

## The New Kingdom Graffiti in Tomb N13.1: An Overview

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### §1 Position and date of Tomb N13.1

The general map B1 of the necropolis of Asyut (Pl. 17) shows the position of Tomb N13.1<sup>1</sup>, located about 30 m above Tomb III (Siut III; N12.1). It was discovered by The Asyut Project in 2005 not having been described or mentioned by anyone before. With its tomb-owner, nomarch Iti-ibi-iqer, N13.1 can be dated to the very end of the First Intermediate Period/Period of Regions<sup>2</sup> (ca. 2030 BCE) ranging exactly between the other great tombs of nomarchs of this times (Siut V, III, IV) and those of the Twelfth Dynasty (Siut II, I) buried in this necropolis, as Mahmoud El-Khadragy has shown in his contribution (cf. also KAHL 2007: 17, Fig. 8; EL-KHADRAGY 2007: 116-118).

The tomb entrance leading into the rock chambers (Pl. 29a) is lying behind a narrow forecourt with approx. 90 small shaft tombs dating from the end of the Old Kingdom until the Middle Kingdom (Pl. 20-21). Inside, the tomb dimensions of 8.40 m length (plus 2.40 m for the western niche) x max. 9.25 m width are moderate in comparison with other tombs in the neighbourhood. The architecture with only a few indications of a room divider on the floor, the walls and the ceiling, and with two pillars and the western niche is impressively clear and unassuming (Pls. 28, 29b). The stuccoed walls have a fine and colourful decoration painted on a bright underground. The scenes contain many impressive images of the tomb owner and his family, soldiers, as well as interesting activities of sailing, hunting, agriculture, feeding cranes, bull fighting and woodworking (EL-KHADRAGY 2007: 105-135; KAHL/VERHOEVEN 2008: 68-73; cf. also M. El-Khadragy in this volume, p. 35-39).

### §2 The graffiti inside the tomb

Apart from these features of the original configuration, the tomb has preserved a particular treasure from later centuries: a great amount of graffiti in black or red ink written or painted on the tomb walls, which can be dated into the New Kingdom. This shows that visitors regularly came to this tomb for several purposes from approximately 500 until 900 years after the burial of Iti-ibi-iqer, as we will see.

1 For preliminary information about the tomb see KAHL 2007: 79-82 and his contribution in this volume. In the recent publication of Zitman (ZITMAN 2010: 28sq., 42), the author continued to use the old numbering system with Roman numerals and even extended it. According to that system he refers to Tomb N13.1 as "Tomb XVII", which is very much regrettable, cf. also J. Kahl in this volume.

2 For that term see MORENZ 2010: 35.

The graffiti are to be found on each wall and both pillars, often relating to the original decoration. Currently the total amount of the Pharaonic graffiti is 201, comprising 142 textual graffiti and 59 pictorial representations.<sup>3</sup> Most of the graffiti cover the South wall (62 items), slightly less on the West wall with its niche (57 items) and the North wall (53 items). Only two graffiti are preserved on the mostly damaged East wall. Pillar A was used for 18, Pillar B for only nine graffiti (cf. the ground plan Pl. 28). Besides the Hieratic graffiti, there are only much younger ones from Islamic times: two Mihrab niches and ten Arabic texts, mainly from the Qur'an, drawn with red, black or yellow ink. Late Hieratic, Demotic, Coptic or Greek texts are not to be found in this tomb.

### §3 The steps of documentation

After the discovery of Tomb N13.1 at the very end of the season of 2005, the graffiti could only be examined for a few hours, but Jochem Kahl already recognized that the "tomb's importance for the history of Asyut cannot be overestimated" (KAHL/EL-KHADRAGY/VERHOEVEN 2006: 242). Afterwards the tomb had to be immediately protected with a huge iron door.

In the season of 2006, Jochem Kahl, with the help of Monika Zöller, prepared a first inventory list of all graffiti he could distinguish: he counted 148 single graffiti while part of the South wall was still covered with debris (Fig. 1). Beside this, they took true to scale photographs of every item, which had a very good quality in relation to the difficult circumstances. In the second half of that season the restorers of the SCA prepared and cleaned the walls in a quite careful way. Subsequently, Sameh Shafik made the facsimile drawings of the decoration and Ilona Regulski those of the hieroglyphic inscriptions. Afterwards I was able to draw the first facsimiles of all graffiti by hand using large transparencies. But I had to abandon recording all the traces of destruction and decided to concentrate in this first step only on the remains of ink because of the lack of time on one hand and the partly damaged condition of the walls on the other, and only after discussions with Jochem Kahl and the epigraphers.<sup>4</sup> The facsimile sheets were photocopied on paper in a reduced size in the city of Asyut to be taken to Germany for study purposes.

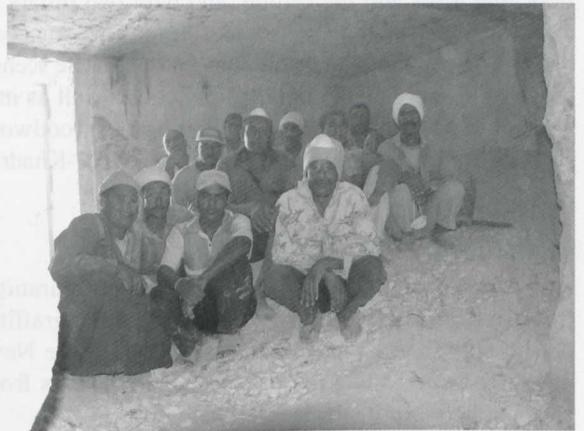


Fig. 1: N13.1: Situation in 2006, southeast corner (© Kahl).

3 It is to be mentioned that the author has published further preliminary papers about the graffiti which differ from the present description here because of the state of research increasing from season to season: VERHOEVEN 2007; 2008; 2009a; 2010; in press a; in press b.

4 Cf. the contribution of Sameh Shafik in this volume.

Ulrike Fauerbach, our architect during that season, started with the stadia surveying which was continued by her colleagues Manja Maschke and Cornelia Goerlich in the following years.

During 2006 and 2007 and also in the season of 2008, I began to ink some clear graffiti, calking enlarged copies of the photos and using additionally the copies of the facsimiles for comparison and verification. In summer 2007, Fritz Barthel, professional photographer, came to Asyut for taking large format photos of the tomb, the decoration and the graffiti. At that moment, it was possible to discover potential connections between the graffiti and the original decoration because the tomb was completely clean and empty for the first time (VERHOEVEN 2008). New details could be discovered during the necessary re-examinations of the original graffiti, the facsimiles and the ink copies. At home, Monika Zöller prepared computer-aided sketches of each wall which show the position of the graffiti based on the measuring points by Ulrike Fauerbach and the large-scale photographs.

During the season of 2008, we took more exact measurements of all the graffiti: height, width, as well as distances from the ceiling and the corners. Eva Gervers started to concentrate on the picture graffiti which show fine drawings of human beings and animals carried out in black or red ink. We were also able to again detect some new graffiti we didn't notice before, especially a nice head of Hathor in red ink painted under the thigh of a figure of the seated tomb-owner. Further pictures are also incised or picked into the plaster: they show some animals as well as boats with cabin or sails and seem to be dating from later periods. The complete number of documented text and picture graffiti in N13.1 ultimately increased to 211 including the ten Islamic ink drawings.

In 2009, Svenja Gülden started her cooperation with the project for the purpose of preparing printable copies of the graffiti. After some final hand drawings she decided to copy the texts from the photos in a digital way using Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator. Now these drawings are continuously compared with the photos, facsimiles, and on-site re-examinations. Transliterations in hieroglyphs, translations and commentaries are still in progress. Although a few graffiti are already published, a complete edition is in preparation for the serial of The Asyut Project.<sup>5</sup>

#### §4 The appearance and layout of the text graffiti

The script is over-all Hieratic from very different hands, only one graffiti is painted in hieroglyphs. The colour of the text graffiti is generally black, but red ink was used for some signs and in one case for the entire text. Another graffiti had first been written in black ink, afterwards the first line was carved.

The length of a line varies from only one or two words up to a width of 135 cm. A special text is written in two very long lines covering 10.88 m starting on the North wall and continuing through the corner on to the different walls in the western part of the tomb. The text columns of the graffiti differ of course in width and may have up to 23 or 35 lines. A spatium is used in the case of one of the copies of the Teaching of Amenemhat between § 1

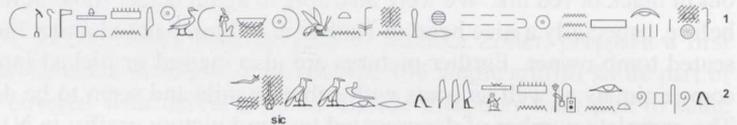
5 Working title: Ursula Verhoeven et al., Die Graffiti in Grab N13.1 in Assiut/Mittelägypten. I: Besucher-texte und literarische Graffiti aus dem Neuen Reich; II: Tintenzeichnungen aus dem Neuen Reich.

and 2. Once a scribe himself eliminated his own error by using a diagonal slash (N10, see below Pl. 3).

### §5 The datings in the text graffiti

The few dates mentioned in the texts as well as palaeographic evidence show that the time span of the graffiti covers the entire New Kingdom: they must have been written between the beginning of the Eighteenth and the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

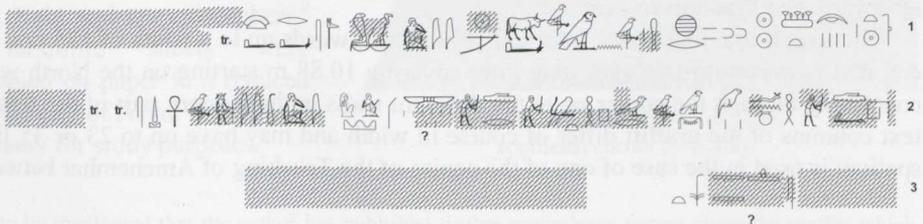
Six graffiti, mainly from the North wall, originated under Amenhotep III between his first (1388 BCE) and his thirtieth year (1359 BCE; cf. BECKERATH 1997: 190). As example, the graffiti mentioning the first year of this king, and therefore the oldest one with a historical reference, should be published on this occasion. The text with the preliminary number N7 (Pl. 1a-b) is written on the western half of the North wall, 126 cm under the ceiling and over the bright apron of the tomb owner. Its measurements are 32 x 4.5 cm and the graffiti consists of two lines:



- 1) *rnp.t-sp 1 3bd 4 šmw sw 19 hr hm n nsw bjt (Nb-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup>) s3 R<sup>c</sup> Jmn-htp hk3 W3s.t*  
 2) *jw s<sup>6</sup> pw jr.t.n sh Mn jj r m33 <hw.t-ntr> nfr(.t)*

- 1) “Year 1, fourth month of the Shemu season, day 19 under the majesty of the double king (Neb-ma’at-Ra), son of Ra (<=>Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes):  
 2) Then the scribe Men came, having come to see the beautiful <temple>.”

The graffiti with the latest dating is to be found on the southern half of the East wall citing the first year of Ramesses XI (1102/1098 BCE; BECKERATH 1997: 190). It is the graffiti with the preliminary no. O2 (Pl. 2a-b), its dimensions are 45 x 12 cm, 115 cm under the ceiling. The three lines are located over the painted original decoration of armed soldiers, more precisely over a soldier in the third row of the four rows of soldiers standing behind a large figure of the tomb owner.



6 For this special construction, see below.

- 1) *rnp.t-sp 1 3bd 4 3h.t sw 22 hr h[m] n Hrw k3 nht mry [R<sup>c</sup>] N[b.t]y wsr h<sup>c</sup>[.w ///]*  
 2) *hd hfn.w Hrw nbw w[r p]h.ty d[r] p<sub>d</sub>.wt [ps]d.t jt[y] <sup>c</sup>nh wd3 snb ... (?) [hr jb (?)]*  
 3) *[m<sup>3</sup> (?) sh[tp t3.wy] nsw [...]*

- 1) “Year 1, fourth month of the Akhet season, day 22 under the maje[sty] of Horus: the mighty bull, beloved by [Ra]; Two [La]dies: with strong weapons/crown[s, ...]  
 2) the one who attacks hundreds of thousands; Golden Horus: with gre[at po]wer, the one who drives [off] the N[ine] Bows, the soverei[gn], may he live, be prosperous and healthy ... (?), [truly  
 3) contented (?)], the one who pa[cifies the two lands], the king.” (*no further traces, rest of line destroyed*)

#### Commentary on O2:

Most of the epithets definitely belong to Ramesses XI (BECKERATH <sup>2</sup>1999: 174-175), but two of them are not documented for this king as far as I know: The Nebty-name of Ramesses XI normally is *wsr hps hd hfn.w*, here it is written *wsr h<sup>c</sup>.w hd hfn.w* (maybe there was further text between these epithets at the end of line 1, which is now destroyed). In the very long Golden Horus name of this king, the scribe has written *dr psd.t pd.wt* instead of *s<sup>c</sup>nh t3.wy* - an epithet which is common in several Ramesside titularies (cf. the Golden Horus name of Ramesses IX, Sethnakht, Merenptah, and Ramesses II; BECKERATH <sup>2</sup>1999: 153-173). The following *hr jb m<sup>3</sup>* was maybe written there, but is now destroyed. The last epithet seems to have existed, but this is unsecure because of the few remains. After the two signs for *nsw* “the king” the surface doesn’t show any more traces of ink, afterwards the surface is destroyed. Maybe the scribe was interrupted before he was able to finish the titulary and his visitor remarks. The script is full of verve and shows some nice ligatures. The first sign for the year (*rnp*) has a very special form because of the great line on the right side of the palm branch.

#### §6 The visitors’ formulae

Most of the formulae of the visitors’ graffiti are known also from other places, for instance from the Memphite necropolis, as Hana Navrátilová has shown recently (NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2007). One of the longest versions typically runs as follows (cf. for example NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2007: 49, 75):

*jw.t pw jr.n sh NN*  
*jj.t r m33 hw.t-ntr n.t NN*  
*gm=f sy nfr.tj hr jb=f r hw.t-ntr nb.t nfr.t*  
*<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.n dd.n=f h<sup>w</sup>j p.t m <sup>c</sup>n.tyw w3d*  
*d<sup>f</sup>d<sup>f</sup>=s m sntr m/hr tp-hr.t n s.t wr.t ntj NN jm=s*  
*<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.n dd.n=f htp-dj-nsw ...*

“Then the scribe NN came,  
 having come to see the temple of god NN.  
 He found it more beautiful in his heart than any other nice temple.

Then he said: May the heaven rain with fresh myrrh and pour incense on top of the great place in which god NN is staying.

Then he said: An offering that the king gives to ...”

The opening phrase differs in some features of writing or spelling (*jw.t pw jr.n ...*, *jw.t pw jr.t.n ...*, *jw pw jr.n ...*, *jj pw jr.n ...*, *jw s pw jr.n ...*, *jw sw pw jr.t.n ...*). Most of the texts forget the *t*-endings of the infinitive as it is common in Late Egyptian. An unusual but frequent form in the tomb shows a particle *s* or *sw* after the infinitive for which I know no parallel.

A very nice and completely preserved example for this kind of text was written by scribe Men on the North wall, now bearing the preliminary no. N10 (28 x 31 cm, 110 cm under the ceiling) (Pl. 3):



- 1) *jw pw jr.n sh Mn*
- 2) *jj r m33 hw.t-ntr nfr.t n Hw.t-*
- 3) *Hrw nb.t Mdd(n) gm.n=f sy tj<sup>7</sup>*
- 4) *nfr.tj hr-jb=f [r] hw.t-ntr nb.t nfr.t h<sup>c</sup>.n*
- 5) *dd.n=f dj-nsw-htp Wsjr nb T3-<sup>c</sup>nh Jnpw nb*
- 6) *R3-k[rr.t] jr.n sh jkr wn m3<sup>c</sup> gr*
- 7) *m3<sup>c</sup> [jkr] bj.t w3h tp mrr rmt.w*
- 8) *n k3 sh Mn s3 w<sup>c</sup>b n Wp-w3.wt Wp-w3.wt*
- 9) *ms[.n] nb.t pr Nw.t sn=f Dw3w*

7 Here the erroneously written *tj*-ending was eliminated by the scribe himself using a diagonal slash.

“(1) Then the scribe Men came, (2) having come to see the beautiful temple of Hathor, (3) Lady of Medjeden. He found it (4) more beautiful in his heart [than] any other beautiful temple. Then (5) he said: May the king give an offering to Osiris, Lord of Ta-anekh, and Anubis, Lord of (6) Ra-qe[reret]. Made by the truly able scribe, the true (7) silent one, with [able] character, the humble one, beloved by the people (8) for the Ka of the scribe Men, son of the wab-priest of Wepwawet Wepwawet, (9) born by the lady of the house Nut. His brother (is) Duau.“

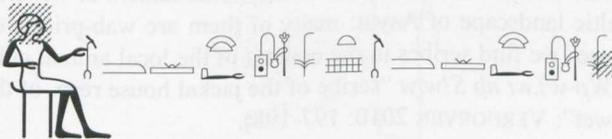
This kind of graffiti mentioning sites or temples might have been written, as is the case with the tombs of kings in Saqqara, “*out of a sense of curiosity and piety*, and with regard and respect for the *great monuments of a distant past*” and can be determined as “antiquarian” (NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2007: 132, citing Peden). The temple of Hathor here in Asyut is of course not such a “great monument of a distant past”, but a recent and active temple, although it must certainly have had a long building tradition, as we can suppose. Therefore it seems difficult to refer to this type of graffiti in Asyut as “antiquarian”.

### §7 Dedications to deceased ancestors

Very interesting are two graffiti with dedications of the offering *pr.t-hrw* for the able spirit of the Dead, the *sh jkr*, of two persons whose names correspond with the owners of Tomb Siut III (Iti-ibi: *Jt=j-jb=j*) and of Tombs Siut V or IV (Khety, here written: *Hdj*). That would imply that the former nomarchs of the First Intermediate Period, whose tombs are lying directly underneath Tomb N13.1, were still well-known and considered to be powerful beings during the New Kingdom.

### §8 Self representative texts and pictures

Another category contains graffiti with a kind of self-representative purpose (NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2007: 134sq.), for instance a small sketch of a seated man of rank at the end of a line which shows some less cursive Hieratic signs. In particular the sign for the scribal equipment is remarkable since it shows the details like in the hieroglyph. It is located very high on the South wall, only 14 cm under the ceiling, 20 x 6 cm, registered under the preliminary no. S24, and because of the tiny signs at the end of the text, the picture seems to have been drawn first (the depiction of the seated man differs from the original, cf. Pl. 4a-b):



*sh nsw H<sup>c</sup>-m-W3s.t sh nsw H<sup>c</sup>-m-W3s(.t)*

“The Royal scribe Kha-em-waset, the Royal scribe Kha-em-waset”

## §9 Signatures

“Signatures” (NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2007: 132) like “made by” occur at the beginning of short sentences as well as longer texts (also at their end), and also within or under animal drawings (KAHL 2007: 81, Fig. 62).

## §10 Prayers or “piety-oriented” texts

Some graffiti asking gods for help on behalf of the writer seem to be dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty in comparison with the material in Saqqara (NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2007: 132-133). They start with *jrj nfr* (written once to three times) addressing the local gods Hathor and Wepwawet, while Amun is being present only in a small picture of a ram with turned horns under which the scribe has written *jrj nfr* with the same very black ink as used for the picture (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2: Graffito N22-23: Ram head with text below (© Kahl).

## §11 The mentioned temples and gods of Asyut

The texts in Tomb N13.1 mention five different temples of Asyut within the sort of graffiti called “antiquarian” or “descriptive” by Navrátilová (NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2007: 132):

1. the temple of Hathor, Lady of Medjeden (a place in the vicinity of Asyut),
2. the temple of Osiris, Lord of Ta-djeser (i.e. the necropolis in general),
3. the temple of Anubis, Lord of Ra-qereret (i.e. the necropolis in the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi),
4. the temple of Wepwawet, Lord of Asyut (i.e. the town),
5. the temple of Djefai-Hapi, which may be identical with its large rock tomb or possibly a separate temple for the deification of this nomarch as Jochem Kahl is presuming (Kahl 2007: 57-58).<sup>8</sup>

The scribes appeal to further gods in the offering formulae: Thot and Seshat without local epithets but chosen as responsible gods for words and writing (*Dḥwtj nb mdw.w-nṯr Sh3.t wr.t nb.t sh*), Osiris as “Lord of the Land of Living” (*nb t3 ʿnh* – another denomination for the necropolis of Asyut), and Amun - without any specification.

Also the titles of priests, who are mentioned as writers or as fathers of writers, provide information about the cultic landscape of Asyut: many of them are wab-priests of Hathor and Wepwawet, in two cases we find scribes in the context of the local animal cult (*sh hw.t wnš* resp. *sh wnš n/m pr Wp-w3.wt nb S3w.yt* “scribe of the jackal house resp. of the jackals of the domain of Wepwawet”: VERHOEVEN 2010: 197-198).

<sup>8</sup> J. Kahl also presented a lecture at JGU Mainz on the 6<sup>th</sup> of Febr., 2006 about this question: “Wie werde ich ein Heiliger?” oder Der Tempel des Djefai-Hapi”.

### §12 The creators of the graffiti

Apart from this simple religious agency of wab-priests and scribes, we can identify some special functions mostly with just one example: a prophet (*hm-ntr*) and a first prophet of Wepwawet (*hm-ntr tpj n Wp-w3.wt*), two Royal scribes (*sh nsw*), one of them also chief of the bulls (*jmy-r3 k3.w*), a shield bearer of pharaoh (*kr-<sup>c</sup> pr-<sup>c</sup>3*).

The texts don't mention many different personal names, which is surprising at first sight, but many graffiti are anonymous and some being of course destroyed. Particularly one individual seems to have been very productive and we actually know his family: the scribe Men, son of the wab-priest of Wepwawet Wepwawet, born by the lady of the house Nut, while his brother is named Duau. The names Men as well as Khaemwaset occur with and without a genealogy, therefore we have to examine the handwritings before we can identify them as associated with each other. Both names are also the subject of two very particular graffiti about their sexual behaviour with Libyan girls, maybe in sort of a joke (VERHOEVEN 2009c: 434-441). The name Iahmes, mentioned four times, seems to refer to three different persons. Further names occur only one or two times.

### §13 The copies of literary resp. didactic texts

The most astonishing graffiti present passages from literary or didactic texts. This kind of literature is not found written on tomb walls elsewhere until now. The locations of these excerpts are marked by dots in the simplified ground plan (Fig. 3).

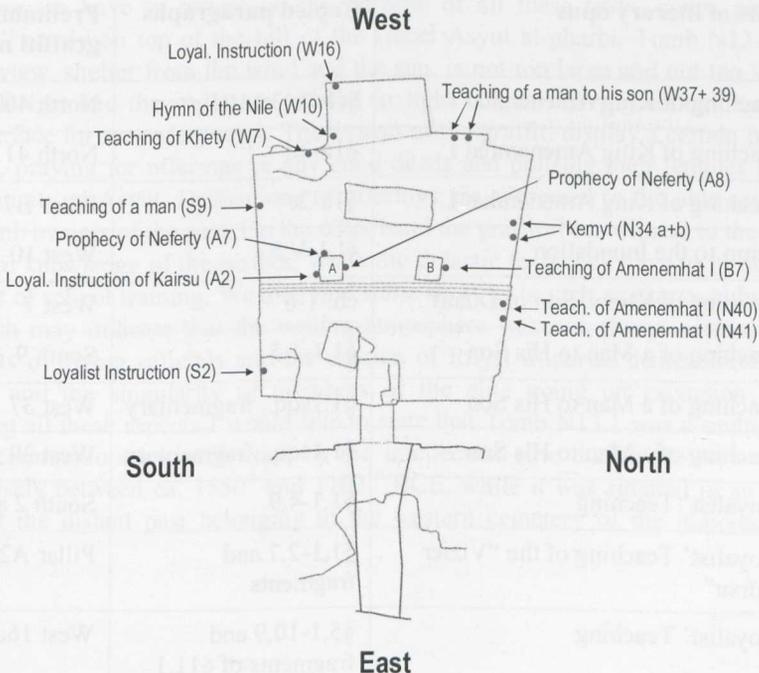


Fig. 3: Location of literary texts in Tomb N13.1

Beginning at the north-eastern corner, we find three text items with parts of the famous Teaching of King Amenemhat I, one being placed on the northern side of pillar B, two on the eastern half of the North wall, one of them written by the scribe Men, son of Wepwawet and Nut. Only two tiny and short citations from the beginning of the schoolbook Kemyt, which is also to be found on the South wall, follow on the North wall. The copies of the beginning of the Teaching of a man to his son on the West wall are also very short, but a longer one can be found on the South wall. In the niche of the West wall is an extensive part of the Loyalist Instruction, starting with §5, unfortunately not very well preserved. Long graffiti with the first paragraphs of this instruction can be found on the South wall and on pillar A. The last one partly preserved the name of the author of this Teaching for the first time, which could be identified as that of the well-known vizier Kaïrsu (VERHOEVEN 2009b). A very nice graffito in the niche made by scribe Iahmes is the next on the tour around the tomb. It presents some paragraphs of the famous Hymn to the Inundation. Around the corner the largest graffito, the Teaching of Khety, follows, again with a signature by scribe Men, son of Wepwawet and Nut. Concerning the reading of the name of the author (Khety vs. Dua-Khety), this text presents an interesting word order which must be read “Khety, son of Duaf” (VERHOEVEN 2010: 196). At the end two graffiti with parts of the Prophecy of Neferty, both on pillar A, are to be mentioned. The following list provides an overview which is updated in comparison to former publications of the author (VERHOEVEN 2010: 196; VERHOEVEN in press b):

No.	Title of literary opus	Copied paragraphs	Preliminary graffiti no.
1a	Teaching of King Amenemhat I	§(1a?-)3a-10c	North 40
1b	Teaching of King Amenemhat I	§1a-3d	North 41
1c	Teaching of King Amenemhat I	§1a-2e	Pillar B7
2	Hymn to the Inundation	§I,1-V,8	West 10
3	Teaching of Khety, Son of Duaf	ch. 1-6	West 7
4a	Teaching of a Man to His Son	§1,1-1,5	South 9
4b	Teaching of a Man to His Son	§1,1sqq., fragmentary	West 37
4c	Teaching of a Man to His Son	§1,1sqq., fragmentary	West 39
5a	‘Loyalist’ Teaching	§1,1-4,9	South 2 and 4
5b	‘Loyalist’ Teaching of the “Vizier Kaïrsu”	§1,1-2,7 and fragments	Pillar A2
5c	‘Loyalist’ Teaching	§5,1-10,9 and fragments of §11,1	West 16a
6a	Prophecy of Neferty	§1a-IIIe, fragmentary	Pillar A7

6b	Prophecy of Neferty	§6a sqq., fragmentary	Pillar A8a (b-c?)
7a	Schoolbook Kemyt	Introduction and §1,1	North 34a
7b	Schoolbook Kemyt	§1,1	North 34b
7c	Schoolbook Kemyt	§1,1	South 25
8	“Beginning of the teaching”, “Beginning of the teaching made by”		South 36, West 30, North 19 (7x), North 25 (?)

Nearly all of these copies of didactic literature in N13.1 start with the first paragraph, only two present subsequent parts, the first one in this list (1a) is too destroyed in the beginning to decide if it starts also with the introduction. Furthermore we can find short exercises, maybe of pupils, who only tried or started to write *ḥ3.t-ḥ m* or *ḥ3.t-ḥ m sb3.yt* “beginning” or “beginning of the teaching”, being found at various places on the walls. Apart from these headings there are also some singular *jw*-legs which seem to stand for the beginning of the visiting formula *jw pw jr.n=f*.

#### §14 Purpose of the graffiti

In summary we have to reflect on the purpose of all these texts, notes, pictures and “postcards” nearly on top of the hill of the Gebel Asyut al-gharbi. Tomb N13.1 offers a very nice view, shelter from the wind and the sun, is not too large and not too small for a comfortable rest and the walls are painted in light colours leaving enough space and a suitable surface for secondary texts. The writers of the graffiti display a certain piety to the local gods, praying for offerings or any good deeds and praising their temples in the city and the vicinity of Asyut. Dedications of offerings are addressed to the able spirits of the ancient tomb owners of the past. On the other hand the graffiti bear witness to the education and cultural knowledge of the scribes, while the didactic texts may have to be seen within the context of school training. We also find some short texts such as exercises by pupils or jokes which may indicate that the writing atmosphere was not always serious or pious. Dated visits of higher officials and the citation of Royal titularies demonstrate historical awareness and the singularity of members of the elite going on excursion to Asyut. Considering all these aspects I would like to state that Tomb N13.1 was a multifunctional place for commemoration performed by the intellectual elite during the New Kingdom, more precisely between ca. 1550<sup>9</sup> and 1102<sup>10</sup> BCE, while it was situated in an agreeable location of the distant past belonging to the western cemetery of the important city of Asyut.

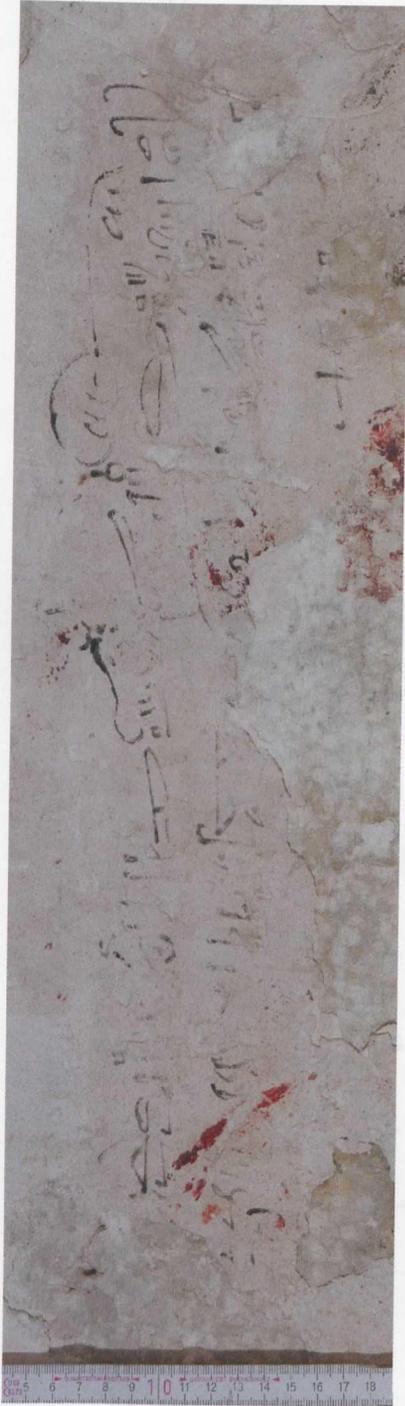
9 This date is reconstructed as a result of palaeographic studies (cf. also VERHOEVEN in press b).

10 This date is based on the graffiti with the latest dating under Ramesses XI (see above: O2).

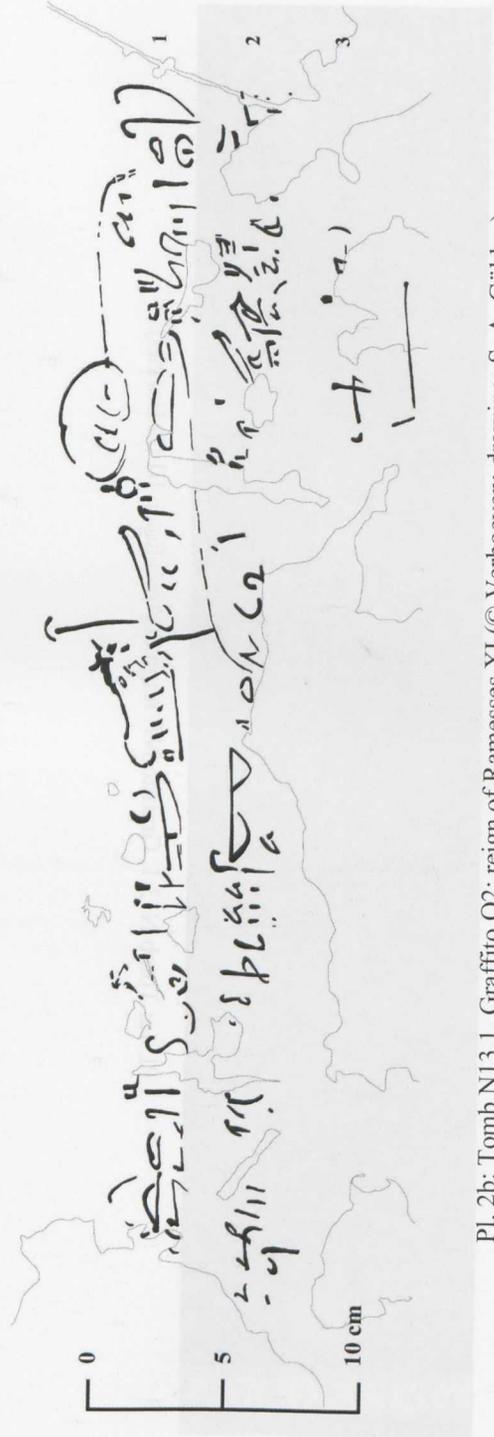
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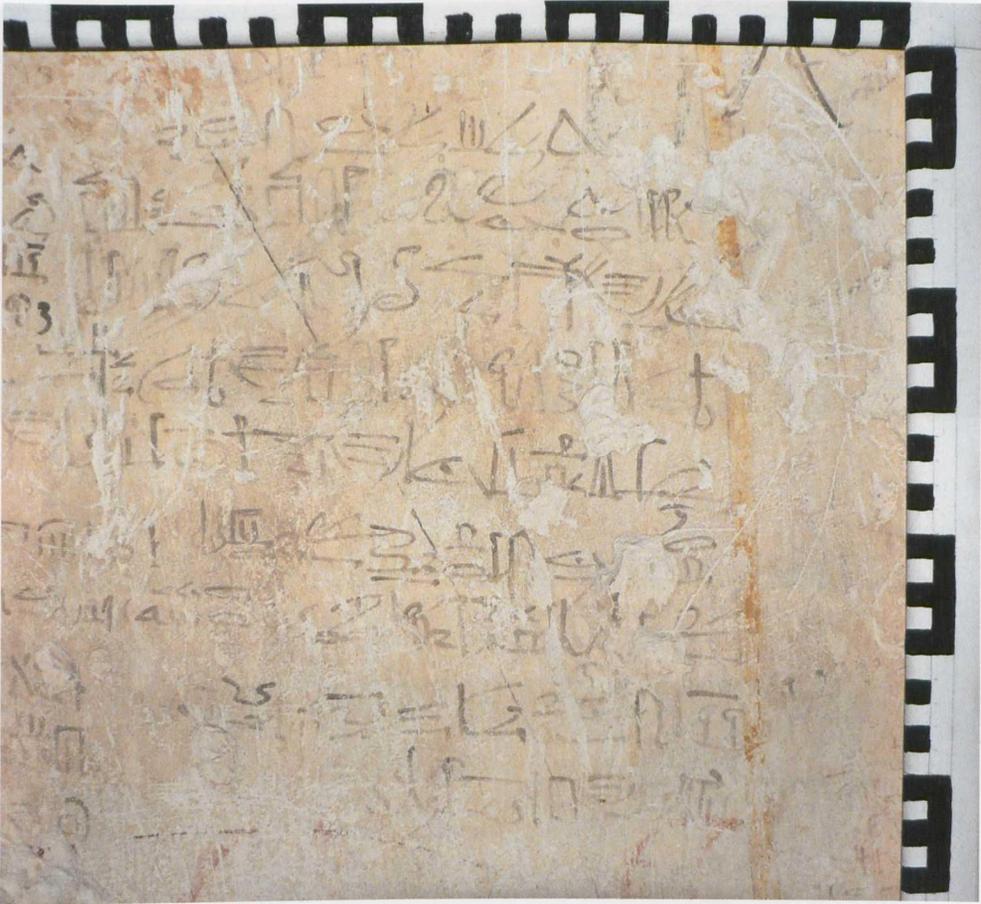




Pl. 2a: Tomb N13.1, Graffito O2: reign of Ramesses XI (© Barthele).



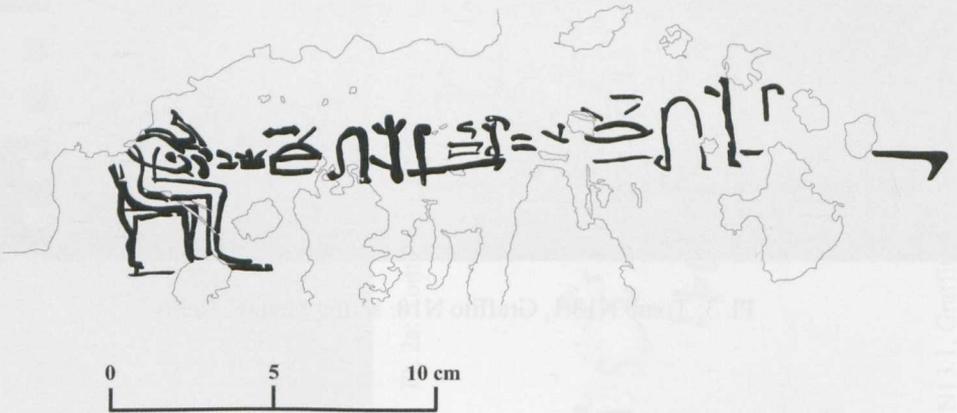
Pl. 2b: Tomb N13.1, Graffito O2: reign of Ramesses XI (© Verhoeven; drawing: S. A. Gülden).



Pl. 3: Tomb N13.1, Graffito N10: scribe Men (© Kahl).



Pl. 4a: Tomb N13.1, Graffito S24: scribe Kha-em-waset (© Kahl).



Pl. 4b: Tomb N13.1, Graffito S24: scribe Kha-em-waset  
(© Verhoeven; drawing: S. A. Gülden).