The Decorative Program of the Eighteenth-Dynasty Tomb of Pairy (TT 139)

Megan C. O'Neill

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ABSTRACT

This thesis will identify what is particularly unusual about the funerary scenes of the eighteenth-dynasty Theban tomb (TT 139) and their chosen location by providing a thorough examination of both the life of the tomb owner, Pairy, and his tomb architecture. Following a discussion of the significance of the tomb chapel's decorative program, I will argue that the abbreviated scenes on two walls adjacent to the passageway to the burial chamber relate to the tomb owner’s safe journey into the underworld. Due to the lack of recent published work on the chapel hall and the deterioration of its paintings, the tomb of Pairy is in dire need of proper, comprehensive study.

INDEX WORDS: Eighteenth dynasty, Amenhotep III, Pairy, Priesthood, First King’s Son in Front of Amun, TT 139, Private tomb, Theban tomb, Tomb painting, Funerary art
THE DECORATIVE PROGRAM
OF THE EIGHTEENTH-DYNASTY TOMB OF PAIRY (TT 139)

by

MEGAN C. O’NEILL

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OF THE EIGHTEENTH-DYNASTY TOMB OF PAIRY (TT 139)

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INTRODUCTION

With this thesis I will provide an in-depth examination of the life of the eighteenth-dynasty priest, Pairy, and his tomb (TT 139). While the tomb’s structure safely housed his physical body and his *ka* for eternity, its decorative program was designed to commemorate the tomb owner and function magically for his perpetual needs, safety, and rebirth in the afterlife. Following a thorough study of the tomb owner’s life and the architecture of TT 139 and its intended function, I will provide a brief analysis of the interior’s decoration to provide the framework for the focus of my thesis, which will concentrate on two select scenes from the chapel hall located near the sloping passage. I will then identify what is particularly unusual about these scenes and their chosen location within the tomb and conclude with a discussion of the significance of their presence in Pairy’s decorative program.

The first chapter of my thesis will provide a thorough literature review of Pairy’s life and his tomb, TT 139. To begin, I will explore all that is known of Pairy from published literature to date, including a look into his upbringing and status within the elite class, his family genealogy, and his activities within the private and political sphere as recorded by his tomb texts and paintings. His known titles, such as “Wab-Priest in Front of Amun,” “High Priest of Ptah,” and “Overseer of the Pasture Regions of Amun,” suggest the significance of the duties he performed for both the reigning king, Amenhotep III, and the gods.

Once the aforementioned groundwork is laid, the second chapter will proceed to an examination of the tomb’s architecture and its intended function. The tomb’s inverted T-shape is comprised of a courtyard, a passageway connecting to the tomb chapel with a central niche, and a sloping passage leading to the burial chamber, all of which are elements consistent with the
tomb style of the mid to late eighteenth dynasty.¹ This chapter will also include an analysis of the chosen location of the tomb upon Sheikh ‘Abd el-Qurna’s hillside. TT 139 is situated near a festival gathering place believed to be located just south-east of the structure in the vicinity of the late eighteenth-dynasty tomb of Ramose (TT 55).² The ideal location of Pairy’s tomb coupled with the structure’s symbolic east-west orientation played a crucial role in its construction and was designed to function magically to ensure his survival after death. The ancient Egyptians believed that a tomb located alongside a central festival place not only allowed the living to commemorate and reunite with their deceased loved ones, but also allowed the dead to participate eternally in the worship of the gods and ensure a safe and well-provisioned afterlife.³

The third chapter of this thesis will provide a brief analysis of the tomb’s overall decorative program. I will focus particularly on the images, text, and symbolism of walls PM (4) and PM (5), two significant walls located within the chapel hall of TT 139.⁴ In accordance with the numbering of Porter and Moss’s Topographical Bibliography, the section will begin with the description and analysis of the left thickness of the tomb’s entrance, PM (1), and continue counterclockwise to PM (2) and PM (3) located to the right of the entranceway’s adjacent wall, PM (4) on the transverse hall’s right small wall, PM (5) located around the doorway to the tomb’s sloping passage, and conclude with PM (6) to the right of the chapel hall’s central niche.⁵

⁵ Ibid.
Following the analysis of the tomb’s decorative program, in the fourth and final chapter of this thesis I will first identify what is particularly unusual about the scenes on walls PM (4) and PM (5) and their chosen placement within the tomb’s interior. I will argue that these walls, adjacent to the doorway to the tomb’s sloping passage, contain several abbreviated decorative motifs that are usually dispersed throughout the halls of an eighteenth-dynasty T-shaped tomb. I will then discuss the significance of these scenes and identify how they relate to Pairy’s safe passage into the underworld as one of the blessed dead.
CHAPTER ONE: THE LIFE OF PAIRY

Pairy (pA-iry), owner of Theban tomb 139 (TT 139), was a significant religious figure of the eighteenth dynasty. It is evident from the cartouches on the tomb’s surviving lintel that Pairy lived during the reign of Amenhotep III, a king of great influence in a time of unprecedented prosperity. The quality of decoration throughout his tomb coupled with the list of various titles and familial and royal connections suggests the significance of his employment amidst the religious cults of Amun and Ptah, two of the most powerful gods of the mid to late eighteenth dynasty. Using all previously published information available on Pairy, I will attempt to build a more thorough characterization of the tomb owner and his various accomplishments by providing a deeper analysis of the tomb’s surviving funerary texts and an exploration of the social and political interworkings of the period in which he lived.

It is clear from the information provided by Pairy’s tomb decoration that the majority of his life’s work was spent serving as a priest within the temples of various deities. As the power and wealth of Egypt continuously increased throughout the reign of Amenhotep III, so too did the bureaucratic power of the clergy, and the level at which Pairy served within the priesthood indicates the significance of his role in the religious sphere. Since the king, who served as mediator between the people of Egypt and the gods, could not be physically present at every temple to perform the necessary daily rituals simultaneously, priests were delegated to perform the cult in his stead. Details of the daily cult ritual written upon a preserved papyrus from the twenty-second dynasty states, “The gods have prepared the way for me, it is the king who sent

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me to see the god.”" The basic duties of the higher-ranking priests included the daily physical rituals of protecting, clothing, nourishing, anointing, and presenting offerings to the god’s effigy to “maintain the integrity of divine presence on earth, in the sanctuaries of the temples where this presence had consented to dwell.” These duties were essential in keeping the gods satisfied so that they continued to maintain the order of the cosmos, which in turn ensured the prosperity of Egypt and the effectiveness of the king’s rule over chaos.

A noteworthy percentage of ancient Egypt’s nobility possessed at least some rank within the hierarchy of the clergy under Amenhotep III’s rule. However, according to his funerary texts, Pairy held the esteemed title of “High Priest of Ptah” (hm-$n'r$ tpy n pth) at Karnak. Translated text from his tomb’s surviving lintel located in the British Museum states, “The King, great of dignity in every land. The foreign countries have come to you bowing down because of his war-cry and your terror, one who delays them completely (?) by the first prophet of Ptah, Pa-iry, justified.” The translation of $hm-n'r$ tpy as “first prophet” is synonymous with the current designation “high priest.” The temple in Karnak dedicated to the creator god Ptah was originally composed of three sanctuaries constructed by Thutmose III an estimated thirty-five years prior to Amenhotep III’s reign. The central sanctuary dedicated to Amun-Re gave access to two connecting chapels: one for the goddess Hathor to the south and one for Ptah to the north.

which created a way-station for the barque of Amun for annual festivals and processions.\(^\text{16}\) Due to being raised near Memphis in his earliest years, like most eighteenth-dynasty kings, Amenhotep III grew to favor Ptah greatly. Pairy was appointed High Priest to ensure the continuation of the god’s cult within the sacred enclosure of Amun’s temple in Thebes.\(^\text{17}\) An entry-level priest was typically promoted to High Priest by working his way up through the various levels of office, but the variety of Pairy’s accomplishments suggest he obtained his title by gaining the direct favor of the king.\(^\text{18}\) As the High Priest of Ptah at Karnak, Pairy was permitted to enter Ptah’s holy sanctuary daily, look upon the god’s effigy, and perform the sacred cult ritual.\(^\text{19}\) It was an honorable and highly coveted rank for a priest that allowed him to communicate directly with the god in his holy temple as the divine king’s hand-selected delegate.\(^\text{20}\) The creator god Ptah was also considered the great patron of the arts; thus Pairy’s role in ensuring his gratification becomes all the more pivotal knowing the emphasis Amenhotep III placed on architecture, colossal sculpture, and decoration throughout his reign.\(^\text{21}\)

Although little is mentioned in the way of his upbringing within the elite class, texts from Pairy’s tomb contain the name and occupation of his father, which may explain how his employment in the service of Ptah was initially acquired. The painted scene located on wall PM (3) of the tomb’s chapel hall depicts Pairy presenting offerings to his father and mother who are seated before him (fig. 1.1). In the second register of the scene the text reveals the name of his

\(^{16}\) Theirs, “The Temple of Ptah at Karnak,” 20.
\(^{20}\) Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, 42.
father, Shuroy (š3ry), and his role within the priesthood stating, “. . . all things good and pure on which a god lives for the ka of the prophet of Ptah, prophet of Hathor dwelling in Thebes, Shuroy” (ḥt nb(t) nfr(t) wšb(t) ṣnb(t) nṯr im n k3 n hm-nṯr n pth hm-nṯr n hwt-hr hrt-ḥbt wššt š3ry).

The translation of Hm-nTr as “prophet” simply designates the individual as a high-ranking clergyman. These titles established Pairy’s father as priest and servant of the gods Ptah and Hathor and granted him responsibility within the temples in Thebes, including participation in the performance of daily cult rituals and public processions. It is believed that priestly professions were customarily passed from heir to heir, father to son; therefore his father’s position may have automatically situated Pairy in the higher ranks of the priesthood. However, Pairy as High Priest achieved a more elevated rank within the clergy than that of his father, suggesting that Pairy was promoted at a later point in his career. The decision as to whether or not a son inherited his father’s clerical position generally rested upon the approval of a priestly committee and was likely influenced by the quality and loyalty of the father’s prior service.

Evidence suggests, however, that Pairy’s promotion in the service of Ptah required direct recognition and confirmation from the king.

Studies of the eighteenth-dynasty’s governing system reveal interchangeability within the working class that allowed an individual’s position within the clergy to vary from inherited titles to service among other deities whether by choice or by royal or priestly selection. Although funerary texts reveal that one of Pairy’s sons continued his grandfather’s legacy as “Prophet of Hathor” (hm-nṯr n hwt-hr), no mention of Pairy succeeding Shuroy in the service of Hathor

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24 Ibid., 59.
26 Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, 44.
exists amidst his tomb decoration. Rather, the translated inscriptions from walls PM (3), PM (4), and PM (5) confirm that Pairy primarily served within the priesthood of Amun in Thebes. He is referred to as both “Wab-Priest in Front of Amun” (wbd n hjt ūmn) (PM (3)) and “First King’s Son in Front of Amun” (sJ nsw tpy n hjt ūmn) (tomb entrance lintel). Research suggests that the title “Wab-Priest in Front of Amun” is simply a variant of the more specific designation “First King’s Son in Front of Amun.” Text above the image of Pairy and his wife in the top register of PM (4) states: “Giving praise to Osiris, kissing the earth for Wennefer by the wab-priest in front of Amun, Pairy” (fig. 1.2). Upon the left side of his tomb’s lintel it is written, “. . . image of Re, the sovereign, whose like had not existed (before), by the ‘First King’s Son’ in front of Amun, Pa-iry, the justified.” The reference to Pairy as “First King’s Son” is not an indication of his kinship with the royal family but rather an honorary title that signified his priestly rank and responsibility.

A standard wab-priest, meaning “pure one,” was typically an entry-level position within the priesthood and was a title that a vast number of the nobility held in the late eighteenth dynasty, most predominately for the god Amun due to the wealth and vastness of his cult following. With this title, individuals were granted limited access to the innermost sanctuary of the deity’s temple they served. Their responsibilities included performing the daily cult ritual that maintained and satisfied the effigy of the god within its temple, carrying the god’s offerings, and

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30 Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records*, 32.
33 Ibid., 20.
and carrying the sacred boats upon which the effigy rested during festivals and processions.\(^{34}\)

This basic level of *wab*-priest, although still a prestigious title, was only a part-time position that required the individual’s service for typically one month out of the year.\(^{35}\) The “Instruction for Merikare” dating to the Middle Kingdom (circa 2050 B.C.E.) modestly describes the responsibility of a *wab*-priest: “In the monthly service, wear the white sandals. Visit the temple, observe the mysteries, enter the shrine, eat bread in god’s house. . .”.\(^{36}\) For Pairy, however, evidence suggests that as the “Wab-Priest in Front of Amun,” or “First King’s Son in Front of Amun,” the position was full-time and a rank much higher than that of a standard *wab*.

Bearing the title “First King’s Son in Front of Amun” not only granted Pairy additional access within the temple of Amun at Karnak, but it also provided him with a clearly defined task, placing him in front of the deity’s holy image during public processions.\(^{37}\) Annual festivals such as the Feast of Opet provided the people with an opportunity to celebrate with their king and witness the grandeur of Amun’s sacred barque as it traveled from the temple at Karnak to the Luxor temple.\(^{38}\) As the cult statue was transported upon its barque, Pairy acted as leading porter, proceeding ahead of the cult object at either the eastern or western side.\(^{39}\) Since the general public was not allowed access to the inner rooms of the temples, these processions gave the community the rare opportunity to worship the god’s image housed in its shrine.\(^{40}\) It was a high

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\(^{34}\) Teeter, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, 21.

\(^{35}\) David P. Silverman et al., *Ancient Egypt* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 162.


\(^{37}\) Schmitz, “Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-n3sw ‘Königssohn,’” 279.


\(^{40}\) Teeter, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, 21.
honor for a porter of the sacred barque to be placed in front of the deity’s cult statue, and it showed Amenhotep III’s and Amun’s favor for Pairy to the entire community.

It is believed that Pairy’s rank within the clergy of Amun was once again achieved through promotion, which was generally granted if a priest’s aptitude in service merited recognition and reward.\(^{41}\) In his tomb, he is depicted in multiple scenes wearing the shebyu-collar (šbyw), or the “Gold of Honor,” around his neck as seen on walls PM (1), PM (4), and PM (6) (fig. 1.3).\(^{42}\) This collar of gold was a gift of distinction directly from the king, typically bestowed upon, but not limited to members of the elite class as a reward “to those whose loyalty was critical for the success of the pharaoh and Egypt’s internal management.”\(^{43}\) According to Susanne Binder, the awarding of a shebyu-collar was also politically motivated and linked to Pairy’s possible administrative involvement with the estates of the king.\(^{44}\)

As an elite member of society, Pairy possessed the administrative role as the “Overseer of the Pasture Regions of Amun” (imy-r śḥtw n ḫmn). Davies provides a translation of the text from the left side of the tomb’s lintel in the British Museum: “He says: \(^{45}\)Hail to you, Ruler of the Nine Bows. You have seized the two Lands by your strength’; by the overseer of the peasants (or: fowlers) \(^{5}\)of Amun, Pa-iry.”\(^{45}\) Due to the poor condition of the section of the tomb’s wall where the title is listed, the exact translation of the title remains an issue of debate. Although the inscription was originally interpreted as “Overseer of the Peasants of Amun,” a recent study determined that the bird glyph within the title is in fact a vulture, which alters its meaning and is

\(^{41}\) Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, 47.
\(^{43}\) Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 81.
\(^{45}\) Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records*, 32.
more accurately translated as “Overseer of the Pasture Regions.” 46 Literature suggests that with this title he held limited responsibility for “regulating economic life and storing or securing the taxes owed to the state” in specific regards to the pasture regions of Amun in Thebes. 47 Due to the vastness of the temple of Amun and its lands, its very own administration was required in order to ensure proper “inflow of agricultural products to supply the table of the deity and his or her servants.” 48 On a daily basis, priests in the temples purified masses of meats and edible goods with holy water and presented them to Amun’s effigy, which was essential to the deity’s cult ritual. 49 As the overseer of the temples’ pastures and all related produce, it was Pairy that helped guarantee the necessary food offerings for the nourishment of the god so that he might inhabit the temple each day. 50

Throughout the eighteenth dynasty and the reign of Amenhotep III, Thebes was one of the largest and most essential areas for ancient Egypt’s production, and it was common if not required for members of the elite to hold a particular position within the realm of administration. 51 However, Pairy’s authority as “Overseer of the Pasture Regions of Amun” in Thebes is significant as it alludes to his administration over some of the king’s estates and may explain why he was granted a Gold of Honor and promoted to “First King’s Son in Front of Amun.” Research reveals that Amenhotep III gave the Gold of Honor to several officials that had no association with Egypt’s military or its treasuries, which was a different approach to

46 Wolfgang Helck, Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1961), 40.
48 Sauneron, The Priests of Ancient Egypt, 55.
49 Ibid., 36.
50 Ibid., 77.
51 Trigger, Kemp, O’Connor, and Lloyd, Ancient Egypt: A Social History, 213.
distributing the reward.\textsuperscript{52} Binder suggests that Pairy, along with three High Priests of Ptah in Memphis and a Mayor of Memphis who collectively oversaw Amenhotep III’s many estates, assisted the king in withdrawing funds from production for his Heb Sed festivals.\textsuperscript{53} She states that Amenhotep III “appears not to have been primarily concerned with emphasizing an individual’s merits but rather that holders of comparable high office from across the land were selected in the king’s bid to exploit to the fullest extent the wealth of the nation.”\textsuperscript{54} The mid to late eighteenth dynasty was a period of prosperity and peace; therefore the king no longer relied on the strength of Egypt’s military but rather on the management of the country’s accumulation and distribution of assets.\textsuperscript{55} Pairy depicted wearing the Gold of Honor in his tomb decoration indicates his elevated status and close liaison with Amenhotep III, an achievement for a member of the clergy that he desired to be commemorated and eternally reenacted.

As a prominent figure in ancient Egypt’s priesthood, Pairy was required to uphold a higher standard of daily living. It was mandatory that he maintain a fairly limited diet, a physical cleanliness by way of circumcision and the riddance of any hair upon the body, as well as an abstinence from sex for days prior to his service within the temples.\textsuperscript{56} It is certain, however, that priestly duties did not require celibacy; nor did they prohibit marriage.\textsuperscript{57} According to his tomb’s texts, Pairy was married to Henutnofret (hnu\text{t}-nfrt) who bore the title “Lady of the House.”\textsuperscript{58} Above her image on wall PM (4) of the transverse hall the inscription reads, “The Lady of the house, Henut-nofret, justified” (\textit{nbt pr hnu\text{t}-nfrt m\text{\textit{3k}} hrw}) (fig. 1.4). As the wife of an

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{52} Binder, “The Gold of Honour,” 241.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 243.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{56} Sauneron, \textit{The Priests of Ancient Egypt}, 39.
\item \textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 40.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Whale, \textit{The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt}, 233.
\end{itemize}
administrative official and priest, she was likely charged with managing the household and
general affairs while he fulfilled his duties within the temples and the temple grounds.\textsuperscript{59} Little is
known of the precise role elite women such as Henutnofret played within society, but it is
believed that above all else she was expected to tend to her husband’s needs and nurture their
children.\textsuperscript{60} However, acting as proxy for Pairy in his absence may have provided her some
degree of influence upon his business matters.\textsuperscript{61} Like most non-royal women, Henutnofret shared
her husband’s “House of Eternity” and depended upon his funerary art to secure her own
successful afterlife, although her influence may explain her prominence throughout his tomb.\textsuperscript{62}

Like the wives of the lower classes in ancient Egypt, women of nobility spent the
majority of their adult life rearing children.\textsuperscript{63} It was undoubtedly a woman’s most essential
responsibility as a wife to provide her husband with sons, to whom he could pass his titles and
continue the family line, as well as guarantee that his funeral ceremonies and offerings essential
for the afterlife were carried out.\textsuperscript{64} Priestly families commonly maintained association with the
cult of their deities for many generations, and it was the pride of ancient Egyptian fathers to see
their sons assume their positions in office.\textsuperscript{65} Fortunately for Henutnofret, she provided her
husband with four sons, as well as up to four daughters. Of their four sons, it is indicated by the
funerary text on PM (3), PM (5), and PM (6) that only Amenhotep (\textit{imn-htp}) followed Pairy into
the service of the gods Amun and Ptah, although not at the high rank achieved by his father.\textsuperscript{66}
Amenhotep’s titles also reveal that he reasserted himself within the priesthood of Hathor

\textsuperscript{59} Mertz, \textit{Red Land, Black Land}, 65.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., 61.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 65.
\textsuperscript{64} Mertz, \textit{Red Land, Black Land}, 50.
\textsuperscript{65} Sauneron, \textit{The Priests of Ancient Egypt}, 43.
\textsuperscript{66} Whale, \textit{The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt}, 234.
following the occupation of his grandfather, Shuroy. The image on wall PM (3) depicts Amenhotep presenting a bouquet and table of offerings to his seated parents, Henutnofret and Pairy (fig. 1.5). The inscription above him reads, “His son, his beloved, wab-priest of Amun, prophet of Ptah and Hathor who is upon Thebes, Amenhotep” (s3.f mrl.f wdb n imn hm-ntr n pth n hwt-hr hry-tp w1st imn-htp).

Each of Amenhotep’s three brothers—Ptahmose (pth-ms), Userhat (wsr-h3t), and Mose (ms)—are listed in the tomb’s decoration as the “Child of the Nursery” (hpd n k3p), which suggests that the family had an established, favorable connection with the royal court. Pairy’s funerary inscriptions on the second register of PM (6) list them accordingly, “His son, his beloved, the Child of the Nursery, Mose. His son, his beloved, the Child of the Nursery, Userhat” (s3.f mrl.f hrd n k3p ms s3.f mrl.f hrd n k3p wsr-h3t). Wall PM (1) gives the title and nickname of Ptahmose: “His son, his beloved, the Child of the Nursery, Ptahmose, calling himself Nana” (s3.f mrl.f hrd n k3p dd n.f nIt). The family’s connection with the court guaranteed all four of Pairy’s sons a privileged education from royal tutors alongside the offspring of the king, when most commonly children of nobility attended training schools for a specific profession at the cost of their parents. The boys’ education was assuredly specialized for their future entry into the priesthood, although it is unknown whether Ptahmose, Userhat, or Mose ultimately followed their father and brother into the service of the gods.

Pairy’s tomb paintings also reveal the title of one of possibly four daughters, although her name and subsequent text is unidentifiable due to the wall’s deterioration. Upon the left side of PM (1) her image bears the title “Lady in Waiting” (hkrt nswt), a prestigious appointment with

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68 Ibid., 234.
varied meanings depending upon the period in which it was obtained. Early studies suggest that this particular title was given to royal concubines within the harem of the king, a notion proven unlikely as most of the women were married to the king’s highest officials. It is currently believed that during the course of the eighteenth dynasty and the reign of Amenhotep III it was a distinctive designation for select wives and daughters of high nobility to indicate their status within the royal court. Pairy and Henutnofret’s other three daughters are depicted as a group along with their sister in several scenes throughout the tomb’s decoration, but all names and possible titles are unfortunately lost. It can be assumed, however, that the daughters received at least a rudimentary education alongside their brothers as a privilege of their family’s elite status.

It is evident from the information provided that Pairy indeed played a noteworthy role in both the religious and political realm of the mid to late eighteenth dynasty. His various accomplishments both public and private and his untempered morality and piety are recorded in his tomb and are thus eternally reenacted. With this biographical framework now established, I will begin to examine the implications of location and architectural design of the Theban tombs of nobility and their intended function, and I will attempt to apply these implications to TT 139, Pairy’s eternal home.

72 Ibid.
CHAPTER TWO: THE TOMB OF THE PRIEST

For the royal and elite classes of ancient Egypt, the active preparation for death was an essential part of life. The site of their burial was intended to serve as an eternal home for the soul of the deceased, while at the same time designed to be a physical and lasting representation of the life and success of the individual. Instructions for Prince Hardjedef from the fifth dynasty clearly demonstrate the importance of one’s own final resting place: “Make good your dwelling in the graveyard, make worthy your station in the West . . . the house of death is for life.”74 The structure itself was meticulously planned to ensure the tomb functioned as a magical, commemorative area that guaranteed its occupant continual rebirth in the hereafter. By examining the tomb of Pairy, TT 139, and the architectural tendencies of the elite class throughout the period in which he lived, I will lay the groundwork essential for an in-depth study of the tomb’s decoration.

In the mid to late eighteenth dynasty, throughout the reign of Amenhotep III and the life of Pairy, the ancient city of Thebes was at its peak of prosperity as the religious epicenter of Egyptian society.75 Often referred to as the “city of Amun,” it contained both the Karnak and Luxor temples dedicated to the chief god on the east bank of the Nile River, with the Valley of the Kings and the tombs of the elite along the west bank. Along the Theban necropolis, amidst the tombs of the elite, rests the eternal home of Pairy, carved within the lower enclosure of

Sheik ‘Abd el-Qurna (fig. 2.1). While the tombs of the northern part of the hill predominately belong to the nobility of the early eighteenth dynasty, the southern enclosure was a popular location for tombs of the latter half of the dynasty. TT 139 is fairly isolated, with the closest neighboring tombs belonging to the late eighteenth-dynasty governor and vizier under Amenhotep IV, Ramose (TT 55), the nineteenth-dynasty “Wab-Priest in Front of Amun,” Bekenamun (TT 135), and the “First King’s Son,” Amenhotep (TT 345) of the mid eighteenth dynasty.

The location and direction in which Pairy chose to situate his tomb amidst his peers was deliberate, and functioned magically to ensure his survival in the afterlife. His final resting place upon the hill looked north across the river towards the great temple of Karnak where he loyally served as priest to the gods. This theoretically allowed him to continue to oversee and participate in their cult worship even in death, and to receive offerings reverted to the dead from the god’s temples. The placement of Pairy’s tomb was also influenced by its accessibility to living visitors upon whom he relied for commemoration essential for his transfiguration. In order for the ka or the soul of the deceased to survive in the afterlife it required nourishment through offerings, prayers, and cult rituals performed by priests and relatives, as well as through the recitation of prayers and offering formulas by the tomb’s visitors. Various ceremonies and ritual festivals such as the annual Valley Festival and New Year Festival (wpt-rnpt) allowed the

78 Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography, 500.
80 Ibid., 35.
deceased’s family to dine and celebrate within their loved one’s tomb and renew their mortuary rites.\(^{81}\) Once Pa’ry could no longer depend on family or priests to visit and renew his rites, he relied upon the position of his tomb, which was oriented towards a festival gathering place believed to be located in the vicinity of Ramose’s tomb (TT 55) south-east of TT 139.\(^{82}\) By situating his tomb chapel here, he hoped to appeal to passersby who had the power to ensure his cycle of rebirth by leaving offerings and reciting the necessary prayers. Text on the right door jamb pleas to the living: “. . . may he give everything good and pure, wine and milk, for the \textit{ka} of the \textit{wab}-priest of Amun, Pa’ry.”\(^83\) The location of TT 139 along a processional path enabled Pa’ry to continue to receive provisions long after the passing of all who knew him, and allowed him to participate eternally with his ancestors in the festivals of the gods as leading porter.\(^{84}\)

The structure’s east-west orientation upon Sheikh ‘Abd el-Qurna also played a vital role in assisting the deceased in his rebirth by symbolically following the journey of the sun in rising and then setting into the underworld each night. Studies reveal that beginning as early as the fourth dynasty, tombs were situated on an east-west axis and oriented towards the sun that assured eternal life through its endless cycle.\(^{85}\) Andreas Schweizer explains:

> “When the sun sets at the western horizon and night suddenly falls, a mysterious process of transformation begins in the interior of the earth, finding its completion in the miracle of the birth of the sun in the morning. Just as the sun renews and regenerates day by day, the same might happen to everyone exhausted from the strains of daily life, and to every deceased.”\(^{86}\)

\(^{81}\) Melinda Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 11.
\(^{84}\) Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 103.
Thus the entrance of Pairy’s tomb bore witness to the daily rebirth of the sun in the east (the world of the living), and followed the sun’s entrance into the underworld in the west (the world of the dead) where the deceased rested in his burial chamber. Essentially the placement of the tomb linked the deceased with the sun god Re and the god of the underworld, Osiris, permitting the dead’s rejuvenation and rebirth for all eternity.87

The structural layout of an eighteenth-dynasty noble’s tomb was generally the shape of an inverted ‘T.’ It was composed of an upper, middle, and lower level that replicated the process and duality of life and death, a concept that defined ancient Egyptian religion.88 The T-shaped tomb was a modified version of an earlier design which developed the preceding long narrow hall into a separate transverse hall followed by a central passage.89 The three levels typically consisted of a courtyard, a superstructure or façade with a niche, a chapel for the performance of rituals for the deceased, and a burial chamber.90 In accordance with the popular style of Pairy’s time, his funerary complex is an inverted T-shape comprised of an enclosed sunken courtyard with a façade, a passageway connecting to a long transverse chapel with a central niche, and an entryway to a sloping passage leading to the burial chamber (fig. 2.2).91 The architectural style coupled with the tomb’s lintel in the British Museum (which contains the cartouches of Amenhotep III) confirm the dating of the tomb to the mid to late eighteenth dynasty.92

It is apparent that Pairy embraced his society’s ideas of what was considered necessary for his well-being after death, and followed the essential funerary patterns that guaranteed his

87 Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity,” 7.
88 Strudwick, Thebes in Egypt, 145.
89 Taylor, Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt, 152.
90 Ibid.
91 Kampp, Die thebanische Nekropole, 426.
joining with Osiris in the underworld. Evidence suggests that the rectangular courtyard of TT
139 was once surrounded on all sides by a wall that provided entrance to the structure at the east
side (fig. 2.3). Although none of the original façade remains intact, the presence of mud brick
and limestone fragments, and the architecture of comparable eighteenth-dynasty tombs, support
this assumption. Despite the lack of archaeological evidence, the design of similar tombs also
suggests that its façade was likely moderately adorned with decorative molding and a cornice
and that the superstructure was inlaid with funerary cones bearing the name and titles of the tomb
owner.

The tomb’s forecourt, with its exposure to the light of day, provided both an area for its
future resident’s funerary cult as well as a space for the eternal worship of the sun god Re. It
was in this enclosure that ‘ideal’ funerary rituals were performed while the deceased absorbed
the “life-restoring power of the sun.” This included the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, in
which the senses of the dead were restored to the tomb owner’s funerary statue or the coffin that
encased his mummy. Text found in two eighteenth-dynasty tombs states, “Your mummy is set up
for Re in the court of your tomb, you being given over to the scale of the necropolis.” In the
case of Pairy, his funerary art demonstrates the performance of this restorative ritual on his
funerary statue in the forecourt of his tomb. Once the rituals were completed, and the life
restored to Pairy by magical means, his body and funerary offerings made their final journey
through the tomb and into the burial chamber.

93 Kampp, Die thebanische Nekropole, 426.
94 Ibid.
95 Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 15.
96 Ibid., 16.
97 Teeter, Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt, 139.
98 Jan Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (New York: Cornell University Press,
2005), 319.
Little of the entranceway to the central chapel of TT 139 is mentioned in published research besides an occasional discussion of a solitary scene painted on the doorway’s left thickness. However, the sandstone lintel from the original door frame was discovered in the tomb’s excavations lead by Sir Robert Mond in 1905. Lydia Collins states, “The courtyard was cleared and in it, lying in front of the north door, was found the sandstone door lintel from the tomb.” According to a publication by the British Museum, where the object is currently housed, the piece is approximately five feet long and six inches wide with a molded cornice. It is decorated with roughly cut images and text, the most important of which identifies Amenhotep III as the king under whom Pairy served in life. According to Henry Hall, the figure of Pairy is standing in adoration before the nomen and praenomen of the king enclosed in cartouches. Below is a sema-tawy symbolizing the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt maintained by the power of the king, alongside venerating text addressed to the gods Amun and Mut on either side of the lintel. The doorway thus served to demonstrate to all who may pass by Pairy’s eternal servitude and piety towards the deities and Amenhotep III as divine ruler to all who may pass by.

The doorway where the lintel was once attached gives way to the tomb’s wide transverse hall, which contains Pairy’s funerary paintings, a central niche for his cult statue and offerings, and the entrance to his burial chamber’s sloping passage. These three components make this particular room essential to the commemoration of the deceased. As the middle of the three architectural levels and the representation of the world of the living, the tomb chapel was

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100 Ibid.
designed to serve as a gathering place where visitors and loved ones celebrated and paid tribute to the deceased.\footnote{Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 16.} It was typically the most elaborate room of a nobleman’s tomb and consisted of scenes focused on the individual’s veneration, the depiction of his life achievements and status, as well as his desired experience in the afterlife.\footnote{Taylor, \textit{Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt}, 152.} As the nearest room to the outside world, the paintings within the transverse hall also reflect its use as a gathering room for the living.\footnote{Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 16.} The orientation of the painted scenes in the transverse hall of TT 139 begins on the right side of the east wall adjacent to the tomb entrance and continues counter-clockwise to the west wall, again replicating the cycle of the sun. Curiously, only the right-hand side of Pairy’s tomb chapel is decorated, with the last group of images ending just to the right of the central niche on the west wall (fig. 2.4).\footnote{Porter and Moss, \textit{Topographical Bibliography}, 253.}

Pairy’s tomb chapel also contains a central niche cut into the back wall directly in line with the tomb entrance, which was likely where his cult statue was once housed. Typically this statue was carved in the tomb owner’s likeness and was designed to be the focal point for offering rituals performed by the living. It was believed to be reanimated by his \textit{ka} daily in order to partake in offerings that provided sustenance for his journey through the underworld each night.\footnote{Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 5.} Although a variety of eighteenth-dynasty tombs reveal that sculptors often chiseled cult statues out of the rock wall, leaving them attached to the structure, excavations of Pairy’s tomb suggest that his cult statue was free-standing and ultimately removed from the tomb.\footnote{Robins, \textit{The Art of Ancient Egypt}, 138.}

Located within the transverse hall is the entrance to Pairy’s burial chamber, which is accessed by way of a sloping passage. The doorway is cut into the west wall to the right of the
central niche and has a decorated frame featuring several narrative scenes of the tomb owner receiving final offerings before reaching his eternal resting place (fig. 2.5). Current publications fail to provide any details of the layout and condition of the sloping passage and burial chamber of TT 139; however, the design of the lower level is congruent with the time period’s preference for a sloping passage versus a vertical shaft. The sloping passage of TT 139 was essentially used for transferring the deceased’s mummy in its coffin and all desired funerary objects safely into the burial chamber. Once the sarcophagus and goods were properly arranged, the chamber was sealed off with either stone or mud brick in hopes of deterring potential grave robbers and preventing any attempts to usurp the burial chamber. Finally, the sloping passage was filled in with sand, stone, and any other available materials. Research suggests that by the late eighteenth dynasty the sloping passage had also become a symbolic representation of the tomb owner’s journey from world of the living to the underworld, and thus played a pivotal role in funerary rituals. Although a small number of elite tombs are known to contain funerary paintings and text, it is likely that Pairy’s burial chamber lacks any form of decoration.

Unfortunately, the condition of Pairy’s tomb has rapidly declined within the last few decades. According to previous publications, TT 139 is composed entirely of Tafl-stone. Tafl, an Arabic term given to the natural claylike material found in the desert, was mixed with water in

114 Ibid.
115 Ibid.
116 Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 152.
order to create a durable concretion, a mixture commonly used by the ancient Egyptians in the construction of tombs and temples.\footnote{Martin Isler, \textit{Sticks, Stones, and Shadows: Building the Egyptian Pyramids} (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 213.} Frederike Kampp argues that the structure was chiseled out of an area of particularly weak \textit{Tafl}, which is clearly visible upon passage throughout the tomb’s interior.\footnote{Kampp, \textit{Die thebanische Nekropole}, 426.} There is also evidence of a small number of ancient repairs identified by the presence of limestone splinters and straw marl mortar.\footnote{Ibid.} The tomb’s precarious condition was worsened in 1994 as a result of a severe flash flood.\footnote{Nigel Strudwick, “Flood Damage in Thebes,” \textit{The Biblical Archaeologist}, vol. 58, no. 2, Anatolian Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Neve (1995): 117.} Nigel Strudwick described the extensive damage to the interior walls: “When the walls of the tomb of Pairy became wet, the base of \textit{Tafl} material expanded and then collapsed, causing portions of two of the three decorated walls in the tomb to fall to the ground.”\footnote{Ibid.} The painted plaster walls of the transverse hall have since been restored; however, the cracks and breaks from the flood damage are still visible (fig. 2.6).

It is evident that the architectural layout of TT 139 was a carefully planned and executed aspect of the tomb that safely housed both Pairy’s physical body and his \textit{ka}. However, the arrangement and content of paintings on the walls of the tomb were equally essential for the tomb’s proper function as a magical, commemorative area. In the following chapter, I will analyze each of the funerary scenes in TT 139 as they progress from the entranceway in the forecourt and into the broad transverse hall.
CHAPTER THREE: THE FUNERARY ART OF TT 139

The presence of funerary art within a tomb was considered essential for the survival of the deceased in eighteenth-dynasty Egypt. Similar to the intended magical function of the tomb’s architecture, the decoration of the interior was meticulously executed and contained all the necessary components to assist the individual in his or her journey into the hereafter. The eternal rebirth and renewal of Pairy’s life depended on his receiving of offerings, funerary rituals, and the recitation and remembrance of his name by the living. Once his tomb no longer received visitors, the symbolism inherent in the painted scenes and texts would magically continue the deceased’s provisions to ensure comfort and success in the afterlife. This chapter will first provide a brief examination of each of the tomb’s painted scenes in accordance with the numbering of Porter and Moss’s Topographical Bibliography, to provide the framework for the focus of my analysis, which will concentrate on the images, text, and symbolism of walls PM (4) and PM (5), located near the tomb’s sloping passage. The analysis will begin with PM (1), located on the left side of the tomb’s entrance, which depicts the deceased heading east to vacate the tomb and conclude with PM (6) located to the right of the chapel hall’s central niche (fig. 3.1).

The deteriorated painted limestone scene of PM (1) portrays the tomb owner Pairy, his wife Henutnofret, and three of his children standing before an offering table heading east towards the rising sun (fig. 3.2). This scene, located within the passageway to and from the tomb’s forecourt, allowed the deceased tomb owner and his family to participate magically in the

festivals and processions of the gods as they passed by. Although his figure is partially destroyed, Pairy is clearly dressed in a white kilt and sandals and wearing the shebyu-collar around his neck ($\text{šbyw}$) (fig. 3.3). Depicting the deceased with the Gold of Honor in his tomb decoration reflects the elevated status he achieved in life, and desired to maintain after death. Pairy stands in front of the table with his arms raised towards the offerings before him, as if to obtain their nourishment for his survival in the afterlife. To the right of Pairy, his wife Henutnofret is wearing a simple white gown with a lotus headpiece and a broad collar with alternating sections of white, blue, red, and gold (fig. 3.4). In her left hand she holds a sistrum decorated with the image of the goddess Hathor, and in her right she holds the counter-weight of a menit-necklace. Both the sistrum and the menit-necklace were instruments related to Hathor and her music and they were often used in the celebration of the annual Valley Festival. They were also believed to impart to their handler the faculties associated with the goddess (such as health and rebirth) while signifying the deceased’s safe transition into the afterlife.

Standing between Pairy and Henutnofret is a smaller figure of one their daughters, identified by the accompanying inscription as “Lady in Waiting” (hkrt-nswt) (fig. 3.5). The young girl holds an object across her chest in her right hand (probably a lotus) and wears a white gown and an elaborate red and gold crown with two upright feathers at the front representing the

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125 Hartwig, “Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 93.
two horizons.\textsuperscript{128} The crown, also sometimes worn by princesses in eighteenth-dynasty depictions, indicates the daughter’s affiliation with the royal court as a “Lady in Waiting,” a title that brought honor and prestige to her family.\textsuperscript{129}

To the right of Henutnofret stand two of her sons, one located just above the other. The image of the son beside Henutnofret’s upper body is most likely that of Amenhotep, based on his prominent appearance throughout the tomb.\textsuperscript{130} His figure is damaged, but his white kilt and sandals, and the colorful \textit{ankh}-bouquet (\textit{\textit{snh}j}) in his left hand survive (fig. 3.6). The bouquet of papyrus and lotus often appears in scenes of banqueting and festival celebrations as they were believed to contain the essential properties of rebirth and regeneration, and their intoxicating, divine scent allowed the living to commune with the gods.\textsuperscript{131} The lower son was once identified as Ptahmose by the now destroyed vertical text above his head, which read, “His son, his beloved, Child of the Nursery, Ptahmose, calling himself Nana” (\textit{s\textit{st.f} m\textit{rj.f} b\textit{rd n k\textit{tp pth-ms dd n.f n\textit{j$t}}} j}).\textsuperscript{132} He strides to the right of his mother’s legs dressed in a white kilt and colorful collar holding a single white lotus bloom (fig. 3.7).

PM (2) and PM (3) are located to the right on the tomb chapel’s east wall (fig. 3.8). The right side of the wall suffered extensive damage in the aforementioned flood, and only six small fragments of PM (2) were able to be reconstructed (fig. 3.9). Unfortunately, some appear to have been misplaced and therefore do not allow for an accurate reading of the section of the wall. The top fragment from the right contains the wig of a female adorned with a lotus headpiece. To her

\textsuperscript{129} Whale, \textit{The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty}, 278.
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., 234.
\textsuperscript{132} Whale, \textit{The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty}, 234.
left is a larger fragment that contains the figure of a man in a wig and white kilt. He is walking left but has his head turned to face the female behind him. The faded vertical text above the man’s head identifies him as Pairy’s son Ptahmose (pth-ms).\textsuperscript{133} His right hand appears to be raised, gripping a lotus, while he holds a tall, leafy stalk of papyrus across his chest with his left hand. The last fragment of PM (2) to the left of Ptahmose contains only the left arm of a third individual.

The far left corner of the east wall, PM (3), is composed of two registers that span the height of the wall (refer to fig. 3.8). The bottom register contains Pairy’s deceased parents seated on black lion-footed chairs upon a podium that faces south towards the tomb’s entrance (fig. 3.10).\textsuperscript{134} His mother’s name is unknown; however, the vertical text within the scene reveals the name of his father, Shuroy (šr), stating: “A htp-dl-nsw for Amun-Re, king of the gods, and Osiris, foremost of Thebes. May he give all that comes forth upon the table of Amun-Re, together with all things good and pure on which the gods live therein for the ka of the prophet of Ptah, prophet of Hathor dwelling in Thebes, Shuroy.”\textsuperscript{135} Pairy’s mother, dressed in a simple white gown, has one hand grasping his upper arm while the other goes around his back and rests on his shoulder. Sheroy sniffs a single lotus bloom, a symbol of the regeneration believed to be obtainable through the inhalation of the flower’s scent.\textsuperscript{136} A yellow mirror and decorated jar of kohl rests beneath the seated figure of the mother, and before them is an offering table stacked with goods including a basket of dates, a variety of breads, a duck, and a small bouquet on top.

\textsuperscript{133} Porter and Moss, \textit{Topographical Bibliography}, 253.
\textsuperscript{134} Whale, \textit{The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty}, 235.
Underneath the table is a colorfully decorated wine vessel draped with flora and to its right is Pairy, whose arm is extended towards his parents to perform the offering list ritual.\(^{137}\) In addition to the table of goods, an offering list to the right of the register’s text provides an inventory of provisions to be taken with Shuroy and his wife on their journey to the afterlife.

Although the top register of PM (3) contains a similar offering scene, the recipients are now Pairy and his wife, Henutnofret, and the offering bearer is their son, Amenhotep (\textit{imn-htp}) (fig. 3.11).\(^{138}\) The deceased couple is seated before a table of goods; however, Henutnofret is draped in a golden shawl and is affectionately embracing her husband with one arm wrapped around his shoulder that she holds with her other hand. Pairy holds a lotus flower in his right hand and with his left he accepts the life-giving \textit{ankh}-bouquet presented by Amenhotep as mentioned in the band of text above.\(^{139}\) The bouquet, comprised of papyrus stalks, lotus blossoms, and poppy petals, symbolizes eternal rejuvenation and protection. Above them, the text reads: “Enjoying and seeing your beauty in your funerary chapel of eternity (\textit{hwt.k m3-\textit{hrw}}), the \textit{wab}-priest in front of Amun, overseer of the fowl-yards of Amun, Pairy and his wife, the \textit{nbt-pr}, Henutnofret, \textit{m3d-hrw}.” Their son is portrayed in a white, priestly robe with a shaved head and the inscription above him reads, “His son, his beloved, \textit{wab}-priest of Amun, prophet of Ptah and Hathor who is upon Thebes, Amenhotep” (\textit{s3.f mrl.f w3b n imn hm-ntr n p3b n hwt-hrw hry-tp w3st imn-htp}). Although the image to the right of Amenhotep is now destroyed, the beginnings of two sub-registers are present. The upper sub-register contains a partial, seated figure holding a lotus flower who is identified by the text as another of Pairy’s sons, Ptahmose,

\(^{138}\) \textit{Ibid.}, 234.
\(^{139}\) Scheil, “Le tombeau de Pârj,” 589.
stating, “His son, his beloved, [. . .], Ptahmose” ($s\textbf{f} \textbf{mr}\textbf{f} [. . .] \textbf{ptH-ms}$).\textsuperscript{140} According to Sheila Whale’s account from 1989, the sub-registers originally contained the sons and daughters of the tomb owner with the males seated on the top and the females seated below.\textsuperscript{141} The multiple blank text bands within the bottom sub-register suggest that the scene’s text was never completed.

PM (4) is located upon the north wall of the tomb’s chapel hall just to the right of the entrance to Pairy’s burial chamber. The painting spans the width of the wall and nearly its height, and contains the individual scenes of four significant funerary events (fig. 3.12). The scenes are bound by a colorful block border to either side and topped with a red and blue hanging lotus frieze. Below are three horizontal lines, one red and two yellow, each separated by bands of black. The narrative of this particular painting was ordered from bottom to top and will thus be examined in this order.\textsuperscript{142} The analysis will begin with Pairy’s pilgrimage to Abydos in the fourth register, followed by the performance of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony in the third register, the tomb owner’s burial procession in the second register, and the presentation of offerings and worship of Osiris scene in the first register.

The images and text within the fourth register of PM (4) are antithetically depicted in two sections and contain the abbreviated version of a significant funerary voyage (fig. 3.13). The first section of the two-part scene reads from right to left and portrays the initial step of Pairy’s final journey into the hereafter beginning with the boat ride from the east bank of the Nile River to

\textsuperscript{140} Scheil, “Le tombeau de Pârj,” 589.
\textsuperscript{141} Whale, The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt, 234.
Abydos, the city of Osiris, to participate in the god’s festivals. The second section reads from left to right and depicts Pairy’s return voyage from Abydos under full sail. While it was greatly desired by the deceased to make such a pilgrimage, in reality the ritual most likely never took place. However, its depiction within the tomb allowed its owner to participate magically and symbolically in the festivals of Osiris for eternity.

In the right section of the fourth register, a large wooden boat facing eastward towards the tomb entrance is propelled by seven men who row northward along with the current of the Nile to Abydos (fig. 3.14). Both the front and rear of the boat are embellished with the symbolic lotus motif and decorative bands over a background of yellow. The text centered above the vessel states, “Come Great Ones (?), so that we reach the West.” The captain stands at the prow of the boat using a quant pole to propel the boat from its docking point into the waters. His figure is turned to communicate with the man operating the steering oar at the vessel’s stern. The lower half of the steering oar is decorated with a lotus flower and udjat-eyes upon a thick band of yellow. The udjat-eyes of Horus symbolized the god’s power of protection and strength against chaotic forces, and were therefore a necessary presence on the boat that ensured a safe and successful voyage. Behind the seven oarsmen of the boat is the cargo hold, which is decorated with an intricate floral pattern enclosed in a multi-colored block pattern. Stacked upon it are three crates propped slightly ajar to display multiple loaves of bread. Two men stand on top of the cargo hold at opposite ends, each holding a flail. The figure closest to the prow receives

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145 Ibid., 125.
146 Scheil, “Le tombeau de Pârj,” 582.
147 Hodel-Hoenes, *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt*, 133.
instructions from the captain who has his hand upraised towards him, while the figure at the stern gives orders to the man guiding the steering oar.

Attached to the vessel on the far right by a towrope is a smaller pilgrimage boat upon which Pairy and Henutnofret are seated under a lattice canopy (fig. 3.15). The inscription positioned to the right of the pilgrimage boat confirms that the city of Osiris is the first destination of their voyage. It reads: “traveling downstream in peace to the West in order to see Wennefer in his festival.”148 The ritual boat is depicted in the traditional manner, painted green to look as though it is composed of papyrus reeds and decorated with papyrus-shaped finials at both the prow and the stern.149 The canopy housing the tomb owner and his wife is decorated with a multi-colored block pattern, and the steering oar at the stern of the boat is once again embellished with the lotus motif and udjat-eyes. Pairy and Henutnofret are dressed in long white garments and seated upon lion-footed chairs with their arms affectionately intertwined. Although a large segment of the image is destroyed, there is evidence of a kneeling figure guiding the boat with the steering oar next to the figure of a sem-priest. The damaged image reveals the sem-priest standing just outside the tomb owner’s canopy, dressed in a garment of leopard skin. Research suggests that the individual chosen to act as sem-priest, an intermediary between the deceased and the hereafter, was often times the eldest son or the son with the closest relationship to the tomb owner.150 In the case of Pairy, the inscription in the second register of PM (6) just left of the entrance to the sloping passage reveals that his son Ptahmose filled the position of sem-priest for his father. The text reads, “. . . Ptahmose, he says: performing the ‘hetep di nisw,’ pure, pure,
for his father (and) for his mother. . .” (. . . pth-ms dd.f irt htp-di-nsw wdb sp-sn n it.f n mw.t.f. . .). 151 The sem-priest standing upon the right pilgrimage boat in PM (4) has his arm extended toward the faces of Pairy and Henutnofret— a gesture of consecration that associated the deceased with Osiris and the promise of eternal resurrection. 152

The second half of the fourth register from left to right begins with the incomplete outline of a second large wooden boat (fig. 3.16). The boat, now facing westward, is depicted with a full sail heading south against the current of the Nile for the final leg of Pairy’s journey. The inscription just beyond the boat’s stern states: “Coming from Abydos in the following of Wennefer in his beautiful festival of Busiris.” 153 Research reveals that, like Abydos, Osiris’s holy city of Busiris was a funerary pilgrimage destination for the god’s sacred festivals as early as the Old Kingdom. 154 This inscription reflects Pairy’s wish to travel to both Abydos and Busiris to participate eternally in the cult of Osiris. 155 At the prow of the boat is the faint outline of the captain looking upward toward the sail with an unknown object raised in his left hand. The seven oarsmen are once again present, with a large cargo hold behind them stocked with funerary goods necessary for the provisioning of the deceased. Near the stern to the far right is an eighth man who leans over the side of the boat with a pole stuck into the water below. Five additional men are present, three of whom are standing or sitting on the lower boom, bracing themselves with the rope lines fixed to the boat’s mast. The basic outline of the man operating the steering oar is depicted holding onto the oar at the edge of the stern.

152 Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 97.
153 Scheil, “Le tombeau de Pârj,” 582.
To the right of the larger vessel is a second small pilgrimage boat that, were the painting complete, would likely also be attached by a towrope (fig. 3.17). The pilgrimage boat is nearly identical to its symmetrical counterpart in both color and decoration. Once again, Pairy and his wife, Henutnofret, are seated under a lattice canopy facing west towards the location of the tomb. This section of the scene is also damaged but still reveals the figure of Pairy inhaling the divine scent of a lotus flower. Just outside the canopy is Pairy’s son, Ptahmose, acting as sem-priest with his hand gesturing to the deceased couple. Two additional figures are present on the pilgrimage boat, one at the prow and the other controlling the steering oar at the stern. Just beyond the curled papyrus finial on the right is an inscription that reads, “Entering into peace into his tomb.” The fourth register of PM (4) concludes with Pairy’s return voyage.

The third register of PM (4) contains an abbreviated depiction of Pairy’s Opening of the Mouth ceremony, captured in only six of the ritual’s seventy-five episodes, each accompanied by its necessary incantations (fig. 3.18). Upon the arrival of the deceased at the forecourt of his tomb, the ritual drama was performed upon the tomb owner’s funerary statues as well as the mummy still housed in its coffin. These performative acts, coupled with the recitation of spells and prayers, ensured the provisioning and rebirth of the deceased in the afterlife by restoring the mummy’s senses so that it could once again eat, smell, see, speak, and hear. Similarly, the ceremony performed upon the funerary statues enabled them to receive offerings on Pairy’s behalf, guaranteeing his survival. Once the Opening of the Mouth ceremony was complete and

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156 Scheil, “Le tombeau de Pârj,” 582.
157 Hartwig, The Tomb Chapel of Menna, 85.
159 Emily Teeter, Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 139.
the body and statues were magically activated, they were symbolically purified, clothed, and
nourished by the sem-priest before burial.\textsuperscript{160}

The figures on the third register of PM (4) face west, away from the entrance and towards
the burial chamber and the world of the dead. In all six vignettes, the sem-priest, Pairy’s eldest
son Ptahmose, dutifully restores the senses of the deceased by touching the mummy’s face with a
variety of ritual implements while reciting the proper spells.\textsuperscript{161} Beginning at the right, the first
episode reveals the sem-priest holding a chisel-like adze called a netjerty ($nTrty$) to Pairy’s face
(fig. 3.19).\textsuperscript{162} This particular adze was designed to make the deceased one of the blessed dead
and a recipient of veneration.\textsuperscript{163} Although the deceased tomb owner is often portrayed in the
shape of a mummified, anthropoid sarcophagus within this type of funerary scene, Pairy is
rendered here in statue form, as indicated by the thin, white podium beneath his feet in each of
the six vignettes.\textsuperscript{164} Although the center of the image is damaged, his identical stance and
appearance within the following episodes suggests that he was once holding a sekhem-scepter in
his right hand to indicate his elevated status, and he is reaching with his left to accept the ritual’s
offerings and incantations from the sem-priest.\textsuperscript{165} The caption reads: “The lector-priest, sem,
opening. . . for the Osiris [wab-priest in front of Amun, Pairy]” ($hry \ hbt \ sm \ wp \ wsr. . . [wrb \ n
$h3t \ inm \ p3- iry] $).\textsuperscript{166}

Looking left to the second episode of the ceremony, we see that the figures of Pairy and
the sem-priest are depicted identically to the first, except that the priest now touches the face of

\textsuperscript{160} Hartwig, \textit{The Tomb Chapel of Menna}, 85.
\textsuperscript{161} Teeter, \textit{Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt}, 25.
\textsuperscript{162} Episode 26, Eberhard Otto, \textit{Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual}, Ägyptologische
\textsuperscript{163} Hartwig, \textit{The Tomb Chapel of Menna}, 85.
\textsuperscript{164} Hodel-Hoenes, \textit{Life and Death in Ancient Egypt}, 169.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid., 117.
\textsuperscript{166} Scheil, “Le tombeau de Pârj,” 584.
the deceased with a *wer-heka* (wr-hk1w), a mouth-opening magic staff embellished with a ram-headed serpent (fig. 3.20).\(^{167}\) The caption recorded by Vincent Scheil in 1894 read: “Opening. . . for the Osiris [wab-priest in front of Amun] Pairy” (*wp. . . wsr [wrs n ḫt imn] p3-iry*).\(^{168}\) Unfortunately, most of the text within the episode is now destroyed, though Pairy’s name next to his statue’s head survives.

The *sem*-priest within the third vignette of the ritual holds a rectangular white implement to Pairy’s face, most likely a polishing stone called an *abt* (*ḥbt*), to assist in the opening of his eyes and mouth (fig. 3.21).\(^{169}\) Facing towards the figure of the deceased is part of a damaged incantation recited by the priest that states, “The lector-priest, *sem*, words spoken, four times opening your [mouth, opening your] eyes” (*ḥry ḫbt sm dd mdw wh sp-4 wp [r.k wp] irtq*).\(^{170}\)

The fourth episode of the ceremony depicts the *sem*-priest holding the foreleg of an ox, known as a *ḥps*-foreleg, before the mouth and eyes of Pairy (fig. 3.22).\(^{171}\) Hartwig writes that the foreleg used in the Opening of the Mouth ceremony was a “special cut of meat from a ritually slaughtered ox or calf, which, in a particularly gruesome twist, was held up to the face of the deceased so that the vitality of the recently severed leg would open the mouth and eyes of the mummy.”\(^{172}\) Much of the bottom half of the vignette is damaged; however, the surviving text accompanying the scene reads: “The lector-priest, *sem*, words spoken, four times, pure, pure,

\(^{167}\) Episode 27, Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, vol. 1, 65, no. 49; vol. 2, 84-87.

\(^{168}\) Scheil, “Le tombeau de Pârj,” vol. 2, 584.


\(^{172}\) Hartwig, *The Tomb Chapel of Menna*, 85.
opening your mouth. . . for the Osiris, wab-priest of Amun. . .” (hry hbt sm dd mdw-4 wwb sp-sn wp r.k . . n wsir wwb n imn. . .).

In contrast to the previous depictions of the sem-priest, in the fifth episode of the funerary ritual his damaged right arm is raised to present Pairy with incense pellets and in his lowered left hand he carries a ball of incense in a bowl for his purification (fig. 3.23). The surviving text between the two figures simply states, “Words spoken by the lector-priest, sem, four pellets. . . of Upper Egypt, incense from Srpt” (dd mdw hry hbt sm tw. . . šmtw nw šrpt).

Of the six episodes, the final vignette reveals the most information as it received the least amount of damage (fig. 3.24). The sem-priest now touches the face of Pairy’s statue with an instrument called a nua-blade to ensure the animation of its eyes and mouth. The accompanying inscription says, “The lector-priest, sem, opening the mouth, opening the eyes [with a nua-blade] for the Osiris, wab-priest of Amun, Pairy” (hry hbt sm wp r wp irt [m nw3-inpu] n wsir wwb n imn p3-irt). This essential act of the ritual ensures that the deceased is able to receive the last offerings before his final procession to the burial chamber.

The Opening of the Mouth ceremony in the third register of PM (4) concludes with the images of two yellow and black anthropoid sarcophagi belonging to Pairy and Henutnofret (fig. 3.25). The sarcophagi are similarly portrayed, with yellow faces and wigs adorned with unguent cones draped with lotus flowers. While Henutnofret’s sarcophagus was given a lotus headpiece to denote femininity and fertility, prior to the painting’s damage Pairy’s was likely decorated

175 Hodel-Hoenes, Life and Death in Ancient Egypt, 77.
176 Episode 26, Otto, Mundöffnungritual, vol. 1, 56, no. 49; vol. 2, 81, text 49; Scheil, “Le tombeau de Pârj,” 584.
with a curved beard to signify divinity. A sem-priest in a garment of leopard skin reaches over two tables stacked with various provisions to libate Pairy’s sarcophagus. To the right, a lector priest dressed in a tunic and white kilt reads from a white board and stands before an inventory of instruments from the Opening of the Mouth ritual itemized before him on two suspended tables. The abundant supply of implements was intended to be symbolically buried with Pairy as a precautionary measure to ensure that he maintained the use of his senses for eternity. The collection of instruments includes four adzes, one abt, one ḫps-foreleg, eight libation vessels of two different shapes, one wer-heka, and a dual-bladed knife called a peseshkaf (psš-kf). The peseshkaf knife is believed to be associated with rituals that mimicked birth and was used by the sem-priest to symbolically sever the umbilical cord of the newly reborn tomb owner. Below the inventory of tools rests a chest of brown, black, and green which may contain additional ritual implements or possibly the mummified internal organs of the tomb owner. The very same chest is seen again in the final procession to the burial chamber.

Moving to the second register of wall PM (4), the scene contains the funeral procession to Pairy’s final resting place, which begins upon the completion of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony (fig. 3.26). The procession consists of twenty-five individuals: twenty-one men, three women, and a child, some with shaved heads and others wearing wigs, carrying funerary goods.

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177 Hartwig, *The Tomb Chapel of Menna*, 73.
for the deceased. From the right, two cowherds in white kilts lead four oxen of white, brown, and black with the aid of switches raised above their heads (fig. 3.27). The oxen’s horns are tied together with a rope connected to a wooden sled that carries Pairy’s sarcophagus. Eight men following closely behind the oxen in rows of two hold the ropes with both hands to assist in pulling the weight of the barque (fig. 3.28).

Next in the procession, a sem-priest in his leopard-skin garment holds a libation vessel in his left hand and a censer in his right for Pairy’s ritual purification (fig. 3.29). An additional priest sometimes referred to in eighteenth-dynasty tombs as a “priest of the divine image” stands behind Pairy gripping a long staff with both hands dressed a full-bodied white robe associated with the image of the “Attendant of the God” (iry-nṯr).180 Positioned directly in front of the funerary barque, a yellow-skinned woman with outstretched arms wears a white gown with a diagonal shoulder-strap and a white cloth tied around her head. This female figure is commonly rendered with her arms twisted in grief for the deceased and is often referred to as the drt-wrt, meaning the “great mourner.”181 Dragging along behind her is the funerary barque composed of a canopied shrine housing Pairy’s sarcophagus, which rests on a small green and gold papyrus skiff (fig. 3.30). The shrine is decorated with alternating colors and ornate patterns, and the skiff, embellished with papyrus finials and protective udjat-eyes, has two small oars at the back. The miniature depictions of two females dressed in white stand at opposite ends of the barque with their arms raised towards Pairy’s sarcophagus in grief. These two women are likely the representations of Isis and Nephthys who are sometimes referred to as “the two mourning birds” in this type of scene.182 The image of the goddesses, friends, relatives, and sometimes hired

180 Hartwig, *The Tomb Chapel of Menna*, 73.
181 Ibid.
mourners, was the ideal depiction of a funeral procession for a tomb of an eighteenth-dynasty noble.\(^{183}\)

Continuing to the right within the second register, we find Pairy’s anthropoid, mumiform-shaped sarcophagus again decorated with a yellow face, a wig, and a curved beard. The third priest, who wears a transparent kilt over his tunic rests his right hand on the back finial of the barque, raises his right hand to his face in a gesture of mourning. Behind him, four porters carry on two wooden poles a small barque with a black and brown lattice chest that likely contains funerary goods, a statue shrine of Pairy, or his mummified internal organs (fig. 3.31).\(^{184}\) Between the legs of the four men is a small boy carrying an elegant black chair over his head as a funerary gift for the tomb owner. The next man in line carries upon his shoulder a large white vessel of wine, followed by a shorter individual who stabilizes a black and brown chest upon his head in his right hand and carries a two long staffs in his left. The last figure in the procession also balances a chest of green and white upon his head, which, apart from its coloring, is identical to the chest present in the Opening of the Mouth ritual. With his right hand he carries a fan of grey ostrich feathers as a funerary gift for Pairy. These goods were considered essential for Pairy’s eternal comfort and continual rebirth, and, once magically activated, their presence upon the walls of his tomb secured a perpetual supply.

The first register of PM (4) contains two funerary scenes (fig. 3.32). The right section continues the funerary procession that begins in the register below. It is separated into two sub-registers that contain nine additional offering bearers, both male and female (fig. 3.33). Research suggests that the number nine “signified any great number, as it was a multiple of the ancient


\(^{184}\) Hartwig, *The Tomb Chapel of Menna*, 73.
Egyptian idea of plurality, which was three.” The upper sub-register from the left reveals the figure of a woman followed by three men, while the lower sub-register contains five men. According to Whale, it is possible that the woman is one of Pairy’s daughters and some of the men his sons, but there is unfortunately no text present to positively identify any of the figures. Within the upper sub-register, the woman is wearing a long white garment and lotus headpiece with a matching collar. In her left hand she holds papyrus stalks, and in her right, a small bouquet of lotus flowers. The man to her right wears a white kilt and a wig, unlike the two men who follow behind him. This individual carries a papyrus stalk in each hand in addition to a table of offerings that consists of a combination of dates and grapes separated into four sections topped with a lotus flower and lotus blossoms hanging below. The two individuals who follow behind have shaved heads and also wear simple white kilts, the first of whom holds a rope tied to the leg of a brown calf that walks alongside him. The last man in the upper sub-register carries a dish of unguent and myrrh draped with lotus flowers and buds in his right hand, and a papyrus stalk in his left. Unguent was an essential offering for the tomb owner as the scent was believed to be the essence of the gods and enabled him to merge with the divine.

The lower sub-register of the scene contains five male offering bearers, each wearing the white kilt consistent with the register above. The torso of the first figure is heavily damaged but the top of the individual’s wig remains, along with the blossoms of a papyrus stalk. The second man, also wearing a wig, grips a papyrus stalk in his right hand. With his left hand he holds a lotus of which only the stem is now visible. The following three figures are clean-shaven, the first of whom holds an offering table identical to the one above, with four sections of dates and

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185 Hartwig, *The Tomb Chapel of Menna*, 72.
187 Hartwig, *The Tomb Chapel of Menna*, 73.
188 Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Egypt,” 100.
grapes topped with a single lotus flower and draped with lotus below. The third offering-bearer carries a large duck, while the fourth man holds a dish of unguent draped with a lotus flower and buds.

The left section of the first register of PM (4) contains the Worshiping-of-Osiris scene with Pairy and Henutnofret (fig. 3.34). The west-most figure on the wall is that of Osiris, the god who would welcome the deceased couple into the realm of the dead. He is looking east while seated upon a hwt-block throne enclosed within a kiosk embellished with lotus poles against a golden background. The god’s skin is black, which is the color traditionally associated with the life-giving black silt of the Nile River and a symbol of rebirth and resurrection.\[189\] He is wearing the blue false beard indicating his divinity, and upon his head rests an atef-crown ($\hat{3}t\hat{f}$) which is particularly associated with the god Osiris.\[190\] This atef consists of the white crown of Upper Egypt called the hedjet-crown ($h\hat{d}t$) flanked by two white ostrich plumes. He is clothed in a full-bodied white checkered garment emulating the linen wrappings of a mummy, and wears a broad blue and green collar around his neck.\[191\] Across his chest, Osiris holds a golden crook and a flail, the royal insignia which denotes the god’s sovereignty over all regions of the underworld.\[192\] Standing upright and leaning towards his face is an ankh-bouquet ($\eta\delta\hat{h}$), a symbol of eternal resurrection.\[193\] The text above the image of Osiris faces right, toward the deceased couple, and states, “Osiris, Lord of Busiris, the Great God, Ruler of Eternity.”\[194\] The podium upon which

\[190\] Goebs, “Crowns,” 323.
\[191\] Hartwig, The Tomb Chapel of Menna, 74.
\[193\] Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Egypt,” 64.
\[194\] Scheil, “Le tombeau de Pârj,” 584.
Osiris sits, coupled with his divine insignia, indicates the god’s role as the final judge of the realm of the dead.

Resting before Osiris, just outside the kiosk, is a table of offerings next to the standing figures of the tomb owner and his wife (refer to fig. 3.34). Pairy’s hands are raised in a gesture of worship for the god before him, and he is adorned with a lotus collar paired with the shebyu-collar once again signifying his elevated status. Pairy’s lack of a wig in this particular image suggests that he is presenting himself to Osiris in his most purified, priestly state.\(^{195}\) To the right of Pairy, Henutnofret is dressed in a white gown and wearing a wig and a menit-necklace adorned with lotus flowers to denote rebirth and rejuvenation.\(^{196}\) Situated directly above the couple, the text enclosed in vertical lines directed towards the figure of Osiris states, “Giving praise to Osiris, kissing the earth for \(^2\) Wennefer by the \(^3\) wab-priest \(^3\) in front of Amun, Pairy. \(^4\) He says: (I) come to you, my heart is \(^5\) true before him, \(^6\) and no falsehood is in my heart. \(^7\) May you allow my body in the \(^8\) Sacred Land (with my) \(^9\) ba-soul for eternity with (eternity) \(^9\) Pairy. He says: \(^10\) (I) adore and extol you and perpetuate (srwD) your beauty. May you give peace \(^11\) in the Beautiful West, as one who is praised of your \(ka\).”\(^{197}\) There is a small inscription in front of Pairy, written later by the tomb’s visitor Pawah, that reads: “the \(^3\) wab-priest, the scribe of the temple of Amun, Pawah.”\(^{198}\) Also directed to the god seated before them, the line of text in front of Henutnofret reads, “The lady of the house, Henutnofret, justified.”\(^{199}\)

The entranceway to the sloping passage of TT 139, PM (5), is located to the left of PM (4) along the west wall (fig. 3.35). The doorway’s lintel and jambs are severely damaged yet

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\(^{196}\) Germer, “Flora,” 536.
\(^{197}\) Scheil, “Le tombeau de Pârj,” 585.
\(^{198}\) Ibid.
contain beautiful remnants of decoration and a graffito unique to Pairy’s tomb. The upper lintel piece contains the Four Sons of Horus followed by the jackal-headed god, Anubis-Imiut (*imi-ut*), each wrapped in white garments and housed in shrines of red, blue, and green bands. The eastward-facing figures are painted in various colors against a white background, each shrine separated by vertical bands of text originating from the *Book of Going Forth by Day*. Three of the four sons—Duamutef, Imsety, and Hapy—are rendered in human form, and in the far left corner of the lintel is the incomplete outline of the shrine belonging to the fourth son, Qebehsenuef. The presence of the Four Sons of Horus motif served to protect the organs of the dead and prevent the tomb owner from experiencing hunger or thirst. The papyrus of Ani reveals the importance of the dead’s association with the four gods:

“. . . and the four children of Horus. . . have appeased the hunger of his belly and the thirst of his lips. . . He is washed clean, and his *ka* is washed clean, and they eat bread together forever. He is one of the four children of Horus who live on right and truth, and they give him his portion of food with which they have been so abundantly supplied by the god Keb that they have never yet known what it is to hunger.”

The essential organs of the deceased, including the lungs, stomach, liver, and intestines, were removed from the body during the mummification process and each identified with one of the Four Sons. The first son from the left, Qebehsenuef, was linked with the intestines of the deceased, while the second son, Duamutef, safeguarded the stomach. The vertical text to the right of Duamutef on PM (5) reads, “Speech of Duamutef: (I) have come that (I) may bring to

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200 Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Egypt,” 114.
201 Ibid.
you your heart in its place” ($dd\ mdw\ n\ dw3-mwt.f\ ii.(i)\ in(i)\ n.k\ ib(.k)\ n. st.f$). Alongside the figure of Imsety, who was associated with the liver, the text states, “Speech of Imsety: I bind fast to you (your) head and your members” ($dd\ mdw\ n\ imsti\ tsw(.i)\ n.k\ tp(.k)\ n. t.k$). The god Hapy, often portrayed as an obese, androgynous being, not only protected the lungs but also represented the annual inundation of the Nile and the fertility of its soil. The translated text correlating with the god’s image on PM (5) says, “Speech of Hapy: (I) have come that (I) may be your protection” ($dd\ mdw\ n\ Hpy\ ii(.i)\ wnn(.i)\ m\ s.t.k$). The final line of text to the right of Anubis-Imiut’s shrine, reads, “Speech of Anubis, he who is in the bandage(s): guard the sacred land” ($dd\ mdw\ n\ inpw\ imy(t)\ wt\ sAw\ t\ d.srt$). Research suggests that the appearance of the Four Sons of Horus motif did not occur often in private Theban tombs of the mid to late eighteenth dynasty.

Below the image of the Four Sons of Horus on the lower lintel are two inward-facing offering scenes for Pairy and Henutnofret (refer to fig. 3.35). Unfortunately, the painting has suffered extensive damage resulting in the loss of the scene’s left section and its accompanying text. However, early photographs and publications reveal that the painting once contained the image of Pairy’s son Amenhotep offering an ankh-bouquet to his parents seated before an offering table. The now absent text stated, “All that goes up upon the altar of Amun for the ka of the wab-in-Front, namely, Pairy. His wife, the Lady of the House. . .” The identity of the offering bearer was revealed as the translated inscription continued, “His son, his beloved,

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206 Ibid.
209 Ibid.
Amenhotep, the one of his estate. . . garden, a bouquet of Hathor, chieftainess of [Thebes])” (s3.f mrm.f imn-htp dw.f hsp nh n hwt-hr hry [tp wJst]).212 The right section of the painting is still intact, yet appears to be incomplete, as indicated by the empty vertical text bands. The scene now contains only the heads of the deceased couple facing the figure of one of Pairy’s sons, presumably Ptahmose, wearing the panther-skin robe of a sem-priest, followed by a second son and two daughters.213 While Ptahmose’s right hand is extended towards his parents in a gesture of offering, the second son, dressed in a traditional white garment and green collar, presents them with a life-giving bouquet. The two daughters, depicted in identical white gowns and lotus headpieces, each hold a single lotus bud towards their faces to breathe in their intoxicating, magical properties.

Below the lintel piece on the right jamb of PM (5) is an offering text with an image of Pairy in simple white dress seated upon a lion-footed chair (fig. 3.36). His figure faces towards the opening to the sloping passage. He holds a long staff in his right hand and a sekhem-scepter in his left, once again indicating the height of his status. The text is separated into two vertical columns to be read from left to right, both of which appeal to the gods for that which will allow Pairy to survive in the hereafter. The first column from the left states, “. . . Foremost of the Westerners, Great God, Ruler of Eternity, may he give what is good and powerful and justification for the ka of the wab-priest of Amun, Pairy” (bnty imntyw ntr 3 hkb dt dt.f Jht wsr mJt hry n k3 n wph n imn pJ-iry).214 The second column reads, “. . . King of the Gods, may he give everything good and pure, wine and milk, for the ka of the wab-priest of Amun.

The placement of the text just outside of the sloping passage was final insurance that Pairy would receive these essential provisions for all of eternity.

Lastly, the left jamb of PM (5) bears the unique and well-preserved hieratic graffito that has been the focus of several studies since its discovery (refer to fig. 3.35). It was recently determined that the graffito served as both a complaint and an expression of longing to Amun by a scribe of the god’s temple named Pawah (p3-w3h). At the time the prayer was inscribed on the doorway to Pairy’s burial chamber, it is believed that the cult of Aten instituted by Akhenaten was beginning to collapse. However, it was still a period of persecution for the followers of Amun, hence the scribe Pawah’s plea for the god’s return. Although the author references year three of Ankhkheprure Neferneferuaten (recently identified as a female coregent of Akhenaten) her exact identity is still a matter of uncertainty among scholars. However, since this graffito dates to a period much later than the time of Pairy, it is beyond the scope of this thesis. The translated hieratic text from the doorway’s left jamb reads:

“At the time the prayer was inscribed on the doorway to Pairy’s burial chamber, it is believed that the cult of Aten instituted by Akhenaten was beginning to collapse. However, it was still a period of persecution for the followers of Amun, hence the scribe Pawah’s plea for the god’s return. Although the author references year three of Ankhkheprure Neferneferuaten (recently identified as a female coregent of Akhenaten) her exact identity is still a matter of uncertainty among scholars. However, since this graffito dates to a period much later than the time of Pairy, it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

“Year 3, third month of inundation, day 10. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the two lands, Ankh-kheprure, beloved of . . . the son of Re Neferneferuaten, beloved of Wan[re]. Giving praise to Amun, prostration before Onnophis, by the wab-priest, scribe of the divine offerings of Amun in the house of Ankhkheprure in Thebes, Pawah, born of Itiseneb. He says: My heart longs to see you, Lord of the Persea-trees, when your neck receives garlands! You give satiety without eating, drunkenness without drinking. My heart longs to see you, that my heart may rejoice. Amun, you fighter for the poor! You are the father of the motherless, the husband of the widow. How sweet it is to pronounce your name: it is like the taste of life, it is like the taste of bread for a

217 Ibid., 18.
child, like clothing for the naked, like the smell of fragrant herbs in the time of heat. You are like [. . .] You are like the taste of [. . .] ruler, (like) breathing air for him who was in bondage. Be merciful, [. . .] ling the lord of virtue, that he may turn. Turn your face towards us, o lord of eternity! You were here before ‘they’ arose, you will be here when ‘they’ are gone. You caused me to see a darkness of your making. Bestow light upon me, so that I may see you. As your ka endures, as your beautiful beloved face endures, you will come from afar and grant that this servant may see you, the scribe Pawah. Give to him “merciful is Re” (a blessing). How good it is to follow you, Amun: A lord great to be found for him who seeks him. Dispel fear, give joy into the heart(s) of men! How rejoices the face that sees you, Amun. It is in feast every day.

(subscript) To your ka! Spend a happy day in the midst of your fellow-townsmen! (By) his brother, the outline draughtsman, Batjai of the house of Ankhkheprure, Pawah, born of Itiseneb.

Both the chosen location of Pawah’s prayer to Amun in TT 139 (near the banqueting scenes of PM (6)) and particular references in the inscription (for example when his “neck receives garlands”) alluded to the scribe’s desire to participate in the god’s valley festival when the barque of Amun would leave the temple and be visible to the general public.

The aforementioned funerary banquet scenes of PM (6) are located on the tomb’s west wall to the left of the burial chamber entrance, and to the right of the chapel hall’s central niche. These scenes relate to the celebration of the “Beautiful Festival of the Desert Valley,” an annual Theban festival in which the living would commemorate and commune with their dead ancestors within their tombs and witness the procession of the barque of Amun. Although the painted plaster has suffered extensive damage in recent years, photographs taken by the Metropolitan Museum of Art during their Egyptian expedition in 1925 fortunately captured much of the original scene (fig. 3.37). The painting is separated into two main registers that divide into two

220 Ibid., 19.
additional sub-registers. The bulk of the first register to the left had already deteriorated but still shows Pairy’s feet and a leg of his chair, indicating that he, and presumably his wife, were seated upon a podium facing north towards the sloping passage. Before them once sat an offering table stacked with edible goods, but all that remains in the photograph is a basket of dates. Two women and a young girl in long transparent white gowns stand behind the table facing the deceased couple and presenting them with offerings. Of the three women, only the young girl’s head remains showing her dark wig and lotus headpiece. One of the women has her arm extended behind her holding a cup of wine and a white napkin for Pairy and his wife to wipe their faces after drinking. This offering of wine was believed to enable the deceased to communicate with the gods in his or her inebriated state, and thus played an essential role in celebrations and festivals. All that remains legible of the inscription above them is, “... his daughter, Mut. ...” ( ... šš.t.f mw.t ... ). As the scene within the first register continues it is divided into two sub-registers. The top contains four seated men dressed in identical white kilts, lotus collars, and wigs, holding lotus blossoms to their noses to inhale their intoxicating scent. Below are four seated women wearing long white gowns and matching lotus headpieces with scented unguent cones resting on their wigs. The first woman holds a lotus bloom to the nose of the woman behind her, while the last two face each other as if to converse. Aside from a few scattered hieroglyphs within the first register of PM (6), there is no surviving text to assist in identifying the banquet’s participants.

The funerary banquet within the second register of PM (6) when photographed in 1925 was fortunately in far better condition than the top portion of the painting (refer to fig. 3.37). Pairy and Henutnofret are again seated looking north before an offering list and an abundantly

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222 Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 96.
stocked table of offerings. Pairy is presented in priestly form with a clean-shaven head and wearing the shebyu-collar. His body is depicted much larger than that of Henutnofret, who sits in a smaller chair in front while he holds a lotus blossom to her nose. Standing before them is their son Ptahmose dressed in the panther-skin garment of a sem-priest performing the htp-dl-nsw for his mother and father and presenting them with the table of goods for their eternal provisioning. The vertical text above him states, “His son, his beloved, the Child of the Nursery, Ptahmose. He says: performing the ‘hetep dl nisw,’ pure, pure, for his father (and) for his mother, bread, beer, oxen, fowl, all things good and pure on which the god lives” (sÅ.f mÅ.f hrd n kÅ.p pth-ms dd.f irt htp-dl-nsw wb sp-sn n it.f n mwÅ.f t hnkÅ.t kÅ.w 3pdw ht wbt nbt nht ntr im.sn). Behind Ptahmose, the register again divides into two sub-registers, the first of which contains the tomb owner’s four sons seated in chairs dressed in white kilts. The first two boys wear wigs with unguent cones, while the last two have shaved heads, possibly to signify their roles as wab-priest (Amenhotep) and sem-priest (Ptahmose) who are identified by the text on walls PM (3) and PM (6). The inscription lists the sons from right to left as: “His son, his beloved, the Child of the Nursery, Mose. His son, his beloved, the Child of the Nursery, Userhat. His son, his beloved, wab-priest of Amun, Amenhotep” (sÅ.f mÅ.f hrd n kÅ.p wsr-hÅ.t sÅ.f mÅ.f wb imn imn-htp). Presumably, one of the last two boys is a second depiction of Ptahmose, which would allow him to participate eternally in his father’s funerary banquet. The lower sub-register contains four girls in white gowns adorned with wigs, lotus headpieces, and unguent cones that kneel on ground conversing and sniffing lotus flowers. The girls are most likely the

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223 Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 87.
225 Ibid.
four daughters of the tomb owner; however, the multiple text bands above them are unfortunately empty. 226

It is evident that the decoration of Pairy’s tomb was designed to protect and assist him in his endless journey after death. The scenes that remain upon the walls sought not only to guarantee his eternal provisioning for his survival, but to also ensure that he forever worshipped and participated in the festivals of the gods he served in life alongside his loved ones. Now that the groundwork has been laid, the final chapter of this thesis will identify what is particularly unusual about scenes PM (4) and PM (5) and their placement throughout Pairy’s tomb.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

The private tombs of Western Thebes are considered to be physical models of their respective age. While the tomb of Pairy is a reflection of the period in which he lived, it was also designed to serve his specific needs for successful passage into the afterlife. Studies reveal that there are numerous identifiable variations upon comparison of each structure; however, common themes and features of decoration clearly exist in the tombs of the eighteenth dynasty.

Based on the discussion of the decorative program of TT 139 in the previous chapter, I will identify what is particularly unusual about the scenes on walls PM (4) and PM (5) and their chosen location within the tomb. I will conclude with a discussion about their significance in the tomb’s decorative program.

As we have seen, an eighteenth-dynasty tomb was ideally situated on an east-west axis to assist in the deceased’s transition from the world of the living in the east to the world of the dead in the west. The imagery of the interior was similarly situated along this axis as a narrative that replicates both the path of the sun as it sets in the west and rises in the east and the tomb owner’s transition from life to death. The decorative program often begins with the images of the deceased entering the tomb on the right thickness of the outer doorway and heading west into the underworld, and concludes with the deceased leaving the tomb chapel on the left thickness of the

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This general pattern of decoration was utilized in the tomb of Pairy in a counterclockwise direction with the progression of scenes beginning on the right side of the chapel hall’s east wall and concluding with the tomb owner and his family heading out into the forecourt upon the left thickness of the entranceway.

While many Theban T-shaped tombs possess a decorated long hall that connects to the second, transverse hall, it is important to note that TT 139 is composed only of a broad, transverse hall (fig. 4.1). The right small wall adjacent to the entrance of the sloping passage, PM (4), contains the condensed version of several decorative motifs that are usually distributed on other walls of eighteenth-dynasty tombs. Typically, the tomb owner’s biographical stela is located on a transverse hall’s right small wall and is paired with a false door on the opposite wall. This is not the case with the decorative program of TT 139. The stela, often composed of the self-representation of the deceased surrounded by an autobiographical narrative, commemorated the tomb owner and actively appealed to the living for offerings to assure his eternal nourishment. The false door opposite the stela served as a symbolic entrance point where the dead could travel at will between the worlds of the living and the dead to partake of offerings left before it. There are exceptions to these ‘ideal’ placements. In the case of TT 69, Menna’s stela is actually enclosed within a false door on the small right wall of the broad hall.

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The hall’s opposite wall instead contains Menna and his wife facing west adoring the god Osiris, followed by a procession of offering bearers.\textsuperscript{235}

While the left small wall of TT 139 was never painted, the small right wall, PM (4), is composed of four funerary scenes which starts with the deceased’s pilgrimage to Abydos, continues with the performance of the Opening of the Mouth ritual, the funeral procession to the burial chamber, and ends with the tomb owner worshiping Osiris (refer to fig. 3.12). The top register portrays Pairy and his wife adoring the god of the underworld seated in his kiosk, which, in eighteenth-dynasty tombs, is a scene ideally located on the right or left wall adjacent to the entrance to the tomb’s inner hall or chapel shrine (TT 181, TT 249).\textsuperscript{236} A depiction similar to that of Pairy’s is found in the eighteenth-dynasty tomb of Menna, but the scene is located on the opposite (left) small wall of the transverse hall.\textsuperscript{237} In the tombs of both Pairy and Menna, the tomb owners and their wives face west in the direction of the sloping passage while the figure of Osiris faces outward from the west, signifying that he is an inhabitant of the underworld and acting as judge of the dead.\textsuperscript{238} In representations of the tomb owners adoring Osiris, it is not usual for the figures to be depicted in this way, even when the scenes are placed on the walls adjacent to the tomb entrance (TT 181, TT 249).\textsuperscript{239} Through this depiction, the tomb owner seeks to demonstrate his piety towards Osiris and appeals to the god for safe passage through the underworld.\textsuperscript{240}

\textsuperscript{234} Hartwig, \textit{The Tomb Chapel of Menna}, 54.
\textsuperscript{235} Ibid., 36.
\textsuperscript{236} Ibid., “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 112.
\textsuperscript{237} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{238} Hartwig, \textit{The Tomb Chapel of Menna}, 34.
\textsuperscript{240} Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 117.
The funeral procession on the first and second register of PM (4) in the tomb chapel of Pairy portrays the participants walking towards the entrance to the burial’s sloping passage with Pairy’s sarcophagus and funerary goods in tow. Manniche suggests that processions of this nature are usually located on the left side of a tomb’s long hall, facing right towards the entrance to the chapel hall (see TT 69, fig. 4.3). The depiction of this funerary event was designed not only for the magical activation that guaranteed Pairy’s eternal provisioning in the company of his loved ones, but also to serve as a figurative reflection of the tomb owner’s successful transition from the realm of the living to the realm of the dead.

Frequently the images of a tomb owner’s pilgrimage to Abydos are in close proximity to, or share wall space with, the funeral procession, as seen in the fourth register of PM (4). However, they are both usually found along the left side of a tomb’s long hall, where Pairy’s are placed together on the right small wall (refer to fig. 3.12 and fig. 4.3). As discussed in the third chapter, the scene replicates the ritualistic voyage of the dead to the sacred site of Abydos for participation in the festivals of the gods. According to Manniche, the way the scene in the fourth register is situated in antithetical parts is common in this type of depiction, with the voyage to Abydos heading east as if exiting the tomb, and the final leg of the journey to the tomb facing west in the direction of the burial chamber. El-Shahawy states that the literal act of crossing the Nile was “not only a means of physical transport to the necropolis on the west side of the Nile, but also a spiritual and symbolic crossing to this Kingdom of the Dead.” Thus, the

242 Ibid.
244 Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, 42.
Voyage to Abydos does double duty in the tomb chapel of Pairy: it depicts the real (or symbolic) voyage to the god of the underworld’s sacred site but symbolizes the deceased’s physical passage from the east bank to the west bank necropolis. By positioning the scene so that the figures head in the direction of Pairy’s sloping passage, the image replicates the tomb owner’s journey west towards the realm of the dead to join with Osiris.

The performance of Pairy’s Opening of the Mouth ceremony of PM (4) is located on the right small wall of the transverse hall (refer to fig. 3.12). These vignettes depicting the performance of the ritual upon the funerary statue of the tomb owner assured the continued reanimation of his senses so that he could eternally live and partake in the nourishment needed for his continual rebirth. According to the comparative studies of Manniche, TT 139 was one of only three tombs (TT 139, TT 130, TT 90) to possess elements of this funerary ritual on the right small wall of the transverse hall. Her research reveals that the placement of the scene is particularly varied in tombs of the eighteenth dynasty; however, it appears to be most commonly located on the right side of a tomb’s long hall, occasionally on the left (TT 84, TT 224, TT 42), and only once on both sides simultaneously (TT 53). In a few other cases, vignettes of the Opening of the Mouth ritual can be found in the transverse hall to either or both sides of the tomb owner’s stela (TT 130, TT 90).

The decoration of the doorway that leads to the burial chamber’s sloping passage in TT 139 is a particularly unusual practice for the eighteenth dynasty and very few instances it exist.

In the tomb chapel of Pairy, PM (5) contains the Four Sons of Horus motif on the upper lintel.

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246 Manniche, *Lost Tombs*, 42.
247 Ibid.
248 Ibid.
with an unfinished offering scene directly below, and offering text on the right jamb (refer to fig. 3.35). The tomb of Sennefer (TT 96), one of the earliest and best examples dating to the eighteenth dynasty, has both a decorated burial chamber and entranceway. The most notable similarity between the two doorways is the presence of offering texts upon the jambs, both of which are enclosed within two vertical text bands facing inward towards the opening (fig. 4.4).²⁵⁰ Friederike Kampp also provides several examples of elite tombs dating to the Ramesside period whose sloping passage doorways are designed to integrate the decorative scenes found within the burial chambers, including TT 135, TT 178, TT 156, TT 189 and TT 194.²⁵¹ In nearly all of the tombs listed by Kampp, there exists a double lintel above the passage that contains images of the deceased adoring Osiris (in addition to Isis, Ma’at, and Ra-Horakhty) and jambs that contain offering texts.²⁵² The scene on the lower lintel of the doorway to Pairy’s sloping passage depicts a sem-priest bestowing offerings to Pairy and his wife, which indicates that they are depicted as the blessed dead joined with the god Osiris.

Even more unusual is the depiction of the Four Sons of Horus in PM (5) where all of the figures are shown sitting within their shrines facing right towards Osiris on the adjacent wall on PM (4) (refer to fig. 3.35). The Four Sons of Horus acted as the guardians to the underworld and protectors of the deceased’s organs once they were removed from the body during the embalming process. Therefore, it is logical that they would be depicted amidst the tomb owner’s funerary burial scenes within the long hall facing with its scenes relating to the deceased’s passage to and existence in the realm of the dead.²⁵³ A nearly identical depiction of the Four

²⁵² Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, 251, 266, 284, 295.
Sons of Horus is found in the eighteenth-dynasty tomb of Menna (TT 69) on the left side of the long passage (refer to fig. 4.3). In TT 69, the gods, also housed in shrines and separated by bands of text, are located within the fourth register, following scenes of the deceased making his journey from the east bank to the west bank and voyaging to the place of embalming.254 Preceding the Four Sons of Horus in Menna’s tomb, in the right half of the register, are images of the tomb owner visiting the sites ‘Sais’ and ‘Buto,’ and heading towards the standing figure of Anubis, the god of mummification.255 For Menna, it is evident that the Four-Sons-of-Horus motif situated among such funerary rituals associates the gods with the process of embalming and burial, and reflects the tomb owner’s desire to eternally preserve and protect his vital organs for his continual rebirth.256

The Four-Sons-of-Horus motif in TT 139, however, was designed for a different purpose that may explain why the artists chose to situate the image above the doorway to the sloping passage to Pairy’s burial chamber. Three of the four completed figures, Duamutef, Imsety, and Hapy, followed by the jackal-headed god Anubis-Imiut, look rightward towards the adjacent wall, PM (4), almost directly towards the seated figure of Osiris, the god of the underworld. According to Strudwick, the earliest known use of this motif in tomb decoration is found in the early eighteenth-dynasty tomb of Kenamun (TT 93). However, as the popularity of Osiris’s depiction increases later in the eighteenth dynasty and on through the nineteenth dynasty, so too does the appearance of the Four Sons, suggesting that the motif often occurs in association with depictions of the deity (TT 49, TT 254, TT 41).257 While the gods acted as protectors of the burial that lay beyond the sloping passage, the Four-Sons-of-Horus motif paired with the offering

254 Hartwig, The Tomb Chapel of Menna, 68.
255 Ibid.
256 Hodel-Hoenes, Life and Death in Ancient Egypt, 53.
257 Strudwick, “Change and Continuity at Thebes,” 326.
prayer to Osiris on the doorway’s right jamb are components that relate directly to the god’s worship and demonstrate Pairy’s desire to unite with him upon passage into the underworld.\textsuperscript{258}

I suggest that the lack of a long passageway in the ground plan of Pairy’s inverted T-shaped tomb may have contributed to the unusual placement and arrangement of the scenes located in the transverse hall. However, the unfinished walls on the left of the broad hall (comprising the wall left of the central niche, the left small wall, and the front left wall adjacent to the tomb’s entrance) suggest that a more pressing matter affected the process of decoration: Pairy was already dead before the tomb could be completed. Although the artists commissioned for the decoration of TT 139 successfully created an arrangement of scenes that functioned appropriately to safeguard its occupant and secure his eternal rebirth, they have done so in an unusual, abbreviated manner. The arrangement of decoration on walls PM (4) and PM (5) was designed to function together in relation to Pairy’s passage to, and eternal life in, the realm of Osiris, employing scenes that were found ordinarily in the long hall. Instead, the long hall is architecturally symbolized by the sloping passage leading into the burial chamber.

It is rare for a Theban tomb of the eighteenth dynasty to have a decorative program that is entirely complete.\textsuperscript{259} Like the depictions found in Pairy’s tomb many images never made it past the outline stage, which can also be said for their accompanying inscriptions (fig. 4.6). Research suggests that ideally a nobleman’s tomb construction and decoration was initiated at the height of his career and finished before his passing.\textsuperscript{260} This allowed its future occupant to oversee the work of the artists involved, and periodically a scene demonstrating their participation in the tomb’s

\textsuperscript{258} Hartwig, “Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes,” 112.
\textsuperscript{259} Ibid., 28.
execution was included in the decoration. Although it is possible that loved ones or relatives of the deceased could intercede in the event of the tomb owner’s untimely death, it is likely that the process of decoration would either be rushed to a premature finishing point or be terminated entirely.

While the amount of time required varied depending on a tomb’s size and desired decorative program, the study of a hieratic ostraca from the Ramesside period revealed that it could take up to three months and nineteen days to complete the painting of one small T-shaped tomb. Similarly, the embalming process for the body of the deceased took approximately seventy to ninety days to complete before it was ready to make the final journey to Thebes for burial. Text from the eighteenth-dynasty tomb of Djehuty (TT 110) states, “Fair burial comes in peace when your seventy days are completed in the house of embalming.” In the event that the process was started immediately upon the future occupant’s death, this gave the artists employed for the painting of the tomb more than two months to execute its decoration.

In the case of TT 139, it appears that the decoration was executed after the tomb owner died. In looking once more at the decorative program of Pairy’s chapel hall, it is evident that the emphasis was placed on the theme of death and excludes several popular motifs that portrayed the deceased in the (sometimes metaphorical) events of daily life. In the eighteenth dynasty, such

[265] Ibid.
scenes included representations in connection with the tomb owner’s career, his participation in hunting, fishing, and fowling excursions often in the company of relatives and loved ones, and depictions of his involvement in agricultural affairs. It should be noted, of course, that these representations of everyday life were still designed to function magically to ensure their perpetual reenactment for the benefit of the deceased. The lack of the aforementioned scenes in the decoration of TT 139 may be explained by the need to complete the tomb due to Pairy’s sudden death.

It is evident that the transverse hall’s representations located on the right small wall, PM (4), and over the sloping passage entrance, PM (5), are two abbreviated scenes associated with a larger decorative cycle that was never completed in the tomb of Pairy due to the lack of a long hall (refer to fig. 3.12 and fig. 3.35). These scenes were crucial to ensure Pairy’s perpetual provisioning and rebirth. The sloping passage of an eighteenth-dynasty Theban tomb was a passage created to function as a physical representation of the path the deceased must take in order enter the underworld. Therefore, the close proximity of the funerary scenes surrounding the sloping passage of TT 139, the symbolic entrance point to the world of the dead, ensured that Pairy reach his final destination among the gods.

WORKS CITED


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