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# BRINGING THE PLACE OF TRUTH BACK TO LIFE: IDENTIFYING THE “OWNERS” OF HOUSES AND TOMBS

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## ABSTRACT

During his extensive excavations at Deir el-Medina, Bernard Bruyère gathered every door lintel, jamb and cultic cupboard he discovered and placed them in a disused tomb with the intention of studying them at a later date. They originally derive from private houses and tombs, chapels, and temples. In order to deduce their original location in or around the village, some fragments have recently been joined together on the basis of their carved inscriptions and certain inventory marks made on the blocks by Bruyère. The present research project on architectural elements aims at creating virtual reconstructions of (front and back) doors, with the hope of making significant contributions to the identification of the owners of Deir el-Medina houses. This type of research brings to light the difficulties of examining inscribed material from “old” excavations. For example, while the inscriptions contain relevant information, such as kinship networks or divine epithets that are otherwise unattested, the examination of the carving itself can establish differences in technique, proportion, relief type and style. This study enriches our knowledge and offer new insight into the social and religious spheres of the inhabitants of the village, which can lead to new evaluations of an architectural element. For instance, the rear surfaces of these blocks (the interior side), not viewable from the outside of the house or the tomb, are of much cruder workmanship than on the front surfaces (the exterior side).

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**Fig. 1** The full-to-bursting shelves in the quarters dedicated to the “huisseries” from Deir el-Medina in the Carter magazines (Photo by J. Masquelier-Loorius).

During his extensive excavations, Bernard Bruyère gathered every door lintel, jamb and cultic cupboard he found at Deir el-Medina and placed them in a disused anonymous tomb<sup>1</sup> with the intention of studying them at some later date. These artefacts originate from private houses, tombs, chapels, and temples, and constitute a corpus of more than a thousand pieces –many more, if we take in account those that are housed in private collections and museums.<sup>2</sup>

The project of studying them was restarted in the 1970s by Dominique Valbelle and Marie-Ange Bonhême, who began with a catalogue of 266 of the best preserved blocks. Work was again resumed in 2006, when Dominique Valbelle gave me her personal papers concerning these objects. Marie-Ange Bonhême was still in charge of the catalogue, and I began study of the artefacts in magazine 13 as well as at the village, where I took numerous measurements and observed all the doorframes, cultic cupboards, and related artefacts.<sup>3</sup> The then Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities decided upon the transfer of all of the artefacts that were kept on the site in magazine 13 to the Carter magazines, with the work being carried out in 2009 [Fig. 1].<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Many thanks to Benedict Davies for correcting and improving the English of this paper. Bruyère called this tomb “magazine 13”. Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1924*, 3ab (6 January 1924); Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1924-1925)*, 1926, pl. II, and pl. VII (located between tomb 217 and pit 1022).

<sup>2</sup> For instance, all the door elements from Deir el Medina kept in the Museo Egizio Turin were published: Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972.

<sup>3</sup> This work in progress will be published at the IFAO.

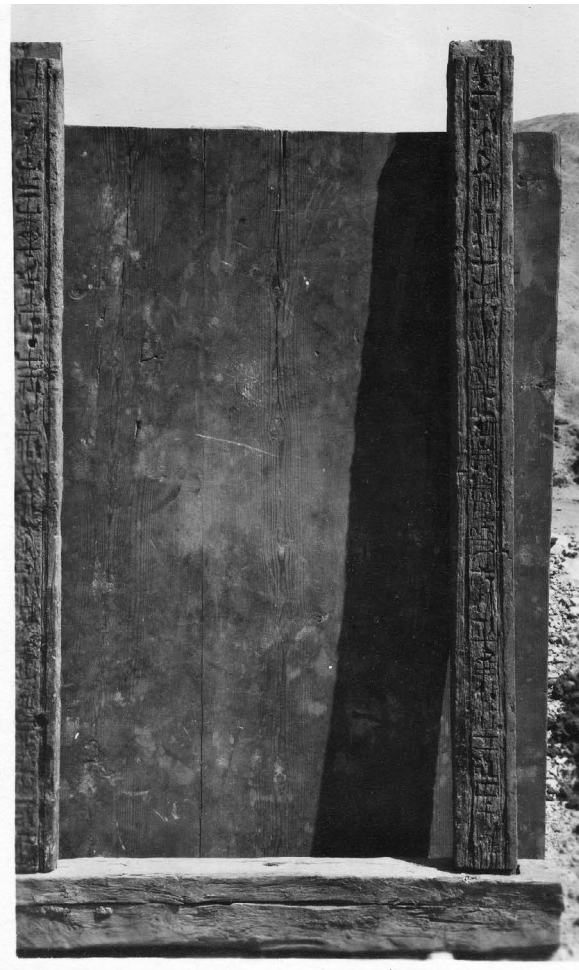
<sup>4</sup> This relocation was undertaken under the supervision of the restorer Hassan el-Amir (IFAO) and myself, by many little and discrete round trips in a pick-up truck belonging to the service.



**Fig. 2** Two jambs at the same scale showing the heterogeneity of the sources: one jamb from a door naming Anuy and Nebamentet; another from a cultic cupboard (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).

In French, the term “huisserie” primarily designates a piece of wood or metal that forms, *inter alia*, the frame of a door or a window in a building;<sup>5</sup> by extension, and in current usage, the word can also be used to refer to stone pieces. In English, “huisserie” has many translations depending upon the context: door frame, door lintel, doorjamb, etc. The present paper focuses on both the wooden and stone architectural elements that once comprised doors in private houses – both main and secondary entrances – and within tombs at Deir el-Medina, as well as cultic cupboards set up within wall niches in private dwellings [Fig. 2].

<sup>5</sup> After the Littré (French dictionary) online: “Toutes les pièces de bois qui forment l'ouverture d'une porte”, <https://www.littre.org/definition/huisserie>.



**Fig. 3** Wooden doorjambs bearing the name of Hormose now kept in the storerooms at the Louvre Museum Paris (Photo by B. Bruyère / IFAO, MS\_2006\_00140).

These fragments that were previously parts of doors are mainly of limestone, more rarely sandstone; furthermore, some rare wooden artefacts, such as doorjambs **[Fig. 3]** and door-leaves, are now to be found in museum collections.<sup>6</sup>

The evidence is currently quite scattered. Fortuitously, some blocks are still in place at the entrances of houses, such as certain uninscribed parts in the house of Sennedjem located in the southwestern part of the village **[Fig. 4]**; others can be found at the entrances of tombs, as in Theban Tomb 359 of Inerkhau **[Fig. 5]**; while others still are stored either in museum collections or in the Carter magazines (since 2009) **[Fig. 1]**. To date these objects have been poorly researched, yet they contain precious information on individuals, family networks, social and

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<sup>6</sup> For instance the two door jambs coming from the same door frame and bearing the name of Hormose, kept in the Louvre Museum at Paris: PM I2/2, 687; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1928), 1929, pp. 36–38 and 37 fig. 25; Delange, *Reliefs égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 2019, pp. 212–14 (cat. 73, Louvre E 13999). For an example of a door leaf, see the one that originates from the door of the chapel of Sennedjem (Theban Tomb 1): Bruyère, *La Tombe No 1 de Sen-nedjem à Deir el Médineh*, 1959, pp. 52–53, 73, and pl. XVII. It is kept in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, Corteggiani, *Ramsès le grand*, 1976, pp. 189–93 (cat. XLIV, JE 27303).





**Fig. 4** Remains of the door of the second room (House of Sennedjem, SW VI) (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).



**Fig. 5** Two doorjambs at the entrance of the outer burial chamber in Theban Tomb 359, with “rebuilt” parts that were exposed to heat, the yellow ochre turning to red (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).

religious spheres, and more. The renewed project that was started in 2006 aims at studying these artefacts and presenting, where possible, reconstructions, many of which will be created virtually given the dispersal of the artefacts. Indeed, one part of the same monument could be kept in a museum, while another could be held within the magazines of the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities.<sup>7</sup>

Before any attempt is made to reconstruct monuments, it is crucial to ensure the thoroughness and accuracy of the documentation, particularly in terms of drawing and photography, since this constitutes for the scholar the closest point of reference to the original document. For example, an old publication of part of a doorjamb bearing the name of Qenia, now kept in the British Museum, at

<sup>7</sup> For instance, the doorjamb of Pashed could be virtually reconstructed during the study – three matching pieces put together (the upper parts are kept in the Carter magazines, the lower part in the Louvre Museum). For the lower part, see: PM I<sup>2</sup>/2, 740; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, pp. 222–25 (Pashedu (i)); Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1928), 1929, p. 19 fig. 11 (n° 6), p. 93 (3°); Andreu (ed.), *Les artistes de pharaon*, 2002, p. 286 n° 229; Masquelier-Loorius, in Favry et al. (eds.), *Du Sinaï au Soudan*, 2017, p. 151, fig. 2 ab; Delange, *Reliefs égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 2019, pp. 209–11 (cat. 72, E 13992).



**Fig. 6** Picture of a doorjamb under two different lighting conditions (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).

first gives the impression that the decoration was carved on the opposite faces of one piece of stonework, whereas in fact the monument comprises two different blocks, each decorated with fine inscriptions.<sup>8</sup>

In other instances, direct access to the monument (or a high-quality picture of it) can bring to light certain previously unnoticed elements, such as marks made by Egyptian tools or the depth of the carving of the hieroglyphic signs. Such observations can, in turn, convey information about an object's provenance or other related issues like ancient Egyptian stone working technology. Pictures of a doorjamb under two different lighting conditions can often reveal different kinds of details [Fig. 6] in addition to highlighting the depth of carving.

In addition, certain “discrepancies” can be discovered between a source (one fragment), its interpretations in Bruyère’s unpublished excavation journals

<sup>8</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>/2, 739; HTBM VII, pl. 13; Masquelier-Loorius, in Favry *et al.* (eds.), *Du Sinai au Soudan*, 2017, pp. 149–50.

(which chart the evolution of the field excavation day by day), and his published Reports which, by definition, have the character of syntheses. The two readings of the hieroglyphic signs on a block from house SW V made by Bruyère [Fig. 7]<sup>9</sup> show differences to the original carved text – although Bruyère did include errata at the end of some of his *Reports*. What seems quite important to my mind is that there were two inscribed columns of text, and not only one, as was drawn in his Journal.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, among so many fragments it was difficult to locate the lower part of the jamb bearing the name of Pashedu from Bruyère’s drawing, due to the quality of the stone and the very shallow carving [Fig. 8].

The best way to study these artefacts and to determine their initial location would first be to establish a typology. However, such a method has its limitations – and I will show further in the discussion some of the pitfalls encountered in attempting to match fragments. It is, therefore, worth considering many points of reference together, such as the material, the dimensions, the colours, the technique(s) – parts of some artefacts are not actually carved, but merely painted –, the distinctive features of the decoration comprising both depictions and inscriptions, and, when preserved *in situ*, the setting of blocks. The state of preservation is another component that must be taken into account in the reconstruction – be it physical or virtual – of the door frames, since pieces could have been altered by weathering (especially sand), exposure to fire, and/or plaster sometimes being applied to the artefacts. The inscribed columns of the jambs partially preserved in their original location at the entrance of the outer burial room of Theban tomb 359 were both originally painted using yellow ochre, but this has subsequently turned to red through exposure to heat [Fig. 5].

The state of conservation is all the more important given the fact that “huisseries” were found at different locations of the site, leading to various degrees of damage even for two matching pieces: one can find, for instance, colour preserved on one piece and merely engraved figures and signs on the other [Fig. 9]. In this respect, the examination of the material has included several steps, each focusing on a specific feature of the artefacts. During one phase, for instance, many pieces, some of which still remain *in situ*, have been grouped according to

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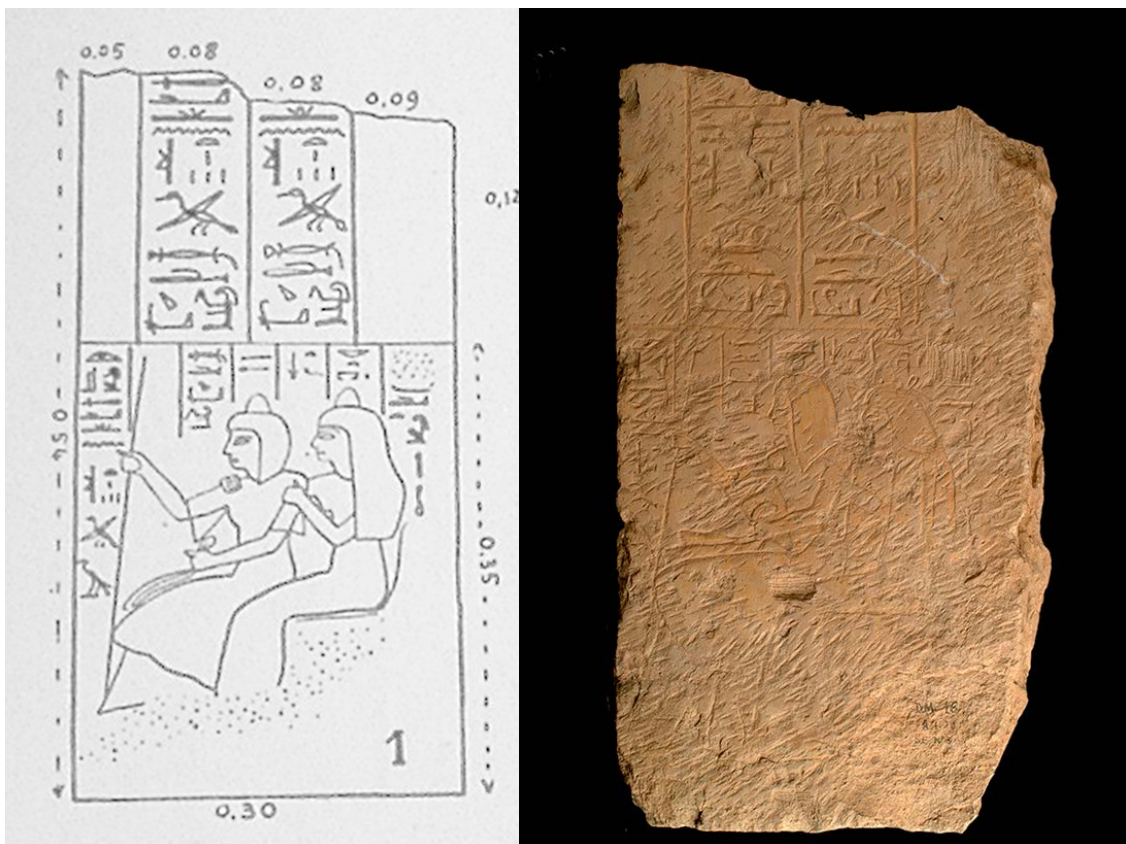
<sup>9</sup> Both published in Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1934-1935)*, III, 1939, pp. 44 and 327 (1°).

<sup>10</sup> Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1935*, 6b.





**Fig. 7** Reading of the hieroglyphic signs on a block from house SW V made by Bruyère  
 (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO, and IFAO, B. Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles* 1935, p. 6b).



**Fig. 8** Bruyère's drawing (IFAO, B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* [1928], 1929, p. 7 fig. 2 [1])  
 and a picture of the lower part of the jamb bearing the name of Pashedu (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).



**Fig. 9** Various degrees of damage for two matching pieces (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).



**Fig. 10** Doorjamb found in domestic context (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).

colour, and their study has already led to concrete results in terms of provenance and/or date.

- In the first group were gathered blocks from red doorjambs: the background of the inscriptions, carved in columns and delineated by blue paint, is white. These blocks seem to belong to family houses, in other words domestic contexts [Fig. 10].
- The second group comprises white doorjambs: the background of their inscriptions, carved in columns and delineated by red paint, is yellow – the colour of the background can, however, vary in some instances. These blocks should be connected, it seems, to funerary contexts and must have once stood at the entrances of chapels [Fig. 11].
- In the third group, one finds another type of white doorjamb, in which the background of the inscriptions is also white: both delineating lines and signs are painted in blue. In this group, we can find a subcategory in which it is not so much the colours as the palaeography of the signs that is usefully diagnostic: their stylisation is indeed typical of the Twentieth Dynasty [Fig. 12].



**Fig. 11** Doorjamb from the entrance of a chapel  
(Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).

We can create many other groups and subgroups, but we must keep in mind that such classification is not sufficient for our study, as it leads us to only partial “results” in terms of joining, rebuilding, and so on.

Take for instance the door leading to the innermost burial chamber of tomb 329 (which actually belonged to Mose (iv), but is often wrongly referred to as the tomb of Mose (vii) and Ipy (i), who occupied a nearby tomb, see *infra*<sup>11</sup>): Bruyère noticed that the lintel is made of limestone, and the jambs of sandstone. As yet I have been unable to verify this observation at the tomb,<sup>12</sup> but it would imply that some limestone parts could have been used in conjunction with sandstone ones on the same door frame. The formula “Opening the doors of the Duat...”, and the colours used for the decoration are indications for the provenience of such similarly decorated elements that were not found in situ.

<sup>11</sup> Masquelier-Loorius, in Davies (ed.), *Dispatches from Deir el-Medina* (forthcoming).

<sup>12</sup> Details are neither available in Kampp, *Die Thebanische Nekropole*, 1996, p. 577, nor in the online IFAO archives: <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/?tt=329#galerie>.





**Fig. 12** Doorjamb dating from the Twentieth Dynasty (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).

This is an example of the kind of information the study of architectural elements – particularly inscribed material from “old” excavations – can yield. An examination of their carving can establish differences in techniques, proportion, relief type and style. Furthermore, their inscriptions may contain relevant information, such as kinship networks or previously unrecorded divine epithets. This kind of study thus enriches our knowledge and offers fresh insight into both the social and religious spheres at Deir el-Medina.

Let us now consider a case study. The owners of households SW IV, V, and VI seem to be firmly identified.<sup>13</sup> The house SW VI belongs to the family of Sennedjem,<sup>14</sup> the house SW V to his son Khabekhnet,<sup>15</sup> and both workers have their dec-

<sup>13</sup> About the houses, see: Valbelle, *“Les ouvriers de la Tombe”*, 1985, pp. 121–23; Davies, *Life Within the Five Walls*, 2018, pp. 151–54; Masquelier-Loorius, *Séthi I<sup>er</sup> et le début de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie*, 2013, pp. 239, 248–54; Andreu, in Gaber *et al.* (eds.), *À l’oeuvre on connaît l’artisan...*, 2017, pp. 32–33 ; Masquelier-Loorius, in Gaber *et al.* (eds.), *À l’oeuvre on connaît l’artisan...*, 2017, pp. 43, 46.

<sup>14</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>/2, 703; Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1935*, 5ab-7ab; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, III, 1939, pp. 329–34. Jamb-fragment from this house: Bruyère, *La Tombe No 1 de Sen-nedjem à Deir el Médineh*, 1959, pl. XIV (4); Masquelier-Loorius, in Gaber *et al.* (eds.), *À l’oeuvre on connaît l’artisan...*, 2017, p. 42 fig. 2.

<sup>15</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>/2, 703; Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1935*, 5ab-7ab; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, III, 1939, pp. 325–29.



orated tombs located near to their homes. Bruyère attributed the first one, the house SW IV, to the draughtsman Prehotep (i) in both his Journals and later in his Reports.<sup>16</sup> This identification has been adopted by many researchers. However as a textbook case, I can demonstrate, by trying to “rebuild” what was in the mind of Bruyère during his research, that this identification was merely suggestive and ultimately incorrect. House SW IV was excavated in February 1935, in which Bruyère found a fragment of a doorjamb bearing the name of Rahotep,<sup>17</sup> used as an alternate form of Prehotep.<sup>18</sup> The excavation of this house – which took just a few days – is relatively well documented.<sup>19</sup> A second doorjamb, bearing the name of “the draughtsman Prehotep”, is part of the corpus I am studying. It is only known by a picture from Bruyère, published in his Report,<sup>20</sup> in which he grouped the (only) two fragments bearing the name of Rahotep/Prehotep he was aware of at this stage of the fieldwork [Fig. 13].<sup>21</sup> However, I have been unable to find any mention of this second doorjamb in the Journals, except on Bruyère’s drawing of the “huisseries” found on the site and mentioned in 1947-1948, where he specified under the drawing, “marqué [*drawing of a four-stepped staircase*] S. N°1”.<sup>22</sup> In the photograph, I was able to observe the mark left on this second doorjamb as specified by Bruyère on his drawing, and I note that it curiously differs from a mark written on the right block in the photograph, which reads S. 3 15.2.35, meaning “salle [room] 3 [of the house SW IV], together with the date of the excavation, “15.2.35” [February 15, 1935]”. The special identification mark on the second doorjamb is made in black paint with a large brush, not with the fine pencil that Bruyère always used, which firmly identifies it as a mark left by the Italian mission that had recently worked in the Valley of the

<sup>16</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>/2, 703; Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1935*, 5ab-7ab; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, III, 1939, pp. 320–25.

<sup>17</sup> Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1935*, 8a (SO IV montant g[auche] calc[aire] 13.2.35), and 8b (13.2.35, the number of the house is incorrect in the unpublished report: SO IV and not SO V); Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, III, 1939, p. 325 fig. 195.

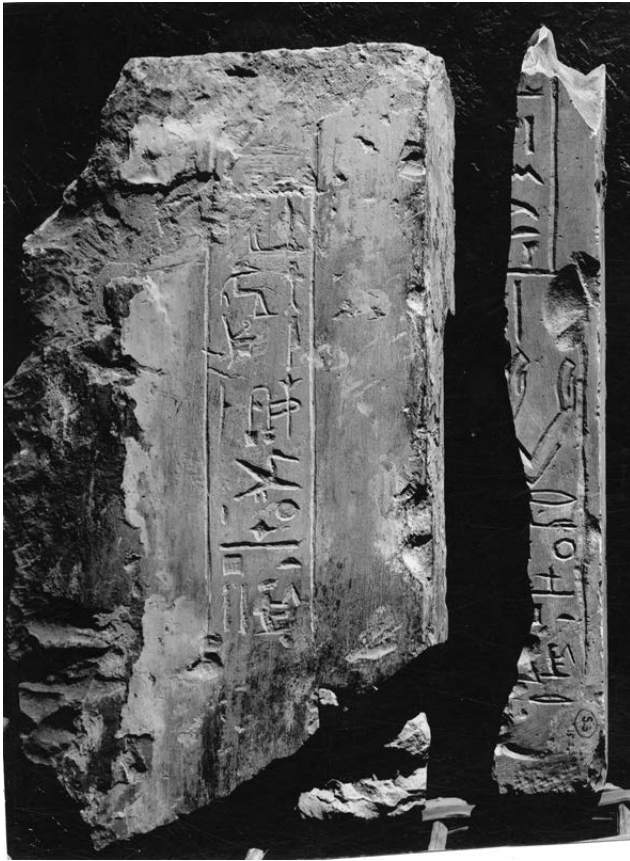
<sup>18</sup> For instance, Davies, *Who’s Who*, 1999, p. 44.

<sup>19</sup> Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1935*, 5ab-8ab.

<sup>20</sup> Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, III, 1939, p. 325 fig. 195.

<sup>21</sup> Archives of the Ifao, MS\_2006\_0119.

<sup>22</sup> Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1947-1948*, 14a (191). Not grouped with the doorjamb bearing (only) the name of Rahotep, Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1947-1948*, 12b (124). The mark of the location of the find may be interpreted as “south of Chapel number 1 (chapel of Sennedjem)”.



**Fig. 13** Fragments bearing the name of (Pa)Rahotep (Photo by B. Bruyère / IFAO, MS\_2006\_00119).

Queens.<sup>23</sup> In fact, during Bruyère's excavations he made the following comment in his Journal: "M. Farina nous laisse prendre à la Vallée des Reines les f[r]a[g]men]ts de monuments de pierre de D[eir] [el] M[edina] que Schiaparelli y avait emmagasinés [Mr. Farina lets us take the fragments of stone monuments from Deir el-Medina that Schiaparelli had stored in the Valley in the Queens]."<sup>24</sup> Therefore this second doorjamb, bearing the name of the draughtsman Prehotep, was not found during the excavation of the house SW IV in the village, contrary to the (first) doorjamb bearing the name of Rahotep; it was in fact stored with others in the Valley of the Queens, and its removal therefrom was undertaken during the excavation of the house SW IV. We must take in account three facts: (i) Bruyère was aware of only one draughtsman, named Prehotep, at this stage of the excavation of the site; (ii) he was almost certain that this house was inhabited by a draughtsman and his

<sup>23</sup> These special identification marks have been identified by Jean Yoyotte on blocks coming from the Italian excavations and stored in the Valley of the Queens (cf. his unpublished list of identification marks: "Deir el-Medina. Marques de provenance des trouvailles").

<sup>24</sup> Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1935*, 8b (13 Février).

family, because of the drawings and paintings on its walls, though he subsequently found similar decoration in other houses that did not belong to draughtsmen;<sup>25</sup> (iii) other fragments bearing the name of the worker Prehotep have been found elsewhere in the village, for instance in the house C V, but not in their original context.<sup>26</sup> Bruyère has put both doorjambs in only one picture in his Report; one bearing the name of Rahotep, found in the house SW IV, and the other one mentioning “the draughtsman Prehotep”. This parallel should be seen as a suggestion, made during the first years of excavation, by grouping blocks bearing nearly the same name, but we know now that the two blocks had decorated two separate monuments belonging to the family of two different craftsmen: house SW IV belonged to a Rahotep/Prehotep, that may be the worker Rahotep (v), son of Sennedjem; the other fragment is related to a contemporary, the draughtsman Prehotep (i), son of Pay. The tomb of this draughtsman must have been identified by the Italian mission of Schiaparelli: Bruyère visited this tomb before he excavated the house SW IV, in 1933, and numbered it 1354.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, the south (right) jamb at the entrance of the burial chamber, bearing the name and title of the draughtsman Prehotep, was still in situ, contrary to the north (left) one.<sup>28</sup> The special mark left on the block must be understood as “the stairs south of tomb no. 1”, what Bruyère called “escalier de Parêhotep”. This left door jamb does not come from the house SW IV, but from tomb 1354, located at the south of tomb no. 1 of Sennedjem, and it is highly probable that it constituted the north jamb of its entrance, taken by the Italian mission, stored in the Valley of the Queens, and then recognized as a block of Prehotep by Bruyère, and wrongly attributed to house SW IV.

Overall, the heuristic method implemented for this long-term endeavour has already proven its value and yielded some promising results. It has allowed me to formulate new hypotheses, while refuting certain existing (and perhaps too hastily accepted) ones. This is particularly true for monuments which have typically been used to determine who the owners of certain houses in the village

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<sup>25</sup> For instance, the wall painting showing a “dancing-girl flutist with tattoo-marks of Bes” drawn in house SE VIII belonging to Nebamun, son of Nebamentet. PM I<sup>2</sup>/2, 703; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1934-1935), III, 1939, pp. 273-74, 273 fig. 145, and pl. X.

<sup>26</sup> Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1934-1935), III, p. 306 (7°), and pl. XIX (2).

<sup>27</sup> Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1933-1934), 1937, p. 123 (Bruyère says that he emptied that tomb for the first time in 1923, but nothing could be found about that fact).

<sup>28</sup> Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1933*, 5b (16 janvier), 6b, and plan 7a ; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1933-1934), 1937, pp. 123-24.

were. In many cases, previously suggested identifications are erroneous, such as for the owners of the house NE XIII, who cannot have been Mose and Ipy. The two main joining fragments bearing the names of Mose and Ipy, and forming the upper part of a door lintel, were found in two adjoining houses,<sup>29</sup> but they were not found in their original archaeological context: neither the fragment found in house NE XII,<sup>30</sup> nor the one found in house NE XIII, which had been reused as part of a doorjamb.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, the information given by Bruyère is confusing.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, the decoration of the lintel, as well as its dimensions and architectural characteristics, show that it did not adorn a front or secondary door of a house, but more likely the entrance of a tomb chapel.<sup>33</sup>

Admittedly initial hypotheses were based upon the discovery of an architectural component, be it a stela, an inscribed (fragment of) column or a doorjamb, but these elements were not necessarily found in their original archaeological context of use – they may have been reused or they could even have been dedications made by someone else (a family member, a friend, a colleague, etc.). Only a careful and painstaking (cross-)examination of the “huisseries”, in all their aspects, will allow proper reconstructions of the monuments and ultimately a better understanding of the social configuration of the village. In fact, most of the houses of the village, where it appears that the owner can be firmly identified, date from the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, since it was during the reign of Seti I that the final expansion of the village took place.<sup>34</sup>

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**29** See the provisional plan of the north-eastern houses district and compare it with the final plan drawn up by Bruyère afterwards: Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1934*, 8a; Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1935*, 4a; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, III, 1939, pl. XXIX. Two additional fragments were already stored in the excavation magazines when Bruyère arrived on the site, see: Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, III, pp. 42 and 258.

**30** Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1934*, 10a, 10b (14 February 1934) “fragment taken from the tomb 1107-8”.

**31** Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1933*, 10a (10 March 1933).

**32** For instance, “lintel found in 1934 from the tomb of Mesou-Apii (...) (still unpublished)», Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1933-1934)*, 1937, p. 83. Then, once the lintel published, read the questions about its origin (in particular from a house or a tomb): Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, III, pp. 41–43, and fig. 11. In addition, Bruyère reversed some data: the upper left [correct: right] fragment was used as a door post in the couch room of house NE XIII (found on 14 February 1934 [correct: 10 March 1933]) the right [correct: left] fragment of the same origin [correct: house SE XII] was found on 10 March 1933 [correct: 14 February 1934]. Compare with the text about the same lintel, presented later in the book: Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, III, p. 258.

**33** This lintel was attributed to tomb 329 by Delange, *Reliefs égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 2019, pp. 198–200 (cat. 68, Louvre E 16272 + E 14327 bis + E 14401), but it belongs to a nearby one. Masquelier-Loorius, in Davies (ed.), *Dispatches from Deir el-Medina* (forthcoming).

**34** Masquelier-Loorius, *Séthi I<sup>er</sup> et le début de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie*, 2013, pp. 238–39.



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