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Alterations in the Inscriptions of TT 84 on behalf of the Secondary Tomb Owner, Mery*

JULIANNA PAKSI**

ABSTRACT

Theban tomb no. 84 (TT 84) was originally built for Iamunedjeh, first royal herald under the reign of Thutmose III, but already one generation later, it was appropriated by Mery, high priest of Amun under Amenhotep II and owner of TT 95. The change in the identity of the tomb owner is reflected in the inscriptions of TT 84: the name and titles of Iamunedjeh and his wife were often replaced by those of Mery and his mother. The walls and ceilings of the tomb reveal a complex picture with several stages and patterns of intervention. This paper gives an overview of the different scenarios and investigates the rationale behind their distribution in the given spatial context. With the help of a detailed analysis of the available epigraphic data, an inventory of which is presented in the paper, the study also aims at bringing us closer to some of the intentions and priorities of the actors who—as either decision makers or executors—were involved in the process of adapting the textual program of the tomb to the identity of its new owner.

* The research for this paper was conducted with the financial support of the Swiss National Science Foundation as part of my Early Postdoc.Mobility project titled *Textual composition of a tomb: The inscriptions of TT 84*. Part of this study was presented at the *Ständige Ägyptologenkonzferenz* in July 2022 in Würzburg. I wish to thank Alexandra von Lieven, Gabriele Pieke, Billy Böhm, and Joachim Quack for their feedback and the discussions following my lecture in Germany, from which this paper largely benefited. I am also deeply indebted to Susanne Bickel and Andrea Loprieno-Gnirs for their continued support for my work on the inscriptions of TT 84 in the framework of the Swiss Mission at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna of the University of Basel, and I also thank Andrea Loprieno-Gnirs for her critical review of a previous version of this manuscript and for her helpful suggestions for its improvement. I am similarly grateful to Gaëlle Chantrain for proofreading the French abstract of this paper as well as to the anonymous reviewers and the editors for their valuable comments and suggestions. Hieroglyphic texts were generally transcribed with the help of *JSeSh* in this study, the few transcriptions from the ceiling inscriptions of the transverse hall of TT 84 (see nn. 188 and 193) are my own illustrations (cf. PAKSI forthcoming b).

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Keywords: TT 84, tomb reuse, Theban tomb inscriptions, Iamunedjeh, Mery, TT 95, 18th Dynasty Theban tombs, polychrome inscriptions, monochrome inscriptions.

RÉSUMÉ

La tombe thébaine n° 84 (TT 84) fut construite à l'origine pour Amouredjeh, premier héraut royal sous le règne de Thoutmosis III. Cependant, à peine une génération plus tard, elle fut réappropriée par Méry, grand prêtre d'Amon sous Amenhotep II et propriétaire de la TT 95. Le changement d'identité du propriétaire de la tombe se reflète dans ses inscriptions : le nom et les titres d'Amouredjeh et de son épouse ont souvent été remplacés par ceux de Méry et de sa mère. Les murs et les plafonds de la tombe révèlent une image complexe, marquée par plusieurs étapes et modèles d'intervention. Le présent article offre une vue d'ensemble des différents scénarios et étudie la logique de leur distribution dans un contexte spatial donné. Grâce à une analyse détaillée des données épigraphiques disponibles, dont l'inventaire est dressé dans cet article, l'étude vise également à apporter une meilleure compréhension de certaines intentions et priorités des acteurs qui ont été impliqués dans le processus d'adaptation du programme textuel de la tombe.

Mots-clés : TT 84, réutilisation de tombe, inscriptions de tombes thébaines, Amouredjeh, Méry, TT 95, tombes thébaines de la XVIII^e dynastie, inscriptions polychromes, inscriptions monochromes.



I. INTRODUCTION

Theban tomb no. 84 in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna is an almost fully decorated and relatively well-preserved tomb with an exceptionally rich textual dimension that was originally built for Iamunedjeh, an influential state official under the reign of Thutmose III.¹ Not long after Iamunedjeh's death, TT 84 was taken over by Mery, the high priest of Amun under Amenhotep II. This takeover is reflected in the inscriptions of TT 84: the name and titles of Iamunedjeh and his wife, Henutnofret, or his mother, Resy, were often substituted by those of Mery and his mother, Hunay.

The walls and ceilings of the tomb reveal a complex picture with several stages and patterns of intervention. While some of the texts were left untouched, others were modified more than

¹ Iamunedjeh was overseer of works, first royal herald, overseer of the gate, and overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt. For an overview of Iamunedjeh's career path, see HELCK 1958, pp. 384–386, 496; SHIRLEY 2005, pp. 352–367; and SHIRLEY 2011, pp. 306–308.

once, and some were only partially repainted. This paper gives an overview of the different scenarios and investigates the rationale behind their distribution in the given spatial context.

The foundations of the present work were established by the Life Histories of Theban Tombs (LHTT) project of the University of Basel between 2015 and 2019—under the direction of Susanne Bickel and under the coordination and field direction of Andrea Loprieno-Gnirs—and previously—before the tomb’s transfer to the concession of the University of Basel in 2014—by the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Cairo.² The first excavations and epigraphic recordings in TT 84 took place on behalf of the DAI in the late 1990s.³ As soon as the epigraphic documentation of the tomb began, the modifications in the decoration on behalf of the secondary tomb owner was defined as one of the focus areas of epigraphic investigations.⁴ Under the direction of Elina Paulin-Grothe, over a hundred facsimile drawings of the internal decoration of the tomb were prepared between December 1996 and March 1997.⁵ The effect of Mery’s takeover on the decoration of TT 84 remained one of the key areas of epigraphic research also in the years of the LHTT project.⁶ During this period, off-site epigraphic work gained further support from the digitization (scanning) of the facsimile drawings prepared in the 1990s⁷ as well as from high-resolution photography and photogrammetry. In 2016, Matjaž Kačičnik completed the photographic documentation of the decoration of TT 84, while in later years, together with Klaus Powroznik, he also prepared high-quality photogrammetric images of selected scenes and inscriptions of the tomb.⁸ It is due to this work done by many who came before me that the alterations in the inscriptions of TT 84 on behalf of its secondary tomb owner could finally become the target of a first thorough study.

In order to facilitate the reader’s orientation within Imunedjeh’s and subsequently Mery’s tomb chapel, the cardinal directions mentioned in this paper will follow the ideal orientation of Theban tombs, according to which the east–west axis of these structures is defined by their entrance and their central chapel or shrine. Geographically, nevertheless, the entrance of TT 84 is in the south, and its central chapel is in the north (cf. Fig. 1).

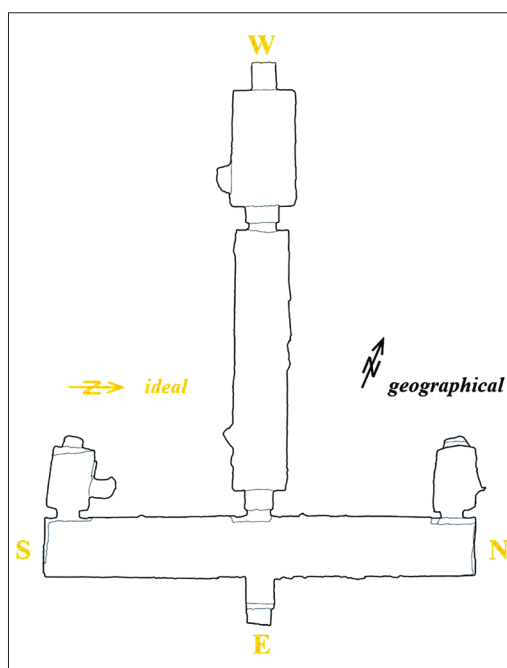


FIG. 1. The layout of the tomb chapel of TT 84 with the geographical north marked in black and the ideal cardinal directions indicated in yellow.

Plan by M. Aeschlimann-Langer, E. Friedli, Z. Gojčić, and S. Unter, LHTT, University of Basel, 2016–2019

² Cf. LOPRIENO-GNIRS 2021.

³ Cf. GNIRS et al. 1997.

⁴ GNIRS et al. 1997, p. 70.

⁵ These pencil drawings are currently unpublished but were digitized (scanned) by the LHTT project in 2017. The hard copies are kept at the Department of Ancient Civilizations of the University of Basel; the digital scans are being prepared for publication on the university’s repository (*DaSCH*). Cf. LOPRIENO-GNIRS 2021, pp. 8 and 149, n. 31; PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, pp. 84 and 160, n. 1.

⁶ PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, pp. 84–85.

⁷ See n. 5 above.

⁸ PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, p. 83.

2. THEORIES ON MERY'S TAKEOVER OF TT 84

Scholarly opinions differ on why Mery appropriated the tomb of Iamunedjeh shortly after the latter's death.⁹ Norman de Garis Davies was among the first ones who tried to find an explanation to the conspicuous changes in the textual program of TT 84. He attributed them to Amenhotep II's accession to the throne, which—in his interpretation—would have resulted in Iamunedjeh's fall from grace.¹⁰ Davies—as Gustave Lefebvre¹¹ as well as Christine Beinlich-Seeber and Abdel Ghaffar Shedid¹²—argued, furthermore, that Mery took over TT 84 before having started the work on his own tomb, TT 95.¹³ In the early 1990s, Daniel Polz reasoned that Mery's main motive behind taking ownership of Iamunedjeh's tomb chapel must have been to secure the maintenance of the latter's funerary cult, assuming that Iamunedjeh had died without offspring.¹⁴ Polz's idea has found supporters also in more recent years,¹⁵ although Andrea Loprieno-Gnirs put forward an alternative hypothesis in 1997¹⁶ and has promoted it on several occasions ever since.¹⁷ In her opinion, it was very likely the collapse of the roof of Mery's original tomb chapel, TT 95A,¹⁸ that led to the appropriation of TT 84. She argued that a building accident that exposed the inner parts of TT 95A—and the results of which were apparently beyond repair—made the chapel unsuitable as a venue for Mery's funerary cult.¹⁹ Even though Polz and Loprieno-Gnirs disagree on the nature of the events that triggered Mery's takeover of TT 84, they both came to the conclusion that the event must have followed—and cannot have preceded—the construction and decoration of TT 95.²⁰ While Loprieno-Gnirs's arguments in favor of a scenario according to which pragmatic considerations would have led

⁹ For a short overview of the different views on the subject up until 1997, see GNIRS et al. 1997, pp. 58–61.

¹⁰ Davies (1941, p. 96, n. 2) suggested that Iamunedjeh had “shared the fate of Rekhmiré”, and perhaps of other officials whose misfortune was to be bequeathed to Amenophis II from the previous reign.”

¹¹ “*Le Grand prêtre fut enterré à Cheikh-abd-el-Gournah. Par précaution, il avait d'abord usurpé et aménagé le tombeau d'un personnage contemporain de Thutmôsis III, Amounezeh. [...] Puis, la vie lui laissant du répit, il se fit construire un tombeau plus vaste [...]*” (LEFEBVRE 1929, p. 93).

¹² “*Bereits unter Amenophis II. wurde es [d.h. das Grab Nr. 84] vom Hohenpriester des Amun, Meri, usurpiert, der sich dann aber noch ein eigenes, jedoch nicht vollendetes Grab (TT 95) anlegen ließ*” (BEINLICH-SEEBER, SHEDID 1987, p. 108).

¹³ “[H]is [i.e., Iamunedjeh's] tomb was defaced and given over for re-use by Mery, high-priest of Amün and *subsequently* [emphasis added] owner of Tomb 95” (DAVIES 1941, p. 96, n. 2).

¹⁴ In 1990, Polz (1990, p. 311, n. 40) argued as follows: “*Eine Erklärung, die hier nur angedeutet werden soll, liegt möglicherweise darin, daß Meri, der als Träger hoher Ämter sicher nicht ohne Einfluß war, durch seine Inschriften das Grab übernehmen wollte, nicht, um es als Bestattungs- und Totenkultort für sich zu beanspruchen, sondern um es einem bestimmten Sinne zu schützen, d.h. dem Grab bzw. den darin Bestatteten die Fortführung des Totenkultes zu sichern.*” A year later, he added (POLZ 1991, p. 291) that the takeover must have happened about 10 to 20 years after Iamunedjeh's death, at a time when the latter had no more surviving kin who could have taken care of the upkeep of his funerary cult.

¹⁵ Cf. EL-GABRY 2017, pp. 54–55.

¹⁶ GNIRS et al. 1997, pp. 60–61 and 69–70.

¹⁷ See LOPRIENO-GNIRS 2018, pp. 118–124; LOPRIENO-GNIRS 2021, p. 2; and LOPRIENO-GNIRS, ZIEGLER forthcoming.

¹⁸ TT 95 consists of two substructures, TT 95B and TT 95C (cf. n. 28), and an above-ground ceremonial chapel, TT 95A. TT 95A refers directly to the tomb chapel, whereas TT 95 to the entire tomb complex.

¹⁹ See GNIRS et al. 1997, p. 69 and LOPRIENO-GNIRS 2018, pp. 121–122. For a view on the opening from within the tomb, see ZIEGLER et al. 2019, p. 6198, fig. 13c, and for a picture of the outer modern structure that covers the opening in the roof today, see LOPRIENO-GNIRS et al. 2021, p. 23, fig. 14.

²⁰ Cf. “*Schliesslich ist Meri eben Hohepriester des Amun, und dies ist wohl auch sein letztes Amt, denn es ist dieser Titel, den er fast ausschließlich in seinen Inschriften im Grab des Iamunedjeh nennt*” (POLZ 1991, p. 284) and “*Die Grabübernahme ging dem Bau einer eigenen Anlage zeitlich nicht voraus, sondern folgte der Aufgabe des Grabes Nr. 95, die durch massive Schäden in der tragenden Architektur der Anlage verursacht war*” (GNIRS et al. 1997, p. 60). Sim. LOPRIENO-GNIRS 2018, p. 122: “*Il est très probable que*

to the appropriation of Iamunedjeh's tomb chapel by Mery seem convincing, some colleagues still consider the issue unresolved.²¹

The Egyptological community is equally divided about how to label the secondary adjustments in the textual program of TT 84 on behalf of Mery as it is about determining its underlying reasons. The debate over whether or not we should call it “usurpation,”²² “partial usurpation,”²³ or merely a “nominal takeover”²⁴ is, however, more revealing about our etic viewpoint than about the subject matter itself.²⁵ Trying to ascertain if and to what extent Mery's takeover was a lawful act and if it was only nominal or extensive will, nevertheless, continue to remain a theoretical discussion without a more nuanced understanding of the epigraphic data preserved in the tomb. Besides, it is important to note that tomb reuse was—at least in part—possibly carried out with formal authorization already in the Eighteenth Dynasty, since Ramesside written sources indicate the existence of some sort of institutional framework dealing with the layout of the Theban necropolis.²⁶ As Helen Strudwick has put it recently: the reuse of tombs “seems to have been an accepted feature of ancient Egyptian life” and “a natural phenomenon in the use-life of these structures.”²⁷ Concerning Mery's final resting place, there is no positive archaeological evidence supporting either TT 84 or TT 95.²⁸

While the present paper does not engage in the discussion on the reasons behind Mery's decision to call Iamunedjeh's tomb chapel his own, with the help of a detailed analysis of the available epigraphic data, it aims at bringing us closer to some of the intentions and priorities of the actors who—as either decision makers or executors—were involved in the process of adapting the textual program of the tomb to the identity of its new owner. Although much has

c'est à cause de ces événements [deux effondrements spontanés du plafond] que le grand-prêtre s'appropriä la tombe d'Iamouredjeh, comme l'atteste la documentation épigraphique.”

²¹ Cf. SHIRLEY 2010, pp. 298–299, n. 85. In earlier years, Sheila Whale (1989, p. 160) equally refused to take position on the matter but contemplated the possibility that the poor rock quality might have played a role in the abandonment of Mery's tomb building project.

²² See LEFEBVRE 1929, p. 93; HELCK 1958, p. 385; BRYAN 1985, p. 20; BEINLICH-SEEGER, SHEDID 1987, p. 108; GNIRS et al. 1997, pp. 58–61; SHIRLEY 2005, pp. 259–262, 321, 352, and 365; SHIRLEY 2010, pp. 298–299, n. 85; EL-GABRY 2017, pp. 47 and 54–56; and most recently, SLINGER 2022, pp. 196 and 353. The word “usurpation” carries strong negative connotations. See the entry for the verb “to usurp,” for instance, in the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. Sim. POLZ 1990, p. 301 with n. 1.

²³ See PORTER, MOSS 1960, p. 167; WHALE 1989, p. 160; and KAMPP 1996, pp. 127–128.

²⁴ POLZ 1990, pp. 311 and 315 and POLZ 1991, p. 291. Cf. also n. 14 above.

²⁵ Compare to this end, for instance, the following passage by Heike Heye (GUKSCH 1995, p. 22): “*Entscheidendes Kriterium für die Beurteilung ist die Art des Umganges mit dem Bestand des benutzten Grabes: Zeigt dieser, daß z.B. auf die Szenen und Texte, besonders die Nameninschriften des ursprünglichen Besitzers, Rücksicht genommen wurde, sollte nicht von Usurpation, sondern zunächst neutraler von Wiederbenutzung gesprochen werden, wobei diese dann als Gegenpol zur Usurpation der Kategorie rechtmäßiger/legaler Übernahme zuzuordnen wäre. Dahinter steht unsere stillschweigende Wertung [emphasis added], daß rücksichtsvolles Verhalten für die Rechtmäßigkeit der Motive und Aktionen spricht. Inwieweit diese Annahme adäquat ist, müßte überprüft werden...*”

²⁶ See POLZ 1990, pp. 335–336; KAMPP 1996, p. 129; and STRUDWICK 2009–2010, p. 249.

²⁷ STRUDWICK 2022, pp. 413 and 420.

²⁸ GNIRS et al. 1997, pp. 68–70. Note, however, that Loprieno-Gnirs's (GNIRS et al. 1997, p. 69) hypothesis, according to which the excavation of the underground structure of TT 95 only commenced after the works in the chapel had been suspended, suggests that Mery planned to be buried in TT 95. Although Loprieno-Gnirs (e-mail message to author, May 2, 2023) has since reassessed this idea and is planning to publish the results of her recent field research at TT 95 soon, she still upholds the assumption that Mery was planned to be buried in one of the two substructures of the tomb, in TT 95B or—more likely—in TT 95C. The latter was left unfinished. On TT 95B and TT 95C, see LOPRIENO-GNIRS 2021, pp. 4 and 6 with fig. 4. The publication of the burial remains recovered from the two structures is still in preparation. On the human remains from TT 95, see, however, KOZIERADZKA-OGUNMAKIN et al. 2021.

been written about Mery's appropriation of the decoration of TT 84, all previous contributions, most of which relied on Kurt Sethe's records from 1909,²⁹ limited themselves to giving a brief outline of the subject at hand without going into much detail.³⁰ This study, which grew out of the LHTT project of the University of Basel (see §1), seeks to remedy the situation by exploring the major trends present in the tomb and by investigating the rationale behind their distribution in the given spatial context. Table 1 at the end of this paper provides, furthermore, a full inventory of the currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84. Each passage concerned was assigned a short abbreviation in order to facilitate the navigation between the discussion part and the table itself.³¹ An overview of the names and titles preserved in the inscriptions of the east and west walls of the transverse hall (Fig. 22 and Fig. 23) and the north and south walls of the corridor (Fig. 24 and Fig. 25) is equally given at the end.

3. THE RELIEF DECORATION OF THE ENTRANCE AREA

The walls and ceilings of TT 84 carry only painted decoration with one notable exception: its entrance area.³² The inscriptions of the two doorjambs flanking the entrance of the tomb on its outer façade and the decoration of the thicknesses of the doorway leading from the courtyard to the first hall of the chapel were executed in carved relief. Interestingly, none of these carved decorative elements seem to have been modified after Mery's takeover.³³

The two outer doorjambs were inscribed with three vertically arranged *hṯp-dj-nsw* formulae ending in Iamunedjeh's titles and name on both sides. The signs of the six vertical bands were all carved in sunk relief and were arranged in a way that they face the doorway in each case (Fig. 2). The first or innermost columns, the ones closest to the entrance, contain Iamunedjeh's most important titles, *whmw nsw* "royal herald" and *jmj-rꜥ rwjyt* "overseer of the gate," while the second³⁴ and third columns present the tomb owner as *sš nsw* "royal scribe" or as *sš wdhw*

²⁹ Sethe was the first one to point out the modifications in the inscriptional program of TT 84 (cf. *Urk.* IV 937–962). In the notes of Jean François Champollion (1844, pp. 503–504), Philippe Virey (1886 and 1891), and Richard Lepsius (LEPSIUS et al. 1897–1913, p. 278), we do not yet find any reference to the fact that they would have understood that the tomb had been reused. On the contrary, Virey interpreted the name Mery as Iamunedjeh's real name and thought Iamunedjeh to be only a nickname (VIREY 1886, p. 40, n. 3 and VIREY 1891, p. 360, n. 2). Accordingly, he assumed Hunay was Iamunedjeh's mother (VIREY 1891, p. 352).

³⁰ See LEFEBVRE 1929, p. 93 with n. 3; DAVIES 1941, p. 96, n. 2; PORTER, MOSS 1960, pp. 167, 168(8), 169(13), and 170(16); BEINLICH-SEEGER, SHEDID 1987, pp. 108–109 with n. 719; WHALE 1989, p. 160; POLZ 1990, pp. 310–311, 315 with nn. 35–38 and 40; POLZ 1991, pp. 281 and 283 with n. 21 and pp. 290–291; KAMPP 1996, pp. 127–128; GNIRS et al. 1997, pp. 58–59 with n. 4 and p. 70; SHIRLEY 2005, p. 262 with n. 1182 and p. 363 with nn. 1611–1612; SHIRLEY 2010, pp. 298–299, n. 85; and EL-GABRY 2017, p. 54 with n. 38. Recently, Susanne Bickel and myself (PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, pp. 84–85 and p. 160, n. 6) have also only briefly hinted at the fact that the picture appears more complex than previously assumed.

³¹ For instance, Entr_SJ_col1 stands for column 1 ("col1") of the south jamb ("SJ") of the entrance area ("Entr"). According to the same principle, CChap_ceiling_north refers to the north band ("north") of the ceiling of the central chapel or shrine ("CChap"), and so forth.

³² For the layout of the tomb chapel, refer to Fig. 1 above.

³³ This finding was confirmed by the detailed study of the relief decoration of the entrance area of TT 84 carried out by Andrea Loprieno-Gnirs and Marcial Lopez in November 2016.

³⁴ On the fragmentarily preserved title of the central column of the north jamb, see n. 99 below.

“scribe of the altar”³⁵ (cf. Table 1). Although the inscriptions on the left, i.e., south,³⁶ side of the entrance are better preserved than those on the right, the quality of the relief on the right jamb is generally superior to that on the left jamb: the carving is more regular here and goes deeper than on the other side of the doorway.³⁷ As the example taken from the south jamb (Entr_SJ_col2) featuring a shortened spelling of Iamunedjeh’s *sš wdbw* title³⁸ illustrates (Fig. 3), the titles and the name of the original tomb owner were left intact on both sides of the doorway. Even if these texts are only fragmentarily preserved, it is clear that none of them was reworked secondarily.

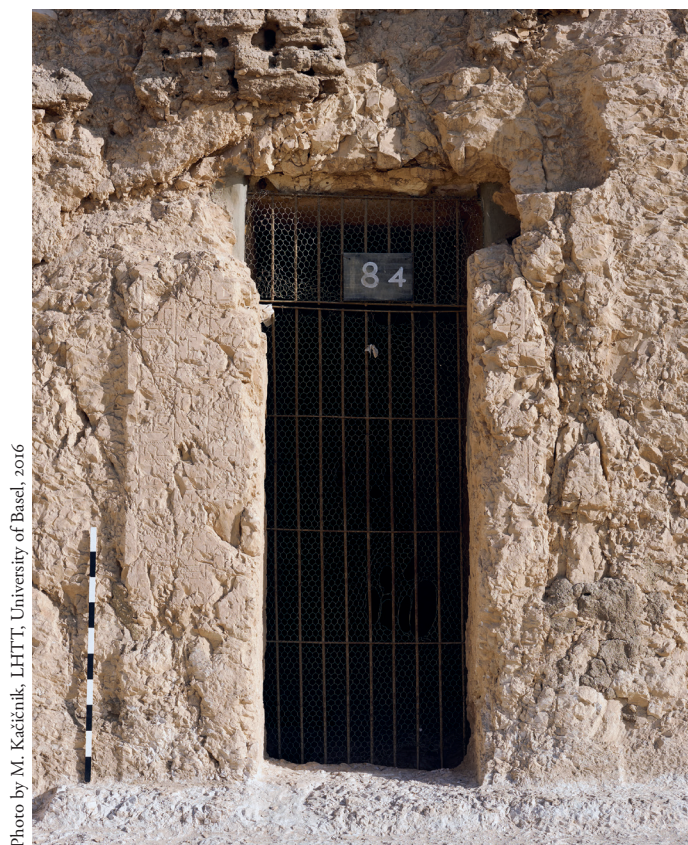


Photo by M. Kačičnik, LHHT, University of Basel, 2016

FIG. 2. North and south jambs of the entrance of TT 84.

³⁵ On the right side of the entrance (Entr_NJ_col3), the title is spelled out, whereas on the left side (Entr_SJ_col2), it is written with a more concise, abbreviated spelling (cf. PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, pp. 85–86 with figs. 72 and 74 and p. 160, n. 10; PAKSI forthcoming a, §5.1, n. n; and Fig. 3 below). The same title also appears on funerary cone no. 548 (DAVIES 1957) in association with the name Iamunedjeh and is preserved three times in the painted inscriptions of TT 84: once on the ceiling of the transverse hall, in the east or outer band of the south wing (TH_ceiling_SWing_east; PAKSI forthcoming a, §5.1 with n. n), and twice on the north wall of the corridor, below Mery’s inscriptions (see Corr_NW_insp_main with Fig. 7 and Corr_NW_off_reg1 with Fig. 9 under §4; earlier in PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, pp. 85–86 with figs. 72 and 73).

³⁶ The cardinal directions mentioned in the present paper follow the ideal orientation of Theban tombs (cf. §1).

³⁷ This observation was made by Andrea Loprieno-Gnirs and Marcial Lopez *in situ* in late 2016. Loprieno-Gnirs and Lopez suggested, furthermore, that the contrast in quality could potentially be attributed to the different level of training of the artists (possibly, a master and his apprentice) responsible for either side of the doorway. On the left-right division of labor on lintels and doorjambs elsewhere, see STUPKO-LUBCZYŃSKA 2021, p. 94; LABOURY 2020, pp. 88 and 93; and DAVIES 2017, pp. 214–217.

³⁸ Cf. n. 35 above.



FIG. 3. Iamunedjeh's name and title in the second column of the south doorjamb of the entrance of TT 84 (Entr_SJ_col2).

Similarly to the inscriptions of the two outer doorjambs, the decoration of the thicknesses of the doorway connecting the inside of the chapel with the outside world were also left unchanged despite Mery's takeover of the tomb. While the two doorjambs of the entrance carry sunk reliefs, the inscriptions and figural representations of both thicknesses of the doorway were executed in a shallow raised relief (bas-relief). Both thicknesses depict the tomb owner—with his hands in adoration gesture—followed by his wife. The two figures are in each case turned towards the courtyard, facing the sun. The space above the couple was inscribed with a solar hymn presumably in both cases. The text on the south thickness is, nevertheless, so badly damaged that in that case, this assumption can only be based on a handful of fragmentarily preserved words and on the orientation and posture of the figures below the text. The better preserved of the two hymns, the solar text on the north thickness, ends in Iamunedjeh's *jmj-r3 rwjyt* title forming the final words of the clause *nfrw-k n jmj-r3 rwjyt* "Your (i.e., Atum's) beauty shall belong to the overseer of the gate!" (Fig. 4; Entr_NTh).³⁹

³⁹ The hymn was previously published by Philippe Virey (1886, p. 34 and 1891, p. 338) and Jan Assmann (1983, pp. 140–141 and 1999, pp. 188–189), yet neither of the two scholars managed to decipher the final words of the inscription, which indicates that earlier editions of the text would likely benefit from a further, detailed epigraphic study *in situ*. The first signs of Iamunedjeh's title are also missing from Susanne Martinssen-von Falck's unpublished facsimile drawing prepared for the DAI in February 1996 (cf. §1).



Fig. 4. Iamunedjeh's *jmj-r3 rujyt* title on the north thickness of the entrance of TT 84 (Entr_NTh). Photo by M. Kačičnik, LHIT, University of Basel, 2017.⁴⁰ Illustration by the author, 2022.

While from the hymn itself not much remains on the opposite side of the doorway, the inscriptional decoration of the south thickness of the entrance is important for another reason. Most previous scholars—with the exception of JJ Shirley⁴¹—were quick to point out that the name of Iamunedjeh's wife, Henutnofret, was detectable only once in the entire tomb, below a secondarily added layer of text in the corridor,⁴² and that there was not a single passage left in TT 84 where Henutnofret's name would not have been reworked into that of Mery's mother, Hunay.⁴³ A vertical caption preserved in its original form in front of a female figure on the south side of the doorway, however, clearly contradicts the prevailing earlier assumptions: *[snt] = f mrt = f nbt pr Hnwt-nfret* "his [sister], his beloved, mistress of the house,

⁴⁰ This image is an orthophoto, similarly to Figs. 5–10, 16, 19, and 20 in this paper, whereas Figs. 22–25 are stitched photographs. On the photographic documentation methods used in TT 84, see GOJČIĆ et al. 2021.

⁴¹ Shirley (2005, p. 363) noted that "Henutnofret's name was discernable beneath that of the usurper Mery's mother's name of Hunay in almost every readable inscription." Cf. also n. 44 below.

⁴² In the main inscription of the inspection of the Delta produce scene (Corr_NW_insp_main; cf. n. 217 below). See Fig. 7; the passage is discussed under §4.

⁴³ See, for instance, GNIRS et al. 1997, p. 70 ("Er [d.h. Meri] *scheint dabei* [d.h. bei der Abänderung Iamunedjehs Eigner-Signatur] *keine Szene ausgelassen zu haben, in der der frühere Grabbesitzer mit Frau dargestellt war...*"); BRYAN 1985, p. 20, n. 19 ("The name of Iamunedjeh's wife [...] is only partially preserved in an overpainted scene in TT 84") and POLZ 1991, p. 283 with n. 21 ("Der Name der Frau Iamunedjehs, Henutnofret, ist im Grab heute nur noch an einer Stelle in Resten erhalten..."), both referring to a passage on the north wall of the corridor; and BEINLICH-SEEGER, SHEDID 1987, p. 109, n. 719 ("Sowohl in Urk. IV 937ff. als auch in den beiden Virey-Publikationen [d.h. 1886 und 1891] des Grabes erscheint nirgends der Name Henutnofret. An Ort und Stelle sind jedoch z.B. in Szene 16 [d.h. PORTER, MOSS 1960, p. 170(16)] neben dem Namen Hwnzj noch deutlich die Zeichen [...] des ursprünglichen Namen erkennbar"), referring to the same passage as Bryan in 1985 and Polz in 1991.

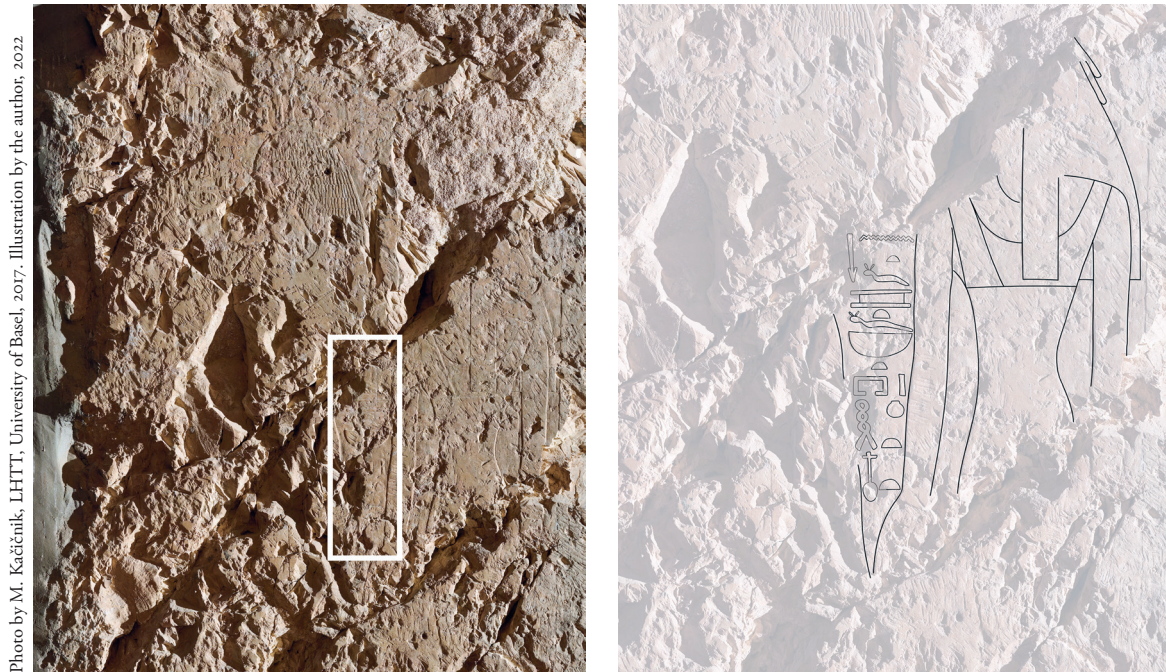


Photo by M. Káčník, LHTT, University of Basel, 2017. Illustration by the author, 2022

FIG. 5. Name and title of Imunedjeh's wife, Henutnofret, on the south thickness of the entrance of TT 84 (Entr_STh).

Henutnofret" (Fig. 5; Entr_STh).⁴⁴ The signs of Henutnofret's name were also recognized by Susanne Martinssen-von Falck: they are recorded in her unpublished facsimile drawing of the wall prepared for the DAI in February 1996 (cf. §1).

4. THE POLYCHROME INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TRANSVERSE HALL AND THE CORRIDOR

As opposed to the relief inscriptions of the entrance area, the polychrome inscriptions of the transverse hall and the corridor—in other words, all major texts accompanying the scenes of the two main halls of TT 84—seem to have been modified after Mery's appropriation of the tomb.⁴⁵ The available epigraphic data indicates that the main captions of the sidewalls of these two halls were all systematically adapted to the identity of the new tomb owner. The only exception in the tomb where a polychrome text was not retouched after Mery's takeover concerns a caption to the figure of Imunedjeh's brother at the west end of the south wall of the corridor (Corr_SW_off_bro1). It likely escaped secondary modifications because it specifies a brother, Khaemwaset, and not the owner of the tomb himself (Fig. 25). All polychrome inscriptions mentioning Imunedjeh were reworked without exception.

⁴⁴ The south thickness of the entrance was referenced by Shirley (2005, p. 363, n. 1611) as one of the few examples in the tomb where "Henutnofret was clearly depicted and identified."

⁴⁵ On the walls of the two side chapels and the central chapel or shrine, only monochrome inscriptions were used. These are discussed under §5 and §6.

An example from the east wall of the north wing of the transverse hall illustrates very well what kind of adaptations polychrome inscriptions were usually subjected to. The passage is part of a badly damaged, longer caption to a scene depicting the deceased beside his wife or mother while receiving a bouquet of Amun from Imunedjeh's brother, Khaemwaset (TH_EWn_middle; Fig. 22). The final part of the text introduced by the particle *jn*, marking the agent of the previously mentioned action, was entirely rewritten. The figures below the inscription are thus now identified as *ḥm ntr tpj n [Jmn] Mr[j]j*⁴⁶ *mꜣꜥ ḥrw* "the high priest of [Amun], Mery, true of voice" and *mnꜥt šd(t)*⁴⁷ *ntr [nfr] [Ḥw]nꜣ[jj]* "the nurse who breast-fed the [perfect] god, [Hu]na[y]," Mery's mother (Fig. 6, left). While Imunedjeh's name is still clearly visible below the name of the secondary tomb owner (Fig. 6, right), the original title and name of the female figure is no longer decipherable at present. The refashioning of the text was done in a way that respects the original composition in style, layout, and color.⁴⁸ The reason why the primary inscription is in part still legible today is due to the fact that it was not washed away, it was simply painted over in white as a preparation for accommodating the new layer of text. The technique used by the artists working on behalf of Mery seems consistent in the whole tomb. The signs of a passage to be changed were never eliminated completely, they were only concealed by an additional layer of paint matching the background in color.



FIG. 6. Secondarily added titles and names (left) with Imunedjeh's name below Mery's (right) in a polychrome inscription on the east wall of the transverse hall of TT 84 (TH_EWn_middle).

⁴⁶ Note that the two classifiers at the end of Imunedjeh's name were transferred to Mery's (Fig. 6). Here, exceptionally, even sign D40 (𓂏) was kept. Generally, only sign A52 (𓂏) was retained.

⁴⁷ The participle is similarly missing its feminine ending in column 12 of the inscription to the burnt offering scene with Mery and his mother on the north part of the east wall of TT 95A.

⁴⁸ See n. 60 below.

Although the texts themselves were never modified except for the identity strings at their end, the decision about the exact wording of the new content was apparently not always straightforward or easy. The final part of a polychrome inscription belonging to the standing figures of Iamunedjeh and his wife in the inspection of the Delta produce scene on the north wall of the corridor⁴⁹ (Corr_NW_insp_main; Fig. 24) has at least three overlapping layers of text: one from the time of Iamunedjeh and two from the time of Mery.⁵⁰

The original formulation of the caption (Fig. 7) included Iamunedjeh's name and two of his titles, [*sš wdhw*] *n* [*ntr nfr*]⁵¹ “scribe of the altar] of the [perfect god]” and possibly *whmw nsw* “royal herald” or *whmw tpj nsw* “first royal herald,” as well as the title and name of his wife, Henutnofret: [*hmt*]=*f mrt=f nt st jb=f nbt pr H[nwt]-nfrt mꜣ't hrw hr ntr ʿ3* “his [wife], his beloved of the place of his heart, mistress of the house, He[nut]nofret, true of voice in front of the great god.”




Photo by M. Kacáník, LHTT, University of Basel, 2022. Illustration by the author, 2023

FIG. 7. The original wording of the main inscription of the inspection of the Delta produce scene on the north wall of the corridor of TT 84 (Corr_NW_insp_main).

⁴⁹ Earlier in VIREY 1886, p. 45; VIREY 1891, p. 353; LEFEBVRE 1929, p. 93, n. 3; *Urk.* IV 953, 14 with n. b; PORTER, MOSS 1960, p. 170(16); BEINLICH-SEEBER, SHEDID 1987, p. 109, n. 719; WHALE 1989, p. 160; POLZ 1990, p. 310, nn. 36–37; POLZ 1991, p. 283, n. 21; and PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, pp. 85–86 with figs. 72 and 73.

⁵⁰ Martinssen-von Falck (cf. nn. 51 and 53) and Shirley (2005, p. 358) were the first ones to notice that the text was altered several times.

⁵¹ While the signs of the first part of the title (*sš wdhw n*) are still faintly visible below Mery's layer of text, the rest of the phrase (*ntr nfr*) was reconstructed in analogy with the formulation on the ceiling of the transverse hall, in the east or outer band of the south wing (TH_ceiling_SWing_east; PAKSI forthcoming a, §5.1, n. n). In Martinssen-von Falck's unpublished facsimile drawing prepared for the DAI in January 1997 (cf. §1), only the silhouettes of the logogram  are recorded, the rest of the title was not recognized.

Mery's final layer (Fig. 8, left) identifies the secondary tomb owner as *jt ntr tpj n [Jmn mrt ntr]*⁵² "the chief god's father of [Amun, the god's beloved]," while the female companion at his side becomes his mother: *mwt=f mrt=f nt st jb=f nbt pr Hwnꜥjj mꜣ't hrw hr ntr ʿꜥ* "his mother, his beloved of the place of his heart, mistress of the house, Hunay, true of voice in front of the great god." A few faint signs executed only in red preparatory drawing⁵³ and visible below Mery's *jt ntr tpj* title (Fig. 8, right) attest, however, to the existence of a preliminary version of Mery's text. The draft that was evidently discarded would have called the secondary tomb owner *nfw wjꜥ n [Jmn]* "the sailor of the boat of [Amun]." The title is not preserved in the inscriptional decoration of TT 95A, nor has it been documented elsewhere for Mery.

The *nfw wjꜥ n Jmn* title is not the only formulation used in association with the secondary tomb owner in the inscriptional program of TT 84 that is otherwise missing from Mery's record. For instance, traces of signs presumably belonging to the title *jmj-rꜥ šn' n Jmn* "overseer of the magazine of Amun" were identified over the original layer of text in a polychrome inscription on the north part of the west wall of the transverse hall (TH_WWn_right).⁵⁴ The passage belongs to a six-column-long caption containing epithets and titles of the deceased above his figure standing behind the Syrians presenting their tribute to the king (Fig. 23). Furthermore,

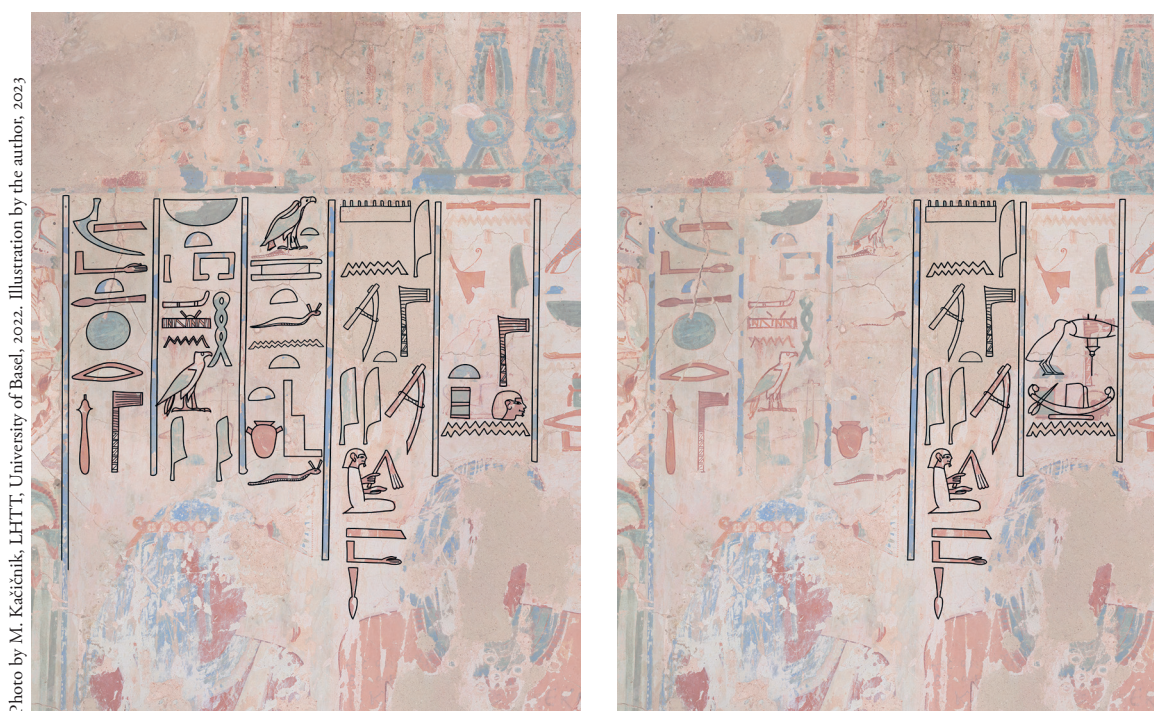


Photo by M. Kacičnik, LHIT, University of Basel, 2022. Illustration by the author, 2023

FIG. 8. Modifications on behalf of Mery to the main inscription of the inspection of the Delta produce scene on the north wall of the corridor of TT 84 (Corr_NW_insp_main): the final (left) and an intermediary layer (right).

⁵² The traces of a sign U6 (𓄠) suggest reading the epithet *mrt ntr* "the god's beloved" between Mery's title and name.

⁵³ These signs were also seen by Martinssen-von Falck in January 1997 (cf. n. 51).

⁵⁴ A recumbent lion (sign E23) was painted over the forepart of a lion (sign F4) belonging to Iamunedjeh's *hꜣtj-ꜥ* title. The rest of the secondarily added phrase is not preserved. Sign E23 may, nevertheless, be interpreted as the first sign of the word *šn'* "storehouse, magazine" and could have formed part of the title *jmj-rꜥ šn' n Jmn* "overseer of the magazine of Amun."

in the introductory section of a prayer to the sun god, Mery is called *ḥm ntr tpj Jmn m Wsr-ḥꜣt ꜣ pḥtj* “the high priest of Amun in the *Userhat*-bark, great of strength” (TH_WWn_prayer).⁵⁵ This prayer is inscribed on the west wall of the transverse hall, above a figure of the deceased facing the entrance to the north chapel (Fig. 23). Similarly to the *nfw wjꜣ n Jmn* title found in preparatory drawing on the north wall of the corridor, neither the unusual wording of the *ḥm ntr tpj* title, nor the *jmj-rꜣ šnꜣ n Jmn* title have been attested so far in association with Mery beyond the walls of TT 84. In the case of the extended version of the *ḥm ntr tpj* title mentioning the *Userhat*-bark, the formulation was possibly triggered by the solar theme of the context, a prayer to the sun god. Interestingly, the passage also constitutes one of only two polychrome inscriptions in the tomb that mention Mery’s title but omit his name.⁵⁶ Here, the omission of the name was the price for including a more creative but longer rendering of Mery’s title in the text, since the space freed up by the deletion of Iamunedjeh’s name and his *wḥmw nsu* title was in its entirety used up by the phrase *ḥm ntr tpj Jmn m Wsr-ḥꜣt ꜣ pḥtj* “the high priest of Amun in the *Userhat*-bark, great of strength.” The example perfectly illustrates that often a considerable amount of thought was given to the alterations made on behalf of the secondary tomb owner and that the adjustments made to the textual program of the tomb were at times not at all mechanical.

The above statement is, however, somewhat nuanced by the presence of several examples of only partially reworked text segments in the tomb—most of them polychrome.⁵⁷ These are instances where Iamunedjeh’s title strings were only incompletely adjusted and where one or several titles of the original tomb owner were left untouched in spite of the fact that at least the name and also some of the titles have been repainted. It is difficult to tell if these examples indicate a negligent or rather a selective and efficient approach on behalf of the artists hired by Mery. It seems, nevertheless, sensible to assume that some of the titles that were thus “overlooked” were in fact kept on purpose because the partial adjustment of a text was considered “good enough” under certain circumstances—for example, if the passage concerned was regarded as either too long or too laborious to refashion completely. These conditions certainly applied to the large, polychrome texts of the margins of Iamunedjeh’s two biographical stelae (TH_SSt_margin_left & right and TH_NSt_margin_left & right; see under §6) but perhaps less evidently to the three, only partially reworked, polychrome inscriptions of the corridor: the caption of the hunting scene on the north wall (Corr_NW_hunt) and the texts accompanying the offering scenes of the first register at the west end of the north and south walls (Corr_NW_off_reg1 and Corr_SW_off_reg1).

In the first register at the west end of the north wall of the corridor (Fig. 24), Iamunedjeh is receiving offerings alongside a female figure, probably his wife (Corr_NW_off_reg1).⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Cf. also n. 134 below.

⁵⁶ The other is a *ḥtp-dj-nsu* formula on the south half of the east wall of the transverse hall (TH_EWs_right_off). See also n. 110 below.

⁵⁷ Examples include the texts of the margins of Iamunedjeh’s two biographical stelae (TH_SSt_margin_left & right and TH_NSt_margin_left & right), line 2 of the main text of the North Stela (TH_NSt_main_line2), the caption of the hunting scene (Corr_NW_hunt), and the inscriptions above the offering scenes in the first register of the north and south walls at the west end of the corridor (Corr_NW_off_reg1 and Corr_SW_off_reg1).

⁵⁸ The offering scenes on the opposite wall feature Iamunedjeh next to his mother (Corr_SW_off_reg1) and his wife (Corr_SW_off_reg2). Accordingly, on this side of the corridor, the deceased is to be expected to be pictured next to his father, Sadjehuty, and his wife. Since it is the father who appears in the second register (Corr_NW_off_reg2), the female figure in

The fragmentarily preserved, eight-column-long polychrome caption above the head of the two seated figures represents one of the few examples in the tomb that were adapted only in part to the identity of the new tomb owner: Iamunedjeh's title [*sš wdhw*] *n* [*ntr nfr*]⁵⁹ “[scribe of the altar] of [the perfect god]” (Fig. 9, right), which, similarly to the case in the main inscription of the inspection of the Delta produce scene (Corr_NW_insp_main), is only partially preserved here, was turned into an epithet for Mery starting with the word *hsjj* “the favored one,” which likely formed part of an indirect genitive construction: *hsjj* [*n ntr nfr*] “favored one [of the perfect god]” or *hsjj* [*n nb tꜣwj*] “favored one [of the lord of the two lands]” (Fig. 9, left). Although the final part of the caption is lost, it can be assumed that the passage following the secondarily added epithet was equally adjusted. Yet, Iamunedjeh's *jmj-rꜣ rwjyt* title, written here as *jmj-rꜣ rwjyt nsu* “overseer of the gate of the king,” was left intact in the first half of the caption (Fig. 10). Mery thus inherited a title he never had.



Photo by M. Kaččínik, LHIT, University of Basel, 2022. Illustration by the author, 2023

FIG. 9. Secondarily added epithet (left) with Iamunedjeh's *sš wdhw* title below (right) in the caption to the first register at the west end of the north wall of the corridor of TT 84 (Corr_NW_off_regi).

the first one was probably Henutnofret, the wife, and not Resy, the mother. Unfortunately, all inscriptional evidence is lost that could corroborate this hypothesis. As the female figure here in question was depicted with a scribal outfit below her chair, the scene was cited among the examples of representational evidence for New Kingdom female literacy by Betsy Bryan (1985, pp. 20–21 with pl. 5 on p. 28).

⁵⁹ The first part of the title (*sš wdhw n*) is still discernible below Mery's layer, while the second part (*ntr nfr*) can be reconstructed with the help of a parallel on the ceiling of the transverse hall, in the east or outer band of the south wing (TH_ceiling_SWing_east; PAKSI forthcoming a, §5.1, n. n). Similarly to the example discussed above (Corr_NW_insp_main; cf. n. 51), Iamunedjeh's title was only partially recorded in Martinssen-von Falck's DAI facsimile drawing from December 1996 (cf. §1).



Photo by M. Kačičnik, LHTT, University of Basel, 2022

FIG. 10. Iamunedjeh's *jmj-r3 rwjrt* title left unaltered in the caption to the first register at the west end of the north wall of the corridor of TT 84 (Corr_NW_off_regi).

As already outlined above, at the beginning of the present section (§4), the changes made to the inscriptions of TT 84 on behalf of Mery were done in a way that closely imitated the appearance of Iamunedjeh's texts. The aim must have been to make the newly added text segments blend in perfectly with the original decoration, so that the two parts would be virtually indistinguishable to the eyes of future visitors. The effort made to harmonize the two painting styles is perhaps best demonstrated with a close-up view of the different renderings of an individual sign. The example presented below (Fig. 11) takes two *ntr*-signs (𓎃) from the same text of TT 84, once from Iamunedjeh's and once from Mery's layer (Fig. 11, left and middle respectively), from the main caption of the inspection of the Delta produce scene (cf. Figs. 7–8), and compares them to an example of the same sign in Mery's own tomb chapel, TT 95A (Fig. 11, right). It is evident that the color palette preferred by Mery in his own tomb (Fig. 11, right) had to be abandoned in favor of a more homogenous visual appearance of the texts in TT 84. In the case of this specific example, staying true to the visual features of the original inscriptions meant that the sign had to be painted in red instead of yellow.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ On the prevalence of red and blue in the color palette of TT 84, see a note by GROTHE 1998, p. 280. While, for instance, Nina and Norman de Garis Davies (DAVIES, DAVIES 1941, p. 97, n. 1) as well as Friederike Kampp (1996, p. 379) explained the relative absence of yellow and the dominance of red in TT 84 and TT 104 by the presence of fire, it is by now beyond doubt that the red and blue dominated color palette was a conscious choice in the decoration of certain Theban tombs including TT 84. The use of yellow was similarly avoided in K 555 (GROTHE 1998, p. 280), TT 104 (SHEDID 1988, pp. 40–41 and 45), TT 29 (LABOURY, TAVIER 2010, p. 100 with n. 34 and BAVAY, LABOURY 2012, p. 76), TT 24 (visit in March 2023), in the inner rooms of TT 96A and TT 97 (visit in March 2022), and presumably in many other tombs of the necropolis.



Photos by M. Kacáček, LHHT, University of Basel, 2022 & 2014

FIG. 11. A *ntr*-sign by an artist of Iamunedjeh working on the main inscription of the Delta produce scene in the corridor of TT 84 (left), by an artist of Mery modifying the same inscription (middle), and by a third person working on the north side of Pillar E of TT 95A (right).

The above comparison of the three different renderings of a *ntr*-sign illustrates, moreover, that some of the artists hired by Mery for adjusting the inscriptional program of TT 84 worked clearly less precisely than the ones who decorated the tomb for Iamunedjeh or those who painted Mery's original tomb chapel, as the less elegant appearance of the sign in the middle in comparison to the other two reveals (Fig. 11). The difference between the painting style of the artists who worked for Iamunedjeh and the ones commissioned by Mery in TT 84 is generally the least apparent in the transverse hall of the tomb (cf. Fig. 12). This suggests that the artists responsible for repainting the inscriptions in the first hall were either more skilled than those who worked on the texts of the corridor, the side chapels, and the shrine or—in case these were the same individuals—they had more time or paid better attention to achieving a relatively homogenous visual appearance when working in the transverse hall than when moving on to the inner halls of the tomb. In either case, the outcome of their work implies a higher relative importance ascribed to the refashioning of the inscriptional program of the first hall than to the rest of the tomb.⁶¹

⁶¹ This observation further demonstrates that in the decoration of Egyptian monuments, labor distribution happened in consideration of artistic competences and that artists adjusted their efforts in view of the future visibility of their work. On these considerations, see also BRYAN 2010, p. 1003; TAVIER 2012, pp. 210–211; DÍAZ-IGLESIAS LLANOS 2019, p. 153; STUPKO-LUBCZYNSKA 2021, pp. 98–99; LABOURY 2022, p. 53; and PAKSI 2022.



Photos by M. Kačaničnik, LHIT, University of Basel, 2016 & 2023

FIG. 12. A *ntr*-sign by an artist of Mery (left) and by an artist of Iamunedjeh (right) in the transverse hall of TT 84 (TH_EWn_middle and TH_EWs_right_off).

A large wall fragment (find no. 1857) discovered by the German archaeological team in the transverse hall of TT 84 in February 1996 (see Fig. 13 below) carries parts of a polychrome, left-to-right inscription featuring the title *hm ntr tpj* [*n Jmn*] “high priest [of Amun]” of Mery. Traces of the signs belonging to the effaced original text underneath the title of the secondary tomb owner are still visible on the fragment. The position of the blue paint—likely a *t*-sign—indicates that the original layer contained Iamunedjeh’s *whmw nsw* title spelled as $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$.⁶² The piece must have broken off from the upper part of a wall, as parts of a color band that ran above the inscription demonstrate. The orientation of the signs and the width and execution of the color band above them suggest that the fragment likely originates from one of the longer side walls in the south wing of the transverse hall of TT 84: probably from the east wall, either from the inscription facing left in the middle of the wall (TH_EWs_middle) or from another large, polychrome caption in the major lacuna between the entrance and the middle of the wall. The left-to-right inscription on the south part of the west wall, close to the entrance to the south chapel, would represent another possibility, although one that is somewhat less likely, since the width of the color band on the fragment does not seem to match that of the one preserved on the wall in this area of the tomb. Irrespective of its provenance, the fragment is certainly indicative of the systematic effort with which the polychrome inscriptions of the decoration were targeted after Mery’s takeover of the tomb.

⁶² The title is spelled similarly in line 2 of the main text of the North Stela (TH_NSSt_main_line2), in the inscription to the burnt offering scene on the south half of the east wall of the transverse hall (TH_EWs_left), and in its first mention in the east or outer band of the ceiling in the south wing of the transverse hall (TH_ceiling_SWing_east).

Photo by M. Kacáček, LHTT, University of Basel, 2022



FIG. 13. A wall fragment from TT 84 with a small segment of a polychrome inscription bearing Mery's *hm ntr tpj* title.

5. THE CEILING INSCRIPTIONS AND THE SMALL, MONOCHROME CAPTIONS

The ceiling texts and the small captions of TT 84 are all monochrome inscriptions painted predominantly in blue. The two categories of texts are discussed here together because they both received equally little attention from the artists commissioned by Mery. In TT 84, the ceiling of both main halls⁶³ as well as the ceiling of the three smaller chapels⁶⁴ all carry inscriptions. There is only one ceiling band in the entire tomb that was left blank: the south band of the north chapel, which is a band situated above the only wall in the tomb (the south wall of the north chapel) that was equally left uninscribed. The small, monochrome captions of TT 84 include two small captions of long, continuous texts from two subregisters of the inspection of the Delta produce scene,⁶⁵ a handful of short segments of text indicating the title and name of a family member (brothers) on the side walls of the two main halls,⁶⁶ and a few examples in the first three registers of the opening of the mouth scene on the south wall of the corridor where Iamunedjeh's name was added in red preparatory drawing above the figures of the deceased.⁶⁷ While the polychrome inscriptions of the tomb were systematically reworked after Mery's takeover of TT 84, most ceiling texts and most small, monochrome captions were left untouched—with two exceptions.

⁶³ There are six long inscription bands in the transverse hall, three in each wing: TH_ceiling_SWing_west, east, central and TH_ceiling_NWing_west, east, central. On the ceiling of the corridor and in the short band crossing the transverse hall in the middle, from east to west (on the latter, see PAKSI forthcoming a, n. 13 under §3), the title and name of the deceased are not preserved.

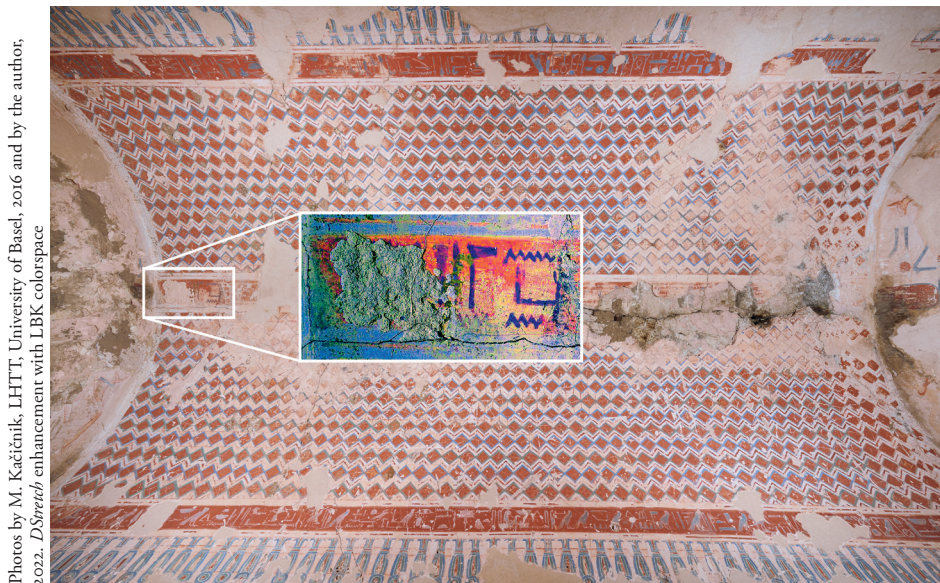
⁶⁴ The ceiling of the south chapel carries three bands of inscription: SChap_ceiling_south, north, central. In the central chapel or shrine, there are equally three inscribed ceiling bands: CChap_ceiling_south, north, central. In the north and central bands of the north chapel, the title and name of the deceased are no longer preserved, while the south band of the north chapel was left uninscribed.

⁶⁵ See Corr_NW_insp_cap1 and Corr_NW_insp_cap2.

⁶⁶ See TH_EW_s_bro2, TH_EW_n_bro3&4, TH_EW_n_bro1, and Corr_NW_insp_bro1.

⁶⁷ See Corr_SW_OpMouth_reg1-3.

The inscription of one single ceiling band was in fact adjusted: the end of the central band of the central chapel, which also represents one of the westernmost points of the entire tomb decoration, was repainted and now carries Mery's *hm ntr tpj n Jmn* title (Fig. 14; CChap_ceiling_cent).⁶⁸ The name of the deity was hacked out during Amarna times, but the first part of the title following the *n kꜣ n* formula is still preserved today. The choice to modify the wording of precisely this ceiling text must have been a fully conscious one, since the position of the band—located in the middle of the ceiling of the innermost and thus also the holiest room of the tomb—gives its text particular significance. The reasons why the ancient artists opted only for this ceiling inscription certainly cannot be explained by the ergonomic conditions of the work in the chapel. The ceiling of the central chapel is vaulted, and the passage is located ca. 2.4 m above the ground.⁶⁹ The adjustment therefore required at least a small ladder, whereas the side bands of the hall (CChap_ceiling_north & south) could have been easily repainted while standing, without any additional support, for they are found at a much lower height. Similarly, while it is true that the ceiling inscriptions in the transverse hall are on average all 3 m high,⁷⁰ the additional difficulty presented by their location is in itself not a sufficient explanation for why they were left untouched. Repainting the polychrome inscriptions of the same hall (§4) equally required a scaffolding because most of these texts are found high up on the wall, close to the ceiling (cf. Figs. 22–23).



Photos by M. Kacičnik, LHIT, University of Basel, 2016 and by the author, 2022. *DStretch* enhancement with LBK colorspace

FIG. 14. Mery's *hm ntr tpj n Jmn* title on the ceiling of the central chapel, at the end of the central band, TT 84 (CChap_ceiling_cent).

⁶⁸ Polz's (1990, p. 310 with n. 38) note ("*Bemerkenswerterweise sind in den Deckeninschriften des Querraumes Titel und Name des Jamunedjeh [...] erhalten, nur in der Mittelzeile der Decke des Längsraumes [sic] ist an deren Ende vor der Nische sein Name [sic] durch den [sic] des Meri übermalt*"), although it mentions the ceiling text of the corridor by mistake, must have originally referred to the central band of the central chapel, since the end of the ceiling band of the corridor is not preserved. Note, furthermore, that it cannot be determined (cf. n. 264 below) if it was Jamunedjeh's name or one of his titles that was painted over by Mery's title in this passage. Mery's name was not added (contra Polz).

⁶⁹ The measurement was taken by Rune Olsen in March 2022.

⁷⁰ Measured by A. Loprieno-Gnirs and Evelyne Marty in 2017 and by R. Olsen in 2022.

While all small, blue monochrome captions of the original tomb decoration were kept in their initial form, Iamunedjeh's name was systematically erased from above the figures of his mummy or statue in the first three registers of the opening of the mouth ritual on the south wall of the corridor, although the name was only added in small, red preparatory drawing in every instance (Corr_SW_OpMouth_reg1-3; Fig. 25). The original text was made invisible with the help of a white overpaint, the exact shade of which, however, did not fully match the background color of Iamunedjeh's layer. Curiously though, Mery's name was never painted on top. For an example from the third register of the scene, see Fig. 15 below.



Photo by the author, 2023. *DStretch* enhancement with LRD colorspace

FIG. 15. Iamunedjeh's name in red preparatory drawing below a white overpaint in the third register of the opening of the mouth ritual on the south wall of the corridor of TT 84 (Corr_SW_OpMouth_reg3).

In the face of the erased small captions of the south wall, the contrast with the opposite wall of the corridor, where the small, blue monochrome texts were all left unaltered, is all the more striking. Iamunedjeh's titles and name are preserved, namely, in two registers of the inspection of the Delta produce scene (Corr_NW_insp_cap1 and Corr_NW_insp_cap2). What is more, in the first register, the figure presenting some of the products of the Delta to Iamunedjeh and Henutnofret can be identified as Khaemwaset, Iamunedjeh's brother (Corr_NW_insp_bro1). The picture below (Fig. 16), taken from the upper part of the wall (cf. Fig. 24), shows two of these unmodified monochrome captions. At the end of the text painted in blue against a red background, listing some of the goods Iamunedjeh received from the Delta, the owner of the tomb is identified as *sš nsw jmj-r3 rwjyt J3mw-[nd]h m3' hrw* "the royal scribe, overseer of the gate, Iamu[nedj]eh, true of voice"⁷¹ (Corr_NW_insp_cap1).⁷¹ The small, monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background is, on the other hand, a caption to the standing figure of Khaemwaset, Iamunedjeh's brother (Corr_NW_insp_bro1). He is introduced here as *sn=f mr=f hrj-hb 4nw [w' b n']*⁷² *3-hpr-k3-R' dj 'nh m hwt hnmnt-'nh H'-m-W3st ddu n=f Nb[... ..] m3' hrw* "his brother, his beloved, fourth lector priest and [wab-priest of] Aakheperkare⁷³—given life!—in the temple of the One-Who-Joins-Life,⁷⁴ Khaemwaset, called Neb[... ..], true of voice."⁷⁵



Photo by M. Kačičnik, LHIT, University of Basel, 2022

FIG. 16. First register of the inspection of the Delta produce scene with captions containing the titles and name of Iamunedjeh (highlighted in white) and his brother, Khaemwaset (highlighted in black), TT 84 (Corr_NW_insp_cap1 and Corr_NW_insp_bro1).

⁷¹ Earlier in *Urk.* IV 954, 5 and POLZ 1990, p. 310, n. 35.

⁷² Tentative reconstruction with the help of a parallel on the east wall of the transverse hall (TH_EWn_bro1).

⁷³ Aakheperkare is Thutmose I's prenomen.

⁷⁴ The name stands for Thutmose I's mortuary temple (cf. *Wb.* III 378.29–30).

⁷⁵ The passage has been noted by SHIRLEY 2005, p. 363, n. 1614.

The reason behind the different treatment of the small, monochrome captions of the south and the north walls of the corridor (Fig. 15 vs. Fig. 16) may lie in the fact that whereas a mummy or a statue in the scene of an opening of the mouth ritual must have been instantly recognized by any artist as a figure representing the tomb owner, and as a result, the accompanying caption made an easy target, it was not immediately evident visually that the small texts added to the first two registers of the inspection of the Delta produce scene would similarly contain the name of the tomb owner. The figural representations do not provide any clue in this regard: the products of the Delta are distributed over at least three smaller registers and are presented by male offering bringers to the full-sized figures of the couple. It must be noted nonetheless that although Iamunedjeh's name was consistently removed from the first three registers of the opening of the mouth ritual, the figures of the deceased never received the name of the secondary tomb owner—either because these captions were not regarded as important enough to merit a repainting or because the artist deleting the names had forgotten or had not had the time to return to them. The conspicuously unmatching shade of the white paint of the two layers might even indicate a rather spontaneous and hasty action from the outset: it looks as if the names had been deleted quickly, as if in passing.

6. THE TWO BIOGRAPHICAL STELAE AND THE TWO SIDE CHAPELS

Iamunedjeh's two biographical stelae at the north and south limits of the transverse hall and the inscriptions of the side walls of the two side chapels opening from the same hall are discussed here together, not because these inscriptions would belong to the same category of texts, they do not, but because epigraphic evidence suggests that after Mery's takeover of the tomb, as far as the adjustment of their wording is concerned, they seem to have been associated in a process that was in all likelihood interrupted and never resumed.

Iamunedjeh's two biographical inscriptions,⁷⁶ the South and North Stelae, both comprise three different set of texts: two *hṭp-dj-nsw* formulae, one in each half of the scene, painted in small, blue hieroglyphs against a white background; two large columns of polychrome texts in the margins of the stelae, each containing an *jmꜣḥjj hr* formula followed by epithets, titles, and the name of the deceased; and the actual biographical text, which is in each case a horizontally arranged, longer inscription painted in blue against a red background.

The walls of the north and south chapels, just like those of the central chapel, were inscribed with relatively large, monochrome texts, all painted in blue. As for their contents, they carry *hṭp-dj-nsw* formulae as well as epithets, titles, and the name of the deceased. While the inscriptions of the side walls of the central chapel were all reworked,⁷⁷ those of the two side chapels opening from the transverse hall were not. In the north chapel, only the north wall was inscribed; the south wall received only figural decoration during the time of Iamunedjeh. On the south side, the columns prepared for the texts were thus left blank—curiously, also by the artists working for Mery. Nonetheless, the inscription on the opposite (north) wall

⁷⁶ A study on Iamunedjeh's biographical inscriptions is in preparation by the present author.

⁷⁷ See CChap_NW_left & right, CChap_SW_right, and CChap_WW_left & right.

was duly adapted after Mery's appropriation of the tomb: the end of the *hṯp-dj-nsw* formula received his title and name (NChap_NW_right).⁷⁸ The secondarily added segment is, however, so badly preserved that today only the silhouettes of its first signs (*ḥm nṯr tpj*) remain (Fig. 17).



FIG. 17. Mery's *ḥm nṯr tpj* title in the second to last column of a *hṯp-dj-nsw* formula on the right half of the north wall of the north chapel, TT 84 (NChap_NW_right).

Contrarily to the north chapel, the inscriptions of the side walls of the south chapel lack any trace of secondary adjustment.⁷⁹ As a result, the wording of Iamunedjeh's texts is still preserved in its original form on the walls of this room. The right half of the south wall, for instance, contains the titles and the name of Iamunedjeh and his mother (SChap_SW_right; Fig. 18).⁸⁰ The seated figures are identified as follows: *jmj-rꜣ rwꜣ*⁸¹ *kn n nsw whmw nsw Jꜣm(w)-ndj*⁸² *mꜣꜣ ḥrw* [... ...] *nbt pr Rsjj mꜣꜣt ḥrw* "overseer of the gate, brave man of the king, royal herald, Iam(u)nedjeh, true of voice, [... ...], mistress of the house, Resy, true of voice."

Similarly to the inscription on the north wall of the north chapel, the texts on Iamunedjeh's North Stela at the north end of the transverse hall were also reworked after Mery's takeover of the tomb. The small, monochrome inscriptions were adjusted in both halves of the stela's

⁷⁸ The passage was previously cited by Sethe (*Urk.* IV 962, 10). His transcription is, nevertheless, misleading, since it only offers a reconstruction of the original text but does not mention the modifications done to the text on Mery's behalf.

⁷⁹ See SChap_SW_right and SChap_NW_left.

⁸⁰ Earlier in *Urk.* IV 955, 10 and POLZ 1990, p. 310, n. 35.

⁸¹ The two *yods* were omitted from the spelling of the title:

⁸² Iamunedjeh's name was written without the quail chick:



Photo by M. Kačićnik, LHIT, University of Basel, 2018

FIG. 18. Titles and name of Imunedjeh and his mother on the south wall of the south chapel, TT 84 (SChap_SW_right).

scene and now carry the titles and the name of the new tomb owner.⁸³ The main inscription was likewise retouched.⁸⁴ In lines 2, 5, and 14, Imunedjeh's name was replaced with that of Mery and his *hm ntr tpj* title (Fig. 19).⁸⁵ Note, however, that when the artist decided to write out Mery's full title by specifying the name of the deity after the phrase *hm ntr tpj*—as he did in line 5 and probably also in line 14—the remaining space was not enough to accommodate the full spelling of Mery's name, and the final reed leaves had to be omitted.⁸⁶ In line 5 of the main text, this solution resulted in a short blank space between sign A52 (𓆎), inherited from Imunedjeh, and sign U6 (𓆏), standing for Mery's name: 𓆎 𓆏. Although Imunedjeh's name was consistently substituted with Mery's main title and name in the entire main text, one of the titles of the original tomb owner that did not directly precede his name was left unaltered in line 2 (Fig. 19).⁸⁷ As opposed to the examples we encountered in some of the polychrome inscriptions of the tomb (§4), in this specific case, the title might not have been

⁸³ See TH_NSt_scene_right & left. For earlier references to the right half of the scene, see n. 162 below.

⁸⁴ Kampp's (1996, p. 128, n. 632) argumentation that the name of the deceased would have been left in place in biographical inscriptions in the event of a tomb reuse because real facts would have been altered through a change cannot be upheld in the case of TT 84. The whole inscription of the North Stela was adapted to the identity of the new tomb owner, and similar adjustments were planned also for the South Stela (see below).

⁸⁵ See TH_NSt_main_line2, TH_NSt_main_line5, and TH_NSt_main_line14 in Table 1. For previous references to these passages in the literature, see nn. 173, 177, and 179 below.

⁸⁶ The examples in line 5 and probably also in line 14 are not the only instances in the tomb where Mery's name was abbreviated. The practice is also attested in the polychrome inscriptions of both the transverse hall and the corridor. Cf. TH_EW5_right_corn, Corr_NW_off_reg2, Corr_SW_middle, and Corr_SW_off_reg1.

⁸⁷ See TH_NSt_main_line2 in Table 1 and n. 175 below.

kept intentionally, for rewriting the phrase *whmw nsw jkr* “excellent royal herald” into one of Mery’s epithets in a monochrome text would not have cost much effort—unlike modifying the full title strings in the large, polychrome inscriptions of the two margins of the stela.⁸⁸ Indeed, of the latter, only the bottom parts were reworked. Although only the left margin is sufficiently preserved on the North Stela, by analogy, it can be assumed that the right one would have been treated in the same manner: Mery’s main title and name were inserted at the very end of the texts, but the upper parts of the inscriptions were left untouched.⁸⁹



Photo by K. Powroznik, LHIT, University of Basel, 2017

FIG. 19. Details from the North Stela, TT 84 (TH_NSt_main_lines 2 & 5): Mery’s main title and name in lines 2 and 5 of the main text (highlighted in white) and Iamunedjeh’s *whmw nsw* title left unaltered in line 2 (highlighted in black).

In contrast to the inscriptions of the North Stela, which were all systematically updated after Mery’s takeover of the tomb, most texts of Iamunedjeh’s biographical stela at the south end of the transverse hall are still preserved in their original form. Although the main inscription of the South Stela is badly damaged and thus only fragmentarily preserved,⁹⁰ Iamunedjeh’s name and titles are in several instances—in lines 6, 7, 12, and 15—clearly discernible, in others—in lines 10, 14, and 20—strongly presumable in the text. It is evident that none of these segments were altered secondarily,⁹¹ even though the inscription must have been still complete at Mery’s

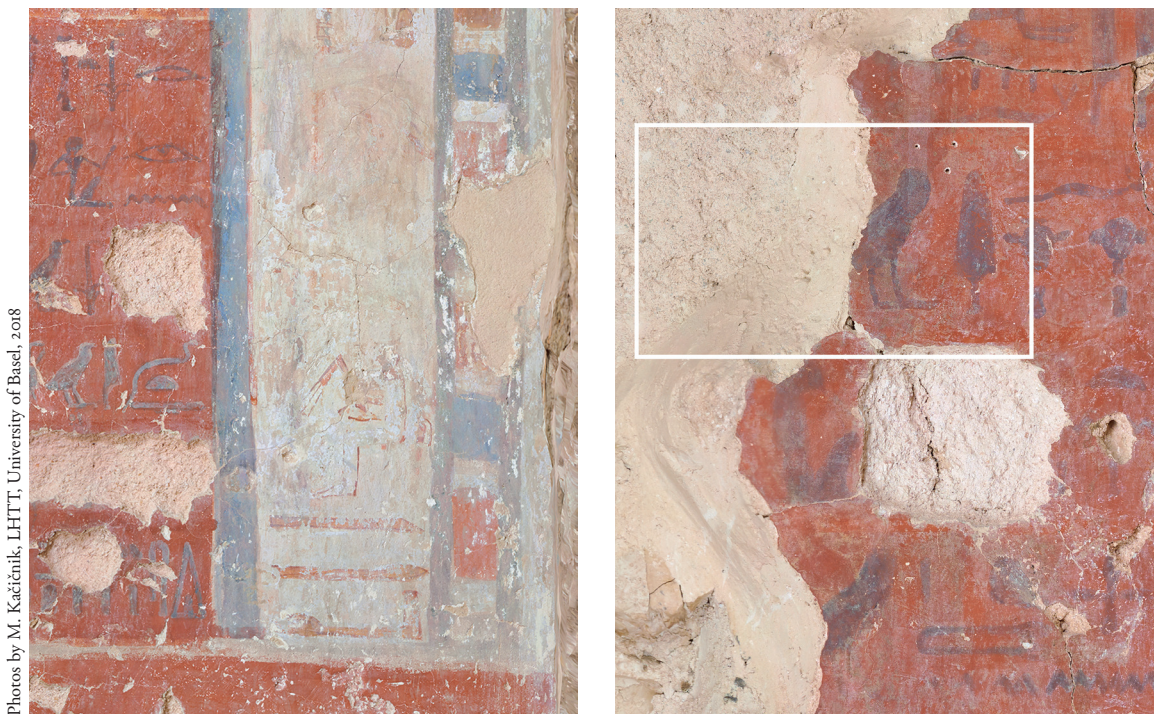
⁸⁸ See TH_NSt_margin_right and TH_NSt_margin_left. For earlier references to the two margins of the North Stela, see nn. 165 and 169 below.

⁸⁹ On the left margin of the North Stela, Mery thus inherited Iamunedjeh’s *whmw tpj nsw* “first royal herald,” *jmj-r3 rwjjet* “overseer of the gate,” and *jmj-r3 šwtj Šm’w Mhw* “overseer of the granaries of the South and the North” titles. On the right margin, the title *hryp k3wt nbt nt nsw* “controller of all the works of the king” was bequeathed to Mery. These titles appear in association with Mery’s name only in TT 84 and are otherwise not found in his record. See also nn. 167 and 171 below.

⁹⁰ Cf. LOPRIENO-GNIRS 2021, p. 10; PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, pp. 83–84; and PEINTNER 2021, pp. 96–97.

⁹¹ See TH_SSt_main_lines 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, and 20 in Table 1. For previous references to these passages, see nn. 151, 152, 154, 156, 158, and 159 below.

time.⁹² The example presented below (Fig. 20, right) was taken from line 7 and features the first two signs of the name of the primary owner of the tomb left intact. As opposed to the scene of the North Stela, the two *hṯp-dj-nsw* formulae of the scene of the South Stela do not contain any titles or names. On the other hand, while the margins of the North Stela probably both already received the title and name of the secondary tomb owner, even if the upper parts of their texts were not adjusted,⁹³ the repainting of the large, polychrome texts inscribed vertically at the two sides of the South Stela⁹⁴ was in all likelihood abandoned at a transitional stage. As the white layer of paint on top of Iamunedjeh's name at their bottom demonstrates (Fig. 20, left), the two margins were already prepared for the adjustment of their wording, but they seem to have been left in this intermediary stage. The white paint applied to cover Iamunedjeh's name was left to dry before it could receive a new layer of colorful paint, but the artist apparently never returned to finish his work. If Mery's title and name had been added, the margins would have been refashioned in the same way as their counterparts at the opposite end of the hall—with the upper parts of their texts left unchanged and with Iamunedjeh's *wḥmw tpj nsw* "first royal herald" title passed on to Mery on both sides.



Photos by M. Kacáček, LHTT, University of Basel, 2018

FIG. 20. Details from the South Stela, TT 84: Iamunedjeh's name deleted but not yet repainted by Mery's in the right margin (left; TH_SSt_margin_right) and fragmentarily preserved in line 7 of the main text (right; TH_SSt_main_line7).

⁹² Most of the damage in the South Stela was caused by a large opening in the south wall that leads into the neighboring tomb, K 555 (cf. LOPRIENO-GNIRS 2021, p. 10). The breach between the two tombs presumably occurred in modern times. Since there is no reference to this damage in the notes of Champollion (1844, pp. 503–504), Virey (1886, p. 39 and 1891, pp. 344–345) concluded that the opening must have been cut into the wall after Champollion had visited the tomb.

⁹³ See n. 89 above.

⁹⁴ See TH_SSt_margin_left & right. For an earlier reference to the left margin of the South Stela, see n. 144 below.

The case of the two margins of the South Stela and the case of the small, red captions that contained Iamunedjeh's name in preparatory drawing and were systematically erased from above the figures of his mummy or statue in the first three registers of the opening of the mouth ritual on the south wall of the corridor (Corr_SW_OpMouth_reg1-3; see §5) may seem similar at first sight but are not fully comparable. Although both represent an intermediary stage in the adjustment process of the textual program of the tomb, the margins of the North Stela provide an important insight for how this process would have continued on the margins of the South Stela, while we lack any such clue for the captions added in preparatory drawing to the south wall of the corridor. The presence of comparable parallels is crucial for the interpretation of the effaced but not yet repainted bottom parts of the margins of the South Stela, not only because they show the endpoint of the process but also because they demonstrate that the changes to the polychrome texts on the south wall of the transverse hall were done with a clear intention and a next step in mind. This was not necessarily the case for the small, red captions in the corridor. In other words, while the margins of the North Stela suggest that the margins of the South Stela were equally planned to receive Mery's title and name, we have no such indications for the preparatory captions of the corridor.

There is a certain consistency in the epigraphic data of TT 84 with regard to what happened to the different inscription types after Mery's takeover of the tomb: polychrome inscriptions were systematically modified; small, blue monochrome captions never were; ceiling texts were only modified once, directly above the focal point of the tomb at its back, in the middle of the central chapel. In the light of this insight, the difference in the way the inscriptions of the side walls of the two side chapels and the texts of the two biographical stelae were treated at the two ends of the hall—despite the fact that they represent the same type of texts in a symmetrically conceived space—is conspicuous. The consistency in the spatial distribution of the presence and lack of alterations made to the inscriptions at the south and north ends of the hall including the walls of the respective side chapels (north: alterations done; south: alterations commenced in the margins, otherwise lacking) suggests therefore that these texts were linked in the same textual adjustment process that progressed from north to south but happened to be interrupted at a point in time when the margins of the South Stela were prepared to receive Mery's name and title. Given the polychrome nature of the margins, it is not surprising that the refashioning of the inscriptions at the south end of the hall would have started precisely with these texts. The steps that would have followed—adding Mery's title and name to the margins, substituting Iamunedjeh's name and titles with those of Mery in the main text of the stela, and modifying the inscriptions of the walls of south chapel—were, however, never executed. The figure below is a snapshot of this interrupted process, a work in progress (Fig. 21). Visually speaking, the black dots represent the steps that were already executed (adjustment of the texts of the margins, scene, and main text of the North Stela and that of the north wall of the north chapel), the grey dots stand for the ones that only commenced (adjustment of the texts of the margins of the South Stela), and the white dots mark the ones that would have followed, had the process not been interrupted (adjustment of the main text of the South Stela and the texts of the north and south walls of the south chapel).

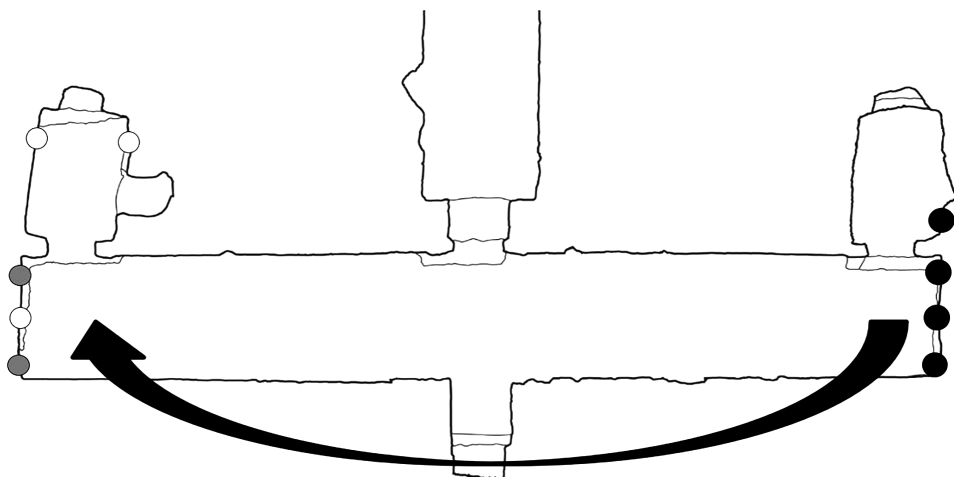


Fig. 21. Adapting the inscriptions of the two biographical stelae and the two side chapels to the identity of the new tomb owner—an interrupted process? Plan of TT 84 by M. Aeschlimann-Langer, E. Friedli, Z. Gojic, and S. Unter, LHTT, University of Basel, 2016–2019. Illustration by the author, 2023.

CONCLUSION

The detailed analysis of the epigraphic data concerning Mery's takeover of TT 84 suggests that the adaptation of the textual program of the tomb to the identity of its new owner was done with clear priorities in mind on behalf of the actors behind the process. The visibility and the relative importance of the inscriptions undoubtedly played a central role in selecting the passages to be adjusted. This explains the systematic effort with which the large, polychrome inscriptions of the two main halls were targeted and reworked in order to ensure Mery's presence in every major scene of the tomb (§4). In line with the same logic, the small, monochrome captions of the walls and the texts of the ceiling received relatively little attention (§5). On the other hand, the important position of the central band of the ceiling of the central chapel must have been precisely the reason why this ceiling text was singled out to carry Mery's title. The relative significance of the biographical stelae and the larger monochrome inscriptions of the side walls of the small chapels was similarly recognized by a demonstrably discontinued process that likely aimed at the consistent refashioning of these texts (§6).

The fact that the relief inscriptions of the entrance area were not adjusted despite their relative importance in the decoration program of the tomb (§3) sheds light on some of the practical considerations the ancient actors had to face during the execution of the project. Changing the reliefs of the doorjambs and the thicknesses of the doorway would have been a more tedious and time-consuming task than redoing some of the painted decoration of the chapel. It is, however, equally possible that these texts were not retouched due to lack of available skilled workforce or lack of time.

Many patterns in the epigraphic data that we tend to interpret as “priorities” of the ancient actors might in fact result from time constraints or other limitations. It is telling, for instance, that the figural decoration and the textual composition of the tomb were left intact. Mery chose to do the bare minimum necessary for calling Iamunedjeh's tomb chapel his own: he had the

name and titles of the main figures, Iamunedjeh's and his wife Henutnofret's or his mother Resy's substituted by his own and by his mother Hunay's. By contrast, the name and titles of Iamunedjeh's less important family members—his brothers, Khaemwaset, Minmose, Nay, and Ahmes; and his father, Sadjehuty—generally remained untouched in the decoration of the tomb, although their monochrome captions could have been relatively easily modified in order to match the identity of Mery's relatives. In like manner, the cartouches of Thutmose III were not rewritten, nor complemented by the name of Amenhotep II on the walls of TT 84. The fact that the title strings of longer polychrome inscriptions were often only partially adjusted and Mery thereby regularly inherited some of Iamunedjeh's titles (§4 and §6) likewise indicates that ensuring the historical accuracy of the inscriptions of the tomb was not absolutely essential after the takeover. This rather selective approach to the task at hand does not mean, however, that the alterations would have been done thoughtlessly or mechanically. On the contrary, a few instances in the tomb—typically, in polychrome inscriptions—attest to the creativity of the minds behind the changes (§4). Nonetheless, it is remarkable, that even when faced with an empty canvas—the south wall of the north chapel, which was left uninscribed at the time of Iamunedjeh—the actors responsible for the adaptation of the textual program of TT 84 took no interest in completing the decoration of an uninscribed wall—or perhaps had no time to do it (§6). The question of whether the situation would have been different if this wall had had a more prominent location within the tomb remains open.

Finally, the case of the two biographical inscriptions and the two side chapels offered us a glimpse into a work in progress and demonstrated that adjusting the textual program of TT 84 to the identity of its new owner was a human project after all with all its limitations and shortcomings (§6).

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb ⁹⁵	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
Entr_SJ_col1 ⁹⁶	Entrance, south jamb, inner column	Sunk relief; <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; right-to-left, vertical text	No	<i>wḥmw nsw jmj-rꜣ rw[jjt]</i>	[Jsmw]-ndb	–	–
Entr_SJ_col2 ⁹⁷ (Fig. 3)	Entrance, south jamb, central column	Sunk relief; <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; right-to-left, vertical text	No	<i>sš wdhw</i>	[Jsm]w-ndb	–	–
Entr_SJ_col3 ⁹⁸	Entrance, south jamb, outer column	Sunk relief; <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; right-to-left, vertical text	No	<i>sš nsw</i>	[Jsmw]-ndb	–	–
Entr_NJ_col1	Entrance, north jamb, inner column	Sunk relief; <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; left-to-right, vertical text	No	<i>wḥmw [nsw] jmj-rꜣ rw[jjt]</i>	[Jsmw]-ndb	–	–
Entr_NJ_col2	Entrance, north jamb, central column	Sunk relief; <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; left-to-right, vertical text	No	<i>sš [...]</i> ⁹⁹	[Jsmw-ndb]	–	–
Entr_NJ_col3	Entrance, north jamb, outer column	Sunk relief; <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; left-to-right, vertical text	No	<i>sš wdhw</i>	[Jsmw-ndb]	–	–
Entr_STh (Fig. 5)	Entrance, south thickness; caption to a figure	Raised relief; caption to the figure of Iamunedjeh's wife; left-to-right, vertical text	No	<i>[sn]ꜣf mrtꜣf nbt pr</i>	Hnwt-nfrt	–	–
Entr_NTh ¹⁰⁰ (Fig. 4)	Entrance, north thickness; solar hymn	Raised relief; end of a solar hymn; right-to-left, vertical text	No	<i>jmj-rꜣ rwjtt</i>	–	–	–
TH_EWs_left ¹⁰¹	Transverse hall, east wall, south half, left side; final columns of a major text	Polychrome, painted inscription partially covered by white lime plaster and Coptic decoration elements; end of a caption to the burnt offering scene above the standing figure of Iamunedjeh holding two braziers; left-to-right, vertical text	Yes	<i>wḥmw nsw jmj-rꜣ rwjtt</i>	Jsmw-ndb	<i>hṯmw bjtt hm ntr tpj n [Jmn]</i>	Mryj ¹⁰²

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84.¹⁰³

⁹⁵ See n. 36 above.

⁹⁶ Previously published in KAMPP 1996, p. 334, fig. 215. Cf. also PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, p. 86, fig. 74.

⁹⁷ See n. 36 above.

⁹⁸ See n. 36 above.

⁹⁹ If the column was to contain the title *sš nsw* “royal scribe,” an honorific transposition of the words *sš* and *nsw* would be expected, which is not the case. Since the subsequent column of the north jamb contains the title *sš wdhw* “scribe of the altar,” it seems unlikely that the phrase would have been repeated here. The lacuna thus either hides the second part of another, yet unknown *sš*-title of Iamunedjeh, or the column contained a rather unexpected spelling of the title *sš nsw* “royal scribe,” with the word *nsw* in second position.

¹⁰⁰ See n. 39 above.

¹⁰¹ The first mention of this passage goes back to Virey (1886, p. 41 and 1891, p. 344), who—unlike Sethe (*Urk.* IV 959, 6 with n. a)—did not yet recognize that the text had been reworked. The section was also referenced by POLZ 1990, p. 310, n. 37; GNIRS et al. 1997, pp. 58–59, n. 4 (in this case, wrongly attributed to the end of the wall); and SHIRLEY 2005, p. 359, n. 1591.

¹⁰² The first sign, U7 (𓆎), has been reversed in Mery's name: 𓆎𓆏𓆑.

¹⁰³ The entries highlighted in grey are discussed and illustrated in the present study.

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
TH_EWs_middle	Transverse hall, east wall, south half, middle part; final columns of a major text	Polychrome, painted inscription; end of a fragmentarily preserved caption above the seated figures of Iamunedjeh (lost) and wife (preserved); ¹⁰⁴ left-to-right, vertical text	Yes ¹⁰⁵	[...] & <i>hmtꜣf nbt pr</i>	<i>Jꜣmw-[ndb]</i> & <i>[Hmwꜣ-nfr]</i>	[...] & [...]	[...] & [...]
TH_EWs_right_off ¹⁰⁶	Transverse hall, east wall, south half, right side, final third of the wall; final columns of a major text	Polychrome, painted inscription; end of a fragmentarily preserved, eight-column-long <i>hꜣp-dj-nsꜣ</i> formula; right-to-left, vertical text	Yes	<i>[whmw] nsꜣ / [whmw tpj] nsꜣ</i> ¹⁰⁷	<i>Jꜣm[w-n]dj</i> ¹⁰⁸	<i>[hm] ntr [tpj]</i> ¹⁰⁹ [...]	_110
TH_EWs_right_corn ¹¹¹	Transverse hall, east wall, south half, right side, upper corner; final column of a major text	Polychrome, painted inscription; end of a fragmentarily preserved, eight-column-long caption containing epithets and titles of the deceased above the seated figure of Iamunedjeh; left-to-right, vertical text	Yes	[...] ¹¹²	<i>[Jꜣmw-n]dj</i> ¹¹³	[...]	<i>Mr(jj)</i> ¹¹⁴

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

¹⁰⁴ Even if only parts of a female figure are preserved on the wall, the text indicates that the scene also contained a seated figure of Iamunedjeh.

¹⁰⁵ Although nothing remains of the secondarily added titles and names, an owl faintly visible on top of the quail chick in Iamunedjeh's name suggests that the passage was modified.

¹⁰⁶ Earlier in *Urk.* IV 960, 5 with n. a. Cf. nn. 109–110.

¹⁰⁷ What appears to be the upper part of a *swt*-plant (𓆎) is still discernible underneath a secondarily added *ntr*-sign (𓆎). The title preceding Iamunedjeh's name was therefore in all likelihood *whmw nsꜣ* “royal herald” or *whmw tpj nsꜣ* “first royal herald.” Both options are possible here, although another inscription on the same wall (TH_EWs_left) employs the title *whmw nsꜣ*. Even if Shirley's (2005, pp. 359–362) and Helck's (1958, p. 385) hypothesis is correct and the two titles are not used interchangeably in Iamunedjeh's inscriptions—as opposed to Polz's (1991, p. 382, n. 17) standpoint, according to which Iamunedjeh would have been directly appointed to first royal herald—the current text could have nonetheless included the supposedly later one of the two titles, since the two wall segments, the ones carrying TH_EWs_left and TH_EWs_right_off, were not necessarily decorated at the same time. The offering formula here in question is painted on the final third of the south half of the east wall, which is a secondary addition to the preceding two thirds of the wall surface. The final part of the wall is a result of an architectural change that happened during the lifetime of Iamunedjeh (cf. LOPRIENO-GNIRS, PAKSI in preparation and PAKSI forthcoming a, §2): it had not existed before the transverse hall was enlarged. The texts on the two doorjambs of the entrance to the north chapel (cf. TH_WWn_SJ/NCh_col2 and TH_WWn_NJ/NCh_col2) suggest, however, that the two titles were in some situations indeed used interchangeably in the decoration of the tomb. The left jamb was inscribed with *whmw tpj nsꜣ*, while the right one very likely had *whmw nsꜣ*, although both columns were painted after the tomb had been enlarged.

¹⁰⁸ The first sign of Iamunedjeh's name (𓆎) is still almost fully visible on the wall, although it was overwritten by another sign. Of the latter, only a small part remains, which I am unable to identify at present. On the other hand, from the signs of Iamunedjeh's name, the tail of the cobra (𓆎) as well as the lower part of the twisted flax (𓆎) are still decipherable.

¹⁰⁹ The *ntr*-sign (n. 107) probably formed part of Mery's *hm ntr tpj* title, which, in this particular case, as in numerous other cases in the tomb (see, e.g., TH_WWn_Lint/NCh_right, TH_WWn_SJ/NCh_col2, TH_WWn_NJ/NCh_col2, TH_WWn_NJ/NCh_col2, and TH_NSt_main_line2), must have been written without the name of the deity (contra Sethe; n. 106), since the traces of signs of the following group do not support the reconstruction of the word Amun.

¹¹⁰ Contrarily to Sethe's tentative reconstruction of the passage (n. 106), it appears as if Mery's name had been omitted from this section (cf. also TH_WWn_prayer). Iamunedjeh's name seems to have been written over by epithets or titles of Mery. For instance, at the height of the 𓆎 in Iamunedjeh's name, a secondarily added 𓆎 is visible. The passage is, however, too fragmentary to allow for a reconstruction.

¹¹¹ Earlier in *Urk.* IV 961, 16 with n. e. Cf. n. 112.

¹¹² Sethe's reconstruction (see n. 111 above) is misleading. No trace is left of the signs constituting the title preceding Iamunedjeh's name.

¹¹³ Only the following group is left of Iamunedjeh's name: 𓆎𓆎𓆎.


¹¹⁴ The two reed leaves seem to have been omitted from Mery's name in this specific case. Compare the examples in lines 5 and 14 of the North Stela (TH_NSt_main_line5 and TH_NSt_main_line14) and the further three instances on the side walls of the corridor (Corr_NW_off_reg2, Corr_SW_middle, and Corr_SW_off_reg).

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
TH_EW _s _bro2 ¹¹⁵	Transverse hall, east wall, south half, right side; caption to a figure standing behind the seated figure of Iamunedjeh	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; caption to the figure of Iamunedjeh's brother, Minmose; left-to-right, vertical text	No	<i>snꜛf mrꜛf</i> ¹¹⁶ <i>w' b n Mnw</i>	<i>Mnw-ms</i> ¹¹⁷	—	—
TH_EW _n _bro3&4 ¹¹⁸	Transverse hall, east wall, north half, right side; captions to two seated figures in the second register of a banquet scene	Monochrome inscriptions painted in blue against a white background; fragmentarily preserved captions to two brothers of Iamunedjeh, Ahmes and Tjenenay; left-to-right, vertical texts	No	<i>snꜛf mrꜛf</i> ¹¹⁹ & <i>snꜛf</i>	<i>J' b-ms</i> & <i>Tmꜛjj</i> ¹²⁰	—	—
TH_EW _n _middle ¹²¹ (Fig. 6)	Transverse hall, east wall, north half, middle part; final columns of a major text	Polychrome, painted inscription; end of a fragmentarily preserved, longer caption above the figures of the deceased and wife or mother (?) receiving a bouquet of Amun from Iamunedjeh's brother, Khaemwaset; right-to-left, vertical text	Yes	[...] & [...]	<i>J[ꜛmw-n]d[b]</i> & [...]	<i>hm nꜛr tpj n</i> <i>[Jmn]</i> & <i>mn' t šd(t) nꜛr</i> <i>[nfr]</i>	<i>Mr[j]j</i> & <i>[Hw]nꜛ[jj]</i>
TH_EW _n _bro1	Transverse hall, east wall, north half, middle part; caption to a standing figure	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; caption to the figure of Iamunedjeh's brother, Khaemwaset; left-to-right, horizontal text	No	<i>snꜛf mrꜛf</i> <i>w' b n' s-hpr-</i> <i>kꜛ-R'</i>	—	—	—
TH_EW _n _left	Transverse hall, east wall, north half, left side, upper corner; final columns of a major text	Polychrome, painted inscription; end of a fragmentarily preserved caption above the seated figure of Iamunedjeh's mother; right-to-left, vertical text	Yes	[...] <i>nbt pr</i>	<i>Rs[jj]</i> ¹²²	—	<i>Hw[n]ꜛjj</i>




TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).


¹¹⁵ Previously noted by VIREY 1886, p. 42; VIREY 1891, p. 344; WHALE 1989, p. 116; and SHIRLEY 2005, p. 364, n. 1615. Minmose is abbreviated as “bro2” because “bro1” is reserved for Khaemwaset, who is Iamunedjeh's most mentioned brother in the tomb.

¹¹⁶ The figure standing behind Iamunedjeh represents a brother and not a son, as was previously assumed by WHALE 1989, p. 116. The misconception has already been rectified by SHIRLEY 2005, p. 364, n. 1615.


¹¹⁷ The reading of the name is relatively clear: . The figure is called Minmose and not Djehutymes—contrarily to the opinion of earlier scholars (VIREY 1886, p. 42; VIREY 1891, p. 344; WHALE 1989, p. 116; and SHIRLEY 2005, p. 364, n. 1615), although Shirley contemplated the possibility of reading Minmose instead of Djehutymes. Note the reversal of sign Aa11 in the phrase *mꜛ' hrw*.

¹¹⁸ The captions were previously cited by SHIRLEY 2005, p. 364, n. 1615. Ahmes and Tjenenay are labelled as brothers no. 3 and no. 4 because the abbreviations “bro1” and “bro2” are associated with Khaemwaset and Minmose respectively.

¹¹⁹ Contra Shirley's (2005, p. 364, n. 1615) reading, the passage seems to contain sign N36 () instead of sign V30 (): . The name itself is presumably followed by a rather elaborately spelled but only very fragmentarily preserved *mꜛ' hrw*.

¹²⁰ Contra Shirley (2005, p. 364, n. 1615), I read the caption as follows: .

¹²¹ The example is cited by SHIRLEY 2005, p. 262, n. 1182.

¹²² Only the outline of sign T13 is visible today. In spite of the right-to-left orientation of the text, the sign faces left (.

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
TH_WW _s _SJ/ SCh_col2 ¹²³	Transverse hall, west wall, south half, left side; south/left jamb of the entrance to the south chapel; end of the second or outer column	Polychrome, painted inscription; <i>hṯp-dj-nsu</i> formula; only lower part visible, rest of the jamb and the entire doorframe were covered with <i>muna</i> in late antiquity; right-to-left, vertical text	Yes	[...]	[Ḥmw-n]d[b]	[...]	Mr[jj] ¹²⁴
TH_WW _n _Iamu	Transverse hall, west wall, north half, left side; caption to the standing figure of Iamunedjeh	Polychrome, painted inscription; end of a fragmentarily preserved caption; left-to-right, vertical text	Yes	[...]	[Ḥmw-n]d[b] ¹²⁵	[...]	[Mrjj] ¹²⁶
TH_WW _n _right	Transverse hall, west wall, north half, right side; final column of a major text above a standing figure of Iamunedjeh	Polychrome, painted inscription; end of a fragmentarily preserved, six-column-long caption containing epithets and titles of the deceased above his figure standing behind the Syrian tribute scene; left-to-right, vertical text	Yes	[...] ¹²⁷	Ḥm[w]-nd[b]	[...] ¹²⁸ [j _m j-rj] šn[^c n j _m n] ¹²⁹ ḥm ntr tpj [...]	[Mrjj] ¹³⁰

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

¹²³ The text in the first or inner column of south jamb as well as those on the lintel and on the north or right jamb of the entrance are all lost today.

¹²⁴ Although the two *yods* of Mery's name are no longer visible on the doorjamb, the placement of sign U6 (𓄳) close to the right edge of the column suggests that they were added originally but were subsequently lost to damage: 𓄳𓄳. Note the reversal of sign P8 in the phrase *mꜣ^c ḥrw*.

¹²⁵ Only sign A52 (𓄳) is preserved of the deceased's name before the phrase *mꜣ^c ḥrw [b]r ntr* 𓄳 "true of voice [in] front of the great god," but the head of a cobra, which must have originally formed part of Iamunedjeh's name, is still faintly visible in front of the flagellum of the squatting figure (sign A52).

¹²⁶ The name is not preserved, but the fact that the passage had been reworked (cf. n. 125 above) suggests it was written before sign A52.

¹²⁷ Only the titles *jrj-p^ct ḥꜣtj-^c* "hereditary noble and local prince" are preserved after the particle *jn* but none of Iamunedjeh's main titles remain. Traces of blue paint over the first sign of *jrj-p^ct* suggest nonetheless that the entire title string was reworked.

¹²⁸ Only some traces of blue paint (cf. n. 127) remain from this title.

¹²⁹ For the reconstruction of the passage, see n. 54 above. The title *j_mj-rj šn^c n j_mn* "overseer of the magazine of Amun" is not preserved in the decoration of TT 95A and has not yet been documented in association with Mery.

¹³⁰ The name is not preserved but is expected in the lacuna behind the figure of the deceased.

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
TH_WWn_NJ/ NCh_col2	Transverse hall, west wall, north half, right side; north/right jamb of the entrance to the north chapel; end of the second or outer column	Polychrome, painted inscription; end of a fragmentarily preserved <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; left-to-right, vertical text	Yes	[<i>wḥmw nsw</i>] ¹⁴²	[<i>Ḷmw-n</i>] <i>ḏḥ</i> ¹⁴³	<i>ḥm nṯr tpj</i>	<i>Mrijj</i>
TH_SSt_margin_left ¹⁴⁴	Transverse hall, South Stela, left margin	Polychrome, painted inscription; <i>jmḥjḥj br</i> formula followed by a title, an epithet, and the name of the deceased; right-to-left, vertical text	Yes, but only partially and left unfinished ¹⁴⁵	<i>wḥmw tpj nsw</i>	[<i>Ḷmw-ndḥ</i>] ¹⁴⁶	<i>wḥmw tpj nsw</i> ¹⁴⁷ —	—
TH_SSt_margin_right (Fig. 20, left)	Transverse hall, South Stela, right margin	Polychrome, painted inscription; <i>jmḥjḥj br</i> formula followed by a title, an epithet, and the name of the deceased; left-to-right, vertical text	Yes, but only partially and left unfinished ¹⁴⁸	<i>wḥmw tpj nsw</i>	[<i>Ḷmw-ndḥ</i>] ¹⁴⁹	<i>wḥmw tpj nsw</i> ¹⁵⁰ —	—
TH_SSt_main_line ⁶	Transverse hall, South Stela, main text, line 6	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; main text of the South Stela, part containing the first <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; right-to-left, horizontal text	No	<i>wḥmw tpj nsw</i>	—	—	—
TH_SSt_main_line ⁷ ¹⁵¹ (Fig. 20, right)	Transverse hall, South Stela, main text, line 7	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; main text of the South Stela, beginning of the appeal to the living; right-to-left, horizontal text	No	—	<i>Ḷm[w-ndḥ]</i>	—	—

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

¹⁴² Although only a *-t* is visible from the original group below Mery's main title, the position of the sign—which is the same as, for instance, in the example in the final column of the caption to the burnt offering scene on the east wall of the hall (TH_EWs_left)—suggests it very likely belonged to Iamunedjeh's *wḥmw nsw* title (𓏏𓏏𓏏).

¹⁴³ The silhouettes of the cobra and the twisted flax show through Mery's name.

¹⁴⁴ Earlier in *Urk.* IV 958, 12.

¹⁴⁵ Iamunedjeh's name was painted over in white. The bottom of the text was thus prepared to accommodate Mery's title and name, but these words were never added. The rest of the margin—including Iamunedjeh's *wḥmw tpj nsw* title preceding the epithet *mḥ-jb nb ʿswj* “confidant of the lord of the two lands”—was, on the other hand, left intact.

¹⁴⁶ The silhouettes of the signs of the original name are still visible below the white overpaint used to prepare the surface for Mery's identity string.

¹⁴⁷ Although Iamunedjeh's name was erased at the bottom of the column in order to make space for Mery's title and name, his *wḥmw tpj nsw* title was left unchanged in the preceding part of the text. It would have been inherited by Mery, had his name been added to the segment as planned. Cf. n. 150.

¹⁴⁸ Similarly to the left margin of the stela, the bottom of the right margin was prepared for Mery's title and name. The name *Ḷmw-ndḥ* was made illegible by a white overpaint, but the new text was never added on top. While the bottom of the column was prepared to be adapted to the identity of the new tomb owner, Iamunedjeh's *wḥmw tpj nsw* title, located somewhat higher up in the text and separated from the name of the deceased by the epithet *ḥsjj [n] nṯr nṯr* “favored one [of] the perfect god,” was left unaltered.

¹⁴⁹ Sign A51 (𓏏), originally added after Iamunedjeh's name, was kept in order to be reused for the name of Mery. Of the rest of the name *Ḷmw-ndḥ*, only the silhouettes of the signs remain.

¹⁵⁰ Iamunedjeh's *wḥmw tpj nsw* title would have been passed on to Mery if the name of the secondary tomb owner had been added to the margin as planned. Cf. n. 147.

¹⁵¹ Previously cited in *Urk.* IV 939, 2.

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
TH_SSst_main_line10 ¹⁵²	Transverse hall, South Stela, main text, line 10	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; beginning of the biographical part of the main text of the South Stela; right-to-left, horizontal text	No	–	[<i>ḏmw-ndb</i>] ¹⁵³	–	–
TH_SSst_main_line12 ¹⁵⁴	Transverse hall, South Stela, main text, line 12	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; main text of the South Stela, biographical part; right-to-left, horizontal text	No	[<i>ḥrp</i>] _p [<i>kꜣwt</i>] / [<i>ḥrp</i>] _p [<i>kꜣwt nbt nt nsu</i>] ¹⁵⁵	–	–	–
TH_SSst_main_line14 ¹⁵⁶	Transverse hall, South Stela, main text, line 14	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; main text of the South Stela, biographical part; right-to-left, horizontal text	No	[<i>ḥrp kꜣwt</i>] / [<i>ḥrp kꜣwt nbt nt nsu</i>] ¹⁵⁷	–	–	–
TH_SSst_main_line15 ¹⁵⁸	Transverse hall, South Stela, main text, line 15	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; main text of the South Stela, biographical part; right-to-left, horizontal text	No	<i>wḥmw tpj nsu</i>	–	–	–
TH_SSst_main_line20 ¹⁵⁹	Transverse hall, South Stela, main text, line 20	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; main text of the South Stela, closing part of the second <i>ḥrp-dj-nsu</i> formula; right-to-left, horizontal text	No	[...] / – ¹⁶⁰	[<i>ḏmw-ndb</i>] / – ¹⁶¹	–	–

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

¹⁵² Earlier in *Urk.* IV 940, 1.

¹⁵³ The name is entirely lost today, but the passage must have contained a clause introducing the direct speech of the deceased ([*ḏmw-ndb*] *d[de]f*... “[lamunedjeh] s[ays]: ...”).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. *Urk.* IV 940, 8.

¹⁵⁵ The title is only fragmentarily preserved and is directly followed by a major lacuna. The passage could have contained a shorter version of the name of this office (*ḥrp kꜣwt* “controller of works”), as suggested by Sethe (see n. 154 above), or as well a longer one (*ḥrp kꜣwt nbt nt nsu* “controller of all the works of the king”), as seen at the opposite end of the transverse hall, on the right margin of the North Stela (TH_NSst_margin_right).

¹⁵⁶ Cited in *Urk.* IV 940, 13.

¹⁵⁷ Nothing remains of the title, but the internal structure of the text leaves little doubt about its presence in the composition in line 14. Similarly to the case in line 12 (cf. n. 155), a major lacuna follows, wherefore both reconstructions suggested above are possible.

¹⁵⁸ Earlier in *Urk.* IV 940, 15.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. *Urk.* IV 941, 15.

¹⁶⁰ The offering formula is expected to end with the title and name of the deceased introduced by the so-called *n kꜣ n* formula. It is possible though that only the name or only a title was mentioned.

¹⁶¹ See n. 160 above.

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
TH_NSt_scene_right ¹⁶²	Transverse hall, North Stela, right side of the scene; inscription behind an offering table, around the standing figure of the deceased offering to Osiris	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; left-to-right, vertical text	Yes	[...]	[<i>Ḥmw-nḏb</i>]	<i>ḥm nṯr ṯpj</i> [<i>Jmn</i>]	<i>Mr[j]</i> ¹⁶³
TH_NSt_scene_left	Transverse hall, North Stela, left side of the scene; inscription behind an offering table, around the squatting figure of the deceased offering to Osiris	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; right-to-left, vertical text	Yes	[...]	[<i>Ḥmw-nḏb</i>]	<i>jmj-rḥ ḥmw nṯr n</i> [<i>Ṣm'w Mḥw</i> ?] / [<i>Jmn</i> ?] ¹⁶⁴	<i>Mr[jj]</i>
TH_NSt_margin_right ¹⁶⁵	Transverse hall, North Stela, right margin	Polychrome, painted inscription; <i>jmḥjḥj hr</i> formula followed by a title, epithets, and the name of the deceased; fragmentarily preserved, left-to-right, vertical text	Yes, but only partially ¹⁶⁶	<i>ḥrp kḏwt nbt nt nsw</i>	[<i>Ḥmw-nḏb</i>]	<i>ḥrp kḏwt nbt nt nsw</i> ¹⁶⁷	[<i>Mrjj</i>] ¹⁶⁸

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

¹⁶² Earlier in VIREY 1891, p. 358, fig. 6 and HERMANN 1940, p. 38, fig. 5.

¹⁶³ The orientation of sign U7 (𐀓) is reversed in Mery's name: 𐀓𐀓𐀓. The sign is written from right to left, although the text should be read from left to right.

¹⁶⁴ The title *jmj-rḥ ḥmw nṯr n Ṣm'w Mḥw* “overseer of the priests of the South and the North” is regularly mentioned in the decoration of TT 95A. It occurs, for instance, on the north half of the east wall, in the main inscription to the cattle inspection scene, on the north side of Pillar E, and on the east side of Pillar A (for the layout of TT 95A, see GNIRS 1995, p. 239, fig. 2 or PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, p. 87, fig. 75). It is likely that the same title was reproduced here with the singular form of the genitive *n*, although the shape of the damage affecting some of the signs might suggest intentionality behind. If the second half of the title was hacked out during Amarna times, it likely contained the name of Amun. The title *jmj-rḥ ḥmw nṯr n Jmn* “overseer of the priests of Amun” is, however, otherwise undocumented in Mery's record. Nonetheless, both *jmj-rḥ ḥmw nṯr n* [*Ṣm'w Mḥw*] and *jmj-rḥ ḥmw nṯr n* [*Jmn*] would represent a singular example of the respective title in the decoration of TT 84.

¹⁶⁵ Earlier in VIREY 1886, p. 38; VIREY 1891, p. 357; and *Urk.* IV 956, 16–17.

¹⁶⁶ See nn. 167 and 168 below.

¹⁶⁷ Similarly to the case of the left margin of the North Stela (cf. TH_NSt_margin_left) and the right and left margins of the South Stela (cf. TH_SSt_margin_right & left), where Iamunedjeh's titles were left untouched in parts of the texts not immediately located at the bottom of the column, the title *ḥrp kḏwt nbt nt nsw* “controller of all the works of the king,” followed here by two epithets (*ḥsjj n nṯr nṯr* “favored one of the perfect god” and *mḥ-jb 𐀓 n nb tḏwj* “great confidant of the lord of the two lands”), was equally left unaltered and thus bequeathed to Mery.

¹⁶⁸ Although the final part of the text is lost, it is safe to assume that, as in the case of the left margin of the North Stela (TH_NSt_margin_left), Iamunedjeh's name was overwritten by Mery's.

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
TH_NSt_margin_left ¹⁶⁹	Transverse hall, North Stela, left margin	Polychrome, painted inscription; <i>jmꜣhꜣj hr</i> formula followed by titles, an epithet, and the name of the deceased; right-to-left, vertical text	Yes, but only partially ¹⁷⁰	<i>whmw tpj nsw jmj-rꜣ rwjtt jmj-rꜣ šwtj Šm'w Mhw</i>	[<i>ꜣmw-ndh</i>]	<i>whmw tpj nsw jmj-rꜣ rwjtt jmj-rꜣ šwtj Šm'w Mhw</i> ¹⁷¹ <i>hm ntr tpj [Jmn]</i>	<i>Mrjj</i> ¹⁷²
TH_NSt_main_line2 ¹⁷³ (Fig. 19)	Transverse hall, North Stela, main text, line 2	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; main text of the North Stela, part containing the prayers to the sun god; right-to-left, horizontal text	Yes, but only partially ¹⁷⁴	<i>whmw nsw jkr</i>	[<i>ꜣmw-ndh</i>]	<i>whmw nsw jkr</i> ¹⁷⁵ <i>hm ntr tpj</i>	<i>Mrjj</i> ¹⁷⁶
TH_NSt_main_lines ¹⁷⁷ (Fig. 19)	Transverse hall, North Stela, main text, line 5	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; main text of the North Stela, part containing the prayers to the sun god; right-to-left, horizontal text	Yes	–	[<i>ꜣmw-ndh</i>]	<i>hm ntr tpj [Jmn]</i>	<i>Mr(jj)</i> ¹⁷⁸
TH_NSt_main_line14 ¹⁷⁹	Transverse hall, North Stela, main text, line 14	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; beginning of the biographical part of the main text of the North Stela; right-to-left, horizontal text	Yes	–	[<i>ꜣmw-ndh</i>]	<i>hm ntr tpj [Jmn]</i>	[<i>Mr(jj)</i>] ¹⁸⁰

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

¹⁶⁹ Earlier in VIREY 1886, p. 38; VIREY 1891, p. 357; *Urk.* IV 961, 1–2 with n. a; and GNIRS et al. 1997, pp. 58–59, n. 4.

¹⁷⁰ See n. 171 below.

¹⁷¹ Iamunedjeh's titles were not erased in the upper parts of the text and were—as a result—inherited by Mery. Cf. also n. 167 above and nn. 175, 208, 230, and 246 below.

¹⁷² Sign A52 (𓄳) at the end of the name of Iamunedjeh was kept and reused for Mery: 𓄳𓄳𓄳.

¹⁷³ Previously in VIREY 1886, pp. 39–40; VIREY 1891, pp. 358 and 360; and *Urk.* IV 942, 10 with n. b.

¹⁷⁴ See n. 175 below.

¹⁷⁵ The clause introducing the words of the deceased (*ꜣmw-ndh ddꜣf...* “Iamunedjeh says: ...”) was adapted to the identity of the new tomb owner (*hm ntr tpj Mrjj ddꜣf...* “The high priest, Mery, says: ...”), but a phrase containing one of Iamunedjeh's titles at the end of the previous sentence (*whmw nsw jkr mr.nꜣf tp-ꜣ* [... ..] “the excellent royal herald, whom he has loved before [... ..]”) was probably overlooked in line 2.

¹⁷⁶ Sign A52 (𓄳), originally belonging to the name of Iamunedjeh, was reused for Mery: 𓄳𓄳𓄳.

¹⁷⁷ Previously cited by VIREY 1886, pp. 39 and 41; VIREY 1891, pp. 359–360; Sethe (*Urk.* IV 943, 9 with n. b); and POLZ 1990, p. 310, n. 37.

¹⁷⁸ The first half of the space won by erasing Iamunedjeh's name was filled up with Mery's main title, which—as opposed to the previous example in line 2 (cf. TH_NSt_main_line2 and n. 176 above)—also features Amun's name in this specific case. As a result, the space remaining between sign A52 (𓄳), originally belonging to Iamunedjeh's name, and the signs of *Jmn* was not sufficient to accommodate the full spelling of the name of the secondary tomb owner. The final *yods* were thus not written out. Nevertheless, since the space was also too large for an abbreviated spelling of Mery's name, a small blank space was left between signs A52 (𓄳) and U6 (𓄳): 𓄳 𓄳𓄳𓄳𓄳𓄳.

¹⁷⁹ The passage was referenced by Sethe (*Urk.* IV 946, 3 with n. a).

¹⁸⁰ Although the passage is only fragmentarily preserved, by analogy with the example in line 5 of the text (cf. n. 178 above), where—similarly to the present case—the space gained by deleting Iamunedjeh's name was in large part used up by the full spelling of Mery's main title (*hm ntr tpj Jmn*) and as a result Mery's name had to be abbreviated (cf. TH_NSt_main_lines), it is likely that the two *yods* were omitted from the name of the secondary tomb owner also in line 14.

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
TH_ceiling_SWing_west ¹⁸¹	Transverse hall, ceiling of the south wing, west or inner band	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; prolonged secondarily, still during the lifetime of Iamunedjeh; ¹⁸² <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; right-to-left, horizontal text	No	<i>whmw nsu</i>	<i>Ḳmw-ndḥ</i> <i>Ḳmw-nd[ḥ]</i> <i>Ḳmw-ndḥ</i>	–	–
TH_ceiling_SWing_east ¹⁸³	Transverse hall, ceiling of the south wing, east or outer band	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; prolonged secondarily, still during the lifetime of Iamunedjeh; ¹⁸⁴ <i>hṯp-dj-nsu</i> formula; left-to-right, horizontal text	No	<i>whmw nsu</i> <i>jmj-rꜣ rwjyt</i> <i>[sꜣ wḏḥ]w n nṯr</i> <i>nḥ</i> ¹⁸⁵ <i>whmw nsu</i>	<i>Ḳmw-ndḥ</i> <i>Ḳmw-[n]ḏḥ</i> <i>Ḳmw-ndḥ</i>	–	–
TH_ceiling_SWing_cent ¹⁸⁶	Transverse hall, ceiling of the south wing, central band	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; <i>hṯp-dj-nsu</i> formula; right-to-left, vertical text	No	<i>whmw [nsu]</i>	<i>Ḳmw-ndḥ</i>	–	–
TH_ceiling_NWing_west ¹⁸⁷	Transverse hall, ceiling of the north wing, west or inner band	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; <i>hṯp-dj-nsu</i> formula; left-to-right, horizontal text	No	<i>whmw ṯpj nsu</i> <i>jmj-rꜣ rwṯ</i> ¹⁸⁸ & <i>sꜣb</i> & <i>nṯr pr</i>	<i>Ḳmw-ndḥ</i> & <i>Sꜣ-Dḥwtj</i> & <i>Rsꜣj</i>	–	–
TH_ceiling_NWing_east ¹⁸⁹	Transverse hall, ceiling of the north wing, east or outer band	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; prolonged secondarily, still during the lifetime of Iamunedjeh; ¹⁹⁰ <i>hṯp-dj-nsu</i> formula; right-to-left, horizontal text	No	<i>sꜣ [nsu]</i> ¹⁹¹	<i>Ḳmw-ndḥ</i> <i>Ḳmw-ndḥ</i>	–	–

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

¹⁸¹ Recently discussed in PAKSI forthcoming a, §4. Earlier editions include PIEHL 1886, p. 133; VIREY 1886, pp. 36–37; and VIREY 1891, p. 339. Part of the text has been referenced by *Urk.* IV 957, 10 and POLZ 1990, p. 310, n. 35.

¹⁸² Cf. PAKSI forthcoming a, §4.3.

¹⁸³ Recently discussed in PAKSI forthcoming a, §5. Earlier editions include PIEHL 1886, p. 134; VIREY 1886, p. 36; and VIREY 1891, p. 338. Relevant passages were cited in *Urk.* IV 958, 10; 962, 3, and 962, 7.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. PAKSI forthcoming a, §5.3.

¹⁸⁵ PAKSI forthcoming a, §5.1 with n. n.

¹⁸⁶ Recently discussed in PAKSI forthcoming b, §3. Earlier editions by PIEHL 1886, p. 134; VIREY 1886, p. 36; and VIREY 1891, p. 339; cited in *Urk.* IV 958, 11.

¹⁸⁷ Recently discussed in PAKSI forthcoming b, §2. The inscription was first published by PIEHL 1886, pp. 132–133; VIREY 1886, p. 36; and VIREY 1891, p. 340. The passage containing the titles, name, and filiation of the deceased was cited by Sethe (*Urk.* IV 957, 6–7) and POLZ 1990, p. 310, n. 35.

¹⁸⁸ The title is spelled as follows: , with the omission of the double *yod*.

¹⁸⁹ Recently discussed in PAKSI forthcoming a, §6. The text was previously published by PIEHL 1886, p. 133; VIREY 1886, p. 36; and VIREY 1891, p. 340. Relevant passages were referenced by Sethe (*Urk.* IV 956, 15 and 962, 1) and POLZ 1990, p. 310, n. 35.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. PAKSI forthcoming a, §6.3.

¹⁹¹ PAKSI forthcoming a, §6.1, n. j.

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
TH_ceiling_NWing_cent ¹⁹²	Transverse hall, ceiling of the north wing, central band	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; left-to-right, vertical text	No	<i>whmw nsw</i>	<i>Ḳmw-<n>ḏh¹⁹³</i>	–	–
NChap_NW_right ¹⁹⁴ (Fig. 17)	North chapel, north wall, right end; caption to a standing figure	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; Mery's modifications added in a fainter color and badly preserved; caption (<i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula) to a figure standing behind an offering table, facing the seated figures of the deceased and wife or mother (?); ¹⁹⁵ left-to-right, vertical text	Yes	[...]	[<i>Ḳmw-ndh</i>]	<i>hm ntr tpj</i> [<i>Jmn</i>]	[<i>Mrijj</i>] ¹⁹⁶
SChap_SW_right ¹⁹⁷ (Fig. 18)	South chapel, south wall, right end; major text above the seated figures of Iamunedjeh and his mother	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; ten-column-long caption to an offering scene with deceased and mother; left-to-right, vertical text	No	<i>jmj-rḲ rwr¹⁹⁸</i> <i>kn n nsw</i> <i>whmw nsw</i> & <i>nbt pr</i>	<i>Ḳm(w)-ndh¹⁹⁹</i> & <i>Rsjj</i>	–	–
SChap_NW_left ²⁰⁰	South chapel, north wall, left end; major text above the seated figures of Iamunedjeh and his father	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; ten-column-long caption to an offering scene with deceased and father; right-to-left, vertical text	No	<i>jmj-rḲ rwr²⁰¹</i> <i>whmw nsw</i> & <i>jt=f mr=f</i>	<i>Ḳmw-ndh</i> & <i>SḲ-Dḥwtj</i>	–	–
SChap_ceiling_south	South chapel, ceiling, south band	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; right-to-left, vertical text	No	<i>whmw nsw</i>	<i>Ḳmw-ndh</i>	–	–

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

¹⁹² Recently discussed in PAKSI forthcoming b, §4. Earlier editions include PIEHL 1886, p. 133; VIREY 1886, p. 35; and VIREY 1891, pp. 340–341. The passage containing Iamunedjeh's title and name was also cited in *Urk.* IV 961, 9.

¹⁹³ The *n* was forgotten from the spelling of Iamunedjeh's name: Sethe (*Urk.* IV 961, 9) overlooks the mistake.

¹⁹⁴ For an earlier reference to the passage, see n. 78 above.

¹⁹⁵ Iamunedjeh is depicted next to a female figure on both side walls of the north chapel. Since the texts were never added to the south wall and the relevant inscriptional evidence has been destroyed on the north wall, it is impossible to tell which wall features the wife and which the mother. The situation is comparable to that in the central chapel of the tomb (cf. n. 250 below).

¹⁹⁶ The last column of the text is only very fragmentarily preserved, the signs belonging to Mery's name are no longer legible. It is, nevertheless, clear that sign A52 (), painted in blue and originally concluding Iamunedjeh's name, was kept and reused for Mery.

¹⁹⁷ For earlier references to the passage, see n. 80 above.

¹⁹⁸ For the spelling of the title, see n. 81 above.

¹⁹⁹ For the defective spelling of Iamunedjeh's name, see n. 82 above.

²⁰⁰ Earlier in *Urk.* IV 958, 15.

²⁰¹ The title is spelled in the same way as on the opposite wall (cf. n. 81):

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
SChap_ceiling_north	South chapel, ceiling, north band	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; left-to-right, vertical text	No	<i>whmw tpj nsw</i>	<i>Jm(w)-ndj</i> ²⁰²	–	–
SChap_ceiling_cent ²⁰³	South chapel, ceiling, central band	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; <i>hṯp-dj-nsw</i> formula; right-to-left, vertical text	No	<i>whmw nsw</i>	<i>Jm(w)-ndj</i> ²⁰⁴	–	–
Corr_NW_hunt ²⁰⁵	Corridor, north wall, east end; last two columns of a major text above the figure of Imunedjeh in a chariot	Polychrome, painted inscription; end of a twelve-column-long caption to the hunting scene; right-to-left, vertical text	Yes, but only partially ²⁰⁶	<i>sš nsw</i> [...]	<i>[Jmw-ndj]</i> ²⁰⁷	<i>sš nsw</i> ²⁰⁸ [...] <i>hm nṯr tpj</i> <i>[Jmn]</i>	<i>[Mryj]</i> ²⁰⁹

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

²⁰² Imunedjeh's name features a strongly abbreviated spelling at the end of this band: $\text{𓏏} \overline{\text{𓏏}}$, where the phonogram *n* was written with a simple horizontal stroke. Due to space constraints, the phrase *mꜣꜥ hrw* was omitted after the name, and even the *n kꜣ n* formula was skipped before.

²⁰³ Previously cited in *Urk.* IV 958, 11.

²⁰⁴ Imunedjeh's name and the following two signs belonging to the phrase *mꜣꜥ hrw* were combined at the end of the band as follows: $\text{𓏏} \overline{\text{𓏏}}$.

²⁰⁵ Earlier in VIREY 1886, p. 44; VIREY 1891, pp. 354–355; *Urk.* IV 959, 16 with n. c; and GNIRS et al. 1997, pp. 58–59, n. 4.

²⁰⁶ See n. 208 below.

²⁰⁷ Only part of sign A52 (𓏏) is preserved of the passage containing the deceased's name. Nevertheless, since the title directly preceding the name was reworked on behalf of Mery, it is safe to assume that also Imunedjeh's name was altered into that of Mery. In fact, the original layer below Mery's *hm nṯr tpj* title likely contained the first two signs of Imunedjeh's name (𓏏 followed by a 𓏏). It is clear that the first hieroglyph of the group used to be a long vertical sign painted in blue or green, the traces of which still visible today would correspond to sign M1. Accordingly, the head of a quail chick would be expected between the first two signs of Mery's title, where a darker, reddish spot is indeed observable below the white overpaint.

²⁰⁸ Imunedjeh's *sš nsw* title was left unaltered despite subsequent changes in the sequence. The fact that the title has otherwise not been documented for Mery suggests that it was overseen or intentionally disregarded. For similar cases where Imunedjeh's title strings were only partially adjusted, see the texts in the margins of the two biographical stelae (TH_SSt_margin_left & right and TH_NSt_margin_left & right), line 2 of the main text of the North Stela (TH_NSt_main_line2), and the further two examples on the side walls of the corridor (Corr_NW_off_regt and Corr_SW_off_regt). The practice is discussed under §4.

²⁰⁹ See n. 207 above.

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
Corr_NW_insp_main ²¹⁰ (Figs. 7–8)	Corridor, north wall, middle; major text above the standing figures of Iamunedjeh and his wife	Polychrome, painted inscription; seven-column-long caption to the inspection of the Delta produce scene; right-to-left, vertical text	Yes, twice ²¹¹	[sš wdbw] ²¹² n [ntr nfr] ²¹³ [...] ²¹⁴ & [hmt] ²¹⁵ f mrt f nt st jb f nbt pr	[Jmw-nd]h ²¹⁶ & H[nwt]-nfr ²¹⁷	nfw wj n [Jmn] / jt ntr tpj n [Jmn] ²¹⁸ [mrt ntr] ²¹⁹ & mwt f mrt f nt st jb f nbt pr ²²⁰	Mrjj & Hwnzjj
Corr_NW_insp_cap ²²¹ (Fig. 16)	Corridor, north wall; end of the caption to the first register of the inspection of the Delta produce scene	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; left-to-right text first written horizontally, then vertically (arranged in two rows followed by a column)	No	sš nsu jnj-rz rwjtt	Jmw-[nd]h	–	–
Corr_NW_insp_bro ²²² (Fig. 16)	Corridor, north wall; caption to a standing figure in the first register of the inspection of the Delta produce scene	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; caption to the figure of Iamunedjeh's brother, Khaemwaset; left-to-right text with a short horizontal and two longer vertical segments	No	sn f mrt f hrj-hb anw [w' b n] ²²³ 'j-hpr-kj-R' dj 'nh m hwt hnm-t'nh	H'-m-Wjst ddu n f Nb[... ...]	–	–

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

²¹⁰ For earlier references to the passages, see n. 49 above.

²¹¹ The main inscription of the inspection of the Delta produce scene has at times three overlapping layers of text: one from the time of Iamunedjeh and two from the time of Mery (cf. also nn. 50 and 218). See the discussion of this example under §4 above.

²¹² Contra Sethe's reading (*Urk.* IV 953, 14 with n. b); the signs are faintly visible below Mery's layer.

²¹³ Reconstruction in analogy with the formulation on the ceiling of the transverse hall, in the east or outer band of the south wing (TH_ceil-ing_SWing_east; PAKSI forthcoming a, §5.1, n. n).

²¹⁴ Iamunedjeh's name was preceded by yet another title—perhaps by *whmw nsu* or *whmw tpj nsu*?

²¹⁵ The original signs (⊖) are still faintly visible below the word *mwt* “mother” (A₁).

²¹⁶ Below the sign concluding Mery's name, A52 (A₁), the last two signs of Iamunedjeh's name are still partially preserved (A₁∞).

²¹⁷ The name of Iamunedjeh's wife is still clearly readable below the name of Mery's mother. The *h* of Henutnofret was kept and reused as the first sign of the name of Hunay.

²¹⁸ Contra Sethe's reading (*Urk.* IV 953, 14 with n. b); the first two words of the title *nfw wj n Jmn* “the sailor of the boat of Amun” were only executed in red preparatory drawing and were erased by the words *jt ntr tpj* of the title *jt ntr tpj n Jmn* “the chief god's father of Amun.” The title *nfw wj n Jmn* is otherwise unattested in Mery's record.

²¹⁹ Mery's name was likely preceded by another title or epithet after his *jt ntr tpj n Jmn* title. The traces of a sign U6 (A₁) suggest *mrt ntr* “the god's beloved.”

²²⁰ In the passage *hmt f mrt f nt st jb f nbt pr* “his wife, his beloved of the place of his heart, mistress of the house,” only the first word had to be adjusted (cf. n. 215 above).

²²¹ For earlier references to the passage, see n. 71 above.

²²² For an earlier reference to the passage, see n. 75 above.

²²³ The reconstruction is insecure; it is suggested by another caption of Khaemwaset on the east wall of the transverse hall (TH_EWn_bro).

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
Corr_NW_insp_cap2 ²²⁴	Corridor, north wall; caption to the second register of the inspection of the Delta produce scene	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; left-to-right-text with a horizontal and a vertical segment	No	<i>jmj-rꜣ rwjyt</i> <i>sꜣ nsu</i> [<i>bsb</i>] <i>jhw ꜣpdu</i> <i>jmj-rꜣ šnwj</i> [<i>bsb</i>] <i>brpwꜣ</i> <i>Šmꜣw Mhw</i>	<i>Jꜣmw-n[db]</i>	–	–
Corr_NW_off_reg1 ²²⁵ (Figs. 9–10)	Corridor, north wall, west end, first register; major text above the seated figures of Iamunedjeh and his wife (?) ²²⁶	Polychrome, painted inscription; fragmentarily preserved, eight-column-long caption to an offering scene with deceased and wife (?); right-to-left, vertical text	Yes, but only partially ²²⁷	<i>jmj-rꜣ rwjyt</i> <i>nsu</i> [<i>sꜣ wdhw</i>] ²²⁸ <i>n</i> [<i>ntr nfr</i>] ²²⁹ [...] & [...]	[<i>Jꜣmw-ndb</i>] & [...]	<i>jmj-rꜣ rwjyt</i> <i>nsu</i> ²³⁰ <i>bsjj</i> [...] ²³¹ [...] & [...]	[<i>Mrjj</i>] & [...]
Corr_NW_off_reg2 ²³²	Corridor, north wall, west end, second register; major text above the seated figures of Iamunedjeh and his father	Polychrome, painted inscription; fragmentarily preserved, eight-column-long caption to an offering scene with deceased and father; right-to-left, vertical text	Yes	[...] & [...]	[<i>Jꜣmw-ndb</i>] ²³³ & [...]	[<i>hm ntr tpj</i>] <i>n</i> ²³⁴ <i>Jmn</i> & [...]	<i>Mr(jj)</i> ²³⁵ & [...]
Corr_SW_middle ²³⁶	Corridor, south wall, middle; second column of a major text around the figure of the goddess of the west	Polychrome, painted inscription; fragmentarily preserved caption arranged in three columns before and behind the figure of the goddess of the west; left-to-right, vertical text	Yes	[...]	<i>Jꜣm[w-ndb]</i> ²³⁷	[<i>hm</i>] <i>ntr</i> [<i>tpj n</i> <i>Jmn</i>] ²³⁸	<i>Mr(jj)</i> ²³⁹

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

²²⁴ Earlier in *Urk.* IV 954, 8–9; SHIRLEY 2005, pp. 358–359 with n. 1589; STRUDWICK 2016, p. 119, n. c; and PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, p. 85 with fig. 72. On the discrepancy between the preparatory drawing and the final text of this passage, see SHIRLEY 2005, pp. 358–359 with n. 1589.

²²⁵ Earlier in *Urk.* IV 958, 8–9 and PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, pp. 85–86 with figs. 72 and 73. Cf. n. 228.

²²⁶ See n. 58 above.

²²⁷ See n. 230 below. The example is discussed under §4 above.

²²⁸ Contra Sethe's reading (*Urk.* IV 958, 8–9), the signs belonging to Iamunedjeh's *sꜣ wdhw* title are still discernible below the secondarily added layer of paint.

²²⁹ Reconstruction in analogy with the formulation on the ceiling of the transverse hall, in the east or outer band of the south wing (TH_ceiling_SWing_east; PAKSI forthcoming a, §5.1, n. n).

²³⁰ One of Iamunedjeh's titles was left unaltered. Mery is thus erroneously called *jmj-rꜣ rwjyt nsu* "overseer of the gate of the king." For the discussion on the partially adjusted text segments, see §4 above.

²³¹ After Mery's takeover, Iamunedjeh's title *sꜣ wdhw n ntr nfr* "scribe of the altar of the perfect god" was rewritten into an epithet for Mery (*bsjj* [*n ntr nfr*] "favored one [of the perfect god]" or *bsjj* [*n nb ꜣwꜣj*] "favored one [of the lord of the two lands]").

²³² Earlier in *Urk.* IV 960, 8. Cf. n. 234.

²³³ At the end of the second to last column, a sign D40 (𓄠), originally belonging to Iamunedjeh's name, is visible under sign U7 (𓄡) of Mery's name.

²³⁴ Sethe's transcript (*Urk.* IV 960, 8) is misleading. The *n* he could identify on the wall does not belong to Iamunedjeh's name; it is a secondary addition and constitutes the genitive *n* of Mery's title: 𓄠𓄡𓄢.

²³⁵ Mery's name was written without its final reed leaves.

²³⁶ Previously cited by PORTER, MOSS 1960, p. 169(13); WHALE 1989, p. 160; and POLZ 1990, 310, n. 36.

²³⁷ Two signs—the first (𓄠) and the last one (𓄡)—are still preserved on the wall from Iamunedjeh's name.

²³⁸ The upper part of a 𓄠 sign, painted over the first sign of Iamunedjeh's name, is the only trace left of Mery's *hm ntr tpj n Jmn* title in this passage.

²³⁹ Mery's name was written without the final *yods*, with a simple 𓄡.

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
Corr_SW_ OpMouth_reg1-3 (Fig. 15)	Corridor, south wall, west half; small captions above figures of the deceased's mummy or statue in the first three registers of the opening of the mouth ritual	Monochrome captions painted in red (preparatory drawing) against a white background; containing only the name of Iamunedjeh; left-to-right, mostly horizontally arranged texts that occasionally end in a short vertical segment	Yes, but left unfinished ²⁴⁰	–	[Jmw-ndb] / Jm(w)-ndb ²⁴¹	–	–
Corr_SW_off_bro1	Corridor, south wall, west end; major text above a standing figure offering a bouquet of Amun to Iamunedjeh and his mother	Polychrome, painted inscription; five-column-long caption to the figure of Iamunedjeh's brother, Khaemwaset; right-to-left, vertical text	No	snꜥfmrꜥf brj-hb 4nw	Hꜥ-m-Wꜥst dd <n>ꜥf[... ..]	–	–
Corr_SW_off_reg1 ²⁴²	Corridor, south wall, west end, first register; major text above the seated figures of Iamunedjeh and his mother	Polychrome, painted inscription; fragmentarily preserved, eight-column-long caption to an offering scene with deceased and mother; left-to-right, vertical text	Yes, but only partially ²⁴³	jmj-rꜥ šnwꜥj Šm'w Mhw & [...]	[Jmw-nd]b ²⁴⁴ & Rs[jj] ²⁴⁵	jmj-rꜥ šnwꜥj Šm'w Mhw ²⁴⁶ [...] & [...]	Mr(jj) ²⁴⁷ & Hwnꜥjj
Corr_SW_off_reg2	Corridor, south wall, west end, second register; major text above the seated figures of Iamunedjeh and his wife	Polychrome, painted inscription; fragmentarily preserved, eight-column-long caption to an offering scene with deceased and wife; left-to-right, vertical text	Yes	[...] & [...]	[...] & [H]nwt- [n]ꜥr ²⁴⁸	[...] & [mnꜥt] wrt [š]dt nr ²⁴⁹	[...] & Hwnꜥjj

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

²⁴⁰ Iamunedjeh's name was painted over in white in every instance preserved, but Mery's name was never added on top.

²⁴¹ In the third register of the opening of the mouth scene, the two captions preserved containing Iamunedjeh's name omit the quail chick from its spelling (𓏏𓏏 and 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏; for the former, see fig. 15).

²⁴² This passage was previously cited by VIREY 1886, p. 45; VIREY 1891, pp. 351–352; Sethe (*Urk.* IV 960, 16 with n. c); GNIRS et al. 1997, 58–59, n. 4 (labelled by mistake as the north wall of the corridor); and PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, p. 85 with fig. 72.

²⁴³ See n. 246 below.

²⁴⁴ The lower part of a twisted flax (𓏏) is visible below sign U7 of Mery's name, at the bottom of the sixth column of the caption, on the left side.

²⁴⁵ The first sign of Resy's name (𓏏) is still traceable below the overpaint containing the signs of Hunay's name.

²⁴⁶ Although Mery was *jmj-rꜥ šnwꜥj n Jmn* “overseer of the granaries of Amun,” and he is called as such on the east side of Pillars A and G of his tomb (for the layout of TT 95A, see GNIRS 1995, p. 239, fig. 2 or PAKSI, BICKEL 2021, p. 87, fig. 75), the title *jmj-rꜥ šnwꜥj Šm'w Mhw* “overseer of the granaries of the South and the North” is not attested in association with his name beyond the walls of TT 84 (cf. also TH_NSt_margin_left). Here, the title was inherited from Iamunedjeh and was kept in its original form. On the partially modified title strings in general, see the discussion under §4.

²⁴⁷ Mery's name was spelled with the omission of the two reed leaves, as 𓏏.

²⁴⁸ The name of Iamunedjeh's wife is still clearly readable below the secondary overpaint in the second to last column of the caption. The final column—now featuring Hunay's name—originally only contained the phrase *mꜥt brw* preceded by sign B1 (𓏏) belonging to Henutnofret's name.

²⁴⁹ Hunay's title *mnꜥt wrt šdt nrꜥ* “great nurse, who breast-fed the god” is distributed over the sixth and the seventh columns of the caption. Of the adjective *wrt*, only minor traces are left in column six: 𓏏𓏏.

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
CChap_NW_left	Central chapel, north wall, left end; major text above the seated figures of Iamunedjeh and his wife or mother (?) ²⁵⁰	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; fragmentarily preserved, several-column-long caption to an offering scene with deceased and wife or mother; right-to-left, vertical text	Yes	[...] & [...]ꜣf mrtꜣf nt st jbꜣf nbt pr	[ꜣmw-ndb] & [...]	[...] & [...]ꜣf mrtꜣf nt st jbꜣf nbt pr	[Mrjj] & Hwnꜣjj
CChap_NW_right	Central chapel, north wall, right end; caption to a standing figure	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; fragmentarily preserved caption to the last person in a row of figures standing behind an offering table and facing the deceased and his wife or mother; left-to-right, vertical text	No	w' b n hwt [...]	[...]	–	–
CChap_SW_right ²⁵²	Central chapel, south wall, right end; major text above the seated figures of Iamunedjeh and his wife or mother (?) ²⁵³	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; fragmentarily preserved, several-column-long caption to an offering scene with deceased and wife or mother; left-to-right, vertical text	Yes	[...] & [...]ꜣf nb[t pr]	[ꜣmw-ndb] & [...]	[...] & [...]ꜣf nb[t pr]	[Mrjj] & Hwnꜣjj
CChap_WW_left	Central chapel, west wall, left/south side; major text above the seated figure of Iamunedjeh	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; fragmentarily preserved caption to the seated figure of the deceased facing the niche cut into the west wall of the chapel; right-to-left, horizontal segment ²⁵⁴	Yes	[...]	[ꜣmw-ndb]	[...]	Mrjj

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (continued).

²⁵⁰ Iamunedjeh is depicted together with a female figure on both side walls of the innermost hall of his tomb chapel (cf. CChap_NW_left and CChap_SW_right). Since the relevant inscriptions are only fragmentarily preserved, it cannot be determined which one was the mother and which the wife.

²⁵¹ If on the north wall Iamunedjeh appeared next to his wife, *hmtꜣf* is expected to have been changed to *mwꜣf*. The key word of the phrase is, nevertheless, in a lacuna. Compare the example with the modifications to the inscription above the standing figures of Iamunedjeh and his wife in the inspection of the Delta produce scene on the north wall of the corridor (Corr_NW_insp_main; cf. Figs. 7–8 under §4).


²⁵² Earlier in *Urk.* IV 960, 12.

²⁵³ See n. 250 above.

²⁵⁴ The content preceding the name of the deceased—the only part preserved of this inscription—was in all likelihood arranged in right-to-left, vertical columns (cf. CChap_WW_right).

Passage concerned	Location in the tomb	Specifics	Was it reworked?	Original title(s) and kinship term(s)	Original name(s)	Secondarily added title(s) and kinship term(s)	Secondarily added name(s)
CChap_WW_right	Central chapel, west wall, right/north side; major text above the seated figure of Iamunedjeh	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a white background; fragmentarily preserved caption to the seated figure of the deceased facing the niche cut into the west wall of the chapel; left-to-right, vertical columns followed by a shorter, horizontal segment	Yes	[...]	[Jm]w-ndh ²⁵⁵	[...] ²⁵⁶	Mryj
CChap_ceiling_north ²⁵⁷	Central chapel, ceiling, north band	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; <i>htp-dj-nsu</i> formula; right-to-left, horizontal text	No	[w ^h m ^w tpj] ²⁵⁸ <i>nsu</i>	Jsmw-ndh ²⁵⁹	–	–
CChap_ceiling_south ²⁶⁰	Central chapel, ceiling, south band	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; <i>htp-dj-nsu</i> formula; left-to-right, horizontal text	No	w ^h m ^w tpj nsu jmj-rj rw ²⁶¹	Jsm(w)-ndh ²⁶²	–	–
CChap_ceiling_cent ²⁶³ (Fig. 14)	Central chapel, ceiling, central band	Monochrome inscription painted in blue against a red background; <i>htp-dj-nsu</i> formula; right-to-left, horizontal text	Yes	[...] / ²⁶⁴	[Jsmw-ndh] / ²⁶⁵	hm ntr tpj n [Jmn]	–

TABLE 1. Currently known attestations of the original and secondarily added names and titles or kinship terms in the decoration of TT 84 (end).

²⁵⁵ Most signs belonging to Iamunedjeh's name are still discernible below Mery's layer: . While the name itself was horizontally arranged, signs D40 (𓂏) and A52 (𓂏) were added vertically below the sign marking the last consonant (𓂏).


²⁵⁶ The text of the last, vertically arranged column preceding the deceased's name was hacked out during Amarna times. It is therefore likely that it contained Mery's main title mentioning Amun's name (*hm ntr tpj n Jmn*).


²⁵⁷ Previously cited by CHAMPOLLION 1844, p. 503; VIREY 1886, p. 37; VIREY 1891, p. 340; and Sethe (*Urk. IV* 959, 8).

²⁵⁸ The passage must have been destroyed at some point in the nineteenth century, between Champollion's and Virey's visits to the tomb. The title was still complete when Champollion took notes of it in 1828–1829 (cf. CHAMPOLLION 1844, p. 503), but the signs are missing in Virey's publications (1886, p. 37 and 1891, p. 340).

²⁵⁹ The *n* and the head of the cobra are only preserved in a faintly visible preparatory drawing in Iamunedjeh's name. They were never painted over in white or in blue. For this reason, the *n* is missing from Champollion's (1844, p. 503) and Virey's (1886, p. 37 and 1891, p. 340) transcriptions.

²⁶⁰ Previously cited by CHAMPOLLION 1844, p. 503; VIREY 1886, p. 37; VIREY 1891, p. 340; Sethe (*Urk. IV* 957, 15); and POLZ 1990, p. 310, n. 35.

²⁶¹ The two *yods* were omitted from the spelling of the title: .

²⁶² Iamunedjeh's name was written as follows: .

²⁶³ See n. 68 above.

²⁶⁴ The original inscription is no longer visible below Mery's layer. It is thus impossible to tell whether the *n kꜛ n* formula was originally followed by both a title and Iamunedjeh's name or only by a title, as in Mery's case, or only by the name. The space might have been too narrow for both.

²⁶⁵ See n. 264 above.



FIG. 22. Name and titles of the first or secondary tomb owner and his relatives preserved in the inscriptions of the east wall of the transverse hall of TT 84 (cf. Table 1).



FIG. 23. Name and titles of the first or secondary tomb owner preserved in the inscriptions of the west wall of the transverse hall of TT 84 (cf. Table 1).



FIG. 24. Name and titles of the first or secondary tomb owner and his relatives preserved in the inscriptions of the north wall of the corridor of TT 84 (cf. Table 1).

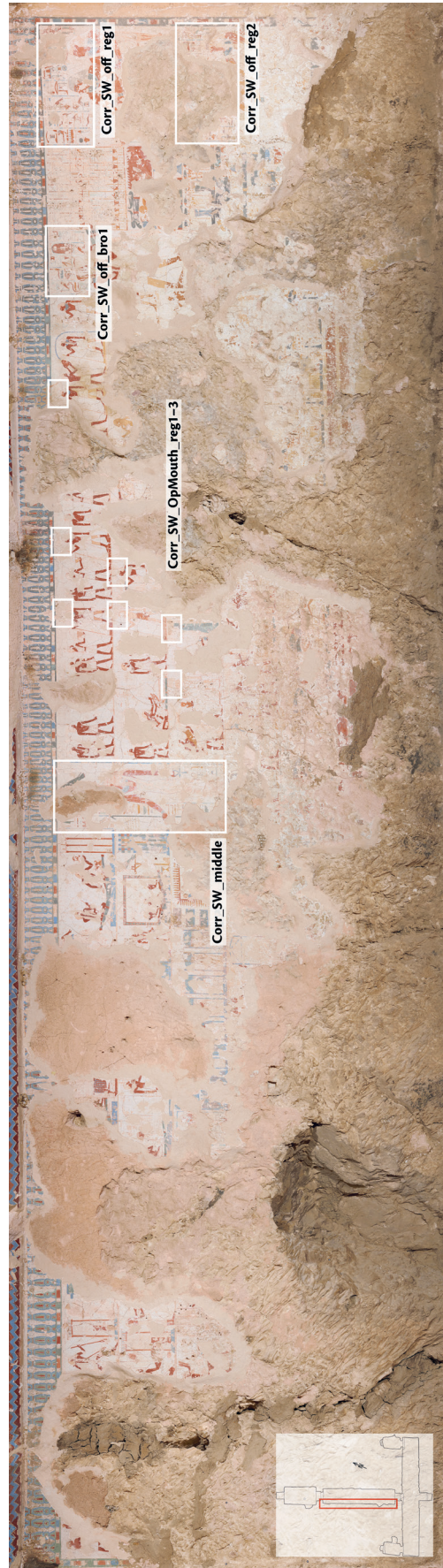


FIG. 25. Name and titles of the first or secondary tomb owner and his relatives preserved in the inscriptions of the south wall of the corridor of TT 84 (cf. Table 1).

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