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Dando agua a los pájaros
Homenaje a Covadonga Sevilla Cueva

Giving water to the birds
An homage to Covadonga Sevilla Cueva

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Covadonga en la Caldera del Teide. José Miguel Barrios Mufrege.

Covadonga en el patio de la TT 209, excavando el depósito de momificación. José Miguel Barrios Mufrege.

The Courtyard of TT 209 (Areas C1 and C2) Seasons 2012 to 2014

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In 2012, the Archaeological Mission of the University of La Laguna began its work in TT 209 (Luxor, Egypt) under the name *Proyecto dos cero nueve* [Project two zero nine]. The objective of this article is to present a synthesis of the processes of excavation and documentation in the area of the tomb where activities began, the courtyard (areas C1 and C2), during the first three seasons (2012, 2013/14 and 2014). The working method is explained, the two main formation processes of the sedimentary deposits that the archaeological investigation recognised—geogonic and anthropic—are described, and the different kinds of materials found there are examined, which correspond to a broad chronological and cultural framework. The analysis of this dataset has made it possible to obtain a historical interpretation of the activities that were carried out in this external part of the funerary complex, from the moment of its construction to the present.

El patio de la TT 209 (áreas C1 y C2). Campañas 2012 a 2014
En 2012 la Misión Arqueológica de la Universidad de La Laguna comenzó sus trabajos en la TT 209 (Luxor, Egipto) en el marco del denominado Proyecto dos cero nueve. El objetivo del presente artículo es presentar una síntesis del proceso de excavación y documentación de la zona de la tumba donde se iniciaron las actividades, el patio (áreas C1 y C2), durante las tres primeras campañas (2012, 2013-2014 y 2014). Se expone el método de trabajo, se explican los dos principales procesos de formación del depósito sedimentario, tanto geogénicos como antrópicos, reconocidos a través de la intervención arqueológica y se exponen las diferentes clases de materiales hallados, que corresponden a un amplio marco cronológico y cultural. El análisis de este conjunto de informaciones ha permitido obtener una interpretación desde la perspectiva histórica de las actividades desarrolladas en esta parte exterior del complejo funerario desde el momento de su construcción hasta la actualidad.

Keywords: Ancient Thebes, Wadi Hatasun, Twenty-fifth Dynasty, Thirtieth Dynasty, Ptolemaic Period, Nisemro, stratigraphy, floods.
Palabras clave: Tebas antigua, wadi Hatasun, Dinastía XXV, Dinastía XXX, Periodo Ptolemaico, Nisemro, estratigrafía, riadas.

La concesión de un yacimiento en Egipto, la TT 209, fue una de las grandes alegrías profesionales de Covadonga. Desde su época de estudiante había soñado con excavar en el país del Nilo y las primeras campañas en Heracleópolis Magna habían terminado por convertir

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esa ilusión en un objetivo profesional. Durante unos años, Miguel Ángel y ella se plantearon la posibilidad de buscar un lugar en el Delta. El reto de las dificultades del trabajo de campo en esa área y el interés histórico de una zona menos conocida que el Alto Egipto les incitaban a tomar esa dirección. Conjugar los intereses de ambos era relativamente complicado pero posible: un sitio que presentara una secuencia del III al I milenio a.e. y preferiblemente urbano mejor que una necrópolis. Entre tanto, la carrera investigadora de Miguel se fue desplazando hacia el Periodo Tardío y Tebas/Uaset/Ciudad del Sur. En el verano de 2006, una estancia en Bruselas permitió definir los objetivos de un proyecto de investigación. En los siguientes meses, un grupo de colegas y amigos, tanto egipcios como españoles, se incorporaron al equipo: Hassaan y Saad entre los primeros, Cristo, Daniel, Fernando y Lucía entre los segundos, además de María Milagros, que no continuó después con nosotros. Desde 2008 empezamos la cadena de solicitudes que concluyó en febrero de 2012 con la concesión de la TT 209, en el wadi Hatasun.
Este artículo es un homenaje que los amigos y compañeros del proyecto dos cero nueve queremos rendir a Covadonga en memoria de su amistad y de esa personalidad suya, siempre acogedora y comprensiva y de su profesionalidad. Su *leitmotiv* –¡un término tan wagneriano!– para el trabajo de campo fue siempre que la metodología fuera impecable y en ese propósito seguimos. Porque no queremos que su recuerdo se desvanezca.

TT 209 was built on the slope of a wadi. The tomb's location was no longer visible when the archaeological Mission of the University of La Laguna began its activities, since it was hidden by an accumulation of sediments whose origins have been identified in fieldwork: carried by waters that had channelled through the wadi's bed, or composed of rubbish and debris slid from the nearby village of Hurubat. The aim of this article is to show the richness and diversity of information that the Mission has been able to retrieve from the tomb's courtyard–the first structure to be excavated, albeit the work on it is not yet finished–through the systematic application of the stratigraphic method. This working procedure was selected from the beginning despite the knowledge that the site's stratigraphic deposits must have been distorted by two known agents, and possibly by others that are yet to be ascertained: the interventions of at least four Western visitors during the 20th century–whose activities are largely unknown due to a lack of published information about them–and flooding from the wadi's bed. The extent of the latter agent is evident from the fact that the accumulation of floodwater deposits completely hid the tomb no more than a century after it was uncovered by the first persons preceding our work. The stratigraphic excavation of the courtyard, and the analysis of the resulting data, have allowed the Mission to identify and to diachronically interpret the different types of human interventions to which this complex archaeological site has been subjected.

1. | The excavation of areas C1 and C2

The courtyard of TT 209 has been the focus of three archaeological seasons of the *Proyecto dos cero nueve* [Project two zero nine]. [1] From the second season onward, this was combined

1 The members of the project that took part in fieldwork at the courtyard were Miguel Ángel Molinero Polo (director); Covadonga Sevilla Cueva (deputy director); Daniel Miguel Méndez Rodríguez and (in 2012) Lucía Díaz-Iglesias Llanos as Egyptologists; Cristo Manuel Hernández Gómez, Hassaan Mohamed Ali, Saad Bakhit Abd el Hafez, and (in 2013/14 and 2014) Juan Carlos García Ávila as archaeologists; Fernando Guerra-Librero Fernández and (in 2013/14) Paloma Coll Tabanera as architects, a task that the former combined with restoration; Zulema Barahona Mendieta as ceramologist (2013/14 and 2014); and José Miguel Barrios Mufrege (2013/14) as photographer. The Ministry of Antiquities was represented by Amany Hassan Mohammed (2012 season), Sayed Ali Sayed Mohammed (2013/4 season), and Ahmed Rifai el-Azab (2014 season). The fieldwork was funded by the University of La Laguna in the framework of the Campus Atlántico Tricontinental, Canarias 2010/15. We are grateful to the then Vice Chancellor of Research, Rodrigo Trujillo González, for his trust in our team. The Universidad Autónoma de Madrid financially collaborated during the 2013/14 season. The project is currently funded by the Palarq Foundation, Barcelona, and the Dirección General de Patrimonio Cultural [Directorate of Cultural Heritage] of the Canary Islands Government.

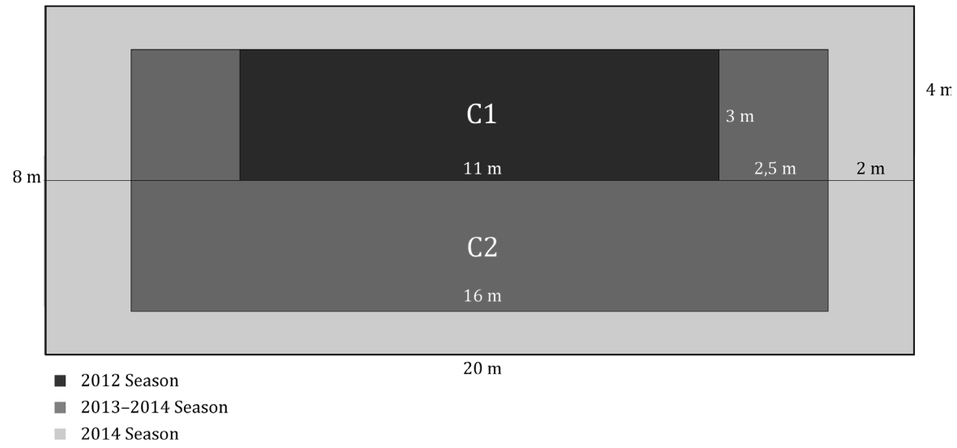

Figure 1. Diagram of the courtyard excavations during the first three seasons (illustration: D. M. Méndez Rodríguez).

with the excavation of the tomb's inner chambers, which occupied our full attention during the fourth and fifth seasons. The excavations undertaken in the first three seasons allowed us to recognise the main constitutive elements of the courtyard, excluding the probable closing area at the front, and to obtain an initial perspective regarding the use of the funerary complex in the centuries following its construction.

The location of TT 209 was not visible in the bed of Wadi Hatasun at the beginning of the first season.[2] Its surface was covered by rubbish fallen from the village of Hurubat, the hamlet built at the top of the slope into which the tomb was carved, and by the debris of the demolished houses that had slid into the bed of the wadi. After preliminarily cleaning of the surface, an excavation area (C1) of 3 × 11 m was designated (fig. 1), the width of which initially coincided with the proportions of the tomb published by the architect Diethelm Eigner.[3] According to his plate of TT 209, the transverse hall was 11 m wide, and the courtyard had similar measurements. Our main goal in that

2 An explanation of how the team identified the site is provided in an earlier article. See: Molinero Polo 2016: 118–119.

3 Eigner 1984: II, Tafel 22.

first season was to find the access to the underground chambers and to evaluate the state of preservation of the façade, particularly since this element seemed to have collapsed in the plan drawn by Eigner. The initial excavation allowed us to identify the accumulated sediments of periodic flood events and the northwestern corner of the courtyard, which had been carved into the bedrock. The floor of the courtyard contained patches of a whitish layer of plaster and was higher than expected from a comparison with the design of other tombs. The upper part of the wall that flanked the entrance to the inner chambers was also discovered. The latter was only partially collapsed on its western side, and the decayed lintel of a door could be identified at a lower level than the floor of the courtyard (fig. 2). Some hieroglyphic signs on the door jambs indicated that this entrance had been decorated and inscribed with texts.

During the second season, which took place between December 2013 and January 2014, a second 3 m-wide area (C2) to the south of the first was opened, with the aim of finding the access to the tomb and the limits of the courtyard. Both areas were also enlarged by 2.5 m on each side, in order to recognise the enclosure walls of the courtyard and to determine their widths (see fig. 1). The inner faces of the western and northern walls had been identified during the previous season, and it was already clear that whether an eastern wall existed or not, the existing access to the inner chambers would not be situated at the centre of the courtyard (fig. 3). This was confirmed during fieldwork, when the lower courses of the eastern wall were discovered. Moreover, the floor of the access area, which tuned out to be a ramp that descended toward the north and ended in nine steps, was reached. Therefore, the courtyard is very different to what could be deduced by drawing on information that was available before excavation began.

Finally, during summer 2014, the four sides of these two areas were enlarged at the beginning of the season in order to uncover the external faces of the courtyard's enclosure walls, to search for the head of the ramp that gave access to the underground chambers, and to maintain regular proportions (see fig. 1). Each of these areas reaches 20 m (in the east-west axis) by 4 m (north-south axis), and it is upon these measurements that a canon for the excavation grid has been established, with squares of 4 m on the north-south axis, and multiples of 5 m on the east-west axis. During this third season deposits of solidified limestone fragments were distinguished, which surrounded and hid the bases of the exterior faces of the enclosure walls that enclose the courtyard and at least one large chamber on the northern slope of the wadi. The hole in the entrance wall that earlier expeditions used to enter the tomb was filled in, so that the original appearance of the façade was re-established (fig. 4). The enclosure wall to the south–if it ever existed–has not yet been reached, and neither has the start of the ramp that descends towards the interior of TT 209. These are probably located in a new area (C3), which was opened in the courtyard in 2018 season, when the present article was in press.

2. | Excavation and documentation methods

When planning the archaeological research in TT 209, the team considered a priority to document the sedimentary deposits in their original contexts and to interpret their formation processes. It was felt that these deposits would contain information vital to the hypotheses that the project sought to address, and the excavation was based on a stratigraphic methodology that treated both recent and ancient deposits equally. Each sedimentary unit was investigated on the basis of recognisable, individual facies, with distinctions drawn between geo-stratigraphic and archaeo-stratigraphic units. The former are related to geo-

Figure 2. The courtyard (C1) at the end of the first week of work, 2012 season, from the south (photograph: M. Á. Molinero Polo).

Figure 3. The courtyard (C1 and C2) at the end of the second week of work, 2013/14 season, from the south (photograph: M. Á. Molinero Polo).

Figure 4. The courtyard (C1 and C2) and squares on the slope of the wadi (Sq 3 and Sq 4, not described in this article) at the end of the fourth week of work, 2014 season, from the south (photograph: M. Á. Molinero Polo).

gonic formation processes (mainly floods of varying energy), while the latter are associated with anthropic action.

The facies were analysed according to their macroscopic features, such as grain size, sediment texture, colour, degree of compaction, and the geometry and dimensions of the stratum, as well as the types of contact between them. The latter are important because they can be used to determine the existence of possible ancient surfaces, interruptions in the stratigraphic sequence, or changes in sediment dynamics, and thus contribute to the reconstruction of chronological relationships and of site formation processes. The stratigraphic relationships are expressed in a Harris Matrix (fig. 5), which graphically emphasises the continuity and succession of the sedimentary deposits, and provides a sense of how natural and anthropogenic phenomena contributed to site formation.

Each stratigraphic unit was recorded on a database specifically designed for use at the site. During the first two seasons, the work involved the systematic recording of topographical data of the different sedimentary facies with the aid of a total station and photography, so that a volumetric representation of each could be available for later analysis. Since 2014, this register has been combined with photogrammetric mapping of the most significant preserved geo-stratigraphic and archaeo-stratigraphic units. This thorough compilation of data has allowed the Mission to generate a number of analytical tools, such as topographic plans of each stratigraphic unit (fig. 6), and significant section profiles.

3. | Stratigraphy of the courtyard

Excavation in the courtyard to date has allowed us to identify a sedimentary deposit composed of nearly one hundred stratigraphic units (SU). They include sediment layers, cuts, walls, and the bedrock, which has been

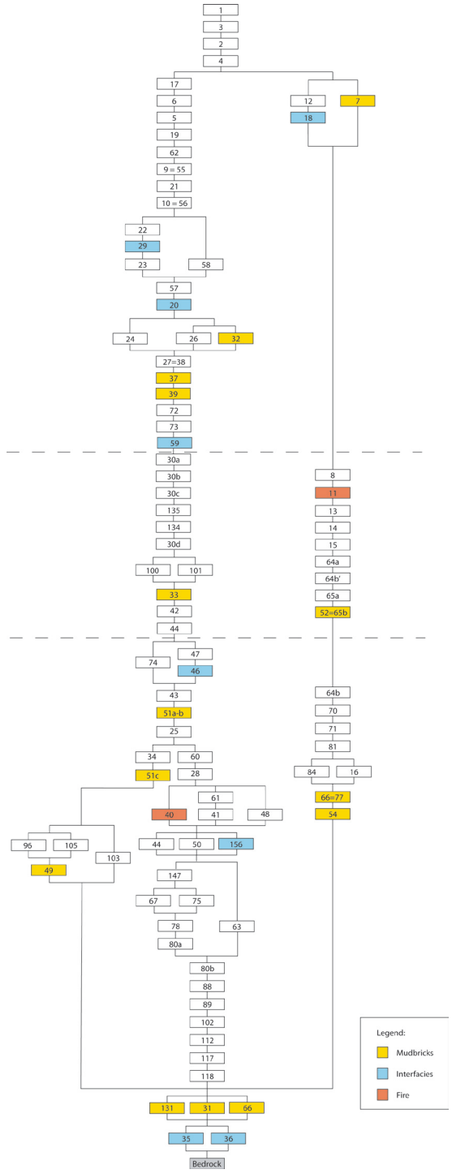

Figure 5. Harris Matrix of C1 and C2 (M. Á. Molinero Polo and D. M. Méndez Rodríguez).

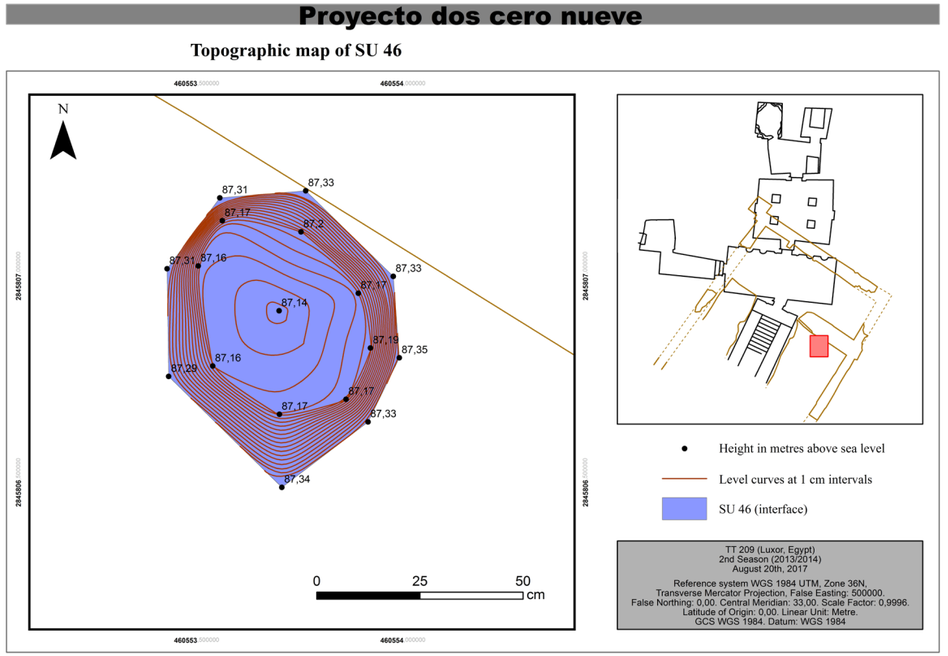

Figure 6. Example of topographic map of a stratigraphic unit, in this case cut SU 46, in the courtyard (illustration: S. Pou Hernández).

reached in both areas. Their chronology spans from the Late Period to the present day. The regular layout of the sediment in C1 and C2 is interrupted by the presence of the ramp and staircase, which divides the floor of the courtyard in two sections, the larger of which is to the east (fig. 7).

The stratigraphy of the courtyard comprises two groups of well-defined, superimposed sets of strata (fig. 8). The lower one was laid horizontally on top of the floor and the ramp-staircase that descends toward the underground chambers. These were irregularly cut, leading to an interface (SU 59) that affected the strata on either side of the courtyard, reached both edges formed by the courtyard floor and the walls of the central ramp, and descended northeast toward the hole in the entrance wall that provided access into the tomb. SU 59 was most probably produced by Robert Mond when working in the tomb at the beginning of the 20th century.[4] On top of this cut another group of strata was formed. This latter group follows the profile of the interface underneath, and like it shows a tendency to descend towards the north, towards the underground

4 Mond 1905: 66.

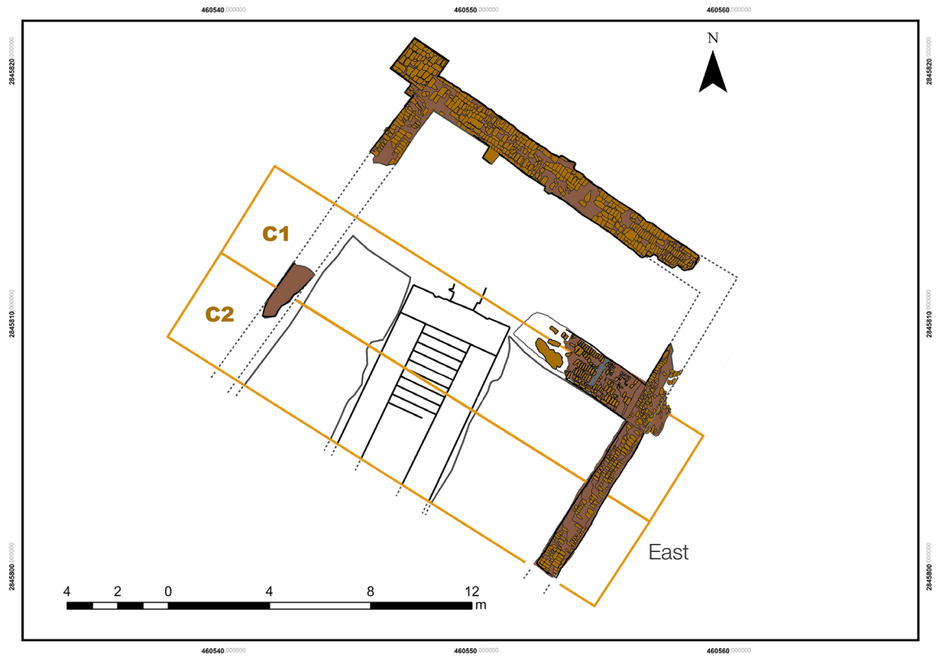

Figure 7. Plan of the four walls that are currently known, which form the superstructure of TT 209, with the extent of areas C1 and C2 superimposed (illustration: S. Pou Hernández and J. C. García Ávila).

chambers. Because of this trend, the layers are shallower and the stratigraphic sequence is less well-defined to the south of C2, and the traces of interface SU 59 are blurred, while those of recent flooding events in the wadi are more conspicuous (fig. 9).

3. 1. | Factors contributing to the formation of the sedimentary deposits in the courtyard

Both sides of the courtyard underwent similar site formation processes. The deposits resulted from a combination of environmental and human factors, the most prominent distinguishing element being traces of human activity that only affect specific areas.

The most notable of the anthropic factors are:

- The construction of the funerary complex itself, including excavation of the bedrock to give shape to the courtyard, and the raising of mudbrick walls to form the sides of this open space.
- Use activities in the area from ancient times to the last century. The nature of these actions changed greatly from one time period to another.
- Activities that generated the negative cuts that have been labelled as SU 19, SU 20, and SU 59 (see fig. 8, Centre), which bear witness to a number of interventions. They are probably related to various documented attempts by Western visitors to access the tomb, and form part of the history of research in the Theban necropolis.

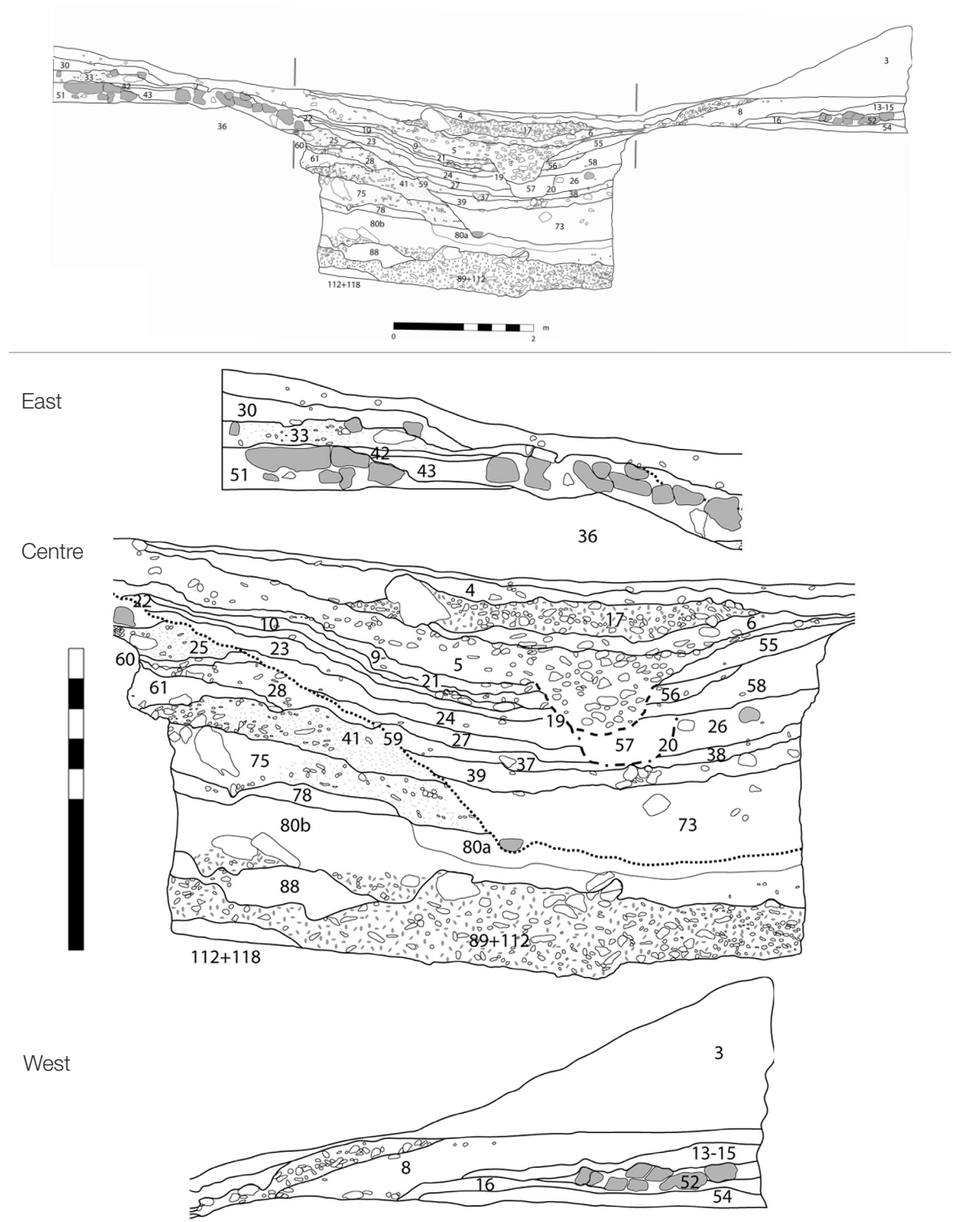

Figure 8. Southern profile of C1, labelled C1S. In the central part, the cuts produced by visitors accessing the hole to the west of the entrance wall to the inner chambers are signalled with dashed and dotted lines (illustration: D. M. Méndez Rodríguez).

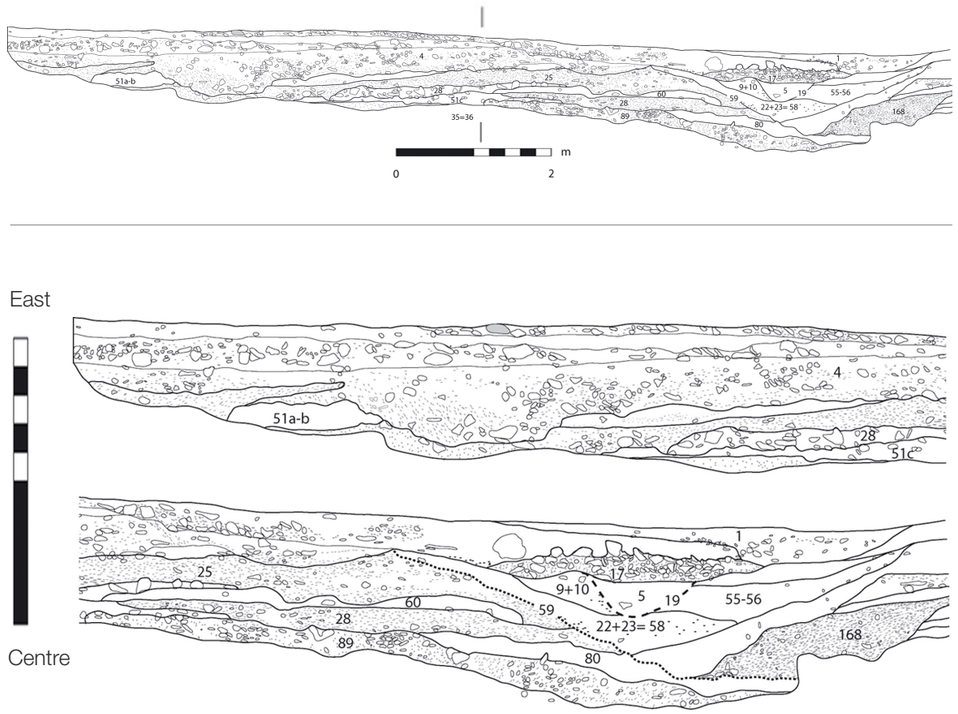

Figure 9. Southern profile of C2, labelled C2S. The western part of the profle is not represented (illustration: D. M. Méndez Rodríguez).

Natural factors affecting the courtyard include the following:

- Fluvial processes of the wadi. Flood waters of variable energy have entered the courtyard and underground chambers over the centuries, resulting in the accumulation of sedimentary facies with different characteristics. Three general types of episodes can be recognised by the types of strata that they have generated. Stagnated water atop the horizontal floor of the courtyard produced sequences of very thin silt layers.[5] Low energy floods—as well as the last moments of high energy ones—brought accumulations of silty- to soft sand sediments of variable consistency.[6] High energy floods are evidenced in the presence of deposits of coarse, granular sand, which often include large clasts and even blocks that were carried by the waters.[7] These floods led to the erosion of mudbrick architectural elements, which eventually led to the final collapse of the walls.
- The sloping surface of the northern face of the wadi, which allowed detritus to accumulate in the courtyard. As noted, this largely took the form of rubbish—evidence of the daily life of the inhabitants of Hurubat—and debris from houses after their demolition only a few years before the Mission started fieldwork. SU 3 is the most significant example of this category. This is an active silty-sandy stratum, which lies atop the entire sequence.
- Aeolian transport has also contributed to the formation of the sedimentary deposits, although its effects are less visible than those resulting from hydrological causes because the former tended to be absorbed when the latter entered the courtyard.

5 See fig. 8 (SU 9, SU 10, SU 22, SU 23, SU 24, SU 27, SU 37, SU 38, SU 55, SU 56, and SU 60).

6 See fig. 8 (SU 26, SU 28, SU 39, SU 58, SU 61, SU 73, SU 78, SU 80a, SU 80b, SU 88, and SU 112+118).

3. 2. | The sedimentary deposits

The sediments of areas C1 and C2 can be divided in three sectors. These correspond to a central axis defined by the descending ramp, and the eastern and western halves of the courtyard. Special attention has been paid to the stratigraphic relationships between them.

a) Ramp-staircase in the central part of the courtyard

As mentioned, one of the defining features of the stratigraphic sequence that covered this area was the cut labelled as SU 59 (see fig. 8, centre, dotted line), which was particularly noticeable in the central area of the courtyard. This interface has generated the two sets of strata mentioned in the previous section.

The sediments below SU 59 occupy the whole space between the limestone side walls of the ramp, and appear to have originated in a succession of floods from the wadi since—at least—the 4th century BCE. They are better preserved in C2, because the 20th century interventions in the tomb did not alter them as extensively as in C1.

These layers contain features that allow them to be classified into three main types. Those produced by low energy flood events are composed of silty- and soft sand sediments, and those by high energy events contain coarse, granular sand with clasts and blocks. The third type comprises small accumulations of mudbricks. It should be borne in mind that virtually all strata contain some remains of mudbricks, which probably derive from the degradation of the superstructure.

The whole of this sedimentary sequence is disturbed by cut SU 59, which forms a ramp that descends from the south toward the entrance wall to the tomb's inner chambers (fig. 10). It is deeper in the west of the ramp sector than in the east, and is clearly located above the floor level of the door, which demonstrates that SU 59 was directed toward the hole opened—since ancient times—in the façade and was thus used to access the tomb from this level. Parts of its surface contain imprints of shoes with soles, which indicate that this interface was probably created by a Western intervention, and not by the Gurnawis. A comparison between the trench identified by our excavation of the tomb's inner chambers and the trench drawn on a sketch published by Mond suggests that cut SU 59 was probably the access ramp opened by his work. SU 59 therefore should be dated to between 1902 and 1904.

Any sediments over this interface would logically have accumulated during the 20th century.

7 See fig. 8 (SU 17, SU 25, SU 41, SU 75, SU 89+112).

Figure 10. Cut SU 59 in C2, from the north. The imprint of a pair of shoes is clearly visible in the lower part of the slope, near the profile (photograph: J. M. Barrios Mufrege).

The majority have their origin in wadi dynamics, and most of them reached the subterranean chambers since Mond left them opened, and water and sediments re-filled them. They contain some mudbrick remains, but these are less abundant than in the layers below SU 59. In area C2, which is closer to the bed of the wadi, these strata are thinner than in C1 because the waters from each flood would have disturbed the higher surfaces of sediments deposited by earlier floods more intensively.

Two narrow passages have been opened in the sediments above SU 59 (SU 20 and SU 19; see fig. 8, centre, dashed lines). Their widths and locations in the western part of the stratigraphic deposit demonstrate that they relate to different attempts to access the inner chambers through the hole in the façade; as with Mond's cut, they do not correspond with the use of the door for access, since this is located in the central, not western, axis of the ramp.

b) The eastern part of the courtyard

The bedrock was horizontally levelled (SU 35/36) to create the space for the courtyard and to prepare a foundation for the mudbrick superstructure. A cut in the northern side of the courtyard was prepared as a foundation upon which to lay a wall; the disappearance of most of its mudbricks means that the cut is now visible. Whether another horizontal cut was made for the eastern wall, different to that of the courtyard floor, cannot currently be stated, as the wall covers its possible location. Directly atop these carved surfaces sit the two mudbrick side walls.

Figure 11. Mudbrick plinth SU 49 (photograph: J. M. Barrios Mufrege).

SU 31, the remains of the northern wall (see fig. 7) is 1.5 m wide, and quite exceptional in comparison with the other walls of the superstructure. The eastern wall, SU 131, forms an angle with SU 31. It is 1 m wide and currently known to be more than 7 m long, though its southern part has not yet been found because it continues beyond the extent of the excavated area. This was probably the first to be built, since SU 31 leans on it.

In the northern part of the courtyard, and placed against the wall, a mudbrick plinth was identified (SU 49; fig. 11). The structure is composed of forty-four mudbricks (eleven units in four rows) laid on their sides. It sits on top of a white coating of plaster applied directly to the limestone beneath, with a layer of fine sand in between. The surface of the plinth is eroded by two cavities (SU 96 and SU 105), and a third one (SU 46; see fig. 6) was carved directly on the floor.

At some point after construction of this plinth, silty-sandy sediments were deposited during the first documented flash flood episodes in the courtyard (SU 34); they were probably equivalent to SU 16 in the western part.

On top of this layer was another stratigraphic unit, SU 51, which was so extensive that it covered nearly the whole area of the eastern platform, both in C1 and C2 (fig. 12). This unit had a fan-shaped morphology and was composed of a large number of partial and complete mudbricks in a matrix of silty-clay sediment. In its western part—the area furthest from the eastern wall—there was also an accumulation of large limestone blocks (30 to 50 cm in length),

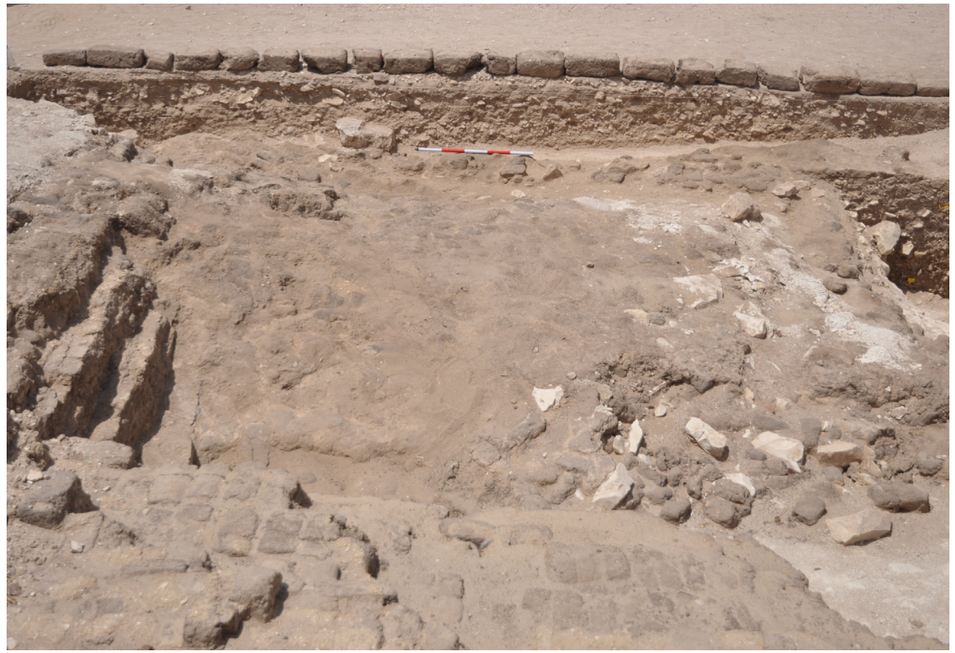

Figure 12. The collapsed eastern wall, SU 51, from the north (photograph: M. Á. Molinero Polo).

mixed among the mudbricks. The unit can be interpreted as the remains of the eastern wall (SU 131); the limestone blocks apparently being part of the upper courses of this structure. Following excavation data, two different collapsed phases could be identified. The first (SU 51c) took place directly over the floor of the courtyard and SU 34, due to floodwater that probably initiated this process of the wall's ruin. Another three flood episodes could be recognised over SU 51c (their composition varies: SU 28 and SU 25 are layers of sand with gravel; SU 60 is a soft sand layer). On top of these was a second and final collapse (SU 51a and SU 51b), which occurred sometime later due to the erosive action of the water. The pottery content of these stratigraphic units offers a chronological framework for the collapses: the first one (SU 51c) took place after the Ptolemaic Period, and the second (SU 51a/b) in Byzantine times.

The material from these events is covered by facies of sandy sediments (SU 43 and SU 42), which were deposited by new flash floods after the eastern wall of the superstructure had decayed. These episodes most likely resulted in the last documented destruction of the walls, particularly since they include a great number of mudbricks (SU 33 and SU 30), which probably came from the northern wall and from the last remnants of the eastern one.

A roughly quadrangular cut in the sediment was recognised in the northeastern corner of the courtyard (SU 135, filled by SU 134 and SU 30a). Its location and recent date suggest that it might have been part of an archaeological sur-

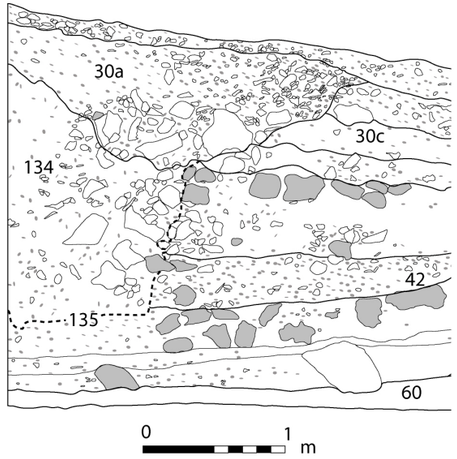

Figure 13. Section drawing of cut SU 135, northeastern corner of the courtyard (illustration: D. M. Méndez Rodríguez).

Figure 14. The waterway that flows from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna to the Wadi Hatasun through the courtyard of TT 209, seen from the south (photograph: M. Á. Molinero Polo).

vey, perhaps that conducted by Eigner—who worked in the tomb in 1974—to check the external architectural features of the tomb (fig. 13).

The eastern part of the northern wall has been partially lost due to an erosive process caused by the activity of a waterway that flows from the upper part of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, which channels the rains falling on this hill into the courtyard and the wadi (SU 171; fig. 14). The materials recovered in the layers related to this erosive event demonstrate how a large quantity of flint tools coming from the nearby slope of Qurna might have ended up in the site of TT 209.

c) The western part of the courtyard

The stratigraphic sequence that could be reconstructed in this part of the courtyard is similar to that of the eastern half. The following are the most significant strata, in order of deposition.

Directly atop the limestone floor is a sequence of degraded mudbricks (SU 54) and a silty-sandy deposit (SU 16), covered by soft sandy layers interspersed with other, compact and thinner ones (SU 81, SU 71, and SU 70). The latter are the result of early flash floods and the ensuing sediment decanted from stagnating waters. These flood events probably caused the initial degradation of the western wall. They were followed by a sequence of mudbrick collapses (SU 52, SU 65), and layers of limestone clasts and blocks that also extend over the slope outside the courtyard (SU 64). These clasts and blocks are too small and fragmentary to have been part of a built element.

A group of pottery vessels filled with textiles, forming a mummification deposit, was found within this sequence. The vessels were above the layer of mudbricks that attests to the collapse of the western wall (SU 66). Surrounding and above them was a stratum of

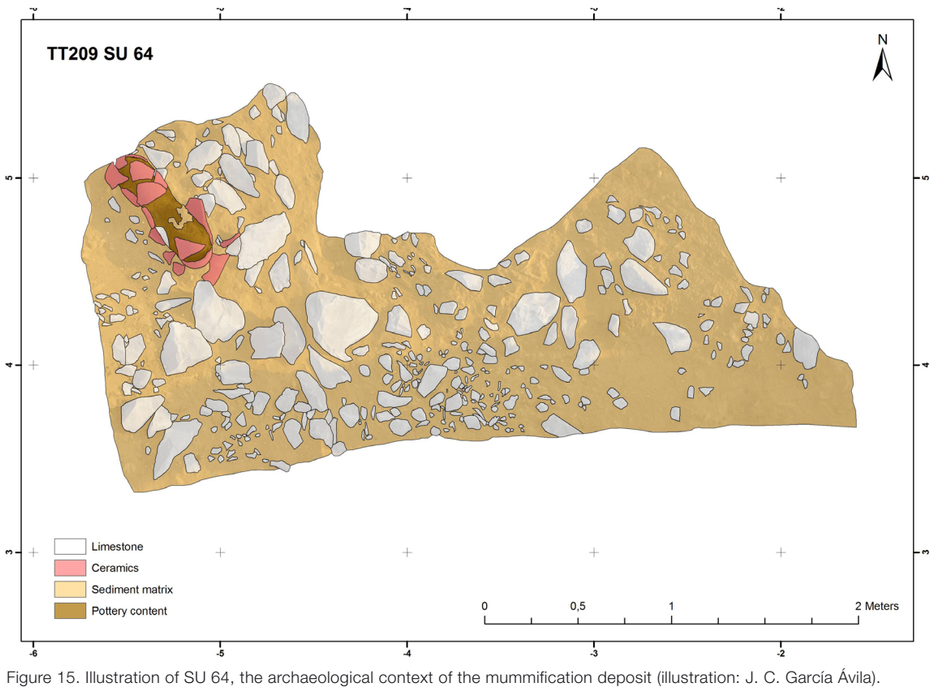

Figure 15. Illustration of SU 64, the archaeological context of the mummification deposit (illustration: J. C. García Ávila).

limestone clasts that had slid from the slope of the wadi (fig. 15). The position of the pottery vessels seems to indicate that the deposit reached its findspot when the wall collapsed, and most probably that they were originally situated outside the courtyard. Given that the limestone clasts and small blocks were above the mummification deposit, it is likely that they were originally part of the debris produced during the construction of the inner chambers, which was dumped outside the wall. A similar situation has been described from excavations on top of Dra Abu el Naga, where an imposing wall served as a dump for the large limestone blocks produced when the courts and inner chambers of K.93.11 and K.93.12 were cut, while the chips and flakes were used as filling material for an artificial terrace.[8]

This whole unit is in turn covered by subsequent flooding deposits (SU 15, SU 14, and SU 13). These are important insofar as the ceramics found within them date to the Ptolemaic Period, so that they offer a *terminus post quem* dating for the collapse of the western wall.

On top of this sequence the strata are truncated by the continuation of cut SU 59. The cut reaches the bedrock in its eastern extremity, indicating that floodwaters ran towards the

8 Polz 1998: 260. We thank M.ª de los A. Jiménez Higueras for her kindness in providing several bibliographical references on this subject.

Figure 16. SU 12, cut by SU 18, the latter probably an archaeological sondage in the northwestern corner of the courtyard (photograph: M. Á. Molinero Polo).

interior of the tomb via the slope produced by Mond's excavation, and periodically dragged deposits from the western strata of the courtyard into the tomb's interior.

The upper strata show traces of varied activities linked to the daily life of the inhabitants of Qurna: a black layer of ash produced by a fire (SU 11), and an accumulation of bricks attached to the tomb façade (SU 7) that could be part of a trough for domestic animals. Among them are sediments deposited by recent floods (SU 8, SU 4).

A cut in the sedimentary deposits was identified at the northwestern corner of the courtyard (SU 18), filled in by a silty-sandy sediment (SU 12). This seems to be a counterpart to that found in the eastern section, and it is probable that they were both created under the same circumstances: a study of the architectural elements of the tomb undertaken by Eigner (fig. 16). The *sondages* made by his team were not deep enough to reach the bedrock in either the eastern or western parts of the courtyard; in the latter, if they had dug a few centimetres more they would have reached the floor.

4. | Materials retrieved in the excavation

The material culture found in the sedimentary deposits that covered the courtyard corresponds to three groups. Each has a different origin, and typically a distinct chronology. The first group corresponds to objects that were found in the places in which they were appar-

Figure 17. Pottery jar with mummy wrappings from the mummification deposit (photograph J. M. Barrios Mufrege).

ently used, or nearly so. The second and third groups are of objects that derive from tombs or other areas of human activity in the watershed of the Wadi Hatasun, and have been moved into the courtyard by floods or other causes, the second group from the construction of the tomb until the 19th century and the third during the 20th century.

The first group are objects related to cult activities in the tomb.

The most ancient remains retrieved from the courtyard and related to the funerary function of the site—either TT 209 or a neighbouring tomb—are a group of six pottery containers and their contents that comprise a single mummification deposit (fig. 17).[9] Some of the vessels are incomplete, and the lost pieces might now be in the sediments to the south of C2, which have not yet been excavated. Four of these vessels were large ovoid jars of the type ceramologists call sausage jars and another one was smaller and rounded. They were found near to their original deposition site, which can be deduced from the fact that the vessels probably broke as they fell, but their contents where preserved inside the broken sherds and did not spread beyond the vessels. The deposit is made up of whitish linen textiles that

9 For a drawing and a picture of the whole set, see Barahona Mendieta 2017: fig. 8.

were stuffed through the mouths of the jars until they were filled (fig. 18), though some cloth was also used to produce small bags to hold natron. Some leaves of a persea tree (*Mimusops schimperi*) probably the remains of branches used in the execution of rituals were also found. For the moment the textiles are preserved as they were found, and have not yet been straightened out by a restorer. The usual chronology for this type of jars dates them from the 7th century BCE on, though according to David Aston such jars appear in late 8th century BCE contexts in areas surrounding Wadi Hatasun (in el-Khokha, and in tombs built to the rear of the Ramesseum).[10]

Several pottery objects, mainly cups and large jars, were found in the eastern part of the courtyard, around the mudbrick platform (SU 49) described in the previous section (figs. 19, 20, and 21). Some of these objects were complete, and those that were broken were found with their fragments spread over a limited area, so that they could be reconstructed with relative ease. These taphonomic circumstances allow us to deduce that the artefacts could not have rolled very far, but were found at or near to the area they were used and deposited, or simply abandoned. They can be dated to roughly the 4th or 3rd centuries BCE, attesting to a phase of reuse of the tomb. Similar objects were found in the lower part of the central ramp, which, like those found in the eastern half of the courtyard, were nearly complete. A large-sized jar with four handles was fully preserved, and from this it can be inferred that it neither fell over the edges from the courtyard nor rolled down the ramp, and was therefore deposited in front of the door that provided access to the underground chambers (fig. 22). Moreover, some of the partial containers could be completed with

Figure 18. Mummy wrappings from the mummification deposit (photograph: F. Guerra-Librero Fernández).

fragments found in the inner chambers, where they might have been carried in by floodwater. It has been already mentioned that water has been flowing into TT 209 since ancient times, and objects originally placed or abandoned in the courtyard could therefore have been moved inside by floods.

The second group of objects is composed of those brought into the site by flash floods up to the 19th century. They would likely have entered the courtyard from the first documented phase of reuse of the complex (4th to 3rd centuries BCE) on, to which the group of pottery

10 Aston 2009: 324.

Figure 19. Small dish that appears to have been used as a lamp, SU 42. Note the burn-marks on the edge, where the wick must have been (photograph: M. Á. Molinero Polo). Figure 20. Offering cup, SU 33. The interior bears burn-marks, probably from burning some type of aromatic substance (photograph: M. Á. Molinero Polo). Figure 21. Vessel for an offering, SU 42. The offering must have been large, as the part top has been trimmed to facilitate entry (photograph: M. Á. Molinero Polo).

cups and jars described in the previous paragraph bear witness. Their chronology varies from the Paleolithic Middle Stone Age to the post-Roman Period. Among this group of objects, the following stone and pottery artefacts should be highlighted:

· Three different categories of lithic debitage for tool production can be identified. The first include cores and flakes that correspond to the Levallois debitage, with the notable presence of the type known as *Levallois preferential*. The techno-typological features of these materials suggest that they belong to the African Middle Stone Age (fig. 23). The second are cores and flakes of different typologies, which correspond to the technological principles of the blade debitage. Chronologically, they range between the Late Stone Age and the end of Egyptian civilization. Lastly, other lithic objects characteristic of non-Levallois debitage of raw material oriented to flake production, the chronology of which is difficult to specify.

· Pottery fragments from the Middle Kingdom onward. The most notable pieces are several Middle Kingdom fragments and two bases of Canaanite amphorae.[11] A large Phoenician 'torpedo' amphora found near the eastern wall can also be included in this category. It was found at a spot that currently seems very close to the course of the wadi (it has to be remembered that the excavation of the courtyard is not yet complete), so it is not possible to state whether it belonged to the original tomb equipment or to a later offering, or was deposited by floodwaters instead. This type dates from the beginning of the 7th century onward,[12] so would be a significant dating criterion *post quem* if a relationship to the original tomb occupants—either the titled owner or his relatives—could be ascertained.

· A small amulet of the god Bes of uncertain chronology, which, from its position, seems to have been brought in by waters flowing down the channel that descends from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.

· This group also includes materials whose chronology is roughly contemporary with, or slightly later than, the construction of the tomb. Several *ushebtis*, probably of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and tubular faience necklace beads that could have been part of the original burial equipment, and may have been removed from the underground chambers or brought there from other nearby tombs of similar date to TT 209.

The third group of objects comprises those found in stratigraphic units that postdate the opening of the subterranean chambers by Mond, i.e., above SU 59. Finds in these strata include some objects of the same typologies and chronologies as those described in the second group, especially lithic tools and some ancient artefacts, but are predominately materials produced during the 20th century. Striking as it may seem, Palaeolithic remains can be found together with those from the end of the last century due to the carrying force of floodwaters.

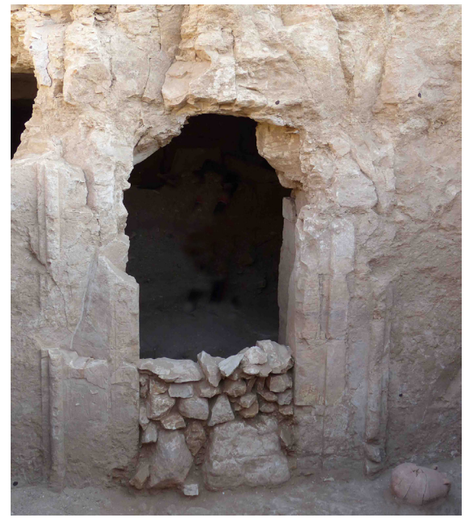

Figure 22. Door of the underground chambers of TT 209 with an offering vessel in situ (photograph: J. M. Barrios Mufrege).

This group encompasses pottery from the post-Roman Period to the 20th century. A single fragment belonging to a red slip ware should be interpreted as a recent intrusion,[13] as should a few pieces of Byzantine amphorae. The majority of the pottery objects correspond to large, nearly complete vessels that are identical to types used in the last decades of the 20th century.

Among other finds in this group there are objects of contemporary daily use from the hamlet of Hurubat. A selection has been collected, from plastic bottles and rusted cooking pots to postcards, cutlery, and toys for children

11 Barahona Mendieta 2017: 13–15 and figs. 1 and 3.

12 Barahona Mendieta 2017: 19 and fig. 9.

13 Barahona Mendieta 2017: 25–26 and fig. 13.

From left to right: Figure 23. Levallois cores and flakes (photograph: J. M. Barrios Mufrege). Figure 24. Cloth arusa doll, SU 5 (photograph: J. M. Barrios Mufrege).

or for sale to tourists (fig. 24). All of these objects are important for reconstructing the material life of those who once inhabited the ancient necropolis in the area of Qurna, especially now that they have been relocated elsewhere.

Of special interest is a relatively large set of objects that are modern imitations of ancient Egyptian artefacts. It is well known that the Gurnawis thrived on offering services to foreign visitors, including the sale of souvenirs, which is the main reason that they came to inhabit the necropolis. The manufacture of imitation artefacts was a task in which the members of this community excelled, and these objects are a clear reflection, in the archaeological register, of their means of subsistence (figs. 25).[14]

5. | As a conclusion: the formation process of the sedimentary deposit and its historical interpretation

The *Proyecto dos cero nueve* excavation has brought to light a complex, layered deposit containing much historical interest. It combines phases pertaining to the construction of the funerary monument, the ritual use of these structures, erosive action from the wadi, the progressive decay of mudbrick constructions, and interventions of archaeologists since the beginning of the 20th century. Bearing in mind that the Mission has not yet completed the excavation of the sediments from the courtyard's southern part, the reconstruction of possible

14 On the life of the Gurnawis, and on their production of *antikas* for tourists, see van der Spek 2011: 247–287. On the impact of tourism on the urbanism of Luxor, on both the East and West Banks, see Molinero Polo 2017.

Figures 25. Two examples of imitation Egyptian artefacts, SU 5 (photograph: J. M. Barrios Mufrege).

uses to which this space was put could be more nuanced in the future.

The construction of the funerary complex–the courtyard analysed here, the superstructure on the slope of the wadi, and the subterranean chambers–can be placed in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Evidence for this is varied, and the only piece from the courtyard is the inscription carved on the entrance door to the inner rooms.[15] The earliest activity documented in this area would be the excavation of the bedrock to form the horizontal floor of the courtyard and its vertical walls, as well as the ramp that descends toward the subterranean chambers. After the courtyard walls were built, all exposed surfaces, including the floor, were covered by a whitish layer of plaster.

The jars containing a mummification deposit were placed to the west of the tomb, probably outside the courtyard, atop the northern slope of the wadi and in contact with the outer face of the western wall. It is possible that they were originally deposited in a small structure, but this cannot be confirmed because the structural elements of this area (mudbrick walls and limestone clasts) have slid towards the courtyard and appeared completely mixed. The dating attributed to this pottery type means that the jars could have corresponded either to the original burials in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty or to a Saite burial and, in the latter case, outside the TT 209, since no Saite intrusion has been recognised in its inner chambers. The fact that the vessels seem to come from outside the courtyard is not a sufficient argument to exclude them from the equipment of the possible burials made in the chambers of TT 209, since Julia Budka states that mummification deposits were often placed outside tombs but closely connected with them.[16]

The stratigraphic position of the mudbrick platform (SU 49)—directly on the courtyard floor and covered by sediments that contain ceramics of the 4th to 3rd centuries BCE—does not allow it to be attributed to a specific chronology, since it could correspond either to burials in the underground chambers during the Kushite Dynasty—if any—or to the tomb's reuse in Persian-Ptolemaic times. Aude Semat has interpreted some exemplars of small stone and mudbrick platforms in the courtyards of Theban tombs as supports upon which to stand the coffin containing the mummy, or the latter alone, for the Opening of the Mouth ceremony.[17] Her proposal could perhaps be applied to the plinth in the courtyard of TT 209.

The first phase of reuse of the courtyard dates to the end of the Persian Period, Thirtieth Dynasty, or beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, and is documented via a group of large pottery vessels, *situlae*, dishes and cups that appear to have been used in rituals. The execution of

15 On the Nubian name —and origin— of TT 209's owner, see Molinero Polo 2017: 123–128.

16 Budka 2010: 37.

17 Semat 2017.

such a cultic rite for the dead is implied in the deposition of vessels that could have contained offerings, in some cases an offering of a size and nature that those who performed the ceremony were obliged to cut the upper part of the vessel receiving it. Ritual is also implied in the burning of a substance, most probably an aromatic one, that left traces of fire both inside some of the cups and on the floor, and the libation of some form of liquid using the *situlae*. Late Period tombs in both Asasif and South Asasif show evidence of intensive use at this time.[18] Among this evidence are vessels, cups, and situlae of similar form and chronology to those found in the TT 209 courtyard.

The collapse of the western wall, probably in the Late Ptolemaic Period or the beginning of the Roman Period, swept the jars containing the mummification deposit into the courtyard. The progressive decay of the remaining walls, which is especially notable in the eastern part of the courtyard, would have happened slightly later. The tomb's inner chambers must have been filled in by the time the external walls fell into ruin, as shown by the pottery retrieved in the courtyard and the information the Mission has gathered during the excavation of its underground spaces.

Filled in underground chambers could have meant that floodwaters from the wadi had a greater impact on the courtyard mudbrick structure than in previous centuries, since they could no longer flow into the interior of the tomb. It cannot be ruled out the possibility that some of the walls may have been dismantled and their materials reused at some time during late Antiquity, because despite the abundance of mudbricks collected during the excavation of the courtyard, their total volume does not seem to match what the three walls lost. Other possibilities, such as the mudbricks being dragged by the waters towards the wadi's channel, could also explain their apparent absence. Whatever the case, the erosive power of the floodwaters that affected the exterior structure obliterated all visible traces of it. This would have rendered the location of the ancient TT 209 unrecognisable by the end of the Roman domination, or even before.

The Byzantine Period, from which prominent remains are known in the surrounding areas, is only attested from a few pottery fragments, evidently brought in by floodwaters, and some Coptic ostraca, probably from the scriptorium above TT 223 on the southern hillside of the wadi.[19]

The apparent gap between the Byzantine Period and the beginning of the 20th century CE could be due to two factors. The first is general: the gradual depopulation of the region during this long period.[20] The other is specific to the tomb, since the strata that Mond removed to gain access to the subterranean chambers might correspond to the deposits that accumulated over these centuries. Such sediments would no longer be available due to his intervention, and Mond did not publish any information about their contents.

New evidence of human activity at the site is not identifiable until the early 20th century. The most obvious intervention from this period onward corresponds to the work of Western visitors and Egyptologists, since there are bibliographical references that allow us to identify them and to deduce the scope of their work, including what they did and how far they penetrated the tomb. As has already been already observed, cut SU 59 matches the entrance Mond used to access the interior of the structure. Cuts SU 19 and SU 20 should be correlated with other instances when the tomb was accessed, perhaps those of scholars in the middle of the 20th century. Two further cuts in the sediment, roughly quadrangular in shape, have been identified in the northeastern (SU 135) and northwestern (SU 18) corners of the courtyard. Their form and position suggest that they are likely to be archaeological *sondages*, possibly dug by Eigner's team to delimit the exterior architectural configuration of the courtyard. Footprints of bare feet and the hooves of domestic animals bear witness to the fact that the courtyard was frequently crossed by inhabitants living in nearby settlements (fig. 26).

18 For Asasif, see Budka 2010: 356–364. For Karakhamani's tomb, TT 223, in South Asasif, see Budka 2014: 252–257, table 13.2.

19 Müller 2017.

20 Molinero Polo 2017: 61–62.

Figure 26. Footprints of bare human feet and animals hoves, imprinted on wet *tafla* (photograph M. Á. Molinero Polo).

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Prefacio

A Covadonga le gustaba conducir, le apasionaba estar al volante de su coche. “Pareces una chica del futurismo italiano”, le decía un amigo, aunque su primer automóvil fuera pequeño, blanco con un techo amarillo y a veces le costase llegar a su destino. Estuvimos años riendo cuando nos acordábamos del nombre con que habíamos bautizado aquella máquina. En nuestro recuerdo, ella sigue siendo la joven radiante y activa que conocimos a sus veinte años. Y su personalidad permanece entre nosotros como un perfume indeleble, retomando los versos del poeta alejandrino que tanto le gustaba. Quienes asistieron a sus conferencias conocieron la calidez de su voz; sus clases en la universidad crearon vocaciones; son, sin embargo, los que compartieron con ella su amistad quienes disfrutaron de los rasgos más sobresalientes de su personalidad: la generosidad, la entrega desinteresada a los demás. Cova tenía una capacidad excepcional para la empatía hacia los que se le acercaban. Eso le hizo ganar afectos en todos los ámbitos de su vida y conservarlos, desde los compañeros del colegio de la infancia y la pandilla de la juventud a los colegas de la madurez. Este tributo pretende también transmitir a las generaciones futuras el legado de una persona excepcional y la huella que dejó en su generación.

Un grupo de amigos que vivimos con ella sus labores de docencia, investigación o proyectos arqueológicos, decidimos rendirle un homenaje particular, uno más entre los que se le han dedicado desde el momento en que su *ka* voló al cielo. Este volumen es el resultado de esa voluntad de crear nuestro monumento a su memoria, por tantas experiencias inolvidables compartidas. El homenaje ha querido ser un caleidoscopio de miradas desde las que reflejar la personalidad de Covadonga y hemos preferido romper el formato académico tradicional. Los artículos se entrelazan con fotografías, dibujos, semblanzas o poemas que pretenden dejar constancia de la huella que ella legó a sus autores. Es nuestra ofrenda para que su *ba* siga regresando desde donde esté hasta nosotros, cada vez que la nombremos y en cada ocasión en que su recuerdo tome forma en nuestro corazón.

Foreword

Covadonga enjoyed driving; she loved being behind the wheel of her car. A friend used to tell her "you look like a woman of the Italian Futurism," although her first car was small and white with a yellow roof, and sometimes had difficulties reaching its destination. We laughed for years remembering the name with which we baptized that machine. In our memories, she is still the radiant and active young woman we met in her twenties, and her personality remains among us as an indelible scent, to draw upon the verse of an Alexandrian poet that she loved so much. Those who attended her lectures knew the warmth of her voice, her classes at the university created vocations, however, it is those who shared her friendship who enjoyed the most outstanding features of her personality: generosity, and selfless dedication to others. Cova had an exceptional capacity for empathy toward those who approached her. This allowed her to win affection in all aspects of her life and to retain it, from the classmates of her early schooldays, to the circles of her youth, to the colleagues of her adult years. This tribute will surely be transmitted to future generations as the legacy of an exceptional individual, and the mark she left on her generation.

As a group of friends who lived with her through teaching, research, or archaeological projects, we have decided to pay her a particular tribute; one more among the many that have been dedicated to her from the moment her ka flew to heaven. This volume is the result of our desire to create for her a monument to so many unforgettable shared experiences. We decided that this tribute should be a kaleidoscope, to reflect Covadonga's personality, and we have thus preferred to break from the traditional academic format. The articles are intertwined with photographs, drawings, sketches, or poems that are intended to record the traces she left with their authors. It is our offering so that her ba keeps coming back to us from where she now is, every time that her memory takes shape in our hearts.

Carta a una hermana en la luz

Son los hermanos y las hermanas quienes le hablan a su hermana en la luz, como el hijo que le habla a su padre, como la hija que le habla a su madre.

¡O Senet, Senet Meret! Que Osiris-Khentamentiu te otorgue millones de años respirando aliento en tu nariz, dándote pan y cerveza junto a Hathor, Señora de la Tierra de Luz.

Tu condición es como la vida millones de veces, por orden de los dioses que están en el cielo y la en tierra. Que Ha, Señor de Occidente, actúe en tu favor de acuerdo a sus deseos, que Anubis, Señor del Buen Entierro actúe para ti como él lo quiera. Que pueda levantar una barrera contra los enemigos, hombres y mujeres malvados que se oponen a tu casa, tus hermanos, tus padres, tu memoria y tus obras.

Fuiste excelente en la tierra, por lo que también serás capaz y eficiente en el Más Allá. Que se te hagan ofrendas, que se realice la fiesta Haker para ti, que hagan la fiesta del Wag, que te den pan y cerveza del altar de Khentamentiu. Que puedas viajar río abajo en la Barca del Ocaso y que navegues río arriba en la Barca de la Mañana. Que estés justificada junto a cada dios. Que te conviertas en alguien elogiado por nuestros espíritus masculinos y femeninos.

¿Has visto estos lamentos ahora que estás allí en el Más Allá?

¡Oh, gran dolor! Útil es una queja para hablar de lo que se hace contra nosotros de una manera tan injusta. Aunque no hay nada que hayamos hecho contra los dioses, y aunque no hemos comido de sus ofrendas, ¡sin embargo nos han privado de ti!

Te han traído aquí a la Ciudad de la Eternidad, sin que albergues ira contra nosotros. Pero si hubiera un reproche en tu corazón, olvídalo por el bien de tus hermanas y hermanos. Sé misericordiosa, sé misericordiosa, y así todos los dioses del nomo de This serán misericordiosos contigo.

Mantén alejadas todas las aflicciones dirigidas a nosotros, tus hermanas y hermanos, porque tú sabes que tenemos una gran necesidad de esto. Que vivas para nosotros y así el Grande te elogie. Que la cara del gran dios sea gozosa para ti, y que él te dé pan puro con ambas manos.

Todos los sacrificios funerarios se han realizado para la que está en la luz, a fin de que pueda interceder por nosotros, los sobrevivientes en la tierra que han quedado atrás. Por lo tanto, busca que el que causó aquello de lo que estamos sufriendo ahora te dé una explicación, porque necesitamos entender y queremos también ser justificados delante de los dioses como lo eres ahora, entendiendo todo, justificada y transfigurada.

Son los hermanos y hermanas quienes le hablan a su hermana, para quien la luz ya nunca se oscurecerá.

Letter to an enlightened sister

It is the brothers and sisters who are speaking to their sister like the son who is speaking to his father, like the daughter who is speaking to her mother.

O Senet, Senet Meret! May Osiris-Khentamentiu make millions of years for you by breathing breath into your nose, by giving bread and beer beside Hathor, Lady of the Land-of-Light.

Your condition is like life millions of time, by command of the gods who are in heaven and earth. May Ha, Lord of the West, act on your behalf as he wishes, may Anubis, Lord of the Good Burial act for you as he wishes. May you erect a barrier against male and female enemies, male and female evil ones who oppose your house, your brother, your mother, your memory, your deeds.

You are one who was excellent on earth, therefore you will also be capable in the hereafter. May one make offerings to you, may one make the Haker-feast for you, may one make the Wag-feast for you, may one give you bread and beer from the altar of Khentamentiu. You will travel downstream in the Bark-of-the-Evening and sail upstream in the Bark-of-the-Morning. May you be given justification at the side of every god. Make yourself into someone praised by our male and female ghosts.

Have you seen this lamentation now that you are there in the hereafter?

O, great grief! Useful is a complaint to speaking concerning this which is done against us in such an unjust way, although there is nothing that we have done against the gods, and although we have not eaten of his offerings, nevertheless they have deprived us of you!

You have been brought here to the City of Eternity, without you harbouring anger against us. But if there is a reproach in your heart, forget it for the sake of your sisters and brothers. Be merciful, be merciful, then all the gods of the Thinite nome will be merciful towards you.

Keep away all afflictions directed at us, your sisters and brothers, for you know we have a need for this. May you live for us in order for the Great One to praise you. May the face of the great god be joyous because of you, so that he will give you pure bread with both his hands.

All mortuary sacrifices are made for the enlightened one in order to intercede on behalf of the inhabitants of earth. Therefore seek an explanation from him who caused that of which we are suffering now, for we want to be justified in front of the gods same as you are now.

It is the brothers and sisters who are speaking to their sister, she for whom the light will never darken.