displayed in Useramun's tomb was subject to a continual process of transmission as witnessed by the portrayal of Amenhotep II in the tomb of Qenamun, DAVIES (n. 42) pl. X; or of Amenhotep III in that of Amenemhat Surer (TT 48), SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH (n. 21) pl. XXXI.

⁵⁰ For Hatshepsut see the relief fragment No. 84 (Brussels E 3044) in ROEHRIG–DREYFUS–KELLER (n. 14) 155; for Thutmose III, MYŚLIWIEC (n. 36) 158, pl. Va. A more recent general discussion of the motif is BLUMENTHAL, E.: *Dem Falken im Nacken – Statuentypen und göttliches Königtum zur Pyramidenzeit*. *ZÄS* 130 (2003) 1–30.

⁵¹ In short, this is revealed by the archaizing style of the ceiling, frieze, and architrave decorations, the base area of the transverse hall's southern rear wall that shows a faithfully reproduced 18th Dynasty genre scene of the workshop in two registers, and the dual offering scene of the recess rendered in the manner of yet again early Eighteenth Dynasty exemplars.

⁵² The *mdw-špsy* pole or staff is usually held by the personified royal *ka*. The royal head on its top is generally shown wearing the *h3t*-, *šnt*-, or *nms*-headcloth that is here further augmented by the *šwty*-crown, see conveniently in BELL, L.: *The New Kingdom "Divine" Temple: the Example of Luxor*. In SHAFER, B. E. (ed.): *Temples of Ancient Egypt*. London–New York 1997, 183, figs. 52, 73, 76, 79. For an interpretation of the staff as a physical rendering of the royal or divine word, see GOEDICKE, H.: *The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut and related Discussions*. Oakville 2004, 141–145. In many later Thutmoside depictions a personified *nh*-sign wields the *hwi*-fan, see e.g. TT 85, TT 64, TT 89 in RADWAN (n. 5) pls. VI, XII, XXI. The significance of the *hwi*-fan as designating a "protected image"

royal *ka*, seem to argue against a direct copying. Even if it were nevertheless a copy made of a now lost source, it would still require explaining why the image of a ruler meticulously copied from an outside source would have been then transformed into that of the deity. The image's early Thutmoside iconographic peculiarities, however, may have a more straightforward and hitherto unrecognised cause that has more to do with the history of the tomb-chapel itself than with any elusive prototypes.

Although this is not the suitable moment for a detailed technical analysis of TT 65, it is necessary to consider a few essential points concerning the structural history of the monument. Firstly, at the demise of the original owner Nebamun sometime during Hatshepsut's reign, his funerary monument was not finished, either with regard to its structure or its decoration. In particular, in this phase (Phase I), the transverse hall was left unfinished and the hewing of the axial corridor barely begun.⁵³ Work on the planned decoration done in conjunction with the excavation work and the preparation of walls was also abandoned on the different walls of the transverse hall at various stages of execution. While the reliefs on the northern front wall were completed, albeit without receiving their colours, those on the southern one were only cut fully in an area covering about one-third of the wall.⁵⁴ It is significant for the present discussion that there is reason to believe that the preparation of both rear walls reached a point where plaster had been already applied. Where the layers of paint and the background colour of the Twentieth Dynasty Osiris figure have been removed due to damage, having an effect on mostly the area of the head and the right side of the upper body, parts of a sketched red underdrawing have been exposed. The freehand sketch was done directly on the unpainted and ungridded⁵⁵ plaster and shows that many of its lines were repeatedly redrawn to achieve the desired shapes. In other parts of the tomb where preliminary sketches in red are in evidence, like in the panels of the axial corridor or more importantly on the same wall, such corrective lines cannot be observed. In these the final outline drawing corrected the placement of the figures and details (or in one case, the subject matter), but not the figure style of the preliminary sketch.⁵⁶ Moreover, the sketch also reveals that the original composition was altered at least once, when the position of the *hḳ3*-sceptre and *nḥḥ3*-flail was inverted, an inversion obviously made necessary by the introduction of the god-

(*sšmw-hwi*) is discussed in BELL, L.: Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun. In *Mélanges Gammal Eddin Mokhtar I* [BdÉ 97/1]. Le Caire 1985, 36–37.

⁵³ For a detailed description, see BACS, T. A.: First Preliminary Report on the Work of the Hungarian Mission in Thebes in Theban Tomb No. 65 (Nebamun/Imiseba). *MDAIK* 54 (1998) 49–64.

⁵⁴ Traces of reliefs underlying the Twentieth Dynasty wall paintings of Imiseba are also in evidence from the northern end wall.

⁵⁵ The only visible guideline is a vertical one defining the axis of the upper body. The same basic aid is detectable in the preliminary sketches of the axial corridor done by the painters of Imiseba. Red guidelines that are safely datable to the tomb's Eighteenth Dynasty phase, on the other hand, show up in a few places on the southern front wall, where the later plaster had fallen away to reveal a partly cut *hkr*-frieze.

⁵⁶ One explanation, of course, may be that a single master painter made the final adjustments to his own previous drawing, but confirmation of this needs further study.

dess Maat into the scene.⁵⁷ Had the *ḥk3*-sceptre been painted against Osiris's left shoulder as originally intended, there would not have been enough space for her upheld hand because of the sceptre's looped head. This feature highlights a further point as well, namely the perceptible crowdedness that characterises the composition of the kiosk scene as a whole. It does not need close study to notice that this cramped effect is a result of certain elements, such as the Four Sons of Horus on the lotus, the Osiris hymn or the figure of the goddess, being inserted into confined spaces predefined by the baldachin and the figure of Osiris. Creating unbalance, such crowding is also prevalent in the other large-scale scenes of the transverse hall, especially the two front ones. In these scenes this clearly arose from the compositional method that was used which involved bringing together in one composition originally unrelated iconographic motifs that derived from identifiably diverse origins.⁵⁸

From the above said it appears that as a summary conclusion it can be ventured that Imiseba and his artists, on entering the abandoned tomb-chapel of Nebamun intended for his reuse, found the traces of a planned kiosk scene in place.⁵⁹ Although its actual stage of execution cannot be established with confidence by now, it seems that it was not plastered over and covered by Imiseba like the other existing decorative elements of Nebamun, but utilised in his new decorative program. Portraying probably Hatshepsut or maybe Thutmose III originally and standing close to Useramun's formulation, several elements of the drafted scene's iconography were apparently retained and included in the image of Osiris. Others, like the baldachin, albeit keeping the element of the bull head protome, were repainted in a more contemporary style, and again others, the Sons of Horus, the hymn and the goddess were added. In this sense then, the Osiris scene of Imiseba is indeed based on an early Eighteenth Dynasty model, but not one that was copied as a prototype or one that was received as such.

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⁵⁷ The goddess as an accompanying figure occasionally appears in Thutmoside kiosk scenes (e.g. TT 78, HARTWIG (n. 4) 65), but there is no evidence to suggest that her addition should not be attributed to Imiseba.

⁵⁸ For some of these, see BÁCS (n. 1).

⁵⁹ A parallel may be offered by TT 86, where of the southern rear wall's intended decoration only the kiosk scene was completed to some degree, see DAVIES (n. 24), 2; ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP (n. 4), Tafel 7.