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Old Tombs, New Tenants

Third Intermediate Period and Late Period Reuse of Theban Tombs

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My heart yearns for Thebes
(inscription on a Late Period scarab, UC 60846)

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Introduction

The greatest nuisance with these series of tombs has been the number of secondary holes and passages (Ernest Mackay, unpublished report from the excavations in the Theban necropolis for Sir Robert Mond)¹

In the past years, much ink has been spilled about the Egyptian funerary practices: unique, lavishly decorated and well-preserved tombs are the hallmark of the Egyptian civilization and, as such, have attracted significant scholarly attention, resulting in numerous publications on the Egyptian funerary culture. The researchers' interest in the funerary practices, however, is often limited to the 'classical' eras of Egyptian history – works on funerary customs after the New Kingdom, when the tradition of tomb construction was almost completely abandoned in favour of the reuse of older monuments, are considerably less numerous. In many earlier Egyptological publications, burials in reused tombs are summarized very briefly. No synthesis of the phenomenon of the reuse of Egyptian sepulchres has ever been produced. It is even more surprising, as in the period in question the number of typological studies and classifications of various artefacts, enabling relatively precise dating of interments – with David A. Aston's seminal work on burial assemblages in the Third Intermediate Period (Aston, D. 2009a) being the starting point for any investigation – is similar to analogous works for the earlier periods or possibly even greater.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the strategies of the reuse of Theban tombs in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period (time roughly corresponding to what Karl Jaspers called 'the Axial Age'). Burials in reused tombs are often treated as secondary – this time not in terms of chronology, but of importance – compared to those originally deposited in the discussed monuments. As the later remains and features usually outnumber earlier ones, they can be true 'nuisances', as put by Mackay, for an archaeologist interested solely in the original phase of tombs' 'life-span'. However, the proliferation of later objects and structures in reused tombs offers an exceptional opportunity to get a glimpse into the funerary culture of people living in Thebes in the first millennium BCE. Nowadays, this opportunity is appreciated by more archaeologists, with recent volumes dedicated solely to the later remains from the excavated monuments as a result (e.g. Redford, S. 2006).

¹ Gardiner MSS, AHG/19.4.5.

My aim is to analyse the available data on the reuse of Theban tombs and offer some observations regarding the patterns and developments, examine hypotheses appearing in the scientific literature, and try to better understand the phenomenon of the popularity of the reuse of tombs, its longevity, and perception of the reused tombs by the population of Thebes in the first millennium BCE. The most often-repeated view links burials in reused structures to low economic status of the deceased. One of the purposes of this project is to test the validity of this hypothesis and investigate the status and identity of persons buried in reused monuments.

This work is divided into two parts: *Text* and *Catalogue of tombs*. In *Catalogue*, I gathered the available data on the reused Theban tombs, while *Text* contains the discussion about the data. One of the aims of this study was to collect information on the later history of all of the Theban tombs, both royal and private; however, a large number of them, for various reasons which I describe in detail in following chapters, are unpublished. Moreover, even in the tombs that were published, the later remains were often treated by excavators as less worthy of attention than the original phases of tombs' occupation, therefore their description is usually rather cursory. In many cases, the only information I managed to find on the later history of the tombs was a short mention on objects datable to the first millennium BCE, without even giving their findspot. Yet another obstacle for a scholar studying the archaeology of the Theban necropolis is lack of clear stratigraphic sequences, mostly due to the numerous robberies the tombs fell victim to and modern disturbances of the tombs and their contents. This makes the analysis of spatial distribution of burials and the features in which they were deposited extremely difficult – as it will be demonstrated in the section presenting the data, where the majority of interments could not be assigned to any of the types I distinguished. Nevertheless, the results obtained from the limited number of tombs for which such information exists demonstrate that it is possible to trace a chronological development of the features in which 'new' burials were placed, therefore such analysis is not only important for the proper understanding of the phenomenon of the reuse of the 'sacred space' of the tombs, but also useful for dating purposes.

The section entitled *Text* consists of eight chapters, *Excursus*, *Conclusions*, and four appendices (A-D). Chapter 1, *Historical background*, is a summary of the historical events of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, including the most recent proposals regarding the chronology, such as the reversal of the order of the reigns of Shabaka and Shebitku. Chapter 2, *Methods of research*, contains a general description of methods used in this work, presentation of data in the *Catalogue* as well as limitations that can distort the picture of

reused tombs. In Chapter 3, *Dating criteria*, I discuss methods of dating burials discovered in reused monuments.

Chapter 4, *Topographical analysis of reused Theban tombs*, examines the topography of the Theban necropolis with respect to the reuse of tombs as well as possible links between the reused structures and other monuments which could have influenced the choice of a tomb. I also discuss the reuse of smaller units of the necropolis (Dra Abu el-Naga, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, etc.) and analyse its chronological span. In Chapter 5, *Architecture of late dynastic reuse of Theban tombs*, I focus on the technicalities of the reuse: I divide burials into five types, according to the feature in which they were deposited. For some of the deceased new shafts or chambers were cut, while others were interred in the already existing spaces. Additionally, new structures were erected in courtyards of some of the reused tombs. The described architectural features associated with later burials are discussed with focus on their chronological development.

Chapter 6, *Sacred space and its reuse*, turns to the notions of ‘reuse’ and ‘sacred space’ and examines the perception of tomb reuse by Thebans living in the first millennium BCE. In this chapter, I analyse how new owners of reused tombs marked their presence in the monuments and examine the often-repeated view of tombs being ‘usurped’ by the new deceased at the expense of the original owners. In Chapter 7, *Who was buried in reused tombs?*, I address the question of identity of the new occupants of reused tombs. I also discuss activities related to the deceased buried in reused sepulchres, particularly in the context of the services of priests known as choachytes. In *Excursus*, I offer several remarks regarding the very special kind of the tomb reuse – burials in the so-called ‘caches’, which particularly well demonstrate the complexities of the Theban funerary culture at the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period. Finally in Chapter 8, *Tomb reuse in context*, I discuss possible reasons for the popularity and longevity of the phenomenon of the reuse of earlier monuments and attempt to put it in the context of the more general changes which took place in the first millennium BCE.

Since 2015, I have been fortunate to take part in the excavations conducted by the Polish archaeological mission in the Middle Kingdom tombs MMA 1151 and 1152. During my stay in Qurna I realised that for most archaeologists working in Thebes I talked to, the presence of later burials from the late dynastic period (but also the Ptolemaic and Roman eras) in excavated tombs was so obvious, that it would be odd-looking if one *did not find* such remains. This prompted my questioning of the scale of the phenomenon, which I attempted to

define by estimating the number of reused ‘TT’ tombs (*Appendix A*). The remaining Appendices (*B*, *C*, and *D*) contain information on dating of burials discovered in reused tombs, original dating of reused tombs, and sex of the deceased interred in reused mortuary monuments.

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Chapter 1

Historical background

Aftermath of the New Kingdom and the 'Libyan anarchy': 21st ('Tanite'), 22nd ('Bubastite'), and 23rd dynasties (ca. 1076-747 BCE)

The end of the Bronze Age brought about profound political, economic, and social changes in the Mediterranean world (Horden, Purcell 2000; Broodbank 2013; Knapp, van Dommelen 2015). Egypt was no exception: destabilization of the region during the late Bronze Age is reflected in textual and iconographic sources that inform of the violent clashes with the so-called 'Sea Peoples' and Libyans (Redford, D. 2018), complete or partial loss of the east and south vassal states/provinces (Török 2009, 200-209; Millek 2018), civil war (Niwiński 1992a; 1995), and economic struggle (Müller 2004). The ultimate political consequence of the processes associated with the final years of the Bronze Age became the collapse of the last Ramesside dynasty and the symbolic end of the 'classical' period of the Egyptian civilization, the New Kingdom.

The dynasties which claimed political power in Egypt after the death of Ramesses XI were of seemingly Libyan origin – even the 21st dynasty, believed until recently to comprise Egyptian monarchs (Leahy 1990, 155; Ritner 2008, 309). With the rise of the Libyan kings began the fragmentation of the Egyptian state. In the second half of the eleventh century BCE and the larger part of the tenth, the territory of Egypt was controlled by two lines of rulers: the high priests of Amun in the South and the Tanite ruling house (Manethonian 21st dynasty) in the North. In the two centuries that followed (corresponding with the rule of Manetho's 22nd and 23rd dynasties), a further political division took place and each city seemed to have its own independent leader: a king (*nswt*), a great chief [of Ma] (*wr ʿ3*), a hereditary prince (*iry-pʿt*), or a count (*ḥ3ty-ʿ*). There is textual evidence pointing to the fact that many of those rulers were relatives. In the text of the famous Victory Stela, written in the second half of the eighth century BCE, there are no less than four independent kings mentioned, ruling in Egypt at the same time: Nimlot of Hermopolis, Osorkon of Bubastis, Iuput of Leontopolis, and Peftjaubastet of Heracleopolis, each of them with a name written in a royal cartouche and with a title *nswt*. Additionally, numerous other members of the aristocracy are listed in the text with the names of cities or regions under their jurisdiction (Grimal 1981). It was

suggested that the fragmented nature of the Egyptian regime under the Libyan rulers was a reflection of the Libyan indigenous political organisation, comprising a loose confederation of tribes with a strong focus on family relationships and kinship (Leahy 1985).

The 21st dynasty, founded by Smendes, ruled from Tanis; its rulers were interred there, abandoning the custom of locating royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings.² From the Libyan Period onwards, Egyptian kings were not buried in lavish tombs in the necropolis but in modest mortuary chapels located in temples' courtyards. Intact royal burials were discovered by Pierre Montet in Tanis in 1939 (Montet 1939). The preserved written sources regarding the policy of the Tanite pharaohs are limited to mentions of marriages between the royal family and the children of the high priests (Naunton 2010, 122).

Shoshenq I, the first pharaoh of the 22nd dynasty, attempted to consolidate the country and continue the New Kingdom policy of expansion to the East. Around 925 BCE Shoshenq launched a campaign to the Levant which ended with the success of the Egyptian army and looting of Jerusalem (Dodson 2012, 88-95). Shoshenq was a prolific builder, active particularly in Karnak (Arnold, Di. 1999, 35-36). Another city rebuilt in this period was Bubastis, the ancestral seat of the dynasty (Arnold, Di. 1999, 36). Despite Shoshenq's efforts to unify the country, after his death Egypt became even more fragmented than during the reigns of his Tanite predecessors.

The multitude of the monarchs ruling at this time, combined with the absence of written documents containing king-lists and direct information regarding the exact extent of their particular zones of control, resulted in various reconstructions of the chronology, among which the most influential became propositions by Kenneth Kitchen (Kitchen 1973; 2009) and Aston (Aston, D. 1998; Aston, D., Taylor 1990; Aston, D. 2009a, 19-38; 2009b), often referred to respectively as 'Chronology K' and 'Chronology A'. Aston's proposition that Takeloth II, associated with the Tanite ruler Takeloth and known principally from Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*, was in fact a pharaoh of a Theban line of Libyan kings, became the starting point for the discussion of the chronology of the 22nd-23rd dynasty rulers. Three decades later, the chronology of the Libyan rule in Egypt is far from being universally agreed on. Furthermore, recent years brought unexpected developments in this matter, also with regard to the later periods of Egyptian history (see below).

² In fact, there are strong arguments for the hypothesis that the last Ramesside monarchs, Ramesses X and XI, were never buried in the tombs prepared for them in the Valley (Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 172-173; Dodson 2012, 23); perhaps they were interred in Pi-Ramesses instead.

The Kushite rule in Egypt: 24th and 25th ('Kushite') dynasties (ca. 747-656 BCE)

The Libyan rule came to its end with the northward expansion of kings of the Nubian kingdom of Kush, who conquered Egypt in the second half of the eighth century BCE and established Manetho's 25th dynasty. The first Kushite ruler who managed to extend his control over Upper Egypt was Kashta, known mainly from the fragment of a dedicatory stela from Elephantine naming him the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nimaatra, son of Ra, Lord of the Two Lands (Eide *et al.* 1994, 45). His successor, Piankhy, most probably inherited his predecessor's political influence in Upper Egypt - or at least part of it, as indicated by two fragments of a granite stela describing the events of the beginning of his rule (Years 3 and 4), in which Piankhy's celebration of the Opet festival in Thebes and his excursion to the north are mentioned (Ritner 2009, 464-465). Somewhat later, probably around Piankhy's Year 20 (728 BCE) his major expedition to Egypt took place: a campaign described in the text of the Victory Stela, directed against the Libyan chief Tefnakht and concluded with the victory of Piankhy's forces and reaffirming his power in the Upper and Lower Egypt. Later sources indicate that his authority was recognized in the oases as well (Janssen 1968); despite former hostilities the majority of local rulers, including the rebel count Tefnakht, were allowed to retain power.

At the very end of the Libyan Period, a major change took place in the policy of the Upper Egyptian clergy: the God's Wife of Amun and the daughter of the Libyan king Osorkon III, Shepenwepet I, took over the royal prerogatives of power, started depicting herself in scenes previously reserved for the kings only and with royal insignia, and took the throne and Horus names (Ayad 2009, 15-16). Elsewhere I have argued that this sudden increase of significance of the female priestly office was a Kushite influence (Kaczanowicz 2019a). Most probably Shepenwepet did not get to enjoy her newly acquired position for long: during the reign of Kashta or Piankhy Shepenwepet adopted (very likely under political pressure) Amenirdis, daughter of Kashta, as her successor. The Kushite princess probably survived into the reign of Taharka, the penultimate Nubian ruler of Egypt (Coulon, Hallmann, Payraudeau 2018, 276) and is known from numerous texts and monuments.

Until recently, it was believed that the successor of Piankhy was Shabaka, who in turn was succeeded by Shebitku. However, it has been proposed that this order should be reversed (Brunet 2005; Bányai 2013). The new proposition gradually gained support from the majority of scholars dealing with the subject (Payraudeau 2014; Broekman 2015; 2017a; 2017b;

Jurman 2017). Shebitku, who possibly like Piankhy was crowned in Thebes (Kahn 2014, 25), is known from a number of Egyptian sources, as well as an Assyrian inscription of king Sargon II, discovered in the Tang-I Var pass in Iran (Frame 1999). Apparently, Shebitku's policy towards this Assyrian ruler was a conciliatory one: he extradited Iamani, a rebel king of the city of Ashdod who had fled to Kush, to Assyria, thus renouncing his involvement in the movement opposing Assyrian power.

Concurrently with the Kushite dynasty, Tefnakht's line struggled to regain power in Egypt. In Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* it is represented by Bocchoris (Bakenrenef), Tefnakht's successor and the sole ruler of Manetho's 24th dynasty. Bocchoris' attempts to take over control in Egypt were put to an end by a Kushite king called *Sabakon* by Manetho (most probably Shebitku, although Shabaka cannot be ruled out), who allegedly burnt him alive.

A sudden turn in relations with Assyria seems to have taken place under Shabaka when Egypt joined the anti-Assyrian coalition of the Philistine cities. The result of the clash between Assyria and the coalition forces was presented as a tremendous Assyrian victory in the Assyrian sources, but in the Greek literary tradition and in the Bible the Assyrians were the defeated side (Franklin 2018). Regardless of the actual outcome of the conflict, the 701 BCE Assyrian campaign to the Levant marked the beginning of the period of over two decades of peace between Egypt and Assyria.

The reigns of Shebitku, Shabaka and the first decades of Taharka's rule were a period of relative internal stability, which brought about – after centuries of hiatus – a revival of Egyptian monumental building. The latter is especially visible in the reign of Taharka, when nearly all the major Upper Egyptian religious centres (and several Lower Egyptian ones as well) were restored and enlarged (Arnold, Di. 1999, 51-61). The Kushite rule in Egypt also marks the beginning of the period of the revival of monumental mortuary architecture, which first appeared in Thebes and later (during the 26th dynasty) also in the north and in the oases (Eigner 1999). Amenirdis I was succeeded as the God's Wife of Amun by Piankhy's daughter, Shepenwepet II. The Kushite princess took one step further than her predecessors, celebrating the *sed* festival and, in a manner similar to the pharaoh's, taking a second 'throne' name (Pope 2013).

Between 673 and 663 BCE, the Assyrians made no less than five attempts to conquer Egypt: the last of them, the Ashurbanipal's campaign of 664/663 BCE, took place under Taharka's successor, Tanwetamani. The Assyrian army plundered Thebes and was said to have left

Egypt with immense spoils (Kahn 2006). Tanwetamani was recognized as a king in Upper Egypt for another nine years, but the Kushites never managed to regain control over the whole country. Finally, in 656 BCE, Egypt became consolidated under a new dynasty.

The Saite Period: 26th ('Saite') dynasty (656-526 BCE)

The first king of the 26th dynasty, the Saite pharaoh Psamtek, took extensive measures to reorganise the administration and army. The Assyrians acknowledged the loss of their Egyptian province; contrary to the popular opinion, no information on hostilities or armed conflict between Assyria and Egypt can be found in contemporary sources, most probably due to the Babylonian threat which absorbed Assyrian attention (Spalinger 1976; Perdu 2010, 141). Psamtek's reign was the beginning of intensive contacts with the Greeks, who were employed as mercenaries in the Egyptian army and came to trade in Egypt. The famous Greek Naukratis and recently discovered Thonis-Heracleion were founded during Psamtek's reign (Villing 2017; Colburn 2018a).

Psamtek's long rule brought about decades of stability, with all the wars fought on the foreign soil. His successors, Necho II and Psamtek II, also attempted to avoid involvement in conflicts directly threatening their homeland, although in 601 BCE the Egyptian army was forced to defend the country against the Babylonian invasion (Lipiński 1972). In the literary tradition Necho II became famous for his maritime interest. The reorganisation of the fleet, alleged circumnavigation of Africa, and construction of a canal linking the Nile and the Red Sea are all believed to have been Necho's initiatives (Lloyd 1977), while Psamtek's rule was to be remembered best by his campaign against the king of Kush (593 BCE) and his efforts to remove traces of his Nubians predecessors from Egyptian monuments (Gozzoli 2017).

With the Saite dynasty coming to power, changes occurred also in the office of the God's Wife of Amun. Shepewepet II was allowed to keep her titles but was persuaded to adopt Nitocris (Psamtek's daughter) as her successor, while Amenirdis II, the Kushite princess designated to inherit Shepenwepet's position, disappeared from the picture (Dodson 2002). Nevertheless, the office of the God's Wife, the most important priestly office in Egypt under the Kushite rulers, seems to have lost its significance in the Saite Period (Lohwasser 2016, 126).

Apries, Psamtek II's son and successor, was forced to face yet another Babylonian assault (582 BCE). The information on this clash is scanty, but apparently the Egyptian pharaoh

emerged victorious from the confrontation (Abd el-Maksoud, Valbelle 2013). Successes on the east frontier did not save Apries from troubles in Egypt: in 570 BCE, after less than two decades of his rule, an uprising led by general Amasis broke out. According to Herodotus (II, 161-163), the trigger for the mutiny was the Egyptian military failure in Cyrene and Apries' pro-Hellenic policy. Struggles for power (with Apries eventually backed by the Babylonians) continued until 567 BCE and concluded with Apries' death, thus ending the Psamtek's line on the Egyptian throne.

Apries' successor, the rebel Amasis, who started counting his regnal years from the first year of the revolt, ruled Egypt for almost half a century, in many ways continuing the policy of his antecedents. Nitocris I died in 586 BCE and was replaced by Ankhnesneferibra, Psamtek II's daughter; Amasis allowed Ankhnesneferibra to stay in her office, but his daughter, Nitocris II, was being prepared to replace her after her death (Ayad 2009, 28). After decades of constant competition Babylonia ceased to be a threat and was eventually incorporated into the newly created Persian Empire. Under Amasis, contacts between Egypt and the Hellenic world flourished; in fact, Amasis remains one of the better-known pharaohs in the Greek historiography. One of the achievements often attributed to Amasis by Classical authors was the conquest of Cyprus, although there is no direct evidence for it in the contemporary Egyptian and Cypriote sources (Iacovou 2014, 809-810).

Psamtek III's reign lasted only several months. In 526 BCE,³ in the battle of Pelusium, Cambyses II's forces defeated Psamtek's army and marched on Memphis. Cambyses was proclaimed the king of Egypt, took an Egyptian throne name, and started his rule as the first pharaoh of the 27th dynasty.

The First Persian Period: 27th dynasty (526-404 BCE)

The Persians abolished the office of the God's Wife of Amun, which was never resurrected, although the Ptolemaic Period queens often made allusions to the God's Wives in their titularies and iconography (Ayad 2009, 155). Of the Persian pharaohs, probably only the first ones: Cambyses and Darius displayed an interest in Egypt and visited their Egyptian satrapy. Cambyses died on his way from Egypt in 522 BCE; after a short interlude of struggles for power, Darius, later known as Darius the Great, took the Persian throne. Darius finished the job of creating a canal linking the Nile and the Red Sea (allegedly started by Necho II). His

³ The traditional Egyptian chronology places Cambyses' campaign on Egypt in 525 BCE; the new proposal by Joachim Quack redates it to 526 BCE (Quack 2011).

reign in Egypt, despite his attempts to present himself as a rightful ruler and win the favour of the Egyptian gods (the temple in Hibis, in Kharga Oasis, founded in the Saite Period, was enlarged and embellished on Darius' orders), was interrupted by numerous rebellions, which had to be quenched by Persian administrators of Egypt (Perdu 2010, 151-152).

It remains unknown whether any of the remaining 27th dynasty pharaohs (Xerxes I, Artaxerxes I, Xerxes II, Darius II, and Artaxerxes II) ever visited Egypt. At the beginning of Artaxerxes I's reign, the Inaros' revolt took place (463/462-457 BCE), during which Athenian troops aided Egyptian rebels. The rebellion ended with Inaros' execution by the Persians, most probably by impalement (Kahn 2008).

Despite the paucity of records regarding royal activities in Egypt in this period, a lot of information is brought to light by the Egyptian archives and the relations of Classical travellers, who visited Egypt in the fifth century BCE. The most famous of them is Herodotus, who left a detailed account of his journey, Egyptian monuments, and customs in his *Histories*. On the Egyptian side, of particular interest are archaeological and written sources from the oases: it seems that under the Persian kings they became important production centres, providing for example castor oil, as attested by documents from the Egyptian settlement in Ayn Manawir (Agut-Labordère 2018). From the same period and the same site comes the first written record of the silver stater coin in Egypt (Chauveau 2000).

Restoration of the 'native' dynasties: 28th and 29th ('Mendesian') dynasties (404-380 BCE)

The outbreak of war between Artaxerxes II and his younger brother Cyrus gave Egypt an opportunity to rebel again, this time with success. Amyrtaios of Sais, perhaps a scion of the overthrown 26th dynasty, took control over Egypt in 404 BCE and started his own, 28th dynasty, although Artaxerxes' name appeared in some official documents until 401 BCE (Lemaire 1999). Amyrtaios was in turn deposed by Nephorites I, the first ruler of the 29th dynasty, coming from the city of Mendes in the Delta (Clarysse 1994).

Amyrtaios' reign was the beginning of the period of many short-lived rulers, whose deeds were described in a unique piece of Egyptian literature, the Demotic Chronicle. Apart from this, not much is known of Nephorites' six years' rule, except that he was a prolific builder (Arnold, Di. 1999, 99-102) and that he attempted to support Sparta in the conflict with Persia, but his reinforcements were intercepted by the enemy near Rhodes (Ruzicka 2012, 50).

Nephorites' successor, Acoris, managed to repulse the Persian invasion, which took place sometime between 390 and 388 BCE (Ruzicka 2012, 66-67). His own rule was, however, threatened by an Egyptian usurper: it seems that one Psammuthis succeeded in subjugating Egypt, or at least part of it, but his rebellion was soon quelled by Acoris' army, perhaps aided by the Athenian fleet (Ray 1986; Carrez-Maratray 2005). Acoris' foreign policy included an alliance with the king of Cyprus, Evagoras, probably in an attempt to expand Egyptian influence to the East (Ruzicka 2012, 85). Following his predecessor, he rebuilt Egyptian temples neglected during the First Persian Period, including several Theban monuments. He passed the throne to Nephorites II, who reigned for several months only until he was deprived of power by his military commander, Nektanebes (Klotz 2010).⁴

The last Egyptian pharaohs: 30th dynasty (380-340/339 BCE)

Nektanebes' rule lasted almost two decades – unusually long for a pharaoh in this period. Despite the fact that Nektanebes' city of origin was Sebennytos, he sought to establish ideological links to the Saite dynasty, for example granting the temple of Neith in Sais additional privileges, as attested by his decrees, found in two copies – one in Naukratis and the other in Thonis-Heracleion (von Bomhard 2012). In 373 BCE, the Persian Empire undertook yet another attempt to restore their power in Egypt but to no avail. Nektanebes' policy of 'hyperarchaism' (Gozzoli 2006, 105) resulted in numerous royal building initiatives, also in the south: for example, it was during his reign that the alley of sphinx linking the temples of Karnak and Luxor was created (Abd el-Razik 1968).

Teos, Nektanebes' son, was appointed Nektanebes' coregent around 363 BCE. He was the first Egyptian pharaoh to mint his coin (Colburn 2018b, 94-95). Teos' very short reign was marked by his attempted campaign to the Levant in 361/360 BCE, which in the end proved catastrophic for him: during his absence in Egypt, the throne was taken by Nektanebos, a young soldier who - ironically – accompanied the king in the East at that time; the takeover was arranged on Nektanebos' behalf by his father, Tjahapimu (Ruzicka 2012, 145-150).

The last Egyptian pharaoh, Nektanebos, in many ways continued the policy of the founder of the dynasty: he enlarged many temples, including the Iseum in Behbeit el-Hagar; the temple built entirely in granite, including the walls enclosing the temple temenos (Favard-Meeks

⁴ More commonly known as Nectanebo I. Nectanebo I and Nectanebo II in fact bore two different names, with the difference reflected in the Greek records: Nektanebes (I) and Nektanebos (II). It was recently postulated by Quack to use these forms instead of the traditional (erroneous) ones (Quack 2016, 27, n. 6).

1997, 106). In 351/350 BCE, Nektanebos' army successfully fended off Artaxerxes III troops. The peace between the two empires, however, did not last long: in 340/339 BCE,⁵ the Persian king gathered another army, larger than the army sent to Greece in 480 BCE (Ruzicka 2012, xx), and dispatched it to Egypt. Nektanebos' fate was sealed; according to the lore, he fled to the south, although another cycle of legends mentions him in relation to the birth of Alexander the Great in Macedonia. His sarcophagus was found in one of the mosques of Alexandria (Chugg 2004).

The Second Persian Period and the coming of Alexander the Great (340/339-332 BCE)

The Second Persian Period, sometimes referred to as the reign of the 31st dynasty (Lloyd 1988), lasted between 440/339 and 332 BCE, less than a decade. As during the first period of Persian dominance in Egypt, the main official responsible to the Persian king for the Egyptian affairs was the satrap. The memory of the Second Persian Period as the time of severe prosecutions of the Egyptians has been recently called into question (Colburn 2015), although the famous Letter of Speusippos informs of a disruption of export of papyrus out of Egypt (Depuydt 2010, 222).

Not long after his conquest of Egypt, Artaxerxes III was assassinated by his courtier; the fate later shared also by his successor Artaxerxes IV (Arses). In 336 BCE, Darius III became the king of the Persian Empire. The turbulence related to the changes on the Persian throne enabled one Khababash, a very enigmatic figure of unclear origin, to seize the Egyptian throne, perhaps at some point during the reign of Darius III (Spalinger 1978; Wojciechowska 2016, 75-79).

In 333 BCE, the army of Alexander the Great defeated the Persians in the battle of Issos; among the killed Persian commanders was Sabaces, the satrap of Egypt (Ruzicka 2012, 205). In 332 BCE, Alexander entered Egypt, greeted by the Egyptians as a liberator from the Persian occupation. Alexander's takeover of the Egyptian throne marks the end of the Late Period and the beginning of the era of Macedonian kings: first Alexander and his descendants and later the Ptolemies, who governed Egypt until the death of the famous Cleopatra VII in 30 BCE, after which independent Egypt ceased to exist.

⁵ The traditional dating of the second Persian conquest of Egypt is 343 BCE; it was demonstrated by Leo Depuydt, however, that such a date is too early (Depuydt 2010).

Chronological table and remarks on the chronology used in the work

The chronology of the Third Intermediate Period and the 25th dynasty was based primarily on the one proposed by Aston (Aston, D. 2009a, 19-38)⁶ and (for the remainder of the Late Period) by Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss, and David Warburton (Hornung, Krauss, Warburton 2006, 494-495). In both cases, I have included the most recent developments (such as the reversal of the Shabaka-Shebitku order) with the relevant bibliographical reference (Table 1).

Dating the Theban assemblages discussed in this work, I followed Gábor Schreiber in avoiding the chronological distinction between the Manethonian 22nd and 23rd dynasties, as their chronology, particularly in Thebes, has been a subject of numerous debates and no consensus has been reached yet (Schreiber 2008, 49, n. 254). Instead, like Schreiber, I refer to the material datable to 944-747 BCE as datable to the 22nd dynasty. Similarly, I do not make a chronological distinction between the 24th and 25th dynasties, as the activity of the 24th dynasty rulers was not attested in Thebes.

Finally, to avoid unnecessary repetitions, in this work I use the term ‘late dynastic’ to refer to events which took place in period between 1076 BCE (beginning of the Third Intermediate Period) and 332 BCE (the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great), and to objects dated likewise.

Period	Dynasty	Ruler	Absolute chronology (BCE)
Third Intermediate Period	21 st dynasty	Smendes	1076-1052
		Amenemnisu	1052-1048
		Psusennes I	1048-1000
		Amenemope	1002-992
		Osochor	992-987
		Siamun	986-968
		Psusennes II	967-944
	22 nd -24 th dynasties	Shoshenq I	943-923
		Osorkon I	923-891
		various kings and princes	

⁶ Although, contrary to Aston (and following Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton), I do not include the 25th dynasty in the Third Intermediate Period, but in the Late Period.

Late Period	25 th dynasty	Piankhy	747-715
		Shebitku ⁷	715-705
		Shabaka	705-690
		Taharka	690-664
		Tanwetamani	664-656
	26 th dynasty	Psamtek I	664-610
		Necho II	610-595
		Psamtek II	595-589
		Apries	589-570
		Amasis	570-526
		Psamtek III	526 ⁸
	27 th dynasty	Cambyses II	526-522
		Darius I	521-486
		Xerxes I	486-465
		Artaxerxes I	465-424
		Xerxes II	424-423
		Darius II	423-404
		Artaxerxes II	404
	28 th dynasty	Amyrtaios	404-399
	29 th dynasty	Nephorites I	399-393
		Acoris	393-380
		Psammuthis	393
		Nephorites II	380
	30 th dynasty	Nektanebes	380-362
		Teos	365-360
		Nektanebos	360-440/339 ⁹
	Second Persian Period	Artaxerxes III	440/339-338
		Arses	338-336
		Darius III	335-332

Table 1. Chronology of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period

⁷ Brunet 2005; Bányai 2013; Payraudeau 2014; Broekman 2015; 2017a; 2017b; Jurman 2017.

⁸ Quack 2011.

⁹ Depuydt 2010.

Chapter 2

Methods of research

Definition of tomb reuse and scope of the study

The object of this study is the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period reuse of Theban tombs. By a ‘reused tomb’ I understand a tomb which was reused in a way that had not been intended by the first owner, such as adding a new shaft, cutting a new chamber, or interring ‘new’ tenants in rooms either designated for the original owner or not designated to house a burial at all (Kaczanowicz 2019b, 81-82). Planned reuse is therefore excluded from this investigation.

The chronological framework of the study requires a comment. The phenomenon of the reuse of private tombs is first attested long before the New Kingdom, albeit sporadically (Brand 2010, 6). More examples of the reuse of Theban tombs come from the later Ramesside Period (Bács 2015b). Only in the 21st dynasty tomb reuse almost entirely replaced the earlier practice of constructing new sepulchres. For this reason and also due to the convenience of maintaining clearly fixed chronological caesuras, I am starting my investigation with the 21st dynasty interments, although with the restriction that earlier examples of the reuse of Theban tombs are known. It also needs to be stressed that the reuse of Theban tombs continued well into the Graeco-Roman Period (Strudwick, N. 2003a; Schreiber 2011) and in several cases it is impossible to establish whether the particular burial belongs for example to the late 30th dynasty or Ptolemaic Period. While there is no doubt that the Ptolemaic and subsequently Roman reuse of Theban tombs evolved from ideas of the Late Period, some major changes took place at that time, such as almost complete abandonment of the practice of deposition of burial equipment in the tomb (Riggs 2003), which is why I believe that the topic requires a separate treatment. It is worth mentioning that, especially in the light of recent developments, the corpus of published data from burials in reused Theban structures is an impressive one and to understand properly the phenomenon, it has to be divided into smaller units, otherwise the time required for the investigation would substantially exceed the amount of time granted for completing any doctoral dissertation.

Burials considered in the present study (discussed in *PART II – Catalogue of tombs*) were divided into five types (with subtypes). The types are discussed in detail in Chapter 5,

Architecture of late dynastic reuse of tombs. The main criterion of the classification was the arrangement of new burials and the associated architecture. Simultaneously analysed were also: burial equipment associated with the interment, status of the deceased (as indicated by his or her titles and genealogy), sex of the deceased, the deceased's ethnicity (where possible), and age of the deceased.

My primary aim was to test the validity of the often-repeated hypothesis that burials in reused structures belonged to the deceased of the lower economic and social status and that popularity of tomb reuse was a result of a lack of central government and the weakening of the Egyptian economy in the first millennium BCE (Dodson, Ikram 2008, 270). Other research questions included those related to the administration of the necropolis in the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, the family relations of people buried within a single tomb (both of the 'new' deceased, and between the original and new owners), the patterns behind the choice of a particular sepulchre (including the reuse of deliberately mutilated tombs, such as those from the Amarna Period), and of arrangement of burials within the tomb itself. Finally, the research question stated at the very beginning of this investigation was whether there is any visible trend in adding new features, such as shafts or burial chambers, which could be useful in the analysis of the tombs devoid of any material remains of burials, especially in terms of dating of such structures.

The proposed division into types is not deprived of imperfections. For example, it is often impossible to establish with absolute certainty whether the burial shaft classified by its excavators as cut in the later phase of the tomb's occupancy was not in fact an original or unfinished burial shaft, reused at a later time. Most of the problems related to the analysis of the spatial arrangement of burials in reused tombs are the consequence of the disturbed archaeological context, the common misfortune of the majority of ancient Egyptian cemeteries (see below).

Early publications and numbering of Theban tombs

Although the Theban necropolis belongs to the group of archaeological sites with the longest history of research in the world, there are several obstacles encountered by scholars interested in the reuse of Theban tombs. First of all, publications of the majority of Theban sepulchres include plans of the original above-ground chapels and tracings of the original decoration, while finds and features from the later periods are rarely, if ever, mentioned. In many publications, especially those from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – that is the

period when the exploration of the necropolis flourished – plans of the tombs include schematic sketches of the original rooms only; later, ‘secondary’ structures (such as Late Period burial shafts) were simply omitted. Later phases of the tombs’ history were rarely considered worthy of attention, and younger deposits were often unceremoniously removed in order to excavate the original structures, without proper documentation and publication. Last decades brought about a change of approach, revealing that the majority of recently excavated tombs in fact bear traces of reuse at some point in the first millennium BCE; the amount of the information acquired during the earlier works and subsequently lost must be tremendous. As put by Christopher Eyre, who commented on the state of publication of Theban tombs:

It is always a shock to realise how small a proportion of this archaeological record is readily accessible to an Egyptological public (Eyre, in: Negm 1997, XI).

Lack of interest in undecorated parts of the tombs is reflected in the scope of publications regarding Theban tombs: the majority of them contain tracings of the scenes and their descriptions and rarely information on the shafts and other underground features. As a result, a large number of tombs considered as excavated and published are in fact not only published partially, but also – in many cases – their underground chambers remain not cleared.

Another problem of the archaeology of the Theban necropolis is the lack of consistency in the numbering of the tombs. Presently, no less than five main numbering systems are used in various publications:

- 1) KV (‘King’s Valley’) and WV (‘West Valley’) tombs, located in the Valley of the Kings. Currently, the list includes 64 sepulchres (Reeves, Wilkinson 2002; Bickel 2017).
- 2) QV (‘Queen’s Valley’) tombs, located in the Valley of the Queens. The list includes more than 80 sepulchres, although there is also a number of unnumbered tombs and pits, located in the Valley (Porter, Moss 1964, 749-770).
- 3) TT (‘Theban Tomb’), a classification proposed in 1913 by Alan H. Gardiner and Arthur Weigall. The ‘TT’ sepulchres are tombs belonging mainly to the private individuals, which, according to the authors, present a particular aesthetic value; *‘Undecorated tombs and tombs without interest have been ignored and left unnumbered. (...) A large number of tombs seen and noted by Champollion, Lepsius and others have not been rediscovered, and no mention of these will be found in this book’* (Gardiner, Weigall 1913, 10). Today the list includes 414 sepulchres (Gardiner,

Weigall 1913; Engelbach 1924; Bruyère 1925a; Davies, N. 1925a; Fakhry 1947; Porter, Moss 1960; Bietak, Reiser-Haslauer 1978).¹⁰

- 4) MMA ('Metropolitan Museum of Art'), a list of tombs mainly dated to the Middle Kingdom, prepared by Herbert E. Winlock, never published but referred to in numerous publications (Porter, Moss 1964). The exact number of tombs remains unknown; the highest MMA number known to me is MMA 1152. Some of the Theban tombs have a double MMA-TT numeration (e.g. MMA 65 = TT 358), but the majority do not. In this work, for the sake of consistency, I am primarily referring to the TT numbers and only if one is unavailable I use the other numbering system.
- 5) 'Kampp tombs'. In the 1990s, Friederike Kampp published a list of new tombs, discovered by her during her field survey in Thebes. The tombs are referred to as -1-, -2-, -3-, etc.; in this work, I use the common convention of referring to them as Kampp -1-, Kampp -2-, Kampp -3-, and so on. Currently, the list includes 551 tombs (Kampp 1996, 623-775), but the majority remains unexcavated.

Apart from the main numbering conventions, there are several systems used by other archaeological missions or on a particular site, which did not gain widespread popularity. These include:

- a) AN ('Abu el-Naga') tombs, seven in total (A-G),¹¹ designated so by Elizabeth Thomas, located in the Dra Abu el-Naga necropolis (Thomas 1966, 171-174).
- b) C-C ('Carter-Carnarvon') tombs, located in the Asasif area, excavated by Howard Carter and the Earl of Carnarvon in the first decade of the twentieth century (Carnarvon, Carter 1912).
- c) 'K' tombs, located in Dra Abu el-Naga, excavated by the German archaeological mission. The letter K is followed by the year of the tomb's discovery and the tomb's number, e.g. K93.11 (Polz 2005).
- d) MIDAN ('Missione Italiana a Dra Abu el-Naga') tombs, located in Dra Abu el-Naga and currently excavated by the Italian archaeological mission (Betrò, Del Vesco 2006).

¹⁰ In several late 1980s and early 1990s papers (e.g. Manniche 1988a, 12; Strudwick, N. 1995b, 99; Kondo 1997, 50) one can find mentions of TT 415. The 'new' tomb, not officially numbered at that time, eventually became known as Kampp -61- (Fábián 1997, 93 n. 48), therefore I also refer to it by this number.

¹¹ Although it is worth stressing that, for example, the designation AN F in fact refers to no less than 26 shaft tombs (Thomas 1966, 174).

- e) Tombs discovered by Manfred Bietak in the Asasif necropolis (apart from TT 414), referred to as ‘Grab + the tomb’s number’: Grab I, Grab II, Grab III, etc. (Bietak 1972).
- f) Tombs discovered by the Hungarian mission working in el-Khokha, referred to with subsequent letters in the alphabet: ‘Tomb A’, ‘Tomb B’, ‘Tomb C’, etc. (Schreiber 2008).

Apart from all the above-mentioned systems, some tombs never received any numbers, such as the sepulchres excavated by Flinders Petrie during his 1908-1909 season in Qurna (Petrie 1909). The existence of so many conventions of tomb numbering combined with the fact that some of the tomb lists were never published makes it impossible to include every excavated tomb in the catalogue; moreover, not every tomb in the existing lists was excavated. While the New Kingdom decorated tombs (at least their chapels) are fairly well-researched, undecorated tombs – especially those dated to the Middle Kingdom – remain largely unpublished.

Presentation of data

For the reasons discussed above, the catalogue of tombs is divided into two parts: Part 1 (Theban Tombs) and Part 2 (Other tombs). In the case of the former, all ‘TT’ tombs are listed, each with indication whether they were reused or not, in order to obtain satisfactory statistical data for the scale of reuse. In the case of the latter, only reused tombs are listed. The main reason why I decided to omit unused tombs in Part 2 was the fact that most of the ‘non-TT’ tombs are poorly published, some lists (as such MMA tombs) consist of ‘empty’ numbers not assigned to any particular sepulchre, or (like in the case of Kampp tombs) the majority of them remain unexcavated. As a result, any statistical data regarding these sepulchres are much less reliable than regarding ‘TT’ tombs.

Each entry consists of the following:

a) Original context

- *Location*: location in the necropolis.
- *Type of tomb*: in the majority of cases I referred to Kampp’s typology, which remains the most up-to-date topographical catalogue of the Theban necropolis. Kampp’s work, however, does not include Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and Late Period sepulchres, or the Deir el-Medina tombs. For Late Period tombs, I distinguished sepulchres

belonging to the group called *Tempelgräber*. Tombs which could not be assigned to any of the above-mentioned types are referred to as ‘other’.

- *Royal/private*: by royal, I mean a tomb belonging either to a pharaoh or a queen. The names of the original owners are given after Kampp, the titles – after Bertha Porter and Rosalind L.B. Moss. As some of the deceased are known for possessing many titles (some of them purely honorific in nature), I selected only one title for each tomb owner; the one which seemed the most significant to me. It has to be borne in mind, however, that such selection is inevitably subjective.
- *Dating*: the majority of dates are given after Kampp, unless a more recent publication correcting Kampp’s dating is available. If so, it is listed in the *Bibliography* section. In the case of tombs datable to the reign of a particular king, the name of the monarch is given in parentheses.

b) Later context

- *Type of burial*: attribution of burials according to my typology, presented in the Chapter 5, *Architecture of late dynastic reuse of Theban tombs*. An asterisk (*) signifies that the attribution is uncertain.
- *Intact/disturbed*: indication whether burials in the tomb were discovered intact or not.
- *Minimal number of persons buried*: for the needs of the statistical analysis, I decided to take into account only those burials that can be relatively securely dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period. This rule, of course, does not apply to intact burials.
- *Dating*: in the case of burials which could be dated by me on the basis of burial goods, decoration, etc., I am giving the date without quotation marks. The dates enclosed by inverted commas are those given by excavators, which cannot be verified on the basis of available information.
- *Dating criteria*: basis for dates provided above, according to the rules discussed in Chapter 3 (*Dating criteria*).
- *Remarks*: description of burials, goods, etc.

- *Bibliography*: the list of publications provided in this section is not a complete bibliography for each tomb, but a selection of sources containing basic information about the sepulchre and those referring to its reuse.

While presenting the data, I used the following open-source software: Inkscape for vector graphics, JSesh for hieroglyphic texts, and QGIS for preparing the plan of the Theban necropolis. While in most cases I attempted to reproduce the plans of reused tombs, in some cases the plans were not available; similarly, not in every case it was possible to give the scale of the plan as well as the north arrow. When present, the linear scale is always in metres.

Disturbances of archaeological context

The curse pestering nearly all Egyptian archaeological sites is the disturbed archaeological context, mainly due to the robberies which took place in antiquity as well as in the modern age. As Nigel Strudwick put it, ‘*when the modern excavator enters a Theban tomb, a shocking scene of chaos usually meets his or her eyes*’ (Strudwick, N. 2013, 333), the chaos usually resulting from extensive robberies. The Theban necropolis with its decorated monuments, well visible from the distance, was a thieves’ obvious target and fell prey to numerous robberies; also those instigated by the Egyptian high officials (Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 190-193). Although several intact burials are known in the Theban necropolis (also from the first millennium BCE), the vast majority of tombs had been robbed long before the moment of their modern discovery.

Not all the disturbances of the original context, however, are the result of the thieves’ activities. Apart from this, the other main factors which contributed to the destruction of the original context include:

1. The activity of the Coptic monks, who transformed some of the Theban monuments into their dwellings and places of cult. One example of such a phenomenon is the complex of the Middle Kingdom tombs MMA 1151 and 1152, excavated by the Polish Mission in Qurna, where the monks lived but also produced items of leather and textile; one of the tombs was transformed into a chapel (Górecki 2014).
2. Modern habitation of the site (Simpson, C. 2003). Despite the campaign of relocating the Qurna inhabitants to the areas outside the necropolis, not all the houses were moved, and even today some Qurnawi continue to occupy the ancient tombs. Apart

from the destruction caused by the habitation itself, some of the monuments were used as quarries (Pischikova 2014, 42).

3. Natural disasters, such as earthquakes (Karakhanyan *et al.* 2014) and floods (Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 210) as well as the activity of wild animals. The latter is attested archaeologically, but also textually: a Greek papyrus from Thebes, dated to 127/126 BCE, is a complaint regarding a tomb robbery, after which the mummies from the sepulchre, scattered around the tomb by the thieves, were violated by a pack of wolves (*lykōn*) (Wilcken 1922, n. II 187; Łukaszewicz 2001, 204-205).

Worth adding here is that the reuse of tombs, which is the subject of this study, may also be treated as a disturbance of the original context.

The so-called ‘robbers’ caches’

A problem deserving a separate comment is the existence of the so-called ‘robbers’ caches’: groups of ancient objects gathered by robbers (ancient or modern) and concealed (often in unfinished shafts or niches) in order to be later found and transferred to a safe place. One example of such a cache was identified in the shaft in the common courtyard of TT 253, 254, and 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 3).

The presence of such caches poses a serious problem, not only because the original context of the shaft or niche is destroyed, but also because such caches can be very difficult to be distinguished from disturbed interments. For the first millennium BCE burials the threat is even more serious since in the studied period, multiple burials were not uncommon. The circumstances of a discovery of a late dynastic disturbed burial and a robbers’ cache can be almost identical: in both cases one is dealing with a group of artefacts belonging to multiple persons and deposited in a shaft or other small architectural feature. The so-called choachytes, active in the Theban necropolis in the first millennium BCE and further discussed in the following chapters, were also known for occasionally using earlier tombs for storing mummies (Vleeming 1995, 246-247), which may further distort the image of the reuse of tombs.

An interesting case of a similar artificial grouping of objects, although not by robbers or choachytes, was the assemblage of thirty Third Intermediate Period coffins discovered in 1869 in Qurna during the visit of the Prince of Wales. There is a well-founded supposition that the coffins had been previously placed in the pit in which they were ‘found’ for the

Prince's entertainment and with Auguste Mariette's knowledge (Porter, Moss 1964, 772-673; Aston, D. 2009a, 252). Their exact provenance remains unknown up to this day.

Chapter 3

Dating criteria

In the following chapter, I will discuss the dating criteria used by me to date assemblages discovered in reused tombs. The following aspects are used as dating criteria: (1) objects found in the tombs, (2) palaeography and spelling of particular words, (3) position of mummy's arms and hands, (4) decoration of the tombs, and (5) archaeological context.

1. Objects found in the tombs

Ownership and forgery

While analysis of the spatial arrangement of burials is problematic in itself (see Chapter 2), dating of the objects is also not free from potential pitfalls. One of the problems is the reuse of older funerary equipment, a popular practice in Thebes at least from the late Ramesside Period onwards (Cooney 2011; Cooney 2019). It has been estimated that around 70% of the known 21st and early 22nd dynasty coffins are reused objects (Cooney 2019, 98-99). The reused grave goods can be divided into two main groups: artefacts 'remodelled' to suit the new owners' needs (for example, with the original inscriptions painted over with new ones) and objects reused without any alterations. The latter is particularly susceptible to an archaeologist's error: an example of such can be the coffin of one Padiashaikhet, dated to the 25th dynasty, probably from Thebes and currently kept at the University of Sydney. The recent ¹⁴C analysis revealed that the mummy found inside the coffin in fact belonged to an unknown individual from the Roman Period, deposited in the casket about eight centuries after it was manufactured (Sowada *et al.* 2011). The possibility of reuse of burial equipment – not only coffins but probably also other grave goods – must be kept in mind during the analysis of burial assemblage. However, it seems inevitable that such mistakes will occur, especially without the opportunity to use sophisticated methods of scientific analysis such as ¹⁴C or scanning electron microscopy for each artefact under scrutiny.

Another problem is that of forgeries. Modern inhabitants of the Theban necropolis have been known for manufacturing souvenirs (as well as forgeries of ancient artefacts) for tourists (Strong, Bednarski 2016). They are sometimes difficult to distinguish from original objects, especially when no photography is available.

*Independent dating evidence*¹²

a) Textual evidence linking burials to fixed chronological points

Texts associating burials with the reign of a particular king or giving information on the deceased's family filiation or their activity within a lifetime of a particular king or a well-attested dignitary (such as the God's Wife of Amun) are of special use for the dating purposes. Sadly, the majority of inscriptions fulfilling these criteria can be found either on the walls of the newly constructed tombs or on the funerary equipment found within the burials of the members of the Theban elite deposited in temples (particularly in the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari and in the Ramesseum) and can rarely be associated with interments within reused tombs. There are, however, several exceptions from that rule. These include for example burials of two men, found in the reused 18th dynasty tomb TT 367, who were a husband and a son of the daughter of king Takeloth III (Fakhry 1943c, 410-412; Aston, D., Taylor 1990, 136-137; Aston, D. 2009a, 236; Aston, D. 2014b, 28) or a royal granddaughter, whose burial was found intact in TT 358 (Winlock 1929; Winlock 1930; Winlock 1932b; Winlock 1942, 176-200; Aston, D. 2009a, 202). Associated with the reign of a particular king are also interments with objects with names of a particular pharaoh, such as that of Tjenetkherersheri (interred in KV 44), whose leather mummy braces bear the name of Osorkon I (Carter 1901, 145). A very special category of such burials are remains interred in caches (see *Excursus*).

An interesting example of a dating text, although not directly related to the reign of any king, is a *graffito* discovered on the north wall of the chapel of a post-Amarna period tomb TT 291, informing that '(...) *the scribe Butehamun has moored there after an old age, his body sound and intact. Made by the scribe of the Necropolis Ankhefenamun*' (McDowell 1999, 73; Kikuchi 2002, 349-350; Cooney 2011, 8). Scribe Butehamun is one of the well-known personages associated with events of the transition between the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period and the relocation of the Deir el-Medina community to Medinet Habu; Ankhefenamun, the scribe who wrote the text, is almost certainly Butehamun's son, who succeeded his father in office and is known from several other texts. Butehamun's burial must

¹² After John H. Taylor, I use this designation to describe objects linked to the reign of the particular ruler or God's Wife of Amun via inscriptional evidence (Taylor 2003, 96). Additionally, I refer in the same way to objects with known radiocarbon dates. Subsequently, I use the term 'internal dating evidence' to refer to objects dated on the basis of typologies.

be dated to the very beginning of the 21st dynasty: possibly between Year 13 and Year 16 of Smendes (Bierbrier 1975, 42).¹³

b) Radiocarbon dating

Restrictions in exporting samples from Egypt have resulted in a very small number of available radiocarbon dates for the Pharaonic era as well as other periods of Egyptian history. Additionally, the accuracy of the radiocarbon technique in relation to the Egyptian artefacts has proved to be problematic due to several reasons such as flawed sample selection and contamination of the samples (Dee *et al.* 2012). From Thebes, the only two radiocarbon-dated samples obtained from a relatively secure context of a late dynastic burial in an earlier tomb known to me are:

- i) a piece of charcoal obtained during the German excavations in the tomb of Nakhtmin (TT 87). The fragment was collected in the shaft in the transverse hall of the sepulchre and the calibrated date was given as 765-410 BCE (Guksch 1995, 115).
- ii) a fragment of wood (UCLA-1401) collected in the burial chamber of the Middle Kingdom tomb TT 386 (Berger 1970, 28; Long 1976, 45). After calibration done using OxCal 4.3 (IntCal 13), it can be dated to 976-768 cal BCE at 95.4%.

*Internal dating evidence*¹⁴

a) Pottery

Pottery is one of the most commonly-found artefacts at almost any archaeological site dated from the Neolithic onwards and the Theban necropolis is no exception in that matter. Importantly for the chronological considerations, it is also a group of objects perceived as cheap, therefore least likely to be reused or removed from the sepulchre by tomb robbers – ancient or contemporary – which cannot be said even about the mummies themselves, considered to be a valuable commodity due to the demand for *mumia vera* in the modern era (Ikram, Dodson 1998, 64-66). However, there are not as many studies of the late dynastic Theban pottery as one might expect. The majority of publications from excavations conducted in Thebes in the first half of the twentieth century, not to mention earlier works, contain very little or no information on potsherds discovered in the course of the research, especially late

¹³ Although see the discussion on the possibility of existence of another scribe of the necropolis called Butehamun: Niwiński 1984a; Davies, B. 1997; Aston, D. 2009a, 258, with bibliography.

¹⁴ All the dates given in this section are approximate.

dynastic ones (Petrie's reports are a rare exception from this rule, in line with the general interests of this scholar). In 2009, Aston wrote that '*the study of pottery development during the Third Intermediate Period is still in its infancy*' (Aston, D. 2009a, 317). Nevertheless, recent decades brought a change in this attitude and as a result almost every archaeological report published recently contains at least a section dedicated to this category of finds.

The pottery forms, encountered in the Theban necropolis and associated with the first millennium BCE strata, are too numerous to be described in detail, therefore I will allow myself to simply list the publications containing information relevant for the chronological considerations. The essential works for the study of Theban pottery in the Third Intermediate Period are these of Aston (Aston, D. 1996; 2009a, 317-348), while for the later periods (especially for Kushite imports) those of Julia Budka (Budka 2008; 2010, 191-233; 2017; 2018). The general overview of the Egyptian pottery throughout history (from the Neolithic to modern times) was recently published by Anna Wodzińska (2009-2010).

However, the presence of the pottery dated to the late dynastic era in earlier tombs does not necessarily mean that the tombs were reused at that times, as the pottery could be associated with cultic activities rather than new interments.

b) Wooden coffins¹⁵

Theban coffins, especially of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, have attracted a lot of attention in the past decades. Detailed typologies of coffins have been produced, which cover almost the whole time-span of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period.

i) 21st dynasty coffins

For the 21st dynasty, the most influential study remains Andrzej Niwiński's work (Niwiński 1988), which is used here. In Niwiński's study, stylistic development of decoration of the three elements of coffins is taken independently into consideration: coffin lids, coffin interior and coffin exterior (Tables 2-4). The most characteristic feature of coffins of that era is their yellow colour, which is a continuation of a trend popular already in the Ramesside Period. The typical coffin ensemble of the 21st dynasty comprised an outer anthropoid coffin, an inner anthropoid coffin, and a mummy board – a wooden cover, placed on the mummy. Mummy

¹⁵ Additionally to classifications of wooden coffins discussed in this section, a typology of stone sarcophagi of the Late Period was created by Marie-Louise Buhl (1959). However, no stone sarcophagus from a reused Theban tomb is known to me, therefore I will not describe this typology in detail.

boards were an element of burial equipment which went out of fashion at the end of the 21st dynasty (Aston, D. 2009a, 275), and as such may be treated as a dating criterion in its own right.

Type	Short description		Dating
I	Ia	Polychrome details on the yellow background. Dress of daily life (white gala dress). Arms extended along the body (men's coffins) or one arm extended, the other pressed to the breast (women's coffins). Sculpted details. No figurative decoration except for the foot board.	Ramesside Period
	Ib	Polychrome details on the yellow background. The deceased represented as a dead person. Arms crossed on the breast and covered with a collar. Sculpted details, feet modelled in relief or painted. Low degree of density of decorative elements.	
II	IIa	Polychrome details on the yellow background. Sculpted arms crossed over the collar on the breast. Low degree of density of decorative elements. Vertical composition of the lower part of the lid. Side inscriptions vertical, border inscriptions horizontal.	Ramesside Period-middle 21 st dynasty
	IIb	Polychrome details on the yellow background. Sculpted arms crossed over the collar on the breast. Low degree of density of decorative elements. Side inscriptions horizontal, border inscriptions vertical (or the other way round).	
	IIc	Polychrome details on the yellow background. Sculpted arms crossed over the collar on the breast. Low or middle degree of density of decorative elements. Side inscriptions horizontal, border inscriptions vertical.	
	IId	Polychrome details on the yellow background. Sculpted hands (only). Painted forearms crossed over the collar on the breast. Middle degree of density of decorative elements. Vertical composition of the lower part of the lid. Side inscriptions horizontal, border inscriptions vertical.	

III	IIIa	Polychrome details on the yellow background. Sculpted hands (only). Representation of the collar covering the arms. Middle or high degree of density of decorative elements. Vertical composition of the lower part of the lid. Side inscriptions horizontal, border inscriptions vertical.	middle-late 21 st dynasty
	IIIb	Polychrome details on the yellow background. Sculpted hands (only). Representation of the collar covering the arms. High degree of density of decorative elements (<i>horror vacui</i>). Semi-horizontal composition of the lower part of the lid. Side inscriptions horizontal, border inscriptions vertical.	
	IIIc	Polychrome details on the yellow background. Sculpted hands (only). Representation of the collar covering the arms, elbows often completely covered by the collar. High degree of density of decorative elements (<i>horror vacui</i>). Horizontal composition of the lower part of the lid.	
IV	IVa	Polychrome details on the white background. Sculpted hands (only). Sometimes the ends of mummy-braces' imitations painted below the collar. Low degree of density of decorative elements. Vertical composition of the lower part of the lid. Side inscriptions vertical, border inscriptions horizontal.	middle-late 21 st dynasty
	IVb	Polychrome details on the yellow background. Form and composition of the upper part similar to Ib (sometimes to II, except the collar is painted atypically). Middle degree of density of decorative elements. Vertical composition of the lower part of the lid. Side inscriptions horizontal or vertical, border inscriptions vertical.	
	IVc	Polychrome details on the yellow background. Form and composition of the upper part similar to Ia (women's coffins). Middle or high degree of density of decorative elements.	
	IVd	Polychrome details on the yellow background.	

		Sculpted arms, crossed and the breast and holding the royal regalia. High degree of density of decorative elements (<i>horror vacui</i>). Vertical and horizontal composition of the lower part of the lid.	
V		Polychrome details on the yellow background. Sculpted hands (only). Imitation of mummy-braces painted in red. Representation of the collar which can extend to the underbelly. High degree of density of decorative elements. Semi-horizontal or vertical composition of the lower part of the lid.	late 21 st -early 22 nd dynasty

Table 2. Niwiński's typology of lids of Ramesside-21st dynasty coffins

Type	Short description		Dating
1	Monochromatic decoration or no decoration at all. No figurative decoration.		Ramesside Period-middle 21 st dynasty
2	2a	Central figure on a dark or yellow background. Low degree of density of decorative elements. Vertical composition.	early-middle 21 st dynasty
	2b	Multicoloured figures on a dark background. Low degree of density of decorative elements. Vertical centripetal composition.	
	2c	Multicoloured figures on a yellow background. Middle degree of density of decorative elements. Vertical or semi-horizontal centripetal composition.	
3	3a	Multicoloured figures on a dark background. Middle or high degree of density of decorative elements. Vertical centrifugal composition.	middle-late 21 st dynasty
	3b	Multicoloured figures on a dark background. High degree of density of decorative elements (<i>horror vacui</i>). Background covered with small white stars. Vertical or semi-horizontal centrifugal composition.	
	3c	Multicoloured figures on a dark background. High degree of density of decorative elements. Semi-horizontal centrifugal composition.	
4	4a	Multicoloured figures on a yellow background. High degree of density of decorative elements (<i>horror vacui</i>). Semi-horizontal centrifugal	middle 21 st -early 22 nd dynasty

		composition.	
	4b	Multicoloured figures on a yellow or white background. Middle degree of density of decorative elements. Horizontal centrifugal composition.	

Table 3. Niwiński's typology of Ramesside-21st dynasty coffin interior

Type	Short description	Dating
A	Polychrome decoration on the yellow background. Vertical composition. Low degree of density of decorative elements.	18 th -middle 21 st dynasty
B	Polychrome decoration on the yellow background. Vertical composition. Middle and high degree of density of decorative elements.	21 st -early 22 nd dynasty
C	Polychrome decoration on the yellow background. Semi-horizontal composition. Middle and high degree of density of decorative elements.	middle-late 21 st dynasty
D	Polychrome decoration on the white background. Vertical composition. Low degree of density of decorative elements.	pontificate of Pinodjem II
E	Polychrome decoration on the yellow background. Horizontal composition in two superimposed registers. High degree of density of decorative elements (<i>horror vacui</i>).	late 21 st dynasty

Table 4. Niwiński's typology of Ramesside-21st dynasty coffin exterior

ii) 22nd-26th dynasty coffins

The typical for the 21st dynasty set of two coffins and a mummy board was replaced during the 22nd dynasty by assemblage consisting of an anthropoid outer coffin, an anthropoid intermediary coffin, and a cartonnage (see below). For the period between the 22nd and 26th dynasty, John H. Taylor's study (Taylor 1985; 2003) remains fundamental for any chronological and stylistic considerations. Taylor divided the Third Intermediate Period (in which he included also the Kushite and Saite Periods) into phases, to which he assigned particular types of coffin designs. The phases distinguished by Taylor and discussed here are: II (typical for the 22nd dynasty), IIIA (contemporary with the 25th dynasty), and IIIB (dated to the 26th dynasty).

Typology of coffins

For Phase II, both outer and intermediary coffins were grouped as they differ in their sizes and proportions and not their style. As in Niwiński's typology, three elements were taken into consideration: lids (*frontal body field*), coffin interior, and coffin exterior (Tables 5-7). The interior of the lids was usually undecorated. The characteristic feature of this period was the abandonment of yellow colouration of the coffins in favour of either a black background or unpainted surface, sometimes coated with varnish. During the later 22nd dynasty, sculpted details (such as hands or ears) disappeared completely.

Type	Short description	Dating
Design 1	The area below the collar bisected by a vertical text, usually in a single column. Sometimes a solar disc or goddess painted above the text. The background is black, yellow or reddish-orange, or left unpainted.	22 nd -26 th dynasty
Design 2	Scenes arranged in horizontal bands and small rectangular compartments. An axial text may bisect the entire lid, or start below the breast. Decoration includes representations of anthropomorphic gods, winged Nut and the solar disc or scarab, the deceased presented to Osiris, protective genii with knives, the Abydos fetish, <i>henu</i> barque, pairs of falcons, the Hathor cow, and the Anubis jackal confronted by Ihy.	22 nd dynasty
Design 3	Key elements of Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead: the upper part of the field occupied by the weighing scene and introduction of the deceased to Osiris; the middle part contains vertical columns of text of the denial of sins.	late 22 nd -early 25 th dynasty

Table 5. Taylor's typology of the Phase II coffin frontal body-field (outer and intermediary coffins)

Type	Short description	Dating
Design 1	A frieze of images, usually involving apotropaic deities.	early 22 nd dynasty
Design 2	A single line of text, running without a break from the foot-end of one long side to the opposite foot.	22 nd -26 th dynasty
Design 3	Vertical columns of text (usually extracts from the Book of the Dead), sometimes accompanied by images.	early eighth century BCE to the beginning of the 25 th dynasty

Table 6. Taylor's typology of the Phase II coffin exterior (outer and intermediary coffins)

Type	Short description		Dating
Design 1	A series of registers with images drawn from the Books of the Underworld.		early 22 nd dynasty (reign of Osorkon I)
Design 2	2A	A figure of a goddess, depicted frontally. Arms of the goddess are held close to the sides, and do not extend on to the interior walls of the coffin.	22 nd -25 th dynasty
	2B	A figure of a goddess, depicted frontally. Arms of the goddess extend on to the interior walls of the coffin.	
	2C	A figure of a goddess, depicted frontally. Arms of the goddess extend on to the interior walls of the coffin. The feet of the goddess rest on a hieroglyphic text <i>hnt hwt nbw</i> .	
	2D	A figure of a goddess, depicted frontally. Arms of the goddess extend on to the interior walls of the coffin, and the feet extend on to the foot board.	
Design 3	A figure of a goddess, depicted in profile. Arms of the goddess by her sides or extended on to the walls of the coffin.		second half of the 22 nd -26 th dynasty
Design 4	The <i>djed</i> pillar, sometimes accompanied by other images.		middle-late 22 nd dynasty
Design 5	A mummiform, falcon-headed figure in profile (Ptah-Sokar-Osiris).		late 22 nd -early 25 th dynasty

Table 7. Taylor's typology of the Phase II coffin interior (outer and intermediary coffins)

Significant changes occurred in the 25th dynasty, the most visible one being the introduction of two new types of coffins. The first one, termed '*qeresu*' by Niwiński (Niwiński 1983, 449), comprised rectangular coffins with a vaulted top, resting on four posts protruding from each corner of the coffin's chest; the first examples of *qeresu* coffins may be dated to the middle years of the eighth century BCE. The second type, an inner bivalve coffin, replaced – at least partially – cartonnages, on whose form it was modelled; however, with the addition of a dorsal pillar and a pedestal. The head end of such coffins was usually decorated with representations of a scarab beetle or the goddess Nephthys, while the foot end – with the Apis bull carrying the mummy on its back, or the goddess Isis.

In the case of Phase III coffins, Taylor distinguished between the decoration of inner, intermediate and outer coffins (Tables 8-12).

Type	Short description		Dating
Design 1	Sunrise scene with two falcons, occasionally separated from the lower zone by a horizontal frame-line.		750-650 BCE
Design 2	Sunrise scene with a ram-headed falcon, a central text, and the Abydos fetish. Lower body-field dominated by texts and figures arranged symmetrically.		750-700 BCE
Design 3	Winged figure of Nut on the breast (sometimes replaced by a ram-headed falcon). Lower body-field occupied by central text running to the feet or to the ankles. The lateral zones occupied by symmetrical depictions of deities.		end of the eighth century-sixth century BCE
Design 4	4A	Sunrise scene with a ram-headed falcon. The remainder body-field occupied by horizontal registers of scenes. The Abydos fetish or <i>djed</i> pillar in the lower part of the lid.	750-650 BCE (earlier than 4B)
	4B	Sunrise scene with a winged figure of Nut. The remainder body-field occupied by horizontal registers of scenes. The Abydos fetish or <i>djed</i> pillar in the lower part of the lid.	750-650 BCE (later than 4A)

Table 8. Taylor's typology of the Phase III coffin frontal body field (inner coffins)

Type	Short description	Dating
Design 1	The <i>djed</i> pillar, sometimes flanked by horizontal or vertical texts or representations of gods or their emblems.	25 th -26 th dynasty
Design 2	Vertical columns of text in the centre flanked by horizontal texts or registers of scenes.	25 th -26 th dynasty

Table 9. Taylor's typology of the Phase III coffin exterior (back) (inner coffins)

Type	Short description		Dating
Design 1	1A	Figure of Nut, depicted frontally on the lid; the <i>djed</i> pillar on the floor.	25 th dynasty
	1B	Figure of a goddess, depicted in profile, on the lid; the <i>djed</i> pillar on the floor.	
Design 2	The surfaces are divided into compartments, containing inscriptions or a mixture of texts and scenes.		25 th -26 th dynasty
Design 3	The surfaces are completely covered with texts, written in horizontal lines in the main field and vertical columns at the sides.		25 th -26 th dynasty
Design 4	Figures of goddesses, usually depicted in profile: one in		26 th dynasty

	the centre of the lid, another on the case.	

Table 10. Taylor's typology of the Phase III coffin interior (inner coffins)

The interior of coffins of this subtype was generally decorated with a figure of a goddess (either Nut or the Goddess of the West) represented in profile, with her hands hanging at her sides or extending to the walls of the coffin. The interior of the lid was generally left unpainted.

Type	Short description	Dating
Design 1	Axial texts, arranged in one to three columns. Occasionally, a solar disc or a scene appears above.	25 th -26 th dynasty
Design 2	Inscriptions arranged both vertically and horizontally, dividing the surface into compartments. Sometimes a figure of Nut above the central text.	early 26 th dynasty

Table 11. Taylor's typology of the Phase III coffin frontal body-field (intermediary coffins)

Type	Short description	Dating
Design 1	A single line of text running without a break from the foot-end of one long side to the opposite foot. (indistinguishable from Phase II intermediary coffin exterior).	22 nd -26 th dynasty
Design 2	The judgment scene (weighing of the heart and the deities of the judgment hall) accompanied by the text of the denial of sins.	25 th -early 26 th dynasty
Design 3	Vertical text, dividing the field into compartments. Standing figures of the Sons of Horus and Thoth, occasionally wedjat eyes.	reign of Psamtek I

Table 12. Taylor's typology of the Phase III coffin exterior (intermediary coffins)

The outer coffins of Phase III could be either the *qeresu* coffins (their lids and exterior decorated with texts, friezes, scenes from the Book of the Dead or representations of gods, their interior usually left plain) or the anthropoid ones (always painted both on the inside and the outside; as in the case of the *qeresu* coffins, the decoration included the variety of different motives). The only clear typological development distinguished by Taylor is the latter's exterior of the case (Table 13).

Type	Short description	Dating
Design 1	A single horizontal line of text running from the foot, around the head, to the opposite foot.	22 nd -26 th dynasty

Design 2	A frieze of deities and texts arranged in vertical columns.	25 th dynasty

Table 13. Taylor's typology of the Phase III coffin exterior (outer coffins)

Proportions of the human figures depicted on the coffins

- a) Post-New Kingdom style (end of the New Kingdom to the late eighth century BCE)

The canon of proportions follows the one used in New Kingdom art: the characteristic feature is the high position of the small of the back, short upper body, and long legs. The body is slender and feminine, with a well-proportioned face.

- b) Kushite-Saite style (late eighth BCE to the Saite Period and later)

The canon of proportions was inspired by the Old Kingdom one: the low position of the small of the back, of buttocks, and of tops of the knees, resulting in the unnaturally long appearance of the body. The face appears contracted: the distance between the base of the nose and the chin is very short, the mouth and chin project beyond the line of the forehead (prognathism).

Iconography of the costumes

- a) Post-New Kingdom style (end of the New Kingdom to the late eighth century BCE)

Similarly to the proportions of human figures, differences are visible in the costume of persons represented on the coffins. In the Third Intermediate Period (until the end of the 22nd dynasty), costumes seem to be a continuation of trends visible in the New Kingdom art. Males are dressed either in a kilt descending to the knees, over which a pleated robe is worn (sometimes replaced by a diagonal sash of linen) or in a large, loose-fitting robe, descending from the upper breast to below the knees. Women usually wear a long pleated dress reaching to the ground.

- b) Kushite-Saite style (late eighth century BCE to the Saite Period and later)

A change can be observed at the beginning of the Kushite Period, when archaising elements are introduced. Men are depicted wearing a shorter kilt with a shoulder sash, a kilt descending to the calves (also with a shoulder sash), or a kilt descending to the knees with a long transparent robe over it and a shoulder sash. Female costumes are either a tight-fitting, long

dress reaching to the ankles, supported by shoulder straps or a half-transparent, often pleated dress, descending to the calves.

Iconography of the unguent cones

Another dating criterion, mentioned by Taylor, is the iconography of the unguent cones, often depicted on the heads of the human and divine figures. Following Élisabeth Maraite (1992), Taylor distinguished three types of cones, present in the iconography of the 22nd to 26th dynasty coffins and chronologically occurring in a linear sequence:

Type 1. Tall and rounded, often coloured at the top, it has little internal detail, except lines running from the tip to the base. It can be accompanied by a flower or bud projecting at the front. Dating: reign of Amenhotep III-22nd dynasty.

Type 2. Usually broad at the base, shows bipartition, flanked by green vegetal matter with an irregular outline (replacing the flower at the front). Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty.

Type 3. Narrow, tall, flanked by a smooth-sided, simplified version of the vegetal matter of type 2. Dating: 25th-26th dynasty.

iii) Later coffins

Dating burial equipment manufactured in the years following the Saite times and preceding the Ptolemaic era, both in Thebes and at other Egyptian sites, is problematic. Not only very few typologies of objects produced in this time exist but also a number of artefacts, originally classified as either of 26th or 30th dynasty date, probably should be redated to the period between (Aston, D. 1999). It seems, however, that the Theban production of coffins in the Persian Period and later (until the beginning of the 30th dynasty) somehow declined, as demonstrated by contrast with the known funerary material dated to this period from Akhmim (Taylor 1989, 61; Taylor 2003, 119).

Schreiber (Schreiber 2011, 117-118; Schreiber 2012, 259-260; Schreiber 2018a, 239-240) distinguished three types of Egyptian coffins, which appeared for the first time in the First Persian Period and remained in use until the early Ptolemaic era (Table 14). Of the three types, only 'plain' coffins are known from the Theban necropolis (Schreiber 2018a, 240).

Type	Short description	Dating
Inscriptional	Entire frontal body field occupied by a text (usually	late 26 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic

style	Chapter 72 of the Book of the Dead), arranged in columns, running from the collar to the feet.	Period
Pictorial style	Frontal body field divided into rectangular compartments with depictions of protective genii.	late 27 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
Plain	Painted coffins (published examples include yellow, black and tan to buff specimens); anthropoid and rectangular examples are known.	27 th dynasty

Table 14. Schreiber's typology of the 27th dynasty-early Ptolemaic coffins

Worth mentioning is also the typology of coffins found in the Saite Theban tomb TT 389 (Table 15), dated to the 30th dynasty and early Ptolemaic Period by Jan Assmann (in: Arnold, Di., Settgast 1968) and supplemented with finds from the Austrian concession (Budka 2010a, 296-299).

Type	Short description	Dating
1	Black-varnished outer coffins with painted yellow, yellow and red or red and white decoration.	30 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
2	Unpainted coffins with blue (or, like in the case of the coffins from the Austrian excavations in TT 414, green) hieroglyphs.	
3	Inner coffins, covered with white <i>stucco</i> , with polychrome decoration.	

Table 15. Assmann's typology of the 30th-early Ptolemaic coffins from TT 389

Of significance for the chronology of this period can be also the type of the unguent cone. In the Ptolemaic Period, the only type present in representations on coffins, stelae, etc. is a stout cone, rounded at the top, crossed by a single lotus bud (Maraite 1992, 218-219).

c) Cartonnages

Cartonnage cases – ‘coffins’ made of plastered layers of linen or papyrus, glued together¹⁶ – in my opinion require separate consideration, since their presence itself used to be treated as a dating criterion for the Third Intermediate Period tomb groups.

The typology of cartonnage cases was developed by Taylor (Taylor 1985; Taylor 2003). All the types distinguished by him belong to the Phase II coffin ensembles and as such were dated

¹⁶ It is interesting to note that cartonnages made of papyrus and mud replaced linen cartonnages in the Roman Period, therefore the material a cartonnage case is made of can be a dating criterion in its own right (Budka 2010a, 299).

to the 22nd dynasty.¹⁷ It is important to notice that for the cartonnages of that period, the development could be traced down chronologically only in the case of the design of the frontal body-field (Table 16). The rear body-field could be either undecorated or occupied by a single vertical motif (such as the *djed* pillar), sometimes flanked by smaller figures, while the head and feet ends were painted with scarab beetles and galloping Apis bull (from the eighth century BCE onwards, the mummy of the deceased was added on the bull's back).

Type	Short description		Dating
1	Various scenes in horizontal registers and rectangular compartments below the collar, including the mandatory representation of the deceased presented to Osiris or Ra-Horakhty, sometimes also accompanied by other deities.		22 nd dynasty
2	2A	Sunrise scene with two falcons: the first one, ram-headed, painted directly below the collar and the second one, bird-headed and with outstretched wings, occupies the space over the abdomen. Between the falcons, a grouping of serpents or deities. The axial division of the lower zone consisting of a continuous line of inscription.	early 22 nd dynasty
	2B	Sunrise scene with two falcons: the first one, ram-headed, painted directly below the collar and the second one, bird-headed and with outstretched wings, occupies the space over the abdomen. Between the falcons, a grouping of serpents or deities. The axial division of the lower zone consists of the Abydos fetish.	late ninth-end of eighth century BCE
	2C	The basic elements of the design are usually present but arranged in a non-canonical configuration or supplemented with scenes which do not occur on other Design 2 cartonnages. Occasionally, some elements (including the solar falcons) are missing.	late ninth-end of eighth century BCE

Table 16. Taylor's typology of cartonnage case body-field

Following Taylor's dating of the specimens, Aston began to use the presence of the cartonnage cases (or their fragments) in tomb groups as a dating criterion for burial during the

¹⁷ The end date for occurrence of the Phase II coffin ensembles was set by Taylor at 700 BCE (Taylor 1985, 495).

Libyan Period: in several cases – the only one available (e.g. Aston, D. 2009a, 157; 236; 239; 248). However, using the presence of cartonnage pieces as a dating tool, especially when no other artefacts in the burial were recorded and the description of the discussed cartonnages is lacking, is highly problematic. First of all, there is enough evidence to support the idea that cartonnages were going out of fashion rather slowly and there are examples of cartonnage cases which can be securely dated to the Kushite Period (Schreiber 2008, 66), and some which perhaps could even originate from the Saite times (Tiradritti 2004, 182). According to Schreiber, such ‘hybrid’ burials likely belonged to priests or temple personnel of lower rank, who could not afford to follow trends set by the elite (Schreiber 2018b, 260). Secondly, apart from the challenges of precise chronological fixing of the manufacture of this type of artefacts within the late dynastic era, there is the issue of occurrence of cartonnages in other periods of Egyptian history. Objects made of cartonnage made their appearance not only during the 22nd-25th dynasty, but also occasionally (in form of cartonnage masks) during the Old and Middle Kingdom times (Casini 2017), during the late Ramesside era (see, for example, the cartonnage case of Hori, owner of TT 259: Feucht 2006, 144-150), and in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, when cartonnage cases again became a standard element of burial equipment (Budka 2010a, 299-301; Schreiber 2011, 116). Therefore, in the case of burials such as those in the Ramesside tomb of Montuherkhepeshef (KV 19), where the only description of finds, as quoted by Aston, is ‘*morceaux du cerceuil en carton peint*’ (Aston, D. 2009a, 157), I believe that not only a 22nd dynasty date should be considered, but also the Kushite and (less likely) Graeco-Roman dating. The presence of cartonnages itself cannot be treated as a definite proof for the occupation of the tomb during the Libyan Period.

d) Ushebtis and shabtis

Funerary figurines, known as ‘ushebtis’ or ‘shabtis’, constituted an important part of late dynastic burial equipment. In fact, their function as a substitute for the deceased in the afterlife recently has been called into question (Nyord 2018, 75-76). During the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period there seem to be two distinct traditions reflected in the terminology used by the ancient Egyptians themselves. The first tradition is represented by standardized, mass-made figurines, either in faience or in clay, which in the Egyptian texts were referred to as ushebtis. The second tradition is represented by archaising stone figurines, made individually, which made their appearance during the Kushite Period and were referred to as either shabtis or ushebtis. The gender of such statuettes depended on the gender of their owner (Schneider 1977, I, 119). For this very reason, I will use the word ushebti in relation to

the mass-made funerary figurines, while stone specimens will be referred to as shabtis (Kaczanowicz 2018a).

A starting point for any discussion on the chronology of this category of artefacts is the study of the Leiden statuettes by Hans D. Schneider (Schneider 1977) as well as Dominique Valbelle's publication of the Deir el-Medina figurines (Valbelle 1972) and, more recently, the typology of Third Intermediate Period ushebtis by Aston (Aston, D. 2009a, 356-364). Late dynastic figurines, however, are still subject to debate and new finds prove that a lot of work still needs to be done when it comes to establishing their chronology. For example, the presence of a beard, one of Aston's most important criteria for dating of the figurines (with the date 700 BCE as a chronological caesura between the occurrence of non-bearded and bearded statuettes), has been recently contested by discoveries of burials in which both bearded and non-bearded ushebtis were associated with a single deceased (Schreiber 2008, 59; Schreiber 2014, 243).¹⁸ Similarly, in the shabti box belonging to one Ditamenpaankh, of unknown provenance but most probably from Thebes, four different types of ushebtis were found, at least two with beards and one without (Berman 1999, n. 348). The box is of Aston type VII (see below), and therefore can be dated to the 25th dynasty. The earliest securely dated example of a funerary figurine from Thebes with a beard known to me is a statuette of Pinodjem I of the 21st dynasty (Schneider 1977, 4.3.0.3), while non-bearded ushebtis appear as late as in the sixth century BCE (e.g. ushebtis of Nitocris I, Hölscher 1954, Pl. 21F). It seems that the transitional phase was longer than previously thought and the presence of a beard should not be treated as a dating criterion on its own.

In this work, I am using a new typology which covers the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period and solely includes statuettes either from secure Theban contexts or belonging to the persons whose activities in Thebes are well-attested.¹⁹ The Theban material dated from the beginning of the 21st to the early 26th dynasty is abundant and in several instances it is

¹⁸ It needs to be stressed that a situation in which the deceased was buried with more than one type of figurines is not unusual in the late dynastic period. For example, in Hawara, Petrie discovered a burial containing no less than 17 different types of ushebtis, all given to one person (Petrie 1890, 19). Moreover, occurrence of multiple types of funerary statuettes within one burial was certainly not caused by the lack of material or other means of frugality, as even personages such as the God's Wives often possessed several types of ushebtis. For example, in the tomb-chapel of Nitocris, Uvo Hölscher discovered three types of funerary statuettes: 24 large specimens inscribed with a long text, a smaller one with the name and title of Nitocris, and two uninscribed ones, but most probably also part of the priestess' burial equipment (Hölscher 1954, 28). Perhaps then, Schneider's theory of coexistence of large inscribed ushebtis with smaller, uninscribed ones within a single set as a reflection of the hierarchy of overseers and workers (Schneider 1977, I, 322) is worth revisiting.

¹⁹ As for ushebtis from the so-called 'caches', I have included only selected, representative examples of each type in the list.

possible to narrow down the dating of the figurines to a year or two: for example, it was established that the God's Wife of Amun, Nitocris, had died on the 16 December 586 BCE (Leahy 1996, 157), therefore her ushebtis could not have been manufactured much later. The problem, however, appears for the Persian Period and later, when with the royal court first in Persia and then in the Delta and the office of the God's Wife no longer being recognised, there are very few well-dated specimens (Aston, D. 1999, 19). Most of the figurines which can be dated precisely are the statuettes covered with a text giving its owner's name and titles; the majority of Theban statuettes from this period, however, lack any inscriptions. Dating these specimens is much more difficult also due to the fact that finding an intact burial in Thebes, as almost everywhere in Egypt, is a rare occurrence: that is the reason why despite that in the recent years several publications of late dynastic material from the excavations in Theban tombs came out (e.g. Graefe 2003; Redford, S. 2006; Budka 2010a), the precise dating of finds from these monuments is often impossible.

i. Faience ushebtis

Funerary figurines made of faience occurred both in the period preceding the Third Intermediate Period and in the early Ptolemaic era (until the second century BCE, according to Budka; Budka 2010a, 271), so the choice of material cannot be used as a dating criterion (although the *seshed* headband, a popular feature of the Third Intermediate Period ushebtis, did not appear before the 21st dynasty; Janes 2002, xvii). It needs to be highlighted, however, that in the Ptolemaic Period ushebtis were no longer perceived as mandatory in the burial equipment and discoveries of funerary statuettes in tombs are very rare (Schreiber 2011, 123). I was unable to identify 'T-shaped' figures (with the inscription arranged in the shape of the letter T), characteristic for the 27th dynasty and later (Aston, D. 1999, 19), among the Theban material, therefore I did not include them in the following classification.

On the surface of some of the figurines, there is a cloth impression visible (Makowska 2015, 156).

Type 1 (Figure 1)

Description: Overseer ushebtis. One arm along the side, the other bent on the breast, holding a whip in hand. Text, usually painted and arranged in rows or columns, may occupy the front of the body or, less often, the back;²⁰ some of the figurines are anepigraphic. No back pillar. This type can be further divided into two subtypes: 1a (blue figurines), and 1b (green statuettes).

Further comment: It is very interesting to note that the whip can be held either in a right or in a left hand, which prompts the question whether the deceased's right- or left-handedness could be the reason for such a distinction. The handedness of ancient Egyptians is usually very difficult to detect, although it was proposed that the pharaoh Nektanebos was left-handed and the reason for such an assumption was his statue with the king depicted as holding a sword in his left hand (Reeves 1999).



Figure 1. Faience ushebti, type 1

Faience overseer ushebtis datable to the Third Intermediate Period clearly evolved from earlier, New Kingdom statuettes. Overseer ushebtis were thought to have gone out of fashion in the early seventh century BCE (Aston, D. 2009a, 356), but now it is certain that they continued to be placed in tombs at least until the first years of the 26th dynasty. Securely dated specimens of green overseer statuettes come from the 25th and early 26th dynasty, although it is possible that they appeared for the first time in the late Libyan Period.

Selected specimens (1a): Ushebtis of Herwebkhet from Bab el-Gasus (Janes 2002, no. 60b); Nany from TT 358 (MMA website, Overseer Shabti of Nany [MMA 30.3.30.2]); Pinodjem from TT 320 (Taylor, Strudwick, N. 2005, 226-227); Tayuheret from Bab el-Gasus (Janes 2002, no. 63); Yihetepemmut from the Ramesseum (Janes 2012, no. 3); anonymous ushebtis from the Ramesseum (Janes 2011, no. 41); anonymous ushebtis from TT 188 (Redford, S. 2006, type N).

²⁰ Such is the case, for example, with ushebtis of Nany, discovered in the intact TT 358, where overseer statuettes have the text written on the back, while workers figures – on the front.

Selected specimens (1b): Ushebtis of Harsiese from Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1954, 10); Shepenwepet I from Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1954, 19); Shepenwepet II from Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1954, Pl. 21G-H).

<i>Dating:</i>	1a	21 st -22 nd dynasty
	1b	late 22 nd -26 th dynasty

Type 2 (Figure 2)



Description: Worker ushebtis. Arms usually crossed on the breast, hands hold two opposed hoes. The wig may be either striated or black, usually the headband is present. Text, usually painted and arranged in rows or columns, may occupy the front of the body (occasionally, the text occupies the whole body except for the head). No back pillar. This type can be further divided into three subtypes: 2a (blue statuettes, no beard), 2b (blue statuettes, beard is present), and 2c (green statuettes, no beard). I am not excluding the possibility of existence of the fourth subtype (green bearded figurines), but I was unable to identify it among the ushebtis from secure Theban contexts.

Figure 2. Faience ushebti, type 2

Further comment: On several figurines from the Second Cache some hieroglyphs (bees and falcons) were deliberately mutilated (e.g. Schneider 1977, no. 4.3.1.65).

Selected specimens (2a): Ushebtis of Henuttawy from TT 320 (Janes 2002, no. 57); Isetemkhebit from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.3.1.1); Isetemkhebit (wife of Pinodjem II) from TT 320 (Schneider 1977, no. 4.3.0.1); Maatkara (Schneider 1977, no. 4.3.0.5); Nany from TT 358 (MMA website, Worker Shabti of Nany [MMA 30.3.30.54]); Nesamun from TT 336 (Onderka 2015, nos. G.1-3); Nesikhonsu from TT 320 (Janes 2002, no. 53); Pinodjem I from TT 320 (Schneider 1977, no. 4.3.0.3); Pinodjem II from TT 320 (Janes 2002, no. 38).

Selected specimens (2b): Ushebtis of Petosiris (?) from TT 196 (Graefe 2003, no. 402); Pinodjem II from TT 320 (Schneider 1977, no. 4.3.0.4).

Selected specimens (2c): Nestarwy from Medinet Habu (Schneider 1977, no. 4.3.0.7); Pashedkhonsu from the Ramesseum (Janes 2011, no. 23).

<i>Dating:</i>	2a	21 st -22 nd dynasty
	2b	21 st -30 th dynasty or later
	2c	22 nd dynasty-26 th dynasty or later

Type 3 (Figure 3)

Description: Similar to type 2, but the wig is plain and in the same colour like the rest of the figurine. This type can be further divided into four subtypes: 3a (blue statuettes, no beard), 3b (blue statuettes, beard is present), 3c (green statuettes, no beard), and 3d (green statuettes, beard is present).

Further comment: One of the ushebtis from the Second Cache, belonging to the daughter of the king Menkheperre, is unusual in having modelled feminine breasts (Schneider 1977, no. 4.3.1.66), while ushebtis of one of the groups from TT 188, clearly belonging to this type, have their arms not crossed but flexed (Redford, S. 2006, type S).



Figure 3. Faience ushebti, type 3

Selected specimens (3a): Ushebtis of Amenhotep from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.3.1.12); Henuttawy from TT 320 (Schneider 1977, no. 4.3.0.8); Horubekh (daughter of Menkheperre) from TT 320 (Schneider 1977, no. 4.3.1.66); Iihotepenmut from the Ramesseum (Janes 2002, no. 31); Iway from TT 29 (Warmenbol 2010, 414); Merytamun from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.3.1.6); Mutenipet from the Ramesseum (Janes 2012, no. 7); Padiamun from the Ramesseum (Janes 2011, no. 24); anonymous ushebtis from Asasif (Budka 2010a, Taf. 56a-c); anonymous ushebtis from Deir el-Medina (Onderka 2015, no. G.4); anonymous ushebtis from TT 32 (Schreiber 2008, 58); anonymous ushebtis from TT 188 (Redford, S. 2006, types F, Q, S).

Selected specimens (3b): Ushebtis of Ankhhor from TT 414 (Janes 2002, no. 81; Schneider 1977, no. 5.3.1.206); anonymous ushebtis from the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Makowska 2015, type IIA.1); anonymous ushebtis from TT 374 (Redford, S. 2006, type A).

Selected specimens (3c): Ushebtis of Ankhamenirdis from Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1954, Pl. 21J-K); Bakkhonsu from the Ramesseum (Janes 2011, no. 20); Djedptahiufankh from Medinet Habu (Anđelković, Sagrillo 2003); Nebkhaiti from the Ramesseum (Janes 2011, no. 26); anonymous ushebtis from Deir el-Medina (Onderka 2015, no. G.19); anonymous ushebtis from TT 32 (Schreiber 2008, 58); anonymous ushebtis from TT 196 (Graefe 2003, no. 416).

Selected specimens (3d): Anonymous ushebtis from TT 196 (Graefe 2003, no. 417-420).

<i>Dating:</i>	3a	21 st -25 th dynasty
	3b	22 nd -30 th dynasty or later
	3c	22 nd dynasty-26 th dynasty or later
	3d	26 th dynasty or later

Type 4 (Figure 4)



Figure 4. Faience ushebti, type 4

Description: Worker ushebtis, similar to types 2 and 3, except that hands (and, sometimes, arms as well) are not modelled. The workmanship is usually rough, and the figurines anepigraphic. This type can be further divided into three subtypes: 4a (blue statuettes, no beard), 4b (blue statuettes, beard is present), and 4c (green statuettes, no beard). As in the case of type 2, I am not excluding the possibility of existence of the fourth subtype (green bearded figurines), but no Theban ushebtis of this kind from secure contexts are known to me.

Further comment: Ushebtis of this type seem to have been placed in tombs until the early Ptolemaic Period: it is very probable that small, blue, anepigraphic funerary figurines found in TT 32 and associated with burials of the family members of Nesmin can be assigned to type 4, although the provided description does not allow to state this with certainty (Schreiber 2011, 123). Shepenwepet II's ushebtis are unusual in having a modelled uraeus on the forehead.

Selected specimens (4a): Ushebtis of Aset from the Ramesseum (Janes 2011, no. 15); anonymous ushebtis from Deir el-Medina (Onderka 2015, no. G.11); anonymous ushebtis from the common courtyard of TT 253, 254, and 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 106); anonymous ushebtis from the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Makowska 2015, types IIIA.1 and IIIB.1); anonymous ushebtis from TT 196 (Graefe 2003, no. 411); anonymous ushebtis from TT 253 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 123); anonymous ushebtis from TT 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 108); anonymous ushebtis from TT 296 (Feucht 1985, 144).

Selected specimens (4b): Anonymous ushebtis from Kampp -61- (Schreiber 2015b, 58); anonymous ushebtis from the common courtyard of TT 253, 254, and 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 106); anonymous ushebtis from TT 196 (Graefe 2003, no. 410); anonymous ushebtis from TT 253 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 119; 123); anonymous ushebtis from TT 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 108).

Selected specimens (4c): Ushebtis of Shepenwepet II from Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1954, Pl. 21G); anonymous ushebtis from the common courtyard of TT 253, 254, and 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 106).

<i>Dating:</i>	4a	22 nd -early Ptolemaic Period
	4b	25 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	4c	25 th dynasty or later

Type 5 (Figure 5)

Description: Worker ushebtis. Arms usually crossed on the breast, hands hold two opposed hoes or other symbols (sometimes one hand holds the end of a rope, with a bag or basket hanging on the other end). Back pillar and plinth are always present. Text, usually incised and arranged in rows or columns, may occupy the front of the body or the back pillar. This type can be further divided into three subtypes: 5a (blue statuettes, beard is present), 5b (green statuettes, no beard), and 5c (green statuettes, beard is present). The beard can be either plain or pleated. Possibly, a fourth subtype could be distinguished (blue ushebtis without beard), but no figurines of this kind of unequivocally Theban provenance are known to me.



Figure 5. Faience ushebti, type 5

Further comment: Destroyed ushebtis of Nesi[...] and of an unknown owner, discovered in Tomb G (Schreiber 2008, 81-82) also belong to this type, although it is unclear to which subtype they should be assigned.

Selected specimens (5a): Ushebtis of Nesmin from TT 32 (Schreiber 2011, 123); Nespakashuty (?) from TT 312 (MMA website, Uninscribed shabti from tomb of Nespakashuty [MMA 26.3.163b]); Wahibra from TT 414 (Bietak, Reiser-Haslauer 1982, 195-199); anonymous ushebtis from TT 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 108).

Selected specimens (5b): Ushebtis of Nitocris from Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1954, Pl. 21F).

Selected specimens (5c): Ushebtis of Padineth from TT 197 (Janes 2002, no. 88; Schneider 1977, nos. 5.3.120-122).

<i>Dating:</i>	5a	26 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	5b	26 th dynasty
	5c	26 th dynasty

The classification of faience ushebtis is summarized in Table 17.

Type	Subtype	Overseer/worker	Colour	Beard	Dating
1	a	overseer	blue		21 st -22 nd dynasty
	b	overseer	green		late 22 nd -26 th dynasty
2	a	worker	blue		21 st -22 nd dynasty
	b	worker	blue	✓	21 st -30 th dynasty or later
	c	worker	green		22 nd -26 th dynasty or later
3	a	worker	blue		21 st -25 th dynasty
	b	worker	blue	✓	22 nd -30 th dynasty or later
	c	worker	green		22 nd -26 th or later
	d	worker	green	✓	26 th dynasty or later
4	a	worker	blue		22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	b	worker	blue	✓	25 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	c	worker	green		25 th dynasty or later
5	a	worker	blue	✓	26 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	b	worker	green		26 th dynasty
	c	worker	green	✓	26 th dynasty

Table 17. Summary of the typology of faience ushebtis

ii. Clay ushebtis

Clay ushebtis – including the ushebtis made of real clay and of ‘mud’ (Nile silt), fired and unfired, as it is often impossible to distinguish between the kind of material used – are more problematic than the faience ones in terms of their chronology. It is certain that ushebtis of fired clay occasionally occurred in burials in the Ramesside Period, although the vast majority of known terracotta figurines seem to be datable to the first millennium BCE. However, statuettes of unfired clay (or ‘mud’) start to appear in burial assemblages much later, in the 22nd dynasty (Aston, D. 2009a, 363-364). Some scholars use the term ‘mud ushebtis’ as a synonym for unfired statuettes, although it is clear that figurines of Nile silt could be baked as well. Moreover, there are examples of both kinds of figurines (fired and unfired), originating from a single mould, clearly signifying that the two traditions overlapped very closely (Kaczanowicz 2018a). It was proposed that the production of clay figurines was abandoned before the 25th dynasty (Stewart 1995, 34); however, in Thebes it continued at least until the end of the Saite Period and probably well into the 27th dynasty (Schreiber 2015b, 57). According to their excavator, small pottery ushebtis from TT 29 should be dated to the 30th dynasty (Warmenbol 2010, 414). Budka reported finds of clay ushebtis datable to the Ptolemaic Period from the Austrian concession in the Asasif valley (Budka 2010a, 273), which extends the chronology of this group of figurines even further.

Similarly to faience figurines, green ushebtis seem to have been introduced later than blue ones (red specimens are known as well, but are rare).²¹ Unlike faience ushebtis, where the colour is an ‘inherent’ feature, clay ushebtis were painted and in many cases the paint was not preserved. Sometimes it is impossible to state whether the statuette was painted or not, which makes their dating even more difficult.

Lately, thanks to the recent publications of late dynastic finds from Theban tombs, it became clear that it is possible to identify not only particular types of clay figurines, but even specific moulds from which they originated. In several cases, tens of different types of clay ushebtis were distinguished in a single tomb, often differing only in minor details (such as shape of the wig, or size) (e.g. Graefe 2003). My aim is not to discuss each of these types, but to identify general features which help date particular groups of statuettes.

On several figurines, fingerprints of the maker are still visible (Strudwick, N. 1996, 130; Makowska 2015; Kaczanowicz 2018a).

Type 1 (Figure 6)

Description: Overseer ushebtis. One arm along the side, the other bent on the breast, holding a whip in hand. Text may occupy the front of the body, but the majority is uninscribed. No back pillar. This type can be further divided into three subtypes: 1a (figurines painted blue), 1b (figurines painted green), and 1c (whitewashed or unpainted figurines). Overseer ushebtis are usually made of fired clay (although exceptions from this rule are known).

Further comment: As stated above in reference to the faience overseer ushebtis, the whip can be held in the right, but also in the left hand. In Thebes, clay overseer figurines continued in fashion at least until the end of the 26th dynasty (Schreiber 2015b, 57).

Selected specimens (1a): Ushebtis of Nakhtefmut from the Ramesseum (Strudwick, H., Dawson 2016, 205);



Figure 6. Clay ushebti, type 1

²¹ Mentions of mud ushebtis painted yellow, which can be found in some excavation reports, were discarded in this study, as the yellow colour of figurines seems to be a result of a discolouration of the varnish rather than of an application of yellow paint (Aston, D. 2009a, 361).

anonymous ushebtis from Kampp -61- (Schreiber 2015b, 57-58); anonymous ushebtis from MMA 1152 (Kaczanowicz 2018a, type B1); anonymous ushebtis from the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Makowska 2015, type IIB.2); anonymous ushebtis from Tomb B (Schreiber 2008, 70); anonymous ushebtis from TT 254 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 128).

Selected specimens (1b): Ushebtis of Tenuttawy from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.5.5.3).

Selected specimens (1c): Ushebtis of Djedmehyt from TT 188 (Redford, S. 2006, type L); Khaas from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.5.5.1); ushebtis of Padiamun from Bab el-Gasus (Chappaz 1984, no. 30); anonymous ushebtis from Deir el-Medina (Onderka 2015, nos. G.21-23, G.27); anonymous ushebtis from TT 188 (Redford, S. 2006, types H-I); anonymous ushebtis from TT 253 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 119); anonymous ushebtis from TT 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 114).

Dating: 1a 21st-26th dynasty

1b late 21st dynasty

1c 21st-26th dynasty

Type 2 (Figure 7)

Description: Worker ushebtis. Arms usually crossed on the breast, hands hold two opposed hoes. Text may occupy the front of the body, but the majority is uninscribed. No back pillar. This type can be further divided into nine subtypes: 2a (unfired statuettes painted blue, no beard), 2b (fired statuettes painted blue, no beard), 2c (fired statuettes painted blue, beard is present), 2d (unfired statuettes painted green, no beard), 2e (fired statuettes painted green, no beard), 2f (unfired whitewashed or unpainted figurines, no beard), 2g (fired whitewashed or unpainted figurines, no beard), 2h (unfired whitewashed or unpainted figurines, beard is present), and 2i (fired whitewashed or unpainted figurines, beard is present). I am not excluding the possibility of existence of three more subtypes (unfired, bearded statuettes painted blue, unfired statuettes painted green without beards, and unfired bearded ushebtis painted green), but no Theban ushebtis of this kind from secure contexts are known to me.

Further comment: At least some of the clay ushebtis from TT 196 (Graefe 2003, nos. 421, 425-426, 428, 432-436) belong to this type, but I was unable to find information whether they were made of fired or unfired clay.



Figure 7. Clay ushebti, type 2

Selected specimens (2a): Ushebtis of Ankhefenkhonsu from the Ramesseum (Janes 2011, no. 18); anonymous ushebtis from Kampp -61- (Schreiber 2015b, 58); anonymous ushebtis from Kampp -400- (Schreiber 2018b, Fig. 3.5).

Selected specimens (2b): Ushebtis of Ankhesenmut from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.5.1.7); Djedaset from the Ramesseum (Janes 2011, no. 32); Nestanebisheru from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 5.5.1.21); Perenbastet from Kampp -171- (Manchester Museum website, Shabti [5053.g]; Petrie 1909, 12); anonymous ushebtis from Deir el-Medina (Onderka

2015, nos. G.5-10); anonymous ushebtis from MMA 1152 (Kaczanowicz 2018a, type B2); anonymous ushebtis from the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Makowska 2015, type IIB.1); anonymous ushebtis from TT 253 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 119; 122); anonymous ushebtis from TT 254 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 127-128); anonymous ushebtis from TT 374 (Redford, S. 2006, type C).

Selected specimens (2c): Ushebtis of Nespakashuty from Deir el-Medina (Pomorska 1959, no. 45).

Selected specimens (2d): Ushebtis of Nesmut from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.5.1.17); Padiamun from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.5.1.11); Tenuttawy from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.5.1.31).

Selected specimens (2e): Ushebtis Nesmut from Bab el-Gasus (Aubert 1998, no. 25); Nespakashuty from DeM 1283 (Onderka 2015, nos. G.25-26); Pauseramun from the Ramesseum (Janes 2011, no. 21); anonymous ushebtis from MMA 1152 (Kaczanowicz 2018a, type B4).

Selected specimens (2f): Ushebtis of Khaas from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.5.1.24); Nesamenopet from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.5.1.15); Neskonsu from Tomb B (Schreiber 2008, 69); anonymous ushebtis from the common courtyard of TT 253, 254, and 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 105); anonymous ushebtis from Tomb B (Schreiber 2008, 70); anonymous ushebtis from TT 254 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 128; 32; 134).

Selected specimens (2g): Ushebtis of Ankhefenkhonsu from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.5.1.3); Aset[...] from Deir el-Medina (Onderka 2015, no. G.24); Djedmaatiusankh from Bab el-Gasus (Schneider 1977, no. 4.5.1.32); Djedmehyt from TT 188 (Redford, S. 2006, type K); Nesikhonsu from Deir el-Medina (Onderka 2015, no. G.20); Tabakenkhonsu from Bab el-Gasus (Janes 2011, no. 31); anonymous ushebtis from Deir el-Medina (Onderka 2015, nos. G.12-18); anonymous ushebtis from the Ramesseum (Janes 2011, no. 40); anonymous ushebtis from Kampp -61- (Schreiber 2015b, 57-58); anonymous ushebtis from TT 253 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 119); anonymous ushebtis from TT 254 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 128; 132); anonymous ushebtis from TT 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 115); anonymous ushebtis from TT 374 (Redford, S. 2006, type B).

Selected specimens (2h): Anonymous ushebtis from Kampp -61- (Schreiber 2015b, 58).

Selected specimens (2i): Anonymous ushebtis from MMA 1152 (Kaczanowicz 2018a, type B3); anonymous ushebtis from the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Makowska 2015, types IB.1 and ID.1).

<i>Dating:</i>	2a	22 nd -25 th dynasty
	2b	21 st -25 th dynasty
	2c	25 th dynasty
	2d	late 21 st dynasty
	2e	late 21 st -25 th dynasty
	2f	late 21 st -25 th dynasty
	2g	late 21 st -25 th dynasty
	2h	25 th dynasty
	2i	25 th dynasty

Type 3 (Figure 8)

Description: Worker ushebtis, similar to types 2 and 3, except that hands and arms are not modelled at all. The workmanship is usually rough and the figurines anepigraphic. This type can be further divided into nine subtypes: 3a (unfired statuettes painted blue, no beard), 3b

(fired statuettes painted blue, no beard), 3c (unfired statuettes painted blue, beard is present), 3d (fired statuettes painted blue, beard is present), 3e (unfired statuettes painted green, no beard), 3f (unfired whitewashed or unpainted figurines, no beard), 3g (fired whitewashed or unpainted figurines, no beard), 3h (unfired whitewashed or unpainted figurines, beard is present), and 3i (fired whitewashed or unpainted figurines, beard is present). I am not excluding the possibility of



Figure 8. Clay ushebti, type 3

existence of further three subtypes (fired beardless statuettes painted green, unfired bearded statuettes painted green, and fired bearded statuettes painted green), but no Theban ushebti of this kind from secure contexts are known to me.

Further comment: The most popular type of ushebti from the 25th dynasty onwards, possibly until the early Ptolemaic Period. At least some of the clay ushebti from TT 196 (Graefe 2003, nos. 422-424; 427; 429-431) belong to this type, but I was unable to find information whether they were made of fired or unfired clay.

Selected specimens (3a): Ushebti of Iu or Taiu from TT 32 (Schreiber 2008, 59); anonymous ushebti from Asasif (Budka 2010a, 729); anonymous ushebti from MMA 1152 (Kaczanowicz 2018a, type U2); anonymous ushebti from Tomb B (Schreiber 2008, 70); anonymous ushebti from TT 32 (Schreiber 2008, 59-60).

Selected specimens (3b): Anonymous ushebti from the common courtyard of TT 253, 254, and 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 105); anonymous ushebti from Grab VII (Budka 2010a, 590-591); anonymous ushebti from MMA 1152 (Kaczanowicz 2018a, type B5); anonymous ushebti from the common courtyard of TT 253, 254, and 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 106); anonymous ushebti from TT 188 (Redford, S. 2006, type O); anonymous ushebti from TT 253 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 119; 122); anonymous ushebti from TT 254 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 130); anonymous ushebti from TT 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 108).

Selected specimens (3c): Anonymous ushebti from TT 32 (Schreiber 2008, 59); anonymous ushebti from TT 253 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 119).

Selected specimens (3d): Anonymous ushebtis from the common courtyard of TT 253, 254, and 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 105); anonymous ushebtis from TT 188 (Redford, S. 2006, type D).

Selected specimens (3e): Anonymous ushebtis from Asasif (Budka 2010a, 730); anonymous ushebtis from MMA 1152 (Kaczanowicz 2018a, type U2); anonymous ushebtis from TT 138 (Feucht 2006, 153).

Selected specimens (3f): Anonymous ushebtis from Asasif (Budka 2010a, 729); anonymous ushebtis from Kampp -171- (Manchester Museum website, Shabti [5101]; Petrie 1901, 12); anonymous ushebtis from Kampp -400- (Schreiber 2018b, Fig. 3.7); anonymous ushebtis from MMA 1152 (Kaczanowicz 2018a, type U3); anonymous ushebtis from Tomb B (Schreiber 2009, 70); anonymous ushebtis from TT 32 (Schreiber 2008, 59-60).

Selected specimens (3g): Anonymous ushebtis from the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Makowska 2015, type IB.3); anonymous ushebtis from TT 138 (Feucht 2006, 153); anonymous ushebtis from TT 188 (Redford, S. 2006, types E and M); anonymous ushebtis from TT 253 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 118); anonymous ushebtis from TT 254 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 128); anonymous ushebtis from TT 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 108).

Selected specimens (3h): Anonymous ushebtis from Grab I (Budka 2010a, 514); anonymous ushebtis from Grab II (Budka 2010a, 531); anonymous ushebtis from Grab VII (Budka 2010a, Taf. 30c); anonymous ushebtis from Kampp -61- (Schreiber 2015b, 58); anonymous ushebtis from Kampp -400- (Schreiber 2018b, Fig. 3.6); anonymous ushebtis from MMA 1152 (Kaczanowicz 2018a, type U1); anonymous ushebtis from the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Makowska 2015, type IA.2); anonymous ushebtis from the common courtyard of TT 253, 254, and 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 106); anonymous ushebtis from TT 32 (Schreiber 2008, 59); anonymous ushebtis from TT 296 (Feucht 1985, 144); anonymous ushebtis from TT 294 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 114).

Selected specimens (3i): Anonymous ushebtis from Kampp -49- (Redford, S. 2006, type R); anonymous ushebtis from MMA 1152 (Kaczanowicz 2018a, type B6); anonymous ushebtis from the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Makowska 2015, types IA.1 and IB.2); anonymous ushebtis from TT 253 (Strudwick, N. 1996, 121; 123); anonymous ushebtis from TT 296 (Feucht 1985, 144).

<i>Dating:</i>	3a	22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	3b	21 st dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	3c	25 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	3d	25 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	3e	22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	3f	22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	3g	21 st dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	3h	25 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	3i	25 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period

Type 4 (Figure 9)

Description: Worker ushebtis with baskets on their heads. No epigraphic examples are known to me. No back pillar.

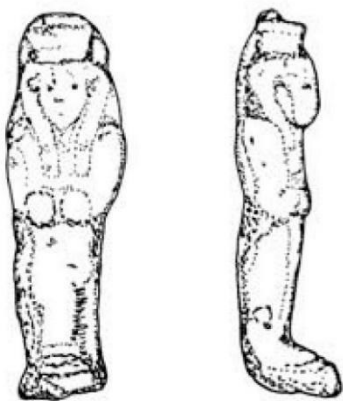


Figure 9. Clay ushebtis, type 4

Further comment: These extremely characteristic figurines are a Kushite novelty, introduced during the 25th dynasty, with parallels from el-Kurru (Musso, Petacchi 2011). No specimens from other Egyptian sites are known to me. Possibly, unusual ushebtis from TT 188, with ‘a small modius atop the head which is indicative of a female’ and a pedestal, also belong to this type (Redford, S. 2006, type G).

Selected specimens: Ushebtis of Niu from TT 99 (Strudwick, N. 2000); anonymous ushebtis from Asasif (probably Grab VII) (Budka 2010a, 272); anonymous ushebtis from TT 188 (?) (Redford, S. 2006, type G).

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

The summary of the classification of clay ushebtis can be found in Table 18.

Type	Subtype	Overseer/worker	Clay	Colour	Beard	Dating
1	a	overseer		blue		21 st -26 dynasty
	b	overseer		green		late 21 st dynasty
	c	overseer		unpainted		21 st -26 th dynasty
2	a	worker	unfired	blue		22 nd -25 th dynasty
	b	worker	fired	blue		21 st -25 th dynasty
	c	worker	fired	blue	✓	25 th dynasty
	d	worker	unfired	green		late 21 st dynasty
	e	worker	fired	green		late 21 st -25 th dynasty
	f	worker	unfired	unpainted		late 21 st -25 th dynasty
	g	worker	fired	unpainted		late 21 st -25 th dynasty
	h	worker	unfired	unpainted	✓	25 th dynasty
	i	worker	fired	unpainted	✓	25 th dynasty
3	a	worker	unfired	blue		22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	b	worker	fired	blue		21 st dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	c	worker	unfired	blue	✓	25 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	d	worker	fired	blue	✓	25 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	e	worker	unfired	green		22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	f	worker	unfired	unpainted		22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	g	worker	fired	unpainted		21 st dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	h	worker	unfired	unpainted	✓	25 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
	i	worker	fired	unpainted	✓	25 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
4		worker with basket on the head				25 th -early 26 th dynasty

Table 18. Summary of the typology of clay ushebtis

i. Stone shabtis

Stone shabtis made their appearance only once during the first millennium BCE. Meg Gundlach lists eight known individuals who possessed stone shabtis: Amenirdis I, Shepenwepet II, Karakhamun, Harwa, Montuemhat, Wedjarenes, Diasethebsed, and Pedamenopet (Gundlach 2013, I, i).²² To this list I would add also Ipy, whose stone shabti was discovered in TT 32; the presence of back pillar and plinth leaves no doubt that the figurine should be dated to the first millennium BCE (Schreiber 2008, 81-82).

Amenirdis I died probably shortly after Year 12 of Taharka, i.e. after 679 BCE (Coulon, Hallmann, Payraudeau 2018, 276); Shepenwepet II certainly survived into Year 9 of Psamtek I (656 BCE) as attested by Nitocris Adoption Stela (Caminos 1964), although the exact date of her death is unknown. As for Harwa, Amenirdis I's steward, it was suggested that his death should be dated to around 685-680 BCE (Einaudi 2014, 328). Montuemhat was active in Thebes during the reigns of Taharka, Tanwetamani and Psamtek I; he certainly lived into Year 14 of Psamtek (651 BCE) as he was one of the witnesses who signed the famous Saite Oracle Papyrus, dated to the 4 October 651 BCE (Parker 1962), and possibly died during the reign of this pharaoh. A similar date of death – during the reign of Psamtek I – can be assumed for Wedjarenes, Montuemhat's third wife, who was probably buried in her husband's tomb, TT 34 (Russmann 1997). Shabtis of Diasethebsed, whose burial's remains were found in Medinet Habu and who was Montuemhat's sister, are more or less contemporary, though it cannot be excluded that Diasethebsed's death took place a little earlier, during the last days of the Kushite rule in Egypt (Corsi 2013). Pedamenopet's demise likely predated that of Montuemhat; similarities between layout and decoration of their tombs demonstrate that their lifespans, at least partially, overlapped (Régen 2018, 169, n. 36). For the remaining owners of stone shabtis, the dates of their deaths are uncertain: for Ipy, there is no information on his activity in Thebes, while Karakhamun might have died as the first one among the stone shabtis' owners, as the evidence from his tomb (TT 223) seems to fall into the earlier part of the Kushite Period (Naunton 2014). Still, the construction of the tomb might have started long before its owner's death.

The available data thus indicate that the appearance of stone shabtis was limited to the Kushite and early Saite Period and all the owners of such statuettes were closely linked to the

²² Apart from stone statuettes, specimens made of faience or even clay, belonging to the above-mentioned individuals, are known.

Napatan royal family, with at least four of them (Amenirdis I, Shepenwepet II, Karakhamun, Wedjarenes) being ethnic Kushites themselves. Some of the shabtis allegedly belonging to non-Nubian individuals possess traits determined as ‘Kushite’ such as delineation of the ‘Kushite fold’ in Pedamenopet’s figurines (Gundlach 2013, I, 153-154). This, of course, does not necessarily mean that their owners were Nubians and can be an imitation of royal shabtis and royal statuary. The only 25th dynasty pharaoh known for having stone shabtis was Taharka; at least 1070 of his funerary figurines made of various stones were found by his pyramid in Nuri (Dunham 1955, 10).²³ All of the individuals listed above, except for Karakhamun and Ipy, can be securely dated to the period between the beginning of the reign of Taharka and early years of Psamtek I (690-650 BCE).

Stone shabtis, apart from the material used for their manufacture, do not share as many common traits as one might suspect for objects produced within such a short period. There are specimens with beards and beardless; headdresses vary, similarly to the arrangement of hands, modelling of arms, versions of the mummy spell or sizes of the statuettes (also within the same set) (Gundlach 2013). Worth mentioning are Harwa’s shabtis holding crook and flail (the royal insignia) instead of the usual hoes, although, as has been correctly pointed out, they should be probably considered as symbols of Osiris rather than symbols of kingly power (Einaudi 2014, 326). Stone used for the production of such figurines included serpentine, limestone, granite, steatite, and basalt.

e) Containers for storing funerary figurines

Typology of wooden shabti boxes from Thebes was proposed by Aston (Aston, D. 1994; Aston, D. 2009a, 364-373); his classification is utilised in this work. Aston’s typology covers the timespan between the Second Intermediate Period and the Saite Period. Only the types datable to the first millennium BCE are discussed below (Table 19).²⁴

Type	Short description		Dating
V	a	Rectangular or trapezoidal in section, three transverse vaulted lids separated by rectangular or curved dividing boards. Often mounted on a base board which protrudes a little way around all four sides. Boxes decorated with scenes with the deceased. Average dimensions: 40-60 cm	1070-980 BCE

²³ Later Napatan rulers were also buried with stone shabtis (Haynes, Leprohon 1987).

²⁴ The subtype VIIIc (‘boxes with white central panel’) was distinguished by Aston in 1994, but it was omitted from his 2009 study. Since this category comprised three specimens only, I am also omitting it here.

		long, 30 cm wide, 40 cm tall.		
	b	1	Rectangular or trapezoidal in section, three transverse vaulted lids separated by rectangular or curved dividing boards. Often mounted on a base board which protrudes a little way around all four sides. Boxes decorated with texts, written in black or blue ink on the whitewashed background, on one of the long sides. Average dimensions: 40-60 cm long, 30 cm wide, 40 cm tall.	21 st dynasty
		2	Rectangular or trapezoidal in section, three transverse vaulted lids separated by rectangular or curved dividing boards. Often mounted on a base board which protrudes a little way around all four sides. Boxes decorated with block inscriptions, usually written in black or blue, in vertical rows (a single block in the centre of one of the long sides, a single block flanked by two single columns, or three blocks, one beneath each of the three lids), framed by a simple border line. Average dimensions: 40-60 cm long, 30 cm wide, 40 cm tall.	1000-950 BCE
	c	Rectangular or trapezoidal in section, three transverse vaulted lids separated by rectangular or curved dividing boards. Often mounted on a base board which protrudes a little way around all four sides. Undecorated. Average dimensions: 40-60 cm long, 30 cm wide, 40 cm tall.		21 st dynasty
VI	a	Rectangular or trapezoidal in section, two transverse vaulted lids. No protruding base board, although sometimes the box is raised on two base logs. Boxes decorated with scenes with the deceased.		21 st dynasty
	b	1	Rectangular or trapezoidal in section, two transverse vaulted lids. No protruding base board, although sometimes the box is raised on two base logs. Boxes decorated with texts, written in black or blue ink on the whitewashed background, on one of the long sides.	21 st dynasty
		2	Rectangular or trapezoidal in section, three transverse vaulted lids separated by rectangular or curved dividing boards, two transverse vaulted lids. Do not have a protruding base board,	21 st -early 22 nd dynasty

			although sometimes the box is raised on two base logs. Boxes decorated with block inscriptions, usually written in black or blue, in vertical rows (a single block in the centre of one of the long sides, or two blocks, one beneath each of the two lids), framed by a simple border line.	
	c		Rectangular or trapezoidal in section, three transverse vaulted lids separated by rectangular or curved dividing boards, two transverse vaulted lids. Do not have a protruding base board, although sometimes the box is raised on two base logs. Undecorated.	21 st dynasty
VII	a		Small boxes (24-34 cm long, 10-20 cm wide, 15-30 cm tall), with rounded end boards and a flat lid, made in three separate sections, without base boards. Painted a monochrome black or white.	940-880 BCE
	b		Small boxes (24-34 cm long, 10-20 cm wide, 15-30 cm tall), with rounded end boards and a flat lid, made in three separate sections, without base boards. The text (Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead) painted in blue hieroglyphs on the whitewashed background, in vertical columns around three or four sides of the box. Sometimes, in the case of boxes with text on three sides, the fourth one is occupied by a scene of the deceased offering an ushebti to a mummiform seated god.	750-650 BCE
	c		Small boxes (24-34 cm long, 10-20 cm wide, 15-30 cm tall), with rounded end boards and a flat lid, made in three separate sections, without base boards. Whitewashed with a single line of text in black or in blue on the yellow ground running around the entire circumference of the box at a point halfway between the top and the base. The lids bear pictures of boats.	700-600 BCE
VIII	a		Small boxes (24-34 cm long, 10-20 cm wide, 15-30 cm tall), resembling miniature examples of <i>qeresu</i> coffins. The lid is vaulted (often decorated with one or two boats, one under sail and one not) and end boards are no longer protruding higher than the sides. The decoration includes one band of text, usually in black on the yellow ground, running around all four sides.	750-650 BCE
	b		Small boxes (24-34 cm long, 10-20 cm wide, 15-30 cm tall), resembling miniature examples of <i>qeresu</i> coffins.	

		The lid is vaulted (usually plain) and end boards often painted in alternate semi-circles of green, yellow, and red. The decoration includes the text of Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead. The four corner posts are covered with the text (black hieroglyphs on the yellow ground) which runs down to the bottom of the box, giving the deceased's name and titles.	

Table 19. Aston's typology of Theban shabti boxes

Shabti boxes went out of fashion in the late Saite Period; it seems that in the later times, funerary figurines were placed in undecorated wooden boxes or in niches within the burial chamber (Aston, D. 1994, 38; Aston, D. 1999, 19-20). Apart from wooden boxes, another type of container in which statuettes could be stored during the Third Intermediate Period were so-called 'shabti jars' – pottery vessels with flat bases, flaring mouths, distinct shoulders, and short necks (Aston, D. 2009a, 364). No Theban example of such an object is known to me, therefore I will not describe them in detail.

f) Osiris and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures

The Osiris figures (three-dimensional representations of Osiris, usually with a funerary papyrus hidden in the cavity, either in the base or the trunk) and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuettes (images of the composite god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, often with a corn mummy placed in the hollow in its base)²⁵ became a standard element of burial equipment in Thebes during the first millennium BCE.

The fundamental study on the Osiris and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures and their development was published by Maarten J. Raven (1978-1979), which was further supplemented by Aston, Edith Varga, Budka, Christiane Ziegler, Grzegorz First, and others (Aston, D. 1991; Varga 1995; Budka 2003; Ziegler 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 302-308; First 2009; Budka 2010a, 260-266). Most recently, a new typology was proposed by Simone M. Bielesch (Bielesch 2010), which is adapted in this work (Table 20).

Type	Short description	Dating
1	Polychrome Osiris figures, with a detachable back panel. <i>Atef</i> or <i>hedjet</i> crown. A column of text on the front of the trunk or at the top of the base.	19 th -21 st dynasty

²⁵ The only example of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette with a corn mummy in its trunk known to me was published by Kate Bosse-Griffiths (Bosse-Griffiths 2001).

2	2.a	Black varnished Osiris figures, with a tubular cavity in the trunk and a detachable back panel. <i>Atef</i> or <i>hedjet</i> crown.	21 st -22 nd dynasty
	2.b	Black varnished Osiris figures, with a rectangular cavity in the trunk. <i>Atef</i> or <i>hedjet</i> crown.	
	2.c	Black varnished, mostly solid Osiris figures, without arms. Divine wig and the ostrich feather crown.	
	2.d	Black varnished, mostly solid Osiris figures, with arms crossed over the chest and empty fists. Divine wig and the ostrich feather crown.	
3	Osiris figures with a green face. Tripartite wig bound by a fillet and ostrich feather crown. Sash crossed over the torso.		750-675 BCE
4	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures with a green face, a cavity in the base, and a statuette of the falcon on the lid. Arms are not modelled. Back pillar.		26 th dynasty
5	5.a	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures with a gilded or yellow face, and red body. Divine wig and feather crown. A column of text on the front of the trunk.	Ptolemaic Period
	5.b	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures with a gilded or yellow face, and red body. Divine wig and feather crown. Stylized <i>wesekh</i> collar. A column of text on the front of the trunk and inscription on the base.	30 th dynasty
	5.c	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures with a gilded or yellow face and red body. Divine wig and feather crown. Stylized <i>wesekh</i> collar with small falcons. Elaborate decoration of the front of the trunk. One to three columns of text on the front of the trunk, surmounted by Nut.	end of the Late Period-Ptolemaic Period
6	6.a	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures with a gilded face and black body. A column of text on the front of the trunk.	Ptolemaic Period
	6.b	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures with a gilded, yellow or white face and black body. Divine wig and feather crown. Stylized <i>wesekh</i> collar with small falcons. One to three columns of text on the front of the trunk, one on the pillar, and lines of text on the base.	30 th dynasty
	6.c	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures with a gilded or yellow face and black body. Elaborate decoration of the front of the trunk.	Ptolemaic Period
7	7.a	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures with a white, red, or yellow face and white body. Divine wig, feather crown. Net pattern on the trunk.	end of the Late Period- Ptolemaic Period

	7.b	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures with a gilded face and white body. Divine wig, feather crown. Feather pattern or protective wings on the trunk.	Ptolemaic Period
8	8.a	Completely gilded Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, except for some black details.	Ptolemaic Period
	8.b	Completely gilded Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, except for some polychrome details.	Ptolemaic Period
9	Unpainted or monochromatic Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures.		
10	Shabtis remodelled into Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures.		21 st dynasty

Table 20. Bielesch's typology of Osiris and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures

f) Funerary stelae

Wooden stelae were not as essential grave goods as coffins, but are present in some burials. The major typology of wooden funerary stelae is that of Peter Munro (Munro 1973, I, 10-70), supplemented by Erhart Graefe, Günther Vittmann, Herman de Meulenaere, Luc Limme and Jan Quaegebeur, Heidi Saleh, Aston, and Marc Loth (Graefe 1973; Graefe 1974; Vittmann 1978; de Meulenaere, Limme, Quaegebeur 1985; Saleh, H. 2007; Aston, D. 2009a, 348-355; Loth 2009). Aston's typology is utilised in this work (Table 21).

Type	Short description		Dating
I	a	No framing symbols. Osiris is depicted seated on a throne and holding the <i>heka</i> sceptre and the <i>nekhakha</i> flail.	1075/1050-1000/950 BCE
	b	No framing symbols. Ra-Horakhty is depicted seated on a throne and holding the <i>heka</i> sceptre and the <i>nekhakha</i> flail.	975/950-850/825 BCE
	c	No framing symbols. Ra-Horakhty is depicted standing and holding the <i>was</i> sceptre and the	

		<i>ankh</i> symbol.	
II	a	Stelae framed by the signs of the east and the west and topped by a large <i>pet</i> hieroglyph. Ra-Horakhty is depicted seated on a throne and holding the <i>heka</i> sceptre and the <i>nekhakha</i> flail.	950/925-850/825 BCE
	b	Stelae framed by the signs of the east and the west and topped by a large <i>pet</i> hieroglyph. Ra-Horakhty is depicted seated on a throne and holding the <i>was</i> sceptre and the <i>ankh</i> symbol.	850/825-800/775 BCE
	c	Stelae framed by the signs of the east and the west and topped by a large <i>pet</i> hieroglyph. Ra-Horakhty is depicted standing and holding the <i>was</i> sceptre and the <i>ankh</i> symbol.	825/800-750/725 BCE
III	a	Stelae framed by two opposing <i>was</i> sceptres and topped by a large <i>pet</i> hieroglyph. Ra-Horakhty is depicted seated on a throne and holding the <i>heka</i> sceptre and the <i>nekhakha</i> flail.	950/925-850/825 BCE
	b	Stelae framed by two opposing <i>was</i> sceptres and topped by a large <i>pet</i> hieroglyph. Ra-Horakhty is depicted seated on a throne and holding the <i>was</i> sceptre and the <i>ankh</i> symbol.	850/825-800/775 BCE
	c	Stelae framed by two opposing <i>was</i> sceptres and topped by a large <i>pet</i> hieroglyph. Ra-Horakhty is depicted standing and holding the <i>was</i> sceptre and the <i>ankh</i> symbol.	825/800-750/725 BCE
IV	Stelae framed by a 'door frame' and with a text at the base.		750/725-700/675 BCE
V	Stelae framed by the leaning Nut figure, standing at the left side of the scene, with her body forming the top and her arms and outstretched fingers forming the right-hand frame line.		725/700-700/675 BCE
VI	Stelae framed by the signs of the east and the west, topped with a winged disc. At least two lines of text occupy the base.		700/675 -675/650 BCE
VII	Stelae consisting of three parts: representation of a winged sun disc at the top, two scenes (placed back to back) with the deceased facing two different gods, and lines of text in the bottom part.		660/650-625/600? BCE

Table 21. Aston's typology of Theban funerary stelae

Aston's typology of Theban wooden stelae ends after the Saite Period and indeed it seems that – except for the stela of Wahibra (TT 414) – there are no well-dated examples of such artefacts from the period preceding the Macedonian conquest of Egypt. Apart from wooden ones, several stone stelae were discovered in Thebes, but their number is too small to propose a separate typology.

g) Canopic jars

Canopic jars continued to be used in the first millennium BCE, at least until the beginning of the First Persian Period, although their form and concept underwent major changes such as the appearance of 'dummy' jars, never intended to house human remains. Aston distinguished five types of canopic jars present in burial assemblages of the Third Intermediate Period and early Late Period (Aston, D. 2009a, 293-299); his typology is adapted here (Table 22). These were made mainly of stone (travertine, limestone), but clay and even wooden (lids) specimens can also be found.

Type	Short description	Dating
I	High shoulder and straight sides slanting in towards a flat base. Often inscribed with two, three, or four columns of text on the front. When lids are preserved, there is a distinct break in profile between the side of the jar and the lid.	21 st -25 th dynasty
II	Similar to Type I, but more slender and with no distinct break in profile between the side of the jar and the lid. The majority of Type II jars are partly hollowed and unused.	900-700 BCE
III	Rare type of inscribed jars with rounded body.	post 720 BCE
IV	'Cigar-shaped', narrow jars.	post 720 BCE
V	Solid dummy canopic jars, often uninscribed or bearing a single column of text running down the front of the vessel.	post 900 BCE

Table 22. Aston's typology of canopic jars

Additionally, the form of the lid can be a dating criterion on its own. Apparently, specimens which have the details of their headdresses emphasized were popular in the first part of the Third Intermediate Period (before 850 BCE) and were replaced later by lids with plain headdresses, which were used at least to the Saite Period.

h) Canopic chests

The typology of first millennium BCE canopic chests (very rare during the Third Intermediate Period but popular in the Late Period) was proposed by Aston as well (Aston, D. 2000), and is used in this work (Table 23). It is worth mentioning that after the 26th dynasty, such containers were not ‘real’ canopic chests anymore, because no canopic jars were placed in them, only mummified remains, ushebtis, or even dried fruit (Aston, D. 2000, 162). Nevertheless, they certainly evolved from the canopic chests and therefore will be referred to as such.

Type	Short description		Dating
A	Rectangular in section. Made of wood and plaster with convex lids.		early 26 th dynasty
B	B1	Square in section, decorated with various scenes on all four sides. All the sides are topped by a <i>kheker</i> frieze.	26 th dynasty
	B2	Similar to B1: the difference is the presence of a couchant falcon on top of the flat lid.	
C	C1	Tall boxes without a cavetto cornice, with sides tapering slightly inwards, closed by a flat lid surmounted with a falcon.	26 th dynasty
	C2	Tall boxes with a distinct cavetto cornice on the top of the box, and sides tapering slightly inwards, closed by a flat lid surmounted with a falcon.	520 BCE-Ptolemaic Period

Table 23. Aston’s typology of canopic chests

i) The Book of the Dead

Papyri containing texts of the funerary liturgy (such as those placed inside the Osiris figures) may be of value for the dating purposes. For the early Third Intermediate Period, the following typology of Theban papyri containing the text of the Book of the Dead was proposed by Niwiński (Niwiński 1989, 111-209) and supplemented by Aston (Aston, D. 2009a, 308-316) (Table 24).

Type	Short description		Dating
I	1	Textual Books of the Dead, in which the etiquette (usually at the right end of the papyrus) is the only illustration. Text written in	late 21 st dynasty

		hieroglyphs.	
	2	Textual Books of the Dead, in which the etiquette (usually at the beginning) is the only illustration. Text written in hieratic.	1000-830 BCE
II	1	Illustrated Books of the Dead, in which more vignettes illustrating particular chapters can be found. Text written in hieroglyphs.	1050-950 BCE
	2	Illustrated Books of the Dead, in which more vignettes illustrating particular chapters can be found. Text written in hieratic.	1001-976 BCE
III	1a	Figured Books of the Dead (figural representations exceed the amount of text). Text written in hieroglyphs. Polychrome figures.	1050-950 BCE
	1b	Figured Books of the Dead (figural representations exceed the amount of text). Text written in hieroglyphs. Monochrome figures.	1010-944 BCE
	2	Figured Books of the Dead (figural representations exceed the amount of text). Text written in hieratic.	945 BCE

Table 24. Niwiński's typology of Third Intermediate Period Book of the Dead

The papyri containing the text of the Book of the Dead went out of popular use after the 21st dynasty, only to appear again in the Late Period. The occurrence of the Late Period and Graeco-Roman Period Books of the Dead was divided into five chronological phases by Malcolm Mosher (Mosher 1992). The earliest two can be dated to the Late Period. In these Late Period papyri, the most noticeable feature is the high level of standardization of the vignettes; the only difference is the text itself (Table 25).

Type	Short description	Dating
Phase I	Almost all spells accompanied by vignettes. Revised arrangement of text, according to the new canon ('Saite Recension').	26 th dynasty
Phase II	Almost all spells accompanied by vignettes. Departure from the standardized text used during the 26 th dynasty. Occurs only in Thebes.	fourth-early third century BCE

Table 25. Mosher's typology of Late Period Book of the Dead

j) Amulets

In the first millennium BCE, funerary amulets were an indispensable element of a burial. However, there are not many typological studies of this category of finds, making their dating difficult. Several groups of amulets deserve special attention here, as their style, or even their presence within a tomb, may be of use for dating.

Despite previous attempts to date bead nets (nets made of tubular and round faience beads, placed on the mummies) to the earlier periods of Egyptian history, it is now clear that they made their first appearance, at least in Thebes, around 750 BCE (Aston, D. 2009a, 292-293). Therefore, their presence itself is a useful dating criterion. It was suggested that bead nets were an innovation inspired by the Nubian tradition of beadwork, brought north by the Napatan rulers of Egypt (Bosse-Griffiths 1978, 106; Aston, D. 2009a, 399; Budka 2010a, 343). Bead nets were identified on several Napatan sites in Nubia (Edwards 2004, 134-135). It is worth noticing, however, that representations of bead nets occurred in the iconography of Egyptian coffins as early as during the 21st dynasty, for example on the mummy board of Henuttawy F, buried in the tomb MMA 59 (Winlock 1924, Fig. 24) and dresses made of beads are known from at least the Old Kingdom (Zibelius-Chen 2011, 401-402).

The only typology of bead nets so far was proposed by Flora Silvano; the dating was revised by Aston (Silvano 1980; Aston, D. 2009a, 292) (Table 26).

Type	Short description		Dating
A	Nets descending from the height of the shoulders to the torso or ankles of the mummy. The characteristic feature is the presence of a winged scarab and figures of the Four Sons of Horus.		750-525 BCE
B	B.a	Nets descending from the height of the shoulders to the torso or ankles of the mummy. The protective figures, more varied than in the previous type, are made in a separate material (e.g. cartonnage).	post 750/700 BCE
	B.b	Nets descending from the height of the shoulders to the torso or ankles of the mummy. The protective figures, more varied than in the previous type, are of beadwork.	

C	Nets covering the mummy entirely. The protective figures are made in a separate material (cartonnage).	600 BCE-Ptolemaic Period

Table 26. Silvano's typology of bead nets

A typology of the Sons of Horus discovered in the course of excavations in TT 196 was created by Peter Dils. This typology was further developed by Budka, who added examples from the Austrian excavations in Asasif (Dils in: Graefe 2003, 192-195; Budka 2010a, 255-257) (Table 27).

Type	Short description	Dating
1	Slim figures with round shoulders, on which horizontal lines are incised or painted. Arms and hands not modelled, legs formed very crudely. Sometimes painted in yellow or red.	25 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period
2	Slim figures with round shoulders, stripes on hands, and a pedestal under feet.	30 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period
3	Figures with square shoulders, a massive wig, and horizontal lines over the upper part of the body.	25 th -26 th dynasty
4	Slim figures with a large head, a massive wig, and horizontal lines over the upper part of the body.	uncertain
5	Schematic figures with a flat back and a convex chest.	Ptolemaic Period
6	Slim figures, similar to types 1 and 5, with a pedestal under feet.	uncertain
7	Slim figures, similar to type 4, but the head is more elaborate.	26 th -27 th dynasty
8	Figures similar to type 2, but the head is larger and the body is more massive.	30 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period

Table 27. Dils' typology of Sons of Horus (revised by Budka)

2. Palaeography and spelling

Apart from stylistic features of individual artefacts, another useful criterion of dating is palaeography and spelling of particular words, as changes in these can be traced down to specific periods of Egyptian history. For the sake of these considerations, the following changes are of importance:

- Spelling of the name of Osiris

It was demonstrated by Anthony Leahy that a change in the spelling of the name of Osiris occurred around 740-730 BCE (later Aston and Taylor suggested that this date should be

lowered to 720 BCE; Leahy 1979; Aston, D., Taylor 1990, 149), when it became customary to write it with a pennant determinative 𓂏 (Gardiner R.8): 𓂏𓂏. The only earlier instances of the use of this form come from the Middle Kingdom and a relatively short period during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, when this spelling could be encountered mainly in the royal context (Leahy 1979). The name of Osiris spelled with a pennant determinative became popular in Thebes around the time of the Kushite conquest of Egypt, both in royal and private contexts.

- Spelling of the name of Ra

Another change in the orthography of divine names, introduced in the Late Period, was adding a pennant determinative 𓂏 (Gardiner R.8) to the name of the god Ra: 𓂏𓂏 or 𓂏𓂏. Such spelling was first observed in Thebes around 750 BCE, where it remained in use at least until 535 BCE (Leahy 1980, 175 n. 26).

- Reversal of the *is* sign

It was further proposed by Leahy that in the late seventh century (620 BCE) in Abydos, the *is* sign (Gardiner M.40), until then written 𓂏, was reversed 𓂏. The change occurred also in Thebes, perhaps as early as 675 BCE (Leahy 1980, 174).

- Variants of the *h* sign

At least three different variants of the *h* sign 𓂏 (Gardiner V.28) are attested, the first one in the Ramesside Period, the second in the Ramesside to Third Intermediate Period, and the third one in 22nd-early 26th dynasty (Taylor 2006).

3. Position of mummy's arms and hands

Changes in the position of arms and hands of the mummies throughout Egyptian history were studied by Peter H.K. Gray. All but one analysed mummies from the dynastic period (datable to between the 11th dynasty to the beginning of the Ptolemaic era), X-rayed by Gray, had their arms in the extended position, with hands in various arrangements, but seldom placed on the outer aspect of the thighs. During the Ptolemaic Period, the favoured position was crossing the arms upon the breast. The Roman Period mummies show reversion to the extended position of arms, but the majority of them had their hands on the outer aspect of the thighs (Gray 1972) (Table 28). Thus, while this method of dating is not particularly accurate when it

comes to specific periods of the dynastic era, it is of use in distinguishing between mummies buried in Thebes during the Third Intermediate Period/Late Period and Graeco-Roman times.

Position of arms	Positions of hands	Dating
Extended	Palms cover genital area, palms rest on the front surface of thighs, palms rest on the inner surface of thighs	Dynastic
Crossed pectoral		Ptolemaic Period
Extended	Palms rest on the outer surface of thighs	Roman Period

Table 28. Arrangements of arms and hands in Egyptian mummies, according to Gray

4. Decoration of the tombs

In several instances, reused tombs were redecorated by new owners (or, in the case of previously undecorated sepulchres, an entirely new decoration was added). Decoration is a useful criterion, particularly in the case of tombs where no burial equipment was published (such as TT 117). The decoration can be dated on the basis of criteria already discussed above: contemporary style (canon of proportions, iconography of costumes, iconography of unguent cones), palaeography, and spelling.

5. Archaeological context

Last but not least, the archaeological context may provide information on the chronology of burials. Intact tombs, as already mentioned above, are rarely encountered in the Theban necropolis. There are, however, instances, in which even seemingly disturbed contexts can supply information which allows to narrow down the dating of the particular depositional event. Such a situation can result, for example, from a collapse of the ceiling, which by trapping the remains of primary and secondary burials under debris provides a *terminus ante quem* date, even if the rest of the tomb was robbed or reused as a dwelling in later times.

It was observed by Aston that in Medinet Habu tombs, cutting a pit in the floor of the burial chamber (for canopic jars) was a practice typical for the 25th dynasty (Aston, D. 2009a, 261). Similar pits can be found in several reused tombs discussed in *Catalogue*, therefore the presence of such pits was used by me as a dating criterion.

Of chronological value are also remains of plants (flower bouquets and garlands) which, while providing no information on a year in which particular burial took place, help identify the season in which the funerary ceremonies were held. A similar method was employed for

example by Winlock, who, based on the presence of figs, dates, grapes, jujubes, celery, and persea leaves in the foundation deposits of the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari, was able to give autumn as the season of the commencement of work, and even theorized that the construction started *‘after the peasants were free from their autumn sowing when the inundation was off of the fields’* (Winlock 1942, 108).

Chapter 4

Topographical analysis of reused Theban tombs

As any Egyptian necropolis, the Theban west bank was an area of intensive interaction between the living and the dead. In the busy days of the New Kingdom, the living were very present in the cemetery: tombs were visited by relatives of the deceased on the occasions of funerals and celebrations such as the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, numerous temples required personnel living nearby, craftsmen employed for the excavation and decoration of the tombs inhabited the village of Deir el-Medina, guards were appointed to protect the tombs. During the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, the necropolis was no less bustling: both new structures (tombs and temples) were constructed and old ones were reused, some of the ruined temples were transformed into settlements, and a new group of professionals – the so-called choachytes (Egyptian *w3ḥ mw*) – necropolis workers specialising in providing the deceased with the required offerings, arranging the funerals, etc., likely the successors of the earlier *ka* priests (Sheikholeslami 2017, 419) was introduced. While the choachytes' presence on the Theban west bank is best attested during the Ptolemaic Period, when they formed a formal association and left extensive archives pertaining to their activities in the necropolis (Winkler 2014), there is no doubt that the activity of the choachytes had started long before that, during the Third Intermediate Period at the latest (Sheikholeslami 2017). The large demand for the services provided by the choachytes provides a promising starting point for the discussion on the continuity and change in the perception of the deceased and their needs in the first millennium BCE Thebes (see Chapter 7, *Who was buried in reused tombs?*).

The Egyptian necropoleis, particularly royal ones such as Thebes prove to be problematic for research due to several reasons. As cemeteries but also settlements, production centres, cult sites, and many more, they escape a narrow classification and studies dedicated to the selected aspects of the site (for example, tomb architecture) often tend to dismiss other features. Recently developing approaches, such as landscape archaeology, encourage a radically different methodology of research, demonstrating that archaeological sites should be studied as a dynamic network of interactions, with various aspects influencing each other. An integrated approach has been proposed concerning the study of landscapes and architecture, but also of funerary objects, way too often treated merely as a means of dating rather than a source of potential information (Pinch 2003).

Lately, the notion of ‘cultural geography’ has gained popularity among archaeologists, with the most recent example from the field of archaeology of Egypt being ‘The Walking Dead at Saqqara: The Making of Cultural Geography’ project, focusing on the development of the necropolis in Saqqara (Staring, Twiston Davies, Weiss 2019). Cultural geography, broadly speaking, focuses on the interaction between the natural environment and human societies:

“Cultural geography” is now perhaps the most ambiguous term in the discipline’s lexicon. To many, cultural geography studies the relations between human communities and the natural world, investigating the transformation of natural landscapes into cultural ones. To others, the tasks of cultural geography are to examine the patterns of signification in the landscape and their reflexive role in molding social relations (Ley 1985; Duncan 1990; Cosgrove 1984; Cosgrove and Daniels 1988), while contending with the spatial patterning of race, class, and gender in the modern urban context (Jackson 1989). Although both views are current, proponents of the latter position promote their own studies as the “new cultural geography,” while describing those of the former camp as “traditional cultural geography” (Price, Lewis 1993, 1).

In the case of the Theban necropolis (Figure 10), an integrated approach, incorporating more than one aspect of the site, was applied for example by Dieter Eigner in his work on Late Period monumental tombs (Eigner 1984) and by Lynn Meskell, who discussed the role of the Deir el-Medina settlement and cemetery in the New Kingdom and the Graeco-Roman Period (Meskell 2000; 2004; Montserrat, Meskell 1997). In this chapter, I will attempt to employ a similar method to discuss burials in reused tombs in a wider context, including various activities taking place on the Theban west bank in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period.

A serious obstacle for any spatial analysis of ancient Egyptian sites is inadequate mapping. A comment made in 1999 that the

lack of cartographic activity has had and continues to have serious implications for the study of Egyptian archaeology. For example, important discoveries made in the Theban necropolis were not accurately mapped. If these discoveries were mapped at all, they were often drawn on a sketch map of a scale that provided, at best, an inaccurate idea of the discoveries’ relative locations in the necropolis (Polz et al. 1999, 402)

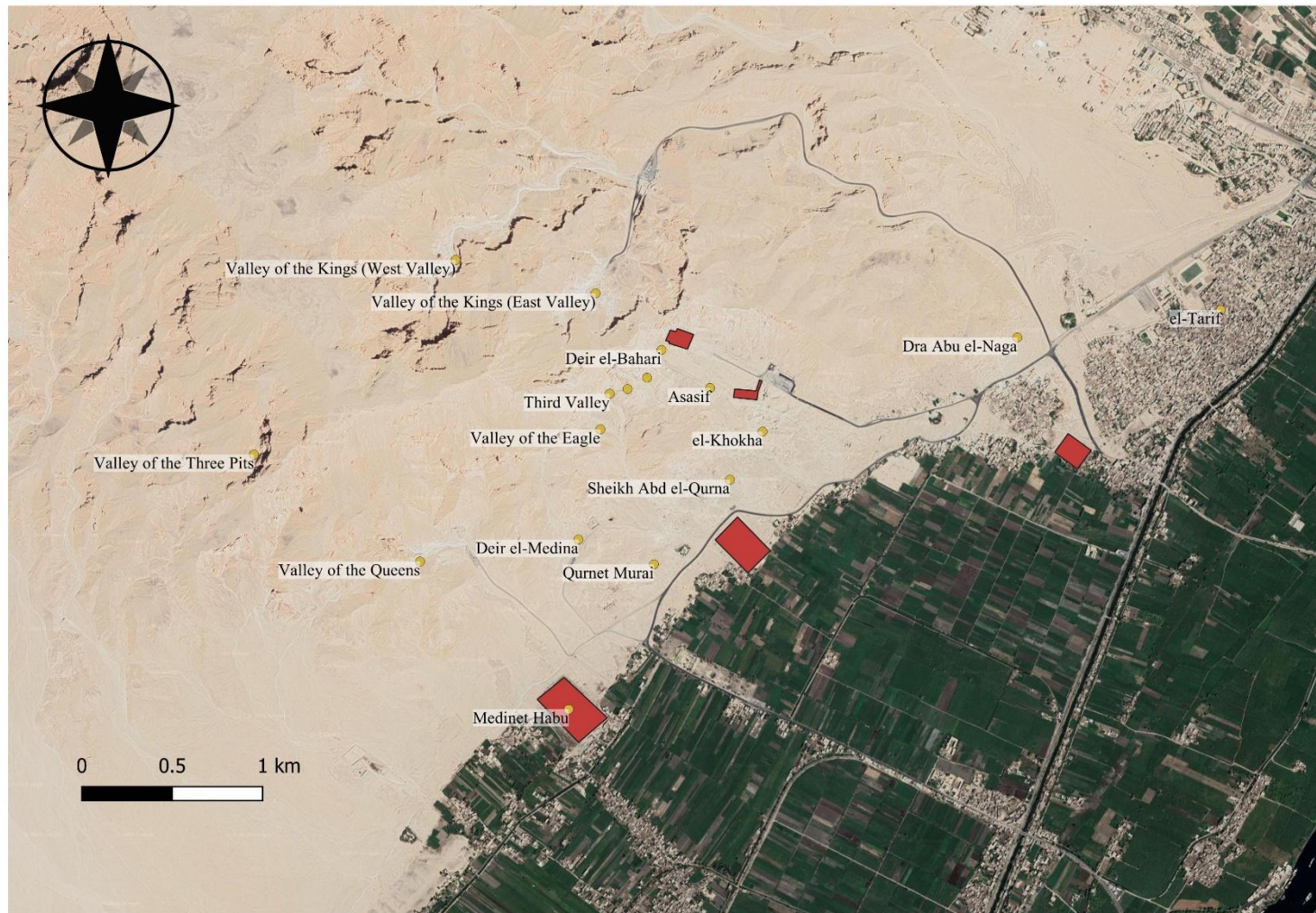


Figure 10. The Theban necropolis (in red, starting from the west: the temple of Ramesses III, the Ramesseum, the temple of Hatshepsut, the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), the temple of Seti I), courtesy Google Maps©

is still very accurate in 2020. The main source of maps for scholars researching the Theban cemeteries remains the *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* (volumes I.1 and I.2) by Porter and Moss (Porter, Moss 1960; Porter, Moss 1964). Key maps there were redrawn mostly after plans produced by the Survey of Egypt, and include the majority of known TT and MMA tombs, as well as some other monuments, such as temples.²⁶ The Deir el-Bahari and Asasif necropoleis were mapped again in 1969, and the plan of the area was subsequently published (Eigner 1984, Pl. 1). In 1996, Kampp published results of her survey of Theban tombs: 7 large maps of different parts of the necropolis, which include TT and Kampp tombs (Kampp 1996). Recently, several on-line projects have been launched which aim at combining the existing maps of the Theban necropolis with Geographic Information System; the final results are yet to be published.²⁷

Out of 412 Theban Tombs (TT),²⁸ discussed in *Part 1* of *Catalogue*, 190 bear traces of reuse in the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period (in 152 cases the dating is certain, while in 38 cases – uncertain but highly probable). Of the remaining 222 tombs, 155 are either entirely unpublished or no information objects from excavations is available (a list of ‘TT’ tombs with information on their reuse in the late dynastic era can be found in *Appendix A*). Therefore, reused tombs constitute 46.1% of all known, and 73.9% of 257 published or partially published ‘TT’ tombs (Table 29). Information on further 98 reused tombs other than TT (MMA, Kampp, etc.) can be found in *Part 2*; since most of these sepulchres remain unpublished, there was no attempt to obtain statistical data.

	Number of tombs	% of total
Reused in TIP/LP (dating certain)	152	36.9
Reused in TIP/LP (dating uncertain but very probable)	38	9.2
Not reused	45	10.9
Unpublished tomb/unpublished archaeology	155	37.6
Unknown	22	5.3

Table 29. Reused ‘TT’ tombs

²⁶ Survey of Egypt, The Theban Necropolis, Map Series 1:1,000 (Cairo, 1921-1924).

²⁷ Such as the Theban Mapping Project or OLGIS-TN.

²⁸ Tomb complexes (TT 128-129 and TT 288-289) are counted as a single tomb.

Out of 726 burials in reused tombs listed in *Catalogue* only in 222 (30.6% of the total) the dating could be narrowed down to a particular dynasty, while the remaining 504 belong to wider chronological horizons, e.g. “22nd-25th dynasty” or “Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’ (Table 30) (dating of burials in reused tombs can be found in *Appendix B*).²⁹ In this case, the statistical data has to be considered very cautiously, especially that the number of burials is a very rough, minimal estimate based on the available information and in reality was probably much higher.

Dating	Number of burials	% of total
Dynasty 21	46	6.3
Dynasty 22	73	10.1
Dynasty 25	42	5.8
Dynasty 26	46	6.3
Dynasty 27	10	1.4
Dynasties 28-30	5	0.7
Other	504	69.4

Table 30. Dating of burial in reused tombs

Other patterns of reuse also betray a nuanced picture of the necropolis in the first millennium BCE. For example, the vast majority of tombs bearing traces of reuse comes from the 18th dynasty – 130 out of 288 listed tombs (a list of reused tombs with respect to their original dating can be found in *Appendix C*), which gives 45.1% of the total number of reused sepulchres (Table 31). However, it needs to be remembered that the 18th dynasty was the period when the largest number of decorated tombs was constructed in the Theban necropolis, which significantly distorts the image (of all 412 known ‘TT’ tombs, 192 can be dated to the 18th dynasty, constituting 46.6% of all the tombs). Moreover, the list of ‘TT’ tombs includes only tombs which were ‘of interest’ to Gardiner and Weigall – in most cases that meant decorated sepulchres – while in some periods, for example in the Middle Kingdom, undecorated tombs were more common than decorated ones. Of special importance is the fact that the reuse of tombs in the first millennium BCE was not limited to older sepulchres; newly constructed tombs (the *Tempelgräber*), were readily reused as well, often not long after their original owners’ funeral.

²⁹ I excluded the so-called ‘caches’ from the list, as they constitute a very particular category of reused tombs (see *Excursus*) and the majority of interments found in them were in fact earlier, rewrapped burials.

Original dating	Number of tombs	% of total
Old Kingdom	1	0.3
Middle Kingdom	29	10.1
Dynasty 18	130	45.1
Dynasty 19	59	20.5
Dynasty 20	26	9.0
Dynasty 25	7	2.4
Dynasty 26	8	2.7
Other	28	9.7

Table 31. Original dating of reused tombs

In the following chapter, I will discuss the reuse of different parts of the Theban necropolis with respect to their history in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period.

el-Tarif

The northernmost section of the main part of the Theban necropolis (modern el-Tarif) was a royal cemetery in the First Intermediate Period. No major New Kingdom monuments are located in the area, and while some late dynastic objects were found in el-Tarif, the evidence for the reuse is scanty.

Petrie claimed that some of the tombs of the ‘Antef cemetery’ were ‘*much reused in the XXIIInd-XXVIth dynasties*’ (Petrie 1909, 2-4) and a Late Period date was proposed by Aston for some of the vessels discovered during these works (Aston, D. 2009a, 159). However, the original dating of these sepulchres (‘*pit tombs with chambers*’) as well as the archaeological context of the finds remain unclear. Some late dynastic materials (including a fragment of a Third Intermediate Period Bes jar and a skeleton, allegedly belonging to a native Iranian and therefore datable to the Persian Period) were found during Ismail el-Masry’s works in the area (el-Masry 1988, 85). Still, further anthropological analyses revealed that most of the remains from the cemetery date to the New Kingdom (el-Saghir 1993-1994). According to Dieter Arnold, some of the royal tombs possess later shafts (Arnold, Di. 1976), but none of them can be unequivocally dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period based on published material; in fact, in the case of Saff el-Dawaba (tomb of Intef I), he remarked that the Late Period pottery from the tomb ‘*sicher nicht auf eine Bestattung, sondern eine Grabräuberunterbrechung zurückgehen*’ (Arnold, Di. 1976, 22). The only exceptions, perhaps,

are Grab N1 in the façade of Saff el-Kisasija (tomb of Intef II) and shaft W 3.2.1 in Saff el-Baqar (tomb of Intef III), where some ‘*spätzeitliche Keramik*’, apparently attesting their reuse, came to light (Arnold, Di. 1976, 31; 36). No further details of these were published.

Dra Abu el-Naga (Figures 11 and 12)

Dra Abu el-Naga (Arab. ‘*Abu el-Naga’s Arm*’) was reused throughout the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, and continued to be an important burial site also in the Graeco-Roman era. There is literary evidence for the activity of the choachytes there during the Ptolemaic Period, who referred to a collective tomb called *Thounabounoun* in their papyri. Today, the tomb can be identified as TT 157, the tomb of Nebwennenef (Pestman 1993, 451; Donker van Heel 2017, 139), which was reused for burials from at least the 27th dynasty onwards (see *Catalogue*).

There is evidence for the reuse of at least 33 tombs located in the area,³⁰ albeit in several cases there is no absolute certainty with regard to dating (Table 32). The only intact burial datable to the late dynastic era discovered in this part of the necropolis, is that of a couple buried in the courtyard of Kampp -171-, found by Petrie (Petrie 1909, 12; 15). The rest of the tombs had been robbed before their scientific examination.

Tomb	Type of burial	Period
TT 11	1*, 3a.2	20 th -21 st dynasty (1 burial), 21 st dynasty (1 burial), late 21 st dynasty or later (4 burials), 25 th -26 th dynasty (2 burials)
TT 12	3a.1	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
TT 14	2a, 4a.1	21 st -22 nd dynasty (6 burials), Late Period (1 burial)
TT 16	unknown	21 st dynasty (2 burials)
TT 20	unknown	Third Intermediate Period or Late Period (2 burials)
TT 35	2 or 3b*	late 21 st dynasty (1 burial), 22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 147	unknown	‘Late Period’ (1 burial)
TT 148	3b.1*	25 th dynasty (1 burial), 27 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 149	3b.2	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 150	unknown	Ramesside Period or later (1 burial)
TT 152	unknown	Third Intermediate Period-modern era (1 burial)
TT 156	3a*	‘21 st -22 nd dynasty’ (1 burial)
TT 157	2a	520 BCE-Ptolemaic Period (30 burials)
TT 158	3a	Third Intermediate Period-Roman Period (1 burial)

³⁰ For comparison, out of the 412 known ‘TT’ tombs, 84 are located in Dra Abu el-Naga.

TT 162	unknown	late New Kingdom-modern era (1 burial)
TT 167	4a.1	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 233-Kampp - 183-	unknown	Third Intermediate Period or Late Period (2 burials)
TT 239	4a.1	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 285	unknown	'21 st dynasty' (1 burial)
TT 286	unknown	late New Kingdom-modern era (1 burial)
TT 288-289	unknown	'Late Period' (1 burial)
TT 300	3	'Late Period' (2 burials)
TT 303	3a and/or 4a	Third Intermediate Period-modern era (1 burial)
TT 344	3a or 4a	'Late Period' (1 burial)
TT 379	2c	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 396	unknown	New Kingdom-modern era (1 burial)
Kampp -162-	3a*	750 BCE or later (1 burial)
Kampp -171-	3b.1	first half of the 22 nd dynasty (2 burials)
AN B	2*	750 BCE or later (1 burial)
K93.11	3b.1, 3b.2	26 th dynasty (5 burials), 750 BCE or later (2 burials)
K93.12	1	'21 st dynasty' (1 burial), 'late 21 st -early 22 nd dynasty' (7 coffins), 22 nd dynasty (5 burials), 25 th dynasty (1 burial)
MIDAN.05	2b	'tra fine XXV dinastia-età saïtica' (2 burials)
'The Unnumbered Tomb'	4a.2	'Late Period' (1 burial)

Table 32. Reused tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga

The major cluster of burials in reused tombs seems to be in the neighbourhood of TT 160 – a Late Period sepulchre (the only new tomb of that period in Dra Abu el-Naga) belonging to the 'true royal acquaintance' named Besenmut, dated to the Saite Period (Porter, Moss 1960, 273). Out of 17 tombs located in the area³¹ at least nine were reused at some point,³² while the archaeology of five remains unpublished.³³ Very interesting is the fact that in several tombs of the 'Besenmut cluster', the reuse was not limited to simply cutting a new shaft or chamber inside the existing structure, but included adding new decoration or erecting a mudbrick feature in the courtyard. The most visible example of such is the Ramesside tomb complex TT 288-289, located to the south of the tomb of Besenmut, reused in the 'Late Period' by a scribe

³¹ TT 35, TT 156, TT 157, TT 158, TT 159, TT 160, TT 282, TT 283, TT 284, TT 285, TT 286, TT 287, TT 288-289, TT 300, TT 301, TT 303, TT 304.

³² TT 35, TT 156, TT 157, TT 158, TT 285, TT 286, TT 288-289, TT 300, TT 303.

³³ TT 160, TT 282, TT 284, TT 287, TT 301, TT 304.

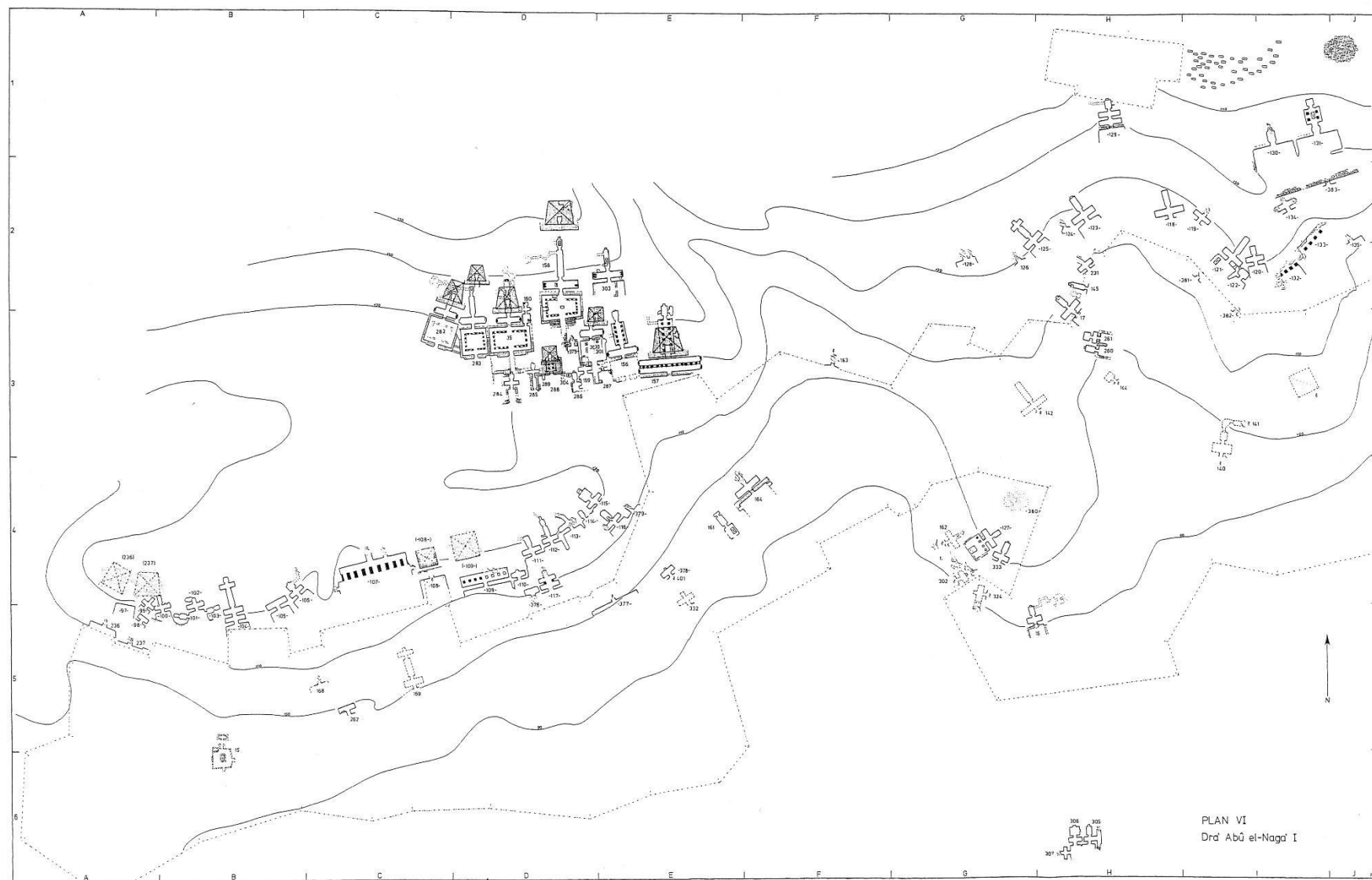


Figure 11. Plan of Dra Abu el-Naga published by Kampp (Part I)

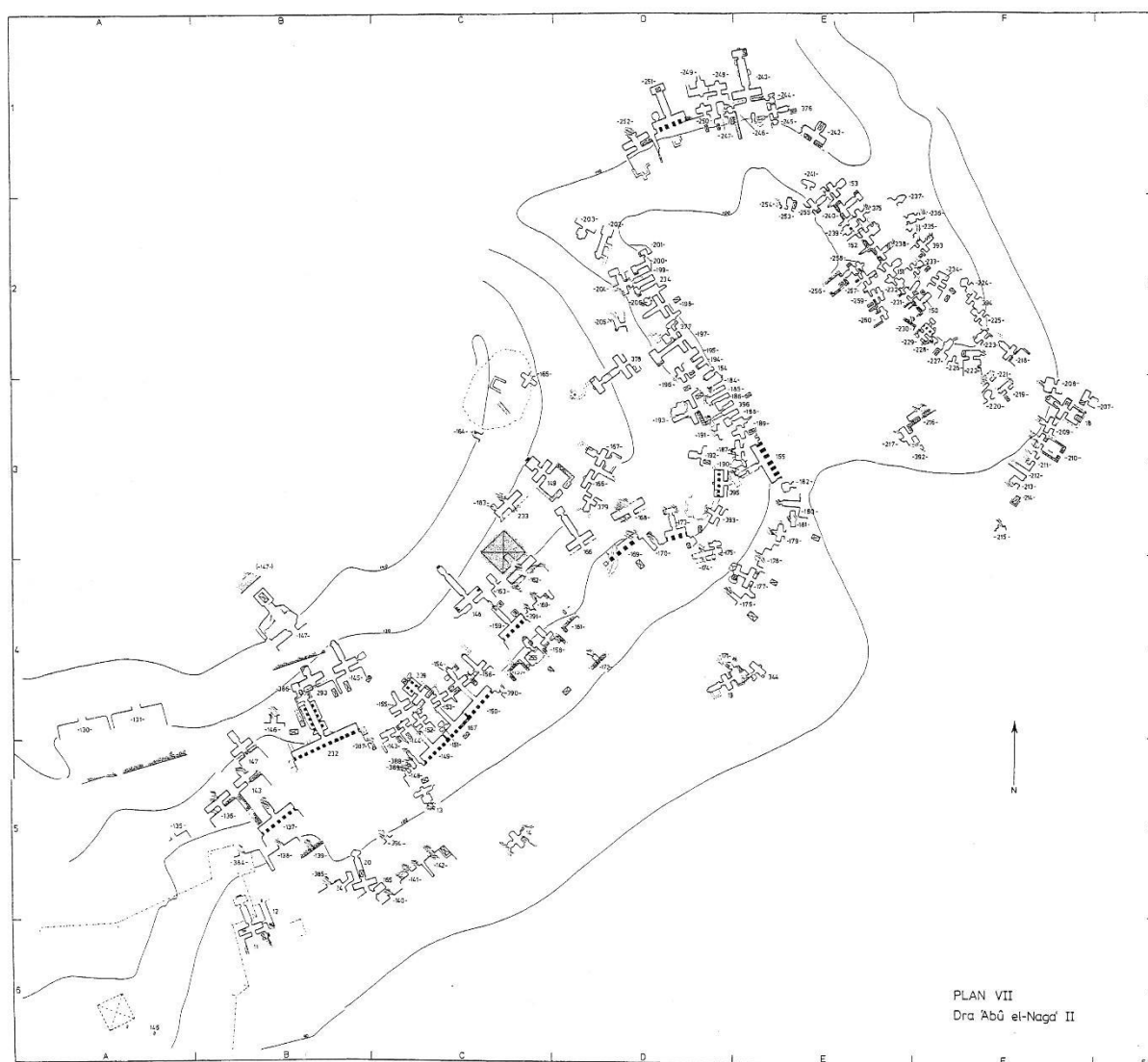


Figure 12. Plan of Dra Abu el-Naga (Part II) published by Kampp

of the Divine Book called Bakenkhonsu, who added his images to the pillars and had a new mudbrick feature aligned with the Ramesside pyramid erected in the courtyard (Kampp 1996, 558-561). Other sepulchres with new decoration include TT 285 (21st dynasty) and perhaps TT 286 (Third Intermediate Period or Late Period?), while remains of mudbrick structures, likely datable to the late dynastic era, were found in TT 35, TT 158, TT 300, and perhaps TT 303. Worth mentioning is the fact that the tomb of Besenmut was cut in the courtyard of TT 35, belonging to yet another Bakenkhonsu, active under Ramesses II (Kampp 1996, 225-227). The famous *Thounabounoun* (TT 157), one of the largest private tombs in the necropolis (Pestman 1993, 451), also belongs to the cluster.

While the owner of TT 160 must have been a person of a high status, the reuse of this cluster had started before the tomb was cut. The new decoration was added to TT 285 during the 21st

dynasty; a date in the late 21st dynasty is probable for the reuse of TT 35. This part of Dra Abu el-Naga must have possessed some particular qualities which made it a desirable place for burial in the late dynastic era. There can be no doubt that the memory of the place was preserved in the later period of Egyptian history – in the choachyte papyri datable to the second century BCE, TT 157 was correctly identified as belonging to Nebwennen (Nebwennenef),³⁴ even though the time distance between Nebwennenef's death and the time of writing down the papyri was more than a thousand years. Nebwennenef's name could still be read on his tomb's walls; nevertheless, the sepulchres easily could have been associated with new owners instead of the original one and referred to under a new name.

The *Thounabounoun*'s original owner, Nebwennenef, was a high priest of Amun, who was granted a rare privilege by the pharaoh: he was allowed to have his mortuary temple built for him on the Theban west bank (Peck 1997, 270). The temple, located between the temple of Ahmose Nefertari and Amenhotep I and the temple of Seti I, was excavated by Petrie (Petrie 1909, 14). Unfortunately, it is not known whether the temple was still standing in the first millennium BCE (the only remains discovered by Petrie *in situ* were the foundations). Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that the special significance of TT 157 and the surrounding tombs in the first millennium BCE was somehow linked to the original owner of the tomb and the special status he enjoyed.

Apart from the 'Besenmut cluster', the reused tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga worth particular attention are the royal tomb AN B, until recently believed to have belonged to Ahmose Nefertari (Aston, D. 2015, 34) and K93.11, considered by some to be the original burial place of Amenhotep I (Aston, D. 2013, 9).

Deir el-Bahari (Figure 13)

Deir el-Bahari (Arab. 'North monastery') – from a religious point of view one of the most important parts of the New Kingdom necropolis, with the procession of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley terminating in the temple of Hatshepsut – since the very beginning of the Third Intermediate Period served as a cemetery for the priests of Amun (Bab el-Gasus). Under the reign of 22nd-26th dynasties, the monument of Hatshepsut was extensively reused for burials of prominent Theban families, including the descendants of king Takeloth III (Aston, D. 2009a, 202-217; Aston, D. 2014b, 29). The evidence for reuse of the temple of Hatshepsut after the

³⁴ In fact, *Thounabounoun* was Greek rendering of *t3 ḥt n Nb-wnn* – 'the tomb of Nebwennen' (Pestman 1993, 451).

Saite Period is somewhat scanty.³⁵ Two Late Period tombs were cut in the slope behind the ruined temple of Thutmose III, located to the south of the temple of Hatshepsut (Lipińska 1968, 142-143). The southernmost monument of the Deir el-Bahari bay, that of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, was also reused in the first millennium BCE, but on a much smaller scale than the temple of Hatshepsut (Aston, D. 2009a, 219-220).

According to Adam Łajtar, after the New Kingdom the temple of Hatshepsut fell into disuse, which allowed cutting of the shaft tombs in the sanctuary and the north chapel of Amun (Łajtar 2006, 10). It was suggested that the Beautiful Feast of the Valley was revived under the Napatan kings of the 25th dynasty, the main evidence in favour of it being the construction of most of the tombs of the high officials along the causeway of the temple of Hatshepsut, which supposedly served as a processional alley during the festival (Bietak, Reiser-Haslauer 1978, 19-20; Bietak 2012). However, the tradition of cutting burial shafts in the temple's pavement continued throughout the Kushite Period, which begs the question about practicalities of the functioning of the temple at this time:

In the course of time, its lower court was filled up with sand so as to form a sandy plain with mounds marking some prominent and better preserved parts of buildings. The same was also true, at least partly, for the middle court. On the other hand, the rooms of the upper terrace remained relatively free and easily accessible. The whole Deir el-Bahari valley was used as a burial place, especially for priests of Montu and Amun and their families. The graves were situated mainly in the sandy plain covering the two lower courts. In addition to graves, various installations connected with the funerary industry were established within the temple, including workshops for embalmers in the northern colonnade of the middle court (Łajtar 2006, 10-11).

³⁵ Which, however, may be a result of the fact that Deir el-Bahari was one of the Theban cemeteries that were first to be explored by modern scholars, in the time when detailed typologies of funerary goods manufactured in the later periods were not available.

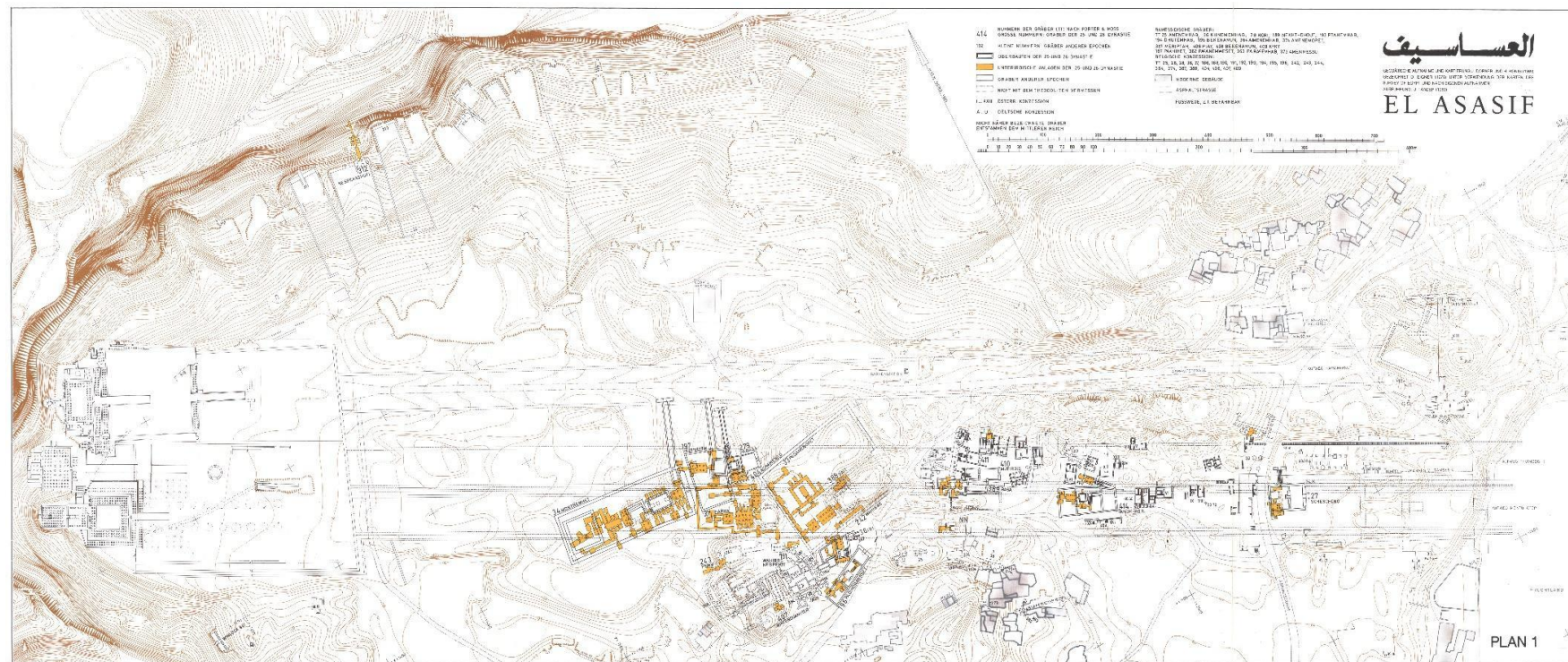


Figure 13. Plan of Deir el-Bahari and Asasif published by Eigner

Reuse of at least 19 tombs in the bay is attested (Table 33),³⁶ with three tomb groups (11 burials in total) discovered intact: these include burial of the princess Nany in the royal tomb TT 358 (21st dynasty), of Henuttawy in MMA 59 (21st dynasty), and a family interment in CC 5 (25th dynasty).

Tomb	Type of burial	Period
TT 240	4a*	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
TT 308	1	‘XX th -XXI st Dynasty’ (1 burial)
TT 310	unknown	Third Intermediate Period or Late Period (1 burial)
TT 311	unknown	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 312	5	early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 313	unknown	‘Late Period’ (1 burial)
TT 314 (and 314A)	unknown	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial), ‘Late Period’ (1 burial)
TT 315	unknown	Third Intermediate Period (1 burial), Late Period-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 353	unknown	‘Late Period’ (1 burial)
TT 358	1	21 st dynasty (1 burial)
MMA 59	1	21 st dynasty (1 burial)
MMA 60	1, 4a.2	21 st dynasty (8 burials), 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
MMA 219	unknown	21 st dynasty (1 burial), 22 th -early 25 th dynasty (1 burial)
MMA 511	4a*	‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’ (1 burial)
MMA 512	unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
MMA 514	unknown	‘25 th dynasty’ (1 burial)
MMA 515	unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
MMA 801	3a.1	22 nd dynasty (4 burials)
CC 5	1, 4b.1	22 nd dynasty (6 burials), 25 th dynasty (3 burials)

Table 33. Reused tombs in Deir el-Bahari

The largest concentration of burials in reused tombs can be observed on the slope of the cliff in the north part of the basin, sometimes referred to as the North Asasif necropolis (Chudzick 2016).³⁷ The tombs located on the slope, in the majority datable to the Middle Kingdom, were excavated in the first half of the twentieth century by the Metropolitan Museum of Art expedition, but remain largely unpublished. However, in his publication containing a summary of his operations in Deir el-Bahari, Winlock remarked that nearly all of the Middle Kingdom tombs excavated by him were reused at some point (Winlock 1942, 123-124). Two

³⁶ 13 of the 412 known ‘TT’ tombs were located in the basin.

³⁷ Alternatively, some archaeologists use the name ‘North Asasif’ to designate the area of the Asasif valley (e.g. Einaudi 2014).

recently initiated projects (Middle Kingdom Theban Project, directed by Antonio Morales, and Asasif Project, directed by Patryk Chudzik) revealed the presence of a large number of objects datable to the first millennium BCE in the excavated tombs.

Among the North Asasif tombs, the tomb of Nespakashuty (TT 312), a reused Middle Kingdom tomb decorated by its new owner and with a massive mudbrick entrance pylon erected in front of the façade, is worth closer examination. Nespakashuty, a vizier active under Psamtek I, is attested in many sources, including the famous Saite Oracle Papyrus (Parker 1962). There is evidence to support the hypothesis that Nespakashuty originally wanted to be buried in TT 223 – a mortuary monument neighbouring his mother's tomb (TT 390) – but eventually decided to reuse TT 312 instead (Pischikova 2014, 64). The tomb, despite being a reused structure, closely follows the architectural canon of the Late Period Theban tombs in its layout. It was proposed that the function of mudbrick pylons, oriented towards the causeway of the temple of Hatshepsut and characteristic for monumental Late Period sepulchres, was to allow the deceased and their families participate in the Beautiful Feast of the Valley – inside the mudbrick structure there was a staircase, perhaps used to climb the pylon on the day of the festival to observe the procession (Eigner 1984, 98-99).

Similarly to the tomb of Besenmut (TT 160) in Dra Abu el-Naga, which was cut in the east half of the courtyard belonging to an older tomb (TT 35), Nespakashuty decided to either hew or reuse (see below) a sepulchre in the east part of the court of an unfinished Middle Kingdom tomb. The identity of the original owner of the sepulchre is unknown, although it was suggested that the person in question could be vizier Bebi (Allen 1996, 20). If that was the case, we would be dealing with reuse of a vizier's tomb by another vizier, which may or may not be a coincidence.

Apart from the North Asasif tombs, another important late dynastic site in the area is the reused Middle Kingdom tomb MMA 801, which at some point in the Libyan Period received a mudbrick façade, still visible today. A group of intact burials dated to the 22nd dynasty was discovered by Winlock inside the tomb (Winlock 1922, 32).

Asasif (Figure 13)

Asasif was an important part of the necropolis at least since the Middle Kingdom times, but only in the Late Period the layout of the plain became as it is today: honeycombed with mudbricks walls and pylons belonging to the monumental 'temple-tombs' (*Grabpaläste* or

Tempelgräber) of the Kushite and Saite officials. The name ‘Asasif’, obscure as it may be, is said to derive from an Arabic term meaning ‘*passages under the earth leading into one another*’, and likely refers to the underground passages of tombs or even of one tomb (perhaps TT 33 or TT 37), from which the whole valley may have taken its name (Gardiner, Weigall 1913, 13, n. 1; Nims 1, n. 1; Elias 1993, 188, n. 1; Eigner 1984, 28). From the late 25th dynasty onwards, the Asasif necropolis became the burial place of the most important dignitaries of the era: Pedamenopet (TT 33), Montuemhat (TT 34), Harwa (TT 37), Pabasa (TT 279), and more.³⁸ The Asasif cemetery in the Late Period must have been functionally connected with the temple of Hatshepsut: the orientation of the *Grabpaläste* was aligned with the causeway of the temple (see above). On the other hand, The South Asasif necropolis is located despite its name to the south of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill and probably should be considered in relation to the unfinished royal temple in the Third Valley rather than the temple of Hatshepsut.

At least 46 of all the Asasif tombs³⁹ bear traces of reuse during the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period (Table 34). Intact burials were found in two tombs: TT 192 (late 22nd-25th dynasty) and TT 414 (30th dynasty).

Tomb	Type of burial	Period
TT 25	unknown	22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 26	unknown	950-730 BCE (1 burial)
TT 27	unknown	30 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 34	unknown	26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 36	unknown	30 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 37	3a.1	25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial), 27 th dynasty (1 burial), 28 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 39	3b.2*	‘Twenty-First Dynasty’ (1 burial)
TT 188	1*, 3a.1, 3a.2	21 st dynasty (2 burials), 21 st -22 nd dynasty (1 burial), 22 nd dynasty (1 burial), 25 th dynasty (2 burials), 26 th dynasty (16 burials), 21 st -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 189	3a	Third Intermediate Period-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 190	unknown	late 30 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 192	3a.1, 3a.2	late 22 nd dynasty-early 25 th dynasty (8 burials), post New Kingdom (1 burial)
TT 194	unknown	25 th -26 th dynasty (4 burials), 27 th dynasty (1 burial)

³⁸ A list of Theban tombs from the period in question with their Arabic designations as they appear on the plans of the necropolis drawn by Catherwood, Wilkinson, and Lepsius can be found in: Eigner 1984, 28-33.

³⁹ For comparison, 45 of all the 412 listed ‘TT’ tombs were located in Asasif.

TT 195	unknown	Third Intermediate Period-modern era (1 burial)
TT 196	unknown	late 26 th dynasty (1 burial), 30 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 197	2a	final years of the 26 th dynasty or later (1 burial)
TT 207	unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
TT 208	unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
TT 243	unknown	26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 297	3a.1	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 364	4a*	Third Intermediate Period-modern era (1 burial)
TT 366	unknown	25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 374	unknown	late 25 th -early 26 th dynasty (2 burials), 27 th dynasty (1 burial), 30 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 386	unknown	976-768 BCE (1 burial)
TT 389	2a*	30 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (3 burials)
TT 406	4a*	Third Intermediate Period-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 408	3b.2	25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 409	unknown	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 410	unknown	30 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (3 burials)
TT 414	1, 2*	30 th dynasty (2 burials)
MMA 737	unknown	22 nd -early 25 th dynasty (1 burial), 27 th dynasty (1 burial), 30 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
MMA 825	unknown	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
MMA 828	unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
MMA 830	unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
MMA 830A	unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
MMA 830C	unknown	21 st -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
MMA 830D	unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
MMA 832	3b	950/925 – 850/825 BCE (1 burial), 25 th dynasty (1 burial)
MMA 833	unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
MMA 834	unknown	‘Late Period’ (1 burial)
MMA 838	unknown	660/650-625/600 BCE (1 burial)
Kampp -28-	unknown	1100-960 BCE (1 burial), early 22 nd dynasty (1 burial)
Kampp -48-	2*	‘Twenty-First Dynasty’
Kampp -49-	1	25 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
Kampp -365-	unknown	‘Late Period’ (1 burial)
Grab VI	unknown	30 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
Grab VII	2b	30 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)

Table 34. Reused tombs in the Asasif area

The tombs reused were not only Middle Kingdom or New Kingdom monuments, but also Late Period sepulchres. In fact, in the case of the latter, it is often difficult to distinguish whether the reuse was planned or unplanned (see Chapter 7, *Who was buried in reused tombs?*). Nevertheless, it seems that the Asasif valley remained a popular burial site throughout the first millennium BCE: a necropolis of Ptolemaic mudbrick chapels was discovered on top of Late Period strata (Strudwick, N. 2003a, 172-173).

Especially interesting are two tombs located in the area: the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192), and the tomb of Amenhotep Huy (Kampp -28-), both important personages under Amenhotep III.⁴⁰ The two sepulchres were extensively reused throughout the first millennium BCE: remains of later burials were found in the tomb of Amenhotep Huy (Martín-Valentín, Bedman 2013, 186; 191-193; Martín-Valentín, Bedman 2017, 379; 383), while Kheruef's monument was both reused for burials and new tombs were cut in its courtyard (Porter, Moss 1960, 298-300). More importantly, however, it seems that some form of a cult (of the original owners?) survived into the first millennium BCE: during the Spanish excavations in the tomb it was discovered that the chapel of Amenhotep Huy had been dedicated in the Third Intermediate Period, with a group of votive objects found (Martín-Valentín, Bedman 2017, 379), while there is evidence for religious ceremonies (Erection of the *Djed* Pillar?) performed in the tomb of Kheruef long after his death, perhaps in the Ptolemaic Period (Fakhry 1943a, 456).⁴¹ Transformation of these two tombs into local holy places seems particularly surprising, when it is recalled that both tombs were obliterated soon after they had been completed or even in the course of their construction: most of Kheruef's images were effaced, probably due to political reasons (Habachi 1980, 26); the same things happened in the sepulchre of Amenhotep Huy (Martín-Valentín, Bedman 2017, 378).

el-Khokha (Figure 14)

To the south of the Asasif plain, there is a hill called el-Khokha (Arab. '*Peach*'). This site, as demonstrated by Schreiber, became a popular cemetery throughout the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period (Schreiber 2009). Again, reuse is attested in almost all of the earlier tombs in the area (Schreiber 2008, 51). The Hungarian expedition, working on the hillock, discovered also two previously unknown sepulchres dated to the late dynastic period: Tomb

⁴⁰ Kheruef was queen Tiye's steward, Amenhotep Huy – a vizier.

⁴¹ Both Fakhry and Kampp who visited the tomb remarked on a thick layer of soot visible on the mudbrick walls erected in the first millennium BCE – a result of intentional activities rather than fire (Fakhry 1943a, 456; Kampp 1996, 751). According to Kampp, the walls could be associated with the small tomb added to Kheruef's complex in the Late or Ptolemaic Period (-Kampp -273-).

B, constructed in the 22nd-25th dynasty (Schreiber 2008, 65) and Tomb G, in the later 25th dynasty (Schreiber 2008, 77-80). They are both of hypogeum type, but with a superstructure in form of a brick vault – a transitional stage between the Third Intermediate Period tomb chapels and the temple-tombs (Schreiber 2009, 65; 78; Schreiber 2009, 470).

Tomb	Type of burial	Period
TT 32	1, 2a, 3a.1	late 21 st dynasty (1 burial), 22 nd dynasty (3 burials), 22 nd -early 25 th dynasty (1 burial), 25 th -26 th dynasty (2 burials), 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 41	3a.1	25 th dynasty (1 burial), 27 th dynasty (1 burial), 29 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 42	3	New Kingdom-modern era (1 burial)
TT 44	3*	22 nd dynasty (1 burial), 'Late Period' (1 burial)
TT 47	unknown	26 th dynasty (1 burial), 30 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 48	3b	25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 49	3a.1*	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial), 26 th dynasty or later (1 burial)
TT 105	3b	25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 106	unknown	'späte' (1 burial)
TT 108	unknown	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 109-Kampp - 327-	3a*, 5	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period (1 burial)
TT 110	3a*	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 172	unknown	Ramesside Period-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 178	2b	Ramesside Period-Ptolemaic Period (4 burials)
TT 181	unknown	25 th dynasty or later (1 burial)
TT 183	1	22 nd - 25 th dynasty (45 burials)
TT 184	2a, 3a	22 nd dynasty (1 burial), 26 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 187	3a.1	'Third Intermediate Period-Late Period' (1 burial)
TT 201	1	21 st -26 th dynasty (3 burials)
TT 204	3a	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 205	3b	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 253 (and 253A)	1	22 nd dynasty (2 burials), 25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 254	3a.1	22 nd dynasty or later (1 burial)
TT 256	3a	Ramesside Period-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 257	unknown	25 th dynasty (3 burials), 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 294	2*	27 th dynasty (1 burial)

TT 295	1*	21 st -22 nd dynasty (1 burial), 22 nd dynasty (1 burial)
TT 296	unknown	27 th dynasty (1 burial), 29 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 362	3a.1	22 nd -26 th dynasty (12 burials)
TT 363	unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’ (1 burial)
TT 373	unknown	22 nd dynasty (1 burial), 27 th dynasty (1 burial), 29 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 392	unknown	‘Saitic’ (1 burial)
TT 405	3a*	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 412	3a.2	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial), 750 BCE or later (2 burials)
TT 413	3a.1	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
Kampp -43-	unknown	22 nd dynasty (1 burial)
Kampp -61-	1, 3a.1, 3b.1	late 21 st dynasty (7 burials), 22 nd dynasty (4 burials), 26 th -27 th dynasty (10 burials), 30 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (3 burials)
Kampp -400-	2b, 3a.2	25 th dynasty (2 burials), 25 th dynasty-27 th dynasty (11 burials)
Saff 1	3b.1	25 th dynasty (3 burials)
Tomb B	2a	25 th dynasty (2 burials)
Tomb C	1	21 st dynasty (3 burials)
Tomb G	2a	26 th -27 th dynasty (1 burial)

Table 35. Reused tombs in el-Khokha

There is evidence for the reuse of at least 42 tombs located in el-Khokha (Table 35).⁴² Owing to the recent archaeological works on the hill, the majority of dates proposed for the reuse are fairly certain and demonstrate that el-Khokha was a popular burial site throughout the first millennium BCE. At least some of the reused tombs had mudbrick structures erected in their courtyards (TT 105, TT 172, Kampp -61-, Saff 1), although in the case of these features dating is often ambiguous. Adding new decoration or at least names and titles of the new owners was not a rare practice in el-Khokha in the first millennium BCE (see examples in TT 106, TT 373, or TT 392).

⁴² In total, there are 68 ‘TT’ tombs located in the area.

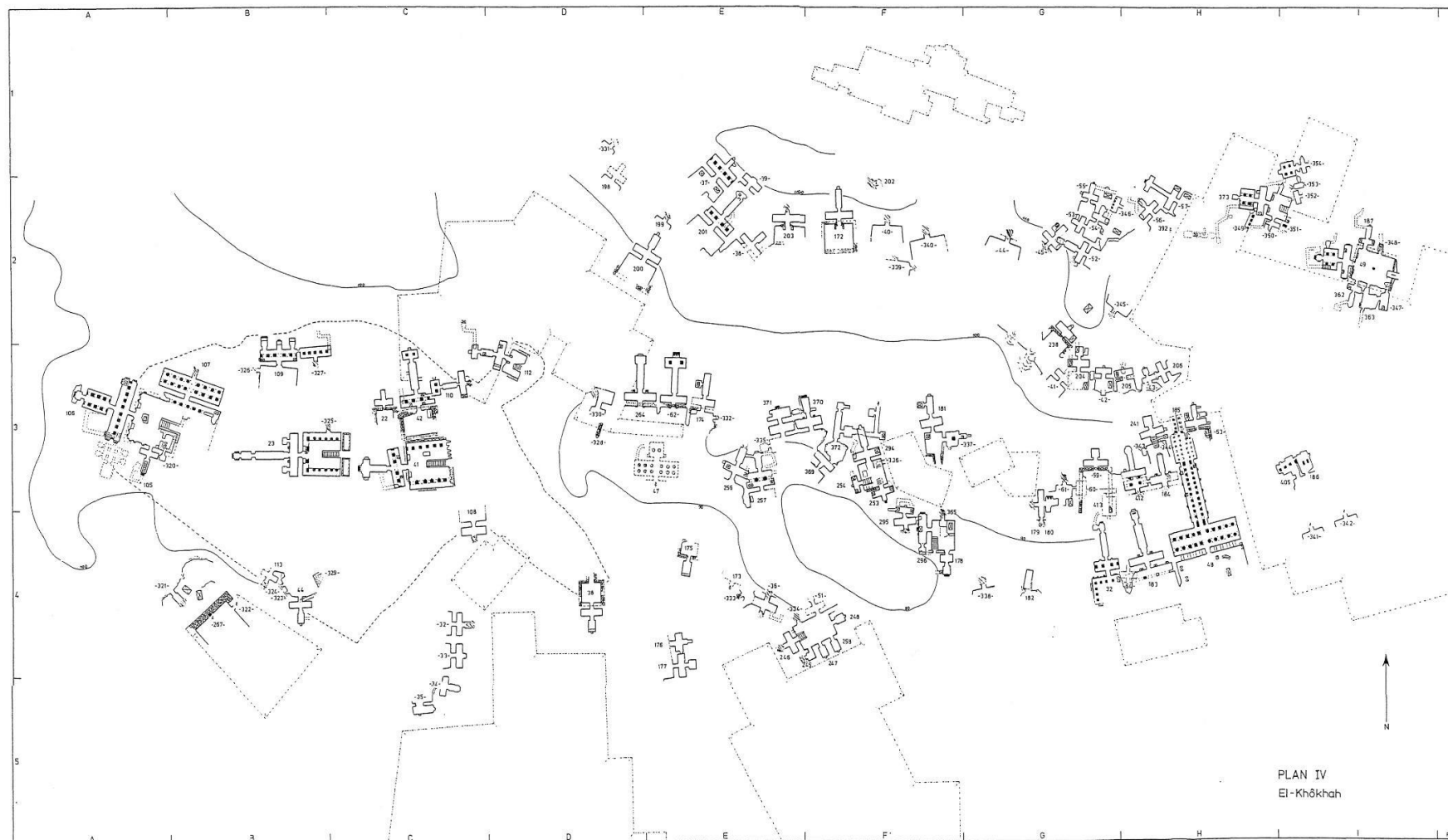


Figure 14. Plan of el-Khokha published by Kampp

The 18th dynasty tomb of Min (TT 109), located in the southernmost part of the area, seems to have had a special significance in the Late Period. According to its excavators, the complex of connected sepulchres of Min and the anonymous Kampp -327-, sharing many similar traits with the underground rooms of the temple-tombs, was transformed into a replica of the mythical tomb of Osiris at some point of the later first millennium BCE:

Since no inscriptions have been found on the walls of the monuments so far, we have considered the possibility that this was a tomb-cemetery, where a significant number of Egyptians were buried under the protection of the gods of the dead. This hypothesis is supported by the lack of a name of any tomb owner and the number of individuals buried there. However, we must also consider the possibility that the tomb itself was originally built for the burial of one person or family, but was later reused for multiple burials throughout the centuries, as happened to many other tombs in the area (Morfini, Álvarez Sosa 2017, 431).

The concept of ‘the tomb of Osiris’ concealed within underground rooms of the monumental temple-tombs became a popular feature in Late Period mortuary architecture (Eigner 1984, 163-183).

Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (Figures 15-17)

The most thoroughly researched and published part of the private necropolis of Thebes is no doubt the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (named after a local saint who used to live on its top).⁴³ It is also the area with the largest concentration of tombs with confirmed reuse in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. However, archaeological research has so far focused mostly on the east and north slopes of the hill, where a large number of decorated New Kingdom sepulchres can be found; the west and south slopes, with Middle Kingdom (mostly undecorated) tombs, were surveyed by Winlock, but most of these monuments were never published (Porter, Moss 1964, 667-668).

The Temples of Millions of Years, built by New Kingdom pharaohs, as well as smaller temples of private persons, such as Amenhotep son of Hapu, located on the verge of the floodplain, opposite Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, were utilised as burial grounds at least from the 22nd dynasty onwards (Kaczanowicz 2019b, 83). A new mortuary chapel was erected behind the temple of Thutmose IV for the family of the vizier Nebnetjeru (Aston, D. 2009a, 247).

⁴³ Of the 412 known ‘TT’ tombs, 130 are located in this part of the necropolis.

Tomb	Type of burial	Period
TT 21	1, 3a.1	25 th dynasty (3 burials), 25 th -26 th dynasty (2 burials)
TT 23	2a, 3a.1, 3b.1	‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’ (9 burials)
TT 29	unknown	22 nd dynasty (1 burial), 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 30	3b.1*	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period (1 burial)
TT 31	3a.1	22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 43	unknown	New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 46	unknown	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period (2 burials)
TT 50	3b	New Kingdom-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 51	3a.1*	22 nd dynasty (1 burial)
TT 52	1	‘22 nd dynasty’ (1 burial)
TT 53	3*	22 nd dynasty (1 burial), Late Period (1 burial)
TT 54	3a.1*	Late Period (1 burial)
TT 55	3a, 3b.1	25 th -26 th dynasty (7 burials)
TT 57	3a.1	25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 60	unknown	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period (1 burial)
TT 61	unknown	22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 63	unknown	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 65	1, 3a*	late 21 st dynasty (4 burials), 22 nd dynasty (3 burials), 25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 67	3a	‘22 nd -25 th dynasty’ (1 burial)
TT 68	3a.1*	21 st dynasty (3 burials), 22 nd -25 th dynasty (4 burials)
TT 69	1 or 3	22 nd -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 70	unknown	21 st dynasty (1 burial)
TT 71	unknown	940-880 BCE (1 burial), 700-600 BCE (1 burial)
TT 75	3*	‘late period’ (1 burial)
TT 78	1*, 4a.1	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial), 25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 79	3*	late 21 st -early 22 nd dynasty (1 burial), 22 nd -25 th dynasty (3 burials)
TT 80	unknown	22 nd dynasty (1 burial), 25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 82	3a or 4a	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period (1 burial)
TT 84	3b*	‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’ (1 burial)
TT 85	1	22 nd dynasty (1 burial), 25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 86	unknown	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 87	1*, 3a.1, 4a.1, 4a.2	22 nd dynasty (6 burials), 25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 88	unknown	‘25 th -26 th dynasty’ (1 burial)
TT 89	unknown	New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 93	unknown	Late Period (2 burials)

TT 95	3a	‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’ (1 burial)
TT 96	unknown	22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 97	1	late 20 th -early 21 st dynasty (8 burials), late 21 st dynasty (1 burial)
TT 99	3a.1	21 st dynasty (1 burial), 22 nd dynasty (1 burial), middle 25 th dynasty (1 burial), late 25 th dynasty (1 burial), 25 th dynasty (1 burial), 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 100	3*	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 103	unknown	‘late Egyptian or Coptic’ (1 burial)
TT 104	unknown	21 st -22 nd dynasty (1 burial), 25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 112	3a.2	25 th -middle 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 117	unknown	22 nd dynasty (1 burial)
TT 121	unknown	late 25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 123	unknown	late New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 124	unknown	late New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 128-129	5	26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 131	4a*	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 134	unknown	25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 135	3a	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 138	1	22 nd dynasty (2 burials), late 26 th -27 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 227	3a	Ramesside Period-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 230	unknown	late New Kingdom-modern era (1 burial)
TT 249	unknown	22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 252	3a.1, 4a.1	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (2 burials)
TT 259	2*	21 st -25 th dynasty (2 burials)
TT 263	unknown	‘Late Period’ (1 burial)
TT 317	3a	late New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 324	2	750 BCE or later (1 burial)
TT 331	1	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 343	1 or 2	‘late period’ (1 burial)
TT 345	unknown	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 346	unknown	21 st -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 348	unknown	21 st -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 367	3a.1	25 th dynasty (2 burials)
TT 400	4a.1	late New Kingdom-modern era (1 burial)
TT 403	unknown	22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
MMA 851	unknown	‘Late Period’ (2 burials)
Kampp -14-	unknown	1075-725 BCE (1 burial)

Kampp -264-	1*	750 BCE or later (21 burials)
'Rhind Tomb'	unknown	22 nd dynasty (1 burial)

Table 36. Reused tombs in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

In at least 72 of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna tombs there are traces of late dynastic reuse (Table 36). There were probably no new tombs cut in this part of the necropolis in the first millennium BCE. It seems very likely to me that the reason for that was lack of space: a quick look at the map shows that Sheikh Abd el-Qurna was 'overcrowded' with rock-cut sepulchres already in New Kingdom times.

In the case of at least 15 tombs, remains of mudbrick structures situated in the courtyards were recorded by modern scholars;⁴⁴ only one of them (a mudbrick porch in front of TT 87), however, is securely dated to the period analysed in this work.

Several of the reused tombs were redecorated in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. The decoration of an 18th dynasty tomb of Meryptah (the monument was probably never used by the original owner) was rearranged by Nesupaneferher and his son Horu in the 21st dynasty (Seyfried 1991, 133-134), while a man named Amenmose, dated likewise, added his decoration to the walls of the anonymous tomb TT 70 (Manniche 2011, 73). At some point in the Late Period, a God's Father called Horemakhbit redecorated the 18th dynasty tomb of Nakhtmin (TT 87) and added his mudbrick stela in the tomb's courtyard (Guksch 1995, 101-116). Remains of the 25th-26th dynasty wall decoration were discovered in the tomb of Pehsuker (TT 88), dated to the reign of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997, 82). A Middle Kingdom tomb TT 117, bearing no trace of original paintings, was decorated in the 22nd dynasty by Djedmutiufankh, a draughtsman in the domain of Amun (Kampp 1996, 398-405), while an unfinished tomb TT 129, dated to the 18th dynasty, was enlarged and covered with images and texts of Patjenfy, the mayor of Edfu and Thebes (Schenkel 1975). A similarly dated tomb TT 348 (anonymous) is said to have been redecorated at some point in the Third Intermediate Period or 25th dynasty by Naamutnakht, the door opener in the domain of Amun (Kampp 1996, 586; Jansen-Winkel 2009, 498; Manniche 2011, 73), while remains of plaster of 'late date' were discovered in a tomb

⁴⁴ TT 55, TT 60, TT 68, TT 75, TT 78, TT 80, TT 85, TT 87, TT 96, TT 99, TT 104, TT 230, TT 324, TT 345, TT 346.

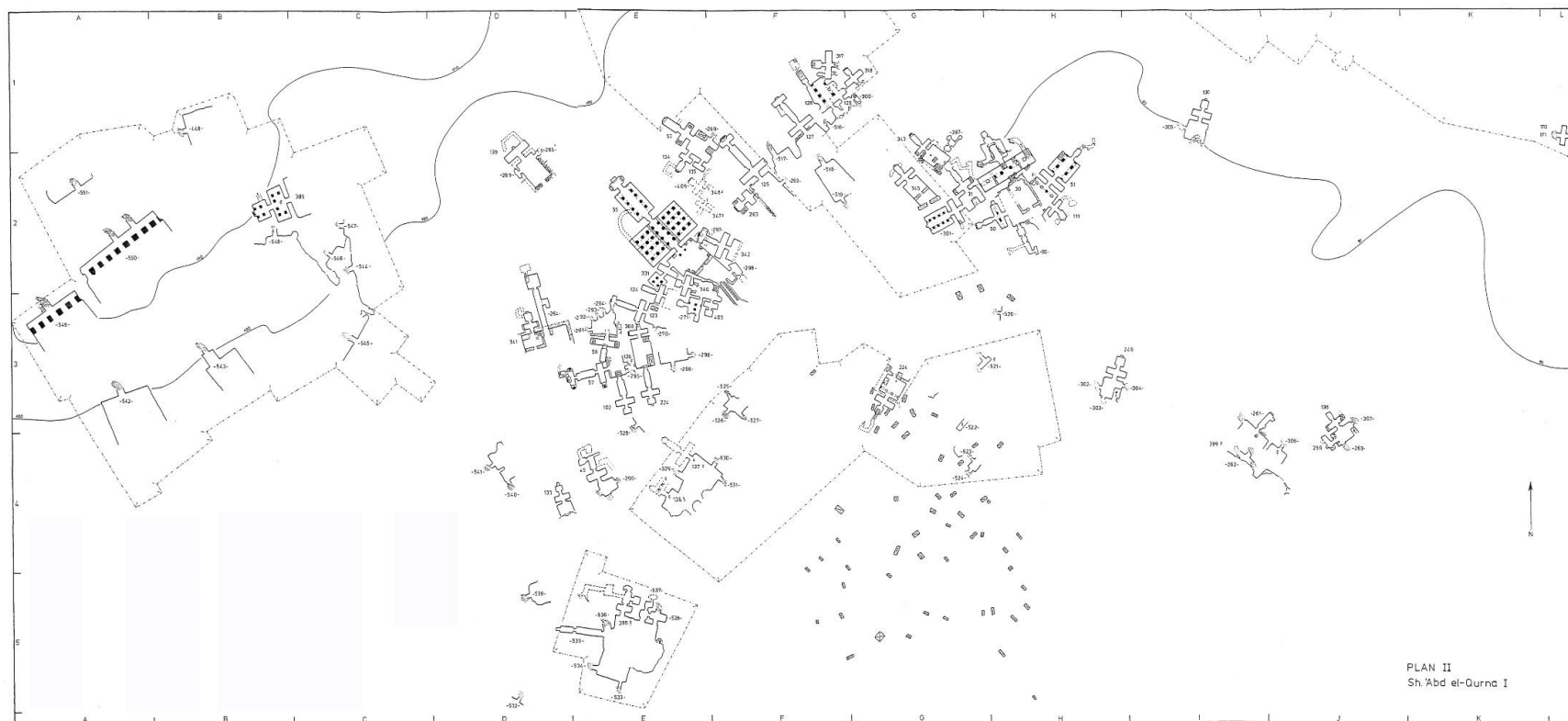


Figure 15. Plan of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna published by Kampp (Part I)



Figure 16. Plan of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna published by Kampp (Part II)

belonging to Menkheperaseneb (TT 86), dated to the reign of Thutmose III (Davies, N. 1933, 1).

Except for TT 117, all the tombs bearing traces of new decoration are of the 18th dynasty date. This, however, may be a coincidence, as the majority of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna sepulchres date to this period, and this tendency may not necessarily reflect any particular preference for 18th dynasty monuments.

The majority of tombs decorated in the late dynastic era are clustered in the south part of the east slope of the hill (Mond's 'Upper Enclosure'): TT 68, TT 70, TT 86, TT 87, TT 88, and TT 117. Nevertheless, it is evident that throughout the Third Intermediate Period and early Late Period (later reuse is somewhat rarer), the hill was readily reused for new burials.

Valleys south of Deir el-Bahari (Figure 17)

Valleys located to the south of Deir el-Bahari (the First Valley, the Second Valley, the Third Valley – also known as the Valley of the Colours, the Valley of the Eagle, and the Valley of the Three Pits), hidden from the view by the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill, attracted little scholarly attention compared to the north wadis. The main monument of this part of the necropolis is the unfinished Middle Kingdom burial complex of an unknown king, possibly Amenemhat I (Arnold, Do. 1991). There is some evidence to support the statement that the Third Valley itself could be considered a holy place at some point (Kaczanowicz 2018b, 227).

At least 10 tombs bear traces of reuse (Table 37). There seems to be a chronological pattern in the reuse of the wadis. While the north wadis (the First and the Second Valley) seem to be the preferred burial site in the Libyan Period (with the Royal Cache being located in the First Valley), the Third Valley and the Valley of the Eagle together with the Valley of the Queens (see below) were reutilised mainly from the 25th dynasty onwards.

Tomb	Type of burial	Period
TT 209	unknown	'27 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period' (1 burial)
TT 223	1, 2, 4a.2	26 th dynasty (2 burials), 27 th dynasty (1 burial), 30 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (2 burials)
TT 280	unknown	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period (4 burials)
TT 320		'cache'
TT 391	4a.2	middle 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
MMA 1008	1	late 21 st -early 22 nd dynasty (1 burial)
MMA 1021		see <i>Excursus</i>

MMA 1151	2c	'Late Period' (1 burial)
MMA 1152	1, 3b.1 or 4a.1	22 nd dynasty (1 burial), 25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial)
The Hanging Tomb	unknown	25 th -26 th dynasty (1 burial), 27 th -30 th dynasty (1 burial)

Table 37. Reused tombs in the valleys south of Deir el-Bahari

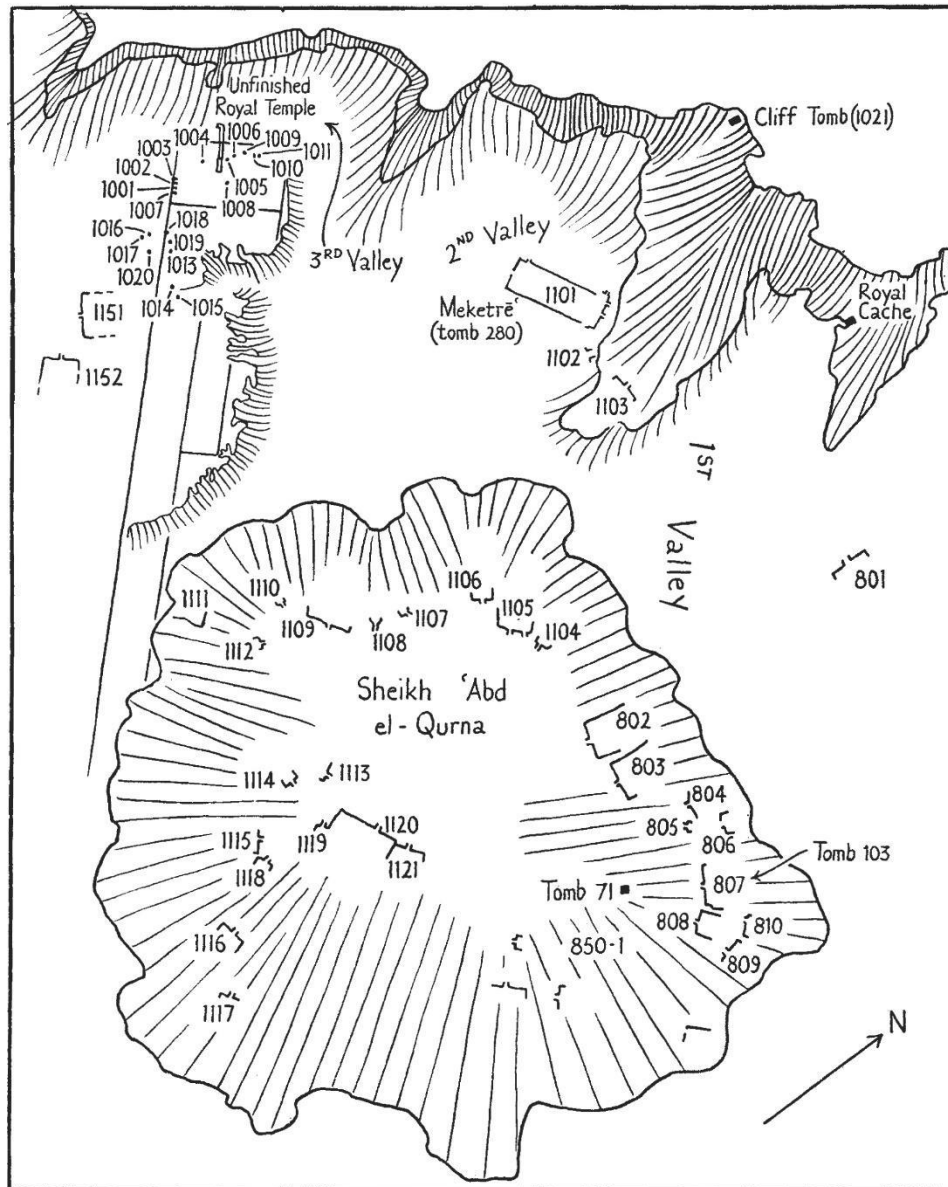


Figure 17. Plan of valleys south of Deir el-Bahari, and Sheikh Abd el-Qurna published by Porter and Moss

The South Asasif plain, a foreground of the Third Valley, was a necropolis of Kushite officials in the early and middle 25th dynasty (Pischikova 2018a). The Kushite tombs were reused in the Late Period and in some cases also in the Graeco-Roman era: two of them (TT 223, TT 391) were redecorated by their subsequent owners. Further to the east, a Libyan

Period necropolis is located in the ruins of the Ramesseum temple and in the surrounding area (Aston, D. 2009a, 237-253).

From the 25th dynasty onwards, an increased activity can be seen in the valleys located further south: the Valley of the Eagle, which according to Luc Gabolde in the Late Period became associated with the location of the semi-mythical ‘tomb of Amenhotep’ (Gabolde *et al.* 1994, 229), the Valley of the Queens (see below), and the Valley of the Three Pits, where canopic jars, supposedly belonging to a Late Period queen, were discovered (Aston, D. 2009a, 260). Increased interest in the south wadis can be linked to a well-known predilection of the Kushite kings and, more importantly, Kushite God’s Wives, for Medinet Habu, where the reinstated Feast of the Decade took place and which ultimately became the burial place of the Napatan princesses (Kaczanowicz 2019a, 25). The building activities initiated by the Kushites were continued by the kings of the 29th and 30th dynasty (Hölscher 1954).

Deir el-Medina (Figure 18)

While it seems certain that the Deir el-Medina cemetery was reused throughout the first millennium BCE, with attested reuse of at least 27 tombs (Table 38),⁴⁵ its exact role in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period remains unclear. The community of workmen living in Deir el-Medina (or rather, what was left of it after disbanding the crew at the end of the New Kingdom) moved to Medinet Habu, and from the 21st dynasty onwards the village was abandoned (Meskell 2000, 260; Peden 2000, 290). There is unquestionable evidence for cultic activity in Deir el-Medina under Ptolemy IV and his successors, when a temple dedicated to Hathor (Aphrodite Urania), Maat and the Ptolemies themselves was erected (Bataille 1952). Numerous *graffiti* dating to the Ptolemaic and Roman era were recorded in the village; Meskell suggested that

it was the impressive materiality of the site, replete with decorated houses and pyramid-topped tombs, that suggested Deir el Medina was a numinous place to later Ptolemaic and Roman visitors. Many individuals physically recorded that they fell to their knees and offered up prayers to the spirits of this place. Rock graffiti suggests that travelers passed through Deir el Medina on their way to visit the popular tourist destination of the Valley of the Kings, and some at least were moved to record their experience of the place by making an obeisance (or proskynemata) to the local deities (Meskell 2004, 23).

⁴⁵ For comparison, 53 of all the ‘TT’ tombs are located in Deir el-Medina.

The reuse of the workmen's tombs continued in the Graeco-Roman Period (Montserrat, Meskell 1997).⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the activities which took place between the abandonment of the village at the end of the 20th dynasty and the revival of building activities under the Ptolemies remains obscure, mostly owing to the lack of written sources.

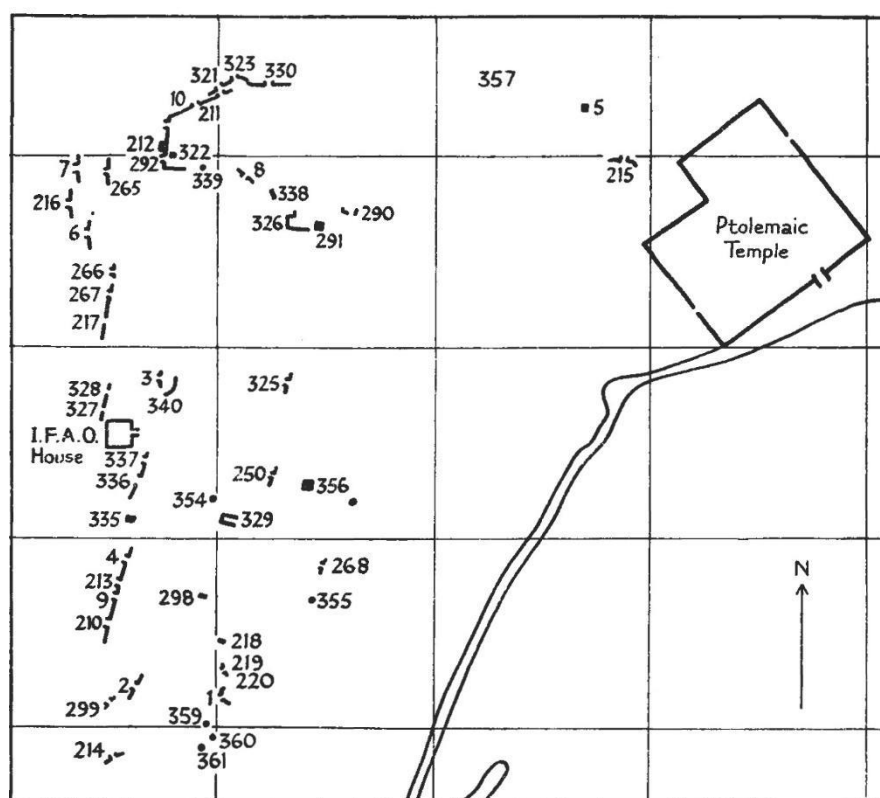


Figure 18. Plan of Deir el-Medina published by Porter and Moss

Tomb	Type of burial	Period
TT 2	unknown	'Basse Époque' (1 burial)
TT 6	unknown	21 st -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 9	unknown	21 st -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 10	unknown	Third Intermediate Period (10 burials)
TT 210	unknown	Third Intermediate Period (1 burial)
TT 213	unknown	Ramesside Period-Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 214	unknown	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period (1 burial)
TT 216	unknown	Third Intermediate Period (2 burials)

⁴⁶ However, Strudwick suggested that some of the unpublished burials believed to belong to this era may be earlier (Strudwick, N. 2003a, 176).

TT 217	4a*	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
TT 219	3b	22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (2 burials)
TT 290	1*	21 st dynasty (1 burial)
TT 291	unknown	21 st dynasty (1 burial)
TT 292	unknown	Third Intermediate Period (1 burial)
TT 299	unknown	Third Intermediate Period (7 burials)
TT 322	unknown	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period (1 burial)
TT 323	unknown	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period (4 burials)
TT 325	3a*	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 326	unknown	‘Basse Époque’ (1 burial)
TT 329	unknown	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 330	unknown	late New Kingdom-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)
TT 335	unknown	‘postérieurs à la XXe dynastie’ (1 burial)
TT 336	1	21 st dynasty (1 burial), 22 nd dynasty (11 burials), 750 BCE or later (1 burial)
TT 337	unknown	‘21 st -22 nd dynasty’ (1 burial), 740 BCE or later (1 burial)
TT 339	unknown	21 st dynasty (1 burial)
TT 355	unknown	Third Intermediate Period (1 burial)
TT 359	unknown	22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (2 burials)
TT 360	2	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)

Table 38. Reused tombs in Deir el-Medina

Although finds allegedly datable to the first millennium BCE were mentioned in the reports from early works conducted in the village by the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, most of these objects remain unpublished (Strudwick, N. 2003a, 176). In a similar vein, very little can be said of strategies of reuse of the Deir el-Medina tombs. While the majority of sepulchres were found robbed, little information on stratigraphy in their inner chambers was published and it seems that most of the tombs were either reused without altering their internal structure, or later features, such as burial shafts, were simply omitted from plans of the sepulchres published by Bernard Bruyère. One of the few examples of such later alterations can be found in TT 219, where the courtyard shaft can be dated to the period later than the original construction (Maystre 1936, 2).

The Ramesside tomb TT 337, belonging to sculptor Ken, was allegedly redecorated in the Libyan Period by Neskonsu; the later scenes in the burial chamber were recorded by Bruyère (Bruyère 1926, 78-79; Porter, Moss 1960, 406; Manniche 2011, 73). A *graffito* indicating the place of burial of Butehamun was found in TT 291 (McDowell 1999, 73). Perhaps some of

the reused tombs had mudbrick structures erected in their courtyards (TT 219, TT 329), but the available evidence does not allow to make a compelling statement on this matter.

Qurnet Murai (Figure 19)

At first glance, the Qurnet Murai cemetery⁴⁷ seems to have been largely neglected in the late dynastic era. In none of the six tombs bearing traces of being reutilised at a later point the reuse can be dated precisely to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period (Table 39).⁴⁸ However, when assessing the scale of reuse of this part of the necropolis it has to be taken into consideration that Qurnet Murai remains inhabited, therefore largely inaccessible for archaeologists.

A recent survey in the area revealed the presence of at least six previously unknown tombs, transformed into dwellings and stables; according to their discoverers, they belong to the largest private tombs in West Thebes (Berenguer 2003, 83). Remains of Ptolemaic mortuary monuments were discovered in Qurnet Murai and the neighbouring Medinet Habu (Abu Zaid 2017, 21-24).

Tomb	Type of burial	Period
TT 235	4a.1	Third Intermediate Period-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 275	4a.1	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 276	unknown	late New Kingdom-Roman Period (1 burial)
TT 277	3a.1	‘basse-époque’ (1 burial)
TT 278	unknown	Third Intermediate Period-modern era (1 burial)
TT 382	unknown	‘late’ (1 burial)

Table 39. Reused tombs in Qurnet Murai

⁴⁷ I refer here to the east slope of the Qurnet Murai hill; the west slope is classified as a part of Deir el-Medina.

⁴⁸ In total, 8 out of the 412 known ‘TT’ tombs are located in this part of the necropolis.

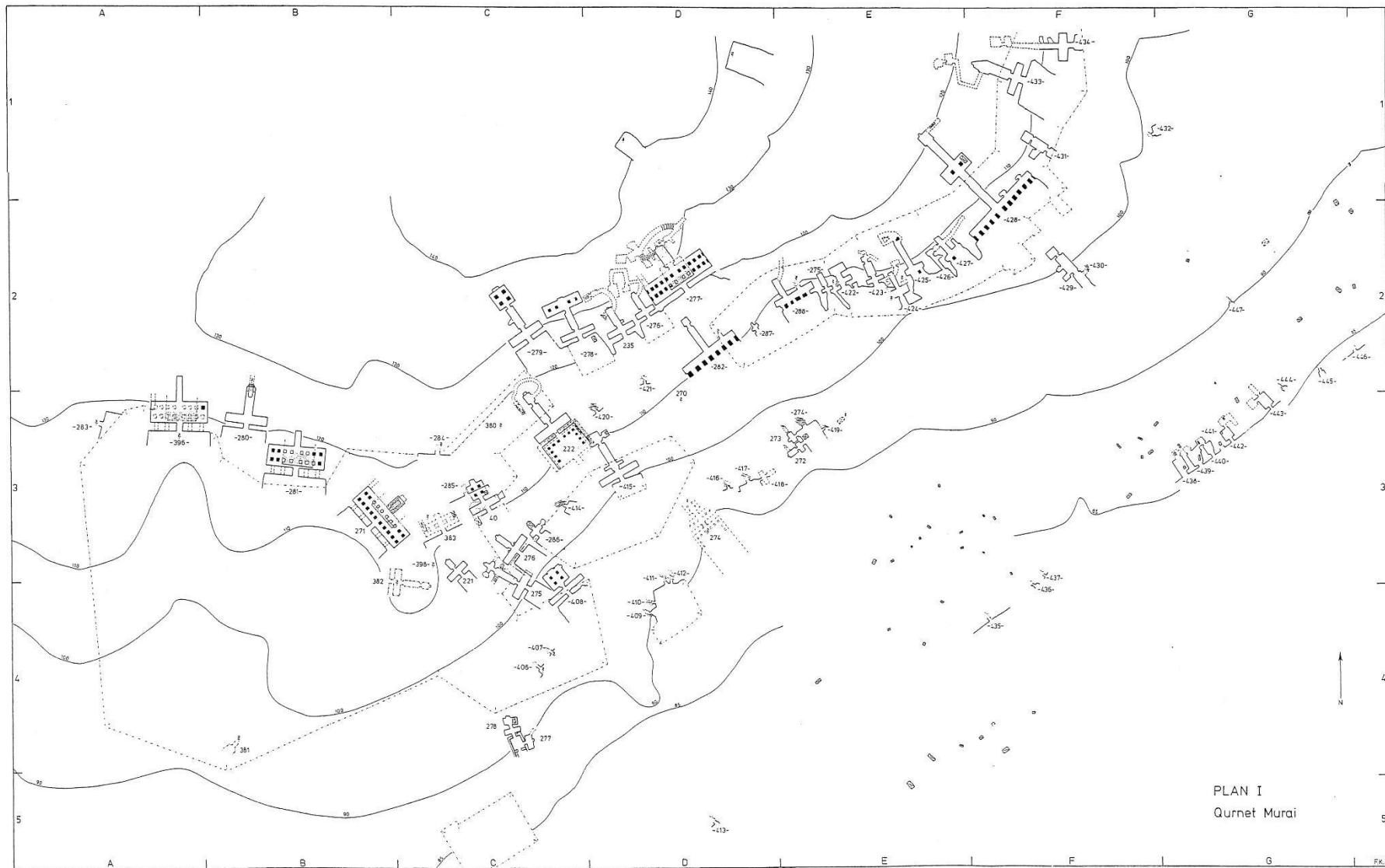


Figure 19. Plan of Qurnet Murai published by Kampp

Royal wadis (Valley of the Kings and Valley of the Queens) (Figures 20-21)

The reuse of the royal wadis, constituting the actual north and south limits of the New Kingdom necropolis, differs from the reuse of other Theban cemeteries. First of all, there seems to be a visible chronological pattern of reuse (49 in total; Table 40): while the Valley of the Kings seems to be a popular burial site during the 22nd dynasty, there is no evidence for reuse of sepulchres in the Valley of the Queens before the Kushite Period. Moreover, in the Valley of the Kings, the material datable to the Late Period is scarce and usually limited to pottery, which may indicate that some burials took place in the Valley at this time, but also can be a result of other activities in the wadi. The Valley was certainly visited by Theban priests on various occasions: during the early 21st dynasty, when royal mummies were being transferred into caches (Taylor 1992),⁴⁹ but possibly also later, when a copy of sarcophagus of Thutmose III was made for a man called Hapimen (Taylor 2016, 371).⁵⁰ Finally, from the Ptolemaic and Roman times, there are dozens of ‘tourist’ *graffiti* and *dipinti*, and it seems that some tombs in the East Valley were open to the public (Coppens 2016, 74). Neither in the Valley of the Kings, nor the Valley of the Queens, were new tombs constructed after the end of the 20th dynasty.

Secondly, while there can be no doubt that some burials were deposited in the tombs in both wadis, there seem to be no traces of actual interfering with the original layout of the sepulchres. The reuse, if involved manipulation of the space, included enlarging the existing rooms, not adding new shafts or chambers; none of the intact burials, found in the Valley of the Kings (KV 44, KV 45, KV 64, WV 25), can be associated with any alterations of the original layout of the tomb. Perhaps there was some kind of a restriction against altering the design of the royal tombs: it is worth noticing that in the case of reused kingly and queenly tombs located outside of the royal valleys (TT 308, TT 320, TT 358, AN B), there are also no ‘intrusive’ shafts recorded. Contrary to reused tombs located in other parts of the Theban necropolis, no mudbrick installations were recorded in courtyards of reused sepulchres in the royal wadis.

⁴⁹ In several tombs (e.g. KV 2 or KV 8), the later ceramic assemblages can be dated to the late 20th or early 21st dynasty, and are most likely related to the transfer of the royal mummies (Aston, D., B. Aston, Brock 1998), therefore I did not include them in the catalogue.

⁵⁰ Although the evidence here is circumstantial, as the sarcophagus’ description or even copy might have been made earlier.

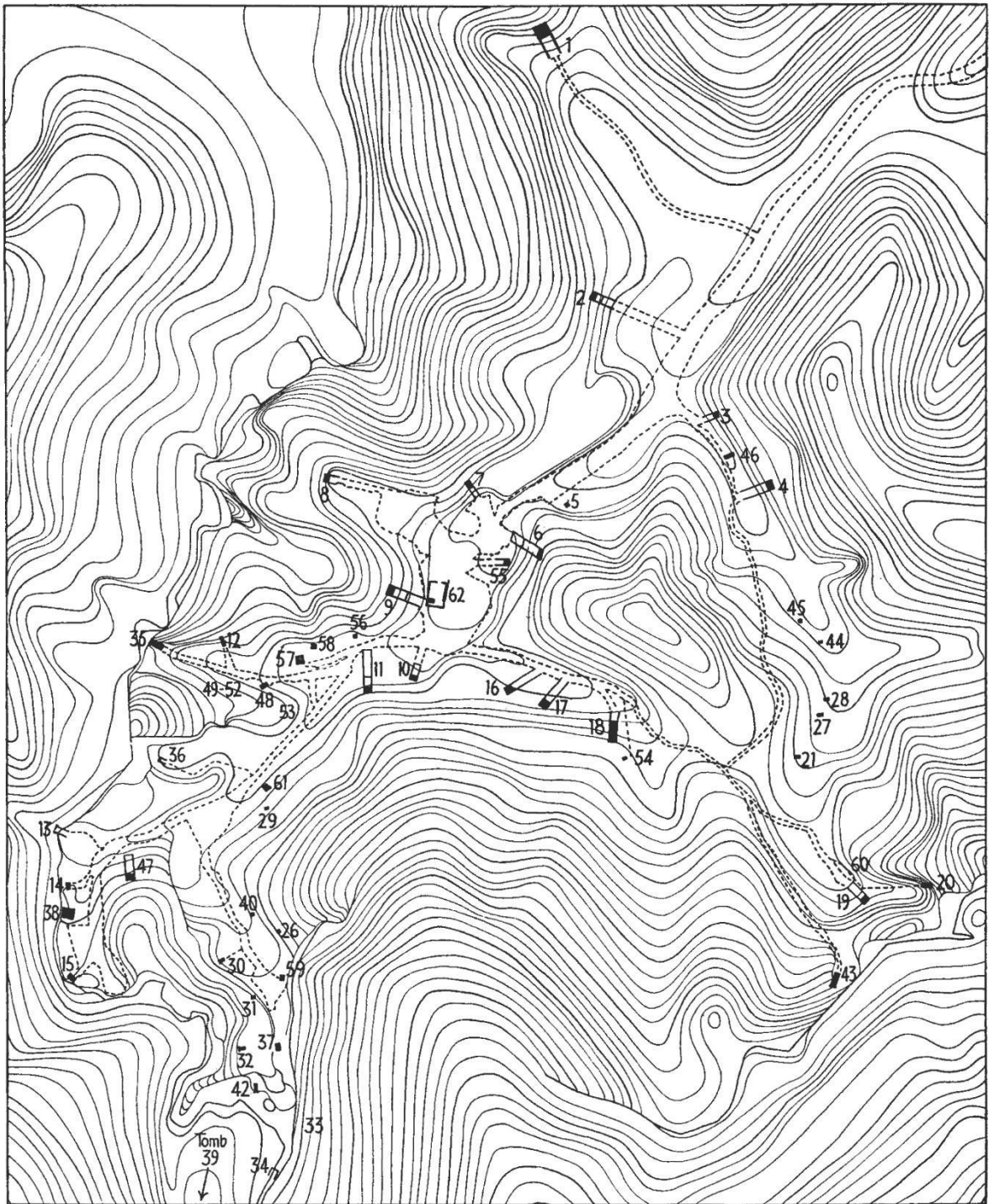


Figure 20. Plan of the Valley of the Kings (East Valley) published by Porter and Moss

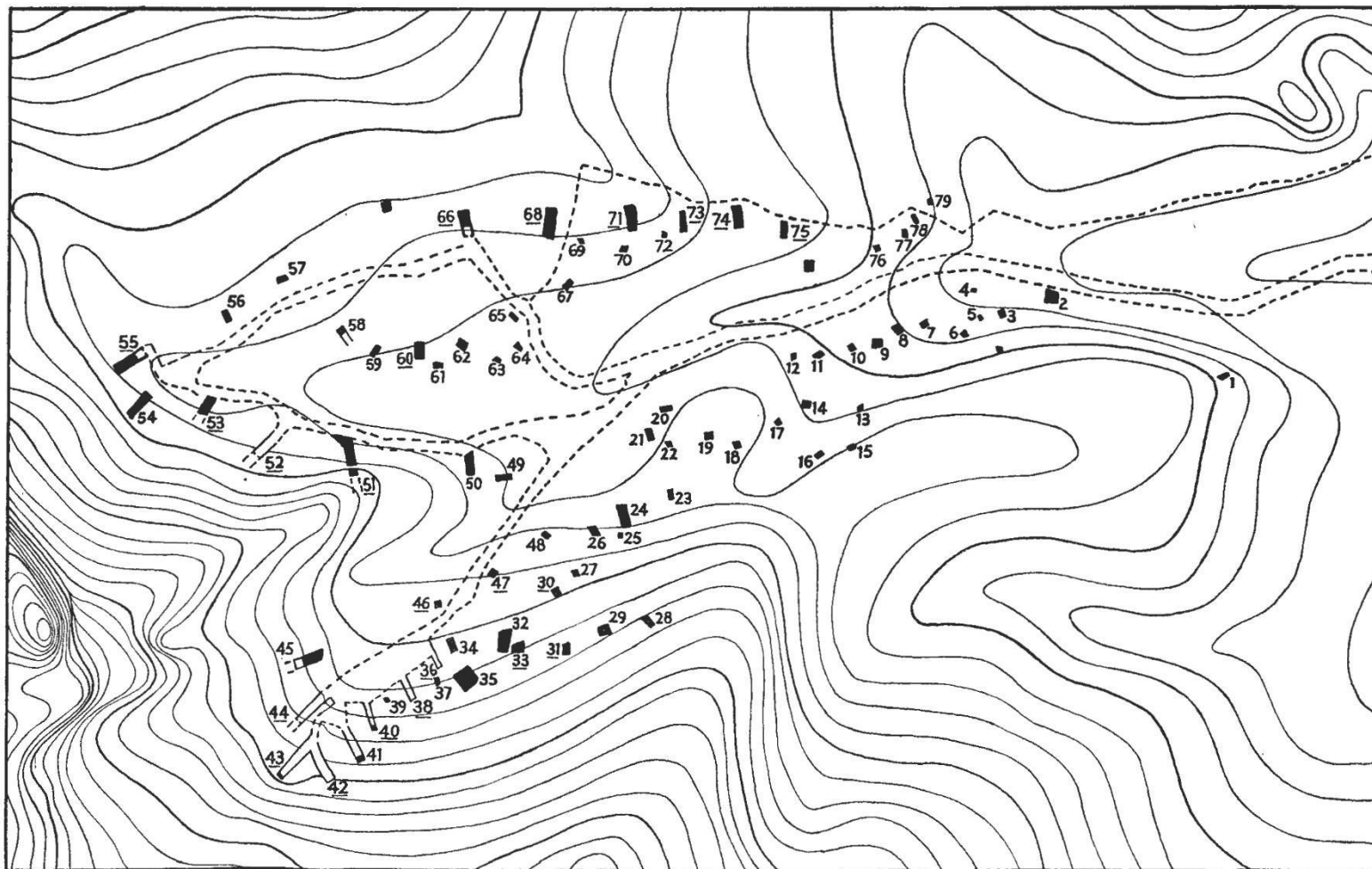


Figure 21. Plan of the Valley of the Queens published by Porter and Moss

Tomb	Type of burial	Period
KV 1	1*	Late Period (1 burial)
KV 4	1	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
KV 5	unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’ (1 burial)
KV 10	1	21 st -22 nd dynasty (1 burial)
KV 11	1*	‘Late Period’ (1 burial)
KV 16	1	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period (2 burials)
KV 17	unknown	late 26 th -30 th dynasty (1 burial)
KV 18	unknown	late 26 th -27 th dynasty (1 burial)
KV 19	2b*	22 nd -25 th dynasty (1 burial)
KV 21	2*	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
KV 27	1	‘Third Intermediate Period (or later)’ (1 burial)
KV 28	1	‘Third Intermediate Period’ (1 burial)
KV 34	1	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period (2 burials)
KV 35	‘cache’	
KV 40	1	22 nd dynasty (1 burial)
KV 44	1	22 nd dynasty (3 burials)
KV 45	1	22 nd dynasty (2 burials)
KV 47	unknown	sixth-fifth century BCE (1 burial)
KV 64	1	22 nd dynasty (1 burial)
WV 22	2b*	26 th dynasty (4 burials)
WV 24	1	22 nd -25 th dynasty (5 burials)
WV 25	1	22 nd -25 th dynasty (8 burials)
QV 3	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 7	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 8	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 9	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 10	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 11	2a	25 th dynasty (1 burial), 25 th -26 th dynasty (2 burials)
QV 12	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 13	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 14	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 16	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 17	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 18	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 22	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 23	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 24	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 31	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)

QV 32	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 33	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 34	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 43-44	unknown	25 th dynasty (9 burials), 26 th dynasty (10 burials), 25 th -26 th dynasty/unknown (14 burials)
QV 53	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 58	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 71	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 77	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 78	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 79	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)
QV 80	unknown	25 th -early 26 th dynasty (1 burial)

Table 40. Reused tombs in the royal wadis

The necropolis as a liminal space

In addition to the review presented above, some remarks can be offered on the functioning of the necropolis as a whole in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. The Theban west bank was not only the realm of the dead and gods, with their chapels, temples, and festivals; it was also the place of living communities. From the 21st dynasty onwards, Medinet Habu became the refuge for the Deir el-Medina workmen and their families; there is evidence for continuous habitation of the site also in later periods, when the area was finally transformed into the village of Djeme (Hölscher 1954). Remains of a settlement, datable to the late 26th dynasty, were discovered in the temple of Seti I; a slightly later date (27th dynasty) has been proposed for a settlement in the precinct of the temple of Merenptah (Aston, D. 2003, 161-162). In the papyri of Theban choachytes, datable to the 26th and 27th dynasties, one can find mentions of houses and arable lands located on the Theban west bank, in the vicinity of the tomb of king Userton (Osorkon). The exact location of the tomb remains unknown, although it was proposed that it should be looked for in one of the New Kingdom Temples of Millions of Years (Ohshiro 2017).

Who were the people living on the Theban west bank in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period? It is very tempting to assume that they all belonged to the personnel of the necropolis, but it is impossible to determine it with certainty. There are textual sources explicitly stating that some of the choachytes of the earlier Ptolemaic Period possessed houses on the east bank, in the area referred to as ‘The House of the Cow’ (Depauw 2000, 17). Therefore, it remains unclear what was the exact character of the settlements on Theban west

bank in the first millennium BCE. In the case of the Medinet Habu, for instance, apart from the domestic remains, new tombs were erected. The site was reused as a burial ground, as well as a place for rewrapping of the royal mummies before their transfer to the Royal Cache (Reeves 1990, 230; 242; 250). It was also proposed that at least some of the mummies eventually buried in the necropolis were embalmed there (Aston, D. 2003, 149-150). Was the settlement in Medinet Habu a centre for the production of funerary goods, such as coffins or ushebti? Or was it a 'regular' settlement, not linked functionally or ideologically to the cemetery around the corner? What did the economy of the Theban necropolis look like? Did the cultic activities, such as the Feast of the Decade, celebrated every ten days in the Small Temple, have any impact on the lives of the people living in Medinet Habu?

Some light can be shed on the interaction between the living and the deceased by examining the organisation of the cemetery: the Hungarian excavations in el-Khokha made it possible to reconstruct the 'street network' of this part of the New Kingdom cemetery (Schreiber 2009). Austrian research in the Asasif necropolis revealed the presence of a similar 'street' in front of the Late Period chapel, datable to the 26th dynasty (Eigner 1984, 96). It was mentioned above that the causeway of the temple of Hatshepsut in the Late Period was an important landmark, with pylons of the officials' tombs oriented towards it; a similar function of a 'street', albeit of smaller cultic significance, might have been played by the causeways of the monument of Mentuhotep and the unfinished burial complex in the Third Valley (Eigner 1984, 32-33). The tombs were certainly meant to be accessible, which is not a surprise if we take into consideration that the main task of the choachytes was providing the deceased with necessary offerings long after the funeral. During the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, the tombs were visited also by the relatives of the people interred in the necropolis. An interesting example of a cult installation in a reused tomb can be MIDAN.05, located in Dra Abu el-Naga and dated to the late 17th or early 18th dynasty. In the Kushite or Saite Period, a ramp was constructed in front of the tomb; remains of flower garlands, libation cups and offering tables were found in the vicinity, attesting continuous ritual activity in the courtyard (Betrò 2017b). On the other hand, it was argued by Alexander J. Peden that the decline of textual *graffiti* in the Theban necropolis in the late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period could be partially caused by the instability in the region (civil war, incursions of the Libyans) at that time, which resulted in fear and reluctance to stroll around (Peden 2000, 288-289). Almost complete lack of textual *graffiti* on Theban west bank continued throughout the Libyan Period and Late Period (Peden 2001, 266-288; Litherland 2014, 85).

The Theban necropolis, as any ancient Egyptian necropolis, must have constituted a liminal space, a unique sphere where it was possible to come into contact with the deceased ancestors. While the concept of veneration of the deceased in the first millennium BCE will be discussed below (see Chapter 7, *Who was buried in reused tombs?*), at this point I would like to consider one very particular aspect of the Theban necropolis, which may be of importance when discussing the role of the necropolis as a contact point (but also as a boundary) between the sacred and the profane. As pointed out by Eigner, the limits of the Theban necropolis, set during the Middle Kingdom, did not change in the course of the next two thousand years (Eigner 1984, 21-22). No major grouping of burials was located outside the once-fixed boundaries of the cemetery, even though in time it was becoming overcrowded, with new tombs often colliding with the old ones and reuse of older structures becoming a common practice. It is particularly striking when it is realised that the Theban necropolis is surrounded by numerous valleys, which could have easily been utilised as burial grounds in later periods. This, in turn, points to the possibility that once demarcated, the sacred area of the necropolis was not to be expanded or changed in any way, and that it was better to reuse an existing structure than venture into unknown territories. In fact, it seems that it was only during the Kushite Period when south wadis began to be seen as equally desirable for burial as other parts of the necropolis – even though there is evidence for a population living in Medinet Habu in the Third Intermediate Period and it would seem more logical to turn to the south part of the necropolis instead of burying the deceased in the remote, north cemeteries, such as the Valley of the Kings or Dra Abu el-Naga. Clearly, the convenience of the living was not a deciding factor when selecting a place for burial.

The final remark should be made about the natural changes in the landscape of the necropolis in the late dynastic era. It was demonstrated that at some point between 1200 and 900 BCE, an earthquake took place which affected many of the Theban temples (Karakhanyan *et al.* 2014). It likely gave an impulse to reuse ruined monuments on a larger scale than ever before. On the other hand, some tombs (e.g. TT 74) seem to have been covered by debris and effectively hidden from the view, resulting in their inaccessibility for reuse.

Conclusions

Except for el-Tarif, all parts of the Theban necropolis were extensively reused in the Third Intermediate and Late Periods. Tombs located in central cemeteries, such as Sheikh Abd el-Qurna or el-Khokha, were popular burial sites throughout the late dynastic period. The

northernmost part of the necropolis – the Valley of the Kings – seems to have reached its peak of popularity during the 22nd dynasty, while the south sites (the Valley of the Queens, the Valley of the Eagle) began to be reused on a large scale only in the Late Period. Clusters of late dynastic burials can be observed, suggesting links between the new interments and the existing monuments – not only tombs but temples as well.

Chapter 5

Architecture of late dynastic reuse of Theban tombs

In the following chapter, I will examine the architecture of late dynastic reuse. In the majority of analysed tombs, due to the reasons discussed above (disturbed stratification, lack of interest of scholars in the later strata, and the resulting lack of publications thereof) it was impossible to establish with certainty which features can be associated with later burials. Burials were divided into five types, according to the feature in which they were found. An asterisk (*) indicates that the attribution is based on circumstantial evidence and therefore is uncertain; such burials were not taken into consideration when discussing details such as dimensions of shafts and chambers, their orientation, etc.⁵¹ All the dimensions are given in metres.

General remarks regarding practicalities of tomb-cutting (Figure 22) in New Kingdom Egypt can be found in numerous publications (e.g. Mackay 1921; Clarke, Engelbach 1930; Arnold, Di. 1991; Dorn 2016), and therefore will not be discussed here in detail. The most significant difference between methods applied in this period and the first millennium BCE seems to be the choice of tools, or, more precisely, of the material the tools were made of, that is iron instead of copper or bronze.⁵² Analyses of chisel marks provide some very promising results when it comes to identifying tools used by stonecutters working in the

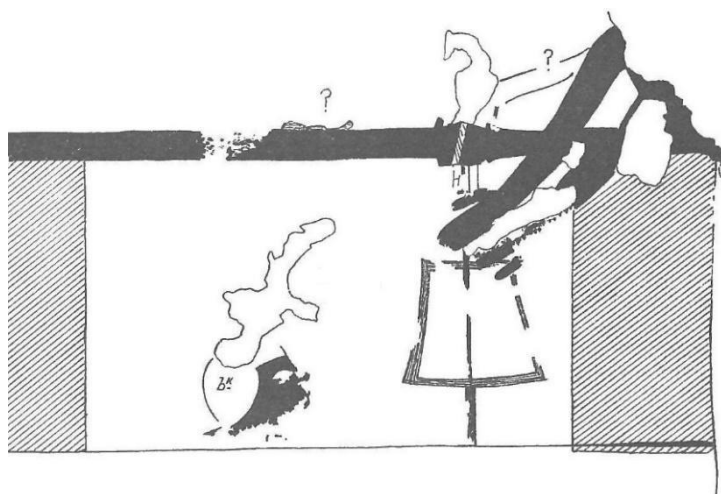


Figure 22. Cutting of a shaft (fragment of a scene from TT 154)

tombs, which in turn may help date particular features of tombs (Chudzik 2015a). In the Theban necropolis, such a method was applied for example during the recent excavations in TT 362 (Pereyra *et al.* 2015, 43).

⁵¹ The dimensions were a) taken from explicit mentions in excavation reports, or b) measured or calculated from the available plans.

⁵² The popularity of iron in Egypt started about 600 BCE at the latest, although ‘it seems likely that a handful of iron objects might have existed from the Old Kingdom onwards’ (Ogden 2000, 167).

Type 1

Type 1 consists of burials that were deposited in the original rooms of the tomb, without altering the original structure (Table 41). They may have been deposited in the burial chamber, but also in other chambers, not necessarily originally intended to house burials.

Type 1 burials present several methodological problems. If not accompanied by new decoration, the only information regarding this type of interment comes from the burials themselves; in the case of a robbery or other activities resulting in their disturbance, the information of the nature of reuse is irrevocably lost. Therefore, I believe that the number of burials of this type is grossly underestimated, even more than in the case of other types. Additionally, type 1 can sometimes be mistaken with type 2, especially when deposited in unfinished sepulchres, where the underground rooms were completed only by the new owner. Finally, in some cases, my attribution to type 1 was based on the lack of ‘additional’ features (shafts, chambers) visible on the plans of the tombs. However, it needs to be remembered that during the early decades of exploration of the necropolis, later features were sometimes deliberately omitted from published plans.

Tomb	Location	Intact	Dating
TT 11*	DAN		21 st dynasty
TT 21	SAQ		25 th -26 th dynasty
TT 32	el-Khokha		late 21 st dynasty, 22 nd dynasty
TT 52	SAQ		‘22 nd dynasty’
TT 65	SAQ		late 21 st dynasty
TT 69*	SAQ		22 nd -26 th dynasty
TT 78*	SAQ		25 th -26 th dynasty
TT 85	SAQ		22 nd dynasty
TT 87*	SAQ		25 th -26 th dynasty
TT 97	SAQ		late 20 th -early 21 st dynasty
TT 138	SAQ		22 nd dynasty
TT 183	el-Khokha		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 188*	Asasif		21 st -26 th dynasty
TT 201	el-Khokha		21 st -26 th dynasty
TT 223	South Asasif		26 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period
TT 253	el-Khokha		22 nd dynasty, 25 th -26 th dynasty
TT 290*	DeM		21 st dynasty
TT 295*	el-Khokha		21 st -22 nd dynasty
TT 308	DeB		‘XX th -XXI st Dynasty’

TT 331	SAQ		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 336	DeM		21 st dynasty, 22 nd dynasty, 750 BCE or later
TT 343*	SAQ		‘late period’
TT 358	DeB	✓	21 st dynasty
TT 414	Asasif		30 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
MMA 59	DeB	✓	21 st dynasty
MMA 60	DeB		21 st dynasty
MMA 1008	Third Valley	✓	late 21 st -early 22 nd dynasty
MMA 1152	hill to the south of the Third Valley		22 nd dynasty
Kampp -49-	Asasif		25 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period
Kampp -61-	el-Khokha		late 21 st dynasty, 22 nd dynasty, 26 th -27 th dynasty, 30 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
Kampp -264-*	el-Khokha		750 BCE or later
KV 1*	VoK		‘Late Period’
KV 4	VoK		22 nd -25 th dynasty
KV 10	VoK		21 st -22 nd dynasty
KV 11*	VoK		‘Late Period’
KV 16	VoK		Third Intermediate Period-Late Period
KV 27	VoK		‘Third Intermediate Period (or later)’
KV 28	VoK		‘Third Intermediate Period’
KV 34	VoK		Third Intermediate Period-Late Period
KV 40	VoK		22 nd dynasty
KV 44	VoK	✓	22 nd dynasty
KV 45	VoK	✓	22 nd dynasty
KV 64	VoK	✓	22 nd dynasty
WV 24	VoK		22 nd -25 th dynasty
WV 25	VoK	✓	22 nd -25 th dynasty
CC 5	DeB	✓	22 nd dynasty
K93.12	DAN		21 st -25 th dynasty
Tomb C	el-Khokha		21 st dynasty

Table 41. Type 1 burials

Intact burials were found in the original burial chambers of MMA 59, MMA 1008, KV 44, KV 45, and KV 64. All of these tombs share a similar layout: a simple shaft tomb with a single chamber on its bottom. In TT 358, an intact 21st dynasty interment (Figure 23) was

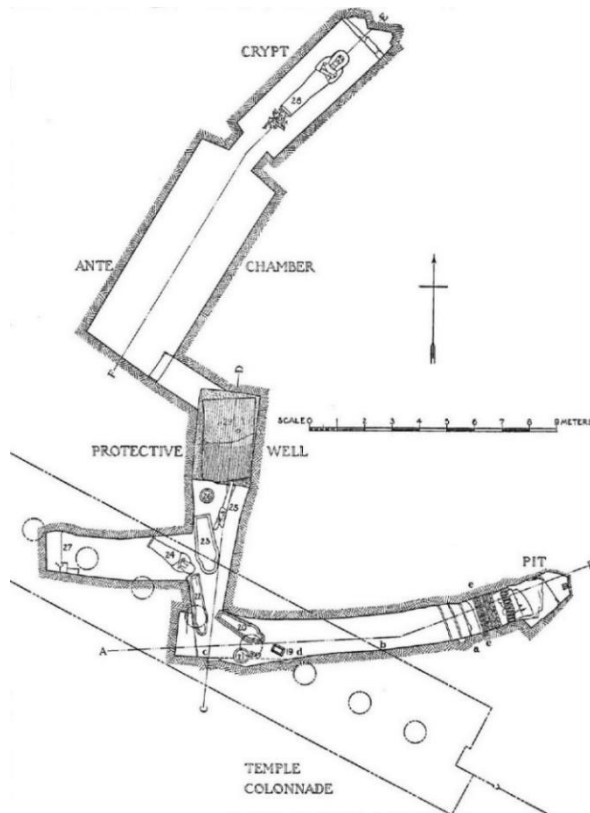


Figure 23. Scattered but intact burial equipment of Nany, as discovered by Winlock in TT 358

discovered in a side room adjacent to the main corridor, while the original burial chamber was still occupied by the (empty) coffins belonging to the original owner of the tomb, queen Meritamun. Elements of the 21st dynasty burial equipment were found scattered throughout the tomb, indicating a hasty funeral (Winlock 1932b). In CC 5, two groups of intact burials were discovered, with the earlier one (probably 22nd dynasty) and two 25th dynasty interments placed in what almost certainly constituted the original ‘chapel’ (Carnarvon, Carter 1912, 23-26). However, it seems that the tomb, constructed in the Middle Kingdom, was never finished, therefore did not have the underground structure. As for burials discovered in WV 25, they were found at the bottom of the staircase (Belzoni 1821, 223), but their exact findspot is

unknown. They were likely deposited in the small chamber at the end of the corridor, but they may have been placed in the corridor as well. All the intact type 1 burials date to the 21st or 22nd dynasty (in the case of WV 25, this dating may extend into the 25th dynasty).

Type 2

Type 2 (Table 42) includes burials deposited in any kind of feature added to the original underground complex of the tomb. These may be additional chambers or shafts cut in the passage leading to the original burial chamber (2a), but also other features such as side rooms (or ‘loculi’) cut in the burial chamber or in its immediate vicinity (2b). Finally, in the case of tombs construction of which was abandoned at an early stage, burials deposited in underground rooms completed by new owners were also assigned to this type (2c).

Tomb	Subtype	Location	Intact	Dating
TT 14	2a	DAN		21 st -22 nd dynasty
TT 23	2a	SAQ		‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’
TT 32	2a	el-Khokha		22 nd dynasty
TT 35*	2	DAN		late 21 st dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
TT 157	2a	DAN		27 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period
TT 178	2b	el-Khokha		Ramesside Period-Ptolemaic Period
TT 184	2a	el-Khokha		22 nd dynasty-Ptolemaic Period
TT 197	2a	Asasif		final years of the 26 th dynasty or later
TT 223	unknown	South Asasif		26 th dynasty or later
TT 259*	unknown	SAQ		21 st -25 th dynasty
TT 294*	unknown	el-Khokha		Third Intermediate Period-Late Period
TT 324	unknown	SAQ		750 BCE or later
TT 343	unknown	SAQ		‘late period’
TT 360	unknown	DeM		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 379	2c	DAN		late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 389*	2a	Asasif		30 th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
TT 414*	unknown	Asasif	✓	30 th dynasty
MMA 1151	2c	hill to the south of the Third Valley		‘Late Period’
Kampp -48-*	unknown	Asasif		‘Twenty-First Dynasty’
Kampp -400-	2b	el-Khokha		25 th dynasty
KV 19*	2b	VoK		22 nd -25 th dynasty
KV 21*	unknown	VoK		‘Third Intermediate Period’
WV 22*	2b	VoK		26 th dynasty
QV 11	2a	VoQ		25 th -26 th dynasty
AN B	unknown	DAN		750 BCE or later
Grab VII	2b	Asasif		30 th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period
MIDAN.05	2b	DAN		25 th -26 th dynasty
Tomb B	2a	el-Khokha		25 th dynasty
Tomb G	2a	el-Khokha		26 th -27 th dynasty

Table 42. Type 2 burials

The only intact burial of this type is that of Wahibra from TT 414; however, this attribution is not certain. Especially in the case of subtype 2c, it is often impossible to state whether the burial chamber (or even the entire underground area) was original or later. For example, in TT 23, where side chambers were cut adjacent to the underground pillared hall, it was observed that one of the pillars was decorated with blocks that came from pillars in the tomb’s façade.



Figure 24. Chamber added to the sloping passage of TT 157, apparently to house burial of a third priest of Amun called Ankhefenkhonsu

It was proposed that the pillared hall was renovated in the Late Period, but it could have been completely made at that time as well (Ivanov 2012, 159).

It seems that the most popular type of alteration of underground parts of existing tombs was adding a small, usually rectangular or trapezoidal chamber branching off corridors leading to the main burial chamber, which accommodated new burials (2a). These chambers were typically undecorated (Figure 24),⁵³ and usually smaller than the main burial chamber, with their dimensions allowing to accommodate a coffin (Table 43). Features added to original burial chambers (2b) were similarly undecorated and of modest sizes.

Tomb	Feature	Plan	Dimensions ⁵⁴	Height
TT 14	G	rectangular	2.9 x 1.2 (with a narrow gallery (ca. 5.5 m) leading to the chamber)	1.5
TT 23	Room 8	pentagonal	2.5 x 2	unknown
	Room 9	irregular	2.4 x 2.8	unknown
	Room 10	hexagonal	3 x 2	unknown
	Room 11	rectangular	2 x 1.8	unknown
	Room 12	trapezoidal	2.7 x 2	unknown
	SN1	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 32	Room VIII	trapezoidal	2.1 x 1.05	1.4
	Room IX	rectangular	1.1 x 1	1.4
TT 157	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 178 ⁵⁵	Raum III	rectangular	2.5 x 1.6	1.2

⁵³ The only exception seems to be TT 389, where some of the later chambers were covered with inscriptions, but their dating is uncertain.

⁵⁴ In the case of features of outline other than rectangular, their dimensions at the longest and the widest points were given.

	Raum IV	irregular	3.7 long	1
	Raum VI	rectangular	2 x 1.1	0.8
	Raum VIII	rectangular	2.3 x 1.75	0.9
TT 197	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 389	Kammer 5	rectangular	4 x 2.7	unknown
Kampp -400-	Chamber 1	trapezoid	4 x 2.75	1.9
KV 19	‘oblong pit’	‘oblong’	unknown	unknown
WV 22	niche	triangular	2.5 x 0.8	unknown
	depression	unknown	unknown	unknown
	Ea	enlargement of the original chamber		
QV 11	S shaft	unknown	2.8 x unknown	1.7
	W shaft	polygonal	3.1 x 1.6	1.8
Grab VII	Kammer 4	unknown	unknown	unknown
	Kammer 5	unknown	unknown	unknown
	Kammer 6	unknown	unknown	unknown
MIDAN.05	h	trapezoidal	2.2 x 1.8	1
Tomb B	Room 2/b	rectangular	3.3 x 1.8	unknown
Tomb G	Tomb F	irregular	2.2 x 1.2	1.2

Table 43. Details of features in which type 2a and 2b burials were found

Type 3

Type 3 (Table 44) comprises simple burial shafts, located either in the inner (above-ground) rooms of the tombs, such as corridors and chapels⁵⁶ (3a), or in the courtyard (3b). The shaft may end either in one (3a.1 and 3b.1) or two burial chambers (3a.2 and 3b.2).⁵⁷

Tomb	Subtype	Location	Intact	Dating
TT 11	3a.2	DAN		25 th -26 th dynasty
TT 12	3a.1	DAN		‘Third Intermediate Period’
TT 21	3a.1	SAQ		25 th dynasty
TT 23	3a.1	SAQ		‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’
	3b.1			‘Late Period’
TT 30*	3b.1	SAQ		Third Intermediate Period-Late Period
TT 31	3a.1	SAQ		22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
TT 32	3a.1	el-Khokha		22 nd -early 25 th dynasty
TT 35*	3b	DAN		late 21 st dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period

⁵⁵ I did not include side Kammern II, V and VII, as it is unclear whether they were actual burial chambers, passages, or vestibules.

⁵⁶ In the case of ‘temple-tombs’ (*Tempelgräber*), this includes also the ‘middle level’ of the tomb, i.e. where the *Lichthof* is located.

⁵⁷ In one case (TT 219), there were three chambers cut at the bottom of the shaft.

TT 37	3a.1	Asasif		25 th -26 th dynasty
TT 39*	3b.2	Asasif		‘Twenty-First Dynasty’
TT 41	3a.1	el-Khokha		25 th dynasty
TT 42	unknown	el-Khokha		New Kingdom-modern era
TT 44*	unknown	el-Khokha		22 nd dynasty, ‘Late Period’
TT 48	3b	el-Khokha		25 th dynasty
TT 49*	3a.1	el-Khokha		22 nd -26 th dynasty or later
TT 50	3b	SAQ		New Kingdom-early Ptolemaic Period
TT 51*	3a.1	SAQ		22 nd dynasty
TT 53*	unknown	SAQ		22 nd dynasty, ‘Late Period’
TT 54*	3a.1	SAQ		Late Period
TT 55	3a	SAQ		25 th -26 th dynasty
	3b.1			
TT 57	3a.1	SAQ		25 th -26 th dynasty
TT 65*	3a	SAQ		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 67	3a	SAQ		‘22 nd -25 th dynasty’
TT 68*	3a.1	SAQ		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 69*	unknown	SAQ		Third Intermediate Period-Roman Period
TT 75	unknown	SAQ		‘late period’
TT 79*	unknown	SAQ		late 21 st -25 th dynasty
TT 82*	3a	SAQ		Third Intermediate Period-Late Period
TT 84*	3b	SAQ		‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’
TT 87	3a.1	SAQ		22 nd -26 th dynasty
TT 95	3a	SAQ		‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’
TT 99	3a.1	SAQ		25 th dynasty
TT 100	unknown	SAQ		late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 105	3b	el-Khokha		25 th dynasty
TT 109- Kampp -327- *	3a	el-Khokha		Third Intermediate Period-Late Period
TT 110*	3a	el-Khokha		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 112	3a.2	SAQ		25 th -middle 26 th dynasty
TT 135	3a	SAQ		late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 148*	3b.1	DAN		‘Late Period’
TT 149	3b.2	DAN		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 156*	3a	DAN		‘21 st -22 nd dynasty’
TT 158	3a	DAN		Third Intermediate Period-Roman Period
TT 184	3a	el-Khokha		22 nd dynasty-Ptolemaic Period
TT 187	3a.1	el-Khokha		‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’

TT 188	3a.1	Asasif		Third Intermediate Period-Late Period
	3a.2			25 th -early 26 th dynasty
TT 189	3a	Asasif		Third Intermediate Period-early Ptolemaic Period
TT 192	3a.1	Asasif	✓	late 22 nd dynasty-early 25 th dynasty
	3a.2			post New Kingdom
TT 204	3a	el-Khokha		late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 205	3b	el-Khokha		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 219	3b	DeM		22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period
TT 227	3a	SAQ		Ramesside Period-Roman Period
TT 252	3a.1	SAQ		late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 254	3a.1	el-Khokha		22 nd dynasty or later
TT 256	3a	el-Khokha		Ramesside Period-Roman Period
TT 277	3a.1	QM		‘basse-époque’
TT 297	3a.1	Asasif		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 300	unknown	DAN		‘Late Period’
TT 303*	3a	DAN		Third Intermediate Period-modern era
TT 317	3a	SAQ		late New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period
TT 325*	3a	DeM		late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 344*	3a	DAN		‘Late Period’
TT 362	3a.1	el-Khokha		25 th -26 th dynasty
TT 367	3a.1	SAQ		25 th dynasty
TT 405*	3a	el-Khokha		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 408	3b.2	Asasif		25 th -26 th dynasty
TT 412	3a.2	el-Khokha		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 413	3a.1	el-Khokha		22 nd -25 th dynasty
MMA 801	3a.1	DeB	✓	22 nd dynasty
MMA 832	3b	Asasif		25 th dynasty
MMA 1152*	3b.1	hill to the south of the Third Valley		22 nd -26 th dynasty
Kampp -61-	3a.1	el-Khokha		26 th -27 th dynasty
	3b.1			26 th dynasty
Kampp -162-*	3a	DAN		750 BCE or later
Kampp -171-	3b.1	DAN	✓	first half of the 22 nd dynasty
Kampp -400-	3a.2	el-Khokha		25 th -27 th dynasty
K93.11	3b.1	DAN		750 BCE or later
	3b.2			26 th dynasty

Saff 1	3b.1	el-Khokha		25 th dynasty

Table 44. Type 3 burials

As in the case of the previous types, some restrictions apply when it comes to assigning dates to the particular features. The dates given by me are dates of burials found in shafts. It does not necessarily mean that the shafts were cut in the same period, earlier features may have been reused (for example, see TT 87).

Another problem is the dating of shafts ending in two burial chambers (3a.2 and 3b.2). Almost certainly both chambers were not cut at the same time, but in stages; nevertheless, since none of the shafts ending in two chambers was discovered intact, no definite statement

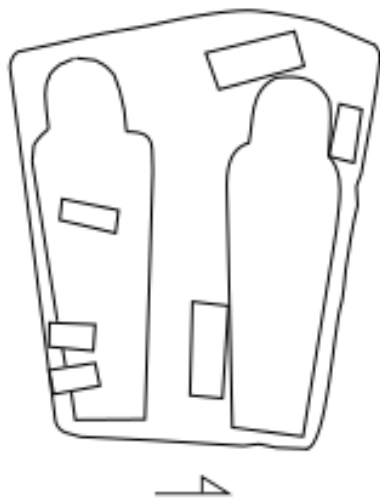


Figure 25. Burials in the shaft in the courtyard of Kampp -171-

can be made regarding their construction. It was proposed by Schreiber that in Kampp -400-, the Kushite shaft received a second burial chamber in the Saite Period or slightly later (Schreiber 2018a, 238). A different situation occurs in the case of K93.11 (shaft 4-5), where remains of burials datable to the 26th dynasty were discovered in both chambers. Of course, it should not be excluded that one chamber is earlier than the other.

There is evidence of blocking of the openings of the shafts, still present at the time of their discovery, in TT 39, TT 54, TT 87, TT 99, TT 408, Kampp -171-, Grab VII, K93.11, and Saff 1. The most interesting here is intact blocking, exposed by Petrie above a 22nd dynasty shaft in the courtyard of Kampp -171- (Figure 25). While, sadly, the blocking itself was not documented by Petrie, it is worth quoting his account on the discovery in full:

An unopened tomb of about the XXVth dynasty was found in the courtyard in which are the tombs of Amen-mes and Piaay. A thick bank of brickwork covered the floor of the court on the west, and on cutting through this it was found to cover a small square pit. The unburnt bricks were mingled with pottery cones to stiffen the mass. These cones had belonged to ten different tombs, and as those tombs are doubtless not far around this court the names may be of use in tracing positions in the cemetery. The pit was very shallow, only just deep enough to allow of a chamber roof under the court. And it was so narrow that the outer coffins could

not be taken out with lids on; there was hardly an inch to spare in removing them
(Petrie 1909, 15).

In the tomb, Petrie discovered two intact burials; one male and one female, placed side by side, with their heads towards the west. On the north side, there was a coffin belonging to the man, with *'a mass of leaf garlands'* on top of the outer and inner cases. The woman's coffin (belonging to the chantress of Amun, Perenbastet) was found in the south part of the small chamber. The man's shabti boxes (filled with 200 and 203 ushebtis respectively) were placed at the side and head of his coffin; Perenbastet's shabti boxes (with 185 and 183 ushebtis, *'all packed in clean sand'*) were placed on her coffin, together with a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure (Petrie 1909, 15).

As for other graves listed above, the opening of the shaft XI in the courtyard of TT 39 was enclosed with a wall, of which two or three courses of bricks were preserved (Davies, N. 1923a, II, 60). Norman de Garis Davies mentioned that the small burial chamber in TT 217 could be accessed from the west side of a *'brick-lined shaft'* (Davies, N. 1927, 35). A mudbrick wall was discovered around the shaft by the entrance to TT 408. The mouth of the shaft was additionally blocked with *'big blocks of stone which looked to be well arranged and gave the impression that these were the original tomb stones, but no sign of sealing was noticed'*; nevertheless, both chambers on the bottom proved to be robbed (Abdul-Qader 1966, 184). Access to the 25th dynasty shaft in the courtyard of Saff 1 must have also been blocked, as indicated by remains of a mudbrick wall: *'The entrance of the burial chamber was blocked with a mud brick wall and the mouth of the shaft was also surrounded with bricks. It must have been filled up with debris'* (Fábián 2017, 86). In the courtyard of K93.11 (shaft 3), the mouth of the shaft was surrounded by a low wall of limestone chunks and mudbrick, while the entrance of shaft 10 was blocked with mudbricks (Polz *et al.* 2003, 352-359). In TT 87, the opening of the main shaft (Schacht I), probably original but reused for the burial of a man called Horemakhbit in the Late Period, was surrounded by remains of a mudbrick wall, attached to the rock floor by mortar; loose bricks were found also scattered around the shaft (Guksch 1993, 113). Similarly, both Schacht I and II, which belong to the undated period of reuse of TT 54, had mudbrick walls (with preserved remains of plaster) around their openings (Polz 1997, 20-22). In Grab VII, *'Abmauerung des Schachtes'* was dated to the period of reuse in the 30th dynasty-Ptolemaic era (Budka 2010a, 127).

In TT 51, reused at least once (in the 22nd dynasty), the shallow shaft was ‘surrounded by a parapet of rock’ (Davies, N. 1927, 4). Finally, in TT 362, a small ‘dromos’ was found, leading from the entrance to the opening of the shaft in which remains of some first millennium BCE burials were discovered (Pereyra *et al.* 2015, 43).

It seems that in the majority of cases, shafts were rectangular or square in plan. Nevertheless, exceptions from this rule may be a result of availability of space and quality of rock. For example, it was proposed that in Kampp -61- the unusual oblong shape of the opening of Shaft 2 should be explained by the geomorphology of the bedrock (Schreiber 2015b, 47).

The function of the walls and platforms associated with the shafts’ openings is not entirely clear. While in several cases (e.g. Kampp -171-) it seems that the presence of blocking effectively concealed the shaft and eventually prevented it from being robbed, it cannot be forgotten that in some cases walls surrounding the shafts did not conceal them, but made them more visible (Polz 1997, 21). Interesting comments regarding the accessibility of Late Period shafts can be found in Schreiber’s publication of Kampp -61-: ‘*The enlargement of Room III [the original chapel] probably not only facilitated the cutting of the shaft but might have allowed for space reserved for the funerary cult. Such a hypothesis is all the more likely because access to the shaft was apparently blocked after each burial by a brick wall which divides the room into two halves along an east-west axis*’ (Schreiber 2015b, 48).

The depths of the shafts varied, from 0.8 (TT 254) to well over 7 metres (TT 55) (Tables 45-46). There seems to be no pattern concerning the shafts’ depths: while it would seem logical to link it either to the quality of bedrock or level on which the tomb was cut, deep shafts occur in nearly all parts of the necropolis, and both in sepulchres located on the slopes and on the plain. Even shafts located within the same monument (like in TT 188) could significantly differ in depth.

The shafts’ walls were sometimes covered with plaster: such was the case with shafts 3 and 9 in the courtyard of K93.11, where the walls were smoothed and plastered (Polz *et al.* 2003, 352-359). ‘*Shallow, ancient hand-holds had been carved into two opposite sides of the shaft to facilitate a descent*’ in Shafts 3 and 5 of TT 188 (Redford, S. 2006, 123-125). In Shaft 1 of the same tomb, probably dated to the 25th or early 26th dynasty, a carved ledge halfway down the shaft was observed (Redford, S. 2006, 123). The Saite Shaft 2 in Kampp -61- had similar ledges ‘*hewn in the long sides of the shaft, whose neat cutting stands in a sharp contrast to*

the articulation of the burial chamber, the unlevelled floor and accidental layout of which testify to hastily done work' (Schreiber 2015b, 47).

The burial chamber could also be lined and plastered. In K93.11 (shaft 3), the chamber was lined with mudbricks on three sides (the fourth side being the original foundation of the courtyard wall); similarly, one of the burial chambers in shaft 4 of the same tomb was lined with bricks (Polz *et al.* 2003, 352-359).

While the casing could solve problems with irregular walls and cover the rough surface, some attempts of altering the customary rectangular plan of the burial chamber are visible: for example, in TT 412, corners of Chamber 1 were rounded (Saleh, M. 1983, 18). A very similar layout of the burial chamber – apparently cut in the Late Period – was observed by Winlock in MMA 1151 (Kaczanowicz 2018b, 219-220). Rounded corners of one of the burial chambers located at the bottom of the transverse hall shaft of TT 11 were, according to its excavators, supposed to give '*a vault appearance, typical of Saite burial chambers*' to the ceiling (Galán 2010).

A feature well attested in the Kushite Period tombs in Medinet Habu is the presence of shallow depressions cut in the floor of the burial chamber, supposedly for canopic chests (Aston, D. 2009a, 260-268). Similar pits can be found in some of the reused sepulchres: TT 11, TT 188, and K93.11.9. In the case of TT 11, a pit of dimensions 60 x 60 cm, 45 cm deep was cut in the floor of the chamber (Galán 2010). The pit in Shaft 1 in TT 188, cut in the corner of the burial chamber, had a similar depth (55 cm) and was square in plan, but its dimensions were not given (Redford, S. 2006, 123). No information was provided on the pit in K93.11.9, except that it was hewn in the south-east corner of the chamber (Polz *et al.* 2003, 359).

Tomb	Feature	Shaft			Burial chamber		
		Opening	Dimensions of the opening	Depth	Dimensions	Height	Orientation
TT 12	shaft	rectangular	unknown	3	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 21	shaft	square	1.5 x 1.3	unknown	2.3 x 2	unknown	N-S
TT 23	SP	rectangular	1.75 x 1	unknown	3.5 x 2.75	unknown	N-S
	shaft in Room 4	square	1 x 1	unknown	2 x 1.5	unknown	N-S
TT 30	shaft	rectangular	1.4 x 1	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 31	Mond 1 or 2	rectangular	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 32	shaft in Room II	trapezoidal	1.1 x 0.8	2.6	2.9 x 2.3	1.5	E-W
TT 37	YJ	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 41	Schacht III	polygonal	2 x 0.7	2.05	3.1 x 1.4	1.05	E-W
TT 55	Mond 8	rectangular	0.6 x 0.7	6.85	3.8 x 2.5	1.05	N-S
	Mond 9	square	0.7 x 0.7	7	1.85 x 1.12	1	E-W
	Mond 10	square	0.7 x 0.7	7.25	1.55 x 1.47	1	N-S
	Mond 11	rectangular	1 x 0.7	5.85	1.55 x 1.2	1.37	E-W
	Mond 14	rectangular	0.8 x 0.7	3.8	3 x 1.5	1.05	E-W
	Mond 15	rectangular	1.2 x 0.7	4.2	4.1 x 1.05	1.25	E-W
TT 57	shaft	square	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
	shaft	square	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown

TT 87	Schacht I (QR II)	rectangular	1-1.3 x 0.8	2.65	2.5 x 1.7	1.2	N-S
	Schacht II	irregular	1.5 x 1.3	2.5	2.7 x 2	1.3	E-W
TT 99	Shaft A	trapezoidal	2 x 1.3	3.2	3.5 x 2.5	2.7	E-W
	Shaft B	trapezoidal	1.3 x 1.2	4.8	3.5 x 3.3	2.2	NE-SW
TT 187	shaft	rectangular	1.9 x 0.8	unknown	1.6 x 1.8	unknown	N-S
TT 188	Shaft 3	square	1 x 1	2.14	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 192	shaft	square	unknown	unknown	4 x 3	1	N-S
	shaft	square	0.6 x 0.6	3	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 233- Kampp - 183-	shaft	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 252	shaft	rectangular	1.4 x 0.8	unknown	2.4 x 1.4	unknown	E-W
TT 254	Shaft B	square	0.86 x 0.84	0.8	2.24 x 1.22	0.9	N-S
TT 277	shaft	oval	1.4 x 0.8	unknown	2.1 x 0.8	unknown	E-W
TT 297	shaft 3	square	1.3 x 0.5	unknown	3.6 x 1.2	0.8	N-S
TT 362	shaft	rectangular	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	E-W
TT 367	Shaft A	square	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
	Shaft B	circular	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 413	sloping passage III	unusual 'shaft' in the form of a short corridor			2 x 1.2	1.05	E-W
Kampp -61-	Shaft 2	rectangular	2.5 x 0.8	1.68-2.36	0.9-1.2 x 2.5	1	N-S
	Shaft 4	rectangular	1.85-2.35 x 3.5- 3.6	1.75	2.4-2.75 x 3.25-4.1	1.6	N-S
K93.11	K93.11.3	square	1-1.3 x 1-1.3	1.9	2.1 x 1	unknown	N-S

	K93.11.6	unknown	unknown	4	2.5 x 1.4	unknown	E-W
Saff 1	shaft	square	0.93 x 0.85	3	3.3 x 3	1.35	N-S

Table 45. Details of features in which type 3a.1 and 3b.1 burials were found

Tomb	Feature	Shaft			Burial chamber 1			Burial chamber 2		
		Opening	Dimensions of the opening	Depth	Dimensions	Height	Orientation	Dimensions	Height	Orientation
TT 11	shaft	square	1.18 x 1	5.4	2.65 x 2.4	1.44	unknown	2.85 x 2.45	1.55	unknown
TT 112	shaft	rectangular	2 x 1.4	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 149	shaft	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 188	Shaft 1	trapezoidal	1.6 x 1.05	3.05	2.82 x 2.79	unknown	3 x 2.4	unknown	unknown	unknown
	Shaft 4	rectangular	unknown	2.4	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
	Shaft 5	rectangular	1.5 x 1.2	‘little over 5 meters’	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 192	shaft	unknown	unknown	3	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 408	Z	rectangular	unknown	7	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
TT 412	shaft	rectangular	1.13 x 0.93	2.8	3.4 x 3.1	1.6	unknown	3 x 2,2	1.12	unknown
Kampp - 400-	Structure 3	square	0.9 x 0.9	5.4	2.9 x 2.7	1.3	N-S	2.5 x 2.3	1.2	N-S
K93.11	K93.11.4-5	unknown	unknown	1.5	2.3 x 1.7	unknown	unknown	2.9 x 2.35	unknown	unknown
	K93.11.8	unknown	unknown	3.8	1.2 x 0.8	0.9	N-S	unknown	unknown	unknown
	K93.11.10	unknown	unknown	unknown	2.8 x 2.4	unknown	N-S	unknown	unknown	unknown

Table 46. Details of features in which type 3a.2 and 3b.2 burials were found

Apart from the courtyard shaft in Kampp -171-, the only intact burials of type 3 were found in TT 192 and MMA 801. Not much can be said about the last one, as Winlock's account of the discovery is rather succinct and does not provide any details regarding the shaft in which the burials were found (Figure 26). As for TT 192, not one but two undisturbed shafts were found in the columned hall. On the first one, the following information can be found in Labib Habachi's report:



Figure 26. Intact burials in MMA 801, as discovered by Winlock

Beneath the northern wall, at about 3 ms from the north-western corner of the Hall, is an opening which leads to a chamber, about one metre high, but which is not regular on the sides, being about 3 ms by 4 ms. On its opening were found a door jamb, a coffin lid and a mummy cover placed upside down (pl. Xa). This chamber is carved to the north of the opening and had in the western side three coffins placed parallel to each other with their heads north (pl. XIa). In the eastern side of the chamber are three more coffins, two parallel to each other, the heads also north, while the third has the head directed to the east (pl. XIb) (Habachi 1958, 338-339).

The second group of undisturbed burials was found

(...) in the north-eastern corner of the Hall. A hole, almost square in section and about 60 cms in every side and 3 ms deep, leads to a chamber, where two coffins were found side by side, heads to the west. Above them were stretched garlands (see pl. XIXa) (Habachi 1958, 343-344).

Type 4

Type 4 (Table 47) includes burials deposited in side chambers added to the already existing above-ground rooms: 4a – inside the tombs, 4b – in courtyards. Burials could be either simply placed in the chamber (4a.1, 4b.1), or in the room on the bottom of a shaft hewn in the newly-cut room (4a.2).

Tomb	Subtype	Location	Intact	Dating
TT 14	4a.1	DAN		22 nd dynasty or later
TT 78	4a.1	SAQ		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 82*	4a	SAQ		Third Intermediate Period-Late Period
TT 87	4a.1	SAQ		22 nd dynasty
	4a.2			
TT 131*	4a	SAQ		late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 167	4a.1	DAN		late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 217*	4a	DeM		22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 223	4a.2	South Asasif		26 th dynasty
TT 235	4a.1	QM		Third Intermediate Period-Roman Period
TT 239	4a.1	DAN		late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 240*	4a	DeB		‘Third Intermediate Period’
TT 252	4a.1	SAQ		late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 275	4a.1	QM		late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 303*	4a	DAN		Third Intermediate Period-modern era
TT 344*	4a	DAN		‘Late Period’
TT 364*	4a	Asasif		Third Intermediate Period-modern era
TT 391	4a.2	South Asasif		middle 26 th dynasty
TT 400	4a.1	SAQ		late New Kingdom-modern era
TT 406*	4a	Asasif		Third Intermediate Period-Roman Period
MMA 60	4a.2	DeB		26 th dynasty
MMA 511*	4a	DeB		‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’
MMA 1152*	4a.1	hill to the south of the Third Valley		22 nd -26 th dynasty
CC 5	4b.1	DeB	✓	25 th dynasty
‘The Unnumbered Tomb’	4a.2	DAN		‘Late Period’

Table 47. Type 4 burials

Particularly worth stressing is the fact that a large number of side chambers, adjacent to the main corridor, are present in reused Middle Kingdom tombs in Deir el-Bahari (the ‘North Asasif’ necropolis). They were not included in the table above since they had been very poorly published, and the only hints regarding the late dynastic origin of the side chambers stem from loose finds scattered throughout the tombs. However, it cannot be ruled out that at

least some of these side chambers were cut in the Coptic Period, when tombs were reused as hermitages; such is perhaps the case, for example, of MMA 1152 (Kaczanowicz 2018b, 219).

An intact interment of type 4 (subtype 4b.1) came to light in the course of Lord Carnarvon's excavations in Deir el-Bahari (Figure 27):

Almost at the commencement of its excavation the men came across the small chamber on the east side, containing the coffin of an adult burial untouched since the time it was deposited there. The entrance to this chamber was walled in with stones mixed with bricks and pieces of pottery, and it was found intact with the exception of a small opening at the top accidentally made by the workmen before discovering its real nature. (...) The east side-chamber was quite clean, and the coffin in it was placed exactly east and west with its head to the west (Carnarvon, Carter 1912, 23-24).

Similar chambers cut in courtyards of existing tombs can be found, for example, in TT 57, where the chamber cannot be dated, or in TT 188 (chamber mapped as Kampp -50-), where a Roman date was tentatively proposed by the excavator (Redford, S. 2006, 126). Though in the majority of cases not much information was published, it seems that they were undecorated and usually housed one to three burials, much like the chambers located on the bottom of the shafts in type 3 (Tables 48-49).

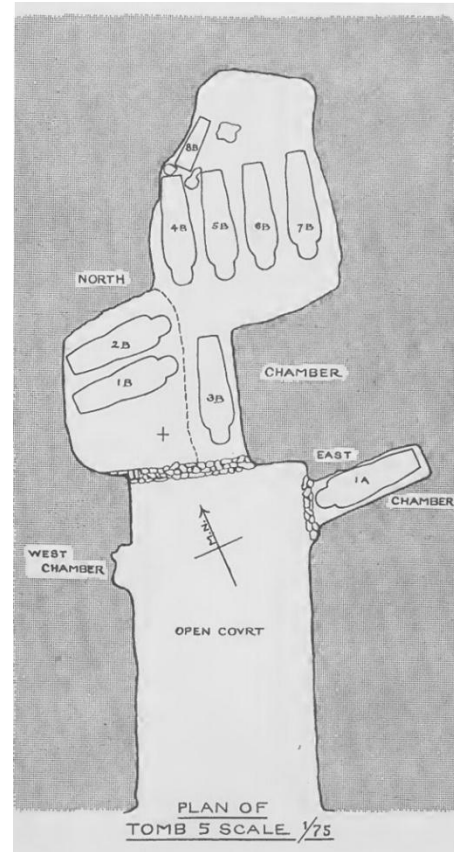


Figure 27. Intact burials in CC 5, as discovered and drawn by Carter

Tomb	Feature	Dimensions of the chamber	Height of the chamber
TT 14	E	4.8 x 2	1.1
TT 78	chamber	3 x 1.9	unknown
	chamber	2.8 x 1.7	unknown
	chamber	3.2 x 2.6	unknown
TT 87	Kammer 1	3 x 2.1	1.5
	Kammer 2	2.7 x 0.6-0.8	1.5
	Kammer 3	2.6 x 0.6-1	1.4
TT 167	chamber	unknown	unknown
TT 235	chamber	4 x 1	unknown
TT 239	chamber	unknown	unknown
TT 252	chamber	2.2 x 1	unknown
TT 275	chamber	unknown	unknown
TT 400	chamber	unknown	unknown
CC 5	East Chamber	unknown	unknown

Table 48. Details of features in which Type 4a.1 and 4b.1 burials were found

Tomb	Feature	Chamber		Shaft			Burial chamber		
		Dimensions	Height	Opening	Dimensions of the opening	Depth	Dimensions	Height	Orientation
TT 87	Kammer I	2.6 x 1	1	rectangular	1.2 x 0.9	1.3	2.3 x 1.3	0.9	E-W
TT 391	chamber	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
MMA 60	chamber	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
‘The Unnumbered Tomb’	chamber	5.4 x 1.66	1.6	rectangular	unknown	0.82	2.63 x 0.73	unknown	E-W

Table 49. Details of features in which type 4a.2 burials were found

Type 5

Apart from the tombs mentioned above, three sepulchres with architectural layout without parallel with any other reused monument bear clear traces of reuse in the Late Period (Table 50). Since all of them had been robbed before they were scientifically explored, the burials themselves are missing. However, their wall decoration confirms that the sepulchres were indeed appropriated by new owners. The common trait shared by all three tombs is the fact that their new owners took extensive measures to match the layout of the reused monument to that of a Late Period temple-tomb, incorporating typical elements of Kushite-Saite Theban mortuary monuments.

The first of them, the tomb complex TT 128-129, is an unfinished 18th dynasty sepulchre, belonging to an unknown individual, finished by one Patjenfy in the 26th dynasty. The existing space became incorporated in the newly created pillared hall, constituting its right-hand (north) half; the room was never completed. In its south half, the pillared hall continues into a corridor, with a ramp leading into the chamber in which a burial shaft is located. The tomb, despite being a reused 18th dynasty structure, was clearly modelled after contemporary temple-tombs (Schenkel 1975, 133).

Tomb	Location	Intact	Dating
TT 109- Kampp -327-	SAQ		Late Period
TT 128-129	SAQ		26 th dynasty
TT 312	DeB		early 26 th dynasty

Table 50. Type 5

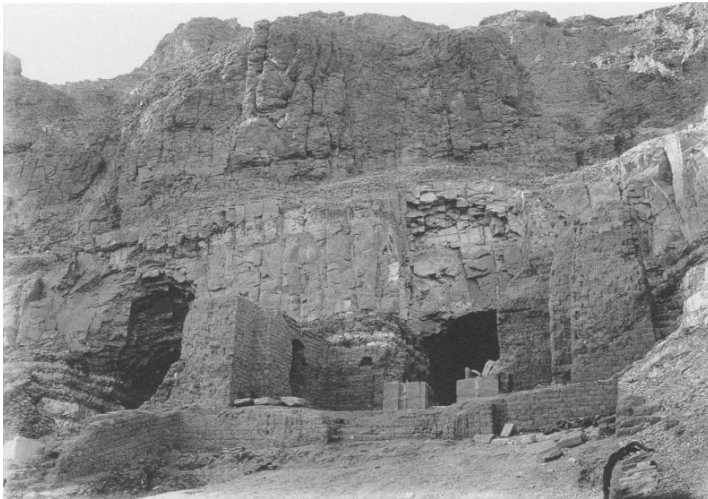


Figure 28. Pylon entrance to the tomb of Nespakashuty

An anonymous 11th dynasty sepulchre (MMA 509) in North Asasif was reused by a vizier Nespakashuty. In this case, however, it is unclear to what extent Nespakashuty reused the existing interior of the tomb, rather than utilising only its courtyard. The newly created mortuary monument (TT 312) was located in the east part of the courtyard of MMA 509 (Figure 28), in a manner

reminiscent of the roughly contemporary tomb TT 160, cut in the east part of the courtyard of the earlier sepulchre as well. James P. Allen suggested that Nespakashuty in fact reused the already existing corridor, constructed for one of the family members of the owner of MMA 509, and then enlarged the whole complex, adding his decoration and erecting a monumental pylon-like entrance (Pischikova 1998, 60). Thus obtained sepulchre closely follows the layout of a Late Period *Tempelgrab*: the entrance corridor leads to a hall with six side rooms (resembling the layout of the contemporary tomb of Montuemhat), from which a stairway leads to a tripartite burial crypt.

Finally, in the Late Period, TT 109 and the neighbouring Kampp -327- became a single complex, imitating the layout of the ‘tomb of Osiris’. The tomb of Osiris was an important element of a Late Period temple-tomb (Eigner 1984; Morfini, Álvarez Sosa 2017, 431).

Mudbrick structures associated with burials in reused tombs

In addition to mudbrick blocking of burial shafts and their lining discussed above, several tombs reused in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period had mudbrick structures erected in their courtyards (and occasionally, also in their interior).

a) Courtyard structures

● Pylons

The best-known example of a well-preserved pylon-like structure in a reused tomb is the above-mentioned sepulchre of vizier Nespakashuty (Figure 28). The pylon, 13 metres wide,

was erected on a mudbrick podium with a staircase; the doorway was arched, and the pylon itself was topped with a *cavetto* cornice (Eigner 1984, 50; 98-99; Pischikova 1998, 59).

Another mudbrick pylon, associated with the 25th-26th dynasty reuse of a mortuary monument, was erected in front of TT 85. Its remains were preserved in the east part of the courtyard. The bricks used for its construction included both new and reused ones, bearing stamps of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Akhenaten, and Rameses II (Kampp 1996, 336-338; Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997, 82).

Two mudbrick pylons were erected in the courtyard of TT 345, although their exact dating remains unknown (Kampp 1996, 584-585). According to Kampp, mudbrick walls adjacent to the original stone pylon of TT 158 also are later than the pylon (Kampp 1996, 447-450).

- ‘Chapels’

Remains of a rectangular mudbrick structure were discovered above the courtyard shaft in TT 105 (Kampp 1996, 380-381). It seems that originally the ‘chapel’ (Figure 29) consisted of two rooms: the ‘vestibule’ and the main room, in which south-east corner the burial shaft was hewn. The entrance to the chapel was located in its west wall. In the south wall (parallel to the tomb’s façade), there is an entrance to another later chamber, apparently cut in the later times to enlarge the transverse hall of TT 105. Judging by the pottery found in the walls and by the supposed contents of the shaft, the chapel should be dated to the 25th dynasty.

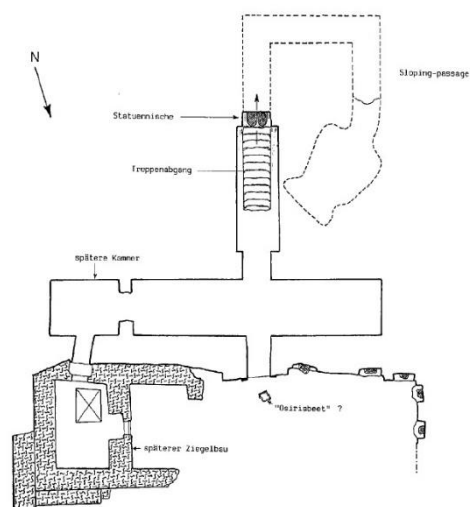


Figure 29. Mudbrick ‘chapel’ in the courtyard of TT 105 as drawn by Kampp

A mudbrick construction, dubbed ‘chapel’ by Davies, was found over the opening of Shaft IX in TT 93. While the shaft certainly seems to be later than the original tomb, its dating is unclear:

A pit (No. IX, Plate LXXIII) was hewn in the corner of the portico, leading at the least possible depth into a large chamber (No. 11) situated under the south end of the hall, with a second room (No. 12) returning under the extension just named. The brick construction was therefore obviously the chapel connected with this burial. From the size of the room it would appear as if the portico was still

standing, up to this point at least, when the former was built; but it is difficult to see how it could extend over the room, as the pier which would support the end architrave was more than half cut away by the extension. The hillside recedes at this point; so that the whole south end of the façade above the paneled dado, including Stela G, was built up of blocks. If this part collapsed early, the brick chapel may have been built by some member of the family to replace it; for its burial-pit balances that of Puyemre in the other corner. The shallowness of the pit is probably due to a fear of cutting into the chamber of Shaft X. Some blocks from Stela G or H were found in the filling of the pit (Davies, N. 1923a, II, 53-54).

The building, rectangular in plan (5 x 3 m) and parallel to the tomb's façade, had the tomb façade and the courtyard's boundary serving as the rear walls. The entrance to the chapel was from the north.

It was believed by Bruyère that he found remains of a later mudbrick chapel, formed by the partial demolition on the original structure, in the courtyard of TT 219 (Bruyère 1928, 85-86).

- Monumental façade

The only example of a mudbrick façade erected in front of a reused tomb known to me is that of MMA 801 (Figure 30); similar features (albeit smaller) could probably be found in front of contemporary mudbrick chapels erected behind the Ramesseum (Eigner 1984, 79). Preserved remains, 25 metres wide and 4 metres high, make it the largest structure of this type and

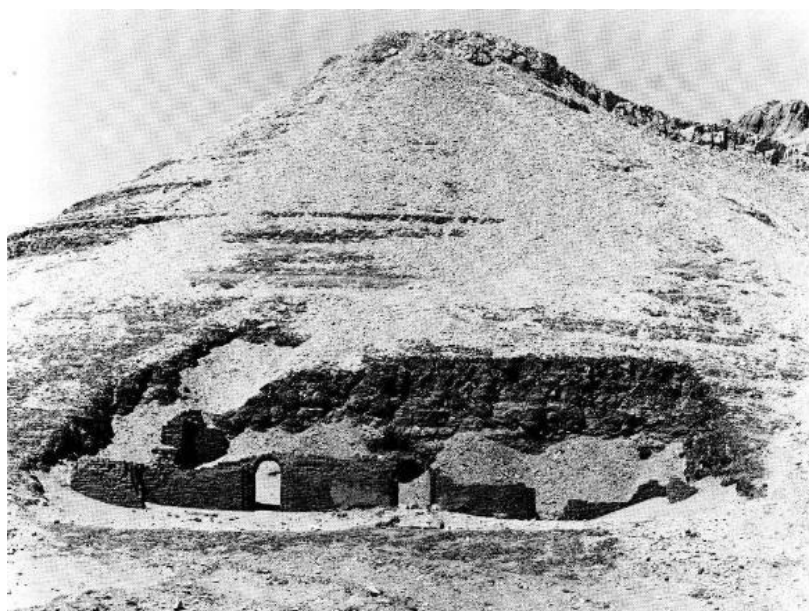


Figure 30. Mudbrick façade of MMA 801

clearly demonstrate what Eigner called ‘*das Prinzip der dreifachen Achse*’. There are three doorways, two of them with preserved arches. A palm tree was planted in the middle of the courtyard (Winlock 1922, 32; Eigner 1984, 36; 79; 152).

- Porches

TT 87, reused by the God’s Father Horemakhbit, in the Late Period (25th-26th dynasty) received a mudbrick porch (Figure 31) over the entrance. Remains of the porch are preserved on the left side of the doorway. According to Kampp, similar structures can be seen in Thebes since the late Ramesside Period (Kampp 1996, 341). Apart from this, the tomb was also

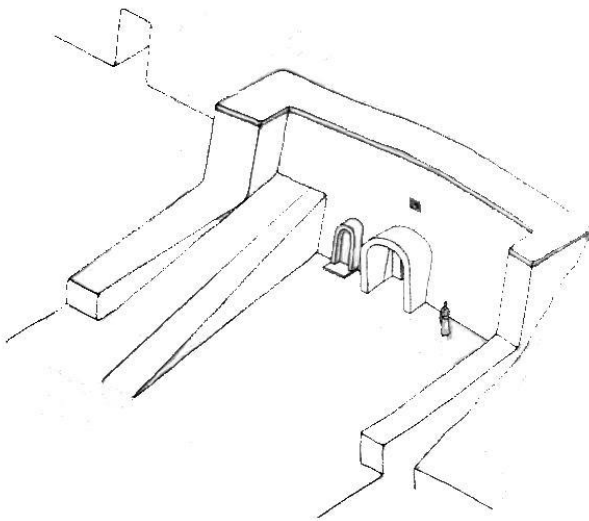


Figure 31. Reconstruction of the porch in TT 87

renovated (a new pavement in the courtyard and inside the tomb was commissioned, and a new wall erected), and a mudbrick stela was set near its entrance (Guksch 1995, 101-116).

Possibly similar porches were erected over the entrances to TT 68 (Seyfried 1991, 14) TT 104 (Shedid 1988, 112), TT 158 (Kampp 1996, 447-450), TT 172 (Kampp 1996, 459-461), TT 207 (Kampp 1996, 492-494), TT 408 (Kampp 1996, 612-613), and MMA 832 (Kampp 1996, 764), although exact dates of their construction cannot be

established. It was argued by Eva Hofmann that a mudbrick ‘porch’ in front of TT 285 should be dated to the 21st dynasty instead of the Ramesside Period (Hofmann 2004, 63).

- Blocking of the pillars (*saff* tombs)

In the 22nd dynasty, TT 117 was redecorated by a new owner. The two mudbrick walls erected between the central pillars of the portico according to Kampp should be dated to the same period (Kampp 1996, 398-405). A very similar solution can be observed in Saff 1, reused in the 25th dynasty, where a mudbrick wall was built between the rear wall and the third pillar: *‘The inner surface of this wall was plastered, but the outer was not, there must have been piles of debris already in those days. Two intercolumnia, the first and the third ones, were also walled up, double mud brick constructions were applied here filled up with debris. The*

entrance was the second, middle intercolumnium and this is how the superstructure, presumably a cult chamber was formed' (Fábián 2017, 84). According to Kampp, intentional narrowing of entrances to reused tombs can be observed since the late Ramesside Period (Kampp 1996, 399).

- Ramps

A mudbrick ramp, dated to the 25th-26th dynasty, was discovered in the courtyard of MIDAN.05. The ramp, of which only the lower part is preserved, ends in front of the entrance to the tomb. Three offering tables were discovered at the foot of the ramp, as well as numerous remains of offerings (floral garlands and bouquets, pottery). New mudbrick paving of the courtyard was dated to the same period (Betrò 2017b).

- 'Tumuli'

The Spanish archaeological mission working in the courtyard of TT 11 discovered 'a tumulus of stones, mud brick, wooden planks from old coffins, parts of canopic jars and wall fragments' (Figure 32). The 'tumulus' covered a group of four burials buried next to each other, belonging to three males and an infant, two of them deposited in coffins dated to the late 21st dynasty (Galán 2015).



Figure 32. 'Tumulus' in the courtyard of TT 11

- Walls and remains of unknown function

In TT 35, at least two of the three mudbrick walls erected in the courtyard can be dated precisely to the moment of construction of TT 160, a Late Period rock-cut tomb located in the east part of the courtyard. While their function was to separate courtyards of TT 35 and TT 160, it is unclear what the concept behind the third wall, perpendicular to the tomb's façade, was. Kampp dated it to the same period as the remaining two (Kampp 1996, 225-226), but perhaps it may be slightly earlier or later. A breakthrough in the east half of the second (original) pylon should also be associated with the construction of TT 160 (Kampp 1996, 225).

In the 25th-26th dynasty, a wall was erected in the courtyard of TT 87 (Guksch 1995, 101-116). Remains of mudbrick walls, supposedly associated with 22nd dynasty burials deposited in courtyard shafts, were found in TT 149 (Ockinga 2015, 41), and walls of 'Late Period' were discovered in the courtyard of the nearby TT 233 (Sowada 2017, 70). The same date was proposed for the walls in the courtyard of the tomb complex TT 288-289 (Kampp 1996, 558-561). According to Kampp, mudbrick walls in the courtyard of MMA 832 should be dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period (Kampp 1996, 764).

To the phase of unspecified 'later reuse' belong: a wall in the courtyard of TT 55 (Kampp 1996, 262), two walls in the courtyard of TT 60 (Kampp 1996, 275), '*vaulted tunnel of bricks set in a narrow cutting in the hillside*' in the courtyard of TT 75 (Davies, N. 1923b, 2), a boundary wall around the court of TT 80 (Kampp 1996, 321, n. 7), remains of a rectangular building in the courtyard of TT 96 (Kampp 1996, 360-364), '*an isolated mass of irregular mud brick*' discovered in the court of TT 99 (Strudwick, N. 2016, 55), remains of a wall and 'podest' in TT 104 (Shedid 1988, 112), 'Secondary Courtyard Enclosure' in TT 147 (Ockinga, Bunder 2009, 228-229), a wall in the courtyard of TT 148 (Ockinga 2009, 26), a wall in the court of TT 150 (Kampp 1996, 438-439), a boundary wall in TT 172 (Kampp 1996, 459-461), three walls in the courtyard of TT 230 (Kampp 1996, 507), a wall in the court of TT 277 and 278 (Kampp 1996, 548-550), a wall with a 'vault' in the courtyard of TT 300 (Kampp 1996, 568-569), a wall by the entrance to TT 303 (Kampp 1996, 570), a wall in the entrance to the court of TT 324 (Kampp 1996, 574-577), a wall in the courtyard of TT 329 (Bruyère 1927, 74), a wall in the courtyard of TT 346 (Kampp 1996, 585-586), and walls in the court of TT 364 (Kampp 1996, 590).

It was argued by Hofmann that a pyramidion of Intji (BM 58159), dated to the 21st dynasty, comes from the superstructure of a reused Theban tomb (Hofmann 2004, 64).

b) Structures located inside reused tombs

Two mudbrick walls, erected in the entrance corridor of the reused TT 117, can be dated to the 22nd dynasty (Kampp 1996, 398-405), while a mudbrick wall, dividing the tomb chapel of Kampp -61- into two halves, according to Schreiber should be associated with the 26th dynasty Shaft 4 (Schreiber 2015b, 48).

Two mudbrick walls in the passage and three walls in the rear of the chapel of TT 51⁵⁸ (Kampp 1996, 256-257), two walls in the chapel of TT 61 (Dziobek 1994, 40), and a ‘*brick parting-wall of later introduction*’ in TT 162 (Davies, N. 1963, 14), all belong to the phase of unspecified later reuse. Remains of mudbrick walls were found also in TT 414 (Budka 2008, 70).

Dimensions of selected mudbricks found in late dynastic features erected in reused tombs can be found in Table 51.

Tomb	Brick dimensions	Dating
TT 11	unknown	late 21 st dynasty
TT 35	26 x 12 x 7.5	Late Period
TT 85	35-38 x 12-15 x unknown	25 th -26 th dynasty
TT 87	33 x 18 x 18 (stela), 30-31 x 14.5 - 15 x 10.5 (courtyard wall)	25 th – 26 th dynasty
TT 104	32 x 16 x 10	perhaps Third Intermediate Period or Late Period
TT 105	unknown	25 th dynasty
TT 117	unknown	22 nd dynasty
TT 149	unknown	22 nd dynasty
TT 158	29 x 12.5 x 9.5	Third Intermediate Period-Roman Period
TT 233	unknown	Late Period
TT 288-289 (tomb complex)*	31 x 15 x 8-10	Late Period
TT 312	31 x 15 x 10	26 th dynasty
MMA 801	34 x 16 x 2.5 ⁵⁹	22 nd dynasty
MMA 832	unknown	Third Intermediate Period or Late Period
MIDAN.05	unknown	25 th -26 th dynasty
Saff 1	unknown	25 th dynasty

Table 51. Dimensions of bricks (in centimetres)

⁵⁸ As well as the blocking of the space between the pillars in the pillared hall.

⁵⁹ These dimensions are of ‘*Gewöbeziegel*’, forming the vault above the doorway, as given by Eigner (Eigner 1984, 76).

Towards a chronological framework

Having discussed the possible strategies of deposition of burials in reused tombs, it is now time for some concluding remarks, especially in regard to the chronological developments of the reuse (Table 52).

Type		21 st dynasty	22 nd dynasty	25 th dynasty	26 th dynasty	27 th dynasty	28 th -30 th dynasty
1		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2	a	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
	b		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	c						
3	3a.1		✓	✓	✓	✓	
	3a.2		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	3b.1		✓	✓	✓		
	3b.2		✓	✓	✓		
4	4a.1		✓	✓			
	4a.2				✓		
	4b.1			✓			
5					✓		

Table 52. Dating of types

While interring the deceased in unaltered burial chambers or other rooms belonging to the original phase of tomb construction (type 1) was a popular practice throughout the whole Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, in the 21st dynasty it seems to be the only acceptable form of burial.⁶⁰ Perhaps there was some kind of taboo against interfering with the original layout of the tomb: no burial shafts or side chambers unequivocally datable to the 21st dynasty are known to me.⁶¹

If such restriction was indeed in force, it no longer applied in the 22nd dynasty. From the early 22nd to at least 26th dynasty new shafts started to appear in the courtyard of reused sepulchres (type 3b), and from the end of the 22nd dynasty at the latest new shafts were cut also in the inner parts of reused tombs (type 3a). It seems that the latter continued to be hewn at least

⁶⁰ The only possible exception is TT 14, where burials datable to the 21st-22nd dynasty were found in corridor G, a later addition to the original sloping passage; it is possible, however, that this enlargement should be dated to the 22nd dynasty.

⁶¹ In TT 39, a tomb with several later shafts, Davies found a group of 'Twenty-First Dynasty' coffins in the courtyard (Davies, N. 1923a, II, 59). However, both the dating and context of this find is uncertain.

until the end of the dynastic era. Similar dates can be proposed for enlargements of the original burial installation (type 2).

Another strategy of adapting the existing space for the needs of the new deceased was cutting side chambers in the already existing chapels and corridors (type 4a), occurring primarily from the 22nd to the 26th dynasty. Side chambers with shafts seem to be slightly later than those without. Side chambers could also be hewn in courtyards of reused tombs (type 4b): the only known, albeit intact, example of burial in such a chamber is 25th dynasty interment in the courtyard of CC 5 (Figure 33).

Several tombs appropriated during the late 25th or 26th dynasty cannot be associated with burials of any of the above-mentioned types. In fact, in several cases the burials themselves are lacking, but there is other irrefutable evidence (such as decoration) attesting the reuse. These include tombs of which construction was abandoned at a very early stage and the subsequent owners resolved to complete it. In such a case, however, new owners often decided to conform to the new layout to the contemporary trends in mortuary architecture instead of following the original concept (type 5).



Figure 33. One of the coffins found by Carter in CC 5

Worth further comment is the fact that in some tombs there is evidence for their reuse for several subsequent generations. Often burials of more than one type were discovered in one single tomb. In sepulchres where long sequences of reuse can be observed, it is typical that the earlier burials were deposited in the original burial chamber or its environs and only after this space was no longer available, new shafts and chambers were cut.⁶² Therefore, I would argue that the interment in the original underground part of the tomb was the most desirable form of burial (hence its undiminished popularity throughout the period in question), while

⁶² The only exception from this rule, known to me, seems to be TT 78, where remains of the later (25th-26th dynasty) burial were discovered in the sloping passage and the earlier (22nd dynasty) ones in the chambers hewn in the walls of the pillared hall. However, this dating is uncertain as the tomb was found looted; the excavators themselves believed that this order might be reversed (Brack, An., Ar. Brack 1980).

adding new features could be treated as a necessity in situations when this space was not available due to the presence of earlier occupants.

While it is clear that the layout of the underground rooms of the New Kingdom private sepulchres, just like of royal monuments, was of religious significance (Seyfried 1987), it is difficult to establish whether the same rule was in power in the case of rooms added to the original burial area in the first millennium BCE. Judging by comparison with the contemporary funerary monuments, i.e. the temple-tombs (Eigner 1984), it is not unlikely that some sort of religious meaning was ascribed to the newly cut rooms. Nevertheless, due to the lack of texts its nature remains unknown.

Excavations in reused tombs, especially in recent times, revealed the presence of a large number of mudbrick constructions associated with later burials. It is highly possible that even more tombs originally had mudbrick installations erected in their courtyards and in their inner rooms, which were dismantled in later periods. The preserved constructions present a variety of different architectural forms; in some examples (pylons, porches) it seems that the structures were modelled on contemporary temple architecture.

A final comment will be made on the reuse of tombs after the 26th dynasty. While the 25th and 26th dynasty seem to be the peak of the popularity of the reuse of Middle and New Kingdom tombs, it seems that in the later times (particularly the 30th dynasty) the Kushite and Saite temple-tombs replaced earlier sepulchres as the preferable burial spots. There can be three possible explanations for this situation: first, that the earlier tombs may have already been ‘overcrowded’ at that time and very little space was available; second, that the people buried in the *Tempelgräber* at that time were descendants of the original owners and wanted to be buried in the ‘family plot’. Finally, a phenomenon of ‘hyperarchaism’ has been observed in art and literature of the 30th dynasty: instead of using the New Kingdom art as inspiration for their objects and texts, kings of the 30th dynasty preferred to turn to the archaising art of the Saite Period (Gozzoli 2006, 105). Perhaps a similar predilection for 26th dynasty monuments, instead of earlier ones, occurred in the case of tomb reuse. Nevertheless, it needs to be kept in mind that owing to the reasons discussed above, burials datable to the 27th-30th dynasty constitute only a small percentage of the whole set, therefore one has to be very cautious formulating hypotheses referring to the reuse of tombs in this period.

Conclusions

Burials in reused tombs were divided into five types according to the way of deposition within a monument. From the available data it can be observed that in the early Third Intermediate Period (21st dynasty) there might have existed a taboo against altering the original space of the tomb, or there was no need for such operations. From the 22nd dynasty onwards, new shafts started to be cut in reused sepulchres, clearly intended to house new burials – perhaps a result of the existing spaces getting overcrowded in time. In the 26th dynasty, several owners of reused sepulchres decided to alter the layout of the original monuments in order to conform to the design of the contemporary temple-tombs. A number of mudbrick features, located in courtyards and inside the reused monuments, can be associated with the phase of their reuse.

Chapter 6

Sacred space and its reuse

Reuse of tombs was by no means a new phenomenon in first millennium BCE Thebes. The available evidence supports the claim that, at least in the New Kingdom, Theban tombs were not intended as places of burial only for the persons who commissioned their cutting, but also for their broadly defined extended families (Strudwick, N. 2009-2010, 247). In the Third Intermediate Period, however, the reuse of older structures (both temples and tombs) became the standard mode of burial, almost completely superseding the dominant tradition of construction of new tombs.

Tomb reuse as unlawful appropriation of someone else's property

For a scholar interested in the phenomenon of reuse, regardless whether of monuments or objects, it is difficult to overlook the fact that 'reuse' is a modern term of unequivocal negative connotations. For example, in a relatively recent publication mentioning the Dra Abu el-Naga tombs, their reuse has been listed among the '*many indignities*' suffered in time, such as robberies or infestation by bats (Zimmerman 1977, 34). 'Secondary' contexts are often treated as less interesting than original ones: for Habachi, who excavated the famous tomb of Kheruef (TT 192), the most interesting discovery from the tomb was not a group of eight intact Third Intermediate Period burials, but rather a lower part of a statue of the original owner (Habachi 1958, 332). The reuse of older monuments is often considered synonymous with their usurpation, thus implying its unlawful character. Undoubtedly, one of the most important factors contributing to the negative perception of the reuse (tomb reuse in particular) by the scholars is what seems to be the attitude of ancient Egyptians themselves: various literary texts, commonly referred to as 'curses', warn against 'desecration' of tombs (Morschauser 1991, 145-203). Other compositions, such as the Teaching for King Merikara, forbid reuse of materials from older monuments for the construction of new ones (Simpson, W.K. 2003, 159-160). The gloomy destiny of the deceased deprived of their mortuary monuments is recalled in the Ramesside story of Nebusemekh, a Middle Kingdom official whose tomb was destroyed and his ghost was doomed to wander around the Theban necropolis (Simpson, W.K. 2003, 112-115).

Despite that, several attempts have been made in the past decades to better understand the phenomenon of reuse from the perspective of ancient societies. Discussion on the ancient perception of reuse was most recently summarised by Nicola Harrington, who collected examples of the reuse of objects and monuments both for purely utilitarian (such as recarving blocks and using them as building materials in new temples) and for cultic purposes – ‘*recharging the cult with a new association*’ as put by Mack (for example, transporting blocks from Old Kingdom royal tombs complexes to the pyramid of Amenemhat I in Lisht, instead of making use of material available in the vicinity) (Harrington 2013, 133-137).⁶³ One does not have to go back in time as far as to the Egyptian Middle Kingdom to look for instances of reusing monuments as an expression of more than purely practical motivations: for example, a block from the Egyptian Iseum in Behbeit el-Hagar was found incorporated in a temple dedicated to Isis and Serapis in Rome (Favard-Meeks 2002, 33). The reuse of older monuments could be therefore motivated both pragmatically or ideologically.

The majority of the known texts of the so-called ‘curses’ do not refer to the reuse of tombs, but to actions resulting in the destruction of monuments or depriving the deceased of the necessary offerings: removing the stones or bricks from the tomb, destroying statues of the deceased, removing the stela, etc. (Morschauser 1991, 145-203). Entering the tomb as well as leaving visitor’s inscriptions on the walls was not only permitted, but also desirable, as explicitly expressed for example in the tomb of Ibi (TT 36), dated to the Saite Period (Kuhlmann 1973). Not many ‘curses’ are known from the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period; the published examples occur primarily in documents referring to civil affairs, although in several cases, such as the Saite stela Berlin 19400, the living are warned not to fail to pay their respects to the deceased:

O living ones who (shall) pass by the burial ground, and who enter this my tomb, and who see what is in it, (but) who do not protect its writings or pay homage to its image: their gods shall not accept their white-bread. They shall belong to the enemies of the Resident of the Cerastes nome (Morschauser 1991, 242).

As for the Theban necropolis, several observations have been made in regard to the reuse of earlier monuments, primarily in the New Kingdom times. ‘Usurpation’ of Theban tombs in the Ramesside Period was discussed by Daniel Polz, who concluded that in most of the

⁶³ However, see the discussion on the Lisht blocks and their possible, not necessarily cultic, significance in: Ćwiek 2003, 347-348.

documented cases, appropriation was fully legal, and the new ‘owner’ was often related to the original occupant of the tomb (Polz 1990). While Susan Redford agrees that reuse of Theban tombs in the New Kingdom was often within a family unit, she remarks that it is impossible to ascertain whether the tomb ownership remained in the family also in later periods or some influential families were allowed to appropriate abandoned monuments (Redford, S. 2006, 352). Strudwick expressed his view on the supposed family ties between the ‘old’ and ‘new’ owners in the following way:

Turning to those who were buried in these tombs in the Third Intermediate Period, there is no obvious association with, or acknowledgment of, the original builders. However, it is possible to trace this new phase of use of a tomb for a generation or two within a particular family, perhaps 50 years or thereabouts. It has been noted above that TT99 shows this practice for two generations of families, as does TT68, and this practice of one shaft belonging to one family can also be found in burials not reusing older tombs, such as those discovered at the eastern end of the Asasif or to the west of the Ramesseum. This situation contrasts strongly with the families of the priests of Montu buried in Deir el-Bahari, some of whose lines of descent can be traced for four or five generations, roughly 100 years. Hence it is unlikely that family connections were important, unless there was some vague historical association, which I doubt. But, on the basis of the interpretation of the Deir el-Medina ostrakon BM EA 5624 (see note 41 above), it is not impossible that the rights to a tomb could have been retained for some considerable time (Strudwick, N. 2009-2010, 255).

A tomb reused in the Third Intermediate Period by a (distant) relative of the original owner seems to be TT 291: Butehamun, mentioned in a *graffito* of his son placed on the chapel’s north wall (McDowell 1999, 73), and Nakhmin, one of the two original owners of the tomb, both belonged to the family of Amennakht (v), with Nakhmin’s grandfather being Butehamun’s great-great-grandfather (Davies, B. 1999, 105-118; Chart 9). If it is true, then the tomb must have been in the family from the 18th to at least 21st dynasty.

Lack of written sources, however, is a major obstacle when it comes to understanding the legal relationship between the original owners and the new occupants of the tombs. No legal document referring to the tomb inheritance dated to the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period is known to me. It is, for example, very unlikely that the deceased buried in the ‘cache’

in QV 43-44 were descendants of the original, royal occupants of the tombs. However, there are several indications that tomb reuse in the late dynastic period was not synonymous with tombs' desecration and removal of any traces associated with their previous occupants.

In her publication of New Kingdom Theban sepulchres, Kampp lists five possible strategies of the tomb reuse:

1. Reuse of decorated tombs, without any changes in the original decoration
2. Reuse of undecorated tombs, with new decoration added
3. Reuse of decorated tombs, with new 'decoration' added (e.g. *graffiti*), but without destroying original scenes
4. '*Teil-Usurpation*', with preserved original decoration but the original owner's names replaced with those of a new owner
5. Reuse of decorated tombs, with the original decoration overpainted with new scenes – 'usurpation' in the strict sense, but not necessarily illegal (Kampp 1996, 123-129).

The main difference between the reuse of tombs in the New Kingdom and in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period is that there seems to be almost no evidence of altering the original decoration in the latter. Most of the tombs which received new decoration at that time seem to have never been used by their original owners. The only instances of destruction of the original decoration are when new shafts were cut at the expense of the scenes – for example, in TT 21 – but these often cannot be precisely dated, therefore it is not certain when this alteration took place.

Some of the reused tombs bear traces of repairing the original elements: TT 23, where the destroyed pillars in the pillared hall were patched up (Ivanov 2018, 11), TT 55, where new plastering was applied to the walls (Davies, N. 1941, 5), TT 87, where the new owner had walls repaired and a new pavement commissioned in the 25th-26th dynasty (Guksch 1995, 101-116), and TT 412, where restoration of pillars (as well as building a protective wall) took place at some point of the Late Period (Saleh, M. 1983, 18). Restoration took place also in TT 414, when the tomb was reused in the 30th dynasty (Eigner 1984, 33).

Reuse, but also robbery?

Another common association is that of tomb reuse and tomb robbery. Since the vast majority of Theban tombs were robbed in antiquity, it is tempting to link these two phenomena. After all, the necropolis was becoming more and more overcrowded; why not get rid of the original

burials, take the valuables and then reuse the existing space?⁶⁴ However, evidence for such activities is rather scanty.

There are several instances of tombs in which original burial chambers – presumably still intact at the moment of the appropriation of tombs by their new owners – were never reused. Such seems to be the case of ‘Schacht B’ in TT 84 (Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997, 73), the original burial chamber of TT 95 (Nerlich, Zink 2003, 219), the supposedly original burial chamber of TT 99 (Rose 2001, 17; Rose, in: Strudwick, N. 2016, 193-194), and the main burial apartments of TT 148 (Sowada 2017, 69). An interesting example of an intact tomb with possibly undisturbed ‘original’ interments is CC 5 (an unfinished Middle Kingdom tomb), used, probably for the first time, in the 22nd dynasty. After that, new burials were successively added in the Kushite Period, but without removing older ones – even though a new side chamber had to be cut in the courtyard due to the lack of space (Carnarvon, Carter 1912, 23-26). A similar situation (reusing the 18th dynasty structures in the Late Period, but leaving their burial chambers untouched) was observed in Dra Abu el-Naga (Polz *et al.* 2012, 118). Such a phenomenon would not be surprising, if indeed at least some of the ‘new’ owners of tombs were actual descendants of the original occupants.

Taking this further, there is some archaeological material supporting the idea that in some cases tombs had been open and accessible for a substantial period before new interments were deposited in their interior. In KV 64, a reused 18th dynasty tomb in the Valley of the Kings, in which an intact Libyan Period burial was found, the presence of ancient wasps’ nests on the walls and the ceiling indicates that the tomb must have stood open for a long time after the robbery of the original burial (Bickel, Paulin-Grothe 2012b, 40). Moreover, it seems that the scattered remains of the original looted funerary equipment were intentionally gathered by the persons responsible for the new interment and reburied (Bickel 2017, 85). Similarly, Winlock argued that the reused MMA 59 (Figure 34) was robbed not long after the original interment in the 18th dynasty and then remained open until the family of Henuttawy brought her body to the necropolis for her burial (Winlock 1924, 22). On the other hand, the robbery of Libyan Period side chambers in TT 87 must have taken place not long before its reuse in the Late Period, as remains of scattered burial equipment were found under the new pavement (Guksch 1995, 98).

⁶⁴ Such a view is explicitly expressed e.g. by Emily Teeter, who briefly commented on the late dynastic reused of tombs: ‘*Less noble was the outright usurpation of a tomb. In that case, the original inhabitant might be cast out of the burial chamber and the names on the walls changed to reflect the new owner*’ (Teeter 2011, 122).

The late New Kingdom in Thebes was a period of general instability, which included among other things a plague of tomb robberies (partly instigated by the state itself), recounted in the famous Tomb Robbery Papyri (Peet 1930; Strudwick, N. 2013). In response to this, some of the royal tombs were emptied and mummies of their occupants were transferred to ‘caches’ (see *Excursus*). As a result,

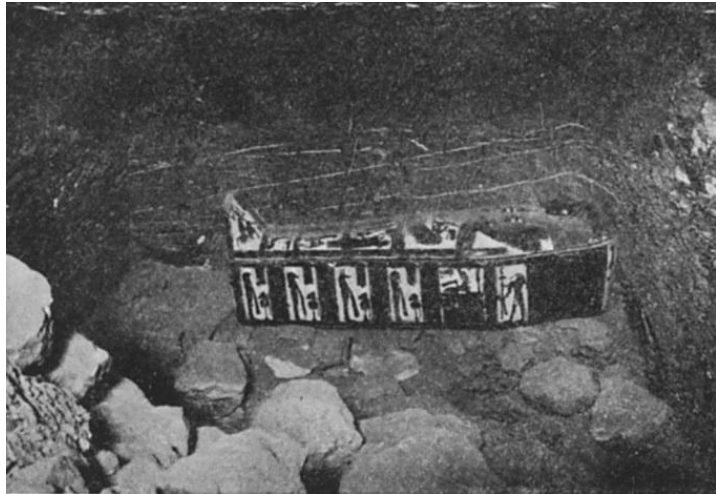


Figure 34. The ‘crypt’ in the tomb of Minmose (MMA 59), as discovered by Winlock

some tombs were available in the Third Intermediate Period and while it is unclear what the administration of the cemetery looked like at that time and how the right to be buried in an empty tomb could be acquired, it seems that emptying these sepulchres and their reuse were two unrelated events. In the case of private tombs, while there is no evidence for transferring individuals buried in them to caches, certainly at least some of them - if not the majority (Strudwick, in preparation) – were robbed at the end of the New Kingdom, which made them available for later reuse. I would therefore argue that, although tomb robberies certainly took place in the first millennium BCE, there is no evidence supporting the claim that tombs were robbed by their subsequent owners in order to appropriate them.

Decoration in reused sepulchres

Just like in the case of reused objects, decoration of reused tombs could be altered by their new owners. In fact, Kathlyn M. Cooney who investigated reuse of coffins during the late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period, concluded that in the case of coffins the reuse must have happened legally and within the family unit (Cooney 2019, 101), making it tempting to assume a similar thing for reused tombs. However, there seems to be a major difference between the reuse of coffins and tombs. Whilst in the case of coffins reused in the late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period ‘most Egyptian commissioners and artisans were trying to hide what they were doing, veiling old decoration with a new plastered layer that is only visible if some of the new layer has fallen away, or making wood modifications that are invisible underneath iconographically complex polychrome layers’ (Cooney 2019, 97), it was impossible to hide the evidence of the reuse of tombs, particularly

royal ones. Theban tombs with their pylons, porches, or ‘chapels’ served as landmarks; no doubt some of their owners were remembered by the local community, even if vaguely; families were supposed to gather at least once a year in their courtyards to celebrate the deceased and bring offerings. While coffins were to be placed in sealed burial chambers, never to be seen again, tombs were part of a landscape; concealing them from the view was impossible.

For the proper understanding of the concept behind tomb reuse it is essential to realise that just like the area of a necropolis (*hrt ntr, t3 dsr*), the interior of the tomb also constituted a sacred space (Dorman, Bryan 2007; Den Doncker 2019), possibly even to a larger extent than a surface of a coffin, which – although densely decorated with religious symbols and scenes – could be purchased and relatively easily altered. In the following paragraphs, I will examine how new owners of reused tombs contributed to the decoration of the sepulchres and how the existing decoration could be used to the benefit of the new deceased.

a) New decoration

The last observation is even more apparent in the re-utilization of private standing mortuary monuments of earlier age which now becomes widespread. Though outside the royal bastions, still many did take advantage of burial space within a derelict superstructure. Multiple shafts with burial chambers exist within the transverse halls of a substantial number of New Kingdom tombs among which is Parennefer’s [TT 188]. In the great majority of cases, there appears to have been no attempt at re-plastering the decorated hall, which may be indicative of the lack of skilled laborers – draftsmen, sculptors, painters and the like – in the area or at least the means to employ them. As far as we can tell, those few which did undergo some renovation by means of decorating surfaces of the superstructure were so treated only to a very limited extent (Redford, S. 2006, 348).

Auf jeden Fall kann diesem Beispiel entnommen werden, dass in der Nachramessidenzeit die “Etikettierung” eines Grabes mit dem Namen des Wiederbenutzers genügte, allerdings an der repräsentativsten Stelle, dem Eingang oder Durchgang (Hofmann 2006, 64).

Redford's and Hofmann's remarks on the decorative programme of reused sepulchres summarize well the prevalent view that the reuse of earlier structures was an expression of economic ineptitude of their new owners. At present, I will limit myself to the description of decoration added to the walls of Theban tombs in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, while the hypothesis of tomb reuse as reflection of the individual socioeconomics of the deceased will be discussed in the last chapter, *Tomb reuse in context*.

TT 68

The 18th dynasty (probably unused) tomb of Meryptah was redecorated in the Ramesside Period by Paenkhemenu and in the 21st dynasty by Nesupaneferher and his son Horu. The names of the latter were added to the original decoration,⁶⁵ but no further changes were made.

TT 70

Not much is known of this unpublished, anonymous tomb, except that in the 21st dynasty it was 'usurped' by Amenmose, who added his decoration (Porter, Moss 1960, 139; Polz 1990; 309; Kampp 1996, 297; Manniche 2011, 73). Images of Amenmose and his wife Kefenu, followed by relatives, appear in the transverse hall (Porter, Moss 1960, 139). It is unclear if the frieze ('*squatting gods*') should be dated to the 18th dynasty or to the phase of reuse, although according to Kampp, it is very likely that the tomb was neither decorated nor used by its original owner (Kampp 1996, 297).

TT 86

Davies, who published the tomb's decoration, mentioned that there was some plaster later than original on the tomb's walls and wondered whether the tomb was not mutilated by some later 'usurper' (Davies, N. 1933, 1). However, owing to the reuse of the tomb by the Copts, it is impossible to establish whether any late dynastic reuse indeed took place in its interior.

TT 87

The God's Father Horemakhbit, who reused TT 87 in the 25th or 26th dynasty, added his decoration in the courtyard and in the tomb interior. In the courtyard, a mudbrick stela was

⁶⁵ 'Das Dekorationsprogramm wurde anscheinend unverändert übernommen, vielleicht in einigen Partien vervollständigt. Das gleiche trifft im Prinzip auch auf das Textprogramm zu. Nahezu vollständig wurden nur Namen und Titel der Benutzer aus Phase II übertüncht und neu beschriftet bzw. »blank« gelassen. Dabei wurden in einigen wenigen Fällen auch Teile neutraler Textpassagen (versehentlich?) (mit-?) gelöscht' (Seyfried 1991, 10).

erected, today heavily destroyed, with only the upper part of its decoration preserved (a *pet* hieroglyph and a winged solar disc on the top and with partly preserved *imenet* sign flanking the stela on the left side). Possibly, the remains of white paint on the façade could also be dated to this period (Guksch 1995, 104).

The original owner's name and image were replaced with Horemakhbit's on the doorway to the long corridor. However, they were only covered with a thin layer of stucco, not chiselled out. On the lintel, Horemakhbit is depicted worshipping gods. Both doorjambs are occupied by a large *djed* pillar, under which kneeling goddesses (Nephtys on the right doorjamb and a destroyed figure, most likely Isis, on the left one) are depicted (Guksch 1995, 114).

TT 88

Fragments of a scene, probably added to the original decoration in the 25th or 26th dynasty, came to light in various locations of TT 88. The scene, painted on *muna* plaster, was interpreted as the resurrection of Osiris (among the recovered fragments were: depiction of a god lying on the bed, a canopic jar, crossed arrows, heads of Isis and Nephthys, a mummified figure, and symbols such as *ankh*, *was*, and *djed*) (Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997, 82).

TT 106

An unspecified phase of reuse of the (possibly unused) tomb of Paser, including the addition of new decoration, was mentioned by Kampp: '*Auch eine späte Usurpation hat sich inschriftlich mit großen, roten, grob gepinselten Hieroglyphen auf den Türpfosten des ersten und zweiten Durchgangs erhalten*' (Kampp 1996, 385).

TT 117

This is yet another tomb that was probably never used by its original owner. Djedmutiufankh and his family, who reused TT 117 in the 22nd dynasty, had a stela painted in the portico and added two biographical texts in the corridor. The decoration was published by Kampp (Kampp 1996, 398-405).

The stela, painted on the façade, is topped with a winged sun disc. In the lower register, the Goddess of the West is represented standing behind two mummified figures. A *sem* priest performs rites (among which breaking of red pots is listed) in front of mummies. The text identifies the priest as Amenemopet, Djedmutiufankh's grandson.

In the corridor, two scenes were painted on the opposite walls. The first one depicts a woman adoring the sun disc (with *ankh* symbols painted instead of sun rays), turned towards the tomb entrance, with a *pet* hieroglyph above, identified as Nestaritmut, singer of Amun and Djedmutiufankh's daughter-in-law. On the other wall a similar scene, a woman adoring the sun, with a depiction of a small tree, is preserved. The woman is Tabakenmut, singer of Amun and Amenemopet's wife.

Djedmutiufankh's decoration was applied on a brownish mud-plaster, whitewashed (Kampp 1996, 404).

TT 128-129

The unfinished, albeit partly decorated, TT 129, was enlarged by Patjenfy in the 26th dynasty. New decoration appeared on the east wall (including door), west wall, on the newly created pillars, and the ceiling.

The tomb owner is depicted on the thickness of the door in the east wall. The pillars are covered with offering formulae. On the west wall, Patjenfy is featured sitting in front of the table, accompanied by his children (names of his two wives, Iterau and Takhenememet, appear in the text). On the ceiling, an inscription with the shortened version of the Hour Ritual, a popular text which can be found in contemporary temple-tombs, can be read. The text is accompanied by vignettes on both sides; the ceiling, however, is blackened with soot, therefore it is impossible to see the original scenes (Schenkel 1975).

TT 190

The priest Nesbanebdjed(et), who reused TT 190 during the late 30th dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period, added a new scene to the tomb's entrance (the deceased followed by his son) as well as twelve columns of inscriptions (Porter, Moss 1960, 297; Panov 2019).

TT 201

According to Redford, the remains of an overlying layer of plaster covering the original decoration should be dated to the period of the '*later usurpation of the tomb*' (Redford, S., D. Redford 1994, 1). On the basis of the finds, this phase probably took place in the Third Intermediate Period or early Late Period.

TT 223

The decoration in a Kushite tomb of Karakhamun was reworked at least three times: first by Nespakashuty, who eventually abandoned the project and reused another tomb in Deir el-Bahari, then by Padihor, the overseer of the outline-draftsmen and chamberlain of the God's Wife, who probably died in the reign of Apries (Graefe 2017a), and by Ankhefendjehuty. Remains of Padihor's doorjambs were found, while Ankhefendjehuty's names can be seen painted in red in 'name plaques', made of limestone and placed on the tomb's walls; most of these, however, were found uninscribed, probably indicating that the change of plans took place not long after the beginning of work. It was also proposed that the recarving of a lintel above an entrance of the Second Pillared Hall was begun already by Nespakashuty (Pischikova 2014, 64). This task was completed by Ankhefendjehuty, whose name can be found on the lintel. Ankhefendjehuty had his inscription carved also above the scenes in the vestibule (Pischikova 2014, 65).

Interestingly, TT 223 seems to be a very rare example of a tomb in which the original owner's names were effaced: Karakhamun's name and titles were covered in plaster or cut from the walls and pillars and replaced with the 'name plaques'. According to Elena Pischikova, *'some areas of the tomb of Karakhamun were reinscribed (...) and he [Ankhefendjehuty] was probably buried in one of the secondary burial chambers in the Second Pillared Hall. The recent excavation of the main entrance to the tomb of Karakhamun revealed the lintel and doorjambs to be entirely recarved for Ankhefendjehuty. It seems that Karakhamun did not have strong family ties in Egypt, and so his tomb was left unprotected soon after the burial and started being reused and plundered soon after'* (Pischikova 2014, 65-66). It is interesting to note that a sarcophagus of Karabasken, found in the nearby tomb TT 391 and also datable to the 25th dynasty, was damaged (Pischikova 2018b, 355), which may indicate that Kushite tombs were deliberately mutilated in later periods due to the Saite policy of removal of traces of the previous regime rather than to 'usurpation': for example, the new owner of TT 223 (Padihor), and that of TT 391 (Padibastet), both seem to have been active under Psamtek II (Graefe 2017a, 244; Graefe 2017b, 257), when the erasures of Kushite names are well-attested (Gozzoli 2017, 61-66).

TT 243

The supposedly Ramesside TT 243 bears inscriptions and scenes of Pamiu, mayor of Thebes and scribe, who lived in the 26th dynasty (Vittmann 1979; Eigner 1984, 54). Pamiu's titles can

be found in the courtyard, and his images – on the doorway of Room III (outer left jamb – the deceased adores sacred cow and oars, outer right jamb – titles of the deceased, inner right jamb – gods of constellations) (Porter, Moss 1960, 332).

TT 276

Kampp suggested that remains of plaster on the façade could come from the phase of reuse (Kampp 1996, 548).

TT 285

Some of the later decoration in a Ramesside tomb TT 285 was dated to the 21st dynasty instead of 20th by Hofmann, and by Aston, quoted by Tamás Bács (Hofmann 2006, 63; Bács 2015b, 1 n. 2). These include two scenes painted (or, more precisely, sketched) on a whitewashed plaster: of a man with his hands raised in the gesture of adoration and preceded by another man, and of an adoring woman (Hofmann 2004, Abb. 84-85).

TT 286

Remains of plaster in the courtyard may come from the phase of reuse, either as a burial site or a dwelling, but their dating remains unknown (Kampp 1996, 557).

TT 288-289

The Ramesside tomb of Setau was reused by Bakenkhonsu in the ‘Late Period’. Bakenkhonsu added his own images to the existing ones. It seems the original pictures remained untouched and the new decoration appeared only on previously undecorated surfaces, i.e. pillars. This includes a scene of a man offering to the deceased on the south-west pillar, and a depiction of the deceased with his wife (?) seated with offerings (Porter, Moss 1960, 369). ‘*Statues of deceased and two women*’, listed by Porter and Moss as Bakenkhonsu’s, most likely belong to the phase of the Ramesside use of the site (Kampp 1996, 558).

TT 291

A *graffito* on the north wall of the tomb’s chapel was added in the early 21st dynasty. The text reads: ‘*The West is yours, ready for you. All praised-ones are hidden within it; wrongdoers will not enter it, nor any guilty persons. The scribe Butehamun has moored there after an old age, his body sound and intact. Made by the scribe of the Necropolis Ankhefenamun*’ (McDowell 1999), thus attesting the reuse of the tomb for burial of Butehamun C.

TT 307

Decoration dated to the 21st dynasty was found on the tomb's walls (Manniche 2011, 73). However, it is unclear if it is a reused sepulchre or not. Scenes of allegedly Libyan date can be found in the left wing of the transverse hall: The Book of Caverns, the deceased with emblem hanging from the left arm, the deceased accompanied by his wife, with souls of Pe and Nekhen, and a negative confession (Porter, Moss 1960, 385).

TT 312

The tomb of Nespakashuty had a decorative programme of its own, and no earlier decoration of the sepulchre (if indeed he reused an existing subsidiary tomb instead of only utilising MMA 509's courtyard) is known. In the corridor, the east and west walls are decorated with eight registers each: the scenes including depictions of Nespakashuty seated in front of an offering table, offering scenes, rituals performed in front of a mummy, offering bearers, offerings, and Abydos pilgrimage. Then, in the passage to the chapel, scenes featuring Anubis can be found. Nespakashuty's reliefs show archaising inspirations: while many of the scenes find their parallels in the tomb of Montuemhat and New Kingdom royal monuments, it is interesting to note that some reliefs were inspired by those from the 11th dynasty tomb of queen Neferu – TT 319, roughly contemporary with the original owner of MMA 509 (Porter, Moss 1960, 387-388; Pischikova 1998; Pischikova 2002).

TT 337

New decoration, preserved in form of two damaged registers, was discovered by Bruyère in the burial chamber of a Ramesside tomb TT 337. The preserved part shows a woman (Shedmut) adoring Osiris, Isis, Horus, and Anubis: the space between her and the gods was cut out; in the register below, top of a female wig, and two names, [...]djedmut and Neskhonsu, are preserved. The scenes were dated to the later Ramesside Period by Bruyère, and to the 21st or 22nd dynasty by Porter and Moss (Bruyère 1926, 78-79; Porter, Moss 1960, 406; Manniche 2011, 73).

TT 348

New scenes, dated to the phase of the reuse, appear on the lintel of entrance doorway: a double scene showing a son offering food to Naamutnakht, the new owner of the tomb, with his mother in the left part, is described by Porter and Moss. The scenes were dated to the 21st-

22nd (Manniche 2011, 73), 22nd (Porter, Moss 1960, 415; Polz 1990, 314; Kampp 1996, 586; Chermette 2003b, 177), or 25th dynasty (Jansen-Winkel 2009, 498).

TT 362

A new scene of two kneeling figures, male and female, both in gesture of adoration, and, in the case of the better-preserved man's depiction, of distinctively Nubian features, was painted above the opening of one of the shafts of TT 362 (Pereyra *et al.* 2015, Fig. 35). It was dated to the 26th dynasty by its discoverers on the basis of the style of clothing, although probably an earlier date (25th dynasty) should not be excluded.

TT 373

A fragment of a depiction of a man named Hormenu and of a chantress of Amun Tinet[...] was found in the niche for a statue (Seyfried 1990, 93-94). While they seem to be later than the rest of the tomb, a late Ramesside date cannot be excluded.

TT 391

Padibastet, High Steward of the God's Adoratrice, who reused TT 391 in the 26th dynasty, left his decoration in at least two places in the tomb: in the courtyard (*Lichthof*) and in the vestibule.

Both jambs of the doorway in the courtyard feature seated Padibastet, with offering formulae on the jambs and the lintel. Padibastet's stela is hewn in the west wall of the courtyard, and has a plinth with four steps leading to it; the main text of the stela is the hymn to the second hour of the Ritual of the Hours of the Day (Graefe 2017). In the vestibule, the left wall was decorated with a scene of Padibastet receiving flower offerings from his son named Harsiese, and a sun hymn (Graefe 2018; Pischikova 2018b).

Part of Padibastet's scenes and inscriptions seems to have been carved on previously undecorated surfaces, although the sarcophagus of the original owner of the tomb bears traces of deliberate destruction (Pischikova 2018b, 455). It is possible that the unfinished tomb was never used by its original owner (Graefe 2017, 242).

TT 392

The tomb, likely identical with Kampp -56-, is a Ramesside monument, possibly unused, decorated in the Saite Period (Kampp 1996, 657-658). New scenes can be found in the

transverse hall (funeral procession) and in the chapel (Osiris and a goddess) (Porter, Moss 1960, 442).

MMA 834

Fragments of inscriptions of ‘*a servant of Esenamun* [Nesiamun], ‘*overseer of troops*’ were listed by Porter and Moss and dated to the Late Period by Kampp (Porter, Moss 1964, 653; Kampp 1996, 764). However, neither the context of this find, nor any details, are known.

Kampp -365-

The abovementioned inscription of Nesiamun (MMA 834) alternatively may originate from Kampp -365- (Kampp 1996, 764).

b) Original decoration

Elsewhere I have argued that the original decoration of reused sepulchres was an important factor when choosing the location of new features within the tomb proper (Kaczanowicz 2019a, 26-31; Kaczanowicz 2019b, 86-88). The vast majority of new shafts cut in inner parts of the tombs (type 3a) are located not in the middle of chambers in which they were hewn, but by the walls. Moreover, it seems that most of them were located under a very specific kind of scenes, strongly suggesting that this link is not accidental (Table 53).

The majority of scenes below which new shafts were cut feature offerings: either received by the original owner of the tomb, or presented to the gods, often by the deceased himself (Table 54). In several cases, shafts were located under false doors, stelae, or beside the statues of the deceased. By definition, all of these were places connected with offerings for the deceased. Conversely, there are virtually no shafts located under scenes of daily life, such as hunting, food production, or representations of crafts. Interestingly, some of the rare exceptions from that rule are shafts hewn under scenes of inspection of products brought from foreign lands; while such scenes belong to the repertoire of representations of ‘daily life’, the theme is very similar to the offering scenes.

Tomb	Location of the shaft	Original decoration above the shaft (unless indicated otherwise, the source for the scenes is: Porter, Moss 1960)	Dating
TT 11	NW part of the transverse hall	two offering bringers before [the deceased], with goose under chair	25 th -26 th dynasty
TT 12	SE part of the chapel	Unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period’
TT 21	NE corner of the transverse hall	remains of a stela, double-scene at the top, the deceased adoring and Anubis-jackal ⁶⁶	25 th dynasty
TT 23	SE part of the long corridor (Room 4)	two registers: [the deceased] before Nefertem-emblem supported by Kings, the deceased and wife, funeral procession	‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’
TT 31	NW corner of the transverse hall (pit 1)	a lector, followed by four women, censuring and libating to deceased and his mother (?), a priest before deceased with family, remains of rites on island, a priest censuring and libating to relatives	one of the shafts later than original (22 nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period)
	NE corner of the transverse hall (pit 2)	three registers: festival of Thutmose III, herdsmen bringing cows and dogs to the deceased	
TT 32	SW part of the long corridor (Room II)	family offers to the deceased, family in front of tree, marsh-scene with a couple seated below, and large pool, the deceased and his wife adoring	22 nd -early 25 th dynasty
TT 37	‘south-western little room XD’	Unknown	25 th -26 th dynasty
TT 41	N part of the transverse hall (Schacht III)	three registers: house, people acclaiming the arriving deceased, boats, man, and cattle, a couple seated, an overseer, scribe, two men reaping, a couple before pool	25 th dynasty
TT 42	‘three other contemporary or later pits’ in the transverse	two registers: [the deceased with his wife and son receiving offerings], [the deceased and his wife with a girl offering to them], offering-bringers (?)	New Kingdom-modern era
		[the deceased offers on braziers]	

⁶⁶ The only of the three shafts in TT 21 which can be dated, and also the only one that does not violate the original decoration.

	hall	unfinished scene, offerings before the deceased and his wife	
TT 49*	SW part of the transverse hall	two registers, servants with gifts, courtiers, and fan-bearers, and the deceased rewarded before King and Queen	22 nd -26 th dynasty or later
	NW part of the transverse hall	Osiris and Hathor with the deceased and his wife offering flowers to them, and three registers: men offering flowers, and offering-bringers, blind singers and priestesses of Hathor, offering-bringers with figs. Sub-scene: libation-priests and offering-bringers	
TT 51*	NW part of the pillared hall	no information	22 nd dynasty
	NE corner of the pillared hall	no information	
TT 54	NW part of the transverse hall (Schacht I)	two registers: Kenro (Ramesside owner) as <i>sem</i> -priest, Kenro with his wife and a couple, offers braziers to Hathor-cow	Ramesside or Late Period
	NE part of the transverse hall (Schacht II)	three registers: dragging sarcophagus, remains of boats, man adoring <i>djed</i> pillar, and Anubis jackal. Sub-scene: reaping and winnowing before tomb or granary	
TT 55	E part of the first hall, by the entrance to the tomb (Mond 7)	the deceased with his wife and offering-bringers pour incense of the brazier. Subscene: offering bringers and butchers	25 th -26 th dynasty
	W part of the second hall (Mond 3)	no information	
TT 57	N part of the transverse hall	three registers, men offering to the deceased and his wife (?)	25 th -26 th dynasty
	S part of the transverse	three registers: men bringing cattle before Amenhotep III in kiosk, a sphinx slaying	post NK

	hall	captive, captives on the side of throne, and Nine Bows on base of kiosk	
TT 65	<i>‘several shafts and niches cut in the transverse hall’</i>	unknown	22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 67	two shafts in the transverse hall	unknown	one of the shafts dated to the ‘22 nd -25 th dynasty’
TT 68	S-W part of the transverse hall (Schacht III)	the deceased, his wife, and others, with bouquets before Osiris	22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 82*	S-E part of the transverse hall	[the deceased] offers	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period
	E part of the transverse hall	[the deceased on foot with his wife] hunting gazelle	
TT 87	N-E corner of the transverse hall	[the deceased] received offerings, remains of banquet	22 nd -26 th dynasty
TT 95	transverse hall	unknown	‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’
TT 99	SW corner of the chapel (Shaft A)	offering scene	25 th dynasty
	SE corner of the chapel (Shaft B)	a girl prepares bed, with candle, statue of Bes, baskets and toilet-box	
TT 100*	six shafts in the tomb, none of which yielded any trace of the original burial equipment	five registers: foreign tribute (Puntites, Keftiu, Nubians, Syrians, Nubian and Syrian men)	late New Kingdom-Roman Period
		five registers: inspection of the products of the Road of Horus (wild animals, vintage, fowl and fish, fishing with draw-nets, other products including honey)	

		no information	
		two registers: relatives offer bouquet to the deceased, the deceased receives officials and petitioners	
		eight registers, banquet: daughters offering sistra to the deceased and his wife, sons offer bouquets to [the deceased and his wife]	
		ten registers: rites before statues of the deceased, preparation of provisions before the deceased	
TT 109-Kampp -32-7	SW corner of the transverse hall	four registers: the deceased inspects counting of produce, [the deceased] teaching Prince Amenhotep to shoot, Prince on lap of the deceased	Third Intermediate Period-Late Period
	SE corner of the transverse hall	two rows of offering-bearers, bringing marsh-produce	
TT 110*	S part of the transverse hall	false door with offering formula and offering-bearers on left	22 nd -25 th dynasty?
TT 112	N part of the transverse hall	no information	25 th -middle 26 th dynasty
TT 135	<i>‘la seconde section du couloir’</i>	unknown	late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 156*	W part of the transverse hall	statues of the deceased and his wife	‘21 st -22 nd dynasty’
TT 158	W part of the transverse hall	no information	Third Intermediate Period-Roman Period
TT 184	transverse hall	unknown	22 nd dynasty-Ptolemaic Period
TT 187	W part of the transverse hall	no information	‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’
TT 188	S corner of the	two registers: [the deceased with decorations] and the deceased receives gifts from	25 th -early 26 th dynasty

	transverse hall (Shaft 1)	servants, [the deceased with decorations] and the deceased received by female dancers and musicians, and servants with gifts	
	middle of the transverse hall (Shaft 3)	no information	post NK
	middle of the transverse hall (Shaft 4)	no information	post NK
	middle of the transverse hall (Shaft 5)	no information	post NK
TT 189	side chambers of the chapel	no information	Third Intermediate Period-early Ptolemaic Period
TT 192	N part of the columned hall	no information	late 22 nd -early 25 th dynasty
	NE corner of the columned hall	no information	
	middle of the columned hall	no information	post NK
TT 204	long corridor	unknown	late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 227	SE part of the transverse hall	no information	Ramesside Period-Roman Period
TT 252	NW part of the transverse hall	no information	late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 254	NW corner of the	a stela surrounded by offering scenes (Strudwick, N. 1996, 79-88)	22 nd dynasty or later

	chapel (Shaft B)		
TT 256	S part of the long corridor	no information	Ramesside Period-Roman Period
TT 277	S part of the chapel	two registers: the deceased and his wife adore Osiris and Isis, the deceased and his wife adore Shu and Tefnut	‘basse-époque’
TT 297	SE corner of the transverse hall (shaft 3)	the deceased and his wife sitting on the chairs, probably a banquet scene	22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 300	NE part of the corridor	three registers: man offers to the deceased, the deceased adoring, [the son] censes to the deceased and his wife	‘Late Period’
TT 303*	transverse hall	no information	Third Intermediate Period-modern era
TT 317	SW part of the transverse hall	no information	at least one of them later than the original structure
	W end of the long corridor	no information	
TT 325	unknown	unknown	late New Kingdom-Roman Period
TT 344	E part of the corridor	no information	‘Late Period’
TT 367	NW part of the transverse hall (Shaft A)	the deceased and his wife in offering scene (offering brazier to Osiris)	25 th dynasty
	NE part of the transverse hall (Shaft B)	the deceased with his wife and daughter offers to Amenhotep II	
TT 405	S part of the offering chapel	offering scene (Saleh, M. 1977, 21)	22 nd -25 th dynasty

TT 412	N part of the columned hall	no information	22 nd -25 th dynasty
TT 413	N part of the main chamber	no information	22 nd -25 th dynasty
MMA 801	S part of the entrance corridor	no information	22 nd dynasty
Kampp -61-	rear part of the chapel (Shaft 2)	Ramesside cult statues	26 th dynasty
	rear part of the chapel (Shaft 4)		
Kampp - 162-	shafts in the transverse hall and in the chapel	no information	at least one of them dated to 750 BCE or later
Kampp - 400-	E part of the transverse hall	probably offering scene (Schreiber, personal communication, May 2019)	25 th -27 th dynasty

Table 53. Original decoration above newly cut shaft

Scene		Number of tombs
offering scenes and locations connected with offerings	offerings brought to the deceased	15
	offerings brought to gods/ adoration of gods	5
	offerings brought to the king	1
	offering stelae	2
	false door	1
	statues of original owners	2
other scenes	inspection of products	2
	bringing products to the king	1
	funeral (dating uncertain)	1
	a seated couple	2
	a girl preparing bed, statue of Bes	1
	the deceased hunting gazelle in desert (dating uncertain)	1
unknown/no information		27

Table 54. Original decoration above shafts

Therefore I would argue that the location of the shaft was not accidental, but selected on the basis of the images already present on the walls. Since there seems to be a particular predilection for offering scenes, I would like to suggest that in the case of reused tombs (especially those without cult installations in the courtyard), the original decoration might have played the role of the superstructure for the new shafts. A similar hypothesis was formulated regarding later burial shafts in the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari: the majority of these shafts were located under scenes directly linked to offerings, hence it was proposed that the temple was considered as the actual superstructure for the shafts (Szafrński 2011, 146; Szafrński 2015, 189-191).

No written sources referring to the perception of reused tombs by their new owners are preserved: one can therefore only theorize whether the new occupants had actual knowledge of the original owners of the monuments (especially if they were not related in any way) or the images of the latter were perceived as purely generic and represented a more general concept of a ‘tomb owner’. The discussed above case of TT 157 and the name of the tomb in the Ptolemaic Period clearly demonstrates that some form of memory of the original owners of reused tombs existed centuries after their death; in decorated tombs, of course, the owners’ names could be found on the walls. However, worth considering here are examples of decontextualisation of well-known objects and scenes, which in the Late Period gained a new meaning, better fitting the contemporary spirit. For example, in the Saite tomb of Pairkap in Saqqara:

(...) the last man to the right, depicted with a calf on his shoulders. The young animal is looking back to where nothing is depicted. This image is typical of scenes of ford crossing. In those, a shepherd carries a calf on his shoulder to force its mother to follow them into the water. So the backward look of the young animal is perfectly understandable because it is turned towards its mother. Without the image of the latter the figure lost its original meaning and it was broadly used by the artists of the Late Period as an icon of the nostalgia of periods long past, to which there is no return (Tiradritti 2008, 164).

I am inclined to believe that the images of the original owners could undergo a similar change and were treated as generic, representing the general concept of ‘the deceased’ or even ‘the ancestor’, rather than of an individual person. Regardless of that, I think that the actual significance of these scenes and new shafts cut underneath lies in the very idea that offerings

for the original deceased buried in the tomb would find their way to the new owners. The important question regards the mechanism of this supposed transfer: were the original owners ‘robbed’ of their offerings, were the offerings split, or – similarly to the deceased in time becoming Osiris himself – were the ‘old’ and ‘new’ owners finally associated with each other? Unless new written sources appear, it is rather unlikely that this question can be answered unambiguously. Nevertheless, it seems that the existing ‘cult infrastructure’ was readily appropriated by new owners to serve their own needs.

Conclusions

While the term ‘reuse’ acquired rather negative connotations, very few examples of Theban tombs reused in the Third Intermediate and Late Period qualify as ‘true’ usurpations, involving removal of names and images of the original owners. In the case of sepulchres which received new decoration, it seems that most of these monuments had been unfinished or unused before their appropriation by new occupants. In fact, reused tombs which received new decoration can be divided into two groups: tombs of which construction had been abandoned at a very early stage and subsequently were completed by the person reusing them who also added new decoration according to the contemporary style (e.g. TT 128-129 or TT 312), and tombs which had been more or less completed (and decorated) by their original occupants and the new owners simply added their names (e.g. TT 68 or TT 87). Even in the case of the latter, the original owners’ names were rarely effaced. Only in three tombs (TT 68, TT 87 and TT 223), the names of the original owners were mutilated or replaced by those of the new ones: in the case of TT 223, for example, it is unclear if the destruction was motivated by the actual will to ‘usurp’ the space or by the contemporary policy of erasing the traces of the Kushite presence in Egypt. In others (e.g. TT 288-289), names of the new occupants were added on the surfaces which previously had been blank.

It seems that most of the new owners used the existing installations and decoration for their benefit. Some of the tombs bear traces of renovations of the original features and new shafts were intentionally located under offering scenes, allowing the deceased to symbolically participate in offerings for the original owner. The tomb, reused or not, robbed or intact, must therefore still be considered a place of contact between the world of the living and the world of the dead.

The recent analysis of the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93) by Alexis Den Doncker suggests that the original decoration of the tomb played an important role in the ‘secondary’ (not necessarily funerary) contexts:

(...) a single iconographic environment, and a single image as well, could lead to various patterns of reception and appropriation. These patterns therefore establish the ‘elasticity’ of what can be referred to as shifting agencies, for the meaning and the functionality of images seem to be constantly evolving through time, coming across the variable individualities of their beholders. Hence, from another perspective one might even refer to the ‘multi-functionality’ of such monuments and images, which would impact on their sheer definitions (Den Doncker 2019, 189).

In reused tombs, burials were not simply deposited; the new owner had to adjust to the already existing ritual realities of the tombs – monuments which in a way gained their own agency. While the mechanics of the reuse certainly involved many intricacies, often unavailable through the study of the archaeological material, it seems clear that the term ‘usurpation’ rarely applies to the reuse of Theban tombs in the first millennium BCE. In fact, I would like to argue that even the use of the word ‘secondary’, while referring to these contexts, is not entirely adequate: Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines ‘secondary’ as ‘*of second rank, importance, or value*’,⁶⁷ while burials in reused tombs constitute an integral part of the monuments’ history, offering an insight into funerary practices of the Theban community in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, no less important than those of the New Kingdom. In a similar vein, the word ‘palimpsest’, originally referring to a manuscript in which an original text was erased in order to add a new one, but popularly used in archaeology to describe superimposing contexts (e.g. Polkowski 2016), also does not aptly describe the situation in reused Theban tombs, since, as I have attempted to demonstrate above, the traces of the ‘original’ owners’ presence were rarely deliberately removed. In the following chapters, I will further argue that the significance and desirability of reused tombs for later burials, at least from some point in the first millennium BCE onwards, was caused not only by scarcity of available space in the necropolis, but rather by their perception as sacred places, allowing the deceased benefit from their relationship with their first occupants.

⁶⁷ Merriam-Webster Online, ‘Secondary’.

Chapter 7

Who was buried in reused tombs?

Identity of deceased buried in reused tombs

In the following chapter, I will examine issues related to identity⁶⁸ of the deceased interred in reused monuments. The following aspects will be taken into consideration: sex, age, ethnicity, and social status and family filiation.

a) Sex

Out of the group of 726 burials deposited in reused sepulchres that could be relatively securely dated to either the Third Intermediate Period or the Late Period, 104 belonged to women, 158 to men, and 22 to children (see *Appendix D*). In the remaining 442 cases, the sex of the deceased could not be established based on the available data (Table 55).

Sex	Number of individuals	%
Women	104	14.3
Men	158	21.8
Children	22	3.0
Unidentified	442	60.9

Table 55. Sex of deceased buried in reused tombs

While it needs to be borne in mind that these numbers represent minimal values assumed for every tomb and were probably much higher in reality, the proportion of men and women is probably representative for the actual data. Burials of women constitute a slightly smaller percentage of all interments than those belonging to men.

The biggest difference seems to be in ownership of reused tombs that were redecorated by new occupants. All the tombs redecorated in the epoch in question are said to belong to men, attested via their names and titles⁶⁹ – even if their images were not preserved or were not placed in tombs at all. However, images of women (wives, mothers, daughter, daughters-in-

⁶⁸ Understood here, after Margarita Díaz-Andrea and Sam Lucy, as ‘*individuals’ identification with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant*’ (Díaz-Andrea, Lucy 2005, 1).

⁶⁹ The possible exception may be TT 337, where only the name of the new owner (Neskhonsu) was preserved. Neskhonsu could be both a male or female name.

law) were featured in these tombs as well. On the other hand, the only male relatives whose images can be found in reused tombs were sons of original owners (Table 56).

Tomb	Images of men	Images of women
TT 68		
TT 70	✓	✓
TT 86		
TT 87	✓	
TT 88		
TT 106		
TT 117	✓	✓
TT 128-129	✓	✓
TT 201		
TT 223		
TT 243	✓	
TT 276		
TT 285	✓	✓
TT 286		
TT 288-289	✓	✓
TT 291		
TT 307	✓	✓
TT 312	✓	
TT 337		✓
TT 348	✓	✓
TT 362	✓	✓
TT 373	✓	✓
TT 391	✓	
TT 392		
MMA 834		
Kampp -365-		

Table 56. New decoration in reused tombs (preserved)

The following remarks, regarding male and female burials in the Third Intermediate Period, were made by Aston:

The differences in the tomb groups between men and women are most noticeable in burials of the poorer members of society. Here the females are invariably buried with a collection of amulets and bead necklaces whilst their husbands were

usually placed in the ground without any grave goods at all. In the richer classes, the tomb groups are fundamentally the same although women were sometimes provided with items of personal adornment such as jewellery, vanity mirrors and wigs. Only among the burials behind the Ramesseum can any sexual discrimination be discerned. Each of the excavators who worked there discovered numerous pair burials with, in each case a set of faience ushebtis (types A–F) for the male and a corresponding set of mud ones (type K) for the female (Aston, D. 2009a, 396).

Aston's claim regarding the Ramesseum burials, inspired by Quibell's statement that in the case of couples' interments the better-quality equipment belonged to the man, was subsequently disproven by Jean Li (Li 2017, 62-63). The examination of intact burials of men and women deposited together in reused tombs also suggests the opposite (Table 57).

Tomb	Dating of burials	Man's equipment	Woman's equipment
TT 192	22 nd -early 25 th dynasty (NW shaft)	coffin, cartonnage (Tjaenwaset) uninscribed coffin (anonymous male) ⁷⁰	coffin, cartonnage, package between thighs (Tashebet) two coffins, cartonnage (Shepenkhonsu) coffin, cartonnage (Kopathau)
	22 nd -early 25 th dynasty (NE shaft)	coffin, cartonnage, floral garlands (Djedhorefankh)	coffin, cartonnage, floral garlands (Irtyru)
MMA 801	22 nd dynasty	coffin, stela (Djedbastet) coffin, stela (Zaiah) coffin, stela (Inamunnaifnebu)	coffin, stela (Tanetdiset)
Kampp -171-	22 nd dynasty	two coffins, pillow, clay figure wrapped in cloth, two shabti boxes with brown pottery ushebtis, Osiris figure, floral garlands (anonymous male)	coffin, eye inlays, two shabti boxes with blue pottery ushebtis, floral garlands (Perenbastet)
KV 44	22 nd dynasty	coffin, floral garlands (Iufaa)	coffin, cartonnage, leather braces with the name of Osorkon I, floral garlands (Tjenetkherersheri) coffin, cartonnage, floral garlands (anonymous

⁷⁰ The gender of the other of the two anonymous individuals discovered in the shaft, also buried in an uninscribed coffin and without a cartonnage, was nowhere stated (Habachi 1958, 342).

			chantress of Amun)
KV 45	22 nd dynasty	two coffins, black limestone scarab, two shabti boxes with pottery ushebtis, floral garlands (Merenkhonsu)	two coffins, two shabti boxes with pottery ushebtis, floral garlands (anonymous female)
CC 5		two coffins, linen shrouds, (Padiamun) coffin (Padikhonsu)	coffin, linen shroud, wax bird, wax Sons of Horus, floral garland (Irtyru)

Table 57. Intact burials of men and women deposited together in reused tombs

In fact, except for KV 45 where the man was buried with an additional scarab (although these burials were ‘*completely destroyed by rain water*’ (Carter 1903b, 46) and therefore it is not impossible that a scarab belonging to the women was simply washed away), in all the other cases women were buried with the same sets of goods as men, or were given more items. In TT 192, lady Shepenkhonsu was buried in two coffins and a cartonnage, while men interred with her received one coffin each. In the shaft in the courtyard of Kampp -171-, the mummy of the chantress of Amun Perenbastet was discovered with a set of funerary goods apparently of a higher quality than the anonymous man buried with her: while he was interred in two coffins and she in one, his ushebtis were ‘*rough*’, and her eyes and eyebrows were inlaid in glass (Petrie 1909, 15). In KV 44, both women were interred in a coffin and a cartonnage (while the man was buried in a single coffin), and Tjenetkherersheri additionally received leather braces with the name of the king. Finally, in CC 5, Irtyru was buried in a coffin and with a linen shroud and amulets, while her husband was given only a single coffin and her son – two coffins and linen shrouds.

Therefore, it seems that the burial equipment of men and women buried in reused tombs was fairly similar in the discussed period and no significant differences, neither in favour of men nor of women, can be discerned.

b) Age

Only 3% of burials in reused tombs, datable to the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, belong to children (Table 55). Child interments are virtually non-existent not only in reused tombs, but generally in the Theban necropolis; an unusual situation, taking into consideration historical demography of the region, which in the case of the New Kingdom cemeteries can be explained by different modes of burial for infants for and adults (Meskell 1999, 169-174). However, child burials were discovered in reused tombs: for example in TT 290, where at

least 18% percent of recently examined remains belonged to juveniles. These remains, however, often could not be dated precisely to any particular phase of the tomb's history (Austin 2018).

The major obstacle when it comes to dating child burials is that they were rarely buried with grave goods. In fact, out of 22 burials of children dated by me to the late dynastic period, only two had grave goods associated with them: one child was given a coffin (interment in WV 24) and the other – a cartonnage (K93.12). In the remaining cases, the dating was either by association with other burials or based on the excavator's statement (e.g. TT 188). Child burials were also found in uninscribed containers (e.g. TT 69). This could indicate that at least some children were buried in reused Theban tombs, probably together with their parents, but their identification and dating was not possible.

c) Ethnicity

In the first millennium BCE, Egypt saw increased presence of various groups of foreign people (Libyans, Nubians, Greeks, and others), with Thebes becoming the most important Kushite centre in Egypt under the reign of the Nubian pharaohs (Kaczanowicz 2019a). In at least two examples, this is also reflected in the archaeological material from reused Theban tombs.

In TT 99, burial goods belonging to a woman called Niu came to light: the name itself suggests a Nubian origin, and Niu's unusual ushebtis with baskets on their heads (similar objects were found in the royal cemetery of Kush in el-Kurru) as well dating of the assemblage (25th dynasty) further corroborate such identification. Niu is said to be a daughter of a priest of Amun of Kawa, Padiamun (Strudwick, N. 1995a; Budka 2010b, 504-505). It was further proposed by Budka that the deceased buried in the reused TT 367 also were of Kushite origin, but this claim, based on the presence of linen fragments with the name of Taharka in the tomb, seems to be unfounded (Budka 2010b, 512; Kaczanowicz 2019a, 27).

Further evidence for the mobility well-attested in textual sources comes from TT 374. There, together with remains of typically Egyptian grave goods, iron scales of an Assyrian armour were discovered, possibly from the period of the invasion of Thebes in 664/663 BCE. These, however, do not necessarily indicate that an Assyrian was buried in the tomb, and could have been a family heirloom (Redford, S. 2006, 159-164; 262).

d) Social status and family filiation

Contrary to the popular belief associating burials in reused tombs with the lower social status of the deceased, it seems that members of the uppermost echelons of the society were also interred in reused monuments. The most glaring picture is provided by tombs in which members of the royal family were buried: TT 358, the burial place of a king's (possibly Ramesses XI) granddaughter, Nany, and TT 367, with burials of Takeloth III's son-in-law and grandson (Kaczanowicz 2019b, 88). Especially in the case of the former, the royal association seems unmistakable: the original owner of TT 358 was queen Meritamun, probably the wife of Amenhotep I (Aston, D. 2015, 24). Additionally, a daughter of Pinodjem I was buried in the reused (perhaps also royal) tomb MMA 60 (Figure 35). A coffin of a priest of Amun, supposedly a relative of Osorkon I, came to light in Kampp -28- (Martín-Valentín, Bedman 2017, 379).

While viziers (*t3tyw*) of the Libyan and Kushite Period were primarily interred in the precinct of the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Aston, D. 2009a, 202-217), they were occasionally buried in reused tombs as well. Vizier Nespakashuty, who first attempted to reuse TT 223 (close to his mother's tomb, TT 390), was eventually interred in TT 312.

A royal chamberlain, or a 'king's liegeman' (*hry-tp nswt*), appropriated and redecorated TT 190. 'The chief steward of the king and overseer of the royal granary' Thutmose, possibly living in the late 21st dynasty, was buried in TT 35. The high steward of the Divine Adoratrice (*imy-r pr wr n dw3t-ntr*) Padibastet, living in the 26th dynasty, reused TT 391. The tomb



Figure 35. The burial chamber of MMA 60, cleared by Winlock

complex TT 128-129 became the final resting place of the mayor of Edfu and Thebes (*h3ty-^c n Db3t Niwt*) Patjenfy, while a mayor of Thebes (*h3ty-^c n Niwt*) called Pamiu was buried in TT 243; both men added their decoration to the walls of the reused tombs.

While no God's Wife of Amun (*hmt ntr n Imn*) was buried in a reused tomb, evidence for burials of singers (*hsyt*) and chantresses (*šm^cyt*) of various divinities comes from a number of

tombs: TT 10, TT 11, TT 23, TT 30, TT 32, TT 50, TT 57, TT 87, TT 89, TT 123 or 124, TT 138, TT 178, TT 192, TT 257, TT 259, TT 292, TT 295, TT 339, TT 359, TT 373, MMA 59, MMA 60, MMA 219, MMA 801, Kampp -28-, Kampp -171-, KV 44, and KV 64. Takeloth III's son-in-law, buried in TT 367, bore the title of an overseer of the singers of Amun (*imy-r n ḥsywt n Imn*). Two of the women interred in MMA 60 bore the titles of 'chief of the harim of Amun' (*ḥryt wrt ḥnrt n Imn*).

Another important professional group buried in reused tombs were members of the administration: overseers and managers, such as overseer of the chambers of the Divine Adoratrice (*imy-ḥnt n dw3t-ntr*) (TT 223, TT 257), chamber managers of the domain of Amun (*ḥry ʿt pr Imn*) (TT 32, Kampp -400-), 'head of field-workers of the estate of Amun' (QV 43-44), overseers of scribes (*imy-r sšw*) (TT 68), and 'overseers of sandal-makers' (TT 70).

Burials of priests involved in the cult of Amun and, to a lesser extent, other divinities, can be found in reused tombs as well; these include both those of a very high position in the hierarchy, such as third (*ḥm ntr 3-nw Imn*) (TT 157) and fourth priest of Amun (*ḥm ntr 4-nw Imn*) (TT 99), or 'scribes of the Divine Book of Khonsu' (TT 288-289), but also those of a seemingly lower status. Particularly well-represented members of the clergy buried in reused tombs were priests called God's Fathers (*jtj ntr*), believed to be priests of lower rank (Li 2017, 62). They were interred in the following tombs: TT 29, TT 30, TT 87, TT 104, TT 190, TT 410, and Kampp -61-. In TT 87, the God's Father Horemakhbit, living in the 25th or 26th dynasty, had enough resources to renovate the tomb, commission a new pavement, add his own decoration, and erect a mudbrick porch in front of the tomb. Persons with the simple title of a priest (prophet) (*ḥm ntr*) were buried in TT 10, TT 20, TT 43, TT 50, TT 93, TT 112, TT 192, TT 233, TT 367, TT 408, TT 414, MMA 60, MMA 801, MMA 838, Kampp -61-, and QV 43 and 44. The new owner of TT 190 combined his administrative titles with that of a God's Father, of a priest, and several other. Finally, *wab* priests (*wʿb*) were interred in TT 178 and TT 336.

Not all the deceased linked to the temple were members of the clergy: among the persons buried in reused tombs were also head draughtsmen of the estate of Amun (*ḥry sš-ḳdwt n pr Imn*) (TT 117, TT 223) and doorkeepers in the domain of Amun (*wn n pr nbw n Imn*) (TT 348, MMA 832, and KV 45). In TT 117 and TT 348, the deceased added their decoration to the tombs' walls. 'Chief craftsman in the temple of Amun' was interred in TT 188, while a burial of a 'daughter of the chief of chamber of the temple of Amun' came to light in TT

149. The God's Father buried in TT 29 was also a 'goldsmith in the temple of Amun'. In addition to the interments mentioned above, the cache in QV 43-44 housed burials of several persons linked to the temple of Amun: a 'head perfumer of the estate of Amun', and a 'lotus-carrier of the temple of Amun'.

Among other titles bore by the deceased buried in reused monuments were those of scribes (*sš*) (TT 219, TT 291) and scribes of the treasury (MMA 832). A 'servant of Esenamun (overseer of troops)' was supposedly interred either in MMA 834 or Kampp -365-. Another deceased linked to the army was a 'charioteer to the general', whose burial was discovered in MMA 1008. The most ubiquitous title encountered among the women buried in reused tombs was that of a lady of the house (*nbt pr*), sometimes occurring in combination with other titles. Finally, a number of persons did not bear any titles.

From the presentation above, it is clear that interred in reused tombs were both members of the elite and people of a slightly lower social status, probably belonging to the contemporary upper middle class. On the other hand, the anthropological evidence suggests significant differences in health conditions between the deceased buried in Theban tombs in the New Kingdom and in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period: for example, the comparative analysis of human remains discovered in TT 84, TT 85, and TT 95 revealed a higher rate of carious dental attrition (a consequence of dental wear), severe degenerative joint lesion, and spondylosis, in the latter: *'this indicates a surprisingly high level of load-bearing duties is those people of periods later than the New Kingdom. (...) This perhaps implies that the populations buried in the tombs at the later periods were perhaps of a less elite nature than those of the New Kingdom'* (Nerlich, Zink 2003). The possibility that the necropolis gradually opened to the lower strata of the Theban necropolis is, therefore, a plausible one.

While there is almost no direct evidence for the deceased buried in reused tombs being the descendants of the monuments' original owners, it is very clear that in a large number of cases people interred together in a single tomb were relatives. For example, in the intact tomb CC 5, parents and a son were buried together; also in disturbed contexts such as TT 99 or TT 367 there can be often no doubt that the deceased were related. On the other hand, Schreiber suggested that the two structures, cut in Kampp -400- during the Kushite Period, belonged to two different families (Schreiber 2018a, 238). Apart from traditional family clusters, another type of burial clusters in the Theban necropolis were 'professional clusters', the most characteristic example of which is the Kushite Period necropolis in Medinet Habu, where only

God's Wives and their female personnel (without their husbands or sons) were interred (Li 2017, 70-83). Whether similar 'professional clusters' existed also in reused tombs is unclear: in TT 339, for example, burial equipment belonging to a large number individuals with theophoric names invoking Khonsu came to light, perhaps indicating that these people were somehow connected with the temple of Khonsu. Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that in many cases, children 'inherited' their parents' profession, making 'family clusters' 'professional clusters' as well.

The evolution of Theban and Memphite tombs, from the 18th dynasty sepulchres which housed individuals or small family groups, to the Ramesside complexes housing larger groups of burials, belonging to the extended family of the owner, was observed (Meskell 1999; Staring 2019). Further development can be seen also in later Theban tombs, for example in the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), where burial chapels for members of the family were incorporated in the layout of the sepulchre from the very beginning. However, intact burials discovered in reused tombs provide a more nuanced picture of burial practices in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period (Table 58). Of 13 groups of burials, 8 contain two or more interments and the remaining five examples (three female and two male burials) demonstrate that single burials were not a rarity. Of course, intact burials from a single location do not necessarily mean that there were no more burial groups in the tomb, which have been since then robbed.

The three intact couples' burials discovered in reused tombs were all man-woman couples: TT 192 (the chantress Irtyru of Amun/Osiris and Djedhorefankh), Kampp -171- (the chantress of Amun Perenbastet and the anonymous man), and KV 45 (the anonymous woman and the doorkeeper in the temple of Amun Merenkonsu). There has been a supposition that these were married couples (Aston, D. 2009a, 159; 162). However, it was proposed that it was not uncommon for the Theban women to be buried with their fathers, fathers-in-law, and sons, and therefore this possibility should not be discarded (Li 2017, 91).

Tomb	Number of individuals	Men	Women	Unknown
TT 192	6	2	3	1
	2	1	1	0
TT 358	1	0	1	0
TT 414	1	1	0	0
MMA 59	1	0	1	0

MMA 801	4	3	1	0
MMA 1008	1 ⁷¹	1	0	0
Kampp - 171-	2	1	1	0
KV 44	3	1	2	0
KV 45	2	1	1	0
KV 64	1	0	1	0
WV 25	8	0	0	8
CC 5	9	2	1	6

Table 58. Number of individuals discovered in intact contexts

Cult of the dead and cult of the ancestors

Recently, Martin Fitzenreiter offered several remarks on the notion of the cult of the dead and that of the ancestors in ancient Egypt. After Gluckmann, he differentiated between the former and the latter:

My approach uses the term “Cult of the Dead” in order to summarize all ritual activities directed to an individual dead person, e.g. the preparation of the body, his interment, equipping with magical implements and all the further offerings in order to maintain his spiritual existence. In contrast, ritual activities directed to the enduring relationship between the living and the dead will be termed “Ancestor Cult”. Furthermore, I prefer to speak of ancestor veneration in the more general sense of practices directed to the enduring relationship of the dead and the living, but of ancestor cult only in cases where a certain degree of formalization and structure into a perpetual and stable sign system has been established (Fitzenreiter 2018, 54).

A similar division was earlier applied for example by Harrington in her discussion of the Egyptian funerary religion, who distinguished between the mortuary ritual (equivalent to the ‘cult of the dead’) and ancestor worship (equivalent to the ‘cult/veneration of the ancestors’) (Harrington 2013, 28). I will utilise the same differentiation when dealing with the activities related to the deceased interred in reused tombs in the following paragraphs.

⁷¹ Remains of four female burials dated to the New Kingdom were not included.

a) Cult of the dead (mortuary ritual)

Not much is known about the preparation of the body of the deceased buried in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period in reused tombs. Not all the bodies were mummified: for example, Henuttawy F, buried in MMA 59, despite her relatively rich burial equipment, consisting of various pieces of jewellery, was not mummified. Henuttawy's outer coffin was not pegged down; Winlock remarked that it must have been the custom in the 21st dynasty, as in many of the burials dated to this period that he discovered, the coffins' lids had not been pegged down as well (Winlock 1924, 23). He further proposed

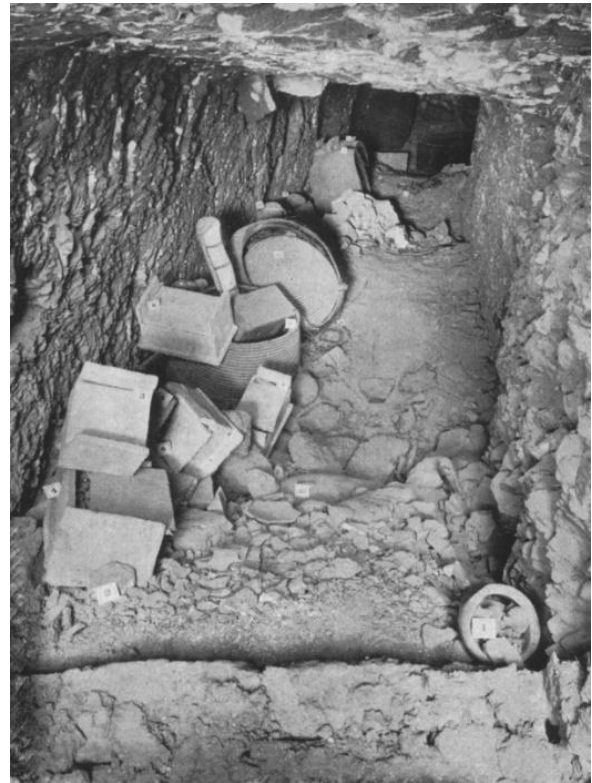


Figure 36. *Entrance corridor to TT 358*



Figure 37. *The inner coffin and mummy of Nany*

that Henuttawy's body had not been placed in her coffin until it was lowered into the crypt (Winlock 1924, 24). A hasty burial was suspected by Winlock for the deceased buried in TT 358 (Figures 36-37): *'It makes an interesting picture of the funeral of a Twenty-first Dynasty princess when we realize that up to the very moment of Entiu-ny's interment no preparations had been made at the tomb for her burial. In fact, so carelessly was the affair conducted that her coffins had never even had their lids fitted on them before they were brought with the mummy to the tomb. Everything was hurried. While the mummy and its open coffins were lying around on the ground and the burial party was waiting, the grave diggers were still digging out the pit'*

(Winlock 1932b, 54).

The dimensions of newly-cut shafts in the majority of cases did not allow the family of the deceased descend to the burial chamber during the funeral: in fact, in the case of larger (*qeresu*) coffins, it seems that they were taken into the chamber in pieces, and only then put together (Kaczanowicz 2019b, 88). During Petrie's excavation of the intact shaft in the courtyard of Kampp -171-, the outer coffins could not be taken out with their lids on, owing to the small dimensions of the chamber and the shaft (Petrie 1909, 15). In Kampp -61-, the entrance to the burial chamber located on the bottom of a late dynastic shaft had to be reworked to facilitate the lowering of the burial equipment (Schreiber 2015b, 64).

Another issue begging the question of the practical side of funerary ceremonies performed in reused mortuary monuments was the presence of multiple burials in one burial chamber. As



Figure 38. Intact burial of Itfamun, discovered by Winlock in MMA 1008

demonstrated above, while singular burials were not uncommon, multiple burials seem to have constituted the majority of interments in reused tombs. It is very unlikely that they were deposited in the tombs at the same time; instead, most of them were reopened several times in order to allow

new interments to be deposited inside – ‘sequential multiple burials’, according to Gianluca Miniaci's recent classification of multiple burials (Miniaci 2019, 293). In the reused CC 5, for example, the earliest burials (possibly dated to the 22nd dynasty) were placed in the innermost part of the unfinished Middle Kingdom chapel; they were all oriented north-south, with their heads towards the south (Figure 27). The three interments datable to the 25th dynasty were placed closer to the entrance (two burials), and in a side chamber cut in the courtyard (one burial). They were all oriented east-west, with their heads to the west (the two burials in the tomb interior), or to the east (the burial in the side chamber). This arrangement seems to be deliberate, as all the coffins belonging to the same chronological phase share the same orientation: the only difference is between the man buried in the courtyard and his parents. Carter remarked that the earliest coffins ‘*were crowded together as if to make room for the latter burials*’ (Carnarvon, Carter 1912, 24). It is, I think, safe to assume that the arrangement

encountered by Carter's workmen was that of the 25th dynasty. The earlier coffins must have been rearranged for some reason, but not oriented the same way as the new ones; lack of space does not seem to be the reason here as there was some room available. Moreover, it seems that the same arrangement for all the coffins would in fact allow to save space. Carter also remarks that *'some of these latter coffins had pieces of mummy-cloth upon them; the last of all some fragments of a decayed garland'* (Carnarvon, Carter 1912, 24). It seems likely that the garland was placed on the coffin during the last funeral which took place in the tomb, which in turn sheds some light on the cult of the previous owners (or, in this case, persons previously reusing the originally unfinished sepulchre). Floral garlands, associated with late dynastic burials, were discovered in many reused tombs.

While most of the funerary equipment (shabti boxes, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, etc.) were placed in burial chambers, funerary stelae seem to deviate from this pattern: in the reused tomb MMA 801, stelae belonging to the deceased buried in a later shaft (or shafts) were found by the tomb's entrance,⁷² in Kampp -14- a stela stood *'in front of the entrance to the pit'* (Mond 1905, 73), and in TT 414 Wahibra's stela was discovered in the upper part of the tomb, not in the burial chamber. This would be in keeping with earlier suggestions that some of the Third Intermediate Period stelae *'may have been made specifically to be freestanding and commemorative, or were manufactured in order to be placed in tomb superstructures, it is possible that stelae were never intended to be buried with the deceased at all'* (Aston, D. 2009a, 348). However, in the same paragraph, Aston adds that this rule does not apply to Theban stelae, as the majority of them were found in burial chambers (Aston, D. 2009a, 348-349). Saleh remarked that the fact that the stelae had been made of wood (instead of more durable material, such as stone) excludes the possibility that they were meant to be exposed (Saleh, H. 2007, 44). Budka argues that in the fourth century BCE the function of the stelae underwent some significant changes, and specimens from this period (such as the stela of Wahibra) were displayed in accessible parts of tombs. The major arguments in favour of this hypothesis are the presence of wooden *Stelenhalterung* (to set up the stelae) and the fact that the stelae were painted on both sides, as if they were meant to be displayed (Budka 2008, 72-78) – which is also a feature of several earlier examples found in reused tombs. It is possible that already in the Third Intermediate Period some of the stelae were placed in burial chambers, and others in above-ground parts of tombs.

⁷² Saleh believes that the stelae could have been moved by the looters from the shaft to the above-ground chambers (Saleh, H. 2007, 38). However, in his report from works in the tomb, Winlock clearly stated that at least two burials were undisturbed at the moment of their discovery (Winlock 1922, Fig. 27).

It was proposed by Geraldine Pinch that the proliferation of amulets on mummies in the Third Intermediate Period was linked to the fear of the vengeance of the original owners of reused tombs, from which the amulets were meant to protect (Pinch 2003, 446; Harrington 2013, 136). This hypothesis is deeply rooted in the idea that the reuse of tombs was a negative phenomenon, synonymous with unlawful appropriation of the monuments; numerous amulets, however, were found also in burials deposited in newly constructed tombs (Aston, D. 2009a). In the reused Kampp -400-, a number of amulets (dating from the Kushite to the Ptolemaic Period) were found; among them, a bead net overpainted in light red paint, interpreted by Schreiber as remains of liminal rites, meant to bestow prophylactic power on the object and its user (Schreiber 2018b, 264).



Figure 39. Jars containing embalming materials, found by Winlock in the vicinity of MMA 832

Finally, one has to mention the so-called embalmers' caches (Figure 39), which were found also in the vicinity of reused tombs (e.g. TT 11, TT 223). Materials used for mummification could either be placed in wooden coffins (Aston type A) or simply deposited (in jars) in pits (Aston type B) (Aston, D. 2003, 153-155). It is impossible to determine exactly which burials these caches could be associated with (it may be that they should be associated with interments in new tombs located nearby), but I find it very likely that at least some of these deposits were linked to the deceased buried in reused tombs.

a) Cult and veneration of the ancestors (ancestor worship)

The cult of the ancestors or more correctly the veneration of the ancestors, if the distinction proposed above is applied, in first millennium BCE Thebes was carried out primarily by choachytes – professionals (both male and female) hired to perform various services for the deceased:

*According to Egyptian religious belief a deceased person needed offerings to survive in the hereafter, besides being mummified, coffined and buried. It was the sacred duty of the eldest son of the deceased to ensure this. In practice, however, this duty was probably more often than not handed over to a professional – a choachyte – in exchange for remuneration. The appointed choachyte in turn committed himself to perform all sorts of services for the deceased member of the family: if we go by designation *w3ḥ-mw* <<waterpouurer>>, these services consisted of the pouring of water only, but undoubtedly the choachyte also brought food offerings and said the necessary prayers at the tombs of the deceased at regular intervals (Donker van Heel 1995, 21).⁷³*

Choachytes were regularly employed by the families of the deceased in the Theban necropolis at least from the 25th dynasty onwards, although attestations of this title appear in some earlier sources (Sheikholeslami 2017; Sheikholeslami 2019). Tombs were ‘sold’ to choachytes who were supposed to perform rites for the mummies assigned to them.⁷⁴ From the 26th dynasty onwards, Theban choachytes formed a cult-guild and in the Ptolemaic Period – a formal association (*t3 swnt n 'Imn-Ḳpj*); the association’s archive survived to modern times (Pestman 1993, 5; Donker van Heel, in press). One of the private individuals ‘served’ by choachytes was Nesptah (son of Montuemhat, owner of TT 34), known from the Saite Oracle Papyrus (Donker van Heel 2019, 300).

The most important question for this investigation is whether choachytes were employed also by families of the deceased interred in reused tombs. Earlier textual evidence, especially from the Third Intermediate Period, is somewhat scarce (Sheikholeslami 2017). While I know of no document explicitly referring to choachytes performing their tasks in reused Theban tombs in the dynastic period, a number of Ptolemaic documents attest choachyte activities in *Thounabounoun*, the reused Ramesside tomb TT 157 (Pestman 1993, 451). In a source dated to the late Saite Period, a reference to a ‘tomb of the great people’ (*st n p3 ḏw n rmt(w) ʿ3w*) can be found (Donker van Heel 1995, 21). It is tempting to link this designation to multiple burials in reused tombs, however, it may be that the tomb in question was a temple-tomb;

⁷³ In the archives dated to the Ptolemaic Period, one can find information that choachytes were responsible also for preparations for the funeral, storing and transporting the mummy, and furnishing a tomb (Vleeming 1995, 246). Publication of the papyrus Louvre E 3228, dated to the 25th dynasty, is soon to be released: the text confirms that preparations for the funeral were tended to by choachytes also in this period (Donker van Heel 2015; Donker van Heel, in press).

⁷⁴ A text called a Choachyte’s Manual (p. BM EA 10209), dated to the early Ptolemaic Period, seems to have been used by choachytes during such rites (Smith 2009, 178-192; Donker van Heel, in press).

there were several choachytes attached to this sepulchre, thus suggesting it was a large monument.⁷⁵ Another tomb (*hwt*), that of Djekhy, son of Besenmut, according to Koenraad Donker van Heel could be ‘*a hitherto unidentified tomb comprising several subterranean vaults, in one of which the coffin of Djechy son of Besmout was found (...), discovered by Mariette in the temple-complex of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahri in 1858*’ (Donker van Heel 1995, 23). While temple reuse is not identical with tomb reuse (although see *Conclusions* for the discussion on that matter), it brings us at least one step closer to the issue of choachytes’ activities in reused monuments.

There were several attempts to tackle the issue of what exactly the cult of the dead looked like in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. The most obvious observation – that in the first part of the period in question there were no new decorated chapels cut for the deceased – resulted in various hypotheses regarding where the cultic activities were performed. Takao Kikuchi proposed that in the 21st dynasty the cult of the dead moved from the mortuary chapels to the domestic context (Kikuchi 2002). This view was endorsed by Fitzenreiter, who further stated that larger cult installations associated with Egyptian tombs are later attested only in the Ptolemaic Period, but not in the late dynastic era (Fitzenreiter 2018, 55). However, it seems clear that the so-called *Lichthof* in Theban temple-tombs was a place where ritual activities took place (Budka 2010c; Coppens 2014) and Late Period tombs in the Memphite necropolis also had their own cult areas (Bareš 2002). Alternatively, it was suggested that offerings to the deceased buried in reused tombs in the Third Intermediate Period were deposited in the royal temples on the west bank, which at that point played the role of communal cult areas (Niwiński 1988, 29; Cooney 2011, 18).

The recent discovery of a cult installation, dated to the 25th-26th dynasty, in the courtyard of MIDAN.05, provides unambiguous evidence that some cultic activities took place at that time also in reused tombs. Several strata of floral garlands were associated with the deposit of three offerings tables, found under a mudbrick ramp and covered with a thick layer of burnt organic matter, attesting ‘*il riuso prolungato della tomba*’. According to the excavator, cultic activities in the courtyard most likely took place during the Beautiful Festival of the Valley or the Feast of the Decade (Betrò 2017b, 41). A number of mudbrick features, possibly used in the rituals for the deceased, were found in the courtyards of reused tombs (see Chapter 5, *Architecture of late dynastic reuse of Theban tombs*). Additionally, remains of palm trees

⁷⁵ It was suggested that the term ‘great people’ may refer to people of high status, although an alternative interpretation of the term, simply as ‘tomb owners’, was also proposed (Donker van Heel 1995, 23).

found by Winlock in front of the reused MMA 801 could also be connected with some kind of ritual activities, as similar ‘*Pflanzenbecken*’ were an important element in many temple-tombs of Late Period (Eigner 1984, 60). In the previous chapter, I argued that the original decoration of reused chapels was supposed to play the role of the ‘cult infrastructure’ for the deceased buried in shafts located underneath particular scenes. Therefore, it may be that in the case of undecorated sepulchres the primary site of the cult of the dead could be the courtyard, while decorated tombs already possessed necessary installations for performing the rites for the deceased.

The remaining problem is that of the cult of the dead interred in inaccessible, hidden from the view sepulchres, which by definition were never meant to be visited and had no designated cult area: tombs such as MMA 59 or 65, where 21st dynasty princesses were buried, or ‘caches’ (which I will discuss in detail in *Excursus*).

It may seem a striking coincidence that the majority of intact burials discovered in reused tombs comes from the (early) Third Intermediate Period. Out of the 13 intact burial groups, two can be dated to the 21st (TT 358, MMA 59), one to 21st-22nd dynasty (MMA 1008), five to the 22nd (MMA 801, Kampp -171- KV 44, KV 45, KV 64), and three to the 22nd-25th dynasty (TT 192, WV 25). Only two intact burial groups can be securely dated to the Late Period (TT 414 and CC 5). But is it really a coincidence? According to Cooney, from the late 20th to the early 22nd dynasty, due to the fear of tomb robberies, inconspicuousness indeed seems to be a desirable feature of a burial place. Readily reused were tombs without designated cult area and hidden from the view, such as undecorated 18th dynasty tombs in Deir el-Bahari. Such a response to the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age was termed a ‘*defensive adaptation*’ by this scholar (Cooney 2011). However, it seems that this trend changed in time, and in the 25th dynasty at the latest, the Theban elites resumed burying their relatives in conspicuous sepulchres. The most obvious examples of such tombs are, of course, the monumental temple-tombs, but in fact many more such structures are known: at least from the late 22nd dynasty onwards, perhaps modest, but certainly not hidden from the view, mudbrick chapels were erected in the area behind the Ramesseum; the stone chapels of the God’s Wives were erected in Medinet Habu; and last but not least, new structures were built in the courtyards of reused tombs. All of these structures were visible from a distance, which can mean only one thing: secrecy was no longer valued. The Kushite Period was the time of the supposed revival of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, during which family members

commemorated their deceased and visited their tombs in the necropolis (Bietak 2012), as well as the beginning of the increase in demand for the services of the choachytes.⁷⁶

Coming back to the problem of interments in reused sepulchres without the designated cult area, the popularity of this mode of burial in the first millennium BCE seems to be restricted mostly to the 21st-22nd dynasties. The exception seems to be the indeed inaccessible Hanging Tomb, located in the Valley of the Eagle and extensively reused from the Late Period onwards; however, the number of *graffiti* in the vicinity of the tomb indicates that its location was not a mystery and perhaps it was the identification of the sepulchres as the tomb of Amenhotep that made it a desirable spot, not its inaccessibility. Where were cultic activities for the deceased interred in such tombs performed? Niwiński's hypothesis of the role of the temple of Hatshepsut as the communal cult area for the deceased buried in Deir el-Bahari in the 21st dynasty seems convincing, although Kikuchi's arguments for transferring the cult into private houses also cannot be easily discarded. I would therefore argue that the 21st and early 22nd dynasty are the relatively brief period when the cult of the dead was indeed performed not in tombs, but at a different, unspecified location. However, after that, not only the cult of the dead returned to the tombs (both new and reused), but also, with the increasing demand for the services of choachytes, gained a much higher degree of formality. In this sense, the vaguely defined cult of the dead became the true veneration of the ancestors.

In fact, there are many arguments that in Thebes, the ancestor veneration gained a new social dimension in the Late Period. For example, from the 26th dynasty on, the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu (eventually the holy patron of the association of Theban choachytes) was transformed into a necropolis; it was suggested that the popularity of the spot was due to the fact that the deceased buried there wished to be associated with Amenhotep in the afterlife (Donker van Heel 1995, 145, n. 6). A similar situation occurred in many other temples on the Theban west bank.⁷⁷ 'Holy places', such as the supposed tomb of Amenhotep in the Valley of the Eagle or the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192), were also readily used for burial. In the Late Period and later, in the Graeco-Roman times, the cult of deified sages such as Imhotep was a prominent element of the Egyptian religion (Wildung 1977). This phenomenon, entangled with the notion of 'archaism', will be discussed in the last chapter, *Tomb reuse in context*.

⁷⁶ It was remarked by Sheikholeslami that 'somewhat perplexing is the absence of any documentation for choachytes during the Twenty-first Dynasty, especially as it seems the family of s(t)m-priests attached to the Ramesseum was exercising some supervision over the cache tomb TT 320 (...)' (Sheikholeslami 2017, 428).

⁷⁷ Interestingly, this phenomenon began only in the 22nd dynasty; with the exception of Bab el-Gasus, no 21st dynasty interment in a reused temple is known to me (Kaczanowicz 2019b, 83, n. 6).

Conclusions

Individuals buried in reused tombs comprised not only the lower-ranking members of the clergy but also the uppermost echelons of the Theban elites, including members of the royal family. Both men and women were interred in reused mortuary monuments; the only group visibly missing from the dataset are children, constituting only a small percentage of all the deceased. While it may be supposed that at least some of the tombs remained in the hands of the same family for several generations, due to the disturbed context of the majority of finds and the lack of written sources the direct evidence for such practices is scanty.

The archaeological evidence indicates that some form of religious activities took place in reused tombs. The question of the presence of choachytes in reused monuments remains an open one, albeit it can be implied that indeed some of them performed their services also for the deceased buried in reused temples, and perhaps also tombs.

Excursus

‘Caches’ and reburials

A very particular kind of interments are those deposited in the so-called ‘caches’: TT 320 (‘The Royal Cache’) and Bab el-Gasus (‘The Second Cache’). The tomb of Amenhotep II in the Valley of the Kings (KV 35) is also sometimes referred to as a cache (e.g. Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 194-199). The possibility of existence of the ‘Third Cache’ was recently discussed by Aston (Aston, D. 2017). In 2019, the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities announced the discovery of another ‘cache’ in Asasif containing 30 coffins and preliminarily dated to the 22nd dynasty, although except for a few photographs no further details have been published.⁷⁸

The ‘caches’ and their place within typologies of tombs are problematic due to a number of reasons, the first of which is the definition of a cache itself. The definition of a ‘coffin cache’ and ‘tomb cache’, provided by Jonathan P. Elias and recently discussed by Rogério Sousa, is as follows:

A coffin cache is here defined as a cluster of roughly contemporaneous coffins which is associated with a solitary and confined burial zone (e.g., a single chamber or hall). A cache tomb is accordingly, a burial zone which contains a coffin cache. Implicit in connection with the term “cache tomb” is the notion that interments were added to the burial zone over an extended period, the tomb being entered on a repeated basis until perceived as filled (Elias 1993, 145-146).

Thus formulated definition applies perfectly also to the majority of reused tombs; Elias himself refers, for example, to the reused tombs QV 43-44 as a cache. It was further proposed by Aston that New Kingdom sepulchres such as MMA 59 or 60, reused in the 21st dynasty, should be also treated as such (Aston, D. 2017, 12). According to Sousa, to be used as a cache, an earlier tomb must have been ‘disinfested of its original purpose being then occupied by intruder burials. This is not by all means what happens with the so-called ‘caches’ of the 21st Dynasty, where the expression ‘collective tombs’ seems more suitable, given the specific purpose with which they were invested from the start’ (Sousa 2017, 515, n. 2). Subsequently, Sousa rejected the notion of a ‘cache’ as ‘erroneous and misleading when applied to the collective burials of the 21st dynasty’ (Sousa 2017, 515). It seems that not only this definition

⁷⁸ Egypt Independent online, ‘Egypt’s Antiquities Ministry unveils details of Luxor coffin discovery’.

is problematic in regards to 21st dynasty ‘caches’, but also to many other tombs reused in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, where no sign of ‘disinfesting’ can be detected.

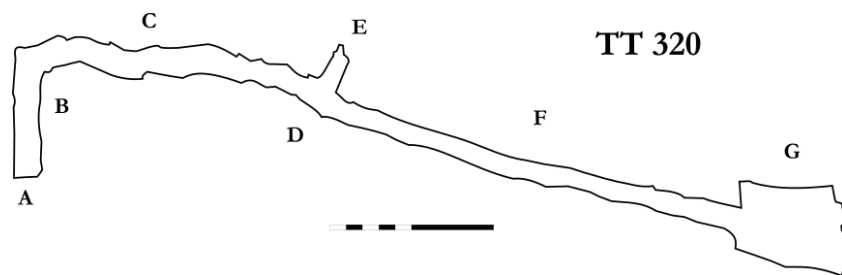


Figure 40. Plan of TT 320

TT 320 (also referred to, especially in older literature, as DB 320) (Figure 40), officially discovered by Émile Brugsch in 1881 but known to the famous Abd el-Rassul family long before that, is located in the First Valley, to the south of the Deir el-Bahari bay. The ‘cache’ housed remains of over 50 different individuals (Table 59). These can be divided into two groups: burials of the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom rulers and their family, and interments of high priests of Amun, dated to the 21st dynasty; apart from that, several anonymous mummies were discovered (Maspero 1889; Aston, D. 2009a, 220-231; Graefe, Belova 2010).

A number of hypotheses were proposed regarding the original date of TT 320. Brugsch himself believed he discovered an 18th dynasty tomb, reused in later times (Belova 2003, 74). Of similar opinion was Winlock, who considered the possibility that the tomb originally belonged to queen Inhapi (Winlock 1931). Niwiński, on the other hand, believes that the tomb was either enlarged in the 21st dynasty or wholly constructed in this period (Niwiński 1984b). Recently, Aston proposed that TT 320 originally belonged to Ahmose-Nefertari (Aston, D. 2013; Aston, D. 2015) – a hypothesis criticized by Graefe, who nevertheless acknowledged that TT 320 could be an 18th dynasty, unused sepulchre (Graefe 2013).

The Bab el-Gasus ‘cache’ (Figure 41), discovered in 1891 by Eugène Grébaut and Georges Daressy, was a burial place of 153 individuals, interred there in the early Third Intermediate Period. Contrary to the Royal Cache, where the majority of burials belonged to the persons living much earlier, all the deceased from the Second Cache seem to have lived in the 21st dynasty (Table 59). They were mostly members of the clergy of Amun: chantresses of Amun, priests, *wab* priests, and God’s Fathers, some of them relatives of high priests (Daressy 1900; Aston, D. 2009a, 164-198; Paganini 2017). The Second Cache was located on the first terrace

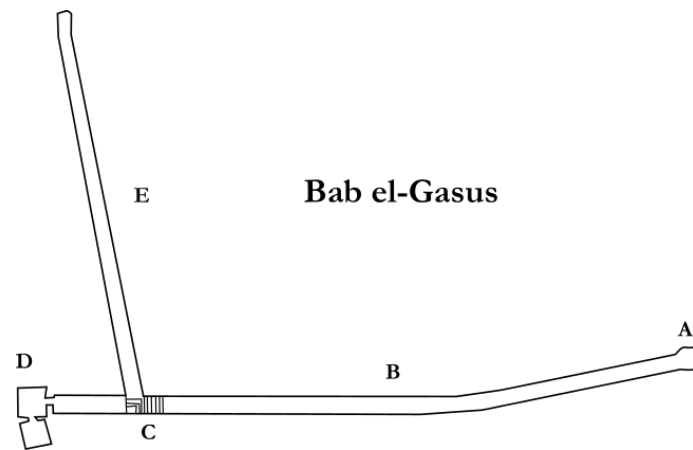


Figure 41. Plan of Bab el-Gasus

of the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari. As in the case of TT 320, it was proposed that Bab el-Gasus was a reused earlier New Kingdom sepulchre (Daressy 1900, 144; Thomas 1966, 174-175). However, it is also possible that Daressy's attribution of the tomb to the Ramesside Period was based on the wrong dating of the coffins, and the tomb was cut in the 21st dynasty instead (Niwiński 1984b).

KV 35 (Figure 42) originally belonged to Amenhotep II. In 1898, Victor Loret discovered remains of 15 individuals, of whom 12 could be identified (Table 59), inside the tomb. Most of them were monarchs of the Ramesside dynasties, but mummies of earlier pharaohs and their wives also came to light. The body of Amenhotep II was found in his sarcophagus, located in the burial chamber, while other mummies were discovered in the side chambers, or in the well (Loret 1898).

'Cache'	Pre-21 st dynasty individuals	21 st dynasty individuals
TT 320	Ahmose I, Ahmose-Henutemipet, Ahmose-Henuttamehu, Ahmose-Inhapi, Ahmose-Merytamun, Ahmose-Nefertari, Ahmose-Sipair, Ahmose-Sitkamose, Amenhotep I, Baket, Nebsemi, Rai, Ramesses I, Ramesses II, Ramesses III, Ramesses IX, Seqenenre Tao, Seti I, Siamun, Sitamun, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Thutmose III	Asetemkheb D, Djedptahiufankh, Henuttawy A, Maatkara A, Masaharta A, Nesikhonsu A, Nesitanebashru, Nodjmet, Pinodjem I, Pinodjem II, Tayuherit
Bab el-Gasus		Amenemhet, Amenemint, Amenempermot, Amenhetpamesha, Amenhotep, Amenniutnakht, Ankhefenkhonsu (i), Ankhefenkhonsu (ii), Ankhefenkhonsu (iii), Ankhefenkhonsu (iv), Ankhefenkhonsu (iv), Ankhefenmut (i), Ankhefenmut (ii), Ankhefenmut (iii), Ankhesenese, Ankhesenmut (i), Ankhesenmut (ii), Ankhesenmut (iii), Aset (i), Aset (ii), Asetemkheb K, Asetemkheb (i), Asetemkheb (ii), Asetemkheb (iii), Bakenkhonsu, Bakenmut (i), Bakenmut (ii), Diamun, Dikhonsuiri, Direpu, Djedkhonsuiufankh (i), Djedkhonsuiufankh (ii), Djedkhonsuiufankh (iii), Djedkhonsuiusankh, Djedmaatiusankh, Djedmutiusankh (i), Djedmutiusankh (ii), Djedmutiusankh (iii), Djedmutiusankh (iv), Gautseshen A, Gautseshen, Hapu, Henuttawy E, Henuttawy, Hor (i), Hor (ii), Horweben, Ihy, Iusankh, Kabesnub, Karo, Khaes, Khonsuemheb, Khonsuemrenep, Khonsumose (i), Khonsumose (ii), Maatkara, Makaekra, Mashetseketeb, Mehtaunedjem, Menkheperra B, Meretamun, Mutnodjmet, Mutpairsekheru, Nesamenopet, Nesamun, Nesikhonsu, Nesmut, Nespahoran, Nespahorentahet, Nespakashuty, Nespaneimakh, Nespaneferhor (i), Nespaneferhor (ii), Nespaneferhor (iii), Nespautytawy, Nespikaf, Nespernub, Nestanebtawy (i), Nestanebtawy (ii), Nestanebtawy

		(iii), Nestanebtawy (iv), Nestawedjatakhet, Nodjmetparenesgereg, Padiamun (i), Padiamun (ii), Padiamun (iii), Pakharu, Pameshem, Pennesuttawy, Pesiuhor, Piamun, Panebenkemet, Pinodjem A, Pinodjem, Pasebkhenet, Payfdjer, Ruru, Satkhonsu, Senenu, Siamun, Shebty, Shedkhonsu, Shedsuamun, Taamun, Tabakenkhonsu, Tahuti, Tamer, Tashait, Tashedkhonsu (i), Tashedkhonsu (ii), Tauhenut, Tawedjatra, Tawseretempnesu, Tayuherit, Tendetmut, Tenetbakenmut, Tenetheret, Tenetiah, Tenetopet, Tenetosorkon, Tenetpenhorunefer (i), Tenetpenhorunefer (ii), Tenetry, Tenettawy, Tjanefer A, Tjanefer (i), Tjanefer (ii), Userhetmose
KV 35	Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, Hatshepsut-Merytra, Merenptah, Ramesses IV, Ramesses V, Ramesses VI, Seti II, Setnakht, Siptah, Thutmose IV, Webensen	

Table 59. Identified individuals buried in the three ‘caches’

Therefore, the three ‘caches’, despite the fact that they are referred to by the same term, differ in their layout and contents. Whilst two of them (TT 320, KV 35) seem to be reused earlier tombs (it is possible that TT 320 was enlarged at some point to house new burials, although the overall layout of the tomb seems to be in keeping with other queenly tombs of the early 18th dynasty), Bab el-Gasus could have been cut in the 21st dynasty. Additionally, in contrast to the other ‘caches’, Bab el-Gasus did not house any pre-21st dynasty remains.

The royal mummies were rewrapped and restored prior to their deposition in reused tombs (Reeves 1990, 225-243). According to Cooney, 100% of the deceased whose remains were

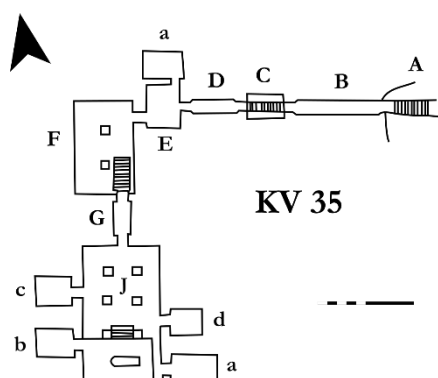


Figure 42. Plan of KV 35

deposited in TT 320 were buried in reused earlier coffins; interestingly, the Bab el-Gasus interments also show a high coffin reuse rate (Cooney 2019, 107). It seems that some of the pre-21st dynasty burials from the Royal Cache were equipped with funerary goods in accordance with the 21st dynasty funerary customs: as demonstrated by Aston, a wooden shabti belonging to the Ramesses II, found in TT 320, was repainted, given an ostrich feather crown, and mounted on a block of wood, thus resembling a black-varnished

Osiris figure, a typical 21st dynasty grave good (Aston, D. 1991).

Evidence for rewrapping and reburials, however, comes not only from the ‘caches’. In the cliff tomb MMA 1021, a mummy of the one-year-old prince Amenemhat, possibly son of the princess Merytamun of the early 18th dynasty, was found in a reused coffin dated to the 20th-21st dynasty (Barwik 1998). Mummies of several 18th dynasty princesses, discovered in the famous Rhind Tomb, seem to have been deposited there no earlier than in Year 27 of Psusennes I (Dodson, Janssen 1989). It is possible that at least one person whose remains were discovered in WV 25 was actually reburied in the tomb (see *Catalogue*). A 21st dynasty hieratic label, published by Aidan Dodson, refers to a reburial of a private person (Dodson 1991). The Tomb Robbery Papyri inform of a reburial of the original owner of TT 158. Recently, Alessandra Colazilli discussed the case of a mummy, kept at the Manchester Museum, probably from Hawara, rewrapped in the first millennium BCE; radiocarbon date place the original interment in the 21st dynasty, while the bandages were dated to around 380

BCE (Colazilli 2017, 279).⁷⁹ Therefore, it seems that rewrapping and reburying older occupants was not a rare practice and not reserved for members of the royal family only; a phenomenon particularly important in the context of the ‘cult of the ancestors’ in the first millennium BCE.

While the so-called ‘caches’ present a series of problems that are far beyond the scope of this work, several observations can be made here in the context of reuse of earlier monuments. Two of the three ‘caches’, both of which housed interments of pharaohs (TT 320 additionally housed burials of high priests of Amun, who in the 21st dynasty were actual rulers of Upper Egypt) were certainly reused tombs, which makes them of interest to this investigation. This clearly shows that the reuse of earlier tombs, at least in the 21st dynasty, was indeed perceived as an appropriate way of burying members of the elite, thus in keeping with Cooney’s suggestion that the perception of burial changed considerably at the end of the New Kingdom (Cooney 2011). Both of the reused tombs were royal sepulchres cut in the 18th dynasty, which may indicate a certain pattern. There seem to be no cult installations associated with TT 320; the absence of mention of any cultic activities performed for the deceased interred there was remarked on by Cynthia M. Sheikholeslami and referred in the previous chapter (Sheikholeslami 2017, 428).⁸⁰ While two of the so-called ‘caches’ are in fact reused tombs, they do differ from the majority of multiple burials in reused sepulchres discussed in this work; in the latter, the process of reuse was likely stretched over time (Miniaci’s ‘sequential multiple burial’), while in the former, most of the deceased were transferred to the ‘caches’ and reburied at a single point (‘secondary simultaneous multiple burial’) (Miniaci 2019, 293).

Finally, if the evidence for rewrapping of older mummies is taken seriously, it implies at least two things: firstly, that a large percentage of mummies dated on the basis of containers in which they were found or even deposition technique could be misdated; and secondly, that even after the 21st dynasty some of the earlier mummies (not necessarily royal, but private as

⁷⁹ However, Colazilli stated that the mummy had been rewrapped in the Roman Period (Colazilli 2017, 279). It is unclear where the Roman date comes from, as radiocarbon dating places the rewrapping in the Late Period. The style of the cartonnage in which the mummy was found ‘*suggests a date in the early Greco-Roman Period*’.

⁸⁰ It was, however, kindly pointed out to me by Andrzej Ćwiek, that in the Winlock archives, kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, there is a reference to a structure (the ‘mastaba’), with a limestone core and a casing of whitewashed mudbrick, located in the centre of the eastern court of the temple of Hatshepsut; according to the ‘native rumour’, Bab el-Gasus should end under it. Remains of the ‘mastaba’ can be seen in one of the photographs published later by Winlock (Winlock 1942, Fig. 46) (sincere thanks are due to Andrzej Ćwiek for this information). It seems rather unlikely to me that the ‘mastaba’, if indeed can be associated with Bab el-Gasus, was a place of cultic activities, although such a possibility cannot be ruled out entirely. If that was the case, the very idea of a concealed ‘cache’ would have to be contested. However, the function of the structure, if indeed it can be dated to the 21st dynasty, remains a mystery.

well) still were treated with reverence. The latter, in turn, provides an additional argument for the significance of the ancestor veneration, discussed in the previous chapter. Unfortunately, the picture of funerary practices of first millennium BCE Egypt is still very fragmentary, but the available data support the hypothesis that the cult of the ancestors was strongly embedded in Egyptian funerary religion of late dynastic era.

Chapter 8

Tomb reuse in context

Economic aspects of tomb reuse

In numerous Egyptological publications, the popularity of tomb reuse in the first millennium BCE is explained as a result of political and economic perturbations of the late New Kingdom; the revival of monumental architecture in the Late Period is subsequently perceived as a reflection of newly-regained political and economic stability:

The decline in the monumentality of the tombs after the New Kingdom was dramatic, reflecting the lack of central control that was a feature of much of the Third Intermediate Period. However, after four centuries of universally modest sepulchres, a revival saw the construction of some of the largest and most elaborate tombs ever built in Egypt, as well as others that marked the high-point in the long battle between tomb-builders and tomb-robbers (Dodson, Ikram 2008, 270).

(...) the logic behind the multiple burials in Egypt [in the late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period] is driven by reduced economic power and a contraction of building activity, leading towards the re-use of older structures (Miniaci 2019, 289).

Moreover, ‘communal burials’ (such as those in reused tombs) are usually associated, more or less explicitly, with burials of the members of the lower strata of the society, who could not afford to construct a separate sepulchre:

Family or communal tombs became common in the later New Kingdom (...), but both they and grouped tombs existed in earlier periods, particularly for the less wealthy (Baines, Lacovara 2002, 11).

These two assumptions (that the popularity of tomb reuse was a result of economic crisis and that ‘communal burials’, such as those in reused tombs, simply reflect economic ineptitude of their owners and their families) are problematic in many aspects. In the following paragraphs, I will attempt to demonstrate that both views are worth revisiting and that the analysis of

interments deposited in reused tombs reveals a more nuanced picture of the funerary practices in first millennium BCE Thebes.

a) Tomb reuse as a result of political and economic crisis

While the popularity of tomb reuse among the Theban elite (with some of the so-called ‘caches’ being a special case of tomb reuse) in the 21st dynasty is often interpreted as a response to the crisis of the late Bronze Age and the lack of resources resulting from the crisis, this interpretation does not explain the longevity of the custom of burying the deceased in reused monuments. It was pointed out by Peden that the political partition did not necessarily mean that throughout the whole Third Intermediate Period Egypt was suffering from economic crisis: *‘It ought to be remembered that in spite of its political weakness the state was far from bankrupt in the Third Intermediate Period and could have funded large-scale quarrying enterprises if it had chosen to do so’* (Peden 2001, 291). A similar view was expressed e.g. by Taylor (Taylor 2000, 358).

Even in the period directly following the end of the Ramesside rule, there is evidence that the shift towards burials in reused tombs and caches rather than construction of new tombs was more than just a result of the lack of means. Whilst it is clear that in the 21st dynasty no resources were invested by the members of the elite in decorated tomb chapels, or even funerary equipment (with a high percentage of earlier coffins being reused),⁸¹ it was noted by Cooney that

(...) the Dynasty 21 mummified body was now subject to the application of more expensive materials, like resins and oils, and more time consuming techniques than ever seen before. Although all of these characteristics of Dynasty 21 embalming are well known to Egyptology, if we put these innovations into a context of economic and religious adaptation during a time of crisis, one could argue that elites were manipulating the flesh of the dead to act as stand-alone funerary objects, capable of functioning without protective coffins if body containers were removed by later opportunists (Cooney 2011, 37-38).

⁸¹ From the 21st dynasty at the latest, objects of daily life, such as furniture or cosmetics, disappeared from the tombs and were replaced by a highly-standardized set of funerary goods of strictly religious significance but relatively low material value: coffins (or cartonnage), ushebtis, figure of Osiris/Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, etc. (Aston, D. 2009a, 269-390). Even the royal tombs in Tanis (21st-22nd dynasty), famous for their intact contents, were almost devoid of objects of daily life.

In other words, due to the fear of robbery, instead of investing in objects (lavish tombs and funerary equipment), the resources were transferred to practices which, even in the case of theft, could not be ‘taken away’ from the deceased, such as elaborate mummification. An interesting detail has been noticed by Winlock in regard to burial of Henuttawy, found in MMA 59: the woman, apparently buried hurriedly, was never mummified, but instead, ‘*her coffins were of the best and her shrouds of the most voluminous*’ and she was interred with several pieces of jewellery (Winlock 1926, 21). The jewellery was not of funerary type; Winlock suggested that it was worn by Henuttawy in her lifetime (Winlock 1926, 22). Since in the 21st dynasty, jewellery was rarely given to deceased buried in reused tombs, it could be that the costly burial equipment was supposed to make up for the lack of mummification.

It was further proposed by Cooney that instead of being a direct result of economic weakness of the Theban elite in the 21st dynasty, the change in burial customs was caused by a shift in funerary beliefs – ostentatious display of wealth in form of monumental tombs was abandoned due to the fear of robbery and investing in expensive funerary goods which could be taken away by robbers was no longer in fashion (Cooney 2011). A similar explanation was offered for the appearance of one-piece cartonnages in the 22nd dynasty; they ‘*were very hard to remove from corpses; they were tight fitting and laced up the back. Both the low material value and the tight fit made this object very defensive – that is, difficult to reuse and not expensive enough to make theft worth one’s while*’ (Cooney 2012, 158). Finally, at least from the 22nd dynasty onwards, mummies, cartonnages, and coffins were covered with black resinous substance (Taylor 1985, 432). Whereas the exact meaning of pouring black substance on the burials (Niwiński 1992b) as well as precise identification of the substance remains unknown (Rummel, Fetler 2017, 453), taking into consideration that resin was a costly material, it may be another indication of the shift from investing resources in objects to investing in practices which aimed at ensuring that the deceased was prepared for the challenges of the afterlife.

Increased emphasis on rites rather than material goods is, however, much more difficult to detect archaeologically. Consequently, if this was the case, the image of the first millennium BCE burial practices could be distorted. However, abandoning the idea of lavish burial equipment (objects of daily life) in favour of objects of strictly religious significance is a strong argument to support the claim that material value no longer played the major part in the perception of the burial. Similarly to burial equipment, new tombs could no longer be considered essential for ensuring the peace of the deceased. In the Demotic tale of

Khaemwase and Setna, dated to the Ptolemaic Period, the protagonists witness two burials: of a rich man, placed in a coffin and interred in the Memphite necropolis and of a poor one, wrapped in mat and taken out to be buried elsewhere. The rich man (whose bad deeds outnumbered good ones) was later encountered by Khaemwase and Setna, pleading and crying out loudly, in the fifth hall of the Underworld, with the pivot of the door fixed in his right eye. Meanwhile, the poor one (whose good deeds were more numerous than bad ones) was seen wrapped in a garment of royal linen, accompanying Osiris in the seventh hall (Simpson, W.K. 2003, 473-475). In the first millennium BCE, a lavish tomb and burial equipment, or lack thereof, were therefore not a deciding factor for one's destiny after death.

b) Tomb reuse as a reflection of individual socio-economic status

Even if the popularity of tomb reuse in the early Third Intermediate Period was indeed the response to the economic crisis, this hypothesis does not allow to understand the popularity of the phenomenon among the elites in later periods. Tombs and temples continued to be reused by the upper echelons of the society, including the royal family, throughout the first millennium BCE (see Chapter 7, *Who was buried in reused tombs?*), long after the end of the crisis. The most surprising perhaps is the erection of tombs of Saite pharaohs and God's Wives of Amun – chapels of modest sizes – in the courtyards of temples (in Sais and Medinet Habu respectively), in contrast to monumental rock-cut tombs constructed for their courtiers in Thebes and Memphis (Eigner 1984; Saadek 1984). This can hardly be explained by the low economic status of the members of the royal family. There is, of course, a possibility that the popularity of tomb reuse in the Theban necropolis was motivated by the lack of available space. However, space was limited only in the main part of the necropolis (the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill and its environs), while a lot of smaller valleys, especially in the south, were still available. At the same time, older tombs in such wadis (for example the Hanging Tomb in the Valley of the Eagle) were readily reused.

Another issue related to the economic aspects of the Theban funerary customs in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period is a problem highlighted recently by Donker van Heel, namely that of choachytes and their material status which, contrary to the common view, was not necessarily low (Donker van Heel 2019). The recurring question, addressed already in the previous chapters, is whether Late Period choachytes were active also in reused tombs. Whilst there is no explicit attestation of choachytes working in reused monuments, it is worth noting that there are Theban choachyte archives dated to the First Persian Period – that is a period

when no new tombs were constructed in the necropolis (e.g. Pestman 1994).⁸² Despite the reluctance to invest in new mortuary monuments,⁸³ the Thebans living in the city in the Late Period were willing to pay substantial sums to the choachytes to secure a regular flow of offerings. Resources seem to have been invested in practices that cannot be detected archaeologically (without textual sources, our knowledge of the activity of the choachytes would be practically non-existent), which again marks a departure from investing in material objects to investing in the ritual sphere instead – a change visible already during the early Third Intermediate Period. Worth particular attention is the fact that in the period in question the reconstructed burial goods of the members of the uppermost echelons of the society – such as, for example, viziers – do not differ substantially from those deposited with burials of the persons of lower social status. Therefore, I would argue that in many cases the decision to reuse an older tomb rather than build a new one could be a conscious choice, motivated by contemporary religious trends rather than economic status.

Tomb reuse and archaism

Rarely discussed in reference to tomb reuse is the phenomenon characteristic for art, architecture, literature, and even craft⁸⁴ of the Egyptian Late Period, i.e. archaism (e.g. Manuelian 1994; Loprieno 2003; Morkot 2003; Tiradritti 2008; Kahl 2010; Smoláriková 2010). While ancient Egyptians were known for their reverence for the past also in earlier periods (Tait 2003), it seems that only in the first millennium BCE⁸⁵ archaism gained a degree of formality never seen before:

In art, the striking feature of this revival is the use, principally in its initial phase, of models from a wide range of periods. There are examples of the copying of standing monuments both in temple relief (e.g. Baines 1973) and in non-royal monuments, of the combination of different styles in single pieces (e.g. Manuelian 1985: 110–12), and of the commissioning by the rich of statues of themselves in a variety of styles (e.g. Leclant 1961: pls. 1–33; Bothmer 1969 [1960]: nos. 13–14). Copies on Roman period papyri of Middle Kingdom tomb inscriptions that were known in situ in the 19th century CE show such material interchanging with the

⁸² Or have not yet been discovered.

⁸³ With no new tombs cut between the 27th and 30th dynasty.

⁸⁴ Archaising tendencies visible in 25th dynasty pottery (albeit of ritual purpose) were recently discussed by Budka (Budka 2017a).

⁸⁵ While in older Egyptological literature the ‘invention’ of archaism was attributed to the Saite pharaohs, the general consensus now is that the beginning of the popularity of archaism in art and architecture can be dated to the 25th dynasty, if not to the late Libyan Period (Morkot 2014).

stream of literary tradition (Baines 1992a: 254 with n. 41; Osing and Rosati 1998: 55–100; Kahl 1999: 268–70). Some of these features have more limited parallels from earlier periods, as with the statue of Amenhotep son of Hapu cited earlier, but their extent is new, as is their rather more public and self-conscious character. These are exemplified in an inscription in the tomb of Ibi at Thebes which invites the reader not just to read it out but also to copy it (Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: 71–3). This tomb is also striking for its decoration, sections of which were closely based on the 6th dynasty tomb (more than 1500 years older) of a namesake at Deir el-Gabrawi, about 300 kilometres to the north. (...) Although there is no evidence for art exhibitions or museums – analogous phenomena may occur elsewhere in the ancient Near East (Roaf 1992; Cooper 1990; Beaulieu 1989: 138–41) – these practices come close to them in their deliberate seeking out of ancient works.

The example of Ibi is one of many. The Late period use of the artistic past involved a more explicit and varied recourse than in earlier times, but not necessarily a fundamental difference in approach. It implies the presence of attitudes and treatments that can be paralleled in artists' methods in many cultures; the classical tradition, both in ancient Rome and thereafter, is the obvious European example. Artistic use of the past in Egypt is a visible analogy for the verbal practices of criticism whose absence from the record many scholars have taken to suggest that a sense of 'art' was lacking – while continuing tacitly to analyse the works themselves as art (Baines 2007, 332–333).

Archaism was expressed in many forms, also in the Theban necropolis. In architecture, the only rock-cut Theban tombs of the late dynastic era, the *Tempelgräber*, clearly draw upon the past with their architectural details (for example, enclosure walls with niches and risalites) as well as the form of the tombs (such as the concept of the 'tomb of Osiris'), modelled after earlier monuments (Eigner 1984). Decoration of these tombs also relies heavily on earlier scenes (Manuelian 1985; Russmann 1994; Morkot 2003, 89–90). In the chapels of the God's Wives of Amun in Medinet Habu, Pyramid Texts can be found on the walls (Ayad 2007). Archaising tendencies are visible in burial equipment from the Kushite Period at the latest: coffins (including the introduction of *qeresu* coffins, in a form of a vaulted shrine) (Taylor 2003, 111–112), stone ushebtis (Gundlach 2013), offering tables (Betrò 2017b), shabti boxes (Aston, D. 1009a, 372), and later also funerary masks (Riggs 2005, 232–238). Archaising

canon of proportions appears on Theban coffins and stelae from the 25th dynasty onwards (Taylor 2003, 99). It was noted by Edna R. Russmann that the open court of Montuemhat's tomb (TT 34) symbolically represented a large *qeresu* coffin (Russmann 1995), thus constituting a curious case of transfer of an archaising concept from funerary equipment to monumental architecture. It is worth stressing that the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari, reused for burials of the Theban elite in the first millennium BCE, was itself a monument strongly inspired and influenced by the notion of the past (Ćwiek 2014).

Despite the presence of archaising tendencies in funerary equipment and contemporary tomb architecture, scholars rarely link archaism to tomb reuse, mostly due to the lack of textual sources explicitly referring to it. Some authors cautiously consider the possibility of the connection between the reuse and archaism, but these remarks are usually limited to very general statements on the subject:

Cases of the re-use of important parts of funerary architecture, or statues modified for later use, are usually explained as being 'usurpation' (a loaded term in any case, implying wrongful acquisition), although Goedicke (1971: 6–7) has suggested that there was an element of respect or even reverence in the process, and the same can surely be assumed to have been true of the Egyptian 'archaizing phenomenon' (Jeffreys 2003, 203).

Others see archaism, for example in the Roman Period, as a result of the popularity of tomb reuse rather than the other way round:

The revival of this form [vaulted coffins] in the Roman Period is an archaism, perhaps inspired by the plentiful Late Period material in West Bank tombs and shafts, which would have been uncovered as Ptolemaic and Roman burials were inserted among earlier burials (Riggs 2003, 186).

Hints regarding the relationship between archaism and tomb reuse may be hidden in the archaising elements in reused tombs. The most visible attempt to establish a link between the present and the past can be found in the tomb of Nespakashuty (TT 312). It is worth remembering that Nespakashuty initially intended to reuse the Kushite Period tomb TT 223, located in the immediate vicinity of his mother's sepulchre (TT 390). Only later he decided to reuse a Middle Kingdom sepulchre in Deir el-Bahari. Archaising tendencies are clearly expressed by the choice of Middle Kingdom models used for decoration of the tomb – mostly

from the nearby tomb of queen Neferu (TT 319), contemporary with the original owner of the sepulchre. This was explained by Nespakashuty's individual interest in the Middle Kingdom art and architecture – a reason given also for the change of his burial site (Pischikova 1998, 60). Contemporary archaising style is visible in the decoration of other reused tombs, e.g. TT 87 or TT 128-129. Another important issue are renovations which took place in reused monuments: the question which needs to be answered, however, is to what extent the reason for the repairs was safety reasons (pillars) or functionality (new pavement), rather than an attempt to establish a symbolic association with the past. Burial equipment in archaising style was readily placed in reused monuments: it was even suggested by Taylor that *qeresu* coffins were placed in undecorated burial chambers of reused temples and sepulchres (rather than in new tombs) in order to '*supply religious elements which might otherwise be incorporated into the tomb*' (Taylor 2003, 112). Apparently, the desire to establish a link between the new owner and the past was felt also by those who reused earlier monuments.

I would like to propose that while the shift from burials in new tombs to interments in secret, hidden from the view reused tombs in the early Third Intermediate Period could have been a 'defensive strategy' against the crisis of the late New Kingdom, the prolonged popularity of tomb reuse in the later periods may have been, at least partially, motivated by the archaising trends, visible in the contemporary art and architecture. It is difficult to imagine that with such a great emphasis placed on the notion of the past, the reuse of earlier monuments (constituting, in fact, the materialised past) would be perceived as symbolically unrelated. The phenomenon of the popularity of 'holy' spots in the necropolis, associated with local 'saints' and reused for burials (such as the Hanging Tomb or the temple of Amenhotep, son of Hapu) serves as indirect evidence in favour of such a hypothesis.

The argument worth considering in the context of the supposed change in the perception of tomb reuse is that the 'concealed' interments, characteristic for the 21st dynasty, were replaced in the later times by burials in reused tombs but accompanied by various structures in the tombs' courtyards (pylons, porches, 'chapels', etc.), clearly visible from the distance and therefore no longer fulfilling its 'defensive' function. In this way, older tombs lost the main advantage justifying their reuse. Therefore I would like to propose that the attractiveness of the earlier Theban tombs for the burial was, at least to some extent, owed to other phenomena, such as the general interest in the past and the perception of old monuments as the sacred space – which was not limited to the Theban necropolis only.

Dodson and Salima Ikram, quoted above, clearly state that the lack of funerary architecture was a characteristic feature not only of Thebes, but of the funerary culture of Egypt in the first millennium BCE (Dodson, Ikram 2008, 270). In necropoleis of many Egyptian cities – such as Aswan (Torre Robles 2019), Kom Ombo (Jansen-Winkel 2004), Abydos (Randall-MacIver, Mace 1900), Asyut (Kahl *et al.* 2016), Heracleopolis (Perez-Die 1998), or Memphis (Lacher-Raschdorff 2011) – there is evidence of extensive reuse of tombs in the first millennium BCE. With the recent increased interest in the archaeology of later periods of Egyptian history, the corpus of evidence is constantly growing.

Grappling with the archaeological evidence, one is often forced to look for solutions outside of the field of archaeology; one possible interpretation of the archaeological evidence from the first millennium BCE – Jaspers’ ‘Axial Age’ (*Achsenzeit*)⁸⁶ – is supplied by philosophy. According to Assmann, in Late Period Egypt, temples – with archaizing texts placed on their walls – played the role of repositories of the Egyptian culture:

(...) the temple was becoming the central organizational element of Egyptian cultural memory (...) the vision of reality was not codified principally in texts but in visual forms (schemata) of writing and art, ritual, and ways of life. By canonizing and institutionalizing this compact organization of cultural memory in its Late Period temples, Egyptian culture succeeded in surviving the massive cultural upheaval brought about in the Ancient World as early as the Persian period by the onset of Hellenization; and as the monument to a past cultural era it was able to go on well into the post-axial world. But it was not in a position to create those forms of interpretive culture that were predominant in the axial cultures and were thus able to preserve their semantic formation right up to the present day (Assmann 2011, 174).

In addition to the temples, ‘archaizing’ literature (with the so-called Saite recension of the Book of the Dead) can be also found on the walls of the monumental mortuary complexes, such as the Theban temple tombs (Verhoeven 1993; Einaudi 2017). The processes described by Assmann were not unique for Egypt: similar transformations, albeit in a different form,

⁸⁶ The term was coined by Jaspers in 1949, who based on previous observations of scholars such as John Stuart-Glennie (Stuart-Glennie 1873) or Alfred Weber (Weber 1935). The Axial Age, covering the period between 800 and 200 BCE, was supposed to be the era when, almost simultaneously, at five different centres in the world (Greece, Israel-Palestine, Iran, India, and China) foundations of modern ethics (*‘the axis of modern history’*) were laid. The concept of the Axial Age has been hotly debated in the past several years (e.g. Mullins *et al.* 2018).

have taken place also in Israel and Greece (Assmann 2011). In all three examples discussed by Assmann, establishing a clear link to the past is the common denominator of the changes which took place at some point of the first millennium BCE in various regions of the Mediterranean.

It is tempting to link tomb reuse to the same phenomenon; after all, if tomb reuse was a conscious attempt to establish a connection with the past, it seems to be more than a coincidence that it gained unprecedented popularity in the same period. However, one has to be very cautious when formulating such general statements. Suffice to say that perhaps the reuse of tombs, although first attested much earlier, became the dominant funerary strategy in first millennium BCE Thebes; that at some point of the first millennium BCE, archaism was introduced in Thebes; that it can be seen in burial equipment, and later also in mortuary architecture; and finally, that the Theban necropolis was not the only site in Egypt where tomb reuse was practiced.

While linking tomb reuse to archaism is a risky endeavour, doomed to belong in the realm of speculation until textual sources explicitly referring confirming the hypothesis are discovered, there can be no doubt that major changes occurred in the Egyptian funerary culture at the end of the second and the beginning of the first millennium BCE. The increased interest in the past is worth considering in the context of the popularity of tomb reuse, but also of the general shift in funerary values which took place in the first millennium BCE. For this, a comparative analysis of tomb reuse in various cemeteries of Egypt may be one of the possible paths of future research. Whilst tomb reuse only recently has started to gain scholarly attention and there are very few scientific publications dealing with the phenomenon comprehensively, archaeology might provide valuable input to the debate on the role of the materialized past in the perception of ancient Egyptians.

Conclusions

The overwhelming popularity of tomb reuse partly coincides with the phenomenon of archaism – a search for inspiration in the past and revival of ancient motifs and forms. The available evidence suggests that at least some of the reused monuments functioned as ‘holy places’, perhaps by association with their original owners. It is possible that the undiminishing popularity of tomb reuse throughout the first millennium BCE was at least partly linked to the general interest in the past, visible in architecture, arts, and literature of the Late Period.

Conclusions

In this study, I attempted to examine the reuse of Theban tombs in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. In the preceding eight chapters, I was analysing various aspects of the reuse, such as the topography and architecture, as well as the meaning of the phenomenon and its perception by ancient Egyptians.

From the analysis above, it is clear that almost all parts of the Theban necropolis, including the royal wadis, were extensively reused in the period in question; almost 80% of all published 'TT' tombs bear traces of reuse. It seems, however, that from the Kushite Period onwards there was a shift: the previously readily reused north parts of the necropolis, such as the Valley of the Kings or Dra Abu el-Naga, became less desirable spots for burial than south locations such as the Valley of the Queens and other south wadis. This tendency is also visible in the contemporary funerary architecture: the 25th dynasty tombs were constructed in areas located in the south parts of the necropolis (Medinet Habu, South Asasif). Central parts of the Theban necropolis (Deir el-Bahari, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, el-Khokha) seem to have been reused throughout the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period.

While a large group of tombs bear traces of alteration of the original layout of the tombs (such as cutting of new burial shafts or enlarging the existing space to accommodate new interments), original burial chambers were also reused; in fact, it seems that in the tombs where the earlier chambers were available, they were filled up first, rather than new shafts being cut. In many cases, the deposition of new burials in reused sepulchres was accompanied by the erection of various structures, for example pylons or 'chapels', in the tombs' courtyards. New owners of reused tombs sometimes added their own decoration to the tombs' walls: nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the new decoration appeared in previously undecorated tombs, or on previously undecorated surfaces. The location of newly-cut shafts seems to have been selected with respect to the existing decoration: the shafts were often located under offering scenes, as if the new owners attempted to use the original cult installations for their own benefit. It is possible that the depictions of the original owners were no longer perceived as representations of individual persons but rather of generic ones, representing the general concept of the 'tomb owner' or 'ancestor', therefore the new occupants of tombs could be addressed by their relatives through these images.

The available evidence suggests that Polz's remarks on the so-called Ramesside 'usurpations' of Theban tombs hold true, at least partially, also for the late dynastic reuse of tombs. Contrary to the often-repeated view, in most of the tombs there is no actual trace of removal of the original burials to make room for new ones; it seems that at least some of the sepulchres had stood open for a prolonged period prior to the deposition of new interments, thus implying that robberies in the tombs had taken place long before the new burials were placed inside. In several reused tombs, the original burial chambers, now looted, do not bear traces of activities in the first millennium BCE. The most probable explanation to me in the case of these monuments is that the robberies took place in the modern time, and the original burials had been intact during the late dynastic era; the new owners, instead of removing the original interments, decided to reuse the tomb without violating the original burials. Finally, there is evidence for rewrapping of the earlier mummies – not only royal ones, deposited in the so-called 'caches', but also of private individuals, indicating that older remains, or at least some of them, were not disposed of, but rather taken care of and treated with respect. The analysis of reused tombs reveals the complexities of the perception of the older monuments by ancient Thebans and the existence of the seemingly contradictory attitudes: while earlier tombs were undoubtedly perceived by some as source of valuables (hence the plague of tomb robberies), bodies of their first occupants were treated with reverence and reburied. Especially in the case of the deceased who had died many centuries earlier, it is unlikely that the persons responsible for the reburial were their actual descendants, which prompts the question about motivations behind such actions and the degree to which they were dictated by formal precepts rather than individual desires. After all, it would have been much easier to dispose of the bodies in secret, especially in the case of the royal monuments, the robbery of which was orchestrated by the state. It was not uncommon for the reused tombs to gain new meanings: in some of the monuments, such as the sepulchre of Kheruef (TT 192), religious ceremonies (not necessarily venerating Kheruef himself) seem to have been held as late as in the Ptolemaic Period. Reused tombs were far from being only ruined monuments, offering the available space for new burials: they were sacred spaces, charged with religious associations, the meaning of most of which probably remains unintelligible to the modern viewer. In a way, reused tombs gained their own agency, making the new owner actively look for new solutions to 'benefit' from the monument after death.

Both members of the elite and upper middle class were represented among people interred in reused tombs whose names and occupation could be identified; among the deceased buried in

reused sepulchres were members of the royal family, by definition belonging to the uppermost echelons of the society. Anthropological analyses suggest that apart from the elite, some burials deposited in reused tombs belonged to people who had performed harder physical labour compared to the original occupants – probably members of the lower social strata, thus indicating that the reused tombs housed all social strata. Interestingly, in at least one case, the person buried interred in a reused grave was a Kushite, indicating that it was not inconceivable for a foreigner to reuse an Egyptian tomb. Grave goods offered to the deceased buried in reused sepulchres were fairly standardized: the analysis of intact burials indicates that similar sets of objects were given to men and women. However, decorating the reused sepulchres seems to have been the privilege of men, although depictions of women also occur on the walls of reused (redecorated) monuments. Missing from the dataset are interments of children, who in the first millennium BCE were either buried without grave goods (in which case it is not possible to date them to any particular period) or must have been interred elsewhere.

Since members of the elite were buried (or, in the case of the so-called ‘caches’, reburied) in reused tombs, both in the 21st dynasty and later, the hypothesis linking burials in reused tombs to interments of the poor must be revisited. In the last chapter, I attempted to show that while the popularity of the reuse of the tombs might have initially been a response to the crisis of the transition between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age (Cooney’s ‘defensive strategies’), the longevity of the practice indicates that other aspects were also of importance. Moreover, if it was that the choachytes performed services for the deceased buried in reused tombs – which is attested for the Ptolemaic Period, but for the earlier times remains a conjecture – it would be in keeping with Cooney’s conclusions that instead of investing resources in lavish tombs or burial equipment, the Theban elite living in the first millennium BCE preferred to spend resources on sophisticated techniques (mummification), or, in this case, rites, which could not be taken away from the deceased even in the case of robbery. It is not impossible that at some point of the first millennium BCE, reused tombs became particularly desirable for burials due to the trend called archaism, visible in art, architecture, and literature of the Late Period, and in the new circumstances, the perception of burials in reused monuments changed as well. Clusters of burials in the vicinity of the tombs of important personages from earlier eras, such as Amenhotep, son of Hapu, were not a rarity in Late Period Thebes. Both members of the lower and higher social strata were buried in reused tombs and it seems certain that in some cases the choice of a reused tomb was a reflection of individual preferences and needs rather

than particular economy. An attitude expressed in the 6th dynasty by an official who chose to be buried in one tomb with his father:

(...) in order to be with this Djau in the same place, not because I did not have the means to build two tombs (Baines, Lacovara 2002, 10)

confirms that such a concept was not foreign to ancient Egyptians as early as in the Old Kingdom.

Reuse of earlier tombs, as I was trying to demonstrate, was not a practice unique for the Theban necropolis. In the first millennium BCE, many Egyptian necropoleis were readily reused. In the last chapter, I tentatively suggested that the recently-revived concept of the ‘Axial Age’ (the term first coined by Jaspers more than seventy years ago), and transformations associated with it, could be a starting point for future considerations on the local and non-local aspects of tomb reuse in the Mediterranean.

Finally, I would like to offer some additional remarks on the reuse of other monuments in the Theban necropolis. Elsewhere I have argued that the reuse of the Theban Temples of Millions of Years – as in their basic concept they were not temples of divinities as such, but rather played the role of cult superstructures for the royal tombs (substructures) in the Valley of the Kingdom – should be perceived as a very particular type of tomb reuse (Kaczanowicz 2019a, 29). In fact, it was the idea that the decoration on the walls of the temple of Hatshepsut played the role of the cult installation for the shafts located in the temple which made me think of a possibility of a similar relationship also in reused tombs. Since Temples of Millions of Years were ‘chapels’ for the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, the burials in shafts located in the temples should be perceived as not much different from burials in shafts in a chapel of any other Theban tomb.⁸⁷ This, in turn, would be a promising ground for a comparative analysis between the interments in reused tombs and reused temples. It is worth remembering that, like the royal tombs were separated from their ‘chapels’, no trace of cult installations was discovered for burials deposited in the reused tombs in the Valley – even though structures of that kind can be found in other parts of the necropolis. I am convinced that a separate study on temple reuse, incorporating data from reused tombs, may help better understand the mechanics of reuse in the first millennium BCE.

⁸⁷ The only difference was that the temples were royal, not private, monuments.

My aim throughout this project was to examine various hypotheses regarding tomb reuse – with the predominating one linking burials in reused tombs to the lower strata of the society – and confront them with the available data. The result is, hopefully, a more nuanced picture of tomb reuse. Since the reuse of older tombs became the dominant burial mode in the first millennium BCE and was practiced also by the elite, it seems clear that perceiving it only through the lens of the economy hinders better understanding of the phenomenon and the concepts behind it. However, there is still much work to do. While I pointed out that comparative analyses of tomb reuse with other Egyptian necropoleis could be one of the possible paths of future research, it needs to be remembered that in the Theban necropolis proper, a large number of tombs – most of them, if undecorated sepulchres are also taken into consideration – remains unpublished or unexcavated. The most neglected monuments seem to be the undecorated Middle Kingdom tombs (especially the tombs located on the south and west slopes of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill), which only recently started to gain scholarly attention. Compared to the relatively well published decorated New Kingdom sepulchres, they constitute a kind of *terra incognita*: although they were surveyed and at least partially cleared by Winlock, almost no details of these works are known, including the number of examined sepulchres.

Fortunately, recently more archaeologists have raised an issue of the necessity of proper documentation of archaeological contexts of later burials deposited in reused tombs as well as of multidisciplinary analyses of the examined remains, which in the future will undoubtedly refine our understanding of the dynamics of tomb reuse. With the reuse of earlier monuments in the first millennium BCE almost completely superseding the construction of new tombs, it is impossible to comprehend the complexities of the Egyptian funerary culture in this period without in-depth studies of tomb reuse and temple reuse. This is why new publications regarding the subject are even more needed.

Appendix A

List of Theban Tombs (TT) with information on their reuse in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period

An asterisk (*) indicates uncertain dating

Unpublished – refers to tombs completely unpublished and those in which the results of archaeological work were not published

Theban Tomb	Location	Reuse in the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period			Unpublished
		Yes	No	Unknown	
1	Deir el-Medina		✓		
2	Deir el-Medina	✓			
3	Deir el-Medina		✓		
4	Deir el-Medina		✓		
5	Deir el-Medina			✓	
6	Deir el-Medina	✓			
7	Deir el-Medina				✓
8	Deir el-Medina		✓		
9	Deir el-Medina	✓			
10	Deir el-Medina	✓			
11	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
12	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
13	Dra Abu el-Naga		✓		
14	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
15	Dra Abu el-Naga		✓		
16	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
17	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
18	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
19	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
20	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
21	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
22	el-Khokha		✓		
23	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
24	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓

25	Asasif	✓			
26	Asasif	✓*			
27	Asasif	✓			
28	Asasif		✓		
29	el-Khokha	✓			
30	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
31	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
32	el-Khokha	✓			
33	Asasif				✓
34	Asasif	✓			
35	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
36	Asasif	✓			
37	Asasif	✓			
38	Asasif				✓
39	Asasif	✓			
40	Qurnet Murai			✓	
41	el-Khokha	✓			
42	el-Khokha			✓	
43	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna			✓	
44	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓* ⁸⁸			
45	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		✓		
46	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
47	el-Khokha	✓			
48	el-Khokha	✓			
49	el-Khokha	✓			
50	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓*			
51	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
52	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
53	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓* ⁸⁹			
54	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
55	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			

⁸⁸ Late dynastic objects mentioned by Collins may come from either this tomb or TT 53.

⁸⁹ Late dynastic objects mentioned by Collins may come from either this tomb or TT 44.

56	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		✓		
57	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
58	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
59	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
60	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
61	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
62	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
63	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
64	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
65	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
66	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
67	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
68	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
69	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
70	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
71	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
72	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
73	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
74	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		✓		
75	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
76	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
77	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
78	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
79	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
80	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
81	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		✓		
82	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
83	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
84	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
85	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
86	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓*			
87	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
88	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
89	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓*			

90	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna			✓	
91	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		✓		
92	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
93	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
94	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		✓		
95	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
96	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
97	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
98	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
99	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
100	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓*			
101	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		✓		
102	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
103	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓*			
104	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
105	el-Khokha	✓			
106	el-Khokha	✓*			
107	el-Khokha				✓
108	el-Khokha	✓*			
109-Kampp-327-	el-Khokha	✓			
110	el-Khokha	✓			
111	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
112	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
113	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
114	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
115	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
116	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
117	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
118	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
119	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
120	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
121	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
122	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓

123	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓* ⁹⁰			
124	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓* ⁹¹			
125	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
126	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
127	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
128-129	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
130	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
131	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓*			
132	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
133	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
134	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
135	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓*			
136	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
137	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
138	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
139	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		✓		
140	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
141	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
142	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
143	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
144	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
145	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
146	Dra Abu el-Naga		✓		
147	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
148	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
149	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
150	Dra Abu el-Naga			✓	
151	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
152	Dra Abu el-Naga			✓	
153	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
154	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓

⁹⁰ Henuttawy's coffin, mentioned by Collins, may come from either this tomb or TT 124.

⁹¹ Henuttawy's coffin, mentioned by Collins, may come from either this tomb or TT 123.

155	Dra Abu el-Naga		✓		
156	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
157	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
158	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓*			
159	Dra Abu el-Naga		✓		
160	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
161	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
162	Dra Abu el-Naga			✓	
163	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
164	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
165	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
166	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
167	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓*			
168	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
169	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
170	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
171	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
172	el-Khokha			✓	
173	el-Khokha				✓
174	el-Khokha				✓
175	el-Khokha				✓
176	el-Khokha		✓		
177	el-Khokha				✓
178	el-Khokha			✓	
179	el-Khokha				✓
180	el-Khokha				✓
181	el-Khokha	✓			
182	el-Khokha		✓		
183	el-Khokha	✓			
184	el-Khokha	✓			
185	el-Khokha				✓
186	el-Khokha				✓
187	el-Khokha	✓			
188	Asasif	✓			

189	Asasif	√*			
190	Asasif	√			
191	Asasif				√
192	Asasif	√			
193	Asasif				√
194	Asasif	√			
195	Asasif	√*			
196	Asasif	√			
197	Asasif	√*			
198	el-Khokha				√
199	el-Khokha				√
200	el-Khokha				√
201	el-Khokha	√			
202	el-Khokha				√
203	el-Khokha				√
204	el-Khokha	√*			
205	el-Khokha	√			
206	el-Khokha				√
207	Asasif	√			
208	Asasif	√			
209	South Asasif	√			
210	Deir el-Medina	√			
211	Deir el-Medina				√
212	Deir el-Medina		√		
213	Deir el-Medina			√	
214	Deir el-Medina	√			
215	Deir el-Medina		√		
216	Deir el-Medina	√			
217	Deir el-Medina	√			
218	Deir el-Medina		√		
219	Deir el-Medina	√			
220	Deir el-Medina				√
221	Qurnet Murai				√
222	Qurnet Murai				√

223	South Asasif	✓			
224	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
225	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
226	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
227	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓*			
228	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
229	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
230	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna			✓	
231	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
232	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
233-Kampp -183-	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
234	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
235	Qurnet Murai	✓*			
236	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
237	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
238	el-Khokha				✓
239	Dra Abu el-Naga			✓	
240	Deir el-Bahari	✓			
241	el-Khokha				✓
242	Asasif				✓
243	Asasif	✓			
244	Asasif				✓
245	el-Khokha				✓
246	el-Khokha				✓
247	el-Khokha				✓
248	el-Khokha				✓
249	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
250	Deir el-Medina				✓
251	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
252	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓*			
253	el-Khokha	✓			
254	el-Khokha	✓			
255	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓

256	el-Khokha	√*			
257	el-Khokha	√			
258	el-Khokha				√
259	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	√			
260	Dra Abu el-Naga		√		
261	Dra Abu el-Naga				√
262	Dra Abu el-Naga				√
263	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	√			
264	el-Khokha				√
265	Deir el-Medina		√		
266	Deir el-Medina		√		
267	Deir el-Medina		√		
268	Deir el-Medina		√		
269	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				√
270	Qurnet Murai				√
271	Qurnet Murai				√
272	Qurnet Murai				√
273	Qurnet Murai				√
274	Qurnet Murai				√
275	Qurnet Murai	√*			
276	Qurnet Murai	√*			
277	Qurnet Murai	√			
278	Qurnet Murai			√	
279	Asasif		√		
280	Second Valley	√			
281	Third Valley		√		
282	Dra Abu el-Naga				√
283	Dra Abu el-Naga		√		
284	Dra Abu el-Naga				√
285	Dra Abu el-Naga	√			
286	Dra Abu el-Naga			√	
287	Dra Abu el-Naga				√
288-289	Dra Abu el-Naga	√			
290	Deir el-Medina	√			

291	Deir el-Medina	✓			
292	Deir el-Medina	✓			
293	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
294	el-Khokha	✓			
295	el-Khokha	✓			
296	el-Khokha	✓			
297	Asasif	✓			
298	Deir el-Medina		✓		
299	Deir el-Medina	✓			
300	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓			
301	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
302	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
303	Dra Abu el-Naga			✓	
304	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
305	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
306	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
307	Dra Abu el-Naga			✓	
308	Deir el-Bahari	✓			
309	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
310	Deir el-Bahari	✓			
311	Deir el-Bahari	✓			
312	Deir el-Bahari	✓			
313	Deir el-Bahari	✓			
314	Deir el-Bahari	✓			
315	Deir el-Bahari	✓			
316	Deir el-Bahari				✓
317	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓*			
318	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna			✓	
319	Deir el-Bahari		✓		
320	Deir el-Bahari	✓			
321	Deir el-Medina		✓		
322	Deir el-Medina	✓			
323	Deir el-Medina	✓			
324	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			

325	Deir el-Medina	√*			
326	Deir el-Medina	√			
327	Deir el-Medina		√		
328	Deir el-Medina				√
329	Deir el-Medina	√*			
330	Deir el-Medina	√*			
331	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	√			
332	Dra Abu el-Naga				√
333	Dra Abu el-Naga				√
334	Dra Abu el-Naga				√
335	Deir el-Medina	√*			
336	Deir el-Medina	√			
337	Deir el-Medina	√			
338	Deir el-Medina				√
339	Deir el-Medina	√			
340	Deir el-Medina				√
341	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		√		
342	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		√		
343	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	√			
344	Dra Abu el-Naga	√			
345	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	√*			
346	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	√			
347	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				√
348	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	√			
349	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna			√	
350	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				√
351	el-Khokha				√
352	el-Khokha				√
353	Deir el-Bahari	√*			
354	Deir el-Medina		√		
355	Deir el-Medina	√			
356	Deir el-Medina		√		
357	Deir el-Medina		√		
358	Deir el-Bahari	√			

359	Deir el-Medina	✓			
360	Deir el-Medina	✓			
361	Deir el-Medina		✓		
362	el-Khokha	✓			
363	el-Khokha	✓			
364	Asasif	✓*			
365	el-Khokha				✓
366	Asasif	✓			
367	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓			
368	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
369	el-Khokha				✓
370	el-Khokha				✓
371	el-Khokha				✓
372	el-Khokha				✓
373	el-Khokha	✓			
374	Asasif	✓			
375	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
376	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
377	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
378	Dra Abu el-Naga		✓		
379	Dra Abu el-Naga	✓*			
380	Qurnet Murai				✓
381	Qurnet Murai				✓
382	Qurnet Murai	✓*			
383	Qurnet Murai		✓		
384	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
385	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
386	Asasif	✓			
387	Asasif				✓
388	Asasif				✓
389	Asasif	✓			
390	South Asasif				✓
391	South Asasif	✓			
392	el-Khokha	✓			

393	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
394	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
395	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
396	Dra Abu el-Naga			✓	
397	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
398	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna		✓		
399	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna				✓
400	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna			✓	
401	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
402	Dra Abu el-Naga				✓
403	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna			✓	
404	Asasif				✓
405	el-Khokha	✓			
406	Asasif	✓*			
407	Asasif				✓
408	Asasif	✓			
409	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	✓*			
410	Asasif	✓			
411	Asasif				✓
412	el-Khokha	✓			
413	el-Khokha	✓			
414	Asasif	✓			
Total		190	45	22	155

Appendix B

Dating of burials in reused tombs

Other – burials which cannot be precisely dated to any particular dynasty (e.g. 22nd-25th dynasty)

Tomb	Minimal number of individuals	Dynasty 21	Dynasty 22	Dynasty 25	Dynasty 26	Dynasty 27	Dynasties 28-30	Other
TT 2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 10	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
TT 11	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
TT 12	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 14	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
TT 16	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
TT 20	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 21	5	0	0	3	0	0	0	2
TT 23	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
TT 25	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 26	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 27	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 29	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
TT 30	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 31	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 32	8	1	3	0	0	0	0	4
TT 34	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
TT 35	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 36	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
TT 37	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
TT 39	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TT 41	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
TT 44	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TT 46	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 47	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1

TT 48	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
TT 49	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 50	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 51	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
TT 52	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
TT 53 ⁹²	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TT 54	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 55	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
TT 57	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 60	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 61	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 63	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 65	8	4	3	1	0	0	0	0
TT 67	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 68	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
TT 69	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 70	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TT 71	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TT 75	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 78	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 79	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
TT 80	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TT 82	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 84	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 85	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
TT 86	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 87	7	0	6	0	0	0	0	1
TT 88	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 89	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 93	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 95	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 96	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 97	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	8
TT 99	6	1	1	3	1	0	0	0

⁹² It is unclear if remains of at least two burials found by Mond were discovered in TT 44 or in TT 53. For this reason the burials were counted only once, as if they had been found in TT 44.

TT 100	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 103	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 104	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 105	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
TT 106	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 108	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 109-Kampp - 327-	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 110	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 112	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 117	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
TT 121	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
TT 123	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 124 ⁹³	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TT 128-129	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
TT 131	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 134	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 135	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 138	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
TT 147	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 148	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
TT 149	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 156	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 157	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
TT 158	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 167	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 181	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 183	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	45
TT 184	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TT 187	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 188	23	2	1	2	16	0	0	2
TT 189	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 190	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 192	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
TT 194	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	4

⁹³ It is unclear if remains of a burial found by Mond come from TT 123 or TT 124. For this reason it was counted only once, as if it had been deposited in TT 123.

TT 195	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 196	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
TT 197	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 201	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
TT 204	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 205	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 207	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 208	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 209	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 210	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 214	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 216	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 217	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 219	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 223	5	0	0	0	2	1	0	2
TT 227	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 233-Kampp- 183-	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 235	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 240	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 243	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
TT 249	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 252	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 253 (+ 253A)	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
TT 254	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 256	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 257	4	0	0	3	1	0	0	0
TT 259	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 263	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 275	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 276	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 277	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 280	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
TT 285	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TT 288-289	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 290	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TT 291	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

TT 292	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 294	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
TT 295	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TT 296	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
TT 297	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 299	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
TT 300	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 308	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 310	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 311	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 312	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
TT 313	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 314 (+ 314A)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 315	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 317	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 320	'cache' (see <i>Excursus</i>)							
TT 322	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 323	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
TT 324	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 325	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 326	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 329	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 330	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 331	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 335	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 336	13	1	11	0	0	0	0	1
TT 337	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
TT 339	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TT 343	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 344	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 345	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 346	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 348	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 353	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 355	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 358	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TT 359	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

TT 360	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 362	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
TT 363	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 364	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 366	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 367	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
TT 373	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
TT 374	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
TT 379	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 382	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 386	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 389	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
TT 391	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
TT 392	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
TT 405	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 406	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 408	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 409	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 410	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
TT 412	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
TT 413	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TT 414	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
MMA 59	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
MMA 60	9	8	0	0	1	0	0	0
MMA 219	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 511	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 512	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 514	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
MMA 515	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 737	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
MMA 801	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
MMA 825	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 828	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 830	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 830A	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 830C	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 830D	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

MMA 832	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
MMA 833	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 834	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 838	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
MMA 851	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
MMA 1008	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 1021	see <i>Excursus</i>							
MMA 1151	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MMA 1152	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Kampp -14-	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kampp -28-	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Kampp -43-	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Kampp -48-	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kampp -49-	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kampp -61-	24	7	4	0	0	0	0	13
Kampp -162-	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kampp -171-	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Kampp -264-	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
Kampp -365- ⁹⁴	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kampp -400-	13	0	0	2	0	0	0	11
KV 1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KV 4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KV 5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KV 10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KV 11	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KV 16	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
KV 17	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KV 18	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KV 19	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KV 21	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KV 27	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KV 28	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KV 34	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
KV 35	'cache' (see <i>Excursus</i>)							

⁹⁴ It is unclear if fragments of the Late Period inscription were found in MMA 834 or in Kampp -3650. For this reason they were counted only once, as if they had been found in MMA 834.

KV 40	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
KV 44	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
KV 45	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
KV 47	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KV 64	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
WV 22	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
WV 24	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
WV 25	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
QV 3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 11	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
QV 12	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 13	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 14	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 16	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 17	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 18	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 22	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 23	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 24	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 31	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 32	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 33	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 34	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 43-44	33	0	0	9	10	0	0	14
QV 53	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 58	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 71	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 77	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 78	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 79	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
QV 80	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
AN B	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
CC 5	9	0	6	3	0	0	0	0

Grab VI	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Grab VII	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
K93.11	7	0	0	0	5	0	0	2
K93.12	14	1	5	1	0	0	0	8
MIDAN.05	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
‘Rhind Tomb’	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Saff 1	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
The Hanging Tomb	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
‘The Unnumbered Tomb’	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tomb B	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Tomb C	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tomb G	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	726	46	73	42	46	10	5	504

Appendix C

Original dating of reused tombs

Other – tombs which cannot be precisely dated to any particular dynasty (e.g. Ramesside)

Tomb	Old Kingdom	Middle Kingdom	Dynasty 18	Dynasty 19	Dynasty 20	Dynasty 25	Dynasty 26	Other
TT 2				✓				
TT 6								✓
TT 9								✓
TT 10				✓				
TT 11			✓					
TT 12			✓					
TT 14				✓				
TT 16				✓				
TT 20			✓					
TT 21			✓					
TT 23				✓				
TT 25				✓				
TT 26				✓				
TT 27							✓	
TT 29			✓					
TT 30			✓					
TT 31				✓				
TT 32				✓				
TT 34						✓		
TT 35				✓				
TT 36							✓	
TT 37						✓		
TT 39			✓					
TT 41								✓

TT 44					✓			
TT 46			✓					
TT 47			✓					
TT 48			✓					
TT 49			✓					
TT 50			✓					
TT 51				✓				
TT 52			✓					
TT 53 ⁹⁵			✓					
TT 54			✓					
TT 55			✓					
TT 57			✓					
TT 60		✓						
TT 61			✓					
TT 63			✓					
TT 65			✓					
TT 67			✓					
TT 68			✓					
TT 69			✓					
TT 70			✓					
TT 71			✓					
TT 75			✓					
TT 78			✓					
TT 79			✓					
TT 80			✓					
TT 82			✓					
TT 84			✓					
TT 85			✓					
TT 86			✓					
TT 87			✓					

⁹⁵ It is unclear if remains of at least two burials found by Mond were discovered in TT 44 or in TT 53. For this reason the burials were counted only once, as if they had been found in TT 44.

TT 88			✓					
TT 89			✓					
TT 93			✓					
TT 95			✓					
TT 96			✓					
TT 97			✓					
TT 99			✓					
TT 100			✓					
TT 103		✓						
TT 104			✓					
TT 105					✓			
TT 106				✓				
TT 108			✓					
TT 109-Kampp- 327-			✓					
TT 110			✓					
TT 112			✓					
TT 117		✓						
TT 121			✓					
TT 123			✓					
TT 124 ⁹⁶			✓					
TT 128-129			✓					
TT 131			✓					
TT 134					✓			
TT 135					✓			
TT 138				✓				
TT 147			✓					
TT 148					✓			
TT 149								✓
TT 156								✓
TT 157				✓				

⁹⁶ It is unclear if remains of a burial found by Mond come from TT 123 or TT 124. For this reason it was counted only once, as if it had been deposited in TT 123.

TT 158								✓
TT 167			✓					
TT 181			✓					
TT 183				✓				
TT 184				✓				
TT 187				✓				
TT 188			✓					
TT 189				✓				
TT 190								✓
TT 192			✓					
TT 194				✓				
TT 195					✓			
TT 196							✓	
TT 197							✓	
TT 201			✓					
TT 204			✓					
TT 205			✓					
TT 207					✓			
TT 208								✓
TT 209						✓		
TT 210				✓				
TT 214				✓				
TT 216				✓				
TT 217				✓				
TT 219				✓				
TT 223						✓		
TT 227			✓					
TT 233-Kampp- 183-				✓				
TT 235					✓			
TT 240		✓						
TT 243								✓
TT 249			✓					

TT 252			✓					
TT 253			✓					
TT 254			✓					
TT 256			✓					
TT 257			✓					
TT 259								✓
TT 263				✓				
TT 275			✓					
TT 276			✓					
TT 277					✓			
TT 280		✓						
TT 285				✓				
TT 288-289				✓				
TT 290				✓				
TT 291			✓					
TT 292				✓				
TT 294			✓					
TT 295			✓					
TT 296				✓				
TT 297			✓					
TT 299					✓			
TT 300				✓				
TT 308		✓						
TT 310		✓						
TT 311		✓						
TT 312		✓						
TT 313		✓						
TT 314		✓						
TT 315		✓						
TT 317			✓					
TT 320			✓					
TT 322								✓

TT 323				✓				
TT 324				✓				
TT 325			✓					
TT 326								✓
TT 329				✓				
TT 330				✓				
TT 331				✓				
TT 335				✓				
TT 336				✓				
TT 337				✓				
TT 339				✓				
TT 343			✓					
TT 344				✓				
TT 345			✓					
TT 346					✓			
TT 348			✓					
TT 353			✓					
TT 355					✓			
TT 358			✓					
TT 359					✓			
TT 360				✓				
TT 362					✓			
TT 363					✓			
TT 364					✓			
TT 366		✓						
TT 367			✓					
TT 373				✓				
TT 374				✓				
TT 379				✓				
TT 382								✓
TT 386		✓						
TT 389							✓	

TT 391						✓		
TT 392								✓
TT 405	✓							
TT 406					✓			
TT 408								✓
TT 409				✓				
TT 410							✓	
TT 412			✓					
TT 413								✓
TT 414							✓	
MMA 59			✓					
MMA 60			✓					
MMA 219		✓						
MMA 511		✓						
MMA 512		✓						
MMA 514		✓						
MMA 515		✓						
MMA 737		✓						
MMA 801		✓						
MMA 825		✓						
MMA 828			✓					
MMA 830		✓						
MMA 830A								✓
MMA 830C								✓
MMA 830D								✓
MMA 832			✓					
MMA 833								✓
MMA 834			✓					
MMA 838		✓						
MMA 851								✓
MMA 1008		✓						
MMA 1021			✓					

MMA 1151		✓						
MMA 1152		✓						
Kampp -14-		✓						
Kampp -28-			✓					
Kampp -43-								✓
Kampp -48-								✓
Kampp -49-				✓				
Kampp -61-					✓			
Kampp -162-			✓					
Kampp -171-			✓					
Kampp -264-			✓					
Kampp -365- ⁹⁷								✓
Kampp -400-				✓				
KV 1					✓			
KV 4					✓			
KV 5				✓				
KV 10				✓				
KV 11					✓			
KV 16				✓				
KV 17				✓				
KV 18					✓			
KV 19					✓			
KV 21			✓					
KV 27			✓					
KV 28			✓					
KV 34			✓					
KV 35			✓					
KV 40			✓					
KV 44			✓					
KV 45			✓					

⁹⁷ It is unclear if fragments of the Late Period inscription were found in MMA 834 or in Kampp -3650. For this reason they were counted only once, as if they had been found in MMA 834.

KV 47				✓				
KV 64			✓					
WV 22			✓					
WV 24			✓					
WV 25			✓					
QV 3			✓					
QV 7			✓					
QV 8			✓					
QV 9			✓					
QV 10			✓					
QV 11			✓					
QV 12			✓					
QV 13			✓					
QV 14			✓					
QV 16			✓					
QV 17			✓					
QV 18			✓					
QV 22			✓					
QV 23			✓					
QV 24					✓			
QV 31				✓				
QV 32			✓					
QV 33				✓				
QV 34				✓				
QV 43-44					✓			
QV 53					✓			
QV 58				✓				
QV 71				✓				
QV 77			✓					
QV 78			✓					
QV 79			✓					
QV 80			✓					

AN B			✓					
CC 5		✓						
Grab VI							✓	
Grab VII						✓		
K93.11			✓					
K93.12			✓					
MIDAN.05								✓
‘Rhind Tomb’								✓
Saff 1								✓
The Hanging Tomb			✓					
‘The Unnumbered Tomb’			✓					
Tomb B								✓
Tomb C			✓					
Tomb G						✓		
Total	1	29	130	59	26	7	8	28

Appendix D

Sex of the deceased buried in reused tombs

Tomb	Minimal number of individuals	Female	Male	Child	Unknown
TT 2	1	0	1	0	0
TT 6	1	0	0	0	1
TT 9	1	0	1	0	0
TT 10	10	3	6	0	1
TT 11	8	1	3	1	3
TT 12	1	0	0	0	1
TT 14	7	3	2	1	1
TT 16	2	1	1	0	0
TT 20	2	0	2	0	0
TT 21	5	2	3	0	0
TT 23	9	1	0	0	8
TT 25	1	0	0	0	1
TT 26	1	0	0	0	1
TT 27	1	0	1	0	0
TT 29	2	0	1	0	1
TT 30	1	1	0	0	0
TT 31	1	0	0	0	1
TT 32	8	1	4	0	3
TT 34	1	0	0	0	1
TT 35	2	0	1	0	1
TT 36	1	0	0	0	1
TT 37	3	0	1	0	2
TT 39	1	0	0	0	1
TT 41	3	0	2	0	1
TT 44	2	1	0	0	1
TT 46	2	1	1	0	0
TT 47	2	0	0	0	2
TT 48	1	0	0	0	1

TT 49	2	1	1	0	0
TT 50	1	0	0	0	1
TT 51	1	1	0	0	0
TT 52	1	0	0	0	1
TT 53 ⁹⁸	0	0	0	0	0
TT 54	1	0	0	0	1
TT 55	7	0	0	0	7
TT 57	1	1	0	0	0
TT 60	1	0	1	0	0
TT 61	1	0	0	0	1
TT 63	1	0	0	0	1
TT 65	8	4	2	0	2
TT 67	1	0	0	0	1
TT 68	7	3	4	0	0
TT 69	1	0	0	0	1
TT 70	1	0	1	0	0
TT 71	2	1	0	0	1
TT 75	1	0	0	0	1
TT 78	2	0	1	0	1
TT 79	4	0	1	0	3
TT 80	2	0	0	0	2
TT 82	1	0	0	0	1
TT 84	1	0	0	0	1
TT 85	2	1	0	0	1
TT 86	1	0	0	0	1
TT 87	7	2	1	0	4
TT 88	1	0	0	0	1
TT 89	1	0	0	0	1
TT 93	2	0	2	0	0
TT 95	1	0	0	0	1
TT 96	1	0	0	0	1
TT 97	9	4	1	0	4
TT 99	6	2	2	0	2
TT 100	1	0	0	0	1

⁹⁸ It is unclear if remains of at least two burials found by Mond were discovered in TT 44 or in TT 53. For this reason the burials were counted only once, as if they had been found in TT 44.

TT 103	1	0	0	0	1
TT 104	2	0	1	0	1
TT 105	1	0	0	0	1
TT 106	1	0	0	0	1
TT 108	1	0	0	0	1
TT 109-Kampp - 327-	1	0	0	0	1
TT 110	1	0	0	0	1
TT 112	1	0	1	0	0
TT 117	1	0	1	0	0
TT 121	1	0	0	0	1
TT 123	1	1	0	0	0
TT 124 ⁹⁹	0	0	0	0	0
TT 128-129	1	0	1	0	0
TT 131	1	0	0	0	1
TT 134	1	0	0	0	1
TT 135	1	0	0	0	1
TT 138	3	1	1	0	1
TT 147	1	0	0	0	1
TT 148	2	0	0	0	2
TT 149	1	1	0	0	0
TT 156	1	0	0	0	1
TT 157	30	0	0	5	25
TT 158	1	0	0	0	1
TT 167	1	0	0	0	1
TT 181	1	0	0	0	1
TT 183	45	0	0	0	45
TT 184	2	0	1	0	1
TT 187	1	0	0	0	1
TT 188	23	5	4	12	2
TT 189	1	0	0	0	1
TT 190	1	0	1	0	0
TT 192	9	4	2	0	3
TT 194	5	0	1	0	4
TT 195	1	0	0	0	1

⁹⁹ It is unclear if remains of a burial found by Mond come from TT 123 or TT 124. For this reason it was counted only once, as if it had been deposited in TT 123.

TT 196	2	0	0	0	2
TT 197	1	0	0	0	1
TT 201	3	0	0	0	3
TT 204	1	0	0	0	1
TT 205	1	0	0	0	1
TT 207	1	0	0	0	1
TT 208	1	0	0	0	1
TT 209	1	0	0	0	1
TT 210	1	1	0	0	0
TT 214	1	0	1	0	0
TT 216	2	1	1	0	0
TT 217	1	0	0	0	1
TT 219	2	0	1	0	1
TT 223	5	0	3	0	2
TT 227	1	0	0	0	1
TT 233-Kampp - 183-	2	1	1	0	0
TT 235	1	0	0	0	1
TT 240	1	0	0	0	1
TT 243	1	0	1	0	0
TT 249	1	0	0	0	1
TT 252	2	0	0	0	2
TT 253 (+253A)	3	0	2	0	1
TT 254	1	0	0	0	1
TT 256	1	0	0	0	1
TT 257	4	1	3	0	0
TT 259	2	0	0	0	2
TT 263	1	0	0	0	1
TT 275	1	0	0	0	1
TT 276	1	0	0	0	1
TT 277	1	0	0	0	1
TT 280	4	0	0	0	4
TT 285	1	0	0	0	1
TT 288-289	1	0	1	0	0
TT 290	1	0	1	0	0
TT 291	1	0	1	0	0
TT 292	1	1	0	0	0

TT 294	1	0	0	0	1
TT 295	2	2	0	0	0
TT 296	2	0	0	0	2
TT 297	1	0	0	0	1
TT 299	7	0	7	0	0
TT 300	2	0	0	0	2
TT 308	1	0	0	0	1
TT 310	1	0	0	0	1
TT 311	1	0	0	0	1
TT 312	1	0	1	0	0
TT 313	1	0	0	0	1
TT 314 (+314A)	2	0	0	0	2
TT 315	2	0	0	0	2
TT 317	1	0	0	0	1
TT 320	'cache' (see <i>Excursus</i>)				
TT 322	1	0	1	0	0
TT 323	4	1	3	0	0
TT 324	1	0	0	0	1
TT 325	1	0	0	0	1
TT 326	1	0	0	0	1
TT 329	1	0	0	0	1
TT 330	1	0	0	0	1
TT 331	1	0	0	0	1
TT 335	1	0	0	0	1
TT 336	13	5	3	0	5
TT 337	2	1	1	0	0
TT 339	1	1	0	0	0
TT 343	1	0	0	0	1
TT 344	1	0	0	0	1
TT 345	1	0	0	0	1
TT 346	1	0	1	0	0
TT 348	1	0	1	0	0
TT 353	1	0	0	0	1
TT 355	1	0	0	0	1
TT 358	1	1	0	0	0
TT 359	2	1	1	0	0
TT 360	1	1	0	0	0

TT 362	12	0	0	0	12
TT 363	1	0	0	0	1
TT 364	1	0	0	0	1
TT 366	1	0	0	0	1
TT 367	2	0	2	0	0
TT 373	3	0	0	0	3
TT 374	4	1	2	0	1
TT 379	1	0	0	0	1
TT 382	1	0	0	0	1
TT 386	1	0	0	0	1
TT 389	3	0	3	0	0
TT 391	1	0	1	0	0
TT 392	1	0	0	0	1
TT 405	1	0	0	0	1
TT 406	1	0	0	0	1
TT 408	1	0	1	0	0
TT 409	1	0	0	0	1
TT 410	3	1	2	0	0
TT 412	3	0	0	0	3
TT 413	1	0	0	0	1
TT 414	2	0	2	0	0
MMA 59	1	1	0	0	0
MMA 60	9	7	2	0	0
MMA 219	2	1	1	0	0
MMA 511	1	0	1	0	0
MMA 512	1	0	0	0	1
MMA 514	1	0	1	0	0
MMA 515	1	0	0	0	1
MMA 737	3	0	0	0	3
MMA 801	4	1	3	0	0
MMA 825	1	0	0	0	1
MMA 828	1	0	0	0	1
MMA 830	1	0	0	0	1
MMA 830A	1	0	0	0	1
MMA 830C	1	1	0	0	0
MMA 830D	1	0	0	0	1
MMA 832	2	0	0	0	2

MMA 833	1	0	0	0	1
MMA 834	1	0	1	0	0
MMA 838	1	0	1	0	0
MMA 851	2	0	1	0	1
MMA 1008	1	0	1	0	0
MMA 1021	see <i>Excursus</i>				
MMA 1151	1	0	0	0	1
MMA 1152	2	0	1	0	1
Kampp -14-	1	1	0	0	0
Kampp -28-	2	1	1	0	0
Kampp -43-	1	0	0	0	1
Kampp -48-	1	0	0	0	1
Kampp -49-	1	0	0	0	1
Kampp -61-	24	4	6	0	14
Kampp -162-	1	0	0	0	1
Kampp -171-	2	1	1	0	0
Kampp -264-	21	0	0	0	21
Kampp -365- ¹⁰⁰	0	0	0	0	0
Kampp -400-	13	4	2	0	7
KV 1	1	0	0	0	1
KV 4	1	0	0	0	1
KV 5	1	0	0	0	1
KV 10	1	0	0	0	1
KV 11	1	0	0	0	1
KV 16	2	0	0	0	2
KV 17	1	0	0	0	1
KV 18	1	0	0	0	1
KV 19	1	0	0	0	1
KV 21	1	0	0	0	1
KV 27	1	0	0	0	1
KV 28	1	0	0	0	1
KV 34	2	0	0	0	2
KV 35	'cache' (see <i>Excursus</i>)				
KV 40	1	0	0	0	1

¹⁰⁰ It is unclear if fragments of the Late Period inscription were found in MMA 834 or in Kampp -3650. For this reason they were counted only once, as if they had been found in MMA 834.

KV 44	3	2	1	0	0
KV 45	2	1	1	0	0
KV 47	1	0	0	0	1
KV 64	1	1	0	0	0
WV 22	4	1	3	0	0
WV 24	5	0	0	2	3
WV 25	8	0	0	0	8
QV 3	1	0	0	0	1
QV 7	1	0	0	0	1
QV 8	1	0	0	0	1
QV 9	1	0	0	0	1
QV 10	1	0	0	0	1
QV 11	3	0	1	0	2
QV 12	1	0	0	0	1
QV 13	1	0	0	0	1
QV 14	1	0	0	0	1
QV 16	1	0	0	0	1
QV 17	1	0	0	0	1
QV 18	1	0	0	0	1
QV 22	1	0	0	0	1
QV 23	1	0	0	0	1
QV 24	1	0	0	0	1
QV 31	1	0	0	0	1
QV 32	1	0	0	0	1
QV 33	1	0	0	0	1
QV 34	1	0	0	0	1
QV 43-44	33	5	15	0	13
QV 53	1	0	0	0	1
QV 58	1	0	0	0	1
QV 71	1	0	0	0	1
QV 77	1	0	0	0	1
QV 78	1	0	0	0	1
QV 79	1	0	0	0	1
QV 80	1	0	0	0	1
AN B	1	0	0	0	1
CC 5	9	1	2	0	6
Grab VI	1	0	0	0	1

Grab VII	1	0	0	0	1
K93.11	7	2	1	0	4
K93.12	14	1	2	1	10
MIDAN.05	2	0	0	0	2
'Rhind Tomb'	1	0	0	0	1
Saff 1	3	0	0	0	3
The Hanging Tomb	2	0	0	0	2
'The Unnumbered Tomb'	1	0	0	0	1
Tomb B	2	0	0	0	2
Tomb C	3	1	0	0	2
Tomb G	1	0	0	0	1
Total	726	104	158	22	442

Catalogue of tombs

Part 1
Theban Tombs (TT)

TT 1

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Sennedjem, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Seti I to Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

TT 1 is one of the few tombs which contained intact New Kingdom burials at the moment of its discovery, although, according to Cooney, it does not provide ‘*an untouched picture of Dynasty 19 depositions at all, but is rather a Dynasty 20 end result following the clearance and reuse of many of the grave goods inside over generations*’ (Cooney 2011, 15). No remains later than those dated to the late New Kingdom came to light in the tomb.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, 190-192; Bruyère 1929, 134-135; Bruyère 1959; Shedid 1994; Cooney 2011.

TT 2

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 43)

Royal/private: private (Khabekhenet, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: ‘Basse Époque’

Dating criteria: excavator’s statement

Remarks:

This tomb, partially cleared in 1917 by the French archaeological mission, was proven to consist of several underground chambers (Gauthier 1920, 11). Later works of Bruyère revealed the presence of multiple burials in the monument: ‘*Dans le caveau 2B, derrière la salle décorée, on a vidé deux autres salles pleines de terre et de momies défaites. Ces caveaux ne formaient avec ceux du n° 299 qu’une seule grande catacombe par le moyen de brèches de communication. On a aveuglé ces brèches pour interdire l’entrée du n° 2B par une autre voie que la porte de fer située au fond du puits n° 2B (fig. 3 8). Les salles ainsi déblayées contenaient de nombreux débris d’objets*’ (Bruyère 1928, 51). Among these were objects belonging to the original burial equipment of Khabekhenet and his family, but also of apparently later date: a pair of men’s shoes made of black leather, dated by Bruyère to the ‘Basse Époque’, a pair of women’s sandals made of pink leather, and four children’s sandals (undated), as well as 47 clay ushebtis of a certain Pasherihathor, 63 blue faience uninscribed ushebtis,¹⁰¹ and one clay ushebti belonging to Padiamunkhonsu (Bruyère 1928, 51-53).¹⁰² Pasherihathor’s ushebtis were discovered also in TT 299 and DM 1125, while Padiamunkhonsu’s – to the east of TT 218 (Valbelle 1972, 53; 69)

Bibliography:

Gauthier 1920; Bruyère 1928, 50-53; Bruyère 1952, 22-56; Valbelle 1972, 53; 69; Aston, D. 2009a, 253.

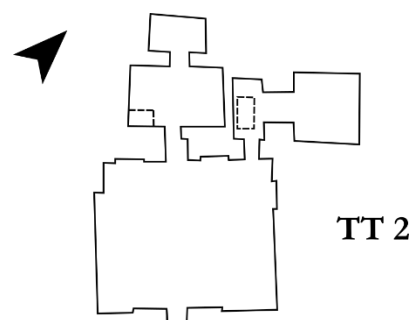


Figure 43. Plan of TT 2

¹⁰¹ According to the excavator, the figurines were intrusive from the nearby tomb 299.

¹⁰² According to Valbelle, Padiamunkhonsu’s ushebtis were made of blue faience (Valbelle 1972, 69).

TT 3

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Pashedu, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No objects datable to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period were reported from the tomb (Zivie 1979, 105-109).

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, 61-63; Zivie 1979.

TT 4

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Ken, sculptor)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

Bruyère mentioned some objects coming from his excavations in TT 4, but based on the description, none of them can be dated to the first millennium BCE.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, 179-182.

TT 5**Original context**

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Neferabet, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context**Remarks:**

The tomb, published by Vandier, was transformed into ‘*catacombs*’ during the Ptolemaic era (Vandier 1935, 2). It remains however unclear whether it was reused also earlier, during the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period. An additional room was cut in the east wall of the burial chamber, damaging the original decoration and therefore certainly postdating the Ramesside structure (Vandier 1935, 8). Nevertheless, its exact date remains unknown.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1927, 85-86; Vandier 1935.

TT 6**Original context**

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 44)

Royal/private: private (Neferhotep and Nebnefer, Servants in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 18th-19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 21st-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

TT 6 is only partially published, however uninscribed clay ushebtis from the tomb were listed in Valbelle's catalogue of funerary figurines from Deir el-Medina (Valbelle 1972, 76; Aston, D. 2009a, 235). They are of my type 2g and can be dated to the 21st-25th dynasty.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 64-65; Valbelle 1972, 76; Aston, D. 2009a, 253.

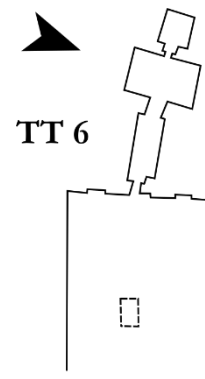


Figure 44. Plan of TT 6

TT 7

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Ramose, scribe in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, pl. II.

TT 8

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Kha, chief in the Great Place)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

The tomb of Kha is another New Kingdom tomb found intact, devoid of any later remains.

Bibliography:

Vandier d'Abbadie 1939; Kampp 1996, 188-190.

TT 9

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 45)

Royal/private: private (Amenmose, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 21st-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: ushebti

Remarks:

During the clearance of TT 9, Bruyère discovered a fragment of a blue faience ushebti belonging to a man called Bakenkhonsu (Bruyère 1926, 185; Valbelle 1972, 50-51; Aston, D. 2009a, 253), of my type 3a. Apart from the statuette, coffin fragments came to light in the tomb; one Ramesside and the rest without description, so their dating remains unknown (Bruyère 1926, 185).

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, 183-185; Valbelle 1972, 50-51; Aston, D. 2009a, 253.

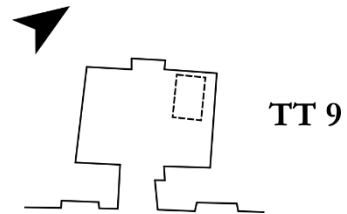


Figure 45. Plan of TT 9

TT 10

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 46)

Royal/private: private (Penbuy and Kasa, Servants in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 10

Dating: Third Intermediate Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

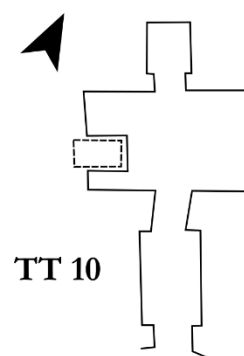


Figure 46. Plan of TT 10

A large number of objects found in the underground rooms of TT 10, mostly ushebtis and coffins, were dated by Bruyère to the ‘*époque ramesside*’ (Bruyère 1925b, 63), but at least some of them are later. The ushebtis belong to the following persons: Khonsuhotep (clay ushebtis painted green, my type 2e), Nespaheran (blue faience statuettes, my types 1a and 2a), Amenhotep (large clay statuettes, unknown type), Amenemsaf (fragment of a blue faience statuette, unknown type), Satkhonsu (blue faience figurines, my type 2a), a priest Bakenamun (clay statuettes, unknown type), Tjenetra (blue faience figurines, my type 2a), Neskonsuiufankh (blue faience statuettes, unknown type), a lady of the house and chantress of Amun Ta[...] (clay figurines, my types 1c and 2g), an anonymous singer of Mut (clay figurines, unknown type), an anonymous chantress of Mut (a blue faience statuette, my type 2a), as well as 9 anepigraphic overseer figurines (Bruyère 1925b, 63-64; Bruyère 1926, 50; Valbelle 1984, 48-50; 57-58; 63-64; 67; 70-71). Probably all of them (except for the statuettes of Amenemsaf, whose burial equipment was found also in TT 339) belong to people buried in the tomb in the Third Intermediate Period (Aston, D. 2009a, 253-254).

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1925b, 61-64; Bruyère 1926, 50; Valbelle 1972, 48-50; 57-58; 63-64; 67; 70-71; Aston, D. 2009a, 253-255.

TT 11

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd (Figure 47)

Royal/private: private (Djehuty, overseer of the treasury)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut)

Later context

Type of burial: 1*, 3a.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 8

Dating: 20th-21st dynasty (1 burial), 21st dynasty (1 burial), late 21st dynasty or later (4 burials), 25th-26th dynasty (2 burials)

Dating criteria: coffins, mummification technique

Remarks:

The Spanish archaeological mission, directed by Galán, discovered five burials in the courtyard of the tomb. Four of them (three belonging to men and one to a child) were found close to the southwest wall of the courtyard, covered with a small ‘*tumulus*’, formed by a heap of rubble. The child and two men were found in their coffins, while the third male was covered only with a shroud. The coffins can be dated to the late 21st dynasty, although the mummification technique points to a later date, so the reuse of earlier containers cannot be ruled out (Galán 2015). The fifth burial, belonging to a woman and earlier than the rest, was found close to the northeast wall of the courtyard, also covered with debris. It was found in a coffin and covered with a shroud. According to the excavators, the burials were found intact and were deliberately deposited in the courtyard.

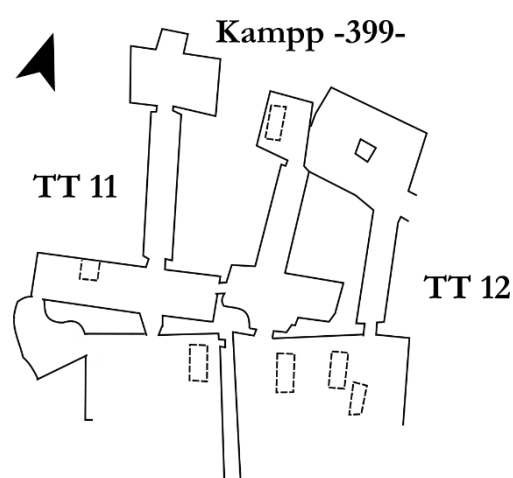


Figure 47. Plan of TT 11, TT 12, and Kampp -399-

A small pit, containing broken (presumably intentionally) pottery vessels, was unearthed in the middle of the courtyard. The pottery was dated to the 20th or 21st dynasty by the excavators. Flower wreaths were also found in the pit.

A shaft, cut in the transverse hall of the tomb and 5.4 m deep, was explored by Galán. On the bottom, two chambers were found, one to the northwest (presumably created first), and the other to the northeast. The first chamber proved to contain the following remains: wood fragments, a lid of a limestone canopic jar representing Qebehsenuef, faience beads, ushebtis '*of various types but characteristic of the Saite period*', and fragments of reliefs from Djehuty's tomb. The corners of the chamber are '*slightly rounded, what gives to the ceiling a vault appearance*'. In the second chamber pottery, faience beads, and ushebti figurines were unearthed (Galán 2010).

Remains from both rooms were dated by their excavators to the 26th dynasty. However, a small detail mentioned in the 2010 report seems to contradict such a date: in both chambers pits were cut in the floor (one pit in the first, and two in the other), apparently to house canopic jars. Such depressions were also found in Medinet Habu and, according to Aston, are typical for the 25th dynasty tombs. I would, therefore, propose that either the burials should be dated to the 25th dynasty as well, or the Dra Abu el-Naga pits are the latest attestations of this practice in the necropolis.

Additionally, during the excavations commissioned by the fifth Marquis of Northampton (1898-1899), a heart scarab belonging to the songstress of Amun called Tamut was discovered in the passage of the tomb. It is tempting to link this find to one of the burials deposited in the shaft. Worth mentioning is also a complete coffin of a woman, Mutankhkhonsu, found by Spiegelberg in 1899 close to the entrance. The never published coffin was dated by him to the '*24th dynasty*'.

Scanty remains of the 21st dynasty burial equipment were discovered in the original burial chamber of the tomb by the Spanish mission, although they may be intrusive. Some small ushebtis, found in the transverse hall of TT 11, were mentioned by Jelf (Kaczanowicz, in press). In the courtyard several mummification deposits were found, dated to the Saite Period by the Spanish team.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 190-192; Galán 2007; Galán 2009; Fahmy, Galán, Hamdy 2010; Galán 2010; Galán 2015; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 12**Original context**

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IVa (Figure 47)

Royal/private: private (Hery, overseer of the queen's granary)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep I)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

The Spanish archaeological mission discovered a shallow shaft in the chapel, '*only 3m deep, and irregularly cut*', ending in a single burial chamber, apparently later than the original structure (Galán 2012). Inside the chamber the following objects came to light: remains of wall decoration, two heads of wooden coffins, a papyrus fragment, human and animal remains, a cartonnage falcon mummy mask, a group of 376 clay ushebtis painted blue, and a group of 268 ushebtis painted yellow. According to the excavators, the figurines can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Galán 2012), which seems to be a probable date for the shaft. Some small ushebtis, found in the

‘doorway of cavern left’ (‘the cavern left’ being tomb Kampp -399-, located between TT 11 and TT 12), were mentioned by Jelf (Kaczanowicz, in press).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 192; Galán 2007; Galán 2012; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 13

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (‘*mit Vestibül*’)

Royal/private: private (Shuroy, head of brazier-bearers of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

The only objects from TT 13 known to me are those excavated during Jelf’s works in the tomb: two painted pottery shards, and one fragment of a green coffin (Kaczanowicz, in press). None of these can be assigned to any period.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 65-69; Kampp 1996, 192-193; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 14

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 48)

Royal/private: private (Huy, priest of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2a, 4a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

**Minimal number of persons
buried:** 7

Dating: 21st-22nd dynasty (6
burials), Late Period (1 burial)

Dating criteria: pottery, bead
nets, cartonnages, coffins

Remarks:

The Italian mission discovered a large niche, or a 'loculus' ('D'), originally housing at least one burial, cut in the east wall of the chapel. The niche proved to contain a mixture of the following objects: painted plaster fragments, tubular faience beads, a faience amulet (from a bead net), unfired ushebtis, human remains, mudbricks, and pottery fragments. The niche was dated to the 'Late Period' by its excavators (Betrò, Del Vesco, Miniaci 2009, 92-93).

It seems that the sloping passage was also enlarged to make room for new burials: a small chamber ('G') was added to the original structure, probably during the 21st or 22nd dynasty, as indicated by pottery found inside. Five wooden outstretched hands and one fist (from 'yellow' coffins) came to light in the area, as well as wooden and faience ushebtis, beads, a wristlet, and a set of votive goods consisting of a votive bed, two terracotta stelae, and a female figurine. Analysis of human remains allowed to distinguish at least 6 individuals buried in this part of the tomb: two men, three women, and a stillborn child (Betrò, Del Vesco, Miniaci 2009, 91-92; Betrò 2017a).

Finally, a new passage ('E'), connecting tombs TT 14 and MIDAN.05, was cut at some point after the original interment was placed in the tomb. It is unclear when exactly the cutting took place, but a discovery of about 320 small crude ushebtis in the passage suggests a date after the 21st dynasty.

MIDAN.05

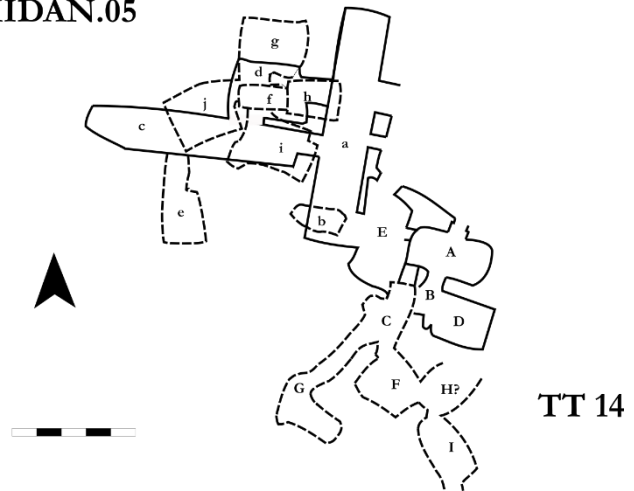


Figure 48. Plan of TT 14 and MIDAN.05

Exploration of TT 14, cut in the south part of the courtyard of the earlier MIDAN.05, is still in progress, hence only preliminary remarks on its reuse can be made. So far, the Italian mission excavated the upper level of the tomb and part of the sloping corridor. Numerous remains of Late Period burials came to light: fragments of coffins, ushebtis, reused limestone fragment, faience Four Sons of Horus amulets, beads from the bead net(s), *wedjat* eyes, textile fragments, and pieces of terracotta plaques. The burial chamber has not yet been fully explored, but the available evidence indicates that the underground part of the tomb was also reused, probably more than once, and its structure was altered to accommodate new burials (Betrò, Del Vesco, Miniaci 2009, 152-165).

Several objects from the tomb, including ushebtis and coffin fragments, were mentioned by Jelf (Kaczanowicz, in press), but none of these can be dated with certainty to the first millennium BCE.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 69-71; Kampp 1996, 193-194; Betrò, Del Vesco 2006; Betrò, Del Vesco, Miniaci 2009; Betrò 2017a; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 15

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: *Sonderform*

Royal/private: private (Tetiky, mayor of Thebes)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Ahmose I to Amenhotep I)

Later context

Remarks:

No finds datable to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period were listed among objects from the tomb.

Bibliography:

Carnarvon, Carter 1912; Davies, N. 1925b; Kampp 1996, 194-196.

TT 16

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 49)

Royal/private: private (Panehesi, priest of Amenhotep I, and Tarenu, chantress of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 21st dynasty

Dating criteria: wooden hands

Remarks:

So far, only preliminary reports from works in TT 16 have been published (Onstine 2011; Onstine 2013). According to Onstine: *‘The corridor was full of loose, disturbed fill and broken mummies, along with numerous small bits of coffin, cartonnage, and shabtis. The first season of excavation yielded perhaps as many as twenty individuals in various states of completeness. None were fully complete. While only five weeks of clearance has taken place, there is enough evidence already to ascertain that the tomb was reused many times over from the Third Intermediate Period to the Roman era’* (Onstine 2011, 232). It seems that the burials concentrated in the sloping passage of the tomb: among finds from this area are coffin fragments (including male and female

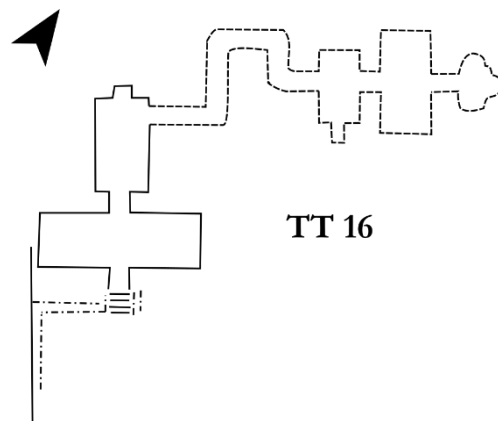


Figure 49. Plan of TT 16

hands, as well as ears), cartonnage fragments, pottery ushebtis belonging to Tjenetshedkhonsu, painted blue-green (my type 2e), and blue-greenish faience ushebtis of Ankhenkhonsu (Onstine 2013, 229-232). These were all broadly dated to the 'Third Intermediate Period'. The presence of wooden hands may indicate at least two burials (male and female) in the 21st dynasty.

Bibliography:

Baud, Drioton 1932; Kampp 1996, 196-197; Onstine 2011; Onstine 2013.

TT 17

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Nebamun, royal physician)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds from TT 17 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 72-73; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, 22-32; Kampp 1996, 198-199.

TT 18

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Baki, chief servant who weighs the silver and gold of the estate of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds from TT 18 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Gauthier 1908, 163-171; Kampp 1996, 199-200.

TT 19

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Amenmose, priest of Amenhotep I)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses I to Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds from TT 19 is known to me.¹⁰³

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 73-76; Petrie 1909, 11; Foucart 1935; Kampp 1996, 200-201.

¹⁰³ Aston lists TT 19 as a tomb in courtyard of which a 22nd dynasty burial shaft was cut (Aston, D. 2009a, 160). However, it seems that the shaft should be associated with the earlier tomb Kampp -171-, with which TT 19 shares a common courtyard (see Kampp -171-) instead.

TT 20

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd (Figure 50)

Royal/private: private (Montuherkhepeshef, prince of Tjebu)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: Third Intermediate Period or Late Period

Dating criteria: names, ushebti

Remarks:

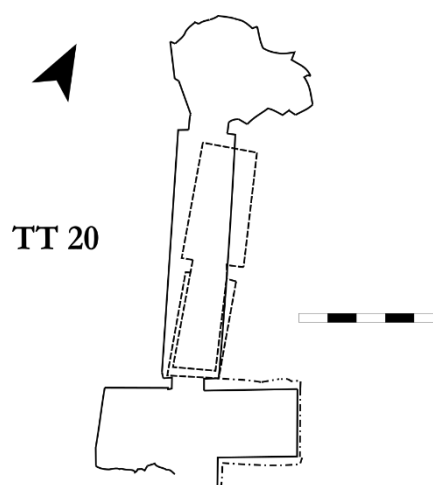


Figure 50. Plan of TT 20

Excavations conducted by Davies yielded ‘hundreds of fragments, known and unknown, and some interesting pieces of burial equipment’ (Davies, N. 1913a, 4). Of the latter, only 32 were listed in the final publication of the tomb, with Davies’ description being very concise in most cases. Nevertheless, names on several objects indicate that the tomb, possibly never used by its original owner (Kampp 1996, 203), housed remains of other occupants: Amenemheb (name on clay sealing), Amenmose (four ‘thick greenish-yellow “canopic” jars’), Ankhefenamun (‘eight small coarse green or unglazed black clay ushabtis’), Padief and Tjenetamun (‘thirty small blue-glaze ushabtis’), priest ‘Thanefer’ (Tjanefer) (‘five red pottery ushabtis painted yellow, the figure lying on a mat (?) in overseer’s tunic’), and an anonymous woman (two ushebti). While Amenemheb’s, Amenmose’s, Tjenetamun’s, Tjanefer’s and the woman’s burials cannot be dated to any period based on their description, Ankhefenamun’s name, popular during the Third Intermediate Period, combined with the description of his

ushebtis, may suggest that his burial should be dated to this era. Similarly, Ranke lists Padief as one of the names common during the Late Period (Ranke 1935, 123, no. 14); the description of his ushebtis supports such dating. No architectural features, however, can be associated with these finds.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1913a, 1-19; Baud 1935, 76-79; Kampp 1996, 201-203.

TT 21

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 51)

Royal/private: private (User, steward and scribe)

Dating: early 18th dynasty (Thutmose I to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 1, 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 5

Dating: 25th dynasty (3 burials), 25th-26th dynasty (2 burials)

Dating criteria: coffins, spelling of the name of Osiris, shabti boxes, bead net

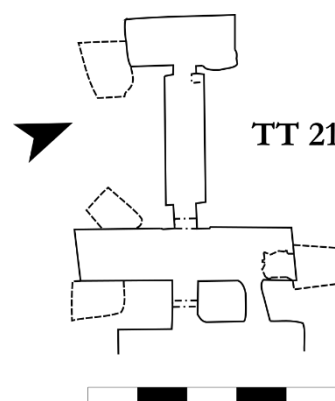


Figure 51. Plan of TT 21

Remarks:

The tomb was cleared in 1906 by Mond; he never published it and only in 1976 notes from this excavation were published by Collins (additionally, some information on the architecture of the tomb comes from Davies' *Five Theban Tombs*).

Mond excavated the shaft in the courtyard of the tomb, which was probably the original burial place for User and his family. On the bottom of the shaft, Mond found a chamber opening to the south. Inside, the following objects were found: a granite statue of a woman, four uninscribed stelae, and Osiris figures of [Na]menkhamun and Hetepamun. Apart from these, 8 coffins came to light, among which five could be identified as belonging to Disiese, her son Padikhonsu, her other son Na[menkhamun], Na[menkhamun]'s son Djeddjehutyefankh, and a woman called Ankhi. The owners of the remaining three remain anonymous, although Collins suggested that Hetepamun's coffin, currently in Liverpool, could be one of the discovered objects (Collins 1976, 38).

Disiese's coffin was dated by Aston to 750-500 BCE, and Padikhonsu's to 710-680 BCE. Additionally, Hetepamun's Osiris figure, as well as and Padikhonsu's, Ne[menkhamun]'s and Djeddjehutyefankh's coffins, features the late spelling of the name of Osiris, thus confirming Aston's dating. Ne[menkhamun]'s Osiris figure features both old and new spelling.

Apart from the courtyard shaft, Mond excavated also the interior of the tomb. In the transverse hall, he discovered three shafts ('*later loculi for burials*', as put by Davies). One of them was located in the northeast corner of the room. It was '*a very rough hole in the north-east corner of the floor, from which a small chamber is reached just below ground-level and outside the area of the tomb*' (Davies, N. 1913a, 20-21). According to Mond's notes a painted stela was recovered from there, although no further details are given. Two shabti boxes belonging to the lady of the house Taamunpawy (Aston type VIIc), and a bead net with winged scarab come probably from the same spot. The boxes and bead net were treated by Aston as a single assemblage (TG 926), datable to years 700-650 BCE.

Another shaft, certainly postdating the original construction of the tomb (hewn at the cost of the scenes), was discovered in the southwest corner of the transverse hall. No

information on the finds from the shaft is available, hence its exact dating remains unknown.

A ‘*loculus*’, postdating the original construction of the tomb (excavated at the cost of the scenes), this time in the southeast corner of the transverse hall, was discovered by Mond and drawn by Davies. No information on the associated finds is currently available.

Finally, ‘*there is a loculus for burial opening out of the south-east corner of this chamber [the chapel], and a small pit in the floor at the north end*’ (Davies, N. 1913a, 21). The former can be seen on Davies’ plan, while the latter can not. No finds associated with the shaft were described in Mond’s notes or in Davies’ publication. It seems that the shaft is later than the tomb. No exact date, however, can be given.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1913a, 20-27; Collins 1976, 38; Kampp 1996, 203-205; Aston, D. 2009a, 233-234.

TT 22

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Wah, royal butler)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

None of the objects published by Mond can be unequivocally dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period.

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 75; Baud 1935, 79-83; Kampp 1996, 205-206.

TT 23

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Ve (Figure 52)

Royal/private: private (Tjay, royal scribe)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Merenptah)

Later context

Type of burial: 2a, 3a.1, 3b.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 9

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period-Late Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

TT 23, dated to the reign of Merenptah and excavated by Mond but never published, proved to contain numerous post-New Kingdom remains. Since 2006, Russian excavations have brought to light a lot of important details regarding the reuse of the tomb. Although the results have not been fully published yet, some preliminary remarks have been offered by the excavators.

A burial shaft (dubbed 'SP' and dated to the Late Period by Ivanov) was excavated in the north part of the courtyard (between the pillars; one of them had been partly dismantled in the process of cutting the shaft). A single chamber was found at the

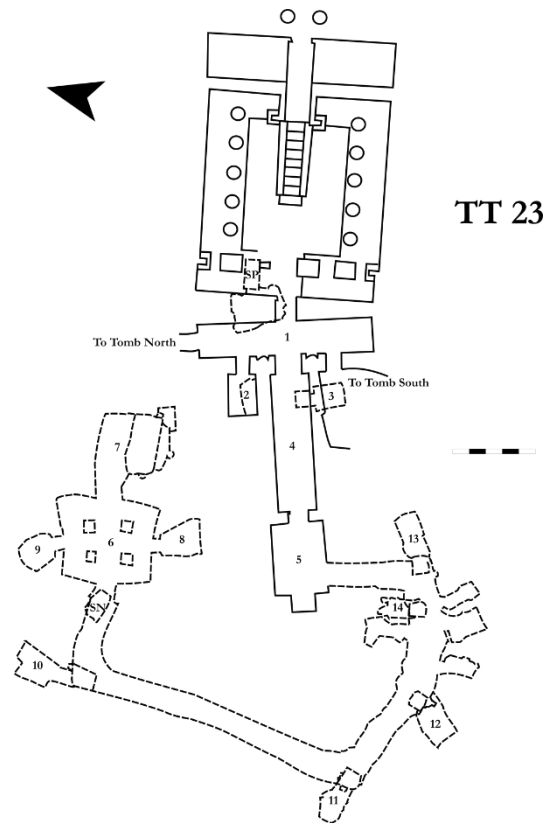


Figure 52. Plan of TT 23

bottom. No details on the finds were given, but Mond's notes indicate that remains of several plundered Late Period burials came to light in the courtyard (Collins 1976, 34). Some of them may come from the 18th dynasty 'Tomb South', located near TT 23, also reused in the Late Period. In fact, it seems that the two tombs were considered a single structure at that time (Ivanov 2018, 11). The stratigraphy of the tomb does not help establish the chronology, since Mond's expedition deliberately moved the heaps of debris to create an artificial mound to lift the sarcophagus of the original owner. The chronology of the shaft may be therefore given only as a broad interval between the end of the New Kingdom (likely post-21st dynasty, as there seem to be no new shafts until the beginning of the 22nd dynasty), and the Ptolemaic Period (finds from that era were reported neither by Mond nor Ivanov).

A shallow 'coffin pit' (50-90 cm deep) was cut in the side chamber of the transverse hall ('Room 2') at some point. It was dated by Ivanov to the 'Late Period', although no specifics were given. It was probably either here or in the other chamber adjacent to the transverse hall ('Room 3') where a fragment of a funerary stela, belonging to 'Hepet-djefa, Chantress of Amūn', was found by Mond (Collins 1976, 34). Another shallow 'coffin pit' (50-90 cm deep), similarly dated, was cut in the side chamber of the transverse hall ('Room 3').

A square shaft, similar to SP, was cut in the main corridor ('Room 4'). At the bottom, a rectangular chamber was cut. It seems that the shaft postdates the original construction of the tomb, but the details remain unclear.

Several side rooms ('Room 8', 'Room 9', 'Room 10', 'Room 11', and 'Shaft SN') were added to the sloping passage at some point in the first millennium BCE. Interestingly, there are traces of repair of one of the pillars in the underground pillared: missing blocks were replaced with blocks from one of the portico pillars (Ivanov 2018, 11). Within the debris Ivanov's team discovered numerous ushebtis, fragments of coffins, cartonnages, amulets, and pottery, as well as modern remains.

Bibliography:

Collins 1976, 34; Kampp 1996, 206-209; Aston, D. 2009a, 234; Ivanov 2012; Ivanov 2018.

TT 24

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIb

Royal/private: private (Nebamun, steward of the queen)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose II to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds from TT 24 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 209-210.

TT 25

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp VIb (Figure 53)

Royal/private: private (Amenemheb, priest of Khonsu)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

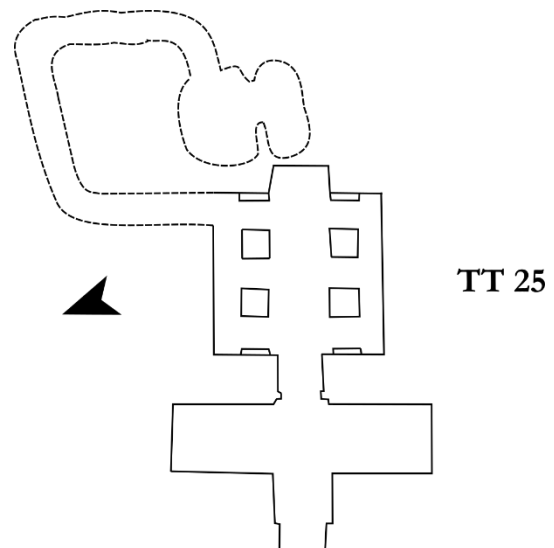


Figure 53. Plan of TT 25

Dating: 22nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

The following objects were found during Jelf's works in TT 25: two small fragments of painting, two 'ka figures', one small figure, one green ushebti, 6 small figures, 153 small ushebtis, five 'tattered fragments of a wrapper' (one of them inscribed), and one small piece of inscribed wood (coffin) (Kaczanowicz, in press). The green colour of ushebtis indicates a date in the 22nd dynasty or later, but no dating can be proposed for the remaining objects.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 211-212; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 26

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 54)

Royal/private: private (Khonsuemheb, overseer of the treasury in the Ramesseum)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 950-730 BCE

Dating criteria: face from a coffin

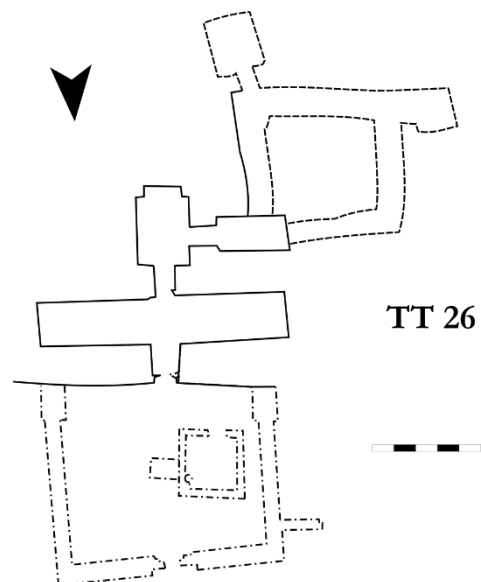


Figure 54. Plan of TT 26

Remarks:

TT 26 was excavated by Jelf in the season 1909-1910, but the results of these works were never published. The finds from the tomb include 20 fragments of ushebtis from the transverse hall (near the entrance), one clay bowl, 7 fragments of ushebtis from the west part of the transverse hall, one funerary cone, a wooden face, three small fragments of paintings, six fragments of '*blue glaze pottery*', two '*sticks with string*', 10 ushebtis found outside, one '*small piece of wood coffin or boat*', one decorated fragment of a mummy wrapper, and one wooden hand (Kaczanowicz, in press). As in the case of TT 25, these objects cannot be dated on the basis of Jelf's (very concise) description: the only hint, perhaps, regarding the dating of the finds, is the mention of a wooden face (presumably of a coffin) which had come to light in the transverse hall, thus suggesting that it was detachable. A similar object was dated by Aston to years 950-730 BCE when coffins with detachable faces were in fashion (Aston, D. 2009a, 159).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 212-213; Aston, D. 2009a, 159; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 27**Original context**

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab* (Figure 55)

Royal/private: private (Shoshenq, steward of the God's Wife)

Dating: 26th dynasty (Apries to Amasis)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

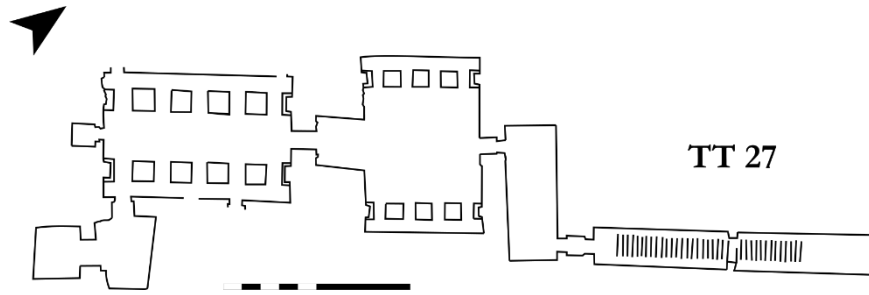


Figure 55. Plan of TT 27

Dating: 30th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: stela (palaeography, iconography)

Remarks:

TT 27, investigated by the Italian archaeological mission, was reused at least once as attested by fragments of a stela discovered between 1976 and 1988. The fragments, found in the subterranean part of the tomb (hypostyle hall) and belonging to a God's Father called Seshenneferem, can be dated to the 30th dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period on the palaeographic and stylistic grounds (Contardi 2006, 153).

Bibliography:

Contardi 2006; Contardi 2010.

TT 28

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Sonderform*

Royal/private: private (Hori, officer of the estate of Amun)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

The only finds from TT 28 known to me are those from Jelf's excavations: one fragment of a pot, one small figure, and one painted slab (Kaczanowicz, in press). None of them can be assigned to any period.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 214; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 29

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 56)

Royal/private: private (Amenemopet, vizier)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 22nd dynasty (1 burial), 26th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: ushebtis, pottery, bead nets

Remarks:

TT 29, excavated between 1999-2005 by the Belgian archaeological mission, was reused several times. Its original owner, vizier Amenemopet, was never buried in it, as

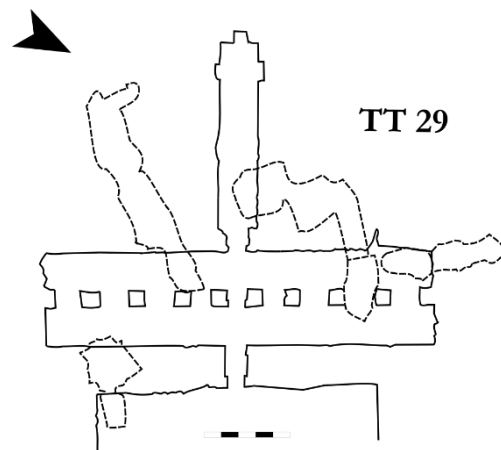


Figure 56. Plan of TT 29

his second tomb – his most probable resting place – was discovered in the Valley of the Kings (KV 48). Nevertheless, some burials took place in TT 29 during the 18th dynasty and later in the first millennium BCE. Among the finds datable to the latter are: 193 blue faience ushebtis, belonging to the God's Father and a goldsmith of the domain of Amun, called Iway, of my type 3a (originally dated to the 18th dynasty by its excavators, but later redated to the 22nd dynasty), 1306 uninscribed pottery ushebtis (overseers and workers), 652 uninscribed pottery ushebtis painted blue, dated by the excavators to the 30th dynasty, winged scarabs and the Four Sons of Horus (once parts of bead nets), pottery (supposedly of Saite date), coffins (*'The Third Intermediate Period is well represented, with large fragments of coffin lids typical of the Twenty-first Dynasty, as well probably as the Twenty-fifth'*), and pieces of cartonnage (Tefnin 2008, 347; Warmenbol 2010, 414). None of these finds have been published in detail, except for the ushebtis of Iway and bead net amulets, which must be later than 750 BCE.

As for the context of the objects, Iway's ushebtis are said to have come from Chamber V, while uninscribed pottery ushebtis – mostly from Chamber III (Tefnin 2008, 347). Unfortunately, these designations were not marked on any of the plans published, hence it is impossible to establish which rooms are those in question. On the plan of TT 29, three shafts are visible, all cut in the floor of the transverse hall; probably at least one of them is later than the tomb.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 214-215; Tefnin 2008; Warmenbol 2010; Bavay, Laboury 2012.

TT 30

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 57)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3b.1*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Late Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb, coffin

Remarks:

During Mond's excavations in the tomb (reused already in the Ramesside Period), a 'double coffin with inscription on inner case, belonging to the Lady of the House, Chantress of Amūn, Nesmut' came to light. It was discovered 'in pit at foot of stairs' (Collins 1976, 33), which seems to be identical with a shaft visible on Kampp's plan. The shaft is most likely a later addition to the tomb (the entrance to the original burial complex is located in the northwest corner of the first room). It is located below the scene depicting the deceased and his wife, in accordance with a trend visible in the late dynastic period. Due to the lack of description and drawing, Nesmut's coffins could not be dated precisely.

Several other objects were found in the tomb: a black diorite scarab, covered in silver, a black diorite statue of a bird, a wooden funerary figurine of the God's Father of Amun Khaemwas, and an uninscribed sandstone coffin. Their exact findspot remains unknown.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 83-84; Collins 1976, 31-33; Kampp 1996, 215-219; Aston, D. 2009a, 234.

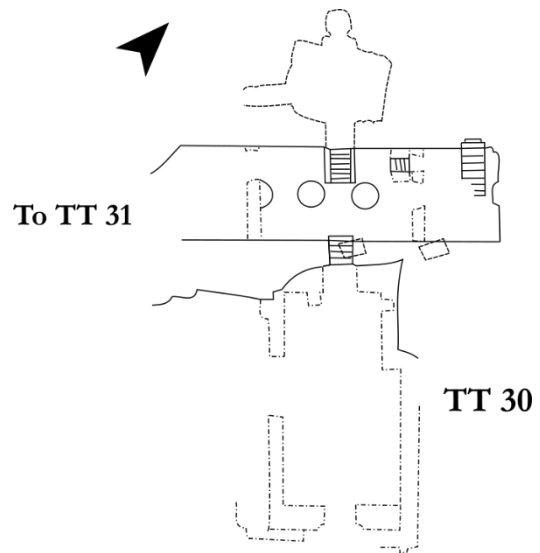


Figure 57. Plan of TT 30

TT 31

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 58)

Royal/private: private (Khonsu, priest of Thutmose III)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)¹⁰⁴

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

The tomb was reused at least once. The original burial installation seems to have been located at the end of the sloping passage (this view, however, was not shared by Davies; Davies, N. 1948, 11), while at least one of the two shafts located in the transverse hall (numbered 1 and 2 by Mond) appears to be of later date (Kampp 1996, 219). Both shafts were excavated by Mond, but *‘beyond twenty-two small ushabtis of dried mud, no objects of any description were found’* (Mond, Emery 1927, 30). The exact findspot of the figurines (which can be dated to the period between the 22nd dynasty and early Ptolemaic Period) was not mentioned.

A breakthrough between TT 30 and 31 is certainly later than the tombs, but no dating can be proposed.

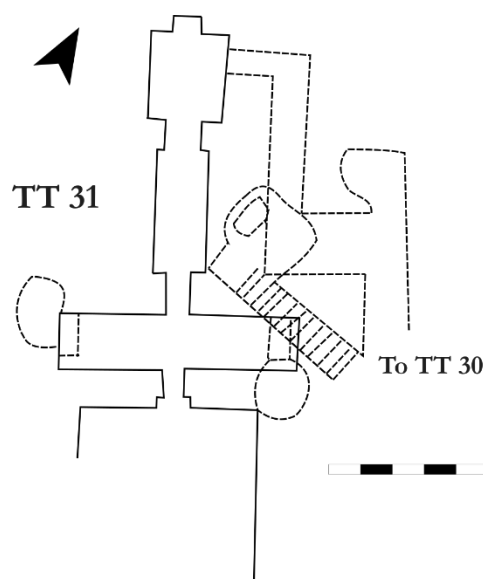


Figure 58. Plan of TT 31

¹⁰⁴ Perhaps a reused earlier tomb (Kondo 1997).

Bibliography:

Mond, Emery 1927, 30; Davies, N. 1948, 11-30; Collins 1976, 33; Kampp 1996, 219-221.

TT 32

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 59)

Royal/private: private (Thutmose, steward of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 1, 2a, 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 8

Dating: late 21st dynasty (1 burial), 22nd dynasty (3 burials), 22nd-early 25th dynasty (1 burial), 25th-26th dynasty (2 burials), 26th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: coffins, ushebti, cartonnages, canopic jars

Remarks:

The original burial chamber of the Ramesside complex ('Room XV') excavated by the Hungarian team, proved to contain remains of yellow coffins, characteristic for the late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period. Analysis of the material by

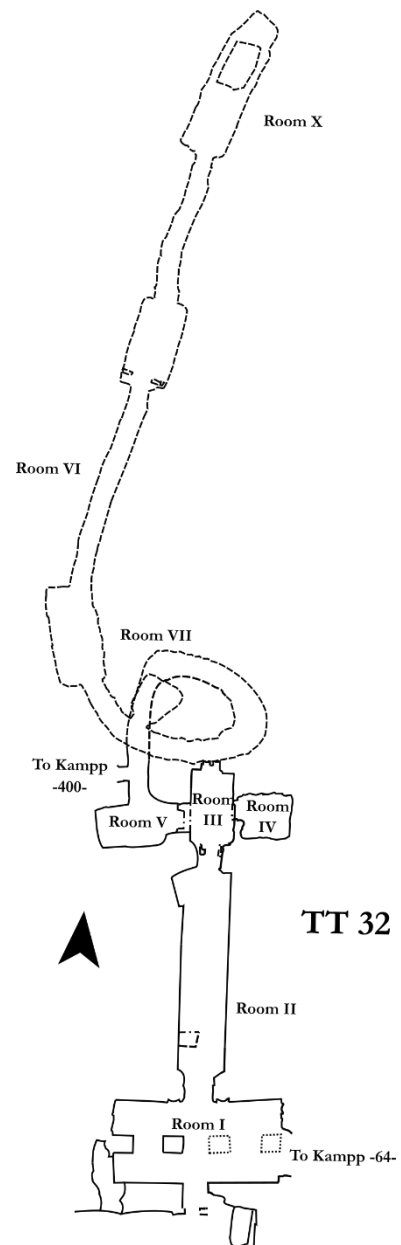


Figure 59. Plan of TT 32

Schreiber made it possible to narrow down this dating to the second half of the 21st dynasty. Apart from the coffins, at least 267 ushebtis, made of Nile silt (my type 3a) and inscribed for a chantress (of Mut?) named Iu or Taiu, came to light. Diagnostic parts of the statuettes (tripartite wig, *seshed* headband) confirm the 21st dynasty date. The chamber was therefore reused for at least one burial at that time.

The second reuse of the chamber took place in the 22nd dynasty, thus attesting the long sequence of later burials in the tomb. Hundreds of cartonnage fragments were found in different locations of the tomb; it is now impossible to distinguish exactly which came from the burial chamber and which from the rooms added to the underground part of the tomb in the later Libyan Period, although it seems probable that the burial chamber was occupied at that time by one Shapadikhonsu, the chamber manager (in the domain) of Amun.

Two new rooms (VIII and IX) were added to TT 32 during the 22nd dynasty, both accessible through a shaft at the end of the sloping passage. This way the original burial complex was effectively enlarged. Due to the disturbed context of finds, I will consider burials in both rooms together.

Numerous pieces of cartonnages were found in the underground environs of TT 32. Among the fragments, one contains the name and title of the deceased (Djedimenet, chamber manager in the domain of Amun), thus establishing a link between him and Shapadikhonsu, buried in the original burial chamber. Apart from the titles on the cases Shapadikhonsu's, Djedimenet's, and one more cartonnage share the same stylistic features (Shapadikhonsu's being the earliest of the three). It was suggested by Schreiber that the underground part of TT 32 housed a family burial at that time: the main burial chamber was occupied by Shapadikhonsu, while his family members were interred in the additional chambers.

A burial shaft was exposed in the southwest part of the corridor leading to the chapel ('Room II'). It was dated by Schreiber to the eighth century BCE (Schreiber 2008, 51). Inside the single chamber on the bottom, a mummy with internal organs replaced with a depicting the Four Sons of Horus, cartonnage fragments, and a dummy canopic jar were found. Since the former occurred in the burials until the reign of Taharka, a date in the 22nd or early 25th dynasty must be proposed, corroborating Schreiber's dating.

Finally, a large number of loose finds, dated to the Kushite-Saite era, was unearthed. Although their original context is now unknown (*'(...) there might have been intrusive Saite burials in the cult chambers of TT 32 as well'*, Schreiber 2008, 51), several objects bear the names of their owners and deserve attention. Three fragments of a coffin belonging to a man named Hor came to light in the transverse hall (Room I) and corridor leading to the chapel (Room II); they can be dated to the 25th or 26th dynasty on the basis of their style. A canopic jar of one Horpen, datable to the 26th dynasty, was discovered in Trench A1. A particularly interesting find is a limestone shabti belonging to Ipy, recovered from the chapel (Room III). Stone statuettes occur only during the 25th and early 26th dynasty, and the number of their owners is very limited. The figurine has both a plinth and a back pillar, which indicates a date in the Late Period.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 221-224; Schreiber 2008; Aston, D. 2009a, 164.

TT 33

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab*

Royal/private: private (Padiamenopet, lector priest)

Dating: 25th-26th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

I know of no publication mentioning finds from excavations in the tomb, although Padiamenopet's grave goods are known from many collections. At some point, the tomb of Padiamenopet became an antiquities storehouse.

Bibliography:

Dümichen 1884-1894; Baud 1935, 84-85; Traunecker 2014.

TT 34

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab* (Figure 60)

Royal/private: private (Montuemhat, mayor of Thebes)

Dating: 25th-26th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: stela

Remarks:

Objects discovered during Nasr's excavations in the tomb can be divided chronologically into two groups: datable to the 26th dynasty, and the Roman Period (Nasr 1997). It is beyond doubt that at least some of Montuemhat's children were interred in TT 34: his son Nesptah's burial is attested by the presence of his coffin, and his daughter Iymimi's – by her stela, discovered by Nasr (Nasr 1997, 213-214). It seems that chapels designated for the owner's family members (adjacent to the *Lichthof*) were part of the original layout of the tomb, and therefore are beyond the scope of this work. Other objects dated to the 26th dynasty (fragments of coffins, part

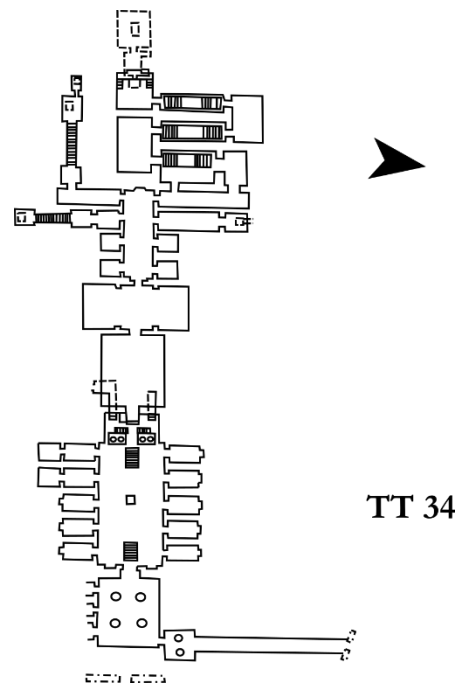


Figure 60. Plan of TT 34

of a wooden stela of Munro type VII, wooden figures) may either come from these interments, or other burials deposited in the tomb in the Late Period.

Bibliography:

Nasr 1997; Gestermann, Gomaà 2014.

TT 35

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 61)

Royal/private: private (Bakenkhonsu, high priest of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 2 or 3b

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: late 21st dynasty (1 burial), 22nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

The upper chambers of TT 35 were cleared in the 1920s by Fisher, but only a short description of the decoration and architecture was given in the report from these works, and none of the finds. The underground part of the tomb was excavated by Bell some fifty years later; *‘although it must have been reused and filled with later burials, no stratified deposits remained, as the rubble had been churned up by generations of*

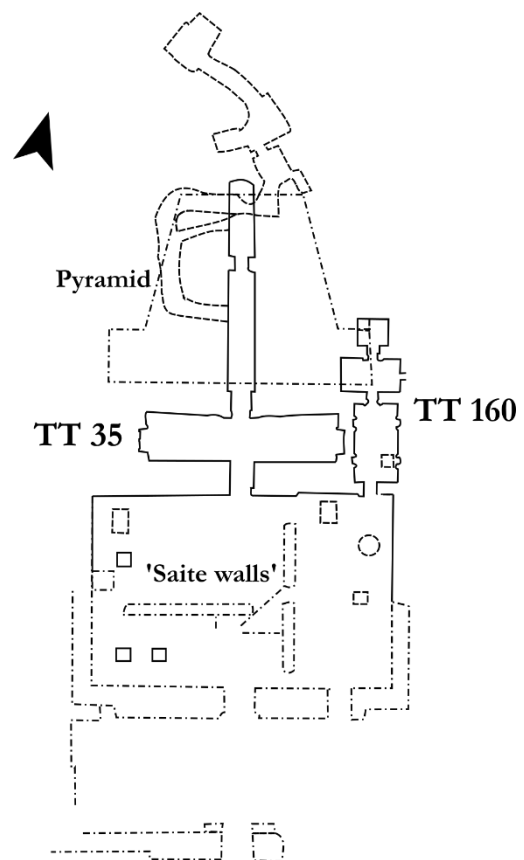


Figure 61. Plan of TT 35 and TT 160

modern robbers' (Bell 1973, 23). Among the objects discovered, *'of scholarly interest'* (i.e. worth listing) were: fragments of white faience canopic jars of a chief steward of the king and overseer of the royal granary called Thutmose, a small ram-headed stick, a lower part of a face from a limestone statue, a silver ring, and *'hundreds of mud and fired clay shawabtis, some inscribed'*.

None of these objects can be dated (the photographs were not published), although the only Thutmose with similar titles known to me is Thutmose, son of Suawyamun (*'the steward and granary archivist'*), who left his inscription near Pylon X in Karnak and can be dated to the late 21st dynasty (Kitchen 1973, 277). The mention of mud figurines indicates a date between the beginning of the 22nd dynasty and early Ptolemaic Period.

To the east of TT 35, a new tomb was constructed in the 25th or 26th dynasty, belonging to one Besenmut (TT 160). New mudbrick walls were erected in front of it, incorporating the courtyard of TT 35. The relationship between the deceased buried in TT 35 and the owner of the new tomb remains unknown.

It is also unclear where the first millennium BCE burials were deposited. There are two main candidates for the location: one of them is the second corridor leading to the burial chamber, starting in the chapel, and believed by Bell to be of a later date than the original tomb; such a claim, however, was called into question by Kampp (Kampp 1996, 227). The other feature that perhaps could be associated with the phase of tomb reuse is a shaft in the courtyard, which can be found on Kampp's plan of the tomb. Nonetheless, it also cannot be excluded that the new owners simply reused the original burial chamber.

Bibliography:

Fisher 1924, 43; Bell 1968; Bell 1969; Bell 1973; Bell 1979; Bell 1981; Seyfried 1987, 238; Kampp 1996, 225-227.

TT 36

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab* (Figure 62)

Royal/private: private (Ibi, steward of the God's Wife Nitocris)

Dating: 26th dynasty (Psamtek I)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 30th dynasty

Dating criteria: ushebtis, pottery

Remarks:

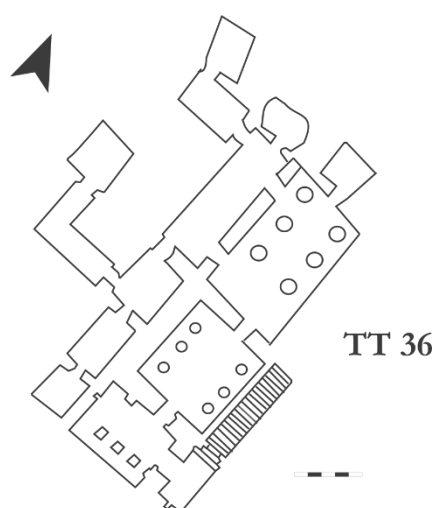


Figure 62. Plan of TT 36

The monumental tomb of Ibi, partly excavated by Kuhlmann and Schenkel in the 1970s, is currently investigated by Polz and Wagner. During the recent works, a decorated burial chamber of Psamtek was discovered on the bottom of the shaft in the room R5. However, it seems that the chamber might have been a feature planned from the very beginning, as Psamtek's depictions appear elsewhere in the tomb, and Psamtek himself seems to be a member of Ibi's family (Wagner 2018, 181-182).

Numerous remains of other late dynastic burials, such as ushebtis, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, canopic jars, beads from bead nets, and amulets came to light in the tomb and its surroundings (Graefe 1990, 55-67). In the majority of cases, it is impossible to tell whether they belonged to the burial equipment of members of Ibi's family, or are part of later, unrelated burials in TT 36. Nevertheless, according to Graefe, two blue (one blue-greenish) faience ushebtis, one of them belonging to Neith[...], should be dated to the 30th dynasty (or later) (Graefe 1990, 62-63). Among the pottery published by

Graefe, there are vessels datable to the first half of the fourth century BCE; the majority of published pottery sherds, however, are of the Ptolemaic date.

Bibliography:

Kuhlmann, Schenkel 1983; Graefe 1990; Wagner 2018.

TT 37

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab* (Figure 63)

Royal/private: private (Harwa, chief steward of the God's Wife of Amun)

Dating: 25th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 3

Dating: 25th-26th dynasty (1 burial), 27th dynasty (1 burial), 28th dynasty-early Ptolemaic (1 burial)

Dating criteria: pottery, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

Remains of a looted burial of a man named Peftjawykhonsu came to light during the Italian excavations in TT 37. The interment was discovered in the shaft YJ. Peftjawykhonsu's grave goods consisted of a cartonnage case and four plastered mud canopic jars, uninscribed (Tiradritti 2004d, 182). The cartonnage fragments were dated by Tiradritti to the 26th dynasty: such a date seems very late for a cartonnage, but

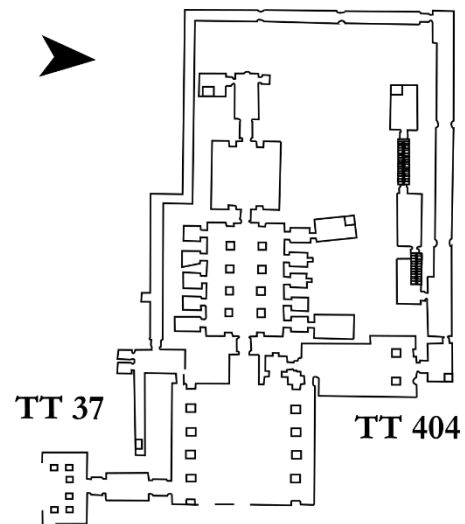


Figure 63. Plan of TT 37 and TT 404

perhaps should not be discarded. The orthography of the name of Osiris points to a date after 740 BCE.

Some pottery vessels discovered in the complex can be dated to the First Persian Period, while remaining sherds appear to date to the fourth century to early Ptolemaic Period (Laemmel 2013, 227-239). Remains of anthropoid coffins ‘*dated to the Late Period*’, as well as ushebti fragments, bead nets, mummy bandages, and canopic jars, were also found (Tiradritti 2004a, 162; Tiradritti 2004b, 167; Tiradritti 2004d, 182).

The reuse of the tomb continued well into the Graeco-Roman era (Tiradritti 2004a, 162; Tiradritti 2004e, 195; Tiradritti 2006, 566). It was proposed that a large number of votive pottery indicates that the tomb was transformed into a sanctuary at that time (Tiradritti 2005b, 170).

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 85-86; Laemmel 2013; Tiradritti 2004a; Tiradritti 2004b; Tiradritti 2004c; Tiradritti 2004d; Tiradritti 2004e; Tiradritti 2005a; Tiradritti 2005b; Tiradritti 2005c; Tiradritti 2006.

TT 38

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Djeserkaraseneb, scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects from TT 38 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 86-87; Davies, N. 1963, 1-8; Kampp 1996, 228-230.

TT 39

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Ve (*Sonderfall*) (Figure 64)

Royal/private: private (Puiemra, second priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3b.2*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried:

1

Dating: 'Twenty-First Dynasty'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

'The tomb and its extensive courtyard invited subsequently all manner of intrusive interments and burial shafts, the date of which can only be approximately determined' wrote Davies about TT 39 (Davies, N. 1923a, I, xviii). Unfortunately, the tomb itself, which for a long time served as a dwelling, proved to be almost devoid of any Pharaonic objects. Twelve different burial shafts had been cut within the monument. According to Kampp, two of them (the sloping passage – VI on Davies' plan, and the courtyard shaft – X on Davies' plan) are original, while the remaining ten are of later date (Kampp 1996, 232).

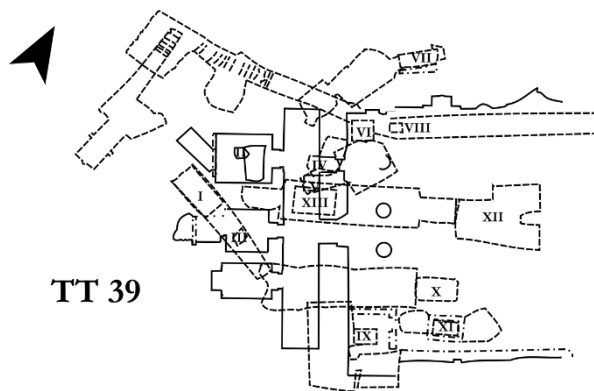


Figure 64. Plan of TT 39

Four of the supposedly ‘new’ shafts (VII, VIII, IX, and IX) are located in the courtyard, and perhaps at least one of them should be associated with a large group of ‘*extruded coffins of the Twenty-First Dynasty which were found in the courtyard*’ (Davies, N. 1923a, II, 59). No photography of the coffins was published, their dating is therefore uncertain. There were also some cartonnage fragments found (exact location unknown), which were composed in part of Greek papyri (Davies, N. 1923a, II, 59).

Two of the shafts in the courtyard (IX and XI) had mudbrick constructions erected above them. In the case of the former (above shaft IX), the building was a regular chapel, oriented parallel to the tomb façade, approximately 5 m long and 3 m wide, with the façade and the courtyard’s boundary serving as the rear walls. The latter (above shaft XI), of which two or three courses of bricks were preserved in Davies’ times, was a simple wall, tightly enclosing the shaft. Both shafts have two chambers on their bottom.

The remaining six shafts were cut in the tomb’s interior: three in the transverse hall (IV, V, and XII), one in the north chapel (II), and two in the central one (I, III). There were some attempts to enlarge the north and central chapels, as attested by their rear walls. No dating for these features can be proposed.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1923a; Kampp 1996, 230-233.

TT 40

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp VIb (Figure 65)

Royal/private: private (Huy, viceroy of Kush)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Tutankhamun)

Later context

Remarks:

Among objects from the tomb, mentioned by Davies and Gardiner, none can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period. The plan of the tomb, however, suggests that at least one of the shafts could be of a later date.

Bibliography:

Davies, N., Gardiner 1926; Alliot 1932, 65-81; Baud 1935, 87.

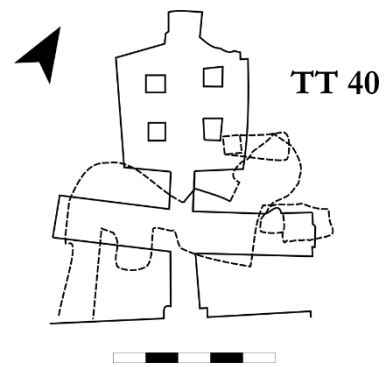


Figure 65. Plan of TT 40

TT 41

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 66)

Royal/private: private (Amenemopet, steward of Amun)

Dating: 18th-19th dynasty (Horemheb to Seti I)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 3

Dating: 25th dynasty (1 burial), 27th dynasty (1 burial), 29th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)

Dating criteria: cartonnages, beads, pottery

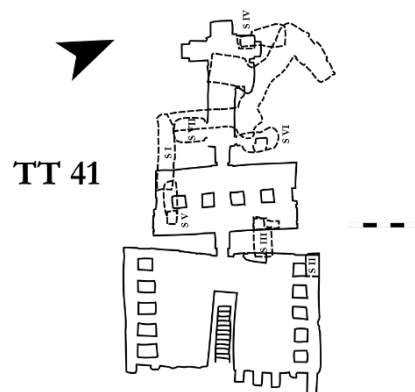


Figure 66. Plan of TT 41

Remarks:

TT 41, investigated by Assmann, was reused at least once during the first millennium BCE. Apart from the original sloping passage (Schacht I), there are no less than 6 shafts: in the courtyard (Schacht II), the transverse hall (Schacht III and V), the corridor leading to the chapel (Schacht VI and Schacht VII), and in the chapel itself (Schacht IV). It seems certain that Schacht III was added to the original structure in the Late Period: *‘gut erhaltene Knochen’*, some of them with remains of bandages, wooden fragments, cartonnages, and faience beads (Assmann 1991, 217), possibly of bead nets, mud ushebtis (Assmann 1991, 238), as well as wooden horns and feather crown (Assmann 1991, 240) of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue (Bielesch types 4, 6, 7 or 8) were all discovered there. If they all belonged to a single burial, it would indicate an interment in the 25th dynasty.

Other objects datable to the late dynastic era were found in various locations of the tomb: they might have found their way there either as a result of a robbery or had been deposited there, but the disturbed context does not allow for definite statements. In the sloping passage, a fragment of a blue faience ushebti of Amenmose was discovered, as well as several anonymous statuettes made of blue faience (my types 3c and 4b) and clay (my type 3f). Some funerary figurines of green faience (my type 2c) and mud were found in Schacht IV (Assmann 1991, 236-238). Additionally, at least four vessel-forms (bowls) from TT 41 can be dated to the 27th dynasty (Aston, D. 1999, 22, n. 65), and several pottery vessels to the fourth and third century BCE; a limestone stela of Teftefsheri, dated to the Ptolemaic Period by the excavators, perhaps could be a little earlier (Assmann 1991, 244; Aston, D. 2003, 162-163). It is very likely that apart from Schacht III some other features of the tomb were also used or added in the Late Period, but it is impossible to establish their exact chronology based on the available data.

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 75; Assmann 1991; Kampp 1996, 235-237; Aston, D. 1999; Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 236.

TT 42

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIb (Figure 67)

Royal/private: private (Amenmose, military commander)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: 3

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: New Kingdom-modern era

Dating criteria: excavator's statement, plan of the tomb

Remarks:

The following statement can be found in Davies' publication of the tomb: '*There is a burial place with a stepped descent in the north-west corner of the hall and also three other contemporary or later pits. I have not emptied any of them. The courtyard might contain others, as also the inmost chamber, since it is half full of debris, except at the rear. This was left by Mr. Weigall when he hastily cleared the tomb late in 1909, and replaced a few fragments on the walls. The relics of unknown date which were then found do not merit enumeration*' (Davies, N. 1933b, 27, n. 2). Works mentioned by Davies were probably those of Jelf (who worked on Weigall's behalf). During Jelf's excavations, the following objects came to light: 33 ushebtis and 8 fragments (location unknown), one '*inscribed fragment of white stone*', five fragments of painted parchment, four fragments of inscribed ushebtis found in the main corridor, two '*ka figures*', three fragments of painted *stucco*, and two funerary cones (Kaczanowicz, in press). None of these finds can be dated precisely.

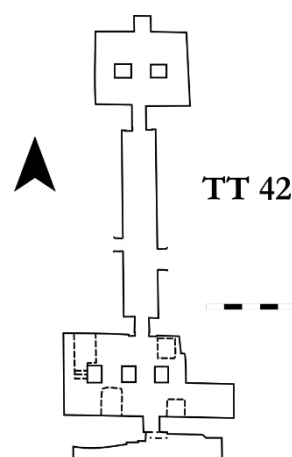


Figure 67. Plan of TT 42

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1933b, 27-34; Baud 1935, 87-90; Kampp 1996, 237-239; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 43

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 68)

Royal/private: private (Neferrenpet, overseer of the royal kitchen)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: list of objects

Remarks:

A large number of objects were discovered during Mond's excavations in the shaft: 'Lower part of coffin of the priest Bakt (fig. 58). Cone with unidentifiable inscription (fig. 59). Shabti box of Ahmose (fig. 60). Limestone obelisk of Siamin, Overseer of the (?) Estate/Seat of the King. 50 x 15 cm. (fig. 61). Green glaze scarab inscribed with name of Amen-Re. Wooden beard inscribed on back with name and title of the scribe Thenena (cf. owner of Tomb 76?) (fig. 62). User-sceptre, painted wood inscribed in gilt on back with name and title of the scribe Thenena (fig. 63). 2 heads of alabaster canopic jars of Thenena. Probably portrait of deceased. Part of gilt wooden wig. Gold scarab ring. On bezel, reversed S spiral between two nfr-signs, one inverted. Mud seal

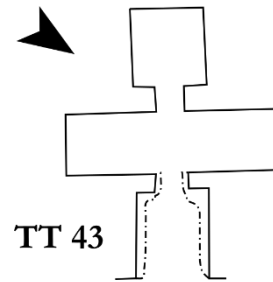


Figure 68. Plan of TT 43

inscribed with throne name of Tuthmosis III. Mud seal with illegible inscription. String with mud seal (fig. 64). Bottle with mud seal. Bed. Wooden ankh, formerly gilt. Small sandal. Fragment of brown bread. Footstool with reed bottom' (Collins 1976, 39). While the majority of the aforementioned finds can be dated to the New Kingdom, some of them probably belong to the phase of reuse.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 90-93; Collins 1976, 39; Kampp 1996, 240.

TT 44

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 69)

Royal/private: private (Amenemheb, *wab* priest, scribe)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 22nd dynasty (1 burial), 'Late Period'
(1 burial)

Dating criteria: spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

In Mond's notes, there is a mention of a '*pit in the tomb of Amenemhet/Amenemheb*', allegedly containing remains of several burials. Inscriptions from '*a late-period coffin*' belonging to Iru or Iretrau and a cartonnage of the anonymous lady of the house were

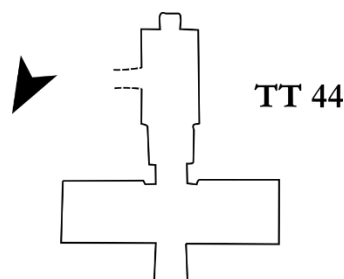


Figure 69. Plan of TT 44

recorded (Collins 1976, Figs 66-67). The coffin displays the late writing of the name of Osiris (post 740 BCE), while the cartonnage – the early one, indicating a date in the 22nd dynasty for the burial.

However, it is unclear if the ‘pit’ in question was located in the tomb of Amenemheb (TT 44), or of Amenemhet (TT 53). No report from these works was published, and the publication of the tomb by El Saady contains the description of its decoration only. The plan of the underground chambers of TT 44 also remains unpublished.

Bibliography:

Collins 1976; 35; 40; El Saady 1996; Kampp 1996, 241-242; Aston, D. 2009a, 234.

TT 45

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Djehuty, steward of the high priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

No objects datable to the first millennium BCE from the tomb are known to me.

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 82-84; Davies, N. 1948, 1-10; Kampp 1996, 242-244; Van Den Hoven 2019.

TT 46

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IVb (Figure 70)

Royal/private: private (Ramose, overseer of the granary)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Late Period

Dating criteria: excavator's statement, coffins, bead nets

Remarks:

Excavations in the tomb, directed by Redford, revealed the presence of a large number of remains that can be dated to the first millennium BCE. Only a preliminary report from these works has been published so far; nevertheless, some statements regarding the materials can be made. As in the case of the majority of Theban tombs, the context of the finds is far from secure due to numerous robberies. Moreover, TT 46 served as a residence during Hay and Wilkinson's stay in Thebes, which makes it obvious that even the presence of late dynastic coffins or amulets must be treated with caution, as these could have been brought to the tomb from the outside, with the purpose of selling or, in the case of the former, burning for fuel during wintertime (Redford, S. 2010, 366).

An intact coffin, devoid of decoration and with a mummy inside, was recovered from the courtyard and tentatively dated by the excavator to the 22nd dynasty. Perhaps a 27th dynasty date would be more suitable, as the coffin fits Schreiber's description of

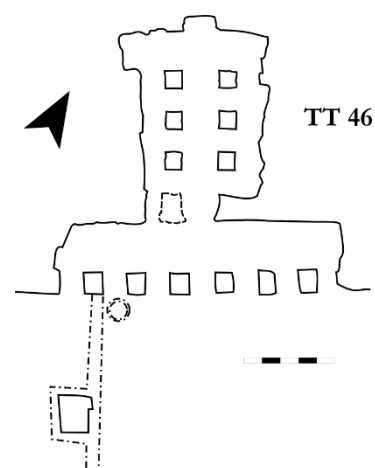


Figure 70. Plan of TT 46

‘plain’ coffins; however, it is unclear if the coffin originated from the tomb, or was intrusive. Several coffin and cartonnage fragments, human remains, as well as four Demotic texts written on ostraca came to light. Pottery analysis revealed the presence of *‘a mixture of sherds that ranged in date from the New Kingdom through Coptic times. New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period vessels were orange silt ware, common to the Theban area, and consisted of simple offering cups with a small number of New Kingdom water jugs also in evidence’* (Redford, S. 2010, 369). These are very unlikely to have been brought from the outside and therefore attest that at least one burial took place in TT 46 in the first millennium BCE. Two names of owners of ushebtis (Ankhaset and Khonsupakhered Iufenaset) could be read. The additional information on burial in the first millennium BCE can be inferred from the presence of faience beads (almost 700), originating from bead nets. A metal falcon pectoral with incised decoration was also found in the tomb; according to Redford, it *‘gives the appearance of the Roman eagle’* (Redford, S. 2010, 369), but a similar object was discovered in Kampp -61-, and subsequently dated by Schreiber to the 21st or 22nd dynasty (Schreiber 2015b, 40). A metal pectoral in the form of a hawk was also found on one of the mummies buried in the 21st dynasty in MMA 60 (Winlock 1942, 112; Pl. 87; Aston, D. 2009a, 201).

The only shaft excavated so far is a burial shaft located in the southwest corner of the inner hall, around 4.5 metres deep. It remains unclear if it is original or later, as the contents of the shaft remain unpublished. The presence of another shaft is suspected under the layer of modern *dakka* in the inner hall of the tomb. Mudbrick remains, discovered inside the tomb and in its neighbourhood, belong to the phase of its occupation by Wilkinson and Hay.

Bibliography:

Winlock 1942, 112; Kampp 1996, 244-244; Redford, S. 2010.

TT 47

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIII (Figure 71)

Royal/private: private (Userhat, overseer of the king's private apartment)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 26th dynasty (1 burial), 30th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)

Dating criteria: excavator's statement, ushebtis

Remarks:

Several objects dated to the first millennium BCE came to light during excavations conducted by the Japanese mission in TT 47. These include coffin and cartonnage fragments, faience and pottery ushebtis, faience amulets and beads from bead nets (Kondo *et al.* 2012, 10-12; Yoshimura, Kondo 2014, 228-229), and remains of burials 'of Saite Period', discovered in the courtyard (Kondo, Kawai 2017, 24). The ushebtis, with a back pillar and beard (my type 5), were dated to the 30th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period by their excavators. A date after 750 BCE for burials found in the tomb is additionally supported by the presence of bead nets.

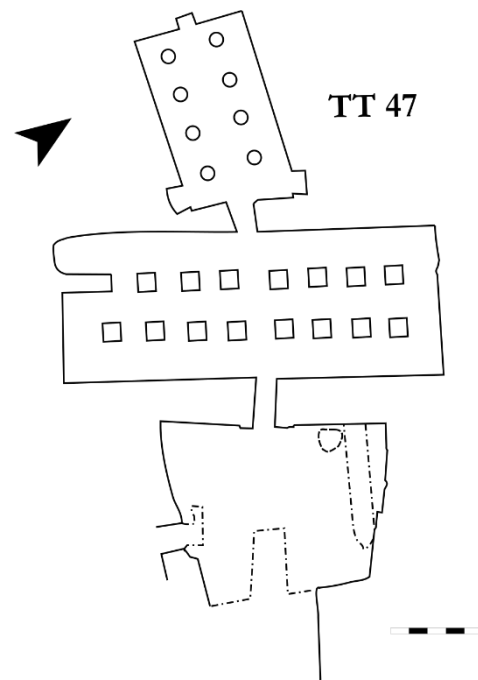


Figure 71. Plan of TT 47

Bibliography:

Carter 1903a; Kampp 1996, 246-247; Kondo *et al.* 2012; Yoshimura, Kondo 2014; Kondo, Kawai 2017.

TT 48

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIII (Figure 72)

Royal/private: private (Amenemhat, also known as Surer, royal steward)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3b

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th dynasty

Dating criteria: ushebtis, Osiris figure

Remarks:

Davies reported the following discoveries in the tomb: *‘Nine or ten rough caves for burial had been dug in the court. The coffins from these we had already come upon, flung out in two separate batches by early plunderers. They were of late date and badly injured; for the treatment they had received was too much for the shoddy materials of which they were made. One interment, apparently of the Nineteenth Dynasty, was still undisturbed (...)’* (Davies, N. 1915, 234). Photographs of several ushebtis found during these works as well as Osiris figure were

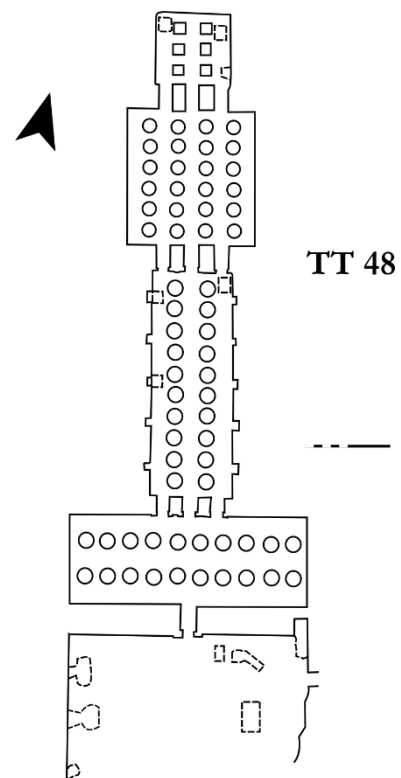


Figure 72. Plan of TT 48

published later by Säve-Söderbergh (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, Fig. LXVI). Some of the ushebtis are evidently of Ramesside date, but the rest seems later to me; the Osiris figure is most likely Bielesch type 3, datable to the 25th dynasty. Other finds remain unpublished.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1915; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, 33-49; Kampp 1996, 248-251.

TT 49

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIb (Figure 73)

Royal/private: private (Neferhotep, scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Tutankhamun to Horemheb)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty (1 burial), 26th dynasty or later (1 burial)

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments, beads from bead nets

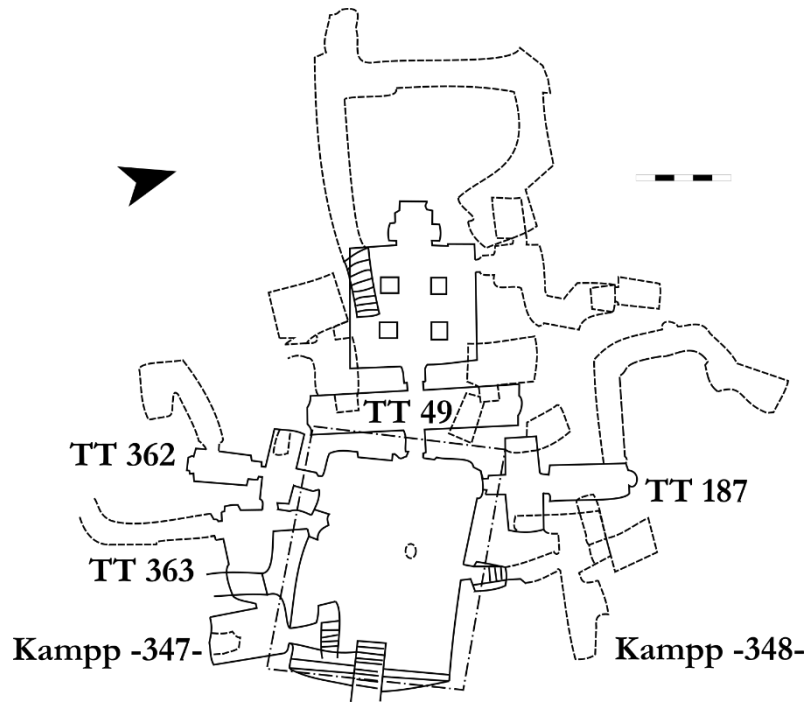


Figure 73. Plan of TT 49, TT 187, TT 362, TT 363, Kampp -347-, and Kampp -348-

Remarks:

TT 49, currently investigated by the Neferhotep Project, was extensively reused in the first millennium BCE. There are no less than four burial installations in the tomb: two shafts in the transverse hall, a shaft in the pillared hall, and a sloping passage. According to the excavators, the disturbed stratigraphy does not allow to date any of these features (Pereyra *et al.* 2015, 29). However, the finds from the late dynastic period suggest that at least one of them could date to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period.

In the south of the two shafts in the transverse hall, the following objects came to light: a mummified human head, bandages, other human remains, pottery, a mummified cat, ushebtis, and wooden fragments (Pereyra *et al.* 2015, 25-26). In the north shaft, a similar set of mixed remains of burial equipment was discovered: bandages, coffin fragments (part of them supposedly of the 18th dynasty date), cartonnage fragments, human remains, blue faience beads (of bead nets), ushebtis, and various amulets (Pereyra *et al.* 2015, 27-28). To this list two objects can be added, mentioned by Davies, who had excavated the tomb: a part of a statue of a man named ‘Bes-en-maut-ef-em-Opet’, and three clay canopic jars of a lady Sit-Amun (Davies, N.

1933a, I, 10). The name of Bes-en-maut-ef-em-Opet does not appear in Ranke's list of names; possibly, the actual name was Besenmut, a popular name from the 22nd dynasty onwards (Ranke 1935, 98).

All of this being said, it is safe to assume that at least two burials took place in the tomb in the first millennium BCE: one in the 22nd or 25th dynasty (as attested by cartonnage fragments), and the other in the 26th dynasty or later.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1933a; Kampp 1996, 251-254; Pereyra *et al.* 2015.

TT 50

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 74)

Royal/private: private (Neferhotep, God's Father)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Horemheb)

Later context

Type of burial: 3b

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: New Kingdom-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

The tomb was cleared by Mond, but – except for a short report on restoration works and Mond's notes published by Collins – no results of these activities were made available to the public. Some '*destroyed pits*' in the courtyard were explored (not

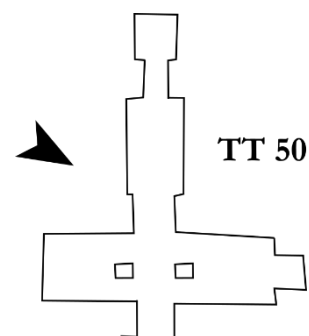


Figure 74. Plan of TT 50

marked on the plan), and the following objects came to light during excavations (I am omitting here finds with the name of the original owner of the tomb): a pottery ushebti painted white '*belonging to Puni, no title*', a wooden ushebti of '*Mty-Rē*' (...), '*shabti, mother of emerald, gilt hieroglyphs* (...)' of the high priest of Amun, Pa[...], three blue faience ushebtis (one belonging to '*Pare-em-hab, Scribe of Funerary (?) Workshop/Offerings(?)*'), one blue faience ushebti '*of the lady 'Rē-em-hab*', one blue faience ushebti of the chantress of Amun and lady of the house called Tamit, and white faience ushebti(s) of the lady of the house Tara and the overseer of the cattle of Amun (Collins 1976, 32).

The description of finds does not allow one to date them to any specific period, but it is highly probable that at least one of these objects comes from a later burial in the tomb.

Bibliography:

Mond, Emery 1927, 26-28; Collins 1976, 32; Hari 1985; Kampp 1996, 254-255.

TT 51

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIb (Figure 75)

Royal/private: private (Userhat, priest of the cult of Thutmose I)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses I to Seti I)¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Perhaps a reused earlier tomb (Kondo 1997).

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd dynasty

Dating criteria: name of the deceased, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

TT 51, discovered and cleared by Mond and subsequently published by Davies, turned out to be almost completely devoid of any objects. However, among the scanty finds there may be some originating from the phase of the reuse. These are: uninscribed pottery ushebtis and a fragment of a coffin belonging to the lady of the house named Shepenwepet, discovered in the courtyard. This name was very popular in the late Third Intermediate Period and early Late Period (with two God's Wives of Amun named likewise), however, the orthography of the name of Osiris, if given correctly by Mond, points to date before 740 BCE.

There are three burial chambers in the tomb, one at the end of the sloping passage and probably original, and two others in the pillared hall, both shallow and hewn very roughly, which may indicate their later date. The remains of mudbrick walls in the tomb's interior (parallel to the corridor leading to the pillared hall, blocking of the entrance to the sloping passage, and parallel walls in the entrance to the sloping passage) as well as the blocking of the space between pillars in the pillared hall were attributed by Kampp to the phase of its reuse (Kampp 1996, 256).

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 65-96; Davies, N. 1927, 1-30; Baud 1935, 93-95; Collins 1976, 33; Kampp 1996, 255-257.

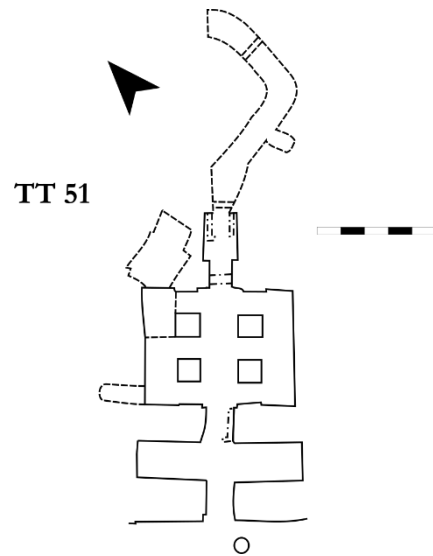


Figure 75. Plan of TT 51

TT 52

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 76)

Royal/private: private (Nakht, scribe and astronomer of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: '22nd dynasty'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

During excavations in 1889, Grébaut discovered remains of the following objects in the courtyard: funerary cones of Nakht, '*des momies desséchées d'époque romaine*' (without coffins), three baskets with offerings for the dead and flowers, and '*des poteries vulgaires de différents âges*'. Some of the vessels bore painted texts '*de 4 à 8 lettres en caractères phéniciens*', dated by him or Daressy to the 22nd dynasty (Daressy 1926, 12). Davies, who later excavated the tomb, found fragments of coffins, remains of wooden furniture, fragments of shabti box, and pottery - all dated by him to the original phase of the tomb's occupation - in the burial chamber (Davies, N. 1917, 39-43). None of the finds can be dated, although Davies' description suggests that at least some of the objects could be of later date; of such opinion is also Kampp (Kampp 1996, 258). According to the plan published by Davies, no architectural features can be associated with these later burials.

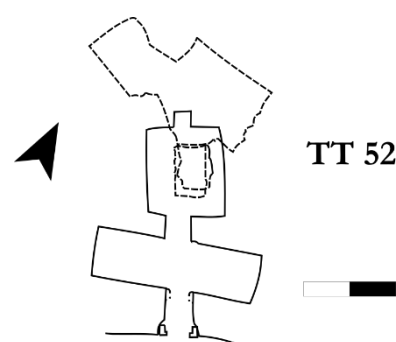


Figure 76. Plan of TT 52

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1917; Daressy 1926, 11-12; Baud 1935, 95-97; Kampp 1996, 257-258.

TT 53

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 77)

Royal/private: private (Amenemhat, priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: perhaps 2

Dating: 22nd dynasty (1 burial), Late Period (1 burial)

Dating criteria: spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

As mentioned above (see TT 44), in Mond's notes, there is a mention of a '*pit in the tomb of Amenemhet/Amenemheb*' supposedly containing some burials, among which a 22nd dynasty cartonnage of the anonymous lady of the house, and a coffin belonging to certain Iru or Iretrau, were listed (Collins 1976, Figs 66-67). The pit in question may be either located in the tomb of Amenemheb (TT 44), or in the tomb of Amenemhet (TT 53). On the plan of TT 53 published by Kampp there are indeed three shafts visible: one in the courtyard and two in the transverse hall, but it is impossible to say if any of them is the shaft excavated by Mond.

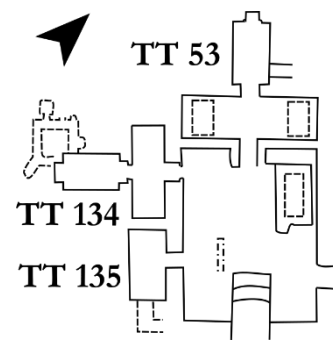


Figure 77. Plan of TT 53, TT 134, and TT 135

Bibliography:

Collins 1976, 40; Kampp 1996, 258-260; Aston, D. 2009a, 234.

TT 54

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 78)

Royal/private: private (Huy, sculptor)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Late Period

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

Small tomb of Huy, enlarged during the Ramesside Period, was investigated by Mond in 1903, but no objects from this clearance were mentioned in the report (Mond 1904, 103). Two miniature vessels datable to the Late Period were discovered and published by Polz (Polz 1997, 96, no. 09; 99, no. 29); perhaps some of the vessels, datable to the New Kingdom-Third Intermediate Period, could also be associated with the phase of the reuse.

There are three burial shafts in the tomb (Schacht III in the courtyard, and Schacht I and II in the transverse hall). The courtyard shaft probably was the original, 18th

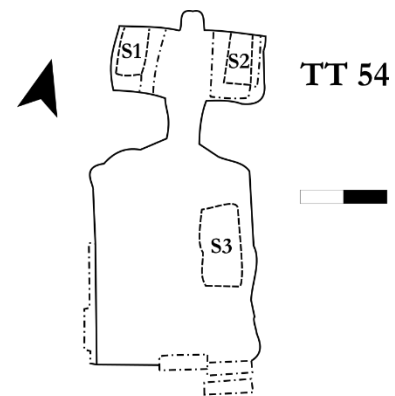


Figure 78. Plan of TT 54

dynasty burial place (Kampp 1966, 260), while the transverse hall shafts, surrounded by mudbrick walls, likely belong to the phase of Ramesside or later reuse.

Bibliography:

Mond 1904, 103; Baud 1935, 97-102; Kampp 1996, 260-262; Polz 1997.

TT 55

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIII (Figure 79)

Royal/private: private (Ramose, vizier)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III to Akhenaten)

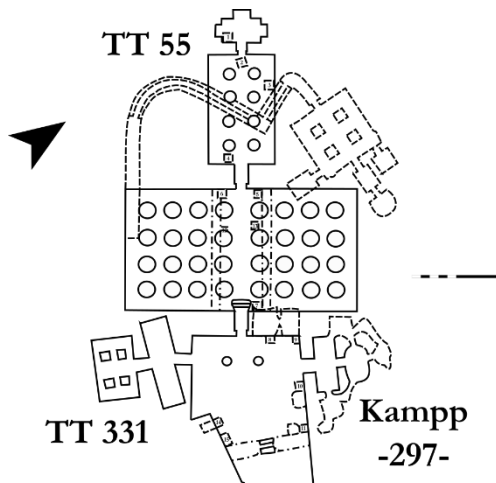


Figure 79. Plan of TT 55, TT 331, and Kampp -297-

Later context

Type of burial: 3a, 3b.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 7

Dating: 25th-26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, architecture of the shafts

Remarks:

The tomb was first cleared by Weigall in 1904, then by Mond in the years 1924-1925, and finally published in 1941 by Davies. There were fifteen burial shafts discovered in various parts of the tomb in addition to the original burial place, located at the end of the sloping passage. The shafts in the courtyard were published by Mond and Emery, but the shafts inside the tomb are mentioned only cursorily in the report published by Yeivin one year earlier. Yeivin stated that Shafts 5 and 6 were not cleared as they had already been emptied by Davies. Indeed, a short note referring to these activities can be found in Davies' publication: *'In the hope that the two pits might be of the later period and that valuable evidence might have been preserved below the mass of debris, I obtained permission to empty them many years ago but found the chambers small and rough and completely plundered. No doubt all the pits were searched long ago by plunderers; indeed, Villiers Stuart [who first identified the tomb] had a severe fall down an empty one in 1897'* (Davies, N. 1941, 12). In the end, Davies concluded that the pits were probably contemporary with the tomb, perhaps cut for the relatives of the original owner. The tomb had been thoroughly plundered and no intact burial came to light. A mudbrick wall, erected by one of the later occupants of the tomb, was discovered in the east part of the courtyard. The courtyard shafts were briefly mentioned by Aston, and the pottery from the courtyard was dated by him to the seventh century BCE or later.

Of the courtyard shafts, the one located in the north part of the court just against the mudbrick wall ('Shaft 11') proved to contain a wooden plume inlaid with blue faience and a jar with rounded base and roll rim. It seems that these represent remains of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure (Bielesch 4 or 5.b) and a 'sausage jar' (Aston 126), datable to

the late seventh or sixth century BCE. Plundered remains of a mummy and a scarab of green stone were found just above the pit, so it is very likely they came from the shaft.

A burial shaft, located in the middle of the north wall of the courtyard, dubbed 'Shaft 10' by Mond, contained nothing worthy of describing in Mond's report from work. Yeivin, however, mentioned a wooden mummy label inscribed in demotic, found in the pit (Yeivin 1926, 8). If the context of this find was original, the shaft could not be earlier than the 26th dynasty. The location in the vicinity of Shaft 11 and similar dimensions of the chamber on the bottom suggest a close date of these two, although this dating is by no means certain. This shaft, together with Shafts 8 and 9, was dated by Yeivin to the Roman Period, but without any arguments to support this claim.

Opposite Shaft 11 and 10, by the south wall of the courtyard, another shaft is located ('Shaft 15'). On the bottom of the shaft, a jar with rounded base and roll rim (a 'sausage jar'), datable to the eighth or seventh century, came to light. A break to the neighbouring Shaft 14 was noted.

Just to the west of Shaft 15, another shaft of similar dimensions, but devoid of finds was discovered ('Shaft 14'). As mentioned above, Shafts 14 and 15 are connected.

By the façade, another shaft was discovered ('Shaft 8'), again connected with the neighbouring one. No finds were ascribed to this location, but on the basis of similarity with Shaft 9, I am inclined to date it to the 25th-26th dynasty as well.

'Shaft 9' was discovered in the northwest corner of the courtyard, and dated by Yeivin to the Roman times. Inside the shaft, Mond and Emery discovered four late dynastic vessels: two jars with pointed base and roll rim and two jars with pointed base and roll rim neck. From this description it would seem that at least two of the vessels mentioned are less typical examples of 'sausage jars' and therefore of the eighth- or seventh-century date, consistent with finds from other shafts. Aston believes that the jars cannot be earlier than the seventh century BCE. Additionally, a supposedly 18th dynasty jar was found but it could be intrusive.

Another burial shaft ('Shaft 7') was discovered in the east part of the first hall of TT 55, just by the entrance to the tomb. No dimensions of the shafts and the chamber(s) at the bottom were provided by Mond: from the published plan it would seem that the burial chamber must have had a connection with rooms on the bottom of Shafts 8 and

9, but just like in case of all the other shafts located inside the tomb no sketch of the underground parts was provided. The only information about late dynastic remains from the shaft can be found in the catalogue of finds, where a jar with pointed base and bell neck, retrieved from this pit, is listed. The accompanying figure seems to suggest it is a vessel of Aston type 78, and therefore dated to the late eight or seventh century BCE. Additionally, a New Kingdom jar, perhaps intrusive, was found inside the shaft. The location of the shaft inside the tomb suggests that the shaft belongs to a later phase of occupation, therefore a 25th-26th dynasty date seems more suitable.

‘Shaft 3’ is located by the north wall of the second hall of TT 55, between two columns. Yeivin in his report mentioned that ‘(...) *in the chamber of pit 3, an inscribed fragment was found, which may have been a piece of a sarcophagus (...)*’, but this piece of information is of no use for the dating purpose. Davies believed that all the shafts but 5 and 6 belonged to the phase of the reuse, but it is impossible now to establish the exact chronology of the unpublished shafts.

Finally, it needs to be added that apart from burial equipment found in the robbed shafts, Mond discovered some loose objects, datable to the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period: several plundered mummies and blue faience cylinder beads in Chamber 3, a ‘*plundered burial of Saitic date*’ (fragments of coffins, blue beads and a heart scarab of green stone) by the entrance pylon, 24 unburnt ushebtis, 9 faience ushebtis, figurines of burnt clay, a faience heart scarab, a lid of an anthropoid coffin (dated by Aston to the 21st dynasty), a lid of a canopic jar in the shape of Hapy’s head, and several pieces of late dynastic pottery (all datable to the seventh century or later, according to Aston) in the courtyard. Davies mentioned that ‘*a cradle-shaped pottery coffin of late type*’ was still laying in the hall at the moment of his visit in the tomb (Davies, N. 1941, 11).

Bibliography:

Yeivin 1926, 6-11; Mond, Emery 1927, 14-22; Baud 1935, 102-107; Davies, N. 1941; Kampp 1996, 262-265; Aston, D. 2009a, 234.

TT 56

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Userhat, royal scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Thutmose IV)

Later context

Remarks:

No objects datable to the time of the reuse of the tomb are known to me.

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 67-69; Baud 1935, 107-109; Beinlich-Seeber, Shedid 1987; Kampp 1996, 265-267.

TT 57

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd (Figure 80)

Royal/private: private (Khaemhat, royal scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

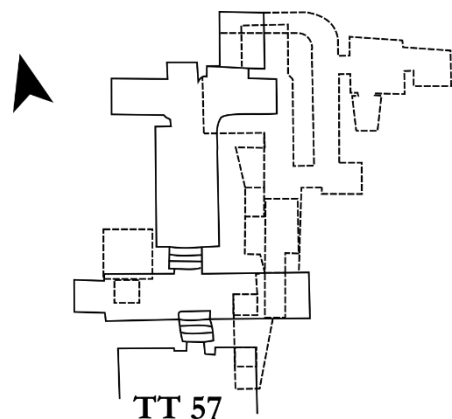


Figure 80. Plan of TT 57

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-26th dynasty

Dating criteria: shabti box

Remarks:

Mond, who excavated TT 57 in years 1903-1904, mentioned several shafts and other features probably constructed to house burials: a shaft in the courtyard, two side chambers cut in the wall of the court, and four shafts inside the tomb. Most of them seem to be later than the tomb, although it is impossible to establish their exact chronology, as finds from only two pits were published – preliminarily – by Mond. No dimensions or plans of the underground rooms are known.

The first of the two shafts was a mummy pit discovered in the north part of the transverse hall. Inside, a bronze spearhead, a fragment of a stone funerary figurine, and a wooden shabti box belonging to a lady named Tareset came to light. The bronze spear could have come from any period of the Egyptian history, while the stone shabti can be dated either to the New Kingdom, or the 25th or early 26th dynasty. The dimensions of the box were given (28.5 x 14.5), but the units were not mentioned. According to Aston, if the dimensions were given in inches, it would point to a box of his type V or VI, but if in centimetres, the size would indicate his type VII or VIII. Since everywhere else in the report centimetres and metres were used, I am inclined to assume the same unit here. It seems therefore that both the shabti box and the stone statuette point to a date in the 25th or 26th dynasty, although it is impossible to establish now whether they once formed a single set, or belonged to two different deceased.

In the same chamber, Mond excavated another ‘mummy pit’, apparently of substantial size. In the shaft, he discovered some small clay ushebti belonging to the anonymous chantress of Amun. Nothing more is known of the finds or the shaft itself, and therefore no dating can be offered. The title of the chantress occurs from the Middle Kingdom through the Ptolemaic Period (Onstine 2001, 3), hence it cannot serve as a clue regarding the dating of the shaft.

Apart from the finds from the two shafts ‘*small mud Shabtis*’, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, ‘*one Horus-hawk of the late period*’, and two coffins (of Padiamun and

Djedkhonsuiufankh) came to light, albeit apart from the coffins which were found in the courtyard the findspot of these objects is unknown. Of these, a ‘Horus-hawk of the late period’ seems to be a wooden hawk usually associated with the *qeresu* coffins, hence of the 25th-26th dynasty date, confirming that at least one burial took place in TT 57 at that time.

The two chambers in the courtyard are often mistakenly taken for TT 126 (Kaczanowicz, Witkowski 2018).

Bibliography:

Mond 1904, 103; Mond 1905, 66-67; Collins 1976, 39; Aston, D. 2009a, 235; Kampp 1996, 267-269; Kaczanowicz, Witkowski 2018.

TT 58

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects discovered during works in TT 58 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 109-111; Kampp 1996, 269-272.

TT 59

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IVa

Royal/private: Ken (high priest of Mut)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects discovered in TT 59 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 272-175.

TT 60

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 81)

Royal/private: private (lady Senet)¹⁰⁶

Dating: 12th dynasty (Senuseret I)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

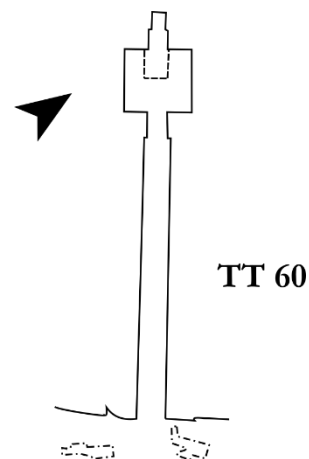


Figure 81. Plan of TT 60

¹⁰⁶ The tomb is often attributed to her male relative, vizier Antefiqer (Ragazzoli 2013, 271).

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Late Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis, cartonnages, coffin

Remarks:

TT 60, one of the earliest tombs in the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna area, is interesting for several reasons, one of them being the presence of several ‘visitors’ inscriptions’ on its walls. The inscriptions, datable to the New Kingdom, indicate that the tomb still was a significant monument in this period (Ragazzoli 2013).

The tomb was partly cleared by Davies. The following objects, listed in the final publication, can probably be associated with later burials: a wooden face from a black coffin, a small quantity of wood and cartonnage from late coffins, an upper part of a shapeless clay figurine, overseer and worker ushebtis made of blue faience and forming one set belonging to Nesiankhef, uninscribed ushebtis of burnt and unburnt clay and faience, funerary cones, and half an ostrakon (Davies, N. 1920, 3). The black colour of the coffin and the presence of the cartonnage could indicate that at least one burial took place in the Libyan Period, although it is possible that they did not belong to one interment but two, and therefore this cannot be used for dating purposes. None of the finds was published, hence a very broad chronological range must be proposed: Third Intermediate Period or Late Period.

On the plan published by Davies no later features are visible. There are, however, remains of a mudbrick construction in the courtyard, which perhaps could date to the time of the reuse.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1920; Kampp 1996, 275-277; Soliman 2009, 131-133; Ragazzoli 2013.

TT 61

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 82)

Royal/private: private (Useramun, vizier)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose I to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: bead nets, cartonnage fragments, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

Clearance of TT 61, conducted by Mond, revealed the presence of three inscribed clay tablets, a blue glaze beard, a ‘*Tat overlaid with gold foil*’, and some offering vessels (Mond 1905, 73). None of these objects can be dated to any specific period. More information on the tomb’s reuse emerges from the short excavations of Dziobek, who stated that the monument was reused ‘*in der 3. Zwischenzeit bzw. der Spätzeit*’ (Dziobek 1994, 39). Among the finds discovered in the course of these works there were some objects which can be dated more precisely: cartonnage fragments (probably 22nd-25th dynasty), blue tubular beads from bead nets (post 750 BCE), mud ushebtis (22nd dynasty to early Ptolemaic Period), a fragment of a limestone offering table with the late spelling of the name of Osiris (740 BCE or later), green faience ushebtis (25th dynasty to Ptolemaic Period), and horns of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure (25th dynasty to Ptolemaic Period) (Dziobek 1994, 39-42). It is possible that these objects originate from more than one burial, therefore a broad chronological interval between the 22nd dynasty and the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period is proposed.

According to Dziobek, the enlargement of the original chapel should be attributed to the phase of the reuse. The same date is proposed for the erection of mudbrick structures in its inner chambers (Dziobek 1994, 40). Since the tomb was probably reused in the Ptolemaic era as well, it is impossible to say if these features are late dynastic or Ptolemaic.

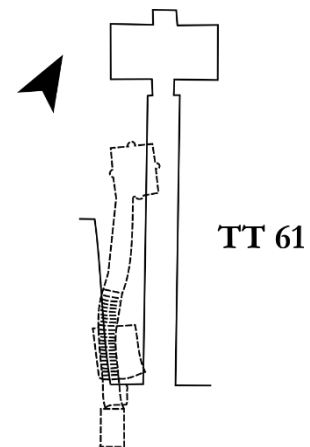


Figure 82. Plan of TT 61

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 73; Dziobek 1994, 13-47; Kampp 1996, 277-279.

TT 62**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Amenemusekhet, overseer of the cabinet)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV)

Later context**Remarks:**

No publication mentioning objects discovered in TT 62 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 279-280.

TT 63**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Via (Figure 83)

Royal/private: private (Sobekhotep, mayor of Fayum)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments, excavator's statement

Remarks:

The characteristic feature of the tomb of Sobekhotep is the presence of several side rooms, possibly later than the original structure. During the clearance of the courtyard, Dziobek and Abdel Raziq discovered '*späte und koptische (?)*, *kleinteilige Bruchkeramik*', fragments of linen, cartonnages, and coffins (Dziobek, Abdel Raziq 1990, 75). None of these objects were published, but the presence of cartonnages combined with the supposedly late pottery may point to a date in the Libyan or Kushite Period.

Bibliography:

Dziobek, Abdel Raziq 1990; Kampp 1996, 280-283.

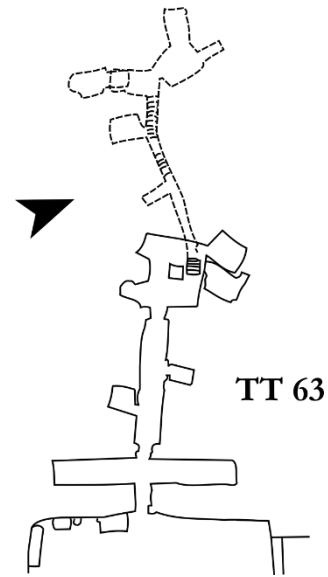


Figure 83. Plan of TT 63

TT 64

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Hekaerneheh and Hekareshu)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects discovered in TT 64 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 283-285; Hardekopf 2013.

TT 65

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 84)

Royal/private: private (Nebamun, overseer of the granary)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1, 3a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 8

Dating: late 21st dynasty (4 burials), 22nd dynasty (3 burials), 25th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: coffins, cartonnages, excavator's statement

Remarks:

TT 65, currently investigated by the Hungarian archaeological mission, was reused several times: for the first time already in the Ramesside Period. Some preliminary remarks published by Bács and Bartos indicate that the reuse took place mostly in the

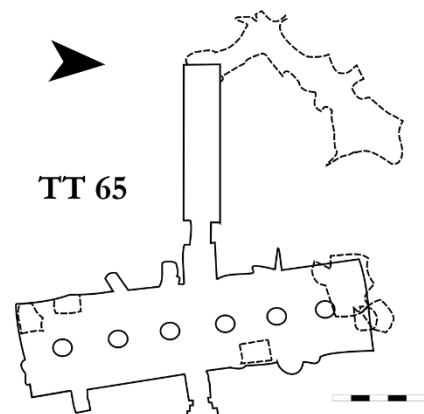


Figure 84. Plan of TT 65

Third Intermediate Period. Remains of at least one male coffin (belonging to Padimut) and three female coffins came to light in the sloping passage; they are ‘yellow’ coffins, dated by Bartos to the late 21st dynasty (Bartos 2017, 57).

Fragments of one ‘black’ coffin and three cartonnages of Taylor Phase II were discovered, one of them belonging to Basa and one to the lady of the house ‘Ankhtaesherit’. Some ‘*typical 22nd Dynasty shabtis*’ came to light (Bartos 2017, 62), suggesting the reuse of TT 65 in the later Libyan Period as well (Bartos 2011; Bartos 2017, 58-60). A piece of a cartonnage dated by Bartos to the 25th dynasty was also discovered in the tomb (Bartos 2019, 58).

The findspot of the objects later than the 21st dynasty was not published, although it seems likely that at least some of them originated from one of ‘*several shafts and niches cut in the transverse hall*’, dated by Bács to the times postdating the New Kingdom (Bács 1998, 53). The shafts had been emptied before the commencement of the Hungarian excavations in the tomb, possibly by Newberry (Bács 1998, 53, n. 25).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 285-287; Bács 1998; Bács 2011; Bartos 2011; Bartos 2017.

TT 66

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Hepu, vizier)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects discovered in TT 66 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1963, 9-13; Kampp 1996, 287-289.

TT 67

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Via (Figure 85)

Royal/private: private (Hapuseneb, high priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: '22nd-25th dynasty'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

The Hungarian archaeological mission investigating the tomb of Hapuseneb discovered two shallow shafts in the transverse hall, apparently missed by the Mond's expedition during the clearance in the 1905-1906 season. Only one of the shafts could be explored: the disturbed remains found at its bottom suggest a late Libyan or Kushite date of burial (I thank Tamás A. Bács for this information).

Apart from the shaft, the Hungarian excavation revealed a heap of debris left by Mond in the courtyard. The same type of material as in the shaft appeared there, mixed with Late Antique or early Mediaeval remains, probably from the Coptic occupation of the tomb.

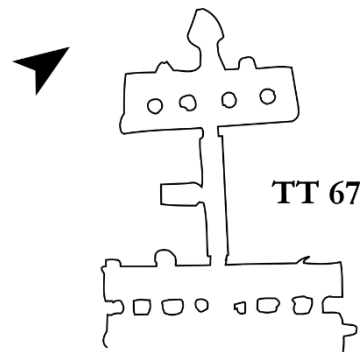


Figure 85. Plan of TT 67

Bibliography:

Collins 1976, 36; Kampp 1996, 289-292; Bács 2015a.

TT 68

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 86)

Royal/private: private (Meryptah, count)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 7

Dating: 21st dynasty (3 burials), 22nd-25th dynasty
(4 burials)

Dating criteria: decoration and genealogy, pottery, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

The 18th dynasty (perhaps unused) tomb of Meryptah was redecorated in the late Ramesside Period by a man called Paenkhmenu. Subsequently, in the 21st dynasty, new names and titles were added to the existing decoration: of Nesupaneferher, head of temple-scribes and his son Horu, of the well-known Nesperamun family (Černý 1940; Polz 1990, 309; Seyfried 1991). Objects with the names of the new owners (ushebtis of Nesupaneferher and his wife, Tabakenmut as well as coffin fragments, pottery, and human remains) were discovered in various locations of the tomb (Seyfried 1991, 91-115), but due to the disturbed context no feature could be identified as the burial place of the family. The genealogical analysis places burials of

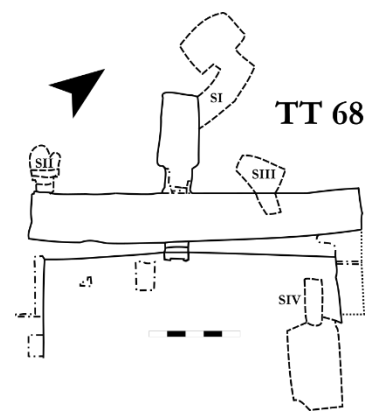


Figure 86. Plan of TT 68

Nesupaneferher and his family in the reign of Siamun or Psusennes II (Seyfried 1991, 121-123).

Another reuse of the tomb must have occurred in the 22nd dynasty or later, as attested by the presence of pottery, cartonnage and coffin fragments, unused canopic jars, a demotic text discovered in the courtyard, and ushebtis belonging to Gautseshenu, Asemkheb, and Tanutamun (Seyfried 1991, 91-115). Two ceramic vessels were dated by Aston to the ‘*late Third Intermediate Period*’ (Aston, D. 1995, 270), while on a cartonnage fragment (belonging apparently to another person named Horu) a name of Osiris can be seen written with a pennant determinative, which gives a date after 740 BCE (Seyfried 1991, 112). A blue scarab was discovered in one of the shafts during Mond’s works in TT 68 (Mond 1905, 72).

It is unclear where any of the aforementioned burials was originally deposited. Schacht II, dated by Seyfried to the 21st dynasty, is in fact a small descent (with three stairs) to an unfinished chamber, located in the southwest corner of the transverse hall. Schacht III, located in the north part of the transverse hall and ending in a single burial chamber, was identified by Seyfried as a 20th or 21st dynasty feature (Seyfried 1991, 125). If both features were indeed constructed in the 21st dynasty, they would be the only ‘new’ shafts of that era known to me. I am therefore inclined to associate Schacht III with the 22nd-25th dynasty burials instead, and Schacht II with the Ramesside reuse of the tomb.

Mudbrick walls, erected by the entrance, are later than the original structure (Seyfried 1991, 14), but their exact dating remains unknown.

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 72-73; Mond 1910; Černý 1940; Polz 1990, 309; Seyfried 1991; Aston, D. 1995; Kampp 1996, 292-294; Aston, D. 2009a, 236-237.

TT 69

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 87)

Royal/private: private (Menna, overseer of fields)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: 1 or 3

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-26th dynasty

Dating criteria: excavator's statement,
cartonnage fragments

Remarks:

Mond, who excavated the tomb of Menna in the first decade of the twentieth century, discovered six 'pits' with remains of burials. In the first one ('pit 1'), which is not a shaft but a sloping passage, probably hewn in the 18th dynasty (Hartwig, in: Hartwig 2013, 15), '*remains of a late burial, destroyed for the most part by fire*' came to light. They included: an ivory spoon stained green, some gilded plaster-work (cartonnage), a piece of a pectoral, a blue faience lotus column amulet, and a leg of a wooden bier (Mond 1904, 102). The cartonnage pieces were dated by Mond to the 26th dynasty (Mond 1905, 88), although an earlier date is possible and more probable.

The following objects were discovered in the remaining shafts: '*a mummy of no importance*' ('pit 2'), Menna's broken staff ('pit 3'), remains of four children in uninscribed coffins and pottery ('pit 4'), a male mummy ('pit 5'), a limestone bust of Menna's wife, the ushebti coffin of '*Menthu*', fragments of a sandstone portcullis, and three empty coffins ('pit 6') (Mond 1904, 102-103). It seems reasonable to assume that at least one of these shafts was later than the tomb, but the description provided by Mond does not allow to narrow down the dating of any of the items except for those belonging to Menna and his family. Of the six features, pits 1-2 were located in the

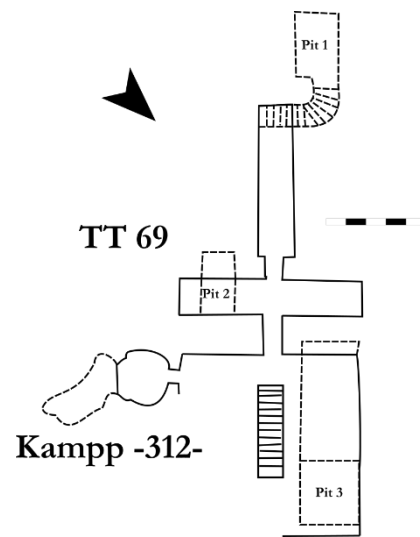


Figure 87. Plan of TT 69 and Kampp -312-

inner chambers, pit 3 in the courtyard, and pits 4-6 – ‘*beyond the boundary of the courtyard*’.

Bibliography:

Mond 1904, 97-104; Mond 1905, 88; Kampp 1996, 295-297; Maher-Taha 2002; Hartwig 2013.

TT 70

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 88)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 21st dynasty

Dating criteria: decoration

Remarks:

TT 70 is said to be an 18th dynasty tomb reused by Amenmose, overseer of sandal-makers, in the 21st dynasty. Amenmose added his own scenes to the original decoration (Porter, Moss 1960, 139; Polz 1990; 309; Kampp 1996, 297; Manniche 2011, 73). On the plan published by Kampp, there are several features which perhaps could be associated with the phase of reuse, such as four burial shafts in the transverse hall. The sepulchre remains unpublished.

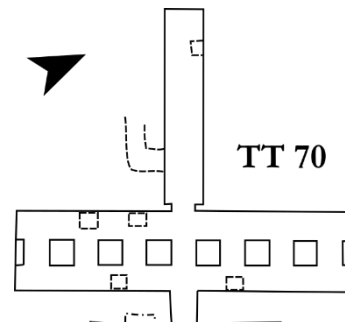


Figure 88. Plan of TT 70

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1960, 139; Polz 1990, 309; Kampp 1996, 297-298; Manniche 2011, 73.

TT 71

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 89)

Royal/private: private (Senenmut, chief steward)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 940-880 BCE (1 burial), 700-600 BCE (1 burial)

Dating criteria: shabti boxes

Remarks:

A shabti box of Aston type VIIa, belonging to a lady of the house called Shepsesdjed, came to light in a pillared hall of the tomb of Senenmut (Dorman 1991, 78). Another shabti box (Aston VIIc) was discovered in a corridor breaking into the north side of the tomb: it seems that the box was attached to the floor with a peg (Dorman 1991, 79).

Bibliography:

Dorman 1991; Kampp 1996, 298-302.

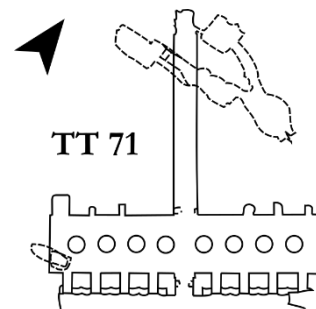


Figure 89. Plan of TT 71

TT 72

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Ra, high priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

No objects datable to the time of the reuse of the tomb are known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 303-306; Piccione 2005; Piccione 2017.

TT 73

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa

Royal/private: private (Amenhotep? overseer of works)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects discovered in TT 73 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Säve-Söderbergh 1957, 1-10; Kampp 1996, 306-307.

TT 74

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Tjanuni, royal scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Thutmose IV)

Later context

Remarks:

It seems that the tomb was not reused in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, possibly because it was destroyed or hidden under debris in the aftermath of an earthquake (Brack, An., Ar. Brack 1977, 10; Kampp 1996, 310).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 307-310; Brack, An., Ar. Brack 1977.

TT 75

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 90)

Royal/private: private (Amenhotep-Sase, second priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV)

Later context

Type of burial: 3*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'late period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement, plan of the tomb

Remarks:

No objects from excavations in TT 75 were published, but a mention of several burial places, some of them undoubtedly later than the original structure, can be found in Davies' publication of the tomb: *'On the east side of the court, near the façade, are traces of a false door, lightly moulded in mud and hib plaster, which perhaps served a small loculus hewn out below it (Pit 4). (...) the making of the court removed the rock roofing from a rough burial chamber, having a court or outer room in front of it (no. 6). There is another place of burial on the same side, reached by a pit between the two just mentioned (no. 5). Its chamber lay to the east of the shaft, but has broken into the floor of the chamber of Pit 6. On the other side of the court there is another little chamber, entered from a very shallow pit (no. 7). To what date they reach back is unknown, but the last place of burial we have to notice is clearly of a quite late period, as it consists of a vaulted tunnel of bricks set in a narrow cutting in the hillside. The face of this building was at first set back in the wall of rock, but afterwards a porch or extension was added, built on the accumulated rubbish. It may be noted in this connection that three burial-places are also found inside the tomb, none of them, however, giving the impression of having been made to accommodate the owner of the tomb himself. No. 1 would just admit a coffin, if half of it protruded into the little pit. No. 3 has not any roof, being a mere trench. Of no. 2 I cannot speak, as it was dug out by Mr. Mackay; its larger area is somewhat promising'* (Davies, N. 1923b, 1-2).

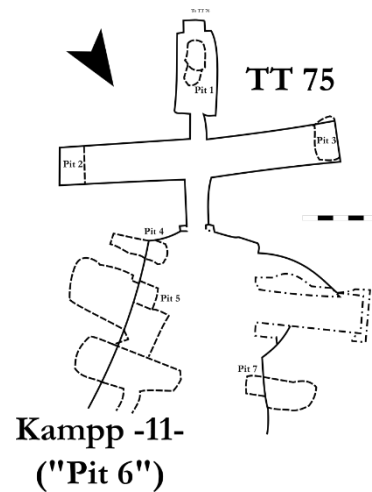


Figure 90. Plan of TT 75 and Kampp -11-

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1923b, 1-18; Baud 1935, 111-114; Kampp 1996, 310-312.

TT 76

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa

Royal/private: private (Tjanuni, royal fan-bearer)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects from TT 76 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Säve-Söderbergh 1957, 50-51; Kampp 1996, 312-313.

TT 77

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd

Royal/private: private (Ptahemhat, overseer of works)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects discovered in TT 77 is known to me. The tomb was reused in the New Kingdom by an overseer of sculptors named Roy.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 115-119; Manniche 1988b, 7-30; Kampp 1996, 313-315.

TT 78

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Via (Figure 91)

Royal/private: private (Horemheb, count)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: 1*, 4a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty (1 burial), 25th-26th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments, plan of the tomb, pottery (?)

Remarks:

The thoroughly robbed tomb TT 78 nevertheless bears signs of reuse. According to the excavators, all three chambers adjoining the pillared hall are later than the original complex (Brack, An., Ar. Brack 1980, 11). Among the scattered finds from the chambers and the surrounding area were several cartonnage pieces, one of them belonging to the anonymous son of a certain Neskhonsupakhered; *‘sie bestehen aus verschiedenen Lagen von Gewebe und Gips und sind mit leuchtenden Farben bemalt, die durch Firnis noch vertieft warden. Der Firnis ist oft wolzig gelb bis braun verfärbt’* (Brack, An., Ar. Brack 1980, 66). Such a description would point to a date in

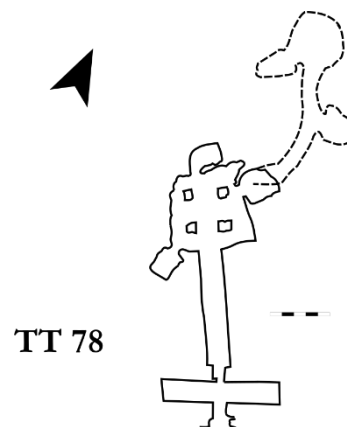


Figure 91. Plan of TT 78

the 22nd or early 25th dynasty when vivid colouration of cartonnages was in fashion. Apart from the cartonnages, remains of at least 12 individuals came to light.

Another group of finds was discovered in the sloping passage and the associated burial chamber: these include possibly later objects, such as a group of cartonnage fragments with a large collar and a winged sun disc - seemingly different from those identified in the upper chambers (datable by the authors to the earlier period), two wooden '*Maat-Federn*' (ostrich feathers from the crown of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette?), small fired clay ushebti (my types 1c and 2), a fragment of a light blue faience ushebt, pottery vessels (one of Aston type 13), and remains of wooden coffins (Brack, An., Ar. Brack 1980, 67-71). Although the excavators argued that the burials deposited in these rooms were earlier than those from the 'secondary chambers' above, the remains of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris crown and stark colouration of cartonnages speak in favour of interments in the Kushite-Saite Period.

Finally, remains of later mud screed as well as cartonnage, wood fragments, and human remains came to light in the courtyard (Brack, An., Ar. Brack 1980, 11).

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 119-124; Brack, An., Ar. Brack 1980; Kampp 1996, 316-318.

TT 79

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Via ('*umgestaltet zu Va*') (Figure 92)

Royal/private: private (Menkheperaseneb, overseer of the granaries of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: 3*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 4

Dating: late 21st-early 22nd dynasty (1 burial), 22nd-25th dynasty (3 burials)

Dating criteria: coffins, cartonnage fragments

Remarks:

The tomb was reused at least twice during the first millennium BCE: scanty remains of coffins of characteristic ‘yellow’ type (dated by Taylor to the late 21st or early 22nd dynasty) were discovered in the monument, while cartonnages of ‘two falcons’ type (one with the name of Ankhkhonsu) and ‘register’ type (at least two different cases) probably attest burials in the 22nd or 25th dynasty (Guksch 1995, 175-176). The unpublished excavations of Mackay, which took place in TT 79 at the beginning of the twentieth century, destroyed what was left of the stratigraphy (Guksch 1995, 173). However, worth interest is Mackay’s mention of ‘*Roman (?) pits filled in*’ in his unpublished report from his works (Mond MSS 2.1). The pits may, in fact, be burial shafts from the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period.

Bibliography:

Mond MSS 2.1; Guksch 1995, 122-178; Kampp 1996, 318-320.

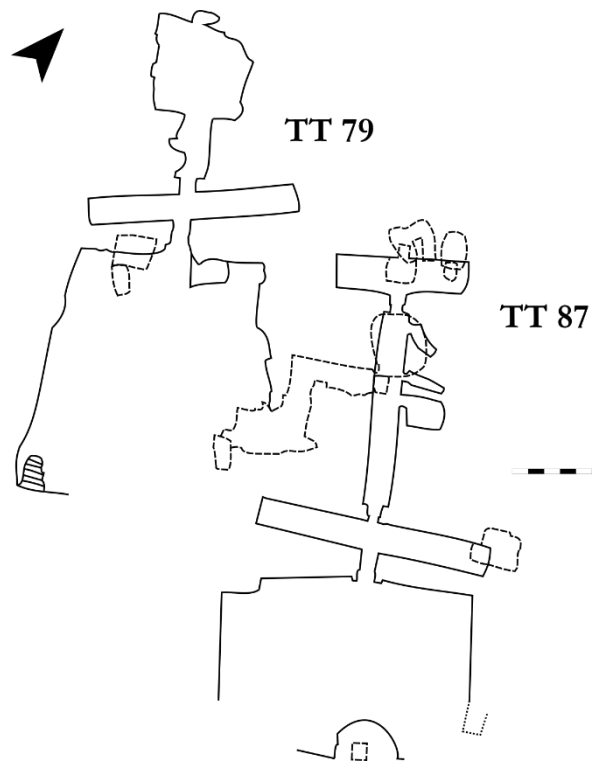


Figure 92. Plan of TT 79 and TT 87

TT 80

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 93)

Royal/private: private (Djehutynefer, royal scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 22nd dynasty (1 burial), 25th-26th dynasty
(1 burial)

Dating criteria: shabti box, pottery, bead nets

Remarks:

The tomb of Djehutynefer was reused, however, the exact dating of the reuse remains unclear. According to Kampp, it took place during or immediately after the Amarna Period, as indicated by cartouches of Akhenaten visible on the bricks used to erect the mudbrick structure in the courtyard (Kampp 1996, 321). With the Amarna Period reuse Kampp associates the cutting of the sloping passage as well as of the 'Pflanzbecken' in front of the entrance. However, it would seem that TT 80 was also reused in the first millennium BCE; among the finds from the inner rooms, Shedid lists an undecorated shabti box (Aston type VII) filled with clay (my type 3) and faience (my type 3) ushebtis found in the burial chamber, various fired and unfired clay funerary statuettes (my types 2 and 3) scattered throughout the tomb, a calcite canopic jar lid, human remains, cartonnage fragments, faience tubular beads from bead nets mistakenly dated to the New Kingdom, and a pottery vessel of Aston type 157 datable to the eighth or seventh century BCE (Shedid 1988, 185-188). It would seem

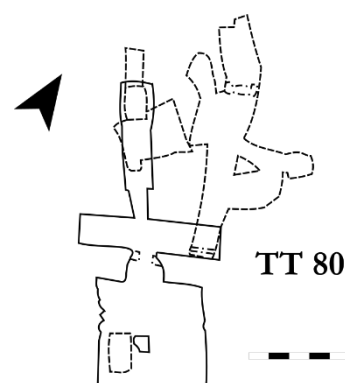


Figure 93. Plan of TT 80

that at least two burials took place in the tomb after the end of the New Kingdom: one in the Libyan Period, and the other in the Kushite-Saite Period, although it remains unknown where they were originally deposited.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 124-126; Shedid 1988; Kampp 1996, 320-323.

TT 81

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIb, IVb, or Vb

Royal/private: private (Ineni, overseer of the granary of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep I to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

The tomb seems to bear no traces of reuse; probably it had collapsed and became inaccessible already in the 18th dynasty (Dziobek 1992, 91).

Bibliography:

Mond, Emery 1927, 33; Davies, N. 1963, 19-20; Dziobek 1992; Kampp 1996, 323-326.

TT 82

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (*Sonderform*) (Figure 94)

Royal/private: private (Amenemhat, steward of the vizier)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a or 4a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Late Period

Dating criteria: list of objects

Remarks:

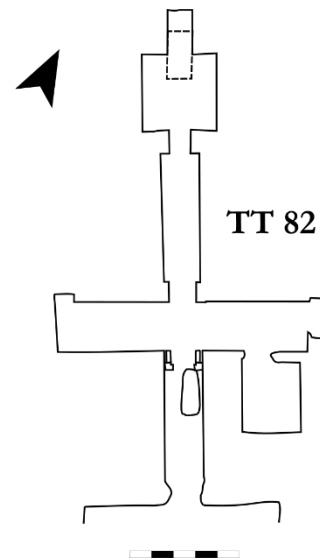


Figure 94. Plan of TT 82

TT 82 was published by Davies and Gardiner: '(...) there still remained traces of various burials of later date. There were parts of bodies and of broken coffins and furniture heaped together in wild confusion; a fragment of a blue-glaze plaque with a gilded dad-symbol on it; several cones of Amenemhēt and others; fragments of canopic jars, one painted with a human-headed top; a mummified dog; about 150 crude shawabtis in grey clay, uninscribed, both ordinary ones with the two hoes and rêises with a whip; and one of those inscribed clay 'briques magiques' not seldom found in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs' (Davies, N., Gardiner 1915, 24). Unfortunately, none of these objects can be precisely dated, although the mention of 'crude shawabtis in grey clay' indicates burial in the first millennium BCE.

Several burial installations are listed by the authors as of later date than the original structure: a hole below a second doorway, two chambers cut in the transverse hall, and a niche in the sloping passage (Davies, N., Gardiner 1915, 10-11).

Bibliography:

Davies, N., Gardiner 1915; Kampp 1996, 326-330.

TT 83

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IVb

Royal/private: private (Ahmose, vizier)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Ahmose to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects from TT 83 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 330-332.

TT 84

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Ve (Figure 95)

Royal/private: private (Iamunedjeh, overseer of the gate)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3b*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

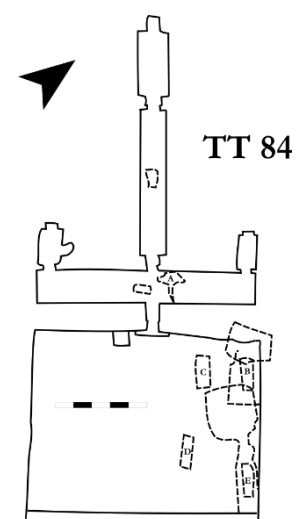


Figure 95. Plan of TT 84

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period-Late Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement, plan of the tomb

Remarks:

Human remains of the Third Intermediate or Late Period were discovered in TT 84 (Nerlich, Zink 2003). Only a preliminary report from excavations in the tomb was published (Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997), therefore the precise dating of the specimens as well as their findspot remain unknown. However, it seems that at least two courtyard shafts ('Schacht C' and 'Schacht D') do not belong to the original 18th dynasty structure (Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997, 73). Unfortunately, all the shafts had been cleared before the beginning of the German excavations.

It is interesting to note that no material from the first millennium BCE came to light in the original burial shaft 'Schacht B' (Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997, 73), probably indicating that the main burial chamber was never reused.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 126-128; Kampp 1996, 332-336; Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997; Nerlich, Zink 2003.

TT 85

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (*Sonderform*) (Figure 96)

Royal/private: private (Amenemheb, military commander)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 22nd dynasty (1 burial), 25th-26th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

Remains of at least 147 individuals buried in TT 85, presumably in the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, came to light (Nerlich, Zink 2003, 220-224), but the only person mentioned by the excavators whose burial could be dated was Nehesit, interred in a 22nd dynasty cartonnage (Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997, 82; Nerlich, Zink 2003, 219). Nehesit's mummy was found in the 18th dynasty shaft in the courtyard, among the remains of the original occupants of the tomb (Nerlich, Zink 2003, 219). Cartonnage fragments from the 'intrusive' burials were *'in den Schacht-anlagen beider Gräber [= TT 85 and TT 88] omnipräsent'* (Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997, 82). This indicates that probably more than one burial was deposited in the tomb in the Third Intermediate Period, although for the sake of this investigation I had to assume the minimal number of individuals. According to Nerlich and Zink, not only the courtyard shaft but also the sloping passage and the main burial chamber of the tomb were reused *'up to the Late Period'* (Nerlich, Zink 2003, 219).

Pottery datable to the 25th or 26th dynasty was also discovered in the courtyard; according to Guksch *'hier wurde die Vorhoffläche in der 25./26. Dynastie mit einer bis zu 70 cm dicken Schotterschicht aufgefüllt, unter der das Flachendepot der 18. Dynastie neben dem Schacht verschwand'* (Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997, 82). The mudbrick structure in the courtyard (entrance pylon) most likely should be associated with the Late Period reuse of TT 85 (Kampp 1996, 336-338; Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997, 82).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 336-338; Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997; Nerlich, Zink 2003.

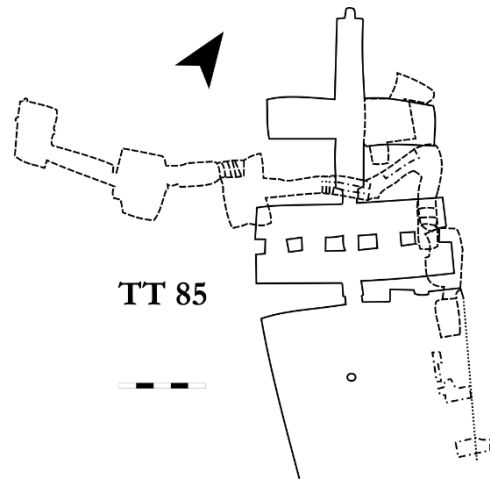


Figure 96. Plan of TT 85

TT 86

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Ve (Figure 97)

Royal/private: private (Menkheperaseneb, high priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: information by N. Davies

Remarks:

The tomb of Menkheperaseneb was partly cleared by Mond, but except for fragments of sandstone framing, funerary cones, a fragment of vase ‘*in grey glaze pottery with blue glaze flowers burnt on*’, and a small ‘*foundation pot*’ (Mond 1905, 5-6) nothing else was mentioned in the report from these works. Davies published the decoration, remarking on the presence of ‘*a plaster of late date*’ in the tomb. He also added that the erasure pattern in the monument ‘*closely resembles that in Tomb 49, it may be due to a pre-Coptic usurper*’ (Davies, N. 1933b, 1). The exact date of the reuse cannot be established.

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 65-66; Davies, N. 1933b, 1-17; Baud 1935, 128; Kampp 1996, 338-340.

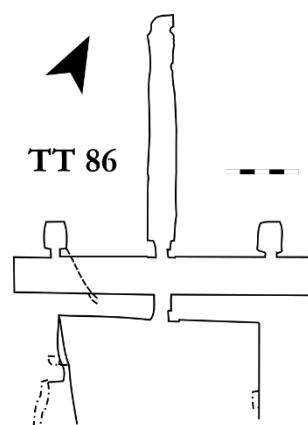


Figure 97. Plan of TT 86

TT 87

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd (Figure 92)

Royal/private: private (Nakhtmin, overseer of the granaries of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 1*, 3a.1, 4a.1, 4a.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 7

Dating: 22nd dynasty (6 burials), 25th-26th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments, mummy braces with the name of Osorkon I, radiocarbon dating, pottery, coffin

Remarks:

According to Guksch, six features were constructed to accommodate new burials in the Third Intermediate Period. One of them, 'Kammer 1', is a side chamber located in the north wall of the corridor leading to the chapel. Some pieces of plaster were found inside the chamber, although the excavator found it very unlikely for the room to have been plastered, and these may be intrusive (Guksch 1995, 97). Cartonnage fragments were discovered (one of them with a preserved name of the lady of the house Asetemakhbit) both inside and outside the tomb and subsequently dated by Taylor to the 22nd dynasty. Additionally, mummy braces with the name of Osorkon I were found, thus confirming this date (Guksch 1995, 98-99). Moreover, remains of at least two coffins (one black and datable to the 22nd dynasty and the other bearing the name of the singer of Amun Mersiamun), several hundred clay and faience ushebtis (both workers and overseers), and a large number of human remains (including possible remains of a dwarf) came to light during excavations in the tomb (Guksch 98-101).

The second feature, according to Guksch datable to the Third Intermediate Period, is a side chamber, dubbed 'Kammer 2', located very close to Kammer 1. This chamber was once plastered and remains of *stucco* were discovered by the German team (Guksch 1995, 97). As above, the feature is dated by the presence of cartonnage fragments, dated by Taylor to the 22nd dynasty (Guksch 1995, 99-100). Probably some of the ushebtis scattered throughout the tomb come from this chamber.

The third side chamber was cut in the same wall ('Kammer 3'); no plastering was detected (Guksch 1995, 97). The dating is the same as for the two aforementioned features.

The fourth chamber ('Kammer I'), cut in the south wall of the same corridor, has well-worked walls. Inside the chamber, a shallow shaft was discovered, leading to a small burial chamber. No remains of plaster were discovered (Guksch 1995, 97). Dating is the same in the three previous cases.

Another feature hewn or reused in the Third Intermediate Period is a shaft ('Schacht I') discovered in the second transverse hall of the tomb. The shaft is not a simple vertical structure, but a series of rooms: a corridor leading to the west and later turning into a vertical shaft, another short corridor, and a final shaft. The shaft was also not plastered (Guksch 1995, 97). Dating is the same as in the previous cases.

The last feature associated with the reuse of TT 87 in the Third Intermediate Period is a second shaft in the transverse hall ('Schacht II'); this time a simple vertical structure, also not plastered (Guksch 1995, 98).

In the early Late Period, TT 87 was reused by a new owner, the God's Father Horemakhbit, who not only reused the tomb for his burial, but also restored the original features (he repaired the walls of the tomb), commissioned a new pavement of *muna* in the courtyard and inner chambers, erected a mudbrick stela (Mond, Emery 1927, 33) as well as a wall and a mudbrick structure (reconstructed by the excavator as a form of the porch above the entrance) in the courtyard. Finally, Horemakhbit added his scenes to the existing decoration (Guksch 1995, 101-116; Aston, D. 2003, 149). In the vicinity of the stela in the courtyard, a deposit of mummification vessels was discovered, including a characteristic sausage jar (Guksch 1995, 105-111), which probably should be linked to Horemakhbit's burial.

Horemakhbit's place of burial could not be identified unambiguously due to the lack of inscriptions, but probably the shaft in question is 'Schacht I', located in the first transverse hall: the concentration of objects datable to the 25th or 26th dynasty in the neighbouring area speaks in favour of such a scenario. Several charcoal pieces were discovered in the shaft (the obtained radiocarbon date after calibration was 765-410 BCE). Fragments of coffins, including a fragment of a rectangular *qeresu* coffin, were dated by Taylor to the late eighth or early seventh century BCE (Guksch 1995, 115-116). The mouth of the shaft was closed with mudbricks (Guksch 1995, 113).

It was noted by Guksch that remains of cartonnages and late dynastic ushebti were found under the new Late Period pavement, thus indicating that the robbery of the tomb must have taken place not long after the burials had been deposited in the tomb in the Third Intermediate Period (Guksch 1995, 98).

Bibliography:

Mond, Emery 1927, 33; Baud 1935, 129-130; Guksch 1995, 17-121; Kampp 1996, 340-342; Aston, D. 2003.

TT 88

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 98)

Royal/private: private (Pehsukher, military commander)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

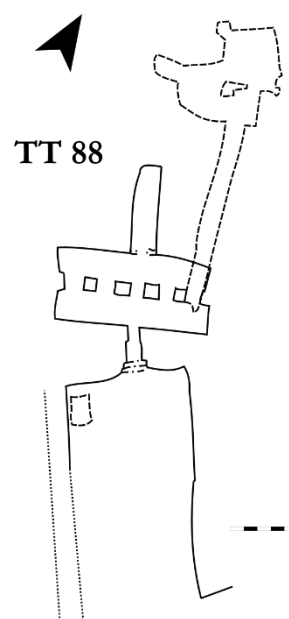


Figure 98. Plan of TT 88

Dating: '25th-26th dynasty'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

Fragments of Third Intermediate Period cartonnages were found scattered throughout the tomb (Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997, 82), but no description of these objects was given. Pottery of '25./26. *Dynastie*' was discovered in the tomb. From the same period, very fragmentary remains of wall decoration are preserved, probably the depiction of the resurrection of Osiris (Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997, 82).

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 131-133; Kampp 1996, 342-344; Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997.

TT 89

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 99)

Royal/private: private (Amenmose, steward in the southern city)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: titles of the deceased

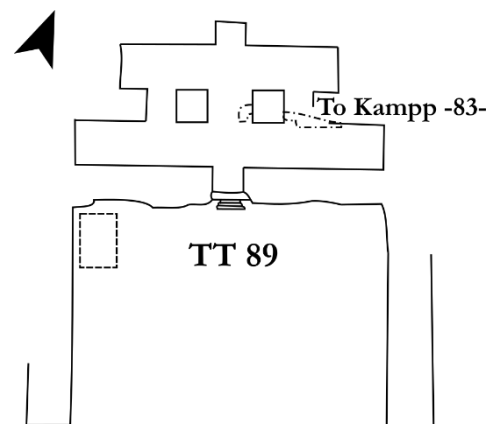


Figure 99. Plan of TT 89

Remarks:

According to Mond, some remains of later burials came to light in the tomb: a lower part of the coffin of 'Aufmama', his wig, a fragment of a coffin of a chantress of Amun named Mutemkha, a fragment of a coffin belonging to Aset, likewise a chantress of Amun, pottery, '*pieces of a small Ptolemaic statue*', and several cones. Unfortunately, none of these finds can be dated to any period.

All of the objects were discovered in a single shaft in the south part of the tomb (Mond 1905, 76). Surprisingly, the presence of no such pit was noted by The Royal Ontario Museum Epigraphic Project working in the tomb in 1995-1996 (Pinch Brock, Shaw 1997, 171), although due to the epigraphic character of the mission no excavation was conducted. It is impossible to establish the exact location of Mond's shaft as well as whether it was a part of the original burial installation as argued by Kampp (Kampp 1996, 364) or a later structure.

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 76; Baud 1935, 133-134; Kampp 1996, 344-348; Pinch Brock, Shaw 1997; Aston, D. 2009a, 235; Shaw 2016-2017.

TT 90**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 100)

Royal/private: private (Nebamun, captain of the troops)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

None of the objects published by Davies can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period, although the shaft in the transverse hall may be later than the original structure.

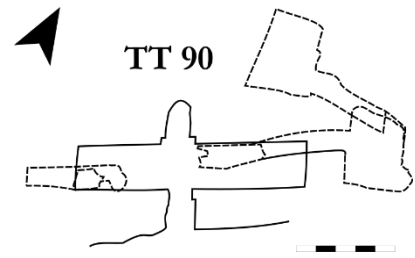


Figure 100. Plan of TT 90

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1923b, 19-23; Baud 1935, 134-137; Kampp 1996, 348-349.

TT 91

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

The only object from TT 91 known to me is a ‘2-handled pot’, discovered by Jelf (Kaczanowicz, in press). No date can be proposed for this object.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 137-138; Kampp 1996, 349-350; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 92

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (*Sonderform*)

Royal/private: private (Suemniut, royal butler)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 92 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 138-150; Kampp 1996, 350-352.

TT 93

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIb (Figure 101)

Royal/private: private (Kenamun, chief steward of the king)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: Late Period

Dating criteria: spelling of the name of Osiris,
Horus and Anubis figures, bead nets

Remarks:

Mond, who excavated TT 93 in 1903, discovered remains of several burials. The only objects which can be firmly dated to the first millennium BCE, however, are burial assemblages of two men, Padiamonnebnesuttawy and Tjeta, found in the ‘*centre of this inner hall*’ (chapel). Of Padiamonnebnesuttawy’s burial equipment, a wooden stela and fragments of a coffin were discovered, giving its owner’s title and filiation. Of Tjeta’s grave goods, only a wooden stela was found. Together with these finds, the following objects came to light: a fine cartonnage head, beads, wooden Horus birds and Anubis jackals, and an Osiris figure. A little to the west, a roll of papyrus was found; the present location thereof is unknown to me.

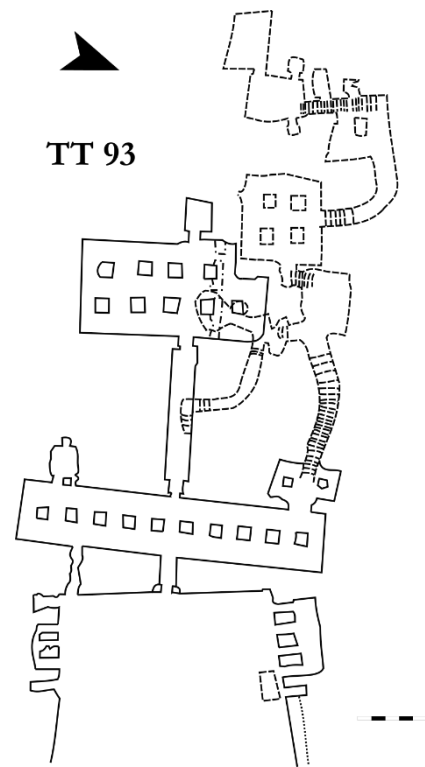


Figure 101. Plan of TT 93

The burials were dated to the 22nd dynasty by their discoverer, but, as it was demonstrated by Aston, must be later; both stelae and coffin bear inscriptions with the name of Osiris written with a pennant determinative, which points to a date after 740 BCE. The presence of the stela indicates a date before the Ptolemaic Period. Unfortunately, the drawing of neither of these objects was published by Mond. The presence of wooden Horus and Anubis figures, as well as beads (possibly from the bead nets), confirm a date in the Late Period.

It is unclear, however, where the burials had been originally deposited. Both the original burial chamber at the end of the sloping passage and shafts in the courtyard were thoroughly robbed. Mond mentioned that in the first hall of the tomb beads ‘*of twenty-second or twenty-third Dynasty date*’ were discovered next to one of the skeletons; probably the beads in question are beads from bead nets, thus indicating another late dynastic burial. Additionally, one of the mummies found by Mond in the sloping passage had artificial glass eyes inserted in the eye sockets, which may suggest

a burial in the 21st dynasty or later (Aston, D. 2009a, 376). Several features in the tomb seem to be later than the original structure: there are at least two shafts in the courtyard (the first one, found by Mond and currently inaccessible, which was interpreted as an unused mummy pit of the 18th dynasty and contained several pieces of Kenamun's burial equipment as well as jars with mummification materials of unknown date; and the second one, described by Davies, who later published the tomb, as 'a shallow burial pit'). Moreover, it was suggested by Kampp that the sloping passage was enlarged at some point.

Worth interest are two lateral, unfinished porticoes in the courtyard, which according to Kampp have no contemporary parallels. They are of very rough workmanship and possibly belong to the phase of the tomb's reuse in the first millennium BCE.

Bibliography:

Mond 1904, 97-100; Mond 1905, 84-86; Davies, N. 1930; Kampp 1996, 352-326;
Aston, D. 2009a, 235.

TT 94

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Ramose, royal herald)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

The only objects mentioned by Mond as coming from the tomb are mummification jars, allegedly of the 18th dynasty date (Mond 1904, 100).

Bibliography:

Mond 1904, 100; Kampp 1996, 356-358.

TT 95

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIII (Figure 102)

Royal/private: private (Meri, high priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period or Late Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

Remains of at least 73 different individuals came to light during German excavations in TT 95 (Nerlich, Zink 2003, 220). However, since the report from these works contained no description of archaeological finds, one cannot differentiate between the New Kingdom burials and later ones, although according to Nerlich and Zink the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period remains were discovered in the tomb. During this time, the 'subsidiary' burial system is said to have been reused and a new shaft cut in the transverse hall; the original burial chamber was presumably never reused after the 18th dynasty (Nerlich, Zink 2003, 219). Jelf mentioned a fragment of

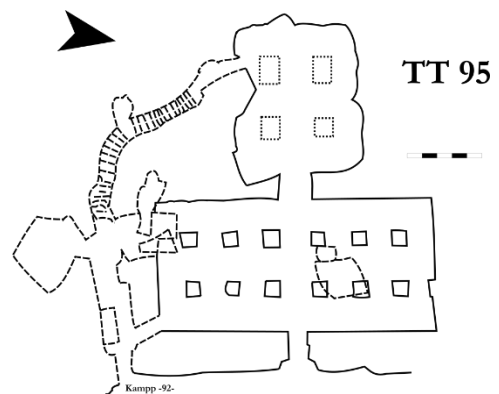


Figure 102. Plan of TT 95

a coffin found by him near the entrance (Kaczanowicz, in press), but no date for it was given.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 358-360; Gnirs, Grothe, Guksch 1997; Nerlich, Zink 2003;
Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 96 ('Tomb of Vines')

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Via (Figure 103)

Royal/private: private (Sennefer, mayor of Thebes)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

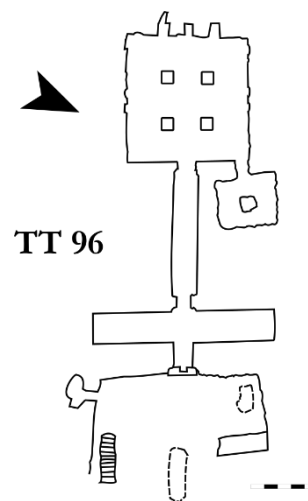


Figure 103. Plan of TT 96

The inner chambers of the tomb of Sennefer, explored by Mond in 1903, proved to be free from debris: according to the excavator, no objects of importance were discovered there. However, in the courtyard Mond found two shafts: one of them, probably original, contained scattered remains of coffins, furniture, ushebtis of Userhat and Merseker, pottery canopic jars, and a mummy with some pieces of metal, carnelian and faience jewellery. In the other shaft, Mond's party found *'some bodies of*

uncertain date but no inscriptions'. In the courtyard and its vicinity, several funerary cones, ushebtis of clay (burnt and unburnt) and blue faience, pieces of three statues and a granite stela of Sennefer as well as a wooden coffin painted white and yellow, containing some smashed ceramic vessels and surrounded by jars containing mummifying materials, came to light (Mond 1904, 100-101).

These objects indicate that the reuse of TT 96 took place at some point during the first millennium BCE. At least one burial must have taken place between the beginning of the 22nd dynasty and the early Ptolemaic Period, which is indicated by the presence of unfired clay ushebtis. The tomb, later used by Carter and Mond as a storeroom for antiquities, is currently investigated by the Belgian mission.

The mudbrick wall in the courtyard is later than the original structure, although it may have come from the period of Coptic occupation of the site (Kampp 1996, 364).

Bibliography:

Mond 1904, 100-101; Kampp 1996, 360-364; Tefnin 2008; Warmenbol 2010; Bavay, Laboury 2012.

TT 97

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Via (Figure 104)

Royal/private: private (Amenemhat, high priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

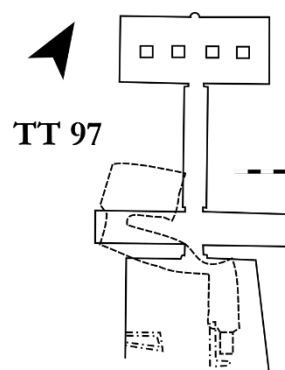


Figure 104. Plan of TT 97

Minimal number of persons buried: 9

Dating: late 20th-early 21st dynasty (8 burials), late 21st dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: coffins, canopic jars

Remarks:

Excavations in the courtyard of TT 97, conducted by Mond and Emery, revealed the presence of remains datable to the period of reuse of the tomb. On the bottom of the courtyard shaft, 13.3 m deep and apparently original, three chambers were discovered, filled with remains of burials. The reuse of the shaft started already in the New Kingdom: according to Taylor (quoted by Aston), at least 8 of the coffins found in the shaft (nos. 1-2, 4-5, 7, 71-73) should be dated to the late 20th or early 21st dynasty (Aston, D. 2009a, 235). Four of the coffins housed female mummies, approximately 30 (no. 73), 40 (nos. 1, 4), and 50 years old (no. 7), and one of them a male mummy, approximately 40 years old (no. 2). The remaining coffins were found empty. The coffins were discovered in rooms 1 and 2 as well as on the bottom of the shaft, but the heavily disturbed context does not allow to draw any conclusions from their distribution. Taylor's dating of the coffins is corroborated by other finds: wooden canopic jars (Aston type I) and clay ushebti, painted red.

Another coffin lid (no. 30), this time datable to the late 21st dynasty, came to light inside the underground chamber of TT 97. Taylor's dating is further confirmed by the presence of a wooden dummy canopic jar (Aston type II), discovered in chamber II (the coffin was found in chamber I). Perhaps a clay uninscribed ushebt, discovered in the same room, belonged to the same burial.

Fragments of other objects were found among the debris, but none of them can be securely dated the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period.

Bibliography:

Gardiner 1910; Mond, Emery 1929; Kampp 1996, 364-367; Aston, D. 2009a, 235.

TT 98

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa

Royal/private: private (Kaemheribsen, third priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 98 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Fakhry 1934a; Kampp 1996, 367-368.

TT 99

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Via (Figure 105)

Royal/private: private (Senneferi, overseer of seal-bearers)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 6

Dating: 21st dynasty (1 burial), 22nd dynasty (1 burial), middle 25th dynasty (1 burial), late 25th dynasty (1 burial), 25th dynasty (1 burial), 26th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: linen fragments, faience vessels with the name of Shabaka, ushebtis, name of the deceased, coffin, genealogy of Horenpe, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure

Remarks:

Fragments of a Late Period *qeresu* coffin, bearing the name of a fourth priest of Amun called Wedjahor, were found during Strudwick's excavations in the tomb. Apart from the coffin, linen fragments with the name of Wedjahor, titulary of Shabaka, and the date of Year 10, a male mummy (most likely Wedjahor's), and faience vessel fragments with the name of Shabaka were discovered in Shaft A and Shaft B: Wedjahor was clearly buried in one of the shafts. Other items, which could perhaps be associated with Wedjahor's burial, were discovered scattered throughout the tomb: pottery dated by Aston to eighth and seventh century BCE (Aston, D. 2009a, 237), and mud ushebtis.

Another object datable to the 25th dynasty is an openwork cartonnage, belonging to a lady of the house and daughter of the priest of Amun in Kawa Padiamun named Niu. The name itself betrays its Nubian character (Strudwick, N. 1995a, 93; Strudwick, N. 2000, 254). The cartonnage's pieces were discovered in Shafts A and B, while a female mummy, likely Niu's, in Shaft B. Particularly interesting are ushebtis with baskets on their heads, with parallels from el-Kurru, my type 4 (Strudwick, N. 2000, 254; Budka 2010b, 505; Musso, Petacchi 2011). Some of the pottery sherds mentioned above could also be a part of Niu's grave goods.

Apart from the remains of burials of Wedjahor and Niu, several other objects came to light: a fragment of linen of Wedjahor's son, Horenpe, dated to Year 12 of an unnamed pharaoh (probably Taharka), clay ushebtis painted green of Neshathor (overseers and workers), coffins which have been dated to the late 21st, 22nd (a larger

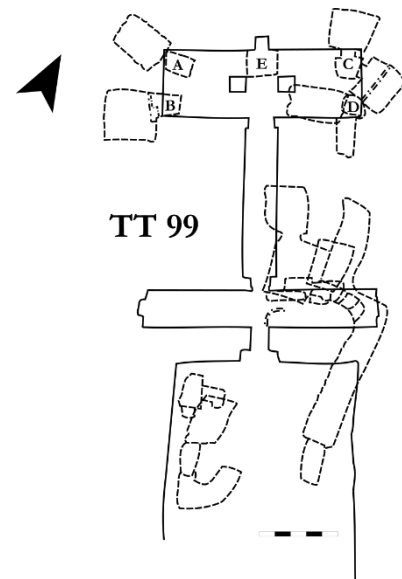


Figure 105. Plan of TT 99

group, represented by black coffins), 25th, and 26th dynasties (mostly *qeresu* coffins and wooden jackals and falcons, placed on their tops), cartonnage fragments, beads and amulets from bead nets, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure (Aston type V), a large number of anonymous ushebtis, some broken faience vessels, pottery, human remains, and inscribed linen fragments (Strudwick, N. 2000, 252-257).

The original burial chamber of Senneferi proved to be completely devoid of pottery later than the 18th dynasty, indicating that it was probably never reused for later burials (Rose 2001, 17; Rose, in: Strudwick, N. 2016, 193-194). According to Strudwick, all the burial shafts within the chapel and one in the transverse hall (A-F) were cut in the Third Intermediate Period (Strudwick, N. 2000, 252; Strudwick, N. 2016, 65). In Shaft B, remains of mudbricks, probably constituting the original blocking of the shaft, came to light (I thank Nigel Strudwick for this information).

Remains of a mudbrick structure were discovered in the courtyard, but their dating remains unknown.

Bibliography:

Mond 1904, 101-102; Mond 1905, 87; Rose 2001; Strudwick, N. 1995a; Kampp 1996, 368-370; Strudwick, N. 1999-2000; Strudwick, N. 2000; Aston, D. 2003; Strudwick, N. 2005; Aston, D. 2009a, 237; Strudwick, N. 2016.

TT 100

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 106)

Royal/private: private (Rekhmira, vizier)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: 3*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb, excavator's statement

Remarks:

The major archaeological works in the tomb of Rekhmira were those of Newberry in 1900. Unfortunately, while the decoration was published more than once (Newberry 1900; Davies, N. 1943), no information on objects discovered during these excavations was ever published, except for three bronze votive bowls, probably Thutmoside (Winlock 1936). Nevertheless, there are seven burial shafts in the tomb in total and their 'late' character did not escape Davies' attention: according to him, of the six burial shafts in the inner part of the tomb, *'none of them has yielded any trace of burial furniture belonging to the original occupants'*, the shaft in the courtyard *'may not be contemporary'*, while the second entrance to the tomb *'was opened by a man of a later period, who, in order to obtain a home or a place of burial cheaply, cut off two thirds of the south bay of the outer room by a party wall (indications of which remain) and hewed a doorway through the rock to afford admission to his acquisition, using an existing burial shaft or providing a new one'* (Davies, N. 1943, 6). The original burial chamber of Rekhmira was never discovered.

It seems very likely that at least one of the shafts was hewn in the first millennium BCE, but their exact date cannot be established.

Bibliography:

Newberry 1900; Winlock 1936; Davies, N. 1943; Kampp 1996, 370-373.

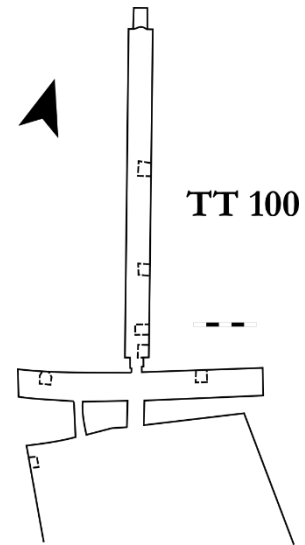


Figure 106. Plan of TT 100

TT 101

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Tjaner, royal butler)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV)

Later context

Remarks:

The following objects were discovered during Jelf's works in TT 101: 34 small ushebtis, a wooden ear, and three fragments of '*green ware*' (Kaczanowicz, in press). None of the finds can be dated to any specific period.

Bibliography:

Mackay 1914, 91; Baud 1935, 150-152; Kampp 1996, 373-375; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 102

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IVa

Royal/private: private (Imhotep, royal scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 102 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 67; Kampp 1996, 375-377.

TT 103 (MMA 807)

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIb ('mit Umbauten')
(Figure 107)

Royal/private: private (Dagi, vizier)

Dating: 11th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'late Egyptian or Coptic'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

The tomb of Dagi, transformed into a monastic complex during the first millennium CE, was cleared at the beginning of the twentieth century and subsequently published by Davies. In his work, Davies mentioned some later objects with the following annotation: '*so far as these were of late Egyptian or Coptic origin I shall make no mention of them*' (Davies, N. 1913a, 30). The Coptic hermitage was later published by Winlock and Crum, but the late dynastic objects were omitted from this work. The only mention of burials which may belong to the phase of the first millennium BCE reuse of the tomb was inserted in the short description of the interior the ground of which was '*littered with debris of plundered mummies and their coffins*' (Winlock,

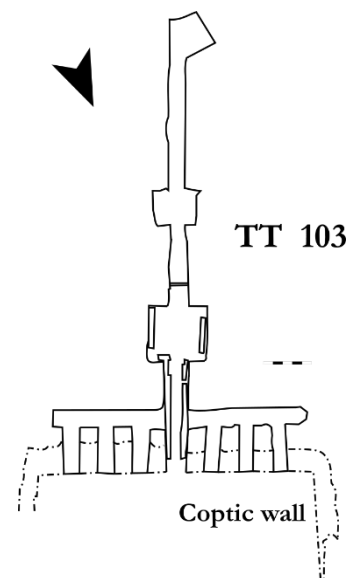


Figure 107. Plan of TT 103

Crum 1926, 29). Bricks from the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), found in the monastery, were probably brought by the Coptic monks (Davies, N. 1913a, 30; Winlock, Crum 1926, 32).

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1913a, 28-39; Winlock, Crum 1926; Kampp 1996, 377-378; Soliman 2009, 108-112.

TT 104

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 108)

Royal/private: private (Djehutynfer, royal scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 21st-22nd dynasty (1 burial), 25th-26th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: spelling of the name of Osiris, pottery, bead nets

Remarks:

Several objects later than the original structure came to light during Shedid's excavations in the tomb. Among the finds scattered over the complex were: faience ushebtis belonging to a God's Father of Mut named Ankhefmut (my types 1 and 3), anonymous clay ushebtis (my types 1 and 2), human remains, cartonnage fragments, tubular faience beads from bead nets (mistakenly dated by Shedid to the New

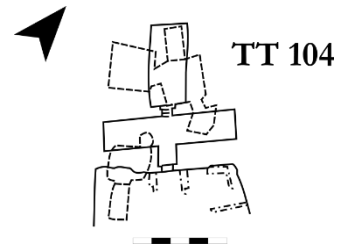


Figure 108. Plan of TT 104

Kingdom), and several pottery vessels (including Aston types 18 and 19). Ankhefmut's ushebtis were dated by Shedid to the 21st dynasty; the orthography of the name of Osiris suggests a date before 740 BCE. Perhaps the cartonnage fragments also belong to Ankhefmut's burial, which would point to a date in the 22nd dynasty. On the other hand, the pottery and the presence of bead nets indicate that at least one interment in the tomb took place in the 25th or 26th dynasty. It remains unknown where any of the burials had been deposited.

The two mudbrick structures in the courtyard are later additions to the monument (Shedid 1988, 112), and could perhaps be associated with the reuse of the tomb in the first millennium BCE, although Kampp dates them to the late Ramesside Period or the Coptic times (Kampp 1996, 378).

Additionally, during Jelf's works in TT 104 the following objects came to light: 13 fragments of ushebtis, a fragment of a scarab, 201 small ushebtis, and 6 large funerary statuettes, found inside the transverse hall and long corridor (Kaczanowicz, in press).

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 153; Shedid 1988; Kampp 1996, 378-380; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 105

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 109)

Royal/private: private (Khaemopet, priest of Amun)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3b

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

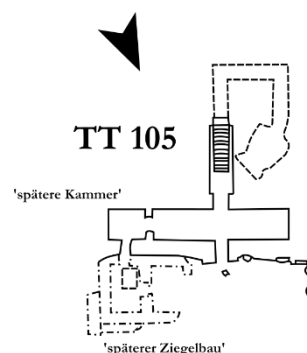


Figure 109. Plan of TT 105

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th dynasty

Dating criteria: shabti box

Remarks:

The tomb was excavated by Mond, but it was never published. The only information on these works can be found in his notes, where he mentioned a ‘*small white shabti box (...) on a lid drawing of a boat and an incomplete inscription. Found in pit in front of the tomb of Khaemope*’ (Collins 1976, 35). The white box with a boat on a lid is of Aston type VII or VIII and can be dated to the 25th dynasty or slightly later.

‘Pit in front of the tomb of Khaemope’ can be either a shallow niche in front of the entrance (Kampp’s ‘*Osiribeet*’) or a shaft a little bit to the east of the entrance. The pit was surrounded by a mudbrick wall, thus creating a new, freestanding structure in the courtyard. According to Kampp, inside the wall pottery fragments of Third Intermediate Period date can be seen, therefore the wall cannot be earlier than the 25th dynasty (Kampp 1996, 381): it seems likely that the box was found inside the shaft. The shaft is connected with the transverse hall of TT 105.

Bibliography:

Collins 1976, 35; Kampp 1996, 380-381; Aston, D. 2009a, 235.

TT 106

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIc (Figure 110)

Royal/private: private (Paser, vizier)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Seti I to Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: ‘späte’

Dating criteria: excavator’s statement

Remarks:

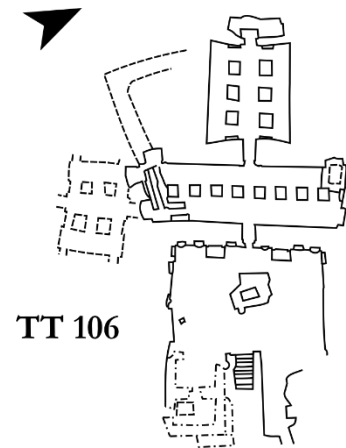


Figure 110. Plan of TT 106

TT 106, partly cleared by Mond (Collins 1976, 35), and then by Jelf (Kaczanowicz, in press), was reexcavated by the German archaeological mission, but only a preliminary report from these works was published (Seyfried 1990b). According to Kampp, ‘*das Grab wurde mehrmals wiederbelegt, was das Fundgut der Grabung widerspiegelt. Auch eine späte Usurpation hat sich inschriftlich mit großen, roten, grob gepinselten Hieroglyphen auf den Türpfosten des ersten und zweiten Durchgangs erhalten*’ (Kampp 1996, 385). No date for the ‘usurpation’ was provided. Some objects from the tomb were mentioned in Jelf’s notebook, but except for the funerary cone and fragments of wall decoration none of these (five fragments of wood, three fragments of blue ware, and one ‘*thin λήκύθος*’) can be precisely dated.

Bibliography:

Collins 1976, 35; Seyfried 1990b; Kampp 1996, 382-385; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 107

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIII

Royal/private: private (Nefersekheru, royal steward)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 107 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Collins 1976, 36; Kampp 1996, 386-387.

TT 108

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa or Va (Figure 111)

Royal/private: private (Nebseni, high priest of Onuris)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: *graffito*

Remarks:

TT 108 has never been fully published, but according to Kampp, a hieratic *graffito* from the tomb may originate from the phase of its reuse (Kampp 1996, 388). The following objects were found during Jelf's works in the tomb: 21 funerary cones, one small fragment perhaps of an ear, three '*inscribed stones (small)*', two wooden feet,

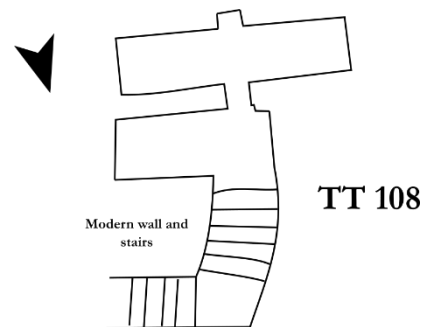


Figure 111. Plan of TT 108

one stone jar, and 9 fragments of ‘*red glazed ware*’ (Kaczanowicz, in press). None of these finds can be precisely dated.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 154-156; Kampp 1996, 387-388; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 109 (tomb complex TT 109-Kampp -327-)

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (*Sonderfall*) (Figure 112)

Royal/private: private (Min, mayor of Thinis)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a*, 5

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Late Period

Dating criteria: excavator’s statement, plan of the tomb

Remarks:

TT 109 is currently investigated by the Min Project (Morfini, Álvarez Sosa 2017). No objects discovered during these works have been published so far, however, burial shafts cut in the transverse hall seem to belong to the phase of its reuse, while ushebtis which had been found during previous excavations in the monuments were described as ‘*le tout certainement de basse-époque*’ (Virey 1887, 28, n. 1).

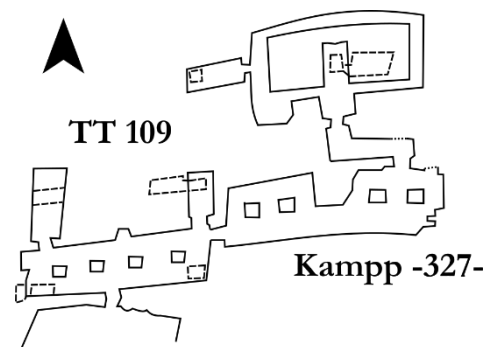


Figure 112. Plan of TT 109 and Kampp -327-

Further information on the reuse of the structure in the Late Period is provided by the excavations in the nearby tomb Kampp -327-. No inscription giving the name of the owner was preserved; nevertheless, the tomb itself seems to be a replica of the mythical ‘Tomb of Osiris’, with parallels coming from the 25th and 26th dynasty monumental tombs in the Asasif area (Morfini, Álvarez Sosa 2017, 430-431). The closest parallel for the decoration of the tomb can be found in the tomb of Mutirdis (TT 410), dated to the early 26th dynasty (Morfini, Álvarez Sosa 2017, 431). According to the excavators, in the Late Period TT 109 was used as the main entrance to the ‘Tomb of Osiris’ (Morfini, Álvarez Sosa 2017, 429).

Bibliography:

Virey 1887; Kampp 1996, 389-390; Morfini, Álvarez Sosa 2017.

TT 110

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIa (Figure 113)

Royal/private: private (Djehuty, royal herald)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnages, coffins

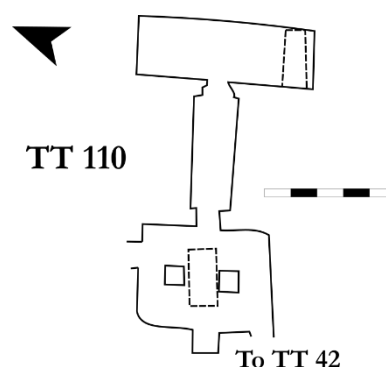


Figure 113. Plan of TT 110

Remarks:

TT 110, currently investigated by the ARCE team, proved to contain a large number of objects likely originating from the phase of its reuse. Among the finds from the debris inside the monument were: coffin fragments (including at least one specimen of 'black' type), funerary furniture, an ostrakon, human remains, and cartonnage fragments (Bednarski 2013, 6-8). It is unclear where the later burials had been deposited, possibly in one of the shafts in the tomb's interior. Due to the presence of cartonnages combined with the mention of the black coffin a 22nd-25th dynasty date for at least one burial seems plausible.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1932; Kampp 1996, 390-392; Bednarski 2013; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 111**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Amenwahsu, scribe of divine writings)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context**Remarks:**

No publication of objects found in TT 111 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Collins 1976, 33; Kampp 1996, 392.

TT 112

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd (Figure 114)

Royal/private: private (Menkheperaseneb, priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-middle 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: spelling of the name of Osiris, shabti box

Remarks:

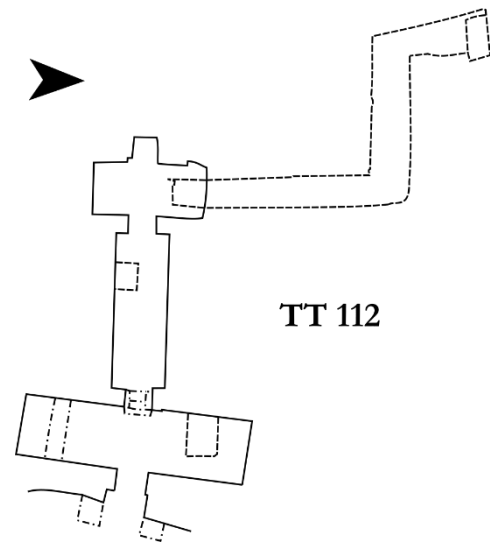


Figure 114. Plan of TT 112

TT 112 was excavated by Jelf on behalf of Whitaker. During the short winter season in 1909, remains of a disturbed burial came to light in a burial shaft cut in the north half of the transverse hall. The following objects were discovered in ‘*the further chamber at the bottom*’: two or three fragments of inscribed ‘*coffin wrapper*’, a wooden head, a shabti box, and some ushebtis. The inscription from the shabti box identifies its owner as a priest of Montu and Mut named Nakhtefmut. The spelling of the name of Osiris with a pennant determinative dates it between 740 BCE and later 26th dynasty, when shabti boxes went out of fashion. A fragment of a coffin case, found near the box, seems to bear the same name (Ryan 2016, 471). The content of the other chamber was not mentioned.

Another shaft (‘*neatly cut*’) was discovered in the corridor, but ‘*yielded nothing of great interest*’ (Ryan 2016, 470), and could be Ramesside, as suggested by Davies

(Davies, N. 1933b, 19). Inside the ‘*well at the end of passage*’ (a sloping corridor?), another 114 ushebtis were found, together with several fragments of red sandstone funerary figurines and two fragments of a stone ‘*lekythos*’, while beads, small blue figures of the Four Sons of Horus, and a winged scarab probably from a bead net, were discovered in the courtyard. The aforementioned objects, particularly the bead net fragments, perhaps come from the disturbed burial of Nakhtefmut. Inside the tomb, inscribed pottery ushebtis of Padiaset (Ramesside, according to Jelf) came to light.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1933b, 18-26; Kampp 1996, 392-394; Ryan 2016.

TT 113

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Kynebu, priest)

Dating: 20th dynasty (Ramesses VIII)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 113 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Collins 1976, 35; Kampp 1996, 394-395.

TT 114

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 395-396.

TT 115

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 157-158; Kampp 1996, 396.

TT 116

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 116 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 396-398; Hartwig 2010; Cherpion 2016.

TT 117 (MMA 1121)

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIb (Figure 115)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner, perhaps Hor, royal scribe)

Dating: 11th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd dynasty

Dating criteria: mention of the vizier Nesamun, name of the deceased

Remarks:

TT 117, a possibly unused 11th dynasty tomb located on top of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill, is a rare example of a reused funerary structure with new decoration added by the new owner in the first millennium BCE. The person for whom the monument was redecorated (or, more correctly, decorated, because there is no evidence that the tomb was originally painted) was Djedmutiufankh, an ‘*outline-draughtsman of the House of Gold, fashioning the gods of the estate of Amūn*’ (Porter, Moss 1960, 233). Since the tomb is an open one (unprotected by the iron door), all the scenes are in a very deteriorated state (Soliman 2009, 91). The stela in the portico and two biographical texts in the corridor belong to Djedmutiufankh and his family (Kampp 1996, 398-405).

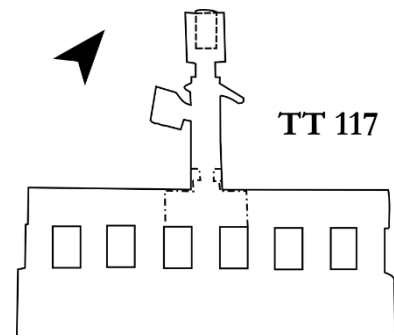


Figure 115. Plan of TT 117

It is unclear where Djedmutiufankh was buried. It seems certain that the side chambers, branching off the main corridor (one in the north wall, and two in the south), are later than the original structure. Of the same date are probably two mudbrick walls erected near the entrance and a mudbrick wall between two central pillars and the back wall of the portico (Kampp 1996, 398-399). However, it is also possible that Djedmutiufankh was interred in the main shaft, while the side chambers were intended for his family members depicted on the walls.

No finds from the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations in TT 117 were published. The two funerary amulets, a faience *wedjat* eye and a faience sistrum amulet, published on the MMA website, probably belong to the period of the tomb's reuse.

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1960, 233; Polz 1990, 312; Kampp 1996, 398-405; Soliman 2009, 88-92; Kaczanowicz, in press; MMA website, Sistrum Amulet [MMA 27.3.605]; MMA website, Wedjat Eye Amulet [MMA 27.3.608].

TT 118

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIa

Royal/private: private (Amenmose, royal fan-bearer)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 405-406.

TT 119

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Middle Kingdom

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 119 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 406-407.

TT 120

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa

Royal/private: private (Anen, second priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 120 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 408-410; Pinch Brock 1999.

TT 121

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Ve (Figure 116)

Royal/private: private (Ahmose, second priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

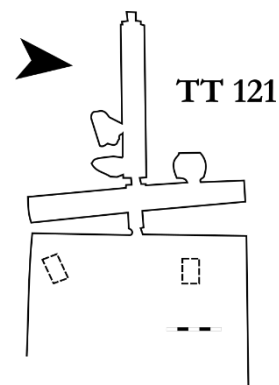


Figure 116. Plan of TT 121

Dating: late 25th dynasty

Dating criteria: palaeography

Remarks:

TT 121 was cleared in the 1930s by the team of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. However, the results of these works were never published. Excavations in the tomb were resumed in the 1990s by Piccione.

The plan of the tomb suggests that at least three features are later than the original structure: the burial shaft in the north part of the transverse hall and the two side chambers in the long corridor leading to the chapel. The reuse of the monument in the first millennium BCE was confirmed in a diary entry published on the blog of Piccione's mission, although no exact dating for these features was proposed. According to the entry, the tomb was still used as catacombs in the Roman Period.

A wooden tablet with text in abnormal hieratic, discovered in the tomb and published by Černý and Parker, was identified as a scribal memorandum tablet and dated to the reign of Taharka on the palaeographic grounds (Černý, Parker 1971, 27). Although it is unclear how the tablet made its way to the tomb (no details of its discovery were mentioned in the publication), it could have been deposited, perhaps accidentally, at the moment of the burial. The MMA website lists two more Late Period artefacts discovered in the tomb: a dark blue glass *djed* pillar amulet and a faience *wedjat* eye.

Bibliography:

Černý, Parker 1971; Kampp 1996, 410-412; Piccione 2005; Jansen-Winkel 2009, 211; Piccione 2017; MMA website, Djed Pillar Amulet [MMA 35.3.314], MMA website, Wedjat Eye Amulet [35.3.313]; Piccione, Mission's Blog ['Like Father Like Son: New Discoveries in the Tombs of Ahmose and Râ in Ancient Thebes, Egypt'].

TT 122

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IVa (*Sonderform*)

Royal/private: private (Amenhotep and Amenemhat, overseers of the magazine of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

Unexcavated tomb.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 412; Shirley 2010.

TT 123

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd (Figure 117)

Royal/private: private (Amenemhat, overseer of granary)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: coffin

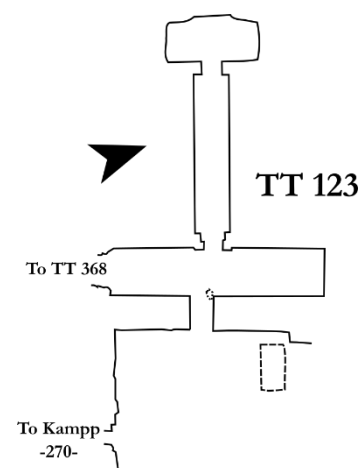


Figure 117. Plan of TT 123

Remarks:

During Mond's works in TT 123, fragments of coffins came to light '*in the chambers connected with this latter tomb [= TT 124]*' (Mond 1905, 71). No description of these finds was given, except that one of them belonged to a lady of the house and chantress of Amun named Henuttawy (Mond 1905, 71-72). It is impossible to determine in which of the two tombs Henuttawy's burial had been originally deposited. The only basis for the assumption of the later date of this find is the title of chantress of Amun, extremely popular during the Third Intermediate Period, although it should be borne in mind that it is also well attested for the New Kingdom (Onstine 2001, 65). In Mond's notes, there was a mention of '*6 whole and 3 broken conical pendants*', a wooden crocodile, and a horse's head coming from the monument (Collins 1976, 40). The tomb was never published.

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 71-72; Collins 1976, 40; Kampp 1996, 414-415; Aston, D. 2009a, 235.

TT 124**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 118)

Royal/private: private (Ray)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep I to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period

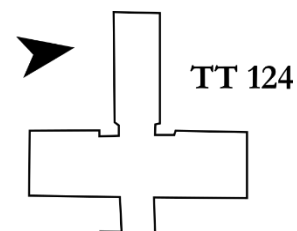


Figure 118. Plan of TT 124

Dating criteria: coffin

Remarks:

As mentioned above (see TT 123), the coffin of the lady of the house and chantress of Amun Henuttawy, found by Mond in the chambers connecting TT 123 with TT 124, could have come from this tomb (Mond 1905, 71).

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 71-72; Kampp 1996, 414-415; Aston, D. 2009a, 235.

TT 125

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd

Royal/private: private (Duauneheh, overseer of the estate of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning later objects found in TT 125 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1939b; Kampp 1996, 415-416.

TT 126

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Hormose, military commander)

Dating: Late Period

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb.

Bibliography:

Kaczanowicz, Witkowski 2018.

TT 127

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd

Royal/private: private (Senemiah, royal scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 127 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 417-418.

TT 128 and TT 129

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 119)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 5

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: decoration, titles of the deceased, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

The funerary complex TT 128-129 is an unfinished 18th dynasty tomb (TT 129) reused in the first millennium BCE. The original hall was enlarged and the axis of the tomb shifted. Some original elements were altered by Patjenfy, the new owner of the tomb. The result was a tomb consisting of three rooms: a pillared hall, a long corridor, and a chapel with a burial shaft, reminiscent of the contemporary temple-tombs. Images of Patjenfy and his children are preserved on the tomb's walls. Patjenfy's titles can be read on the walls of his newly created mortuary monument: the mayor of Edfu and Thebes. The titles, the form of the tomb and the style of the decoration suggest that he was the successor of Basa, buried in the nearby TT 389 (Schenkel 1975, 132).

Bibliography:

Schenkel 1975; Anonymous 1991, 19; Kampp 1996, 418.

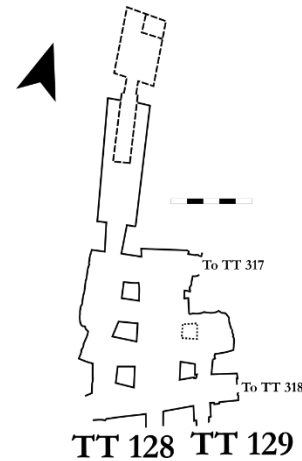


Figure 119. Plan of TT 128 and TT 129

TT 130

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (May, harbour master)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 130 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Scheil 1894, 541-553; Baud 1935, 158-160; Kampp 1996, 418-419.

TT 131

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (*Sonderform*) (Figure 120)

Royal/private: private (Useramun, vizier)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose I to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 4a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb, excavator's statement

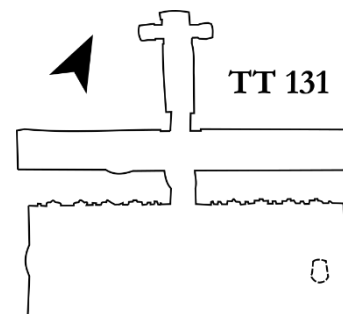


Figure 120. Plan of TT 131

Remarks:

According to Dziobek, at some point after the Amarna Period ‘*muß die Belegung durch den Erbauer des gewundenen Korridors in der Westwand des Längshalle stattgefunden haben*’, but the exact date of the reuse remains unknown (Dziobek 1994, 100). On the plan of the tomb two side chambers are visible, possibly hewn at some point in the first millennium BCE.

Bibliography:

Dziobek 1994, 49-102; Kampp 1996, 419-422.

TT 132**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab*

Royal/private: private (Ramose, overseer of the treasury)

Dating: 25th dynasty (Taharka)

Later context**Remarks:**

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 132 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Mond, Emery 1927, 26; Piankoff 1942; Greco 2014.

TT 133**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Neferrenpet, overseer of weavers in the Ramesseum)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 133 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 84; Davies, N. 1948, 49-52; Kampp 1996, 422.

TT 134

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 77)

Royal/private: private (Tjaunany, priest)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-26th dynasty

Dating criteria: coffin

Remarks:

Remains of at least one burial datable to the 25th or 26th dynasty were found in TT 134. Discovered during excavations in the tomb were fragments of at least one *qeresu* coffin, together with wooden hawk and jackal figures and a shabti box (unpublished, but according to the excavator dated to the 24th or 25th dynasty) (Chermette 2003a, 30-31; Chermette 2003b, 177).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 422-423; Chermette 2003a; Chermette 2003b.

TT 135**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp I (Figure 77)

Royal/private: private (Bakenamun, *wab* priest)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

TT 135 was excavated by the French archaeological mission, and a brief report from these works was published (Doulat 2003). According to the excavator, three features are later than the original structure: '*une excavation sous le linteau, sur toute la*

largeur du couloir; un caveau voûte sous l'escalier; une fosse de faible profondeur dans la seconde section du couloir' (Doulat 2003, 37). Remains of mummies and funerary equipment as well as pottery '*attribuables à une réutilisation de la tombe*' were discovered (Doulat 2003, 37), but none of them were published.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 423; Chermette 2003b, 177; Doulat 2003.

TT 136

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 136 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 424; Grimm, Schlögl 2005; Salvoldi 2008.

TT 137

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Mose, head of works)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Horemheb)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 137 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 424; Grimm, Schlögl 2006.

TT 138

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa or Va (Figure 121)

Royal/private: private (Nedjemger, overseer of the royal gardens)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried:

3

Dating: 22nd dynasty (2 burials), late

26th-27th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments, pottery, beads from bead nets

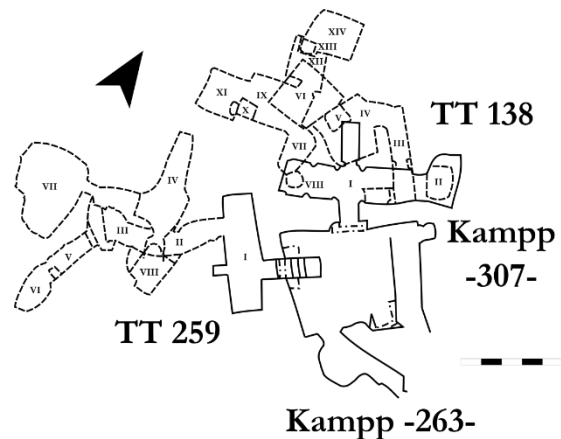


Figure 121. Plan of TT 138, TT 259, Kampp - 263-, and Kampp -307-

Remarks:

Large concentration of material datable to the period of the reuse of the original structure came to light during excavations in TT 138. The disturbed, albeit chronologically homogenous assemblage was discovered in the sloping passage of the tomb ('Raum III' and the neighbouring area). Among objects found during these works were cartonnage fragments belonging to a man named Khonsu and to an anonymous lady of the house and chantress (of Amun), datable to the 22nd dynasty (Feucht 2006, 135-144). From the same location come fragments of coffins dated by Niwiński to the 21st-22nd dynasty, clay ushebtis, amulets, human remains, and several 22nd dynasty vessels (Feucht 2006, 130-166).

It seems that the sloping passage was a part of the original structure, therefore I attributed both burials to type 1. At some date, a breakthrough was made between the original burial chamber and the neighbouring area, probably by grave robbers (Feucht 2006, 5).

Several hundred mud ushebtis, faience beads (from a bead net), and a yellow crown of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure were discovered in the area dubbed 'Raum X'. Coffin fragments as well as loose ushebtis and amulets were found in the nearby rooms (Feucht 2006, 130-155). Pottery discovered among the remains dates at least one interment to the later 26th or 27th dynasty (Feucht 2006, 159-163). Such dating is supported by the presence of the bead net.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 424-426; Feucht 2006.

TT 139**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa or Va

Royal/private: private (Paury, overseer of the peasants of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

The only find from TT 139 known to me is a sandstone door lintel (Collins 1976, 40), probably original.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 160-161; Collins 1976, 40; Kampp 1996, 426-427.

TT 140

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Neferrenpet, goldworker)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey). A passage was later made by the SCA from the nearby TT 141.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 161-162; Kampp 1996, 427-428.

TT 141

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp I or *Sonderform*

Royal/private: private (Bakenkhonsu, *wab* priest)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 141 is known to me. The tomb could not be identified during Kampp's survey.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 163-166; Kampp 1996, 428.

TT 142

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Simut, overseer of works)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 428.

TT 143

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 143 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 166-170; Kampp 1996, 428-429.

TT 144

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp I

Royal/private: private (Nenu, head of the field-labourers)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 429-430.

TT 145

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIb

Royal/private: private (Nebamun, head of bowmen)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

The tomb remains unexcavated.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 170-173; Fakhry 1943b; Kampp 1996, 430.

TT 146

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IVb

Royal/private: private (Nebamun, overseer of the granary of Amun)

Dating: 17th-18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning later objects found in TT 146 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Northampton 1908; Kampp 1996, 430-432.

TT 147

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 122)

Royal/private: private (Neferrenpet, counter of the cattle of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: ‘Late Period’

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

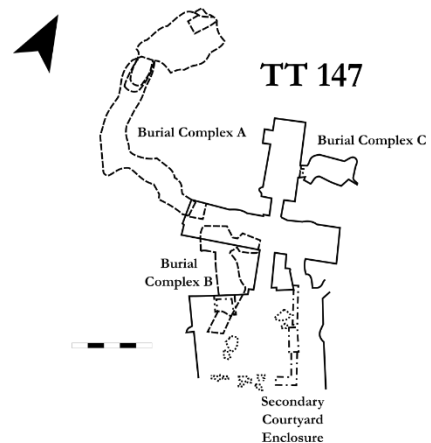


Figure 122. Plan of TT 147

The tomb, reused already in the Ramesside Period by Nespautyaw, is not yet fully published, but according to Sowada pottery of the Third Intermediate and Late Period was discovered during the Australian excavations in the complex. ‘*Material from the Late Period was particularly ubiquitous; mud-brick architectural features in the courtyard were dated to this era by the associated ceramics*’ (Sowada 2012, 188). The features in question are probably remains of the ‘Secondary Courtyard Enclosure’ (Ockinga, Binder 2009, Fig. 14), although it remains unclear whether Burial Complex B, accessible from the courtyard, also belongs to this phase; according to Ockinga and Binder, the remains discovered inside point to the Ramesside date rather than the Late Period (Ockinga, Binder 2009, 228).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 432-434; Ockinga, Binder 2009; Sowada 2012.

TT 148

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 123)

Royal/private: private (Amenemopet, third priest of Amun)

Dating: 20th dynasty (Ramesses III to Ramesses V)

Later context

Type of burial: 3b.1*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 25th dynasty (1 burial), 27th dynasty
(1 burial)

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

The majority of finds coming from later phases of reuse of TT 148, a late Ramesside tomb of the priest Amenemopet, remain unpublished. However, some conclusions arise from the preliminary analysis of pottery by Sowada. It seems that the original burial installation was not reused in the first millennium BCE; the only Late Period vessels from the underground part of the tomb are two bowls, a storage jar dated to 550-440 BCE, and an ovoid jar dated to 650-600 BCE, all found in the main burial passage but probably originating from the outer rooms of the tomb. Inside the main burial chamber, ‘late New Kingdom-early Third Intermediate Period’ pottery was found. Most likely it should be associated with the original burials in the tomb, although it is worth adding that there were several burial chambers added to the complex not long after the first interment, probably for the members of Amenemopet’s closest family, depicted elsewhere in the tomb. The presence of a stone sarcophagus in the main burial chamber (removed by Lord Belmore and currently standing in the long

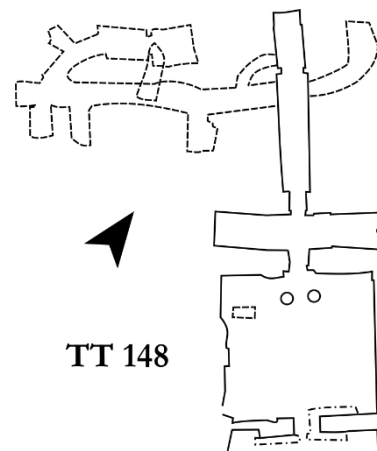


Figure 123. Plan of TT 148

hall) could be the reason why it was not reused for later burials. There is, however, evidence for recutting of the main burial chamber (and addition of a small subsidiary chamber), although its exact date cannot be established (Ockinga 2009, 39).

Pottery sherds found inside the tomb suggest that it was reused at least twice in the late dynastic period: once in the Kushite era, and the second time in the First Persian Period. According to Sowada, more Late Period sherds were found in the courtyard (Sowada 2017, 70), but they have not been published yet.

Two additional shafts were hewn in the courtyard. The shaft in the southwest corner proved to contain ‘*remains of Late New Kingdom burial equipment*’, including papyrus with a mythological text (Ockinga 2002, 153-145). ‘*In its south wall a doorway gave access to a Late Period burial chamber of irregular shape*’ (Ockinga 2002, 145).

A mudbrick wall, adjacent to the pylon, seems to be later than the original structure. It was suggested that it could come from the Late Antique phase of the tomb’s reuse (Ockinga 2009, 26), but no evidence for such dating was provided.

Bibliography:

Ockinga 1993; Kampp 1996, 434-437; Ockinga 1996; Ockinga 2002; Ockinga 2007; Ockinga 2009; Sowada 2012; Sowada 2017.

TT 149

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 124)

Royal/private: private (Amenmose)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Type of burial: 3b.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnage

Remarks:

The Australian excavations in TT 149, started in 2011, revealed the presence of ‘Late Period’ structures in the courtyard and the chapel (Sowada

2017, 70). According to Ockinga, ‘these walls are associated with two roughly cut shafts in the north-western and south-western sections of the courtyard. Each has two burial chambers opening from the north and south sides, and above the northern shaft a stela emplacement is set into fissure. The remains of burial equipment from the northern shaft indicate a Third Intermediate Period date for these complexes – Twenty-second Dynasty, to judge from the numerous fragments of a cartonnage mummy cover from a female burial. One bears the inscription ‘Daughter of the Chief of Chamber of the Temple of Amun, Ankhefenkhonsu’. The broad entrance leading into the tomb chapel must date from this same period when the chapel was also reused’ (Ockinga 2015, 41). The presence of the cartonnage may as well indicate a date in the Kushite Period.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 437-438; Ockinga 2015; Sowada 2017.

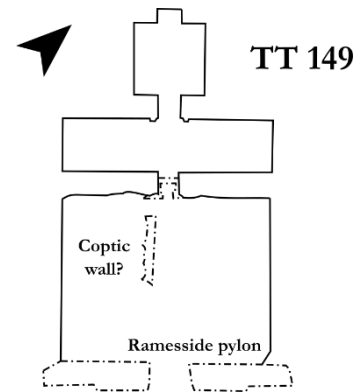


Figure 124. Plan of TT 149

TT 150

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 125)

Royal/private: private (Userhat, overseer of cattle of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Ramesside Period or later

Dating criteria: mudbrick structure in the courtyard

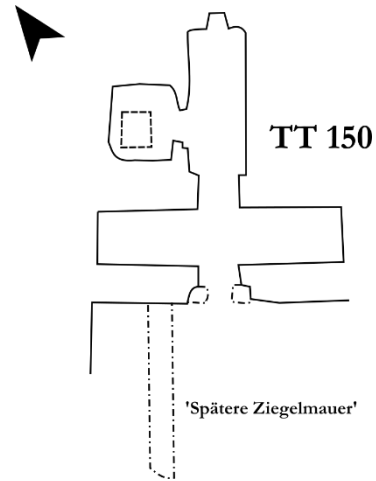


Figure 125. Plan of TT 150

Remarks:

Except for several funerary cones mentioned in Gauthier's report (Gauthier 1908, 131) and a statue found by Petrie (Petrie 1909, Pl. XXX, no. 6) no other objects from the tomb are known to me. According to Kampp, remains of a mudbrick wall similar to the wall from TT 87 could be dated to the phase of reuse of TT 150 in the Ramesside Period or later (Kampp 1996, 438). The burial shaft, located in a side room adjacent to the main corridor, is unusual and could have come from the time of reuse of the tomb as well. No dating for it can be proposed unless the alleged similarity with the Late Period mudbrick wall in TT 87 is accepted as a dating criterion.

Bibliography:

Gauthier 1908, 131; Petrie 1909, Pl. XXX, no. 6; Kampp 1996, 438-439.

TT 151

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Haty, steward of the God's Wife)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 151 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 174-176; Kampp 1996, 439-440.

TT 152

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 126)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-modern era

Dating criteria: different kinds of plaster

Remarks:

According to Kampp, at least three different kinds of plaster can be distinguished in the tomb. However, no date for reuse could be provided (Kampp 1996, 440). No report from excavations in TT 152 is known to me.

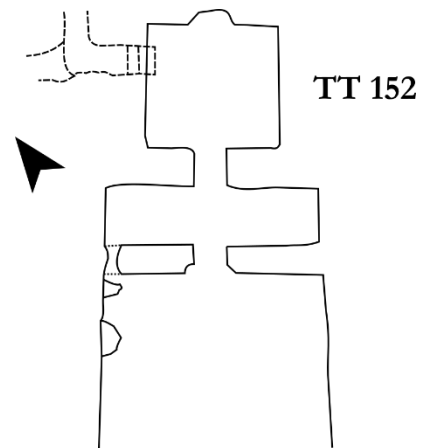


Figure 126. Plan of TT 152

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 44.

TT 153**Original context**

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context**Remarks:**

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 153 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 176-179; Kampp 1996, 440-441.

TT 154**Original context**

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIb

Royal/private: private (Tati, butler)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 154 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1913a, 42-43; Baud 1935, 179; Kampp 1996, 441.

TT 155

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IVb

Royal/private: private (Antef, royal herald)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning later objects found in TT 155 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Säve-Söderbergh 1957, 11-24; Kampp 1996, 441-443.

TT 156

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp VIb (Figure 127)

Royal/private: private (Pannesuttawy, military commander)

Dating: 18th-19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: '21st-22nd dynasty'

Dating criteria: information by Porter and Moss

Remarks:

The tomb was allegedly reused in the 21st-22nd dynasty (Porter, Moss 1960, 266; a reference to the second part of the publication, then in press, is provided, although I could not find any mention of later burials in TT 156 in the cited work). According to Kampp, the shaft in the transverse hall of the tomb can be dated to the phase of tomb reuse (Kampp 1996, 445).

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1960, 265-266; Kampp 1996, 443-445.

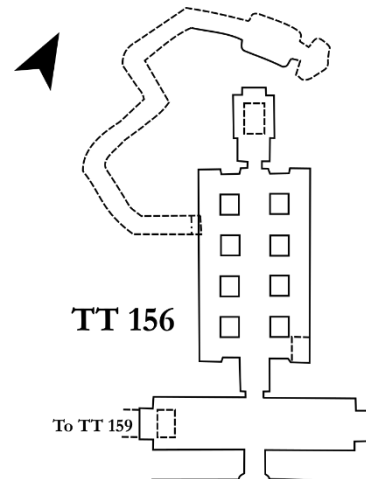


Figure 127. Plan of TT 156

TT 157

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIc (Figure 128)

Royal/private: private (Nebwennenef, high priest of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 2a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 30

Dating: 520 BCE-Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: canopic chest

Remarks:

TT 157, excavated by Fisher and later cleared by Bell, is known to have been reused owing to the Ptolemaic choachyte papyri, which name it *Thounabounoun* (Greek rendering of *t3 ht n Nb-wnn*). In the second century BCE, choachytes belonging to the Horos family were in charge of the tomb and used it for entombing a large number of mummies (Pestman 1993, 451).

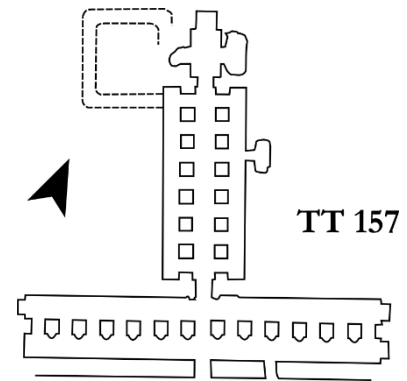


Figure 128. Plan of TT 157

Several later objects were unearthed by Bell in the sloping passage. Among them, the most homogenous set of funerary goods seems to originate from one particular location – a shaft hewn in the passage, with a mudbrick wall erected in the entrance to the burial chamber. Inside, remains of a burial of a third priest of Amun called Ankhefenkhonsu were discovered: fragments of outer and inner coffins, a cartonnage, ‘yards and yards of inscribed mummy wrappings, a decorated shawabti box, and a single blue faience shawabti of his. In addition, the thieves missed some small pieces of thin beaten electrum (...) impressed with designs, including a rosette and one of the *Four Sons of Horus*’ (Bell 1973, 24).

Ankhefenkhonsu’s burial was dated by its excavator to ca. 250 BCE, but Strudwick expressed his doubts about such late dating of the assemblage (Strudwick, N. 2003a, 172, n. 49). Indeed, Bell’s mention of a coffin set comprising of two coffins and a cartonnage seems to point to an earlier period, while ‘a decorated shawabti box’, mentioned by him, after a closer examination of the published photography proves to be a canopic chest of Aston type C2, which made its first appearance around the beginning of the 27th dynasty. It is also worth reminding that in general ushebtis are rare in the Ptolemaic Period.

Apart from Ankhefenkhonsu’s burial equipment, the following objects came to light during Bell’s excavations: remains of floral wreaths, mummy wrappings, a small lapis

lazuli seal of Amun in the form of a ram, a pilgrim flask, green faience ushebtis of Bakkhonsu, ‘*a late inscribed sandstone offering table*’, and an uninscribed one ‘*with extremely fine relief*’ (perhaps the same as the one mentioned in Bell’s 1969 and 1974 reports), a false beard and a plumed crown from gilt wooden statues, a collection of painted *ba* birds and falcons (Bell 1969, 30; Bell 1973, 24) as well as remains of 30 human mummies (Zimmerman 1977). It is impossible to establish the exact dating of these specimens, thus a broad chronological horizon between the beginning of the Persian Period and the Ptolemaic era is proposed.

From Bell’s description, it seems clear that the majority of late dynastic objects came from the sloping passage, to which at least one shaft (Ankhefenkhonsu’s) was added at that time. From the plan published by Kampp, it can be concluded that some alterations took place also in the main chapel of the tomb.

Bibliography:

Fisher 1924, 45-47; Bell 1968; Bell 1969; Bell 1973; Zimmerman 1977; Bell 1979; Bell 1981; Pestman 1993; Kampp 1996, 445-447; Strudwick, N. 2003a.

TT 158

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 129)

Royal/private: private (Tjanefer, third priest of Amun)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Type of burial: 3a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

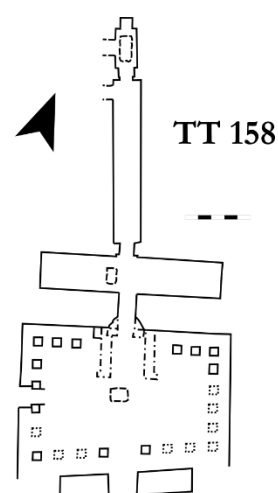


Figure 129. Plan of TT 158

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb, excavator's statement

Remarks:

The large tomb of Tjanefer, with a stone pylon in front of it, is one of the tombs robbed soon after its owner's burial (Peet 1930, 60-61). From the Tomb Robbery Papyri, it is known that Tjanefer's body, interred in the main burial chamber accessible via sloping passage from the main chapel, was deprived of its gilded coffins (burnt to extract the gold) and abandoned by the thieves in the corner of his tomb. The mummy was subsequently rewrapped and reburied, although the tomb was eventually plundered again (Seele 1959, 1).

Archaeological works in the tomb were conducted under Fisher's supervision, although it remains unknown whether any of the shafts were explored (Fisher 1924; Seele 1959, 4, n. 27). No finds from these works were published. In his publication of the tomb, Seele made a mention of *'a heap of debris still lying on the floor [which] contains shreds of linen mummy wrappings and even fragments of mummies (...) it is probable that these grisly human relics are vestiges of intrusive burials rather than of the body of Tjanefer'* (Seele 1959, 4).

There are four underground features in TT 158 in total; a shallow shaft in the courtyard, interpreted by Kampp as *'Osirisbeet'*, and three features inside the tomb proper. While the sloping passage belongs to the original layout of the tomb, the shaft in the west part of the transverse hall was dated by Kampp to the phase of the tomb's reuse and associated with the mudbrick structure erected in front of the entrance (Kampp 1996, 450). It is unclear whether the shaft in the chapel is original or not.

While it is evident that TT 158 was reused at some point, no date for the reuse can be proposed.

Bibliography:

Fisher 1924, 44; Peet 1930; Seele 1959; Kampp 1996, 447-450.

TT 159

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Raya, fourth priest of Amun)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning later objects found in TT 159 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 180-182; Kampp 1996, 450-451.

TT 160

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: other (Figure 61)

Royal/private: private (Besenmut, royal scribe)

Dating: 26th dynasty?

Later context

Remarks:

The tomb of Besenmut, constructed in the Late Period in the courtyard of TT 35, was excavated by Fisher, and later turned into a storehouse for antiquities of the Chicago House expedition (Eigner 1984, 58). No publication of objects from these works is known to me.

Bibliography:

Fisher 1924, 43-44; Eigner 1984, 58-59; Kampp 1996, 451.

TT 161**Original context**

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIb or IIIa

Royal/private: private (Nakht, bearer of the floral offerings of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context**Remarks:**

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 161 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Werbrouck 1929; Werbrouck, van de Walle 1929; Manniche 1986; Kampp 1996, 451-452.

TT 162**Original context**

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 130)

Royal/private: private (Kenamun, mayor of Thebes)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-modern era

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

According to Davies, a '*brick parting-wall of later introduction*' can be found in the tomb (Davies, N. 1963, 14). The exact dating of the wall remains unknown.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1963, 14-18; Kampp 1996, 452.

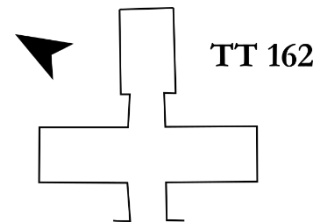


Figure 130. Plan of TT 162

TT 163

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Amenemhat, mayor of Thebes)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

Inaccessible tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey). No publication mentioning objects found in TT 163 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Assmann 1979; Kampp 1996, 452-453.

TT 164

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va or Vd

Royal/private: private (Antef, scribe of recruits)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 164 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 453-454.

TT 165

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp I

Royal/private: private (Nehemaway, goldworker)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 165 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1913a, 40-41; Baud 1935, 182-187; Kampp 1996, 454.

TT 166

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Ramose, overseer of works in Karnak)

Dating: 18th-19th dynasty (Horemheb to Seti I)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 166 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 187-190; Hofmann, Seyfried 1995; Kampp 1996, 454-455.

TT 167

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IVb (Figure 131)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 4a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

Several architectural features (a chamber cut in the transverse hall, a passage between TT 167 and Kampp -150- as well as a chamber hewn in the façade and later given number -151- by Kampp) seem to belong to the phase of reuse (Kampp 1996, 458). Nonetheless, a precise date for these cannot be proposed.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 455-458.

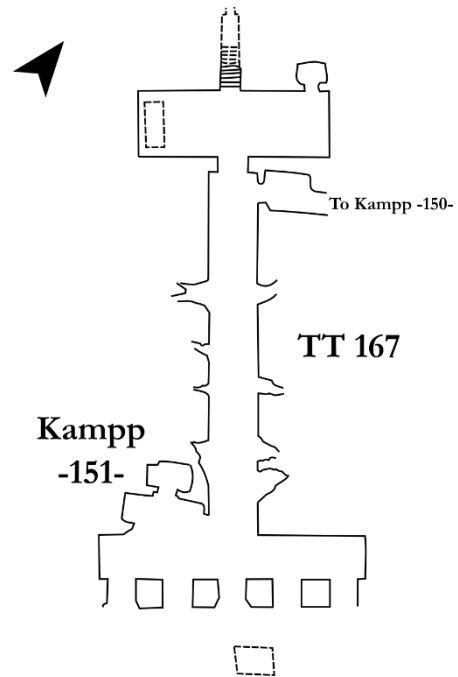


Figure 131. Plan of TT 167 and Kampp -151-

TT 168

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Any, God's Father)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 458.

TT 169

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd

Royal/private: private (Senna, head of goldworkers of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 458.

TT 170

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Nebmehyt, scribe of recruits of the Ramesseum)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb. At the time of Gardiner and Weigall's survey as well as Kampp's, the tomb was used as a dwelling, therefore its plan remains unknown.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 458-459.

TT 171**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context**Remarks:**

Unpublished tomb.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 459.

TT 172**Original context**

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 132)

Royal/private: private (Montuyuy, royal steward)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

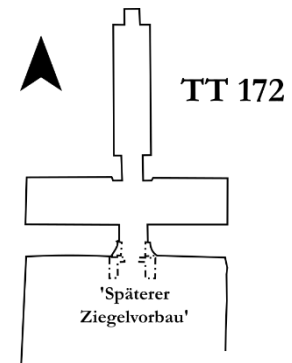
Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Ramesside Period-Roman Period

Dating criteria: mudbrick building and wall in the courtyard

Remarks:



No publication of finds from this tomb is known to me, but according to Kampp, the mudbrick wall in the courtyard as well as the mudbrick porch over the entrance are later than the original structure. She tentatively proposed that the reuse of the tomb took place in the Ramesside Period (Kampp 1996, 459), however, a later date cannot be excluded. Mackay's mention of the clearance of the 'burial-pits' of the tomb – unfortunately undocumented – perhaps refers to some later shafts. No details of these were provided, hence their dating remains unknown (Mackay 1914, 93).

Figure 132. Plan of TT 172

Bibliography:

Mackay 1914, 93; Kampp 1996, 459-461.

TT 173

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Khay, scribe of the divine offerings)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 461.

TT 174**Original context**

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context**Remarks:**

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 174 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 461-462; Yoshimura, Kondo 2014.

TT 175**Original context**

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp I

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 175 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 190-192; Manniche 1988b, 31-43; Kampp 1996, 462-464.

TT 176

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa or Vb

Royal/private: private (Userkhat, servant clean of hands)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV)

Later context

Remarks:

The only mention of objects from the tomb known to me can be found in the publication of the tomb by Calcoen: *‘Whilst the SCA cleared the debris that was clogging the entrance to the doorway a number of Ramesside pottery fragments and a complete but broken pottery offering table were found, these items were removed before photography or recording were possible’* (Calcoen 2012, 11).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 462-464; Calcoen 2012.

TT 177

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa or Va

Royal/private: private (Amenemopet, scribe of truth in the Ramesseum)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb, nowadays almost completely covered with debris.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 464-465.

TT 178

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 133)

Royal/private: private (Neferrenpet, scribe of the treasury)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 2b

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 4

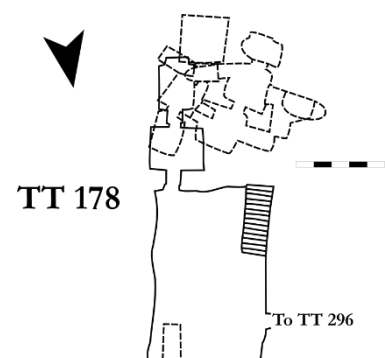


Figure 133. TT 178

Dating: Ramesside Period-Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments, canopic chest

Remarks:

The presence of several side chambers, irregular and ‘*roh belassen und miss grobem Meißel ausgeführt*’, branching off from the main burial chamber, suggests that at some point enlargement of the underground part of the tomb took place (Hofmann 1995, 8). Unfortunately, only several later finds were mentioned in the final publication of TT 178: cartonnages of Yuy, Tawah and Takharu - all ladies of the house and singers of Amun, and of one Huy. None of these objects were published and although Hofmann supposed that they may come from the Ramesside Period, a later date should not be excluded. Apart from the cartonnages, pieces of at least two rectangular boxes made of pottery (probably intended for storing canopic vessels, with the title of a *wab* priest of Amun) and pottery ‘*der verschiedenen Epochen*’ were discovered (Hofmann 1995, 91). The description does not allow to date these objects to any specific period.

Bibliography:

Hofmann 1995; Kampp 1996, 465-467.

TT 179

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIb

Royal/private: private (Nebamun, scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds found in TT 179 (now almost completely covered with debris) is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 466.

TT 180

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (now almost completely covered with debris).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 466.

TT 181 ('Tomb of the Two Sculptors', 'Tomb of the Engravers')

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 134)

Royal/private: private (Nebamun and Ipuky, royal sculptors)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III to Akhenaten)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th dynasty or later

Dating criteria: ‘Sokar-hawks’ (from *qeresu* coffins)

Remarks:

The tomb was reused in later periods: ‘*All the unsightly debris of a late Theban burial – fragments of small statuettes and stelae, cones, cartonnage, Sokar-hawks, etc. – came to light, and amongst it what seems to be a primitive doorbolt in hard wood, and a piece of a red pottery jar, with heads of a sacred ram and of a man excellently designed on it in black ink. Of shawabti figurines there were a hundred tiny ones moulded in red clay, and two larger ones in pottery, painted yellow, having the arms folded on the breast, and without implements. These latter belonged to a scribe Khenshotpe*’ (Davies, N. 1925c, 22-23).

The ‘Sokar-hawks’ are probably identical with wooden falcon figures adorning *qeresu* coffins and therefore a date in the 25th dynasty or slightly later is proposed. The cartonnage fragments may indicate burial in the Libyan Period, however since cartonnages survived into the 25th or even 26th dynasty, they might have once formed a single set with falcon statutes. No date can be assigned to any of the remaining objects.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1925c; Baud 1935, 192-194; Kampp 1996, 467-469.

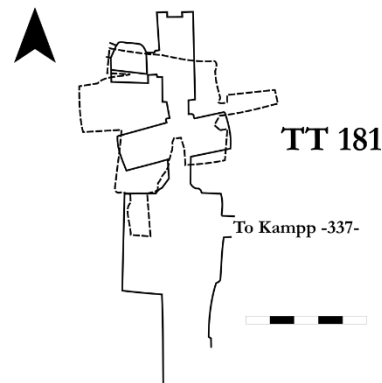


Figure 134. Plan of TT 181

TT 182

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp I

Royal/private: private (Amenemhat, scribe of the mat)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning later objects found in TT 182 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 470-471.

TT 183

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 135)

Royal/private: private (Nebsumenu, chief steward)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 45

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

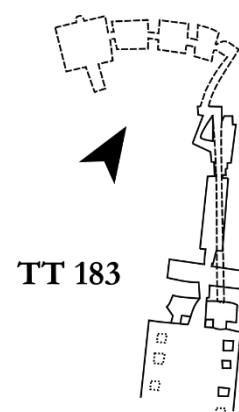


Figure 135. Plan of TT 183

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments, excavator's statement

Remarks:

TT 183 was investigated by Seyfried, but only a very preliminary report from this work was published. In the main shaft, the presence of remains of about 45 individuals was revealed. These were found among the scattered fragments of cartonnages '*of the Third Intermediate period*' and bandages, some of them inscribed in semi-hieratic or hieratic style (Seyfried 1999, 10). Several inscribed ushebtis were discovered as well (Seyfried 1999, 12), but no description of these finds was provided. The mention of the '*Third Intermediate period*' cartonnages suggests a date in the 22nd or 25th dynasty for reuse of the tomb.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 471-474; Seyfried 1999; Assmann 2003.

TT 184

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 136)

Royal/private: private (Nefermenu, mayor of Thebes)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 2a, 3a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 22nd dynasty (1 burial), 26th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)

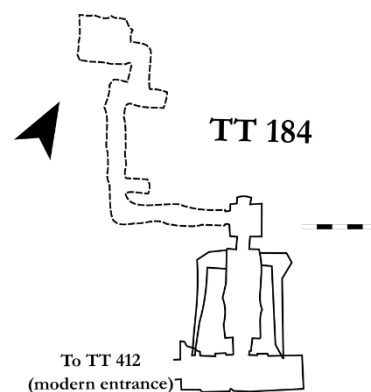


Figure 136. Plan of TT 184

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments, canopic jar, ushebtis, beads from bead nets

Remarks:

TT 184, investigated by the Hungarian archaeological mission, bore traces of extensive reuse in the first millennium BCE. Among the finds from the tomb were: cartonnage fragments (including a cartonnage case belonging to Peftjawymontu, Taylor type 2B), coffin fragments ('black' type), a large number of ushebtis (mud, terracotta, faience), pottery sherds, '*pseudo-canopic jars*', textiles, faience beads (from bead nets), a copy of the late dynastic Book of the Dead, and human remains (Fábián 2005, 43-44; Fábián 2007, 26-40). While Peftjawymontu's cartonnage can be dated to the 22nd dynasty (with '*pseudo-canopic jars*', i.e. dummy jars, supporting this date), the presence of faience ushebtis with a pedestal and plinth (my type 5) combined with bead nets indicates that at least one burial took place in the 26th dynasty or later.

At some point, TT 184 probably served as a storehouse for an unknown archaeologist (Fábián 2005, 42), which makes the distribution of finds a questionable source of information regarding the position of burials. Nevertheless, it seems that at least one of the two shafts in the transverse hall (Fábián 1997, 90-91; Fábián 2005, 42) as well as chambers cut in the sloping passage were intended for some later burials.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 474-475; Fábián 1997; Fábián 2005; Fábián 2007; Aston, D. 2009a, 164.

TT 185

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Seniker, divine chancellor)

Dating: Old Kingdom

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 185 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Fabián 2018.

TT 186

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Ihy, nomarch)

Dating: 6th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 186 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Newberry 1903; Saleh, M. 1977, 23-26.

TT 187

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 73)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: ‘Third Intermediate Period-Late Period’

Dating criteria: excavator’s statement, plan of the tomb

Remarks:

The Ramesside tomb TT 187 (reused already in the 20th dynasty) was investigated by the Neferhotep Project (Pereyra *et al.* 2015; Lemos *et al.* 2017). No full report from these works completed in 2016 has been published, but according to the excavators the tomb was reused in the first millennium BCE.

Two shafts cut in the floor of the transverse hall seem to be of a later date than the original structure (Lemos *et al.* 2017, 182). The shaft located in the east end of the hall connects TT 187 with the nearby Kampp -348-; the exact date of its cutting remains unknown. The other shaft, located in the west end of the hall, ends in a small burial chamber and was allegedly hewn in the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period (Lemos *et al.* 2017, 188). Inside the chamber, human remains and some modern pottery sherds were discovered (Lemos *et al.* 2017, 188).

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1933a, I, 6-7; Kampp 1996, 475; Pereyra *et al.* 2015; Lemos *et al.* 2017.

TT 188

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 137)

Royal/private: private (Parennefer, royal butler)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Akhenaten)

Later context

Type of burial: 1*, 3a.1, 3a.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 23

Dating: 21st dynasty (2 burials), 21st-22nd dynasty

(1 burial), 22nd dynasty (reign of Takeloth II) (1 burial), 25th dynasty (2 burials), 26th dynasty (16 burials, including 3 interments dated to ca. 650 BCE), 21st-26th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: mummy braces with the name of Takeloth II, coffin fragments, cartonnage fragments

Remarks:

TT 188 shows evident traces of reuse which continued for several generations. There are six shafts in the tomb, two of them (Shafts 2 and 6) probably original (Redford, S. 2006, 119-122). Out of the four remaining shafts, one (Shaft 1) has a shallow depression for canopic jars in one of the associated burial chambers (Redford, S. 2006, 123) – according to Aston, a dating criterion placing the chamber in the 25th dynasty. Shafts 3, 4, and 5 cannot be dated precisely, although Redford argued they were later than the original structure (Redford, S. 2006, 123-126).

Burials of the following persons came to light during Redford's excavations (all the dates given here are after Redford): Horashakhet (blue faience ushebti, my types 1 and 3, found mostly in Shaft 2 and dated to the late 22nd dynasty; perhaps also mummy case B and mummy braces with the name of Takeloth II from the same shaft and dummy canopic jars from Shaft 5), lady Hutiyti (a blue faience ushebti fragment discovered in Shaft 2, dated to the 21st dynasty), Nesankhesta[maat?] (blue faience ushebti fragments found 'in ambiguous locations far removed from any burial chambers' and possibly intrusive, dated to the Third Intermediate Period), [...]ju (coffin lid fragments discovered in Shafts 1, 2 and 4, dated to the late 21st or early 22nd

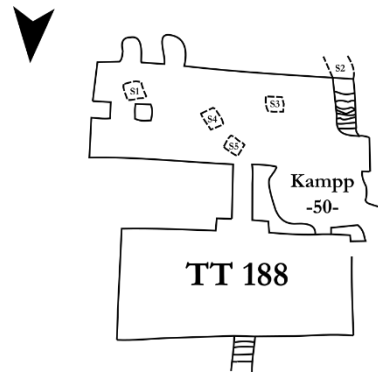


Figure 137. Plan of TT 188 and Kampp -50-

dynasty; perhaps also canopic jars from Shaft 1 and clay ushebtis my type 2), [...]y (yellow coffin pieces, dated to the 21st dynasty, recovered from Shaft 2; perhaps also canopic jars and a blue faience ushebti fragment), chief craftsmen in the temple of Amun Amunna[menah] (cartonnage case, discovered in Shafts 3 and 4 and dated to the 25th dynasty), Igem[...] (cartonnage case found in Shaft 3 and dated to the 25th dynasty), Djedmehyt (*'an almost complete set'* of clay ushebtis, my types 1c and 2g, found in Shaft 2, and dated to the 21st-26th dynasty), Khabas (coffin fragments, found in Shaft 5 and dated to the early 26th dynasty), Tadin[...] (coffin fragments, discovered in Shaft 2 and dated to around 650 BCE), Iry (coffin fragments, found in Shaft and dated to around 650 BCE), and lady A[...] (cartonnage fragments, discovered in Shaft 4 and dated to around 650 BCE; perhaps also Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure and *'Late Period pottery'*). In the same location remains of 12 mummified children came to light, *'conceivably the remains of her [=A[...]]'s own children'* according to Redford (Redford, S. 2006, 264-271). Additionally, Redford separately lists owners of ushebtis of her types B, E, M, O, Q and S as well as of the owner of Case C – however, since they are anonymous and it was not uncommon for the deceased in the first millennium BCE to have more than one type of ushebti within a single set of grave goods, it cannot be excluded that they belonged to some of the deceased listed above.

Apart from these objects, other elements of burial equipment were found scattered in the tomb, attesting its extensive reuse in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period: Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, canopic jars, libation table (*'post-New Kingdom'*), tubular faience beads from bead nets, bead nets amulets such as winged scarabs and Four Sons of Horus, cartonnage and coffin fragments as well as fragments of papyri (Redford, S. 2006, 132-170). Mummies of two adult women, dated by Redford to the 21st-22nd dynasty due to the presence of artificial obsidian eyes, came to light in Shaft 4. A mummified baboon paw was found in the same spot (Redford, S. 2006, 258; 266), although it is impossible to say now whether they had been buried together.

Since the stratigraphy of the tomb had been disturbed, not much can be said about the spatial arrangement of the burials, except that some burial shafts were added in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period and that the original burial shaft and chamber (Shaft 2) was probably reused as well. The original shaft was likely reused first, as remains of the earliest burials (21st dynasty) were discovered there. Further reuse of the tomb in the Ptolemaic Period makes precise dating impossible.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 475-478; Redford, S. 2000; Redford, S. 2006.

TT 189 (together with 'Annex')

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (TT 189), Va ('Annex') (Figure 138)

Royal/private: private (Nakht-Djehuty, head of goldworkers of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

The planned publication of the tomb by Bartholmess was never released; however, according to Kampp '*das Fundgut der Grabung bezeugt eine mehrfache Wiederbelegung beider Anlagen* [TT 189 and the so-called 'Annex']'. Kampp dated the shaft in the side room of the main chapel to the unspecified phase of reuse of the tomb (Kampp 1996, 479-480). In Jelf's notebook, a list of objects from the tomb can be found: among these are fragments of coffins and a large number of '*small ushebtis*' (Kaczanowicz, in press). The presence of small ushebtis probably indicates a date between the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period and early Ptolemaic Period.

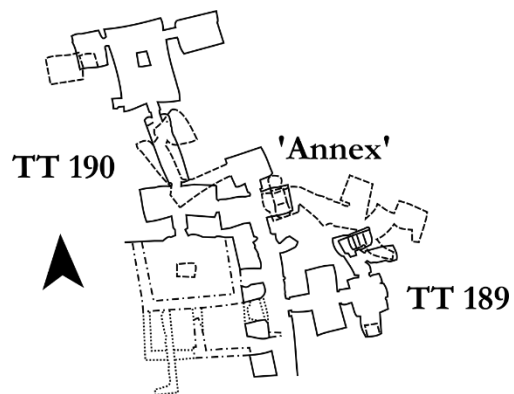


Figure 138. Plan of TT 189 and TT 190

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 478-480; Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 190**Original context**

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (*Sonderform*) (Figure 138)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late 30th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: decoration

Remarks:

TT 190, in most of the publications referred to as a New Kingdom tomb reused in the Ptolemaic Period by a man called Nesbanebdjed(et), seems to be beyond the scope of this investigation. However, recently it was proposed that the ruler under whom Nesbanebdjed(et) was active was Nectanebo II (Nektanebos) (Panov 2019). No objects from the tomb are known to me, therefore the decoration remains the only dating criterion for the tomb.

Bibliography:

Quaegebeur 1995; Kampp 1996, 480; Panov 2019.

TT 191

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Wahibranebpehti, chamberlain of the Divine Adoratrice)

Dating: 26th dynasty (Apries)

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb.

Bibliography:

Eigner 1984, 58; Graefe 2017b, 257.

TT 192

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp VIII (Figure 139)

Royal/private: private (Kheruef, steward of queen Tiye)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III to Akhenaten)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1, 3a.2

Intact/disturbed: intact

Minimal number of persons buried: 9

Dating: late 22nd-early 25th dynasty (8 burials), post-New Kingdom (1 burial)

Dating criteria: coffins, cartonnages,
location of a shaft

Remarks:

A burial shaft of unknown depth was discovered during Habachi's excavations in the tomb of Kheruef. Located under the north wall of the columned hall, the shaft has a single burial chamber on the bottom. Despite its small dimensions, it proved to contain six intact burials (Aston TGs 660-665). In the entrance to the chamber, Habachi found a door jamb, a coffin lid, and a mummy cover, placed upside down.

The burials, all in wooden coffins, were placed as follows: three of them – the first belonging to a God's Father of Amun called Tjaenwaset (TG 661), the second to the chantress of Amun and Tjaenwaset's daughter, Tashebet (TG 662), and the third to the woman named Shepenkhonsu (TG 660) – parallel to each other, in the west part of the burial chamber. The remaining three – one belonging to the chantress of Amun, Kapathau (TG 664) and two anonymous (TGs 663 and 665) – in the east part, two parallel to each other and one perpendicular to the rest. Worth mentioning is that all the coffins were placed with their heads towards the north, except for one anonymous burial placed with its head to the east. Tashebet's mummy, unwrapped by Habachi, proved to contain a small package between the thighs, possibly remains of a foetus. The burial equipment (coffins of Aston type II and cartonnages of types II and III) was dated by Aston to the period between 800 and 700 BCE, i.e. late 22nd or early 25th dynasty.

Two intact burials were found by Habachi in the chamber on the bottom of the shaft located in the northeast corner of the columned hall. Above the two coffins, parallel to each other, exceptionally well-preserved garlands were found, composed of dom palm,

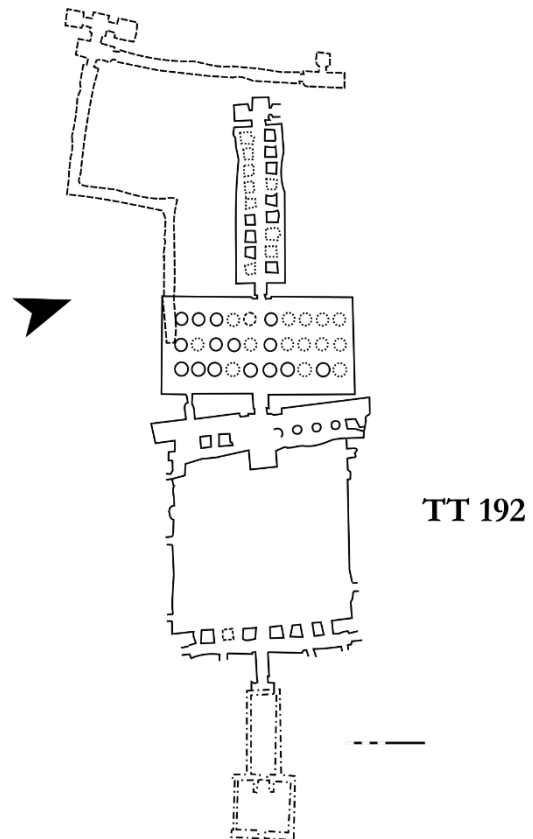


Figure 139. Plan of TT 192

Persea, and olive leaves – but no flowers of any kind, probably indicating that the last funeral took place outside of the blooming season (autumn, winter).

The north coffin proved to contain a cartonnage and a mummy of the chantress of Amun/Osiris named Irtyru (Aston TG 667), while the south one, heavily damaged – of one Djedhorefankh (TG 666). Their family relationship is unclear, although it was suggested they were a married couple. Both burials were dated by Aston to years 800-700 BCE.

Finally, in the middle of the columned hall, next to the second column from north of the middle row, another shaft was discovered, with two chambers on the bottom. Inside the north chamber, remains of the burial equipment (two sets of uninscribed canopic jars, hundreds of ushebtis, and a fragment of a coffin) belonging to one Harsiese, the priest of Amun in Karnak, came to light. These objects were never published, therefore the only date which can be proposed for this shaft is based on the location of the shaft (*terminus post quem*) – post-New Kingdom.

A large number of different items of funerary equipment were found lying loose in the courtyard and other parts of the tomb. The original context of these finds could not be established. A list of objects from the tomb can be found in Jelf's notebook: among these are fragments of coffins and ushebtis (Kaczanowicz, in press). The description of finds does not allow to narrow down their dating.

Bibliography:

Fakhry 1943a; Habachi 1958; Kampp 1996, 480-483; Aston, D. 2009a, 158;
Kaczanowicz, in press.

TT 193

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Ptahemheb, magnate of seal in the treasury of the estate of Amun)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 193 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 483.

TT 194

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 140)

Royal/private: private (Djehutyemheb, overseer of the fields of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

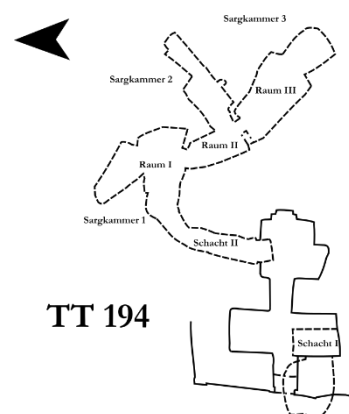
Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 5

Dating: 25th-26th dynasty (4 burials), 27th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: pottery, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette, pottery



TT 194

Figure 140. Plan of TT 194

Remarks:

Several clay ushebtis of a man called Amenkhai were discovered in the tomb. Fragments of wooden horns from a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure and pottery datable to the Kushite Period or slightly later could potentially be associated with Amenkhai's burial or burials of his relatives, whose ushebtis were discovered in TT 194 in large quantities (Aston, D. 2003, 141; Seyfried 1995, 83-100). Apart from the four burials datable to the 25th-26th dynasty several vessels which according to Aston date to the 27th dynasty (Aston, D. 2003, 162) were found.

Bibliography:

Seyfried 1995; Kampp 1996, 483-485; Aston, D. 2003.

TT 195**Original context**

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 141)

Royal/private: private (Bakenamun, scribe of the treasury of Amun)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-modern era

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

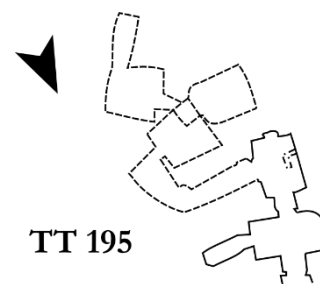


Figure 141. Plan of TT 195

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in this tomb is known to me, however according to Kampp, a corridor starting in the transverse hall as well as a mudbrick wall in the main passage belong to the phase of the tomb's reuse (Kampp 1996, 485).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 485.

TT 196**Original context**

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab* (Figure 142)

Royal/private: private (Padihorresnet, steward of the Divine Adoratrice)

Dating: 26th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: late 26th dynasty (1 burial), 30th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)

Dating criteria: pottery, stelae, mummy bandages

Remarks:

TT 196 was reused mostly in the Ptolemaic Period. However, several objects from the tomb indicate that it was used as a place of burial also in the Late Period: in the later 26th dynasty (as attested by the presence of a wooden stela, Aston type VII) and in the 30th dynasty-early Ptolemaic (as attested by 'Mumienbinden', faience ushebtis (my

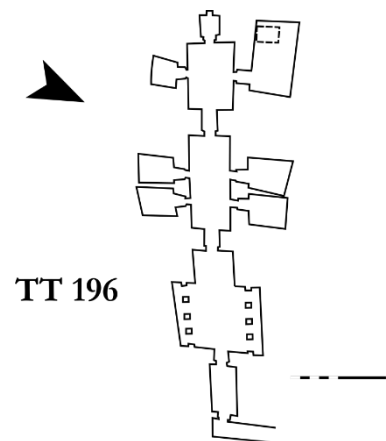


Figure 142. Plan of TT 196

types 2b, 3c, 3d, 4a, and 4b) as well as clay ones (my types 2 and 3), and, above all, pottery) (Graefe 2003, 111-253; stela published on pp. 139-140, the bandages on p. 182).

Bibliography:

Graefe 2003.

TT 197

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab* (Figure 143)

Royal/private: private (Padineith, chief steward of the God's Wife Ankhneseferibra)

Dating: 26th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: final years of the 26th dynasty or later

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

A number of objects, mostly unpublished, was discovered during Gomaà's excavations in TT 197: *'Der abwärts führende Gang wurde später für Sekundärbestattungen wiederverwendet und an seinen Seitenwänden Gräber angelegt. Daher kamen während der Freilegung des abwärts führenden Ganges eine Anzahl von Gegenständen dieser späteren Bestattungen zutage: z.B. Amulette, Gefäße, Uschebtis und Mumienbinden, einige davon beschriftet. Daneben lagen auch andere*

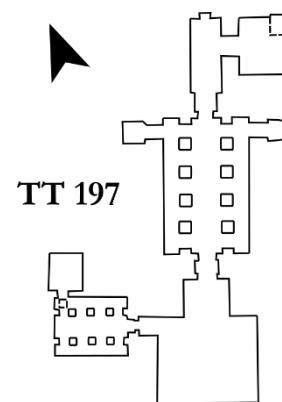


Figure 143. Plan of TT 197

Gegenstände, die aus den Nachbargräbern stammen, wie Grabkegel mit dem Namen des Monthemhat und mit dem des Pabasa; einige tragen auch den Namen des Padineith (...). In einem später angelegten Grab an der linken östlichen Seitenwand, direkt vor dem Torbogen des oben abwärts führenden Ganges, lagen zwei leere Körbe aus Pflanzenmaterial, Stoffreste sowie eine bemalte Statuette aus Holz, die sowohl auf der Vorder-als auch auf der Rückseite mit einer gleichlautenden Inschriftenkolumne versehen ist' (Gomaà 2004, 184). The statuette, belonging to a lady of the house called Wedjat[...], bears the late spelling of the name of Osiris, but it has to be remembered that the tomb itself was constructed after 740 BCE. It seems certain that the tomb was reused in the Ptolemaic era which is attested by the presence of Ptolemaic cartonnages (Gomaà 2004, 186), and in the Roman Period when wooden masks found in the monument were manufactured (Gomaà 2004, 193).

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 194; Gomaà 2004.

TT 198

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Riya, head of the magazine of Amun in Karnak)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 485.

TT 199

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Amunirneferu, overseer of the magazine)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 485.

TT 200

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Dedi, governor of the deserts)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 200 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 485-487.

TT 201

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIb (Figure 144)

Royal/private: private (Ra, royal herald)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV)

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 3

Dating: 21st-26th dynasty

Dating criteria: faience beads, clay ushebtis

Remarks:

Among the finds from TT 201 were objects seemingly later than the original structure: clay ushebtis (13 different types), faience beads, and remains of no less than three different individuals who, according to the excavators, were all buried in the tomb in a later period (Redford, S., D. Redford 1994, 21-23). Photography of only one group of the ushebtis was published, but the description of figurines allows to attribute some of them to my types 1 (D, F, I, J), and 2 (E, G, K), dating them broadly to the 21st-26th dynasty.

According to the excavators, remains of an overlying layer of plaster covering the original decoration should be dated to the period of '*later usurpation of the tomb*' (Redford, S., D. Redford 1994, 1). No later features can be seen on the plan of the tomb, hence my attribution to type 1.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 194-197; Redford, S., D. Redford 1994; Kampp 1996, 487-488.

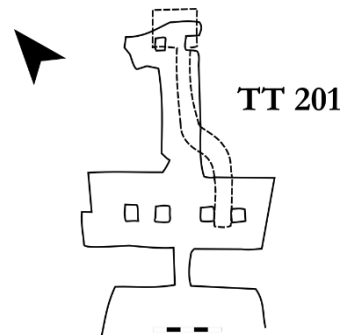


Figure 144. Plan of TT 201

TT 202

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Nakhtamun, priest of Ptah)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 488-489.

TT 203

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 203 is known to me. The tomb was reused in the Ramesside Period.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 489-490.

TT 204**Original context**

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa or Va (Figure 145)

Royal/private: private (Nebanensu, sailor of the high priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

TT 204, currently investigated by the Hungarian archaeological mission, was reused at some point; according to Fábián, the burial shaft located in the main corridor is secondary (Fábián 2007, 8). No further details were provided, therefore any date from the later 18th dynasty onwards is possible.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 490; Fábián 2007.

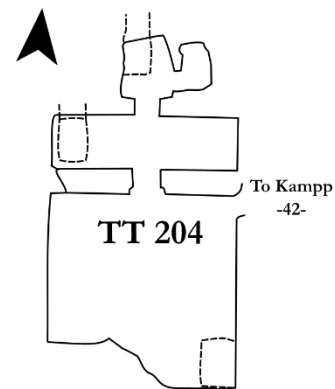


Figure 145. Plan of TT 204

TT 205

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 146)

Royal/private: private (Thutmose, royal butler)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: 3b

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments

Remarks:

A shaft cut in the courtyard of TT 205 investigated by the Hungarian archaeological mission proved to contain ‘*shabtis, cartonnage and wooden coffin fragments*’, prompting the excavators to assign it to the Late Period (Fábián 2008, 4).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 491; Fábián 2008.

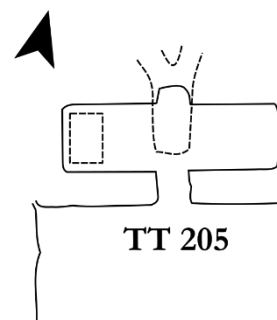


Figure 146. Plan of TT 205

TT 206

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (*Sonderform*)

Royal/private: private (Inepuemheb, scribe of the Place of Truth)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 206 (currently investigated by the Hungarian mission) is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 491-492; Fábián 2007.

TT 207 (MMA 830B)

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 147)

Royal/private: private (Horemheb, scribe)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period'

Dating criteria: MMA archives

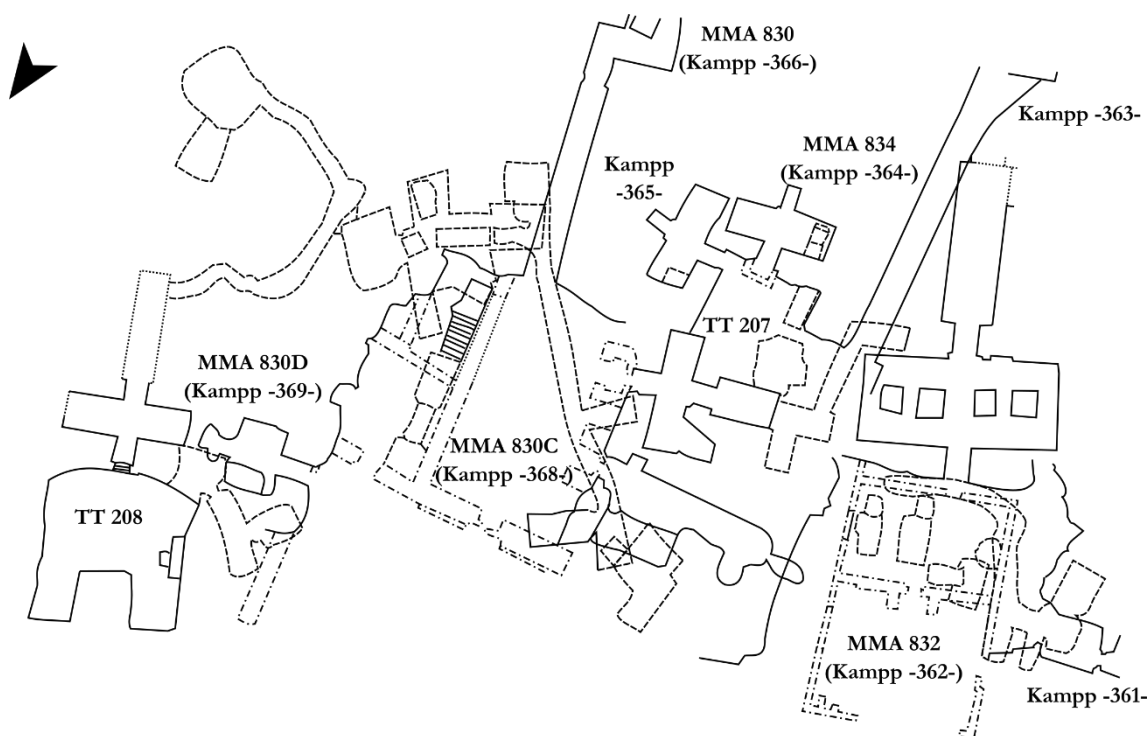


Figure 147. Plan of TT 207, TT 208, MMA 830, MMA 830C, MMA 830D, MMA 832, MMA 834, Kampp -361-, Kampp -363-, and Kampp -365-

Remarks:

In his publication of TT 297 and the neighbouring area, Strudwick lists TT 207 as one of the tombs reused in the Third Intermediate Period (Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65). Such a statement is based on the analysis of records from the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations in Asasif, but since the tomb remains unpublished it is impossible to give the exact dates or features associated with the reuse phase.

On the plan published by Kampp several burial places can be seen, some of them probably datable to the first millennium BCE. Additionally, a mudbrick wall enclosing the courtyard is visible. According to Kampp, it should be dated to the 20th dynasty, but a later date cannot be excluded.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 492-494; Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65.

TT 208 (MMA 835)

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 147)

Royal/private: private (Roma, God's Father)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period'

Dating criteria: MMA archives

Remarks:

As in the case of TT 207, TT 208 is one of the tombs listed by Strudwick as reused in the Third Intermediate Period (Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65). Porter and Moss mention cartonnage fragments with '*two Asiatics and charm for overcoming foreigners*' as coming from the tomb (Porter, Moss 1964, 653). Such depictions, however, were popular on mummy footboards in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (Simpson 1973).

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1964, 653; Kampp 1996, 494; Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65.

TT 209

Original context

Location: South Asasif

Type of tomb: other (Figure 148)

Royal/private: private (Nisemro, courtier)

Dating: 25th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: ‘27th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period’

Dating criteria: excavator’s statement

Remarks:

TT 209, recently identified as belonging to an ethnic Kushite, was reused several times, ‘*since the Persian Dynasty until late Ptolemaic Period*’ (Molinero Polo 2016, 120).

Bibliography:

Molinero Polo 2016.

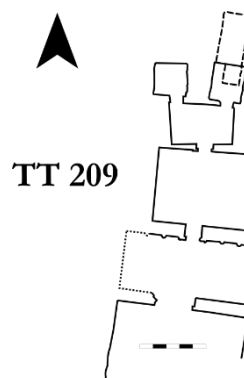


Figure 148. Plan of TT 209

TT 210

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 149)

Royal/private: private (Rauben, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

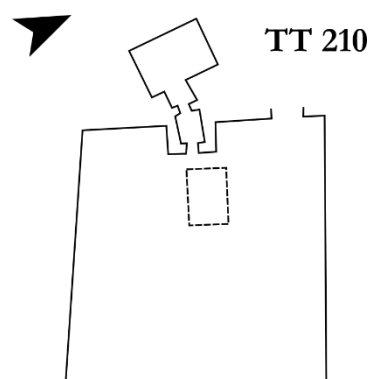


Figure 149. Plan of TT 210

Over a hundred fragments of ushebtis belonging to Tabakenkhonsu, made of blue-greenish faience (my type 3c), came to light during Bruyère's excavations in TT 210 (Bruyère 1927, 84; Valbelle 1972, 65). Ushebtis of the overseer type as well as clay figurines belonging to Tabakenkhonsu were also discovered.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, 188-189; Bruyère 1927, 84; Valbelle 1972, 65; Aston, D. 2009a, 254.

TT 211

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Paneb, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Seti II to Siptah)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT 211 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1925b, 60; Bruyère 1952, 66-87.

TT 212**Original context**

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Ramose, scribe in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context**Remarks:**

None of the published objects from the tomb can be securely dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1925b, 64-66.

TT 213**Original context**

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 150)

Royal/private: private (Penamun, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 20th dynasty (Ramesses III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Ramesside Period-Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: cartonnage

Remarks:

During the clearance of TT 213 the following objects were discovered: fragments of a stone offering table, a stone funerary figurine of Khaemwaset, a clay ushebti of Wen[nefer], fragments of a cartonnage, a wooden box, ‘*un visage copte en terre cuite grossière*’, a lamp, a fragment of a stone stela, and some piece of wall decoration (Bruyère 1926, 187-188; Bruyère 1927, 83). The names indicate that the tomb was reused, however, it is impossible to determine the precise date of the reuse.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, 183-184; 186-187; Bruyère 1927, 83.

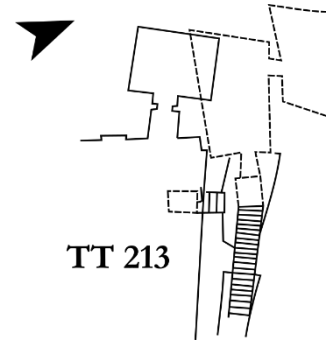


Figure 150. Plan of TT 213

TT 214

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 151)

Royal/private: private (Khawy, custodian in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Late Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

About 500 uninscribed clay ushebtis painted white were found in the underground rooms of TT 214 (Bruyère 1928, 45), as well as blue faience figurines (workers and overseers – my type 1a and perhaps 3a) of Padiamun (Bruyère 1924, 66; Aston, D. 2009a, 254). The demotic *graffiti* on the walls of the tomb probably date to the Roman times (Spiegelberg 1928, 15-17).

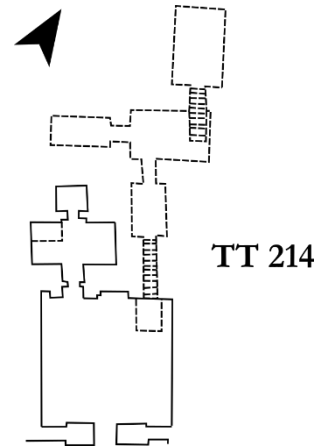


Figure 151. Plan of TT 214

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1924, 66; Bruyère 1928, 42-46; Spiegelberg 1928, 15-17; Bruyère 1952, 88-97; Aston, D. 2009a, 254.

TT 215 (chapel of TT 265)

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Amenemopet, royal scribe in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Seti I to Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

The tomb seems to bear no traces of later reuse.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1930, 107-110; Vandier d'Abbadie 1939.

TT 216

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 152)

Royal/private: private (Neferhotep, foreman)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II to Seti II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: Third Intermediate Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis, cartonnage fragments

Remarks:

The majority of objects from TT 216 published by Bruyère belong to the Ramesside owners of the tomb (Bruyère 1925b, 36-53; Bruyère 1926, 35-42). However, during excavations in the courtyard, a fragment of a cartonnage belonging to the lady of the house, Djedefha[...] came to light together with remains of some mummies, perhaps later than the original structure (Bruyère 1926, 42). Grey-greenish faience ushebtis of Taenkhonsu as well as blue faience figurines of Nesamun also come from this tomb and its surroundings (Aston, D. 2009a, 254; Bruyère 1926, 208; Valbelle 1982, 57; 66). The demotic *graffiti* on the walls probably date to the Roman Period (Spiegelberg 1928, 14-15).

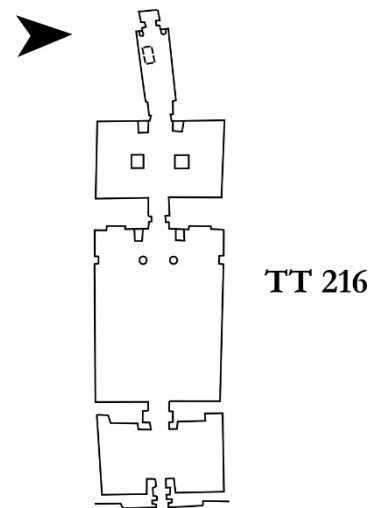


Figure 152. Plan of TT 216

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1925b, 36-53; Bruyère 1926, 35-42; Spiegelberg 1928, 14-15; Valbelle 1972, 57; 66; Kampp 1996, 494-496; Aston, D. 2009a, 254.

TT 217

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 153)

Royal/private: private (Ipuy, sculptor)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 4a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

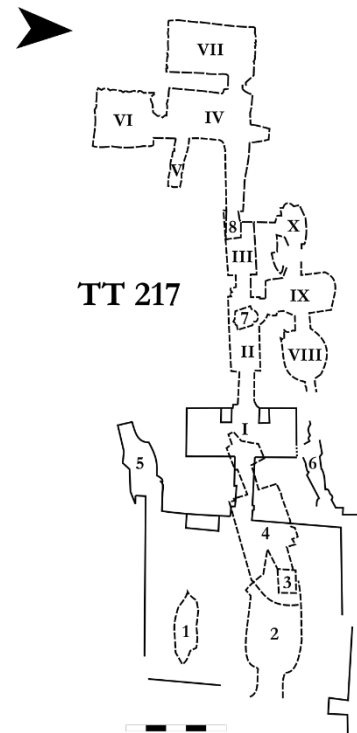


Figure 153. Plan of TT 217

TT 217 is one of the few Deir el-Medina tombs the layout of which was altered in later times. There are several burial places within the tomb and its courtyard. Some of them are said to be original, but some are clearly later as they violate the original structure: ‘(...) corresponding hole (No. 6) exists on the north side of the tomb-chapel, but, as in this case there is no visible entrance, it must have been reached from the top of the façade. Being little more than a fissure, it was unsafe for us to empty it completely. It runs so close to the brick lining of the chamber that it broke into the latter at this point, destroying the paintings in the northeast corner’ (Davies, N. 1927, 35).

In Davies' publication, there is a list of objects coming from the tomb; only in one case, however, the entry is accompanied by a plate.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, in the list there is an explicit mention of '*bits of stuccoed and painted coffins and cartonnages of late date*' (Davies, N. 1927, 39). These probably indicate that at least one burial took place in the 22nd or 25th dynasty, when cartonnages were in fashion. It is unclear if the coffins and cartonnages were found in the chamber described by Davies or elsewhere, which is why my attribution to type 4a is uncertain.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1927, 33-76.

TT 218

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Amennakht, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning later objects found in TT 218 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1928, 53-68; 80; 82.

¹⁰⁷ Part of the tomb had been cleared before Davies' first visit (Davies, N. 1927, 33).

TT 219

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 154)

Royal/private: private (Nebenmaat, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II to Merenptah)

Later context

Type of burial: 3b

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 22nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

In front of the entrance to TT 219, Bruyère discovered a burial shaft seemingly later than the original structure (cut after the demolition of the superstructure of TT 219; Maystre 1936, 2), with three chambers on its bottom. Inside the shaft ('puit 1118'), the following objects were found: '*un vase de couleur chair, terre cuite fine à texture homogène de teinte rose*', '*vase à deux anses, décoré, avant cuisson, de lotus en fleurs et en boutons*', 43 dark green pottery worker ushebtis of Neswaset, an overseer ushebti of the same person, and 11 dark green pottery ushebtis of a scribe named Padikhonsu (Bruyère 1928, 85-86). These burials were dated by its excavator to the period between the 22nd and 26th dynasty. The colour of the statuettes suggests that the burials in the shaft took place in the 22nd dynasty at the earliest.

It was believed by Bruyère that the shaft had a mudbrick chapel erected above its mouth (Bruyère 1928, 86).

Bibliography:

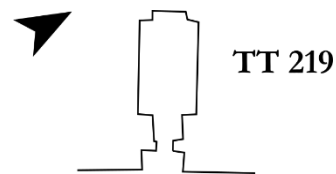


Figure 154. Plan of TT 219

Bruyère 1928, 83-86; Maystre 1936; Aston, D. 2009a, 255-256.

TT 220

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Khaemteri, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II to Merenptah)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 220 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1928, 78-82.

TT 221

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Horimin, scribe of soldiers in the royal palace)

Dating: 20th dynasty (Ramesses III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 221 (today inaccessible) is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 197-198; Kampp 1996, 496.

TT 222**Original context**

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Hekamaatranakht, high priest of Montu)

Dating: 20th dynasty (Ramesses III to Ramesses IV)

Later context**Remarks:**

No publication of objects found in TT 222 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1946; Kampp 1996, 496-498.

TT 223**Original context**

Location: South Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab* (Figure 155)

Royal/private: private (Karakhamun, count)

Dating: 25th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1, 2, 4a.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 5

Dating: 26th dynasty (2 burials), 27th dynasty (1 burial), 30th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (2 burials)

Dating criteria: pottery, coffins

Remarks:

The stratigraphy inside the tomb of Karakhamun was destroyed by the activity of tomb robbers, floods, and modern habitation; however, recent excavations of Pischikova revealed that the tomb was reused several times. In the burial compartments of Karakhamun, probably enlarged at some point (Eigner 2014), pottery of 26th and 27th dynasty date was discovered (some from a supposed embalmers' cache), as well as vessels datable to the 30th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (Budka 2014b, 250-253). A burial chapel was later cut in the First Pillared Hall: its entrance, located in the southwest corner, was separated from the rest of the hall by a limestone wall. The entrance to the chapel was made of sandstone blocks over a brick threshold. Inside the chapel, a shaft (5.2 m deep), ending in a single undecorated burial chamber (5 x 3 m), was cut. The fragments of blocks from door jambs give the name and titles of the owner: Padihor, the overseer of the outline-draftsmen and chamberlain of the God's Wife. Padihor was a father of Wahibranebpehti, the owner of TT 191 (Eigner 2014, 112-114; Graefe 2017b).

In the early years of the Saite Period, there was an attempt to reuse the tomb by the vizier Nespakashuty (owner of TT 312) as attested by his name on the walls, painted in red ink but never carved (Pischikova 2014, 64). In the later 26th dynasty, the lintel above the entrance to the Second Pillared Hall as well as the decoration of the vestibule was recarved for Ankhefendjehuty (Pischikova 2014, 65).

Finally, remains of at least 12 coffins were identified by Taylor within the material from the tomb: three of them were dated by him to the 25th-26th dynasty (Coffins 1, 6a

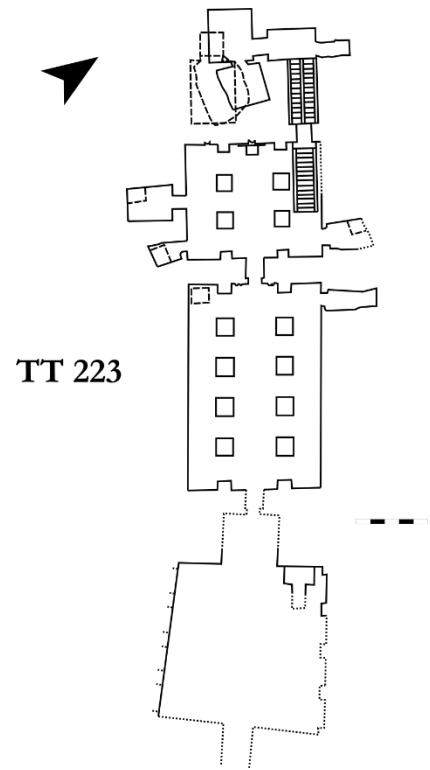


Figure 155. Plan of TT 223

and 10), one to the late 26th dynasty (Coffin 4a), and eight to the 30th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (Coffins 2, 3, 4b, 5, 6b, 7, 8, 9). The coffin datable to the 26th dynasty belonged to a person named [...]ru while names of two deceased from the 30th dynasty-Ptolemaic times were Montuemhat and Horemheb (Taylor 2014).

Bibliography:

Budka 2014a; Budka 2014b; Eigner 2014; Pischikova 2014; Taylor 2014; Graefe 2017b.

TT 224

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IVa

Royal/private: private (Ahmose, overseer of the estate of the God's Wife)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 224 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 498-501.

TT 225

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIa or X

Royal/private: private (Amenemhat, high priest of Hathor)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 225 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 501-502.

TT 226

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa

Royal/private: private (Hekareshu? royal scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 226 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1933b, 35-40; Kampp 1996, 502-503.

TT 227

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 156)

Royal/private: private (Siamun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Ramesside Period-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

The tomb was published only preliminarily, but it seems that the shaft in the transverse hall and enlargement of the hall both belong to the unspecified phase of later reuse (Seyfried 1991, 133-134; Kampp 1996, 505). In the debris above the tomb, Mond discovered ‘an ostrakon with a town plan and hieratic inscription’ (Collins 1976, 36); no date for it can be proposed.

Bibliography:

Collins 1976, 36; Seyfried 1991; Kampp 1996, 504-505.

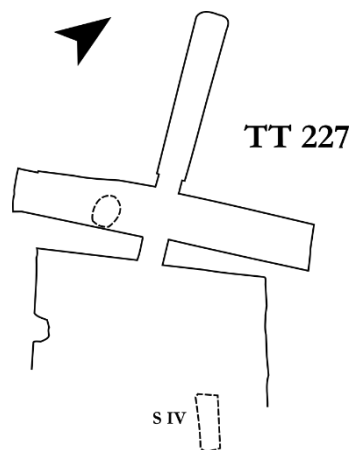


Figure 156. Plan of TT 227

TT 228

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Amenmose, scribe of the treasury of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 228 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 505-506.

TT 229

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 229 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 198-201; Kampp 1996, 506.

TT 230

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 157)

Royal/private: private (Men? scribe of soldiers)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-modern era

Dating criteria: mudbrick structure in the courtyard

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds from the tomb is known to me; however, the mudbrick remains in the courtyard are later than the original structure according to Kampp (Kampp 1996, 506).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 507.

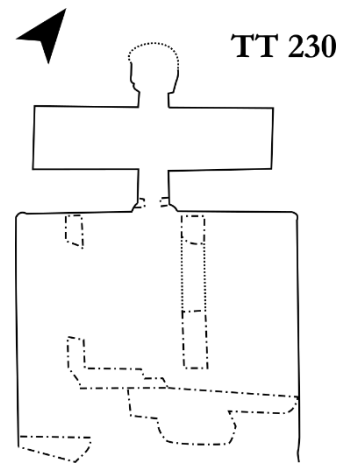


Figure 157. Plan of TT 230

TT 231

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Nebamun, scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 231 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 507.

TT 232**Original context**

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IVb

Royal/private: private (Minmontu, high priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Ahmose I)

Later context**Remarks:**

No publication of objects found in TT 232 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 507-512; Polz 2009.

TT 233 (tomb complex TT 233 and Kampp -183-)**Original context**

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 158)

Royal/private: private (Saroy and Amenhotep-Huy, scribes of the table of the Two Lands)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

**Minimal number of persons
buried:** 2

Dating: Third Intermediate Period
or Late Period

Dating criteria: pottery, excavator's
statement

Remarks:

The double complex, consisting of the Ramesside TT 233 (belonging to Saroy) and the 18th dynasty tomb transformed into a Ramesside mortuary monument (belonging to Saroy's son, Amenhotep-Huy) is currently investigated by the Australian mission. Reports published so far mention Late Period structures in the courtyard and inside the chapel (Sowada 2017, 70) as well as two later burial shafts: one in the chapel, and the other in the courtyard, north of the entrance (Ockinga, Binder 2009, 238). The precise date of these structures remains unknown. Inside the main burial chamber, ushebtis of a priest named Amunkha, allegedly datable to the 21st dynasty, came to light (Ockinga 2002, 137). Furthermore, a 'Late New Kingdom' shaft was discovered in the transverse hall of TT 233, belonging to a woman called Djedshai[...], also dated to the 21st dynasty by the excavator (Ockinga 2002, 138).

Additionally, TT 233 yielded evidence for tomb robbery which took place after the New Kingdom, but before the reuse of the tomb in the Late Period: a stratum made of ash attests fire, probably caused by the thieves while removing gilding from the coffins.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 512; Ockinga 2002; Ockinga 2007; Aston, D. 2009a, 161; Ockinga, Binder 2009; Sowada 2012; Sowada 2017.

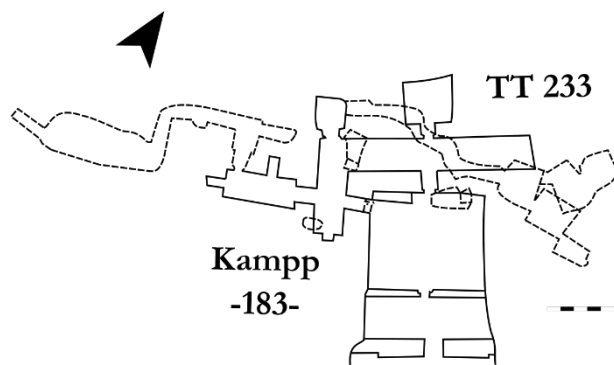


Figure 158. Plan of TT 233 and Kampp -183-

TT 234

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IVa

Royal/private: private (Ray, mayor)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 234 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 512-513.

TT 235

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 159)

Royal/private: private (Userhat, high priest of Montu)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 4a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

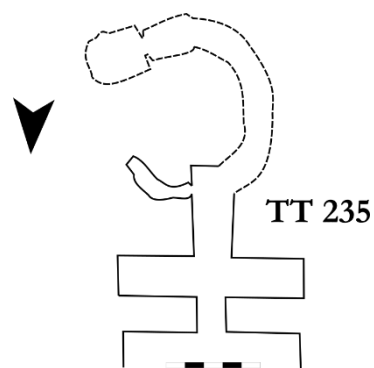


Figure 159. Plan of TT 235

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

No objects from the first millennium BCE were mentioned by Fakhry, who published a short paper on the tomb. However, while describing some human bones found among the debris, he remarked that '*it is impossible to determine whether these bones are from the original burial or from a later one*' (Fakhry 1934b, 136), thus suggesting that some later remains were indeed found. According to Kampp, the side chamber branching off the main corridor may belong to the phase of later reuse (Kampp 1996, 514).

Bibliography:

Fakhry 1934b; Kampp 1996, 514.

TT 236

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Hornakht, second priest of Amun)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be entered during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 514.

TT 237

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Wennefer, chief lector)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be entered during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 514.

TT 238

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa

Royal/private: private (Neferuben, royal butler)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 238 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 515-516.

TT 239

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp VIb (Figure 160)

Royal/private: private (Penhut, overseer of northern lands)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: 4a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds from this tomb is known to me; however, according to Kampp, the side room adjoining the pillared hall is later than the original structure. It is possible that the shaft in the chapel should also be associated with later reuse of the tomb (Kampp 1996, 516).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 516.

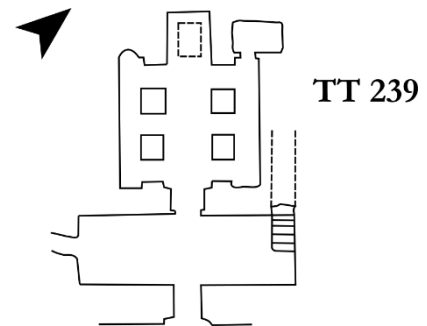


Figure 160. Plan of TT 239

TT 240 (MMA 517)

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari slope ('North Asasif')

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 161)

Royal/private: private (Meru, royal sealer)

Dating: 11th dynasty (Mentuhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: 4a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

The tomb of Meru, currently investigated by the Polish archaeological mission, has several side chambers adjoining the main corridor (Chudzik 2016, Fig. 11). They are clearly later than the original structure, therefore probably at least one of them was hewn to house later burials. Objects datable to the period of reuse include clay ushebtis, human remains, wooden coffin and chest fragments as well as late Roman vessels associated with the Coptic occupation of the site (Chudzik 2016, 298-300). According to Chudzik, the recorded finds prove that the tomb was reused for burials in the Third Intermediate Period (Chudzik 2017, 196).

Bibliography:

Soliman 2009, 100-108; Chudzik 2016; Chudzik 2017; Chudzik 2018.

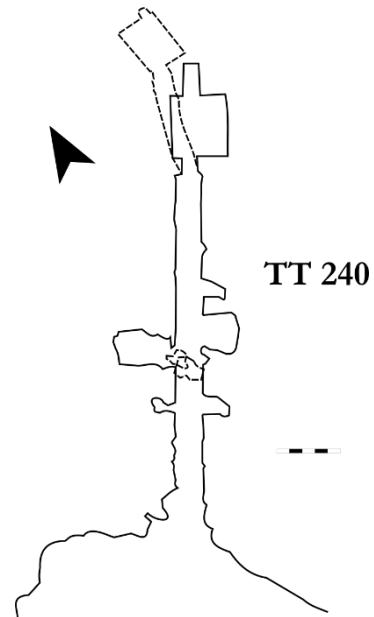


Figure 161. Plan of TT 240

TT 241

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Ahmose, scribe of the divine offerings)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 241 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Shorter 1930; Anonymous 1991, 17-18; Kampp 1996, 517-519.

TT 242

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Wahibra, steward of the God's Wife Ankhnesneferibra)

Dating: 26th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 242 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Eigner 1984, 58.

TT 243

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: other (Figure 162)

Royal/private: private

Dating: Ramesside?

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: decoration

Remarks:

TT 243, in older publications listed as belonging to an overseer of Thebes called Pamiu, active under Psamtek I, according to Eigner is a reused Ramesside monument (Eigner 1984, 54). The new decoration was added to the tomb's walls: the preserved fragments contain titles of the deceased (in the courtyard) and representation of Pamiu (in the third chamber). No objects from TT 243 were published.

Bibliography:

Vittmann 1979; Eigner 1984, 54.

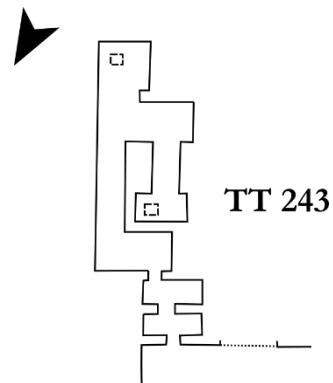


Figure 162. Plan of TT 243

TT 244

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Sonderform*

Royal/private: private (Pakharu, overseer of carpenters in the temple of Amun)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 244 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 520.

TT 245

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: *Sonderform*

Royal/private: private (Hory, steward of the queen)

Dating: 18th-19th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 245 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 520-521.

TT 246

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Senenra, scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 246 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 521-522.

TT 247

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIb

Royal/private: private (Simut, scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 247 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 522-523.

TT 248

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIb (*Sonderform*)

Royal/private: private (Thutmose, maker of offerings of Thutmose III)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 248 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 523-524.

TT 249

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 163)

Royal/private: private (Neferrenpet, purveyor of date wine)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

In Mackay's unpublished report from excavations in TT 249 there is a mention of 'two untouched coffins found, some shawabtis and a calcite kohl-pot' (Mond MSS 2.3). This discovery is further described in Mackay's (also unpublished) account of works

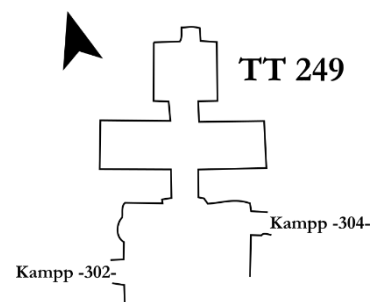


Figure 163. Plan of TT 249

conducted in the necropolis in June and August 1913: *'Tomb 249. (East of Large Enclosure). This is now in the course of being cleared out. In one of the burial-pits two undisturbed coffins were found, which I examined myself, but I found nothing of value inside. A small box containing very rough Ushabtiu was lying near them. The only other article as yet recovered from the tomb, which is still unfinished, is an alabaster kohl-pot in a bad state of preservation'* (AGH 19.2.29-30). No other details were given, therefore no date can be proposed for these objects, although Mackay's mention of *'very rough Ushabtiu'* suggests mud ushebtis, which appeared in burials from the 22nd dynasty to the early Ptolemaic Period. The 'calcite' (travertine) kohl-pot was likely a part of the original, 18th dynasty burial equipment.

Bibliography:

Gardiner MSS 19.2; Mond MSS 2.3; Baud 1935, 201-203; Manniche 1988b, 45-64; Kampp 1996, 524-525.

TT 250

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Ramose, scribe in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

According to Bruyère, the tomb had been cleared before, and the only thing discovered by him inside were some human remains (Bruyère 1927, 74), which cannot be dated.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1927, 59-66; 71-74.

TT 251

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa

Royal/private: private (Amenmose, royal scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 251 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 203-205; Kampp 1996, 525-527.

TT 252

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 164)

Royal/private: private (Senmin, nurse of the God's Wife)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1, 4a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

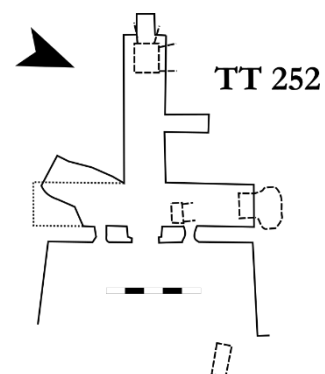


Figure 164. Plan of TT 252

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects from the tomb is known to me; however, according to Kampp, the small shaft by the entrance and the side chamber adjacent to the main corridor belong to the unspecified phase of reuse (Kampp 1996, 529-530).

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1913b; Kampp 1996, 527-530.

TT 253 (and 253A)

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 165)

Royal/private: private (Khnummose, scribe of the granary of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

**Minimal number of persons
buried:** 3

Dating: 22nd dynasty (2 burials),
25th-26th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: cartonnages,
amulets from bead nets

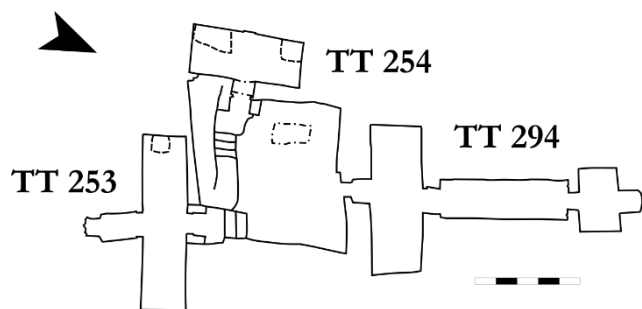


Figure 165. Plan of TT 253, TT 254, and TT 294

Remarks:

Although the tomb was thoroughly looted, remains of at least two Libyan Period burials were discovered during Strudwick's excavations: a cartonnage fragment, belonging to one [...p], son of Khonsuemmaat, and several pieces of a cartonnage of *'[the one who opens] the southern ways, the controller of the two lands, the one who makes the protection of the god, Khonsuamun'* (Strudwick, N. 1996, 120-122).

Khonsuamun's cartonnage was found in the so-called Shaft C, the original burial shaft of the tomb. Not far from it another cartonnage fragment was discovered, this time datable to the 25th or 26th dynasty. Unfortunately, no piece containing its owner's name was found. It seems that the original burial chamber was reused at least twice, first in the Libyan Period, and then in the Kushite-Saite era. Scattered remains of burial equipment dated to these periods were found also in other parts of the tomb: winged scarabs from bead nets (staircase and Room B), a falcon-headed canopic jar lid (the main shaft), and a large number of ushebti: faience (my types 4a and 4b), and clay ones (my types 1c, 2b, 2g, 3b, 3c, 3g, 3i).

Remains of the other Libyan Period cartonnage were discovered in Room D, located above a shaft in which several other pieces of late dynastic burial equipment were found. Since Room D shows evident traces of robbers' activity, it seems probable that the cartonnage was brought up by the thieves from Shaft C and the associated burial chamber (Room E).

No architectural features can be attributed to the phase of reuse. It was suggested that Room A, another part of the underground burial complex, was reused for mass burials in the first millennium BCE, although the evidence seems to point to a date in the early Ptolemaic Period (Strudwick, N. 1996, 30), and therefore is beyond the scope of this study.

Tomb 253A was discovered accidentally during Strudwick's works (Strudwick, N. 1996, 64), and was subsequently dated to the 18th dynasty. It was never fully cleared, hence no information on architectural features associated with possible tomb reuse can be provided. Two mummies, two faience Bes amulets, two cartonnage fragments as well as coffin fragments, mud ushebti, fragment of a shabti box, an embalming plaque, and a stone scarab came to light during the excavations (Strudwick, N. 1996,

130-132). They were mixed with modern material and can be intrusive from the nearby tombs. The distribution of pottery suggests that at least one burial took place in the tomb the first millennium BCE (in the second half).

Bibliography:

Strudwick, N. 1996.

TT 254

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 165)

Royal/private: private (Amenmose, supervisor of the estate of Tiye in the estate of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd dynasty or later

Dating criteria: cartonnages, ushebtis

Remarks:

A shallow burial shaft, dubbed 'Shaft B', came to light in the northwest corner of the chapel during Strudwick's excavations. It is only 0.8 m deep; the opening into the burial chamber begins 0.34 m below the floor of the tomb. On the bottom of the shaft a single chamber was found, opening in the north wall. It was hewn in a very rough manner, in contrast to the apparently original burial chamber located on the bottom of

the other shaft of the tomb ('Shaft A'). The chamber is small (2.24 x 1.22 m) and unevenly chiselled (Strudwick, N. 1996, 63).

The shaft had been emptied and refilled probably around 1915, as indicated by a newspaper with this date found in the debris. A collection of funerary cones discovered in the chamber prompted Strudwick to interpret the feature as a modern robbers' cache (Strudwick, N. 1996, 63). Several fragments of cartonnage, seemingly of the Libyan Period, three ushebtis of unfired mud, and wooden coffins were discovered in the chamber. It seems likely that the shaft was cut in the 22nd dynasty, although the disturbed context makes it impossible to state it with certainty.

Several pieces of first millennium BCE burial equipment were also discovered in other parts of the tomb, such as the south chamber of Shaft A, although these could be intrusive from the nearby tomb TT 253A. These objects are: cartonnage fragments, clay ushebtis (my types 1a, 2b, 2f, 2g, 3b, and 3g), and pieces of wooden coffins (Strudwick, N. 1996, 126-130). The north chamber on the bottom of Shaft A seems to be excavated more roughly than the south one, which could potentially indicate its later date. In this case, however, the chamber could have been made to accommodate burials of Amenmose's relatives (names of more than 50 people associated with Amenmose appear on the walls of the tomb) instead of the first millennium BCE interments.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 530-532; Strudwick, N. 1996; Aston, D. 2009a, 164.

TT 255

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIb

Royal/private: private (Ray, royal scribe)

Dating: 18th-19th dynasty (Horemheb to Seti I)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 255 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud, Drioton 1928; Baud 1935, 205-208; Kampp 1996, 532-533.

TT 256

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 166)

Royal/private: private (Nebenkemet, fanbearer)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Ramesside Period-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

Although the tomb remains unpublished, its plan suggests that it was reused at least once: according to Kampp, the shaft in the main corridor and the sloping passage are later than the original structure (Kampp 1996, 534). While the sloping passage might

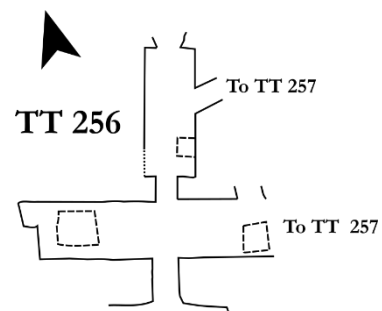


Figure 166. Plan of TT 256

have been cut in the Ramesside times, it seems probable that the shaft was hewn to accommodate burials in the first millennium BCE.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 533-535.

TT 257

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 167)

Royal/private: private (Neferhotep, scribe, counter of the grain of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 4

Dating: 25th dynasty (3 burials), 26th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: coffins, shabti box, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette

Remarks:

Remains of two robbed burials of a father and a son, bearing the same title of the overseer of the chambers of the Divine Adoratrice, came to light during excavations in TT 257. The father's (Amunpasedenu's) assemblage consisted of a *qeresu* coffin, a cartonnage, a shabti box (Aston type VII), and possibly some other objects, scattered fragments of which were found during the clearance of the tomb's underground

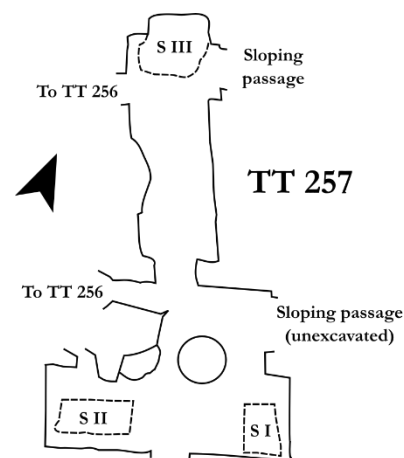


Figure 167. Plan of TT 257

chambers. The son's (Yutiaausir's) grave goods included a *qeresu* coffin and a cartonnage. Fragment of a limestone stela of a member of the Divine Adoratrice's entourage was discovered in the courtyard and likely belonged to one of the men (Mostafa 1995, 71-92). Both burials can be dated to the early 25th dynasty (750-700 BCE). Perhaps a similar date should be proposed for fragments of a cartonnage case belonging to an anonymous lady of the house and chantress of Amun found nearby, but this is only a conjecture.

Apart from these objects, a slightly later Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure was discovered '*in nahezu komplettem Fundzusammenhang*' (Seyfried, in: Mostafa 1995, 10) in the courtyard. The statuette, of Bielesch type 4, belongs to Padibastet, the doorkeeper of the domain of Amun. Possibly of the same person is also a fragment of a limestone stela discovered in the courtyard, with the titles of its owner preserved.

It was suggested that Schacht III, located in the chapel, was a feature designed to accommodate later burials (Seyfried, in: Mostafa 1995, 10). However, it seems unlikely to me that the large *qeresu* coffins were fitted in the shallow (ca. 1.3 m deep) shaft.

Remains of mudbrick walls discovered in the courtyard should probably be associated with modern reuse of the tomb (Seyfried, in: Mostafa 1995, 5-6).

Bibliography:

Mostafa 1984-1985; Mostafa 1995; Kampp 1996, 535-536; Aston, D. 2003.

TT 258

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIb

Royal/private: private (Menkheper, royal scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 258 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 536.

TT 259

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 121)

Royal/private: private (Hori, scribe)

Dating: 20th-21st dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 21st-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

The small tomb of Hori, dated to the late 20th or early 21st dynasty, was reused at least once in the first millennium BCE. A large concentration of later material was noted in Raum VII and VIII (i.e. the sloping passage and the burial chamber) and the neighbouring areas. The plan of the tomb suggests that it was enlarged at some point. Finds from the tomb, datable to the period of its reuse, comprise fragments of coffins

(Feucht 2006, 132-134), a faience scarab of the chantress of Amun named Djedmutiusankh (datable by its discoverer to the 21st dynasty), a stone scarab of Amunpa[...], an anonymous stone scarab, amulets, beads, human remains, and one faience ushebti (Feucht 2006, 155-159) as well as pottery datable to the Third Intermediate Period (particularly the 22nd dynasty) and Late Period-Ptolemaic era (Feucht 2006, 163-165).

In the east part of the chapel an irregular shaft was cut, but it proved to be devoid of finds. It is, however, likely that it was hewn to accommodate some late dynastic remains.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 537-538; Feucht 2006.

TT 260

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp I

Royal/private: private (User, scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

None of the published finds can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period.

Bibliography:

Mackay 1916; Nasr 1993; Kampp 1996, 538-539.

TT 261

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Khaemwaset, *wab* priest of Amenhotep I)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 261 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Nasr 1988; Kampp 1996, 539.

TT 262

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp I

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 262 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 540.

TT 263

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 168)

Royal/private: private (Piay, scribe)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Late Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

Remains of later burials were found in Shafts I and II: human bones, mummy wrappings, fragments of wooden objects, ushebtis, cartonnage fragments, and pottery (Lekov, Buzov 2015, 26-27). It was suggested that the tomb had been reused in the Late Period (Lekov, Buzov 2015, 18).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 540-541; Lekov, Buzov 2015.

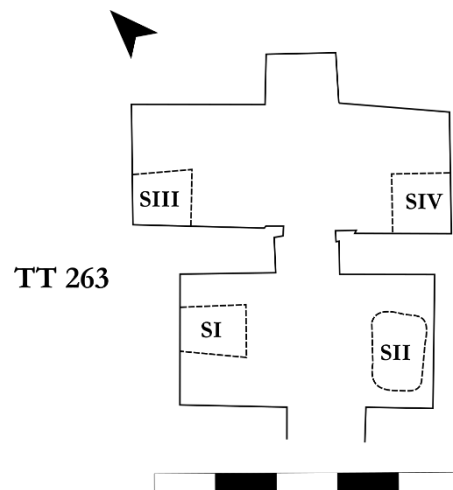


Figure 168. Plan of TT 263

TT 264

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Ipy, overseer of cattle)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 264 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 541-542.

TT 265 (burial chamber of TT 215)

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Amenemopet, royal scribe in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Seti I to Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

The only objects from TT 265 that are known to me (statue of Amenemopet and his wife, fragments of his stela, his offering table, canopic jars, and ushebtî coffin) belong to the original owner of the tomb (Porter, Moss 1960, 346). Bruyère published a plan of the tomb (Bruyère 1926, Pl. I), but I was unable to find any mention on his excavations there.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, Pl. I; Porter, Moss 1960, 346.

TT 266

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Amennakht, chief craftsman)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Several objects from excavations in TT 266 were mentioned by Bruyère (Bruyère 1926, 43-44), but all of them seem to be Ramesside.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, 43-44; Baud 1935, 208; Corteggiani 1984.

TT 267

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Hay, officer of workmen in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

The tomb bears no trace of reuse.

Bibliography:

Valbelle 1975.

TT 268**Original context**

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Nebnakht, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 18th-19th dynasty

Later context**Remarks:**

Several objects from TT 268 were mentioned by Bruyère (Bruyère 1934, 49-53), but they probably belong to the original phase of the tomb's occupation.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1934, 49-53.

TT 269**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 543.

TT 270

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa ('*mit Vorbau*')

Royal/private: private (Amenemuya, lector priest of Ptah-Sokar)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Except for the owner's stela, no object from TT 270 is known to me. The tomb could not be identified during Kampp's survey.

Bibliography:

Gauthier 1920, 6; Kampp 1996, 543.

TT 271

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp VIII

Royal/private: private (Nay, royal scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Ay)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 271 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Habachi, Anus 1977; Kampp 1996, 543-545.

TT 272

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Khaemopet, lector priest in the temple of Sokar)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 272 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Gauthier 1920, 3; Kampp 1996, 545.

TT 273

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa

Royal/private: private (Saymiotef, scribe)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 273 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 209-210; Kampp 1996, 545-546.

TT 274

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIc

Royal/private: private (Amenwahsu, high priest of Montu).

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds from TT 274 is known to me. The tomb could not be identified during Kampp's survey.

Bibliography:

Gauthier 1920, 5-6; Kampp 1996, 546.

TT 275

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 169)

Royal/private: private (Sobekmose, God's Father)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 4a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

According to Kampp, the chamber cut in the south part of the chapel is later than the original structure and should be associated with an unspecified phase of reuse (Kampp 1996, 547). Nothing is known of objects discovered in the tomb. However, Gauthier remarked that the sloping passage had been '*remplis de momies et de débris de cercueils et linges funéraires, la tombe ayant probablement servi à une certaine époque de magasin ou de cachette*' (Gauthier 1920, 8).

Bibliography:

Gauthier 1920, 8; Kampp 1996, 546-547.

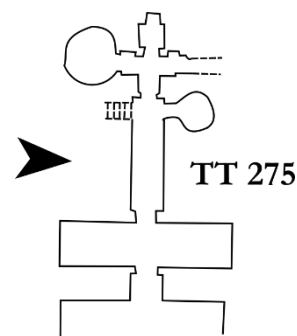


Figure 169. Plan of TT 275

TT 276

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 170)

Royal/private: private (Amenemopet, overseer of the treasury)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: remains of plaster

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds from TT 276 is known to me. However, according to Kampp, remains of plaster on the façade are later than the original structure and could come from the phase of reuse (Kampp 1996, 548).

Bibliography:

Gauthier 1920; Gabolde 1995; Kampp 1996, 547-548; Berenguer 2003.

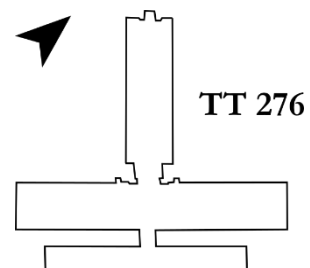


Figure 170. Plan of TT 276

TT 277

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 171)

Royal/private: private (Ameneminet, God's Father)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'basse-époque'

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

The decoration of the tomb was published by Vandier d'Abbadie. Although no finds were mentioned, it was proposed that the shaft in the south part of the tomb could originate from the '*basse-époque, comme on en trouve fréquemment dans la région thébaine. En effet, à l'époque romaine ou copte, les coachytes enterraient les morts dans les tombes ramesside*' (Vandier d'Abbadie 1954, 3). The mudbrick walls in the courtyard probably are also later than the original structure (Kampp 1996, 550).

Bibliography:

Gauthier 1920; Baud 1935, 211-212; Vandier d'Abbadie 1954; Kampp 1996, 548-550; Berenguer 2003.

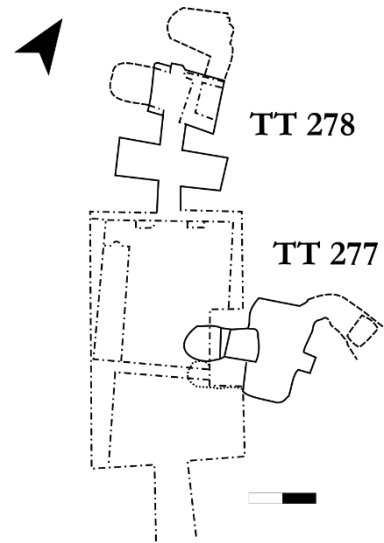


Figure 171. Plan of TT 277 and TT 278

TT 278

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb or Vc (Figure 171)

Royal/private: private (Amenemheb, herdman of Amun-Ra)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-modern era

Dating criteria: mudbrick walls in the courtyard

Remarks:

The mudbrick walls in the tomb probably originate from the phase of its reuse (Kampp 1996, 550).

Bibliography:

Gauthier 1920, 2; Baud 1935, 212-213; Vandier d'Abbadie 1954; Kampp 1996, 548-550.

TT 279

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab*

Royal/private: private (Pabasa, steward of the God's Wife)

Dating: 26th dynasty (Psamtek I)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 279 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Lansing 1920.

TT 280 (MMA 1101)

Original context

Location: Second Valley

Type of tomb: other (Figure 172)

Royal/private: private (Meketra, chief steward, treasurer)

Dating: 11th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 4

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Late Period

Dating criteria: MMA's dating of objects found in the tomb

Remarks:

The famous tomb of Meketra was investigated by Daressy, Mond, and finally by Winlock (Daressy 1901, 134-135; Mond 1905, 77; Winlock 1920, 14-31; Winlock 1942, 17-29). None of the reports from these works mentioned any late dynastic remains. However, the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art lists 6 objects from the tomb which likely are to be associated with its later reuse: a faience heart scarab (MMA 20.3.191), four mummy labels (MMA 20.3.197-200), and a mummy cloth (20.3.201). The scarab is dated to the '*Late Period (Dynasty 22-26)*', the mummy

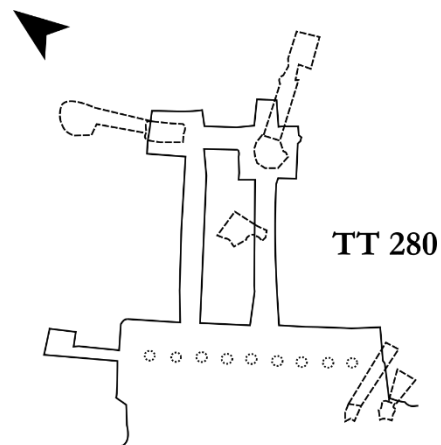


Figure 172. Plan of TT 280

labels to the Third Intermediate Period-Late Period, and the mummy cloth to the ‘*New Kingdom or later*’. The exact findspot of the objects remains unknown.

Bibliography:

Daressy 1901, 134-135; Mond 1905, 77; Winlock 1920; Winlock 1942, 17-29; Soliman 2009, 120-124; MMA website, Heart Scarab [MMA 20.3.191]; MMA website, Mummy Cloth [MMA 20.3.201], MMA website, Mummy Label [MMA 20.3.197]; MMA website, Mummy Label [MMA 20.3.198], MMA website, Mummy Label [MMA 20.3.199], MMA website, Mummy Label [MMA 20.3.200].

TT 281

Original context

Location: Third Valley (‘Valley of the Colours’)

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: royal (Amenemhat I)

Dating: 12th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

None of the objects found in the tomb by Mond (Mond 1905, 78-80) can be dated to the first millennium BCE; therefore, I am inclined to assume that the tomb bore no trace of reuse. However, an interesting mention can be found in Winlock’s account from his works in the valley: ‘*We found the tomb surrounded by a low brick wall as though the place had been held sacred*’ (Winlock 1921, 34).

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 78-80; Winlock 1921; Winlock 1942, 31-34; Arnold, Do. 1991.

TT 282

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Menunakht, overseer of the south lands)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 282 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Fisher 1924, 35-41; Baud 1935, 214-215; Kampp 1996, 550-553.

TT 283

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Roma, high priest of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II to Seti II)

Later context

Remarks:

According to Fisher, the tomb was reused in the reign of Ramesses IX (Fisher 1924, 41), but no later reuse is attested.

Bibliography:

Fisher 1924, 41-43; Kampp 1996, 553-554.

TT 284**Original context**

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th-19th dynasty

Later context**Remarks:**

No publication mentioning finds from TT 284 is known to me. The tomb is said to be reused in the 20th dynasty.

Bibliography:

Fisher 1924, 44; Davies, N. 1939a; Kampp 1996, 555-556.

TT 285**Original context**

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 173)

Royal/private: private (Iny, head of the magazine of Mut)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: '21st dynasty'

Dating criteria: decoration

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects found in TT

285 is known to me. However, according to Hofmann as well as Aston (quoted by Bács), some of the scenes added to the original decoration, previously dated to the late Ramesside Period, date to the 21st dynasty (Hofmann 2004, 63; Bács 2015b, 1, n. 2). It was proposed by Hofmann that the mudbrick structure in the courtyard could also be a 21st dynasty addition to the tomb.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 215-217; Kampp 1996, 556-557; Hofmann 2004, 63; Bács 2015b.

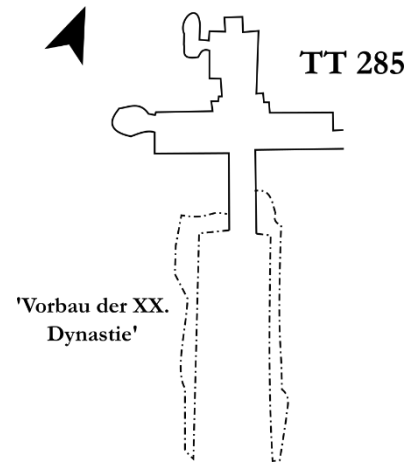


Figure 173. Plan of TT 285

TT 286

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIb (Figure 174)

Royal/private: private (Niay, scribe)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-modern era

Dating criteria: remains of plaster

Remarks:

According to Kampp, remains of plaster visible on the left side of the courtyard come from the phase of reuse of the tomb (Kampp 1996, 557), although it is unclear whether it was reused for burials or as a dwelling.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 557.

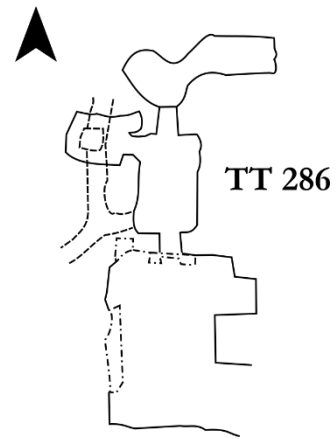


Figure 174. Plan of TT 286

TT 287

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Penduba, *wab* priest of Amun)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 287 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 558.

TT 288 and TT 289

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IX (Figure 175)

Royal/private: private (Setau, viceroy of Kush)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Late Period'

Dating criteria: decoration (pillars)

Remarks:

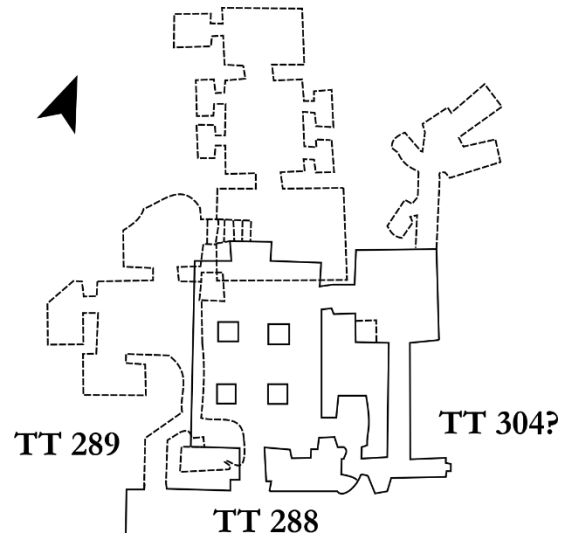


Figure 175. Plan of TT 288 and TT 289

The tomb of Setau, previously mistakenly referred to as two different, albeit connected monuments, is a Ramesside structure, reused in the Late Period by a man called Bakenkhonsu, scribe of the Divine Book of Khonsu (Kampp 1996, 558). Bakenkhonsu added his scenes to the existing ones (the new scenes appeared on the previously undecorated surfaces, i.e. pillars), without altering the original decoration. Dated to the Late Period can also be the mudbrick structure in the courtyard, aligned with the original Ramesside pyramid (Kampp 1996, 561).

It is unclear where Bakenkhonsu was interred. On the plan of the sepulchre, there are two burial installations: a vertical shaft in the courtyard, and a sloping passage – both original, according to Kampp (Kampp 1996, 561). It is possible that Bakenkhonsu simply reused the already available space, without hewing a new burial chamber.

The tomb was never published; however, according to Porter and Moss, the following objects come from the complex: fragments of a sandstone statuette of Bakenkhonsu, ‘*fragments with name of Zementef‘ankh*’, fragments of granite sarcophagus with figures of Setau, Setau’s wife’s coffin lid, and the upper part of a stela of Setau, found in the courtyard of TT 283 (Porter, Moss 1960, 369; 372). It remains unclear whether ‘Zementef‘ankh’ was buried in the tomb in the Ramesside Period or in the Late Period.

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1960, 369-372; Kampp 1996, 558-561.

TT 290

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 176)

Royal/private: private (Irinefer, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 1*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 21st dynasty

Dating criteria: shroud, mummification technique

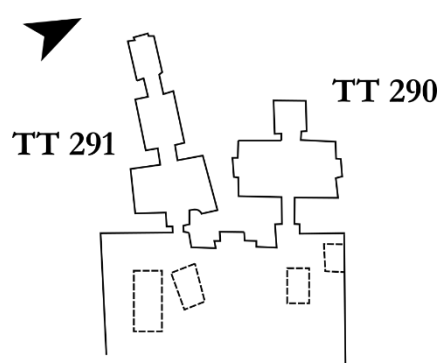


Figure 176. Plan of TT 290 and TT 291

Remarks:

Bruyère listed several objects from TT 290 (Bruyère 1924, 35-38), but none of them can be unequivocally dated to the phase of reuse. However, according to Austin, human remains found in the tomb ‘*most likely comprise the extended family network of Iry-Nefer and date from the 19th to the 21st dynasties*’ (Austin 2018, 27). The reuse of the tomb is attested by the presence of a red-lined Osiris shroud for a man called Amunemwia and by mummification style. After the 21st dynasty, the tomb was no longer used for burial purposes (Austin 2018, 29-30).

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1924, 10-38; Bruyère, Kuentz 1926; Austin 2018.

TT 291**Original context**

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 176)

Royal/private: private (Nakhtmin and Nu, Servants in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 21st dynasty (reign of Smendes)

Dating criteria: *graffito*

Remarks:

Although the tomb was thoroughly plundered, probably already in antiquity, there is strong evidence in favour of its reuse in the 21st dynasty: a *graffito* on the north wall of the chapel, with the following text: *'The West is yours, ready for you. All praised-ones are hidden within it; wrongdoers will not enter it, nor any guilty persons. The scribe Butehamun has moored there after an old age, his body sound and intact. Made by the scribe of the Necropolis Ankhefenamun'* (McDowell 1999, 73; Kikuchi 2002, 349-350; Cooney 2011, 8). Butehamun in question is the famous Butehamun C, the scribe of the necropolis in the final days of the 20th dynasty, responsible for the reburial of royal mummies. Butehamun's burial goods are known (two coffins and a magical papyrus), although they were published without indicating their provenance (Aston, D. 2009a, 258).

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1924, 10-37; Baud 1935, 217-218; McDowell 1999, 73; Kikuchi 2002; Aston, D. 2009a, 258; Cooney 2011.

TT 292**Original context**

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 177)

Royal/private: private (Pashedu, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Seti I to Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

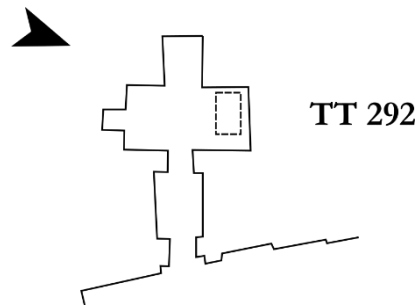


Figure 177. Plan of TT 292

Dating: Third Intermediate Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

None of the objects published by Bruyère can be dated with certainty to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period (Bruyère 1925b, 71-72), except for ushebtis belonging to a lady of the house and chantress of Amun called Tabakenkhonsu (Bruyère 1925b, 104; Valbelle 1972, 59-60; 65-66). Tabakenkhonsu's ushebtis are made of clay and painted white (my type 3g). Figurines of the same person were discovered in TT 339.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1925b, 66-72; 104; Valbelle 1972, 60-61; 65-66; Aston, D. 2009a, 254.

TT 293

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Huy, scribe)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 293 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Larkin, Van Siclen III 1975; Kampp 1996, 562-563.

TT 294

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb or Vd (Figure 165)

Royal/private: private (Amenhotep, overseer of the two granaries)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 27th dynasty

Dating criteria: coffin fragments, cartonnages, ushebtis, pottery

Remarks:

The tomb was reused in the first millennium BCE, as is attested by the presence of numerous remains of late dynastic coffins, cartonnages, ushebtis, amulets, etc. The context of the finds, however, is disturbed. There is evidence for the refilling of almost all underground structures of the tomb. The continuous habitation within the tomb in the Islamic Period contributed even more to the destruction of archaeological context.

The largest concentration of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Periods materials was discovered by Strudwick in the so-called 'Area A', which consists of a shaft located in the east part of the transverse hall of the tomb (Shaft A) and two chambers associated with it (Rooms A1 and A2). It is unlikely that they formed part of the original 18th dynasty tomb (Strudwick, N. 1996, 10). Remains of late dynastic burial equipment and several objects dated to the Ramesside era came to light during excavations in the shaft: it is plausible that the cutting of the shaft took place in the Ramesside Period, and the shaft was later reused again during the Third Intermediate and/or Late Period. The architecture of Room A2 (tripartite division) suggests that the

chamber was enlarged at least twice (hence my tentative attribution to type 2). It cannot be ruled out, however, that the shaft was cut entirely in the Third Intermediate Period.

Among objects found in Area A are: a faience amulet depicting one of the Four Sons of Horus (likely a part of a bead net), coffin and cartonnage fragments (including a cartonnage plate of one Kha[em]ptah, dated by Taylor to the late Ramesside Period or early 21st dynasty), ushebtis of faience and baked clay, and bags of natron (Strudwick, N. 1996, 107-112). Precise chronological attribution of these items is impossible; some of them were probably brought there during the refilling of the shaft.

Late dynastic remains were found also in other locations: in the courtyard shaft, and in the 'Area B', associated with the Ramesside enlargement of the chapel (Strudwick, N. 1996, 113-116). They may, however, come either from the burials in Room A2 or from the neighbouring tombs (TT 253, TT 254) that were all reused in that time. Not all underground chambers could be excavated by Strudwick, due to the presence of breaks in the walls through which debris was falling inside the chambers, and the risk of the walls collapsing.

It seems certain that the tomb was reused at least twice in the first millennium BCE, although due to the disturbed context the exact date of reuse remains unknown. According to Aston, several fifth century BCE pottery sherds can be identified among the ceramic assemblage (Aston, D. 2003, 162). The following types of ushebtis could be distinguished in the tomb: 4a, 4b, and 5a (faience ones), and 1c, 2g, 3b, 3g, 3h (clay specimens). No Ptolemaic or Roman remains were discovered.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 563-564; Strudwick, N. 1996; Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 164.

TT 295

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (*Sonderform*) (Figure 178)

Royal/private: private (Thutmose, *sem* priest)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV)

Later context

Type of burial: 1*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 21st-22nd dynasty (1 burial), 22nd dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: canopic jars, cartonnage fragments, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

Several architectural features of TT 295 can probably be associated with the phase of reuse: the unfinished shaft in the courtyard, the side chamber cut in the west wall of the transverse hall, and the shaft in the west wing of the transverse hall (although Kampp believes that the shaft is original). Nevertheless, all the finds which can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period come from the original sloping passage and burial chamber: fragments of pottery canopic jars (two of them bearing the name of the lady of the house Tjepu) and remains of a cartonnage case of a chantress of Hathor and lady of the house called Meritra (Hegazy, Tosi 1983, 28-30).

Tjepu's canopic jars are of Aston type I or II, datable to the 21st to 25th dynasty; the early orthography of the name of Osiris points to a date before 740 BCE. Meritra's cartonnage case belongs to Taylor's Phase II, datable to the 22nd-early 25th dynasty; similarly to the case of Tjepu, the traditional writing of the name of Osiris allows to narrow down the dating to the Libyan Period.

In the absence of any other evidence I am inclined to assign both burials to type 1, although it seems obvious that the tomb had accommodated more burials (likely in the newly-cut features) in the first millennium BCE.

Bibliography:

Hegazy, Tosi 1983; Kampp 1996, 564-565.

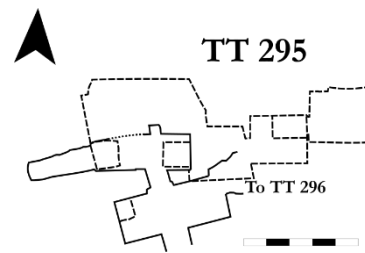


Figure 178. Plan of TT 295

TT 296

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 179)

Royal/private: private (Nefersekheru, scribe of the divine offerings)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 27th dynasty (1 burial), 29th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

Late dynastic remains were discovered during Feucht's excavations of TT 296: ushebtis of clay (my types 3h and 3i) and of blue faience (my type 4a), funerary amulets, parts of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette, and pottery. According to Aston, at least four of the published vessels can be dated to the 27th dynasty (Aston, D. 1999, 22, n. 65). Possibly a fragment of a sandstone offering table, allegedly Ptolemaic, should be associated with Persian reuse of the tomb instead. Additionally, some pottery sherds from TT 296 were dated by Aston to the fourth-third century BCE (Aston, D. 2003, 162-163).

The findspot of the published objects was not given, although it seems likely that some later burials were deposited in the shaft cut in the floor of the chapel.

Bibliography:

Feucht 1985; Kampp 1996, 565-567; Aston, D. 1999; Aston, D. 2003.

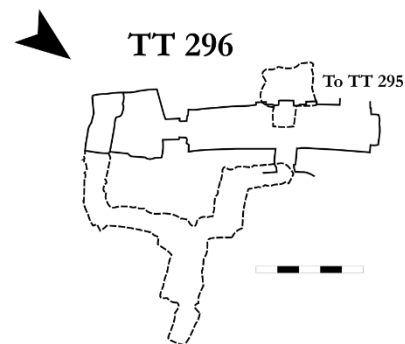


Figure 179. Plan of TT 296

TT 297 (MMA 831)

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 180)

Royal/private: private (Amenemopet called Tjanefer, overseer of the fields)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments, bead nets

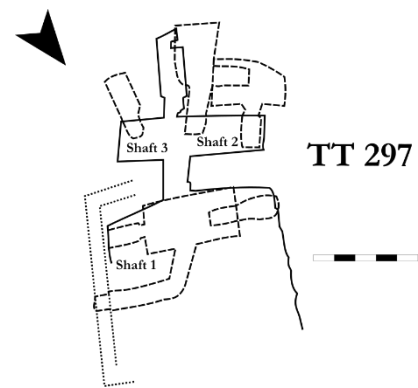


Figure 180. Plan of TT 297

Remarks:

Several objects associated with late dynastic reuse of TT 297, discovered by the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, were published by Strudwick: coffin and cartonnage fragments (at least one of the latter stylistically belonging to Taylor Phase II), beads (probably from bead nets), and amulets (Strudwick, N. 2003b, 21-22; 31-33), indicating that at least one burial in the tomb took place in the 22nd or 25th dynasty.

It remains unknown where the aforementioned objects were found; however, it has been pointed out by Strudwick that out of three shafts discovered in the tomb and its courtyard (dubbed '1', '2' and '3') it is the shaft 2 that seems to belong to the original phase of the tomb's occupation due to its location and complexity. Shaft 3 (reminiscent of Shaft B, excavated by Strudwick in TT 254) seems to be dated to the later period, and shaft 2 may belong to either (Strudwick, N. 2003b, 23). Therefore,

I tentatively assign this burial to type 3a.1 (shaft 3), although a late dynastic date for shaft 1 should not be dismissed.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 567-568; Strudwick, N. 2003b.

TT 298

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Baki and Wennefer, Overseer and Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Bruyère listed several objects from TT 290 (Bruyère 1928, 88-93), but none of them can be dated to the phase of reuse of the tomb.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1928, 88-93.

TT 299

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Inherkhau, foreman)

Dating: 20th dynasty (Ramesses III to Ramesses IV)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 7

Dating: Third Intermediate Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

According to Valbelle, ushebtis belonging to the following persons discovered in TT 299 can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period: Pamiu (blue faience), Pasherihathor (clay, my types 1c and 2g), Padiamun (blue faience, my type 3), Muthotep (blue faience, my types 1a and 2a), Montuimenet (blue faience, my type 2a), Djedkhonsuiufankh (blue faience, my types 2 or 3), and Nebenmut (blue faience, my type 2a) (Bruyère 1924, 67-68; 71; 104; Bruyère 1928, 30-36; 39-40; Bruyère, 32-33; Valbelle 1972, 51; 53; 56-57; 69; 72; Aston, D. 2009a, 254). Pasherihathor's ushebtis were also found in TT 2 and DM 1125; Muthotep's figurines came to light in DM 1125; Djedmontuiufankh's in DM 1057 and DM 1125.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1924, 67-68; 71; 104; Bruyère 1928, 30-36; 39-40; Bruyère 1933, 32-33; Valbelle 1972, 51; 53; 56-57; 69; 72; Aston, D. 2009a, 254.

TT 300

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 181)

Royal/private: private (Anhotep, viceroy of Kush)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II to Merenptah)

Later context

Type of burial: 3

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 'Late Period'

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb, mudbrick structure in the courtyard

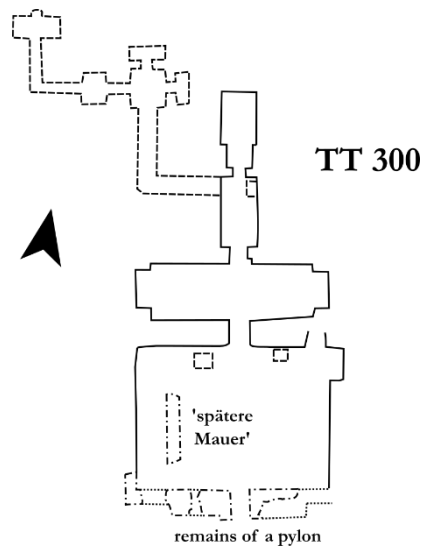


Figure 181. Plan of TT 300

Remarks:

No publication mentioning objects from the tomb is known to me. However, according to Kampp, remains of the mudbrick structure in the courtyard can be dated to the Late Period (Kampp 1996, 568). According to the same scholar, at least one shaft in the courtyard and the shaft in the main corridor should be dated likewise.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 568-569.

TT 301

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Hori, scribe)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb, its entrance walled up and therefore inaccessible for Kampp during her survey.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 569.

TT 302

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa

Royal/private: private (Paraemheb, overseer of the magazine)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 570.

TT 303

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 182)

Royal/private: private (Paser, third priest of Amun)

Dating: 20th-21st dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3a and/or 4a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-modern era

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb, mudbrick structure in the courtyard

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds from TT 303 is known to me. However, according to Kampp the mudbrick wall in the courtyard, the shafts in the main corridor, and the side chamber adjoining the transverse hall are later than the original structure. No date for these features can be proposed.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 570.

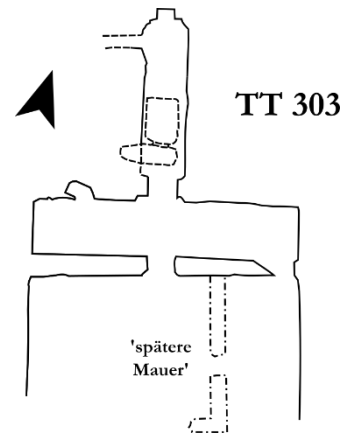


Figure 182. Plan of TT 303

TT 304

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Piay, royal scribe)

Dating: 20th-21st dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 570-571.

TT 305

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Paser, scribe of the divine offerings)

Dating: 20th dynasty (or later)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 305 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 571-572.

TT 306

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Irdjanyny, door opener of the estate of Amun)

Dating: 20th-21st dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 306 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 572.

TT 307

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 183)

Royal/private: private (Tjanefer)

Dating: 20th dynasty or later

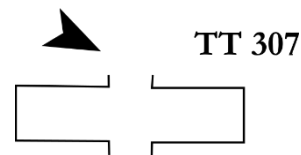


Figure 183. Plan of TT 307

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds from TT 307 (now completely covered with debris) is known to me. Decoration commissioned by its 21st dynasty, perhaps original owner is preserved, although Manniche pointed out that the shape of TT 307 seems typical for the 18th dynasty (Manniche 2011, 73). It is unclear whether the tomb was reused or not.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 572; Manniche 2011, 73.

TT 308

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari

Type of tomb: other (Figure 184)

Royal/private: royal (Kemsit, queen of Mentuhotep II)

Dating: 11th dynasty (Mentuhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'XXth-XXIst Dynasty'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

In the burial chamber of queen Kemsit, apart from the remains allegedly belonging to Kemsit herself, another mummy was found: *'wrapped up and quite perfect, but was in no coffin, and probably belongs to the XXth-XXIst Dynasty, being a later burial'* (Neville 1907, 49-50). Additionally, broken ushebtis of a man named Wenef (Wennefer?) were discovered in the same chamber.

Bibliography:

Neville 1907.

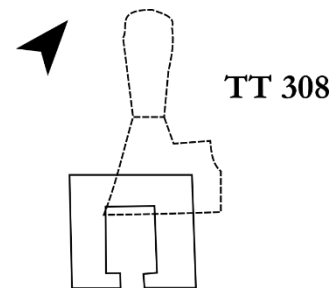


Figure 184. Plan of TT 308

TT 309

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 19th-21st dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 572.

TT 310 (MMA 505)

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari slope ('North Asasif')

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner, royal chancellor)

Dating: 11th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period or Late Period

Dating criteria: amulet

Remarks:

Not much is known of finds from TT 310, excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art; its plan also remains unpublished. However, on the MMA website a faience amulet dated to 'ca. 1070-343 BC' is mentioned among objects coming from the tomb.

Bibliography:

MMA website, Amulet [MMA 27.3.606].

TT 311 (MMA 508)**Original context**

Location: Deir el-Bahari slope ('North Asasif')

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 185)

Royal/private: private (Khety, royal seal bearer)

Dating: 11th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments, excavator's statement

Remarks:

TT 311, currently investigated by the Polish archaeological mission, was cleared by Winlock, in whose report no mention of any later remains

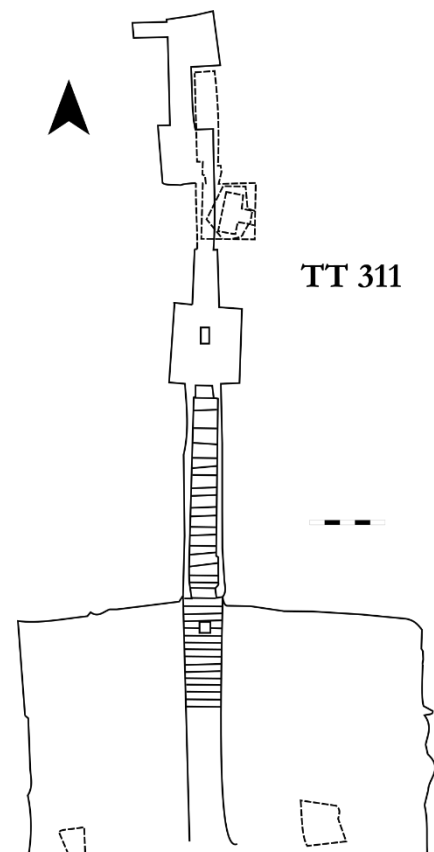


Figure 185. Plan of TT 311

can be found (Winlock 1923, 14-19). The Polish mission discovered numerous objects datable to the phase of reuse: clay ushebtis, fragments of cartonnages, remains of wooden chests or coffins, and bead nets (Chudzik 2016, 295; Chudzik 2018, 188). Perhaps a limestone naos found in the tomb should also be associated with its later reuse (Chudzik 2016, 293). The presence of cartonnage pieces most likely indicates a burial during the 22nd or 25th dynasty. According to the excavator, a small niche hewn in the corner of the ‘false’ burial chamber should be dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period (Chudzik 2016, 294).

The tomb of Khety must have been considered an important monument also in later times (at least in the New Kingdom), as attested by the inscription on the wall, left by a man called Nebnetjeru, who lived in the times of Ramesses II. The text commemorates Nebnetjeru’s visit in the tomb of ‘*his father Khety*’ (Winlock 1923, 16).

Bibliography:

Winlock 1923, 14-19; Kampp 1996, 572; Soliman 2009, 95-99; Chudzik 2016, 291-295; Chudzik 2017, 185-187; Chudzik 2018, 185-188.

TT 312 (MMA 509)

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari slope (‘North Asasif’)

Type of tomb: unknown (Figure 186)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner, perhaps vizier Bebi)

Dating: 11th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 5

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: early 26th dynasty (beginning of the reign of Psamtek I)

Dating criteria: style of the decoration, genealogy and titles of the deceased

Remarks:

The monumental tomb of the Saite vizier Nespakashuty is, in fact, a reused Middle Kingdom tomb belonging to an unknown official, perhaps vizier Bebi (Pischikova 1998, 59). While the original tomb was probably never used, it is unclear to what extent Nespakashuty rearranged the original structure: he might have ‘usurped’ the east part of the courtyard only and cutting the entire tomb himself, or he could have appropriated the already existing corridor, hewn for a family member of the first owner (Pischikova 1998, 60). The result seems to reflect Nespakashuty’s interest in the past, at the same time introducing the standard Late Period layout of the tomb: behind a monumental mudbrick pylon, a corridor leads to a hall with 6 side rooms, resembling the layout of the contemporary tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34). A stairway leads from this chamber to a crypt below. The tomb was decorated by Nespakashuty; the archaising style of the reliefs is characteristic of the Late Period (Winlock 1923, 21; Pischikova 1998; Pischikova 2002). The tomb was never completed.

According to the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a set of blue faience ushebtis (my type 5a) was found during Winlock’s works in the tomb. In the course of Chudzik’s excavations on the north slope of the cliff objects allegedly belonging to Nespakashuty and other persons buried in TT 312 were discovered: ushebtis, fragments of cartonnages and coffins, and human remains (Chudzik 2015b, 240; Chudzik 2016, 187-191). According to Chudzik, ‘*it seems that more than just the vizier’s burial can be attributed to this period*’ (Chudzik 2015b, 241), but since none

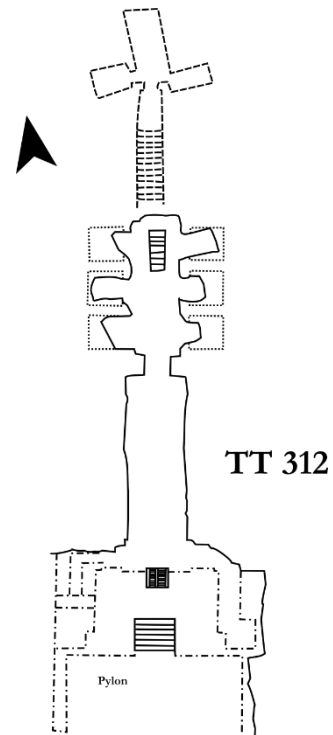


Figure 186. Plan of TT 312

of the finds was published, the presence of any burials other than Nespakashuty's in the tomb remains a conjecture.

Bibliography:

Winlock 1923; Winlock 1942, 81-83; Eigner 1984, 50; Pischikova 1998; Pischikova 2002; Chudzik 2015b, Chudzik 2017, 187-191; MMA website, Uninscribed shabti from tomb of Nespekashuty [MMA 26.3.163b].

TT 313 (MMA 510)

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari slope ('North Asasif')

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa

Royal/private: private (Henenu, steward, king's seal bearer)

Dating: 11th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Late Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement, plan of the tomb

Remarks:

The Middle Kingdom tomb of Henenu, excavated by Carter and Winlock but never published, is currently investigated by the Middle Kingdom Theban Project. During the American excavations in the tomb, the following objects were discovered: *'fragments of cartonnage and wooden coffins of Dynasties 25–26, canopic jars, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figurines, mummy braces, broad collar, bead nets, ushabtis, and lids of*

cylindrical wooden boxes (?) (Dieleman, Fischer-Elfert 2017, 243, n. 4). Among the finds from the Spanish excavations in the monument are ushebtis and a faience amulet, dated by Morales to the Third Intermediate Period, three scarabs, faience beads, wooden objects and cartonnage fragments as well as Late Period pottery, found together with a ‘*well-formed stick*’, two pieces of Late Period ushebtis, an incised piece of metal, linen and bones (Morales *et al.* 2017, 161; Morales *et al.* 2018, 186-187).

The plan of TT 313, published by the Middle Kingdom Theban Project (Morales *et al.* 2016, Fig. 9), clearly indicates the presence of several later features: there are no less than 7 shafts, four subsidiary chambers and four niches, at least some of which must be later than the 11th dynasty. However, the archaeological context is heavily disturbed by the previous works in the area.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 573; Soliman 2009, 112-114; Morales *et al.* 2016; Dieleman, Fischer-Elfert 2017; Morales *et al.* 2017; Morales *et al.* 2018.

TT 314 (MMA 513) (and 314A)

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari slope (‘North Asasif’)

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 187)

Royal/private: private (Horhotep, guardian of the royal seal)

Dating: 12th dynasty (Senuseret I)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty (1 burial), 'Late Period' (1 burial)

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments

Remarks:

Morales mentioned several objects discovered during the clearance of the entrance, including '*offering trays, bones, textile, rope, wood, cartonnage, and human remains*' (Morales *et al.* 2016, 261). The presence of the cartonnage fragments may indicate reuse of TT 314 in the 22nd or 25th dynasty.

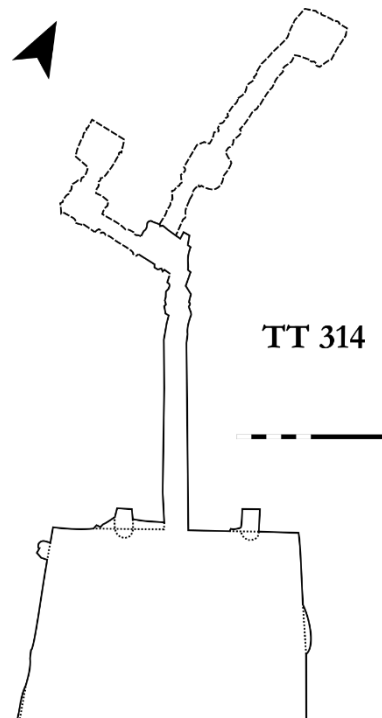


Figure 187. Plan of TT 314

A subsidiary tomb, located in the courtyard (TT 314A), was discovered by Chudzik during the 2013-2014 season. Within the tomb, a mix of '*pottery, shabti figurines and wooden elements of chests and coffins*' was discovered (Chudzik 2015b, 243-244), dated to the Middle Kingdom and the Late Period by the excavator.

Bibliography:

Soliman 2009, 128-131; Chudzik 2015b, 243-244; Morales *et al.* 2016; Chudzik, Caban 2019.

TT 315 (MMA 516)

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari slope ('North Asasif')

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 188)

Royal/private: private (Ipi, vizier)

Dating: 12th dynasty (Amenemhat I)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: Third Intermediate Period (1 burial), Late Period-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)

Dating criteria: ushebtis, cartonnages, pottery

Remarks:

TT 315, currently under investigation by the Middle Kingdom Theban Project, was excavated by Winlock, but the results of his works were never published. Objects from later periods, recovered during the MKTP excavations, were discovered everywhere in the tomb (Morales *et al.* 2016, 264). Among these were: mummy fragments, pottery (dated by its excavators to the Third Intermediate Period, Ptolemaic and Roman Periods), cartonnage pieces, coffins, and ushebtis (Morales *et al.* 2016, 264; 275-279; Morales *et al.* 2017, 178; Morales *et al.* 2018, 201).

Of the aforementioned finds, only ushebtis have been published so far (Sánchez Casado 2017). Four groups of statuettes were identified: Group I (worker ushebtis, burnt clay painted blue), dated by the author to the 21st or 22nd dynasties, Group II (worker ushebtis, dark blue faience), dated to the Late Period to early Ptolemaic era, Group III (worker ushebtis, burnt and unburnt clay, unpainted), dated to the 22nd dynasty to early Ptolemaic Period, and Group IV (overseer ushebtis, burnt clay painted blue), dated to the Libyan Period (Sánchez Casado 2017, 178-187).

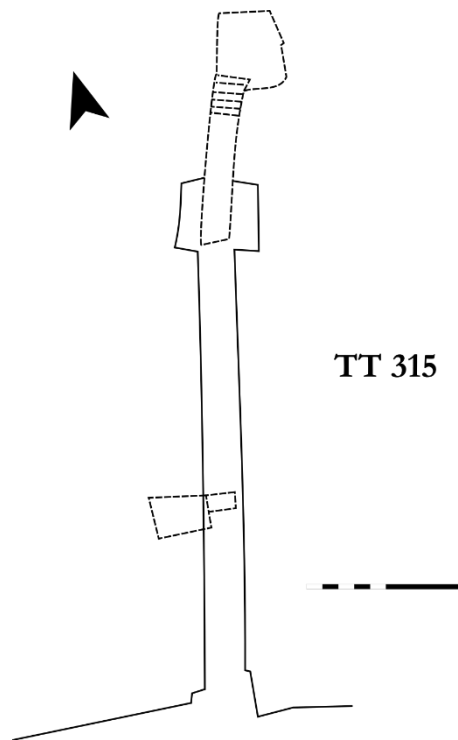


Figure 188. Plan of TT 315

The tomb was reused at least once in the Third Intermediate Period (probably in the 22nd dynasty), but it is unclear if the subsequent phase of reuse took place in the Late Period or in the early Ptolemaic times.

Bibliography:

Winlock 1922, 33-34; Winlock 1942, 55-56; Soliman 2009, 115-119; Morales *et al.* 2016; Morales *et al.* 2017; Sánchez Casado 2017; Morales *et al.* 2018.

TT 316 (MMA 518)

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari slope ('North Asasif')

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Neferhotep, custodian of the bow)

Dating: Middle Kingdom

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning later objects found in TT 316 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Winlock 1923, 19-21; Soliman 2009, 126; Morales *et al.* 2018.

TT 317

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 189)

Royal/private: private (Djehutynfer, scribe in the granary of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: excavator's statement, plan of the tomb

Remarks:

TT 317, investigated by the Waseda University, was probably reused in the first millennium BCE as indicated by the presence of two shafts (one in the transverse hall, and the other in the main corridor), at least one of which is later than the original structure (Kampp 1996, 573). The breakthrough between TT 317 and TT 128 also belongs to the later phase of reuse.

The tomb remains partially published: *'a great number of mummies and human bones were excavated from the hall and the rooms under the inner chamber'* (Anonymous 1991, 19). These were estimated by Morimoto to belong to more than 100 individuals, dated from the 18th dynasty to the end of the Ptolemaic Period (Morimoto 1985, 1). However, since it was not mentioned anywhere how many individuals were buried in the tomb in the period in question, I am forced to assume the minimal number of burials, i.e. 1.

Bibliography:

Morimoto 1985; Anonymous 1991, 19; Kampp 1996, 573.

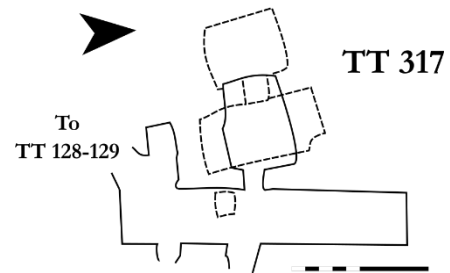


Figure 189. Plan of TT 317

TT 318

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Amenmose, necropolis stonemason)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

In the publication commemorating the Japanese excavations in Egypt, there is a mention of numerous mummies found in TT 318 (Anonymous 1991, 20). It is unclear if the mummies belonged to the original owners of the tomb or can be associated with later reuse of the monument.

Bibliography:

Anonymous 1991, 20; Kampp 1996, 573.

TT 319

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: royal (Neferu, queen of Mentuhotep II)

Dating: 11th dynasty (Mentuhotep II)

Later context

Remarks:

While the tomb of queen Neferu was not reused for burials in the first millennium BCE, it is an interesting example of another kind of reuse. During the construction of the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari in the 18th dynasty, an additional entrance to the tomb was cut (the original one being blocked as a result of the building activity), enabling pilgrims to enter the monument and leave their inscriptions on the walls (Peden 2001, 71-72). Further activity in the tomb took place much later: *‘In late dynastic times the chapel had been turned into a factory for the making of limestone dishes, and the chips left after the walls had been turned into bowls and platters represented only a small fraction of the surfaces once sculptured’* (Winlock 1942, 102-103). It was proposed that sculptors working in the Saite tomb of Nespakashuty (TT 312) visited TT 319 at some point, which resulted in the presence of similar motifs in both tombs (Pischikova 1998, 87).

Bibliography:

Winlock 1942, 87; 101-104; 116; 130; Peden 2001; Soliman 2009, 67-75.

TT 320 (‘Royal Cache’, DB 320)

Original context

Location: First Valley

Type of tomb: other (Figure 40)

Royal/private: royal (Ahmose Nefertari, queen of Ahmose I)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep I)

Later context

Remarks:

See *Excursus*.

TT 321

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Khaemopet, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

According to Bruyère, the only finds from the tomb were fragments of human mummies. No date for these remains can be proposed (Bruyère 1925b, 72-73).

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1925b, 72-73.

TT 322

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 190)

Royal/private: private (Penshenabu, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

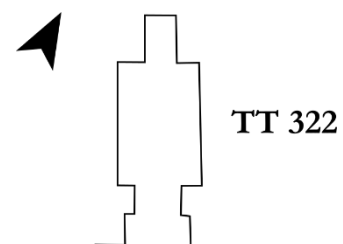


Figure 190. Plan of TT 322

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Late Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

During Bruyère's works in the tomb, green faience ushebtis belonging to a man named Bakenkhonsu were discovered. There were reis (my type 1b) and worker type (Bruyère 1925b, 59). The green colour of ushebtis indicates a date in the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period. Apart from these, remains of yellow coffins were mentioned in the final report, but these could be remains of the original burial equipment.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1925b, 56-59.

TT 323

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 191)

Royal/private: private (Pashedu, draughtsman in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Seti I)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 4

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Late Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

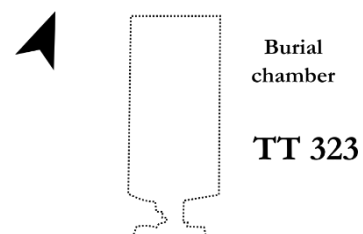


Figure 191. Plan of TT 323

Remarks:

During Bruyère's excavations, several hundred clay ushebtis were discovered, some clearly datable to the first millennium BCE: they were painted green and belong to men named Padikhonsu and Bakenamun (Bruyère 1925b, 88). Apart from these, the following figurines could be dated to the Third Intermediate Period: of Pasherienmut (clay, overseer and worker; my types 1 and 2), Iusemut (blue faience, my type 2), Bakenkhonsu (blue faience, my type 3), and anonymous statuettes (blue faience and clay) (Bruyère 1925b, 88-89; Valbelle 48; 50-53; Aston, D. 2009a, 254). Bakenkhonsu's ushebtis were also found in TT 9 and TT 322. Additionally, remains of 27 individuals (14 men, 11 women and two children) without coffins were found; however, according to Bruyère, they all belong to the family of the original owner of the tomb (Bruyère 1925b, 86).

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1925b, 80-90; Valbelle 1972, 48; 52-53; Aston, D. 2009a, 254.

TT 324**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 192)

Royal/private: private (Hatiay, overseer of the priests of all the gods)

Dating: 18th-19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 750 BCE or later

Dating criteria: bead net

Remarks:

The tomb of Hatiay, excavated by Mond, bore traces of extensive reuse in the late dynastic era. According to Yeivin: *‘Certain it is that passage B provided a great quantity of cheap blue faience beads of a late type, and a number of wooden figures of Anubis in a very broken state; also a large number of fragments of wooden and cartonnage coffins, and a number of human bones. Chambers II and II,2 contained a quantity of plundered mummies (Pl. VI, fig. 4), but this was nothing when compared with chamber II,1, where a vast number of dried mummies were piled up almost to the ceiling in a state of disorder (...) All of them have been plundered, probably in ancient times’* (Yeivin 1926, 15).

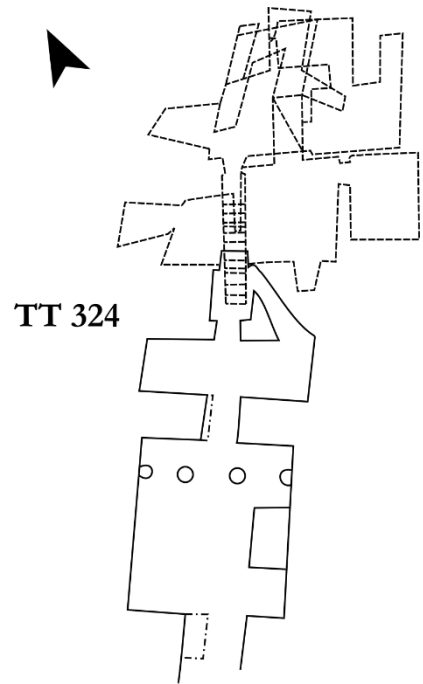


Figure 192. Plan of TT 324

What he came across was probably a robbers' cache or a choachytes' storeroom, hence one has to be very cautious estimating the number of the deceased. *‘Cheap blue faience beads of late type’* probably indicate the presence of bead nets, hence at least one burial must be dated to 750 BCE or later. It was Yeivin's supposition, based on the rough workmanship of 'passage B' and 'pit B', that the sloping passage was enlarged at some point (Yeivin 1926, 15).

Kampp suggested that remains of the mudbrick wall in the courtyard may belong to the later phase of the tomb's reuse (Kampp 1996, 575-576).

Bibliography:

Yeivin 1926, 11-16; Davies, N. 1948, 42-48; Kampp 1996, 574-577; Chollier 2014.

TT 325

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 193)

Royal/private: private (Smen?)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

According to Bruyère, ‘une niche pour stèle de fond était creusée au centre de la paroi ouest de la chapelle, en face de l’entrée: à une époque postérieure, sans doute, on en fit un puits de descente dans les caveaux en creusant son sol et en construisant, à 1 mètre au dessus de l’ouverture avec des briques d’un autre modèle plus récent, un berceau en chaînette presque ogival. Les caveaux ne sont que des grottes, sans construction interne, et de petites dimensions’ (Bruyère 1925b, 100). The exact dating of the feature remains unknown; the underground rooms are not marked on the plan of the tomb. No publication of objects from this tomb is known to me, although Valbelle lists ushebtis of Nekhonsu as originating from the surroundings of TT 325 (Valbelle 1972, 60-61). They can, however, be intrusive as figurines supposedly of the same person were found also in TT 339.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1925b, 100-102; Valbelle 1972, 60-61.

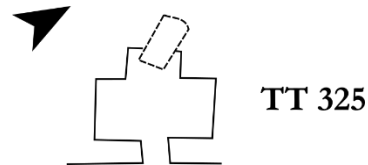


Figure 193. Plan of TT 325

TT 326

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Pashedu, foreman)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: ‘Basse Époque’

Dating criteria: excavator’s statement

Remarks:

During the clearance of the superstructure of TT 326, a small deposit was discovered, consisting of the following objects: *‘un morceau de chiffon de basse époque, enveloppant un fragment d’oushebtî de faïence bleue, et un débris de maxillaire inférieur humain sur lequel, à l’encre noire, était dessinée une série de signes noirs en forme de S’* (Bruyère 1924, 39), suggesting that the tomb was reused as some point.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1924, 38-48.

TT 327

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Turebey, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

The only object from TT 327 known to me is a pyramidion with the name of the original owner of the tomb.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1937, 31-32.

TT 328

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Hay, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 328 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1925b, Pl. I.

TT 329

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 194)

Royal/private: private (Mose and Ipy, Servants in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

In Gauthier's report from clearance of TT 329, several objects discovered in the tomb were listed: ostraca (hieratic, demotic, Greek and Coptic), funerary cones, ushebti, fragments of wooden coffins, remains of wall decoration, stelae, and human remains (Gauthier 1920, 12). None of them were described in detail; however, it seems certain that the tomb was reused at some point. Bruyère remarked on the presence of a large number of mummies (mostly intact), but they were stolen before any examination of the remains could be conducted. Additionally, some fragments of coffins of unknown date, and a wooden ushebti came to light in the underground chambers of the tomb (Bruyère 1927, 76).

Remains of a wall were excavated in the courtyard: '*Une cour encadrée de murs de pierres forme une terrasse de 5 mètres de largeur nord-sud et de 3 m. 50 environ de longueur. Elle est commune à deux chapelles, mais un petit mur, de date plus récente, la coupait en deux dans le sens de la longueur et rendait ainsi les deux chapelles*

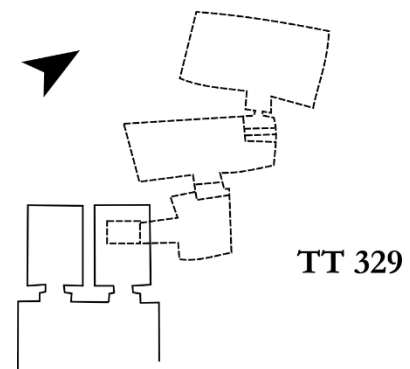


Figure 194. Plan of TT 329

relativement indépendantes’ (Bruyère 1927, 74). It is unclear whether ‘*date plus récente*’ means modern era or an earlier period.

Bibliography:

Gauthier 1920, 11-12; Bruyère 1927, 74-80.

TT 330

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 195)

Royal/private: private (Kar, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: ushebti

Remarks:

Several objects were discovered during excavations in TT 330, some of them belonging to Kar and his family, and some to persons whose relationship with the original owner could not be established. A fragment of a blue faience ushebti of [...]opet, ‘*quelques poteries*’, a mummy label, and a mummy cloth with the name Apollonios, datable to the Graeco-Roman Period, come from this tomb (Bruyère 1925b, 97).

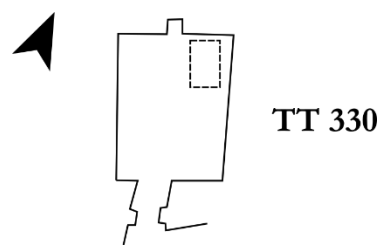


Figure 195. Plan of TT 330

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1925b, 93-97.

TT 331**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIb (Figure 79)

Royal/private: private (Paenniut, priest of Montu)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnage

Remarks:

Excavations in the tomb were conducted by Mond and Emery. The results of these works were published by Yeivin, who mistakenly gave the tomb number 336; other authors followed Yeivin's numeration. The real TT 336 is located in Deir el-Medina, hence it cannot be the monument in question. Moreover, Davies mentioned Mond and Emery's works in his publication of the nearby TT 55 (Davies, N. 1948, 53).

In Yeivin's report, the following statement can be found: *'In the right-hand wall of the inner hall opens a small staircase leading into a sloping passage which after making five bends leads into a square chamber. Nothing whatsoever, except broken bones and*

a few fragments of very late cartonnage coffins, was found in the chamber and the passage' (Yeivin 1926, 10-11). The south part of the tomb was left unexcavated.

Aston dated these cartonnages to the period between 930 and 700 BCE, but a later date, in the Graeco-Roman Period, cannot be excluded. Yeivin's description of the underground structure suggests that the aforementioned objects were found in the original Ramesside sloping passage.

Bibliography:

Yeivin 1926, 10-11; Davies, N. 1948; Kampp 1996, 577; Aston, D. 2009a, 235-236.

TT 332

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa

Royal/private: private (Penrenenutet, chief watchman of the granary of the estate of Amun)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 577.

TT 333

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 333 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Anonymous 1991, 21; Kampp 1996, 577-578.

TT 334

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 334 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 579.

TT 335

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 196)

Royal/private: private (Nakhtamun, sculptor)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II to Merenptah)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: ‘postérieurs à la XXe dynastie’

Dating criteria: excavator’s statement

Remarks:

Several objects were discovered during Bruyère’s works in TT 335: the majority of them (including cartonnage cases) belonged to the original owner of the tomb and his family. However, coffin fragments ‘*postérieurs à la XXe dynastie*’ are also listed among finds from the tomb (Bruyère 1926, 175).

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, 113-178; Aston, D. 2009a, 254.

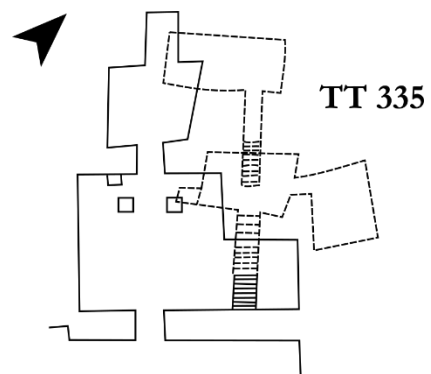


Figure 196. Plan of TT 335

TT 336

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 197)

Royal/private: private (Neferrenpet, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II to Merenptah)

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 13

Dating: 21st dynasty (1 burial), 22nd dynasty (11 burials), 750 BCE or later (1 burial)

Dating criteria: coffins, bead net, ushebtis

Remarks:

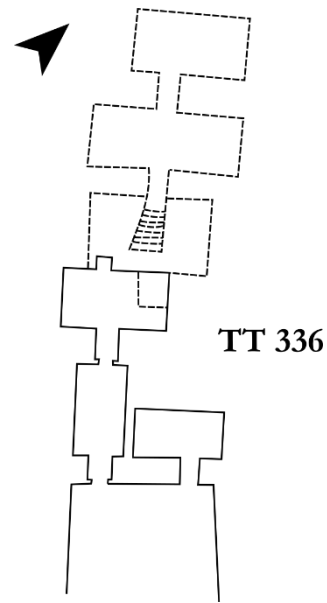


Figure 197. Plan of TT 336

The underground chambers of the tomb of Neferrenpet, excavated by Bruyère, proved to be filled with debris. Mixed with objects belonging to the original owner of the tomb were numerous remains coming from the phase of later reuse of the tomb, including: 11 coffin sets, comprising one or two coffins (*'presque tous les cercueils rassemblés dans ce caveau sont en bois peint en noir, de forme anthropoïde; perruque osirienne cachant les oreilles; corps entièrement enveloppé sans bras ni mains apparents; pas de collier; aucun détail d'autre couleur que le noir; visages allongés et délicats, lèvres fines, yeux à relief modéré'*); the only recorded name was that of Muthotep), among which 8 had mummies inside (five female, one male, two unidentified), seventy four mummies without coffins (some decapitated, possibly by tomb robbers), pottery ushebtis of a *wab* priest named Djedkhonsu (*'peinte en jaune, vert ou bleu'*), blue faience 'genii' (baboon and hawk), beads (probably from bead nets), blue faience ushebtis of Nesamun (worker and overseer), blue faience ushebtis of Amun-Ra (worker and overseer), and some uninscribed pottery ushebtis. In the chapel, some demotic ostraca were found (Bruyère 1926, 105-113).

Bruyère suspected that some of the remains may be intrusive; however, it is safe to assume that the tomb was reused at least twice in the first millennium BCE. The 'black' coffins come from the 22nd dynasty, therefore I tentatively date 11 burials to

this period, although it cannot of course be ruled out that the coffins were reused for later interments. Bruyère himself dated the later burials in the tomb to the Saite Period, although he did not exclude the possibility that some of the human remains from the tomb could belong to the family of the original owner (Bruyère 1926, 111). The presence of beads and amulets from bead nets indicates that at least one burial could be dated to 750 BCE or later. Onderka, after Valbelle, dated Nesamun's ushebtis (my type 2a) to the 21st dynasty (Valbelle 1972, 49; Onderka 2014, 178), while the green colour of Djedkhonsu's figurines places them in the Libyan Period at the earliest. Ushebtis of Amun-Ra, Nesamun, and Djedkhonsu were dated by Valbelle to the Third Intermediate Period; Djedkhonsu's ushebtis were also found in DM 1026 (Valbelle 1972, 59; 70). No new architectural features can be associated with these later burials, hence my attribution to type 1.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, 80-113; Valbelle 1972, 49; 59; 70; 75; Aston, D. 2009a, 254; Onderka 2014, 178-179.

TT 337

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 198)

Royal/private: private (Ken, sculptor)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: '21st-22nd dynasty' (1 burial), 740 BCE

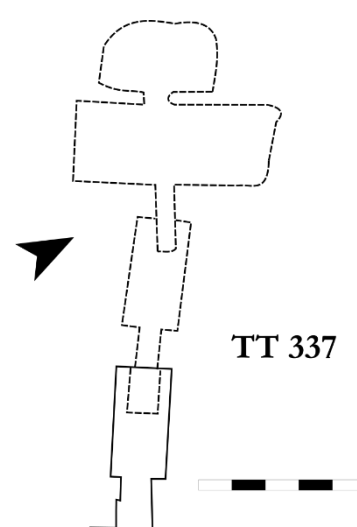


Figure 198. Plan of TT 337

or later (1 burial)

Dating criteria: new decoration, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

The reuse of TT 337 included the addition of new scenes to the existing ones. The new owner (dated to the Ramesside Period by Bruyère, and to the 21st or 22nd dynasty by Porter, Moss, and Manniche) was Neskhonsu, whose decoration is partially preserved in the burial chamber (Bruyère 1926, 78-79; Porter, Moss 1960, 406; Manniche 2011, 73).

Numerous objects were found in the tomb; however, their dating is uncertain. They include: a large number of coffin fragments (one coffin belonging to a girl), mummy bandages, pottery, 384 anepigraphic ushebtis (reis and worker types), and two clay ushebtis of Henut[...]. Human remains, including two mummies of children, were also discovered (Bruyère 1926, 79-80; Valbelle 1972, 74; Onderka 2014, 182). A linen fragment with the name of Hor can be dated to 740 BCE or later, owing to the late spelling of the name of Osiris (Bruyère 1926, 79; Aston, D. 2009a, 254).

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, 76-80; Porter, Moss 1960, 405-406; Valbelle 1972, 74; Aston, D. 2009a, 254; Manniche 2011, 73; Onderka 2014, 182.

TT 338

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (May, draughtsman of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 338 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, 192-193.

TT 339

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 199)

Royal/private: private (Huy and Pashedu, Servants in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 21st dynasty

Dating criteria: shabti box

Remarks:

A large number of various objects were discovered during excavations in the tomb. The majority of them belonged to its original owners and their family, but some are clearly later. The latter include ushebtis of the following persons: Neskhonsu (worker figurines of blue faience, worker and overseer statuettes of clay painted green), Amenemsaf (worker and overseer statuettes of blue faience), Djedkhonsuiusankh

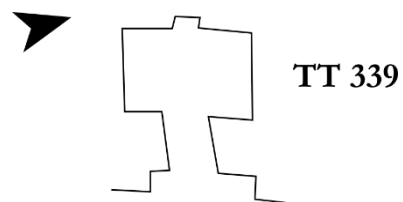


Figure 199. Plan of TT 339

(worker and overseer statuettes), Tashedenkonsu (worker statuettes of clay painted white), and a chantress of Amun and lady of the house named Tabakenkhonsu (worker statuettes of clay painted white). Additionally, a shabti box of a chantress (the name of the divinity is illegible) called Djedkhonsuiusankh was found (Aston type VIa, datable to the 21st dynasty). Some human remains, including a woman's head, were also discovered, as well as undated coffin fragments and pottery sherds (Bruyère 1925b, 79; Bruyère 1926, 54-60; Valbelle 1972, 60; 65-66; 70-71; Aston, D. 2009a, 255).

The popularity of theophoric names including the name of Khonsu among the women interred in the tomb, was remarked on by Bruyère: '*Cette collection d'oushebtis, très variée comme richesse de matière et d'exécution, est remarquable par la fréquence des noms composés avec Khonsou. Ce dieu thébain est surtout en faveur au début de la XIXe dynastie et beaucoup plus tard vers la XXIIe dynastie*' (Bruyère 1926, 60). It is unclear if one is dealing with a family burial or a 'professional cluster'.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1925b, 73-79; Bruyère 1926, 51-61; Valbelle 1972, 60-61; 70-71; Aston, D. 2009a, 255.

TT 340

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Amenemhat, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 340 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1926, 64-76; Cherpion 1999.

TT 341**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Nakhtamun, head of the altar in the Ramesseum)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context**Remarks:**

The tomb bears no trace of reuse in the first millennium BCE.

Bibliography:

Mond, Emery 1927, 31-33; Davies, N. 1948, 31-41; Kampp 1996, 579-581.

TT 342**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd

Royal/private: private (Thutmose, royal herald)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

The tomb bears no trace of reuse in the first millennium BCE.

Bibliography:

Mond, Emery 1927, 22-23; Kampp 1996, 581-582.

TT 343

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 200)

Royal/private: private (Benia, also known as Pahekamen, overseer of works)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 1 or 2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'late period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

During clearance of the tomb by Mond and Emery, remains of five plundered mummies were found on top of the debris, while further 16 mummies, together with fragments of coffins '*of a late period*', fragments of a painted wooden box dated by the excavators to the Ptolemaic Period, a piece of a limestone door jamb, and a lid of a limestone canopic jar (Hapi's head), were discovered in the underground tunnel

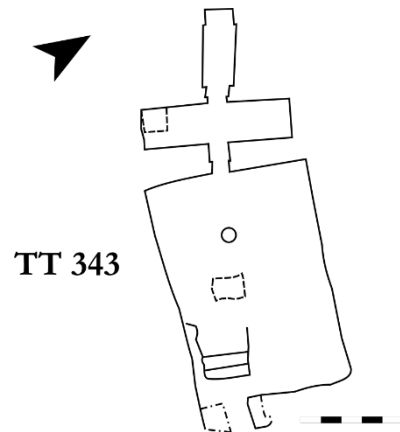


Figure 200. Plan of TT 343

connecting the courtyard shaft and the shaft located in the transverse hall (Mond, Emery 1927, 28-29). Both shafts are probably original (Kampp 1996, 583), so either the original structure was reused in the first millennium BCE, or some enlargement took place, connecting the two features.

Bibliography:

Mond, Emery 1927, 28-29; Guksch 1978; Kampp 1996, 582-584.

TT 344

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (*Sonderform*) (Figure 201)

Royal/private: private (Piay, overseer of the herds of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a or 4a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Late Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

The tomb of Piay, currently investigated by the Hungarian archaeological mission, was inaccessible to scholars for over a century and only the recent cleaning revealed its entrance. The monument is not fully cleared yet, but the shaft (side chamber?) in the east wall of the entrance corridor is later than the original structure. In the vicinity to the 'shaft', parts of wooden coffins '*from the Late Period*', mummy bandage,

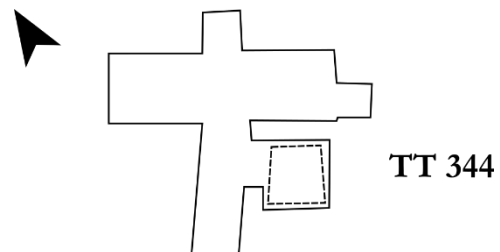


Figure 201. Plan of TT 344

human remains, painted and unpainted pottery, ushebtis, and several funerary cones were discovered (Vanek 2011, 317).

Bibliography:

Gauthier 1908; Petrie 1909, 11; Kampp 1996, 584; Vanek 2011.

TT 345

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 202)

Royal/private: royal (Amenhotep, eldest son of Thutmose I)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose I to Hatshepsut)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

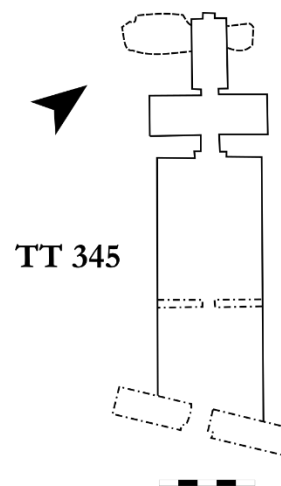


Figure 202. Plan of TT 345

The tomb of Amenhotep (called 'Thotsenb' by the excavator) was cleared by Mond and Emery (Mond, Emery 1927, 30). According to the report from these works, no objects were found, except for some funerary cones from the courtyard. However, the plan of the tomb suggests that two side chambers were added at some point, probably during the phase of its reuse in the first millennium BCE. According to Kampp, the remains of a mudbrick building in the courtyard (pylon?) can be later than the original structure (Kampp 1996, 584).

Bibliography:

Mond, Emery 1927, 30; Kampp 1996, 584.

TT 346

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 203)

Royal/private: private (Amenhotep, overseer of the royal harim)

Dating: 20th dynasty (Ramesses IV)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 21st-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

During Mond's excavations in TT 346, a group of objects was discovered; unfortunately, they were mentioned in the final report briefly and selectively. Among the '*objects of interest*' were three ushebtis of blue faience inscribed for Ramose, discovered in 'Pit 1' located in front of the entrance (Mond, Emery 1927, 25). The figurines (my type 2) may come from a later interment in the tomb, although their exact date remains unknown.

According to the excavators, the mudbrick construction at the tomb's entrance should be dated to the Ramesside Period, but no evidence to support this claim was presented.

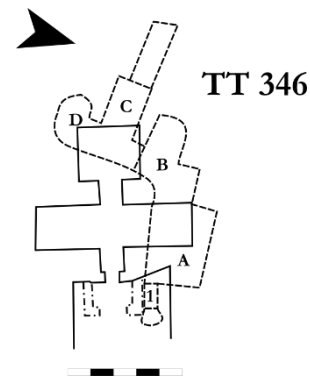


Figure 203. Plan of TT 346

Bibliography:

Mond, Emery 1927, 23-25; Davies, N. 1948, 55-56; Polz 1990; Kampp 1996, 585-586.

TT 347**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa or Va

Royal/private: private (Hori, scribe of the nome)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context**Remarks:**

No publication of objects found in TT 347 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 586; Chermette 2003b, 178.

TT 348**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 204)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 21st-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: decoration

Remarks:

The tomb was reused by a man called Naamutnakht, door opener in the domain of Amun, who is depicted in the courtyard and on the lintel together with his wife and son (Porter, Moss 1960, 415). The phase of reuse was dated to the 21st-22nd (Manniche 2011, 73), 22nd (Porter, Moss 1960, 415; Polz 1990, 314; Kampp 1996, 586; Chermette 2003b, 177), or 25th dynasty (Jansen-Winkeln 2009, 498). The tomb was never published.

Bibliography:

Fakhry 1947, 40-41; Porter, Moss 1960, 415; Polz 1990, 314; Kampp 1996, 586; Chermette 2003b, 177; Jansen-Winkeln 2009, 498; Manniche 2011, 73.

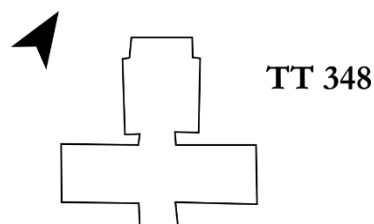


Figure 204. Plan of TT 348

TT 349

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IVa

Royal/private: private (Tjay, overseer of fowl-houses)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

The only find from TT 349 known to me is a sandstone stela which, according to Kampp, is later than the original structure, but no further details are provided (Nasr 1985, 98; Kampp 1996, 587).

Bibliography:

Nasr 1985; Kampp 1996, 586-587.

TT 350

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 350 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 587-588.

TT 351 (perhaps identical with Kampp -326- or -327-)

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Abau, scribe of horses)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 588.

TT 352 (perhaps identical with Kampp -325-)

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 588.

TT 353

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari

Type of tomb: other (Figure 205)

Royal/private: private (Senenmut, chief steward)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Late Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

I know of no object later than the 18th dynasty originating from 'the other' tomb of the famous Senenmut (the first one being TT 71). However, according to the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavation records published by Dorman, several intact Late Period embalmers' caches were discovered in the quarry in which the tomb had been cut. The caches were located in the sand along the east face of the brick dump of Amenhotep I, on the north side of the quarry (Dorman 1991, 87). This could indicate that the tomb was reused during the first millennium BCE, although its reuse is by no means certain.

Bibliography:

Dorman 1991.

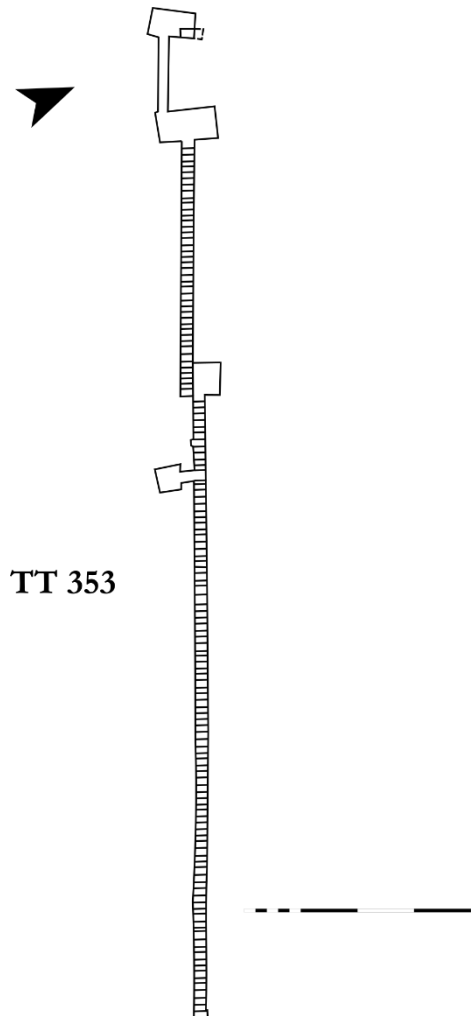


Figure 205. Plan of TT 353

TT 354

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV)

Later context

Remarks:

The tomb bears no trace of reuse.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1928, 101-108; Cherpion 1999.

TT 355

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 206)

Royal/private: private (Amenpahapy)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period

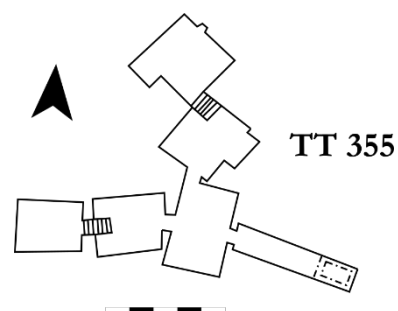


Figure 206. Plan of TT 355

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

Blue faience ushebtis (my type 3a) belonging to Iymy were discovered in the tomb (Valbelle 1972, 47). Iymy's ushebtis were found also in TT 359 and the neighbourhood of TT 218, 268, 329, and DM 1343-1351. According to Aston, the following objects come from this tomb: '*cartonnage, mummies 'du nouvel empire et de basse époque', uninscribed shabti box*' (Aston, D. 2009a, 255). I was unable to find a reference to these finds in Bruyère's reports.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1928, 115-117; Valbelle 1972, 47; Aston, D. 2009a, 255.

TT 356

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Amenemuya, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Seti I to Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

None of the objects mentioned in the excavation report (Bruyère 1929, 93) can be securely dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1929, 76-119.

TT 357

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Djehutyhermaktuf, Servant in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

None of the objects mentioned in the excavation report (Bruyère 1930, 70-85) can be securely dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1930, 70-85; Andreu 1985.

TT 358 (MMA 65)

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari

Type of tomb: other (Figure 207)

Royal/private: royal (Merytamun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep I to Thutmose I)

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: intact

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 21st dynasty

Dating criteria: mummy board, funerary papyri

Remarks:

The tomb was discovered by Winlock under the temple of Hatshepsut (directly below the north portico of the temple's second terrace) and subsequently cleared and published. Despite Winlock's suggestion that the tomb postdates the construction of the temple, both Aston's study of grave goods (Aston, D. 2009a, 202) and Wysocki's analysis of

the architecture confirm that it is earlier than the reign of Hatshepsut. Wysocki proposed that it was hewn in the 11th dynasty (Wysocki 1984, 342) and reused in the 18th dynasty for the burial of queen Merytamun, but Aston's recent work on the architecture of the 18th dynasty queenly tombs (Aston, D. 2015) offers convincing arguments against this hypothesis.

Scattered remains of Merytamun's burial equipment (the tomb had been robbed at least twice) were found inside the tomb (her coffin in the main crypt), but of interest here is an intact burial of a 21st dynasty princess named Nany (Aston TG 837). Although the burial was discovered undisturbed, Nany's grave goods were dispersed throughout the tomb. No 21st dynasty burial equipment was found inside the protective well, the corridors leading to the burial chamber and in the chamber itself, which means that most likely it was the well that became an insurmountable obstacle for the people involved in Nany's funeral. It seems that either something interrupted the funeral or Nany was buried in such a haste that proper placement of the mummy and grave goods inside the tomb was not important. The tomb was then blocked with a crude wall of bricks and limestone chips (no mortar).

It seems that all the chambers are original, although the function of the side chamber, adjacent to the second corridor of the tomb, is unknown. Winlock had the idea that the room was started as a corridor leading to the burial chamber, but it was abandoned

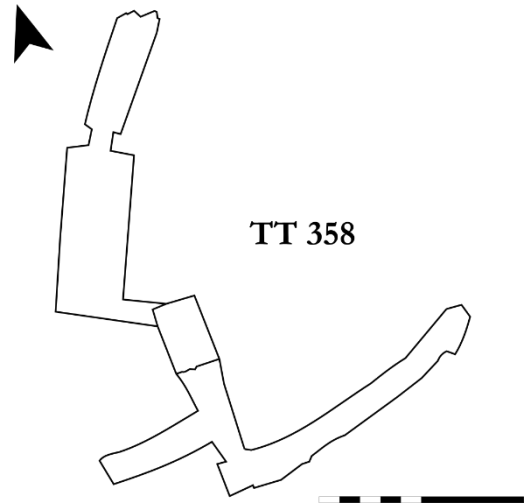


Figure 207. Plan of TT 358

once the temple foundations were hit. This, however, cannot be the case if the tomb predates the temple. The chamber might indeed represent an attempt to start a new corridor which perhaps was abandoned due to the poor quality of the rock. In the plan of TT 320 ('The Royal Cache', originally an 18th dynasty queenly tomb) a similar feature can be noticed, dubbed 'Niche E' by Aston. It was proposed that the niche represents '*the equivalent of the short corridor, E*, [the corridor leading from the protective well to the antechamber of the burial chamber] *in TT 358*' (Aston, D. 2015, 21), but perhaps it looks more like the equivalent of the aforementioned side chamber. In the light of available evidence, it is impossible to establish the precise chronology of the room and therefore I assume it is original (hence my attribution of Nany's burial to type 1).

Nany was about seventy years old at the time of her death (Winlock 1930, 19). Her mummy was found inside the innermost wooden coffin with a wig on her head and her grey hair dyed. A folded papyrus, containing an abbreviated version of Amduat (Niwiński type A.I.1), and a faience plaque with a winged scarab painted on it, were found on Nany's chest. The coffin with a body was discovered lying in the first corridor, while its lid was dropped on the floor of the side chamber. The outer coffin, its lid, and a mummy board were found in the second corridor of the tomb. The coffins were usurped from Nany's mother, but they were never published (Aston, D. 2009a, 202). In the entrance to the tomb, on the pile of rubble and pottery coming from earlier plundering and restoration, seven shabti boxes (with blue faience figurines of my types 1a and 2a) were found, all Nany's. In one of the baskets left near the entrance, a headless Osiris figure (Bielesch type 1) was discovered; its head was found in the entrance. Inside the statuette, a papyrus with the elaborately illustrated Book of the Dead (Niwiński type BD.III.1A) came to light. Finally, floral wreaths (made of lotus flowers and Persea and palm leaves) were found on the mummy and the floor next to it.

Bibliography:

Winlock 1929; Winlock 1930; Winlock 1932b; Winlock 1942, 176-200; Thomas 1966, 175-176; Wysocki 1984; Aston, D. 2009a, 202; Aston, D. 2015; MMA website, Overseer Shabti of Nany [MMA 30.3.30.2]; MMA website, Worker Shabti of Nany [MMA 30.3.30.54].

TT 359

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 208)

Royal/private: private (Inherkhauy, Overseer in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 20th dynasty (Ramesses III to Ramesses IV)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 22nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic
Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

Fragments of coffins, cartonnage pieces with the titles of a lady of the house and chantress of Amun, fragments of a cartonnage belonging to a man, funerary statuettes of Iymy (faience) and Nesikhonsu (green faience, pottery, workers and overseers), as well as several anonymous ushebtis made of faience and painted pottery were discovered during French excavations in the tomb (Bruyère 1933, 105-109; Valbelle 1972, 60; Aston, D. 2009a, 255; Onderka 2014, 185). According to Valbelle, figurines of three different women, all named likewise, were discovered in the tomb. However, I was unable to verify this statement, hence I assumed the minimal number, i.e. 1. Nothing can be said about the precise context of these finds. The green colour of Nesikhonsu's ushebtis points to a date in the 22nd dynasty or later.

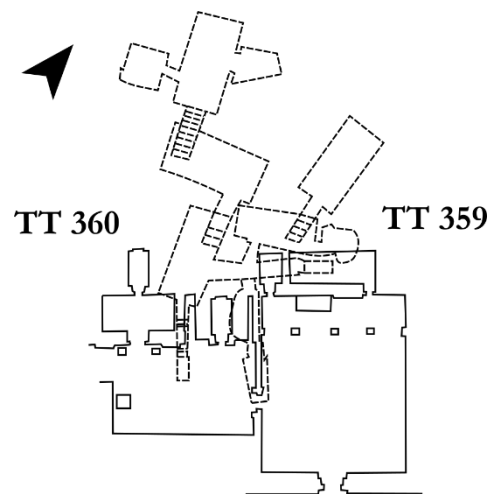


Figure 208. Plan of TT 359 and TT 360

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1924, 67-68; Bruyère, 1933, 32-70; 90-109; Valbelle 1972, 60-61; Aston, D. 2009a, 255; Cherpion, Corteggiani 2010; Onderka 2014, 185.

TT 360**Original context**

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other (Figure 208)

Royal/private: private (Kaha, foreman)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: 2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: ushebtis, cartonnage

Remarks:

According to Bruyère, the tomb was ‘usurped’ by Nesikhonsu: ‘*A l’entrée de cette première salle gisaient les restes calcinés de la cuve du cercueil peint de la dame Nu, épouse d’Anherkhaoui et, dans les terres qui remplissaient la salle nous avons recueilli de nombreux oushebtis et des fragments importants du cartonnage de momie de la dame Nesi khonsou. (...) Ce caveau [Salle C] a été usurpé et l’on a taillé au milieu d’une fresque de la paroi sud un petit couloir voûté et blanchi qui débouche dans une salle très petite D, également voutée et blanchie, sur le sol damé de laquelle étaient entassés de nombreux oushebtis de Nesi khonsou. La paroi nord du caveau de Qaha avait elle-même été perforée et l’on avait creusé derrière elle une grotte E pour*

y enterrer quelque autre usurpateur' (Bruyère 1933, 76-77). The presence of the cartonnage points to a date in the 22nd or 25th dynasty; such dating is supported by Nesikhonsu's ushebtis (see TT 359). The date of the other 'usurpation' remains unknown.

Bibliography:

Bruyère, 1933, 71-82; 84-109; Valbelle 1972, 60-61; Aston, D. 2009a, 255.

TT 361

Original context

Location: Deir el-Medina

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Huy, great carpenter in the Place of Truth)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Seti I)

Later context

Remarks:

None of the objects mentioned in the excavation report (Bruyère 1933, 82-109) can be safely dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period.

Bibliography:

Bruyère, 1933, 82-109.

TT 362

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 73)

Royal/private: private (Paanemwaset, priest of Amun)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 12

Dating: 22nd-26th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnages, wall decoration

Remarks:

TT 362, currently investigated by the Neferhotep Project, was reused at least twice in the first millennium BCE: in the early Late Period and in the Ptolemaic era (Pereyra *et al.* 2015, 41-47). The shaft located in the west part of the transverse hall, provided with a small ‘dromos’, starting by the tomb’s entrance (Pereyra *et al.* 2015, 43) can be associated with the first reuse of the tomb. According to the excavators, chisel marks visible on the walls of the shaft indicate the use of iron tools (placing its construction in the first millennium BCE), but perhaps the most important for these considerations is the scene painted directly above the shaft’s mouth: two kneeling figures are represented, male and female, both in the gesture of adoration and (at least in the case of the man) of distinctively Nubian features (Pereyra *et al.* 2015, Fig. 35). The excavators date the style of clothing of the depicted figures to the 26th dynasty, although this style was in fashion already in the Kushite Period. The presence of cartonnages discovered in the shaft would also point to a slightly earlier date, although the possibility of extended use of the shaft cannot be excluded. Some ushebtis, bandages, and remains of 12 individuals were discovered in the tomb.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 589; Pereyra *et al.* 2015.

TT 363

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (*Sonderform*) (Figure 73)

Royal/private: private (Paraemheb, overseer of chanters of Amun)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period-Late Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

TT 363 is currently excavated by the Neferhotep Project (Pereyra *et al.* 2015, 47; Lemos *et al.* 2017, 184). No results have been published so far, although according to the excavators, the tomb was reused at some point in the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period (I thank Rennan Lemos for this information).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 589; Pereyra *et al.* 2015; Lemos *et al.* 2017.

TT 364

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 209)

Royal/private: private (Amenemheb, scribe of the granary of Amun)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 4a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-modern era

Dating criteria: remains of a mudbrick structure in the courtyard

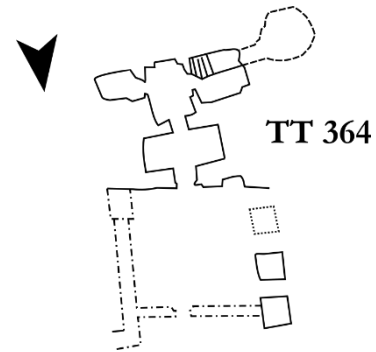


Figure 209. Plan of TT 364

Remarks:

According to Kampp, the remains of the mudbrick wall in the courtyard belong to the phase of reuse (Kampp 1996, 589-590). On the plan of the tomb published by the same author there is also a note that the side chamber adjoining the chapel may be a later feature. No objects from the tomb were published.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 589-590.

TT 365

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Nefermenu, scribe of the treasury of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 365 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 591; Engelmann-v. Carnap 2003.

TT 366 (MMA 820)

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIb (Figure 210)

Royal/private: private (Djar, overseer of the royal harim)

Dating: 11th dynasty (Mentuhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

A ceramic, thickly covered with cursive hieratic inscriptions vessel containing embalming materials was discovered by Winlock in front of the tomb's entrance (Winlock 1932a, 37; Winlock 1942, 220-221). Similar vessels were dated by Aston to the late eighth and seventh century BCE (Aston, D. 2009a, 324). Several side

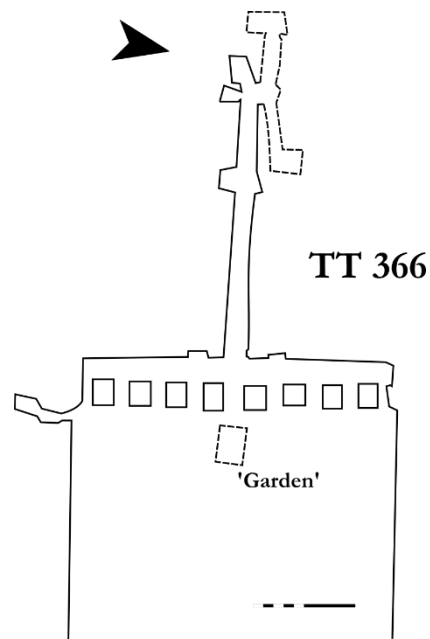


Figure 210. Plan of TT 366

chambers, probably later than the original structure, are visible on the plan of the tomb, and perhaps could be associated with its later reuse.

Two Ptolemaic coffins, allegedly from this tomb, are listed by Porter and Moss (Porter, Moss 1964, 653), but they remain unpublished.

Bibliography:

Winlock 1932a, 32-37; Winlock 1942, 220-221; Porter, Moss 1964, 653; Kampp 1996, 592; Soliman 2009, 85-88.

TT 367

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 211)

Royal/private: private (Paser, captain of archers)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 25th dynasty

Dating criteria: stelae

Remarks:

Two shafts, apparently later than the original complex, were discovered by Fakhry in the pillared hall of TT 367, one of them located in the southwest part of the transverse hall (dubbed 'A') and the other by the northeast wall ('B'). In both shafts, fragments of coffins came to light, as well as wooden stelae (one stela in each shaft) of types V

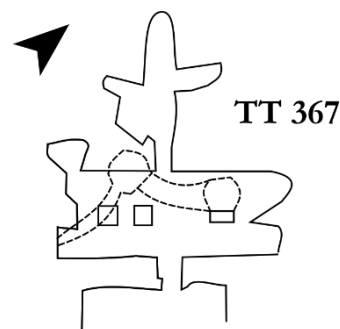


Figure 211. Plan of TT 367

and IV, belonging to Iufaa, priest of Amun (Aston TG 928), and to his father Horwedja (Aston, D. 2009a, 236, against Fakhry), Takeloth III's son-in-law and overseer of the singers of Amun (Aston TG 927). Unfortunately, it remains unknown which burial was found in which shaft. Additionally, in one of the shafts, eight fragments of linen were found (four of them inscribed, and two bearing the name of Taharka) as well as '*quantity of beads which are of the same date*' (Fakhry 1943c, 413). Budka lists burials from TT 367 as belonging to ethnic Kushites on the basis of the presence of Taharka's name on the linen (Budka 2010b, 512), but such a claim seems unfounded to me, as pieces of linen with the name of the ruling monarch might have found its way to the tombs of native Egyptians as well.

A detailed description of neither of the shafts is given, but Fakhry's account of the discovery suggests that both shafts ended with a single chamber, hence my attribution of both burials to type 3a.1.

According to Fakhry, ushebtis of a priest of Amun named Harsiese and his wife were discovered in the tomb; they were dated by him to '*about the XXIIIrd dynasty*' and were '*of poor workmanship*', most of them uninscribed (Fakhry 1943c, 412-413). Lack of details or drawings makes it impossible to establish a precise date for these finds, but since the tomb is well documented as a burial site in the Ptolemaic and Roman times, perhaps they belong to this period.

Bibliography:

Fakhry 1943c; Kampp 1996, 592-593; Aston, D. 2003; Budka 2010b; Aston, D. 2009a, 236.

TT 368

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa

Royal/private: private (Amenhotep, overseer of sculptors of Amun)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 368 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 593.

TT 369

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa

Royal/private: private (Kaemwaset, high priest of Ptah)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds from TT 369 (the southernmost tomb of the so-called ‘Hamboula Group’) is known to me. Secondary passages mentioned by Holthoer as well as mudbrick walls erected inside the tomb most likely originate from the phase of modern reuse of the monument (Holthoer 1984, 73).

Bibliography:

Holthoer 1984; Kampp 1996, 594.

TT 370

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Nebneshem, royal scribe)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II to Merenptah)

Later context

Remarks:

TT 370, another tomb of the 'Hamboula Group', was cleared by Holthoer, but no objects from these works were published. Just like in the case of TT 369, passages and mudbrick structures in the tomb seem to originate from very recent times, when the tomb served as a dwelling (Holthoer 1984, 76).

Bibliography:

Holthoer 1984; Kampp 1996, 594-595.

TT 371

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 371 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 595.

TT 372**Original context**

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: *Sonderform*

Royal/private: private (Amenkhau, overseer of carpenters in the temple of Medinet Habu)

Dating: 20th dynasty (Ramesses III to Ramesses IV)

Later context**Remarks:**

No publication of objects found in TT 372 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 595.

TT 373**Original context**

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIb (Figure 212)

Royal/private: private (Amenmose, scribe)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

**Minimal number of persons
buried:** 3

Dating: 22nd dynasty (1 burial), 27th
dynasty (1 burial), 29th dynasty-early
Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)

Dating criteria: pottery, cartonnage
fragments

Remarks:

Among the objects discovered during excavations in the tomb were: fragments of coffins, fragments of cartonnages (with depictions of two falcons, i.e. of Taylor Phase II), ushebti (78 types of clay statuettes and 12 types of faience ones), and numerous pottery sherds (Seyfried 1990a, 177-291). Some of the vessels were dated by Aston to the 27th dynasty (Aston, D. 1999, 22, n. 65) and some to the fourth-third century BCE (Aston, D. 2003, 162-163). The objects were found scattered in various locations of the tomb. More than 100 individuals were identified among the human remains from the tomb, but it is impossible to date them.

On the plan of the tomb there are numerous features which seem to be later than the original structure ('Seitenkammer 1', '2', 'Schacht I', 'Schacht II', enlargement of the sloping passage), but none of them can be dated precisely. In the enlarged south niche for a statue (Seitenkammer 2), a scene depicting a man named Hormenu and a woman, the chantress of Amun called Tinet[...], can be found (Seyfried 1990a, 93-94). The later scene may be a Ramesside addition, but an even later date is not excluded.

Bibliography:

Seyfried 1990a; Kampp 1996, 595-596; Aston, D. 1999; Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 164.

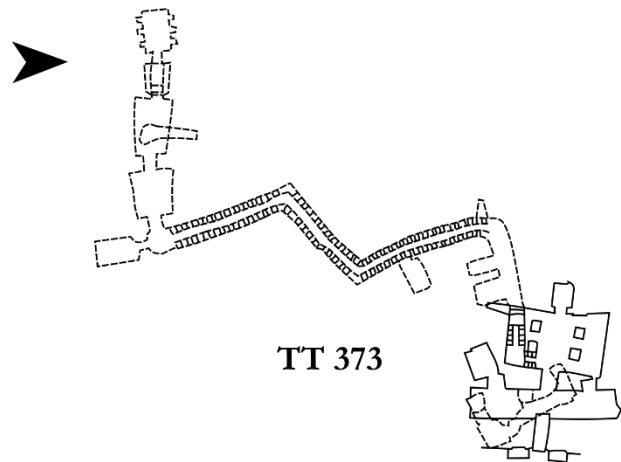


Figure 212. Plan of TT 373

TT 374

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Amenemopet, scribe)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 4

Dating: late 25th-early 26th dynasty (2 burials), 27th dynasty (1 burial), 30th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: canopic jars, cavity in the floor, fragments of Assyrian armour, bead net, pottery, canopic jars, pottery

Remarks:

TT 374, investigated by Redford, was only partly excavated (the two main chambers, 1 and 2, remain unexplored). Fragments of two burials, one belonging to a man and the other to a woman, were discovered in Chamber 3. They comprised a standard set of grave goods (large number of ushebtis, canopic jars, fragments of coffins, pottery) as well as more unusual objects such as scales from an Assyrian armour, interpreted by the excavator as '*a valued souvenir or heirloom from this couple's life*' (Redford, S. 2006, 159-164; 262). The canopic jar fragments were discovered in a cavity in the chamber's floor, which, according to Aston, is typical for the Kushite Period. All of this points to burial in the late 25th or early 26th dynasty.

Other late dynastic remains which come from the tomb belong to Padihorwer, an embalmer of Qus, who seems to have been buried in the tomb in the First Persian Period. His name appears on a sealing discovered in Chamber 3. Several other objects

dated to the 27th dynasty probably come from his interment: faience ushebtis (my type 3b), a bead net with a cartonnage collar tied to it (Silvano type B or C), a large canopic jar set, and pottery (Redford, S. 2006, 261). Several vessels, discovered in the tomb and dated to the 30th dynasty, perhaps attest another burial in that period.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 597; Redford, S. 2006.

TT 375

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 375 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 597.

TT 376

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd

Royal/private: private (Merera)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds other than funerary cones from TT 376 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 597-598.

TT 377

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 213)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Ramesside

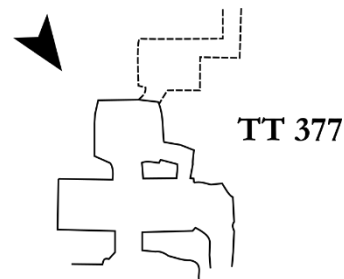


Figure 213. Plan of TT 377

Later context

Remarks:

No publication mentioning finds other than funerary cones from TT 377 is known to me. The breakthrough between the transverse hall and the chapel is clearly later than the original structure, but it does not necessarily have to be associated with reuse for funerary purpose.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 598-599.

TT 378

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vd

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

According to Kampp, the tomb was reused in the Ramesside Period and in the Coptic times (Kampp 1996, 601), but no information on burials in the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period was given.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 599-601.

TT 379

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 214)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2c

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

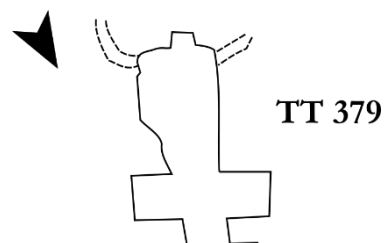


Figure 214. Plan of TT 379

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

According to Kampp, the second sloping passage is later than the original structure. No date for reuse, however, can be proposed. The tomb remains unpublished.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 601.

TT 380

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: unknown

Later context

Remarks:

TT 380, in the majority of publications referred to as a Ptolemaic tomb, is an earlier mortuary monument, reused in the Ptolemaic Period (Strudwick, N. 2003a, 178). No publication mentioning objects from the tomb is known to me.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1934, 93; Strudwick, N. 2003a.

TT 381

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Amenemimenet, royal messenger)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

An unpublished tomb, inhabited at the time of Kampp's survey, therefore its plan remains unknown. Bruyère mentioned some objects from the tomb (Bruyère 1934, 94), but none of them can be dated to any specific period.

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1934, 93-94; Kampp 1996, 601-602.

TT 382

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb

Royal/private: private (Usermontu, overseer of the treasury)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: ‘late’

Dating criteria: excavator’s statement

Remarks:

Almost nothing is known of TT 382, the now lost tomb discovered by Fakhry in 1934 (Kampp 1996, 602). However, Fakhry described the circumstances of his discovery: the tomb was ransacked by modern robbers, who had entered it from the house built above; *‘in the first room, many late mummies were stored but they were savagely cut to pieces by the thieves in search for antiquities. The few objects which were found caused dispute among them and so the whole story came to my ears’* (Fakhry 1936, 129). Unfortunately, none of these objects were published.

Bibliography:

Fakhry 1936; Kampp 1996, 602.

TT 383

Original context

Location: Qurnet Murai

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa or IX

Royal/private: private (Merymose, viceroy of Kush)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

Merymose’s burial equipment was partially published by Varille and Régen (Varille 1940; Régen 2010). No objects later than the 18th dynasty are known to me.

Bibliography:

Varille 1940; Kampp 1996, 602; Régen 2010.

TT 384

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp I

Royal/private: private (Nebmehyt, priest of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 384 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Fakhry 1936; Kampp 1996, 602-603.

TT 385

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp VIII (*Sonderform*)

Royal/private: private (Hunefer, mayor of Thebes)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 385 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Fakhry 1936; Kampp 1996, 603.

TT 386

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIb (Figure 215)

Royal/private: private (Intef, overseer of troops)

Dating: 11th dynasty (Mentuhotep II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 976-768 BCE

Dating criteria: radiocarbon date

Remarks:

Fragment of wood, discovered in the burial chamber and allegedly coming from an intrusive Saite burial, was radiocarbon dated (Berger 1970, 28; Long 1976, 45). After calibration done using OxCal 4.3 (IntCal 13) the result of 976-768 cal.BCE at 95.4% was obtained, thus confirming that at least one burial took place in the tomb in the Third Intermediate Period.

Bibliography:

Berger 1970; Arnold, Di. 1971; Long 1976; Soliman 2009, 93-94.

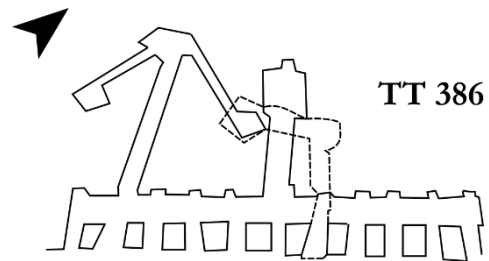


Figure 215. Plan of TT 386

TT 387

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa

Royal/private: private (Meryptah, royal scribe)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 387 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 604.

TT 388

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 26th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 388 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Eigner 1984, 58.

TT 389

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab* (Figure 216)

Royal/private: private (Basa, mayor of Thebes)

Dating: 26th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried:
3

Dating: 30th dynasty-early Ptolemaic
Period

Dating criteria: papyri (palaeography)

Remarks:

Fragmentarily preserved funerary papyri, belonging to at least three different persons and datable to the 30th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period, were discovered during German excavations in TT 389 (Burkard 1986, 11). The first of them (the exact findspot unknown), containing the text of the Book of the Dead written in a late form of hieratic, belonged to a man called Amenemopet (Burkard 1986, 20-22), the second (found in 'Raum 4'), with the same text, but written in demotic – to Ireturwedj (Burkard 1986, 22-25), while the third papyrus (discovered in the *Lichthof*), containing the Lamentations of Isis and Nephtys written in late hieratic, to a man called Nesbanebdjed (Burkard 1986, 42-43). No other finds with the names of the first two deceased are known; however, the name Nesbanebdjed is attested on a cubic statue in Baltimore, an unpublished coffin, and in 'Kammer 5' (Burkard 1986, 42-43).

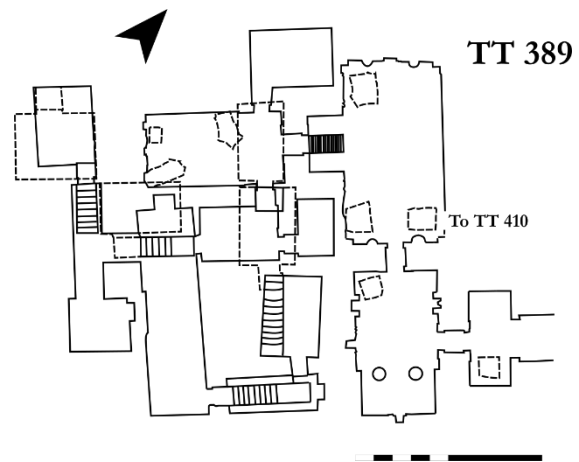


Figure 216. Plan of TT 389

The last mention is of interest for the sake of this investigation; however, the underground rooms of TT 389 (to which ‘Kammer 5’ belongs) are largely devoid of paintings and therefore remain unpublished (Assmann 1973, 54). In the 1968 preliminary report from excavations in the tomb, the following information can be found: *‘Kammer 5 diente offenbar als “Cachette” für die von den Grabräubern liegengelassenen Reste bei der Plünderung dieser und benachbarten Kammern. Außer Bruchstücken der Särge der beiden Grabherren fanden sich Sargteile, Stelen, Uschebti-Kästen zahlreicher weiterer Personen, von denen allein 9 namentlich erfaßbar sind, darunter ein Stück von einem Sarg des Esbanebde I., des Inhabers von Kammer 11, und seines sohnes P3h3rwḥnssw (Pechorchonsis)’* (Arnold, Di., Settgast 1968, 22, n. 1). Moreover, it seems that some of ‘Kammern 1-12’, if not all, were later than the complex; five of them were inscribed and in the 1968 report a list of names of their owners can be found. Nevertheless, the dating of the features is unclear (Arnold, Di., Settgast 1968, 22-25).

More papyri from the German excavations in the Asasif area were published by Burkard, but either their findspot is unknown or the name of the owner. Several coffins datable similarly to the papyri as well as pottery datable to the fourth and third century BCE were also discovered, (Aston, D. 2003, 162).

Bibliography:

Arnold, Di., Settgast 1968; Arnold, Di., Settgast, Bidoli 1970; Assmann 1973; Burkard 1986; Aston, D. 2003.

TT 390

Original context

Location: South Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab*

Royal/private: private (Irtyru, chief attendant of the God’s Wife)

Dating: 25th-26th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

TT 390 is currently investigated by the South Asasif Project. No information on reuse of the tomb is available.

Bibliography:

Pischikova 2014.

TT 391

Original context

Location: South Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab* (Figure 217)

Royal/private: private (Karabasken, mayor of Thebes)

Dating: 25th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 4a.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: middle 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: titles and genealogy of the deceased, style of the decoration

Remarks:

TT 391 is yet another example of a tomb reused in the first millennium BCE with new decoration added to the existing one: the person who reused the tomb, a high steward

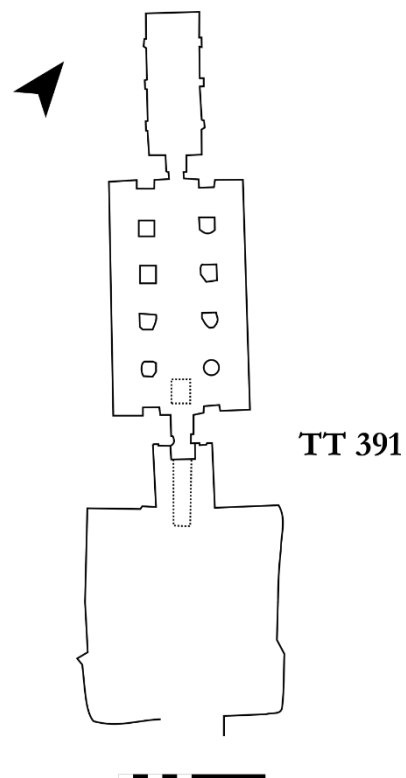


Figure 217. Plan of TT 391

of the Divine Adoratrice called Padibastet, had an additional chamber with a burial shaft hewn adjacent to the pillared hall, decorated the vestibule, and had a stela carved in the courtyard (Graefe 2017a; Graefe 2018; Pischikova 2018b). Padibastet's ushebtis were discovered during the excavations in the tomb. Padibastet was identified by Graefe as a grandson of Pabasa, the owner of TT 279.

Bibliography:

Graefe 2017a; Graefe 2018; Pischikova 2018b.

TT 392 (perhaps identical with Kampp -56-)

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb? (Figure 218)

Royal/private: private (anonymous)

Dating: Ramesside?

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Saitic'

Dating criteria: style of the decoration

Remarks:

There is a confusion regarding the location of TT 392; it could not be found in the place indicated by Porter and Moss. However, the description of the decoration in the *Topographical Bibliography* corresponds with that of Kampp -56-, which suggests that they could be the same monument (Kampp 1996, 657; Aston, D. 2003, 151). The

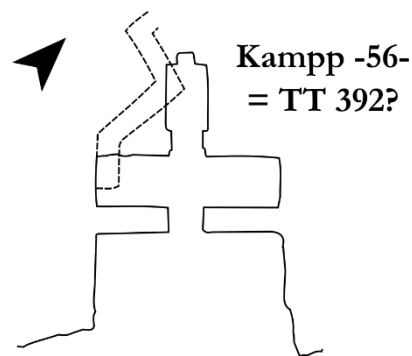


*Figure 218. Plan of Kampp -56-
(identical with TT 392?)*

tomb is a Ramesside structure reused in the 26th dynasty. The only recorded scenes from the tomb are those datable to the Saite Period; the tomb may have never been used in the New Kingdom. The name of the owner was not preserved. The sloping passage is probably original and no other burial installation was found (Kampp 1996, 657-658).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 657-658; Aston, D. 2003.

TT 393

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 393 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 604-605.

TT 394

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 394 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 605.

TT 395

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 395 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 605-606.

TT 396

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IVa (Figure 219)

Royal/private: private (Minmose)

Dating: 17th-18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: New Kingdom-modern era

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

According to Kampp, the tomb was reused at some point, as indicated by the presence of the breakthrough from the chapel to the underground chamber (Kampp 1996, 606).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 606.

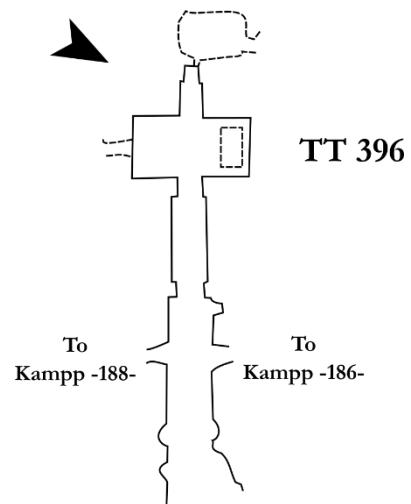


Figure 219. Plan of TT 396

TT 397 (perhaps identical with Kampp -87-)

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Ve

Royal/private: private (Nakht, *wab* priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 397 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 606-608.

TT 398

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IVa

Royal/private: private (Kamose, child of the nursery)

Dating: 17th-18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

The only finds from the tomb known to me are funerary cones of Kamose and his canopic jars (Porter, Moss 1960, 443), which obviously are original.

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1960, 443; Kampp 1996, 608.

TT 399

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Remarks:

Unpublished tomb (it could not be identified during Kampp's survey).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 609.

TT 400

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp I (Figure 220)

Royal/private: private (Penamun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV)

Later context

Type of burial: 4a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late New Kingdom-modern era

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

The tomb was enlarged at some point, as indicated by the roughly-cut chamber hewn in the west wall of the chapel (Kampp 1996, 609). The exact date of reuse remains unknown.



Figure 220. Plan of TT 400

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 609.

TT 401**Original context**

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (Nebseny, overseer of goldsmiths of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Thutmose III to Amenhotep II)

Later context**Remarks:**

The only finds from the tomb known to me are funerary cones of the original owner (Porter, Moss 1960, 444).

Bibliography:

Fakhry 1947, 34; Porter, Moss 1960, 444; Kampp 1996, 609.

TT 402**Original context**

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

TT 402 could not be identified during Kampp's survey. No publication mentioning finds from the tomb is known to me.

Bibliography:

Baud 1935, 219-221; Kampp 1996, 610.

TT 403

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 221)

Royal/private: private

Dating: Ramesside

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

TT 403, located in the courtyard of the larger tomb TT 346, was cleared by Mond, who dubbed it 'Tomb D' and the neighbouring grave – 'Tomb C'. Later on, Tomb D received number TT 403, while Tomb C was given number -271- by Kampp (Mond, Emery 1927, 25; Kampp 1996, Fig. 476).

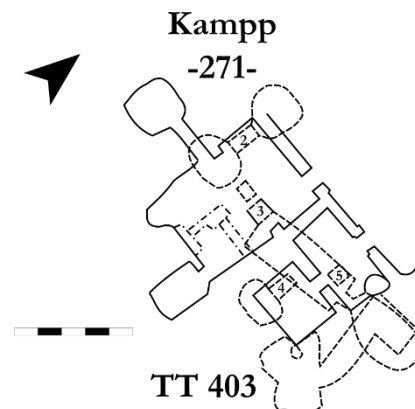


Figure 221. Plan of TT 403 and Kampp -271-

Both tombs (C and D) were cleared at the same time: *‘The first chambers of both these tombs have suffered to a large extent from the quarry work and bear no trace of inscriptions. All the burial pits were cleared of debris and examined, but beyond the discovery of one hundred and thirty ushabtiu in Pit 2, nothing of interest was found’* (Mond, Emery 1927, 25). The ushebtis, made of dried mud and painted black, bore the name of Merymaat; the set comprises both overseer and worker figurines. The tombs were later mentioned by Davies in his publication of TT 346: *‘On the side south there open out of it two smaller tombs, which may be of later date (...). A scrap of text at the foot of a jamb of the eastern tomb gives the name Merymaaet, and many figurines bearing this name were found in the burial pit’* (Davies, N. 1948, 56).

According to Mond’s plan, the shaft in which Merymaat’s figurines were found (‘Pit 2’) was located in front of Kampp -271-, not TT 403. The ushebtis made of unbaked clay, popular from the 22nd dynasty onwards, may indicate a date in the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period instead of the Ramesside Period; perhaps the tomb was reused at that time. Both the original and later ownership of the tomb are uncertain.

Bibliography:

Mond, Emery 1927, 25; Davies, N. 1948, 56; Porter, Moss 1960, 445; Kampp 1996, 610.

TT 404

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab* (Figure 63)

Royal/private: private (Akhamenru, chief steward of the God’s Wife of Amun)

Dating: 25th-26th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 404 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Tiradritti 2005a; Tiradritti 2005b; Tiradritti 2005c; Tiradritti 2006.

TT 405

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: other (Figure 222)

Royal/private: private (Khenty, nomarch, chancellor)

Dating: 6th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnage

Remarks:

Remains of later burials were discovered in the tomb: some wooden coffins and cartonnages dated by Saleh to the Late Period as well as human remains. Several ‘*coptic and hieratic ostraca*’ were found in the shaft located in the south part of the chapel. It was believed by Saleh that the shaft served for later interments, but the date of its hewing could not be established. No plan or section of the shaft was published,

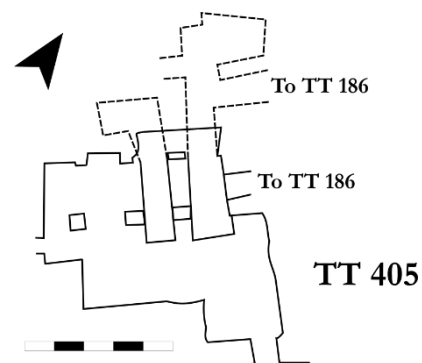


Figure 222. Plan of TT 405

but Saleh's description is somehow intriguing: '[the shaft was cut] *probably imitating the shafts of Old Kingdom „mastabas” at Giza and Saqqara. There the shafts lead to burial chambers, but here in Khenty's tomb it only leads to the tomb's offering chapel*' (Saleh, M. 1977, 19).

Bibliography:

Saleh, M. 1977, 18-22; Aston, D. 2009a, 163.

TT 406

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 223)

Royal/private: private (Piay, royal scribe)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 4a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Roman Period

Dating criteria: plan of the tomb

Remarks:

According to Kampp, '*Das T-förmige Innere erhielt eine merkwürdig proportionierte Längshalle bzw. Kapelle, deren Form evtl. auf spätere Erweiterungen zurückgeht*' (Kampp 1996, 611).

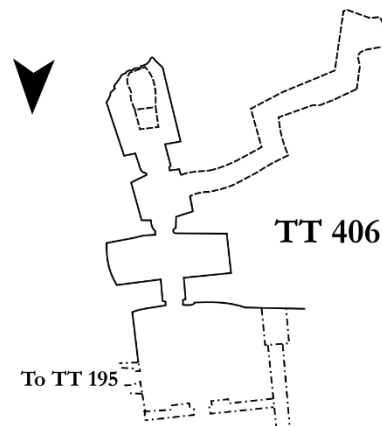


Figure 223. Plan of TT 406

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 610-611.

TT 407**Original context**

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Bineduanetjer, chamberlain of the God's Wife)

Dating: 25th dynasty

Later context**Remarks:**

No publication of objects found in TT 407 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Eigner 1984, 43-44.

TT 408**Original context**

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Sonderform* (Figure 224)

Royal/private: private (Bakenamun, head of servants in the domain of Amun)

Dating: 19th-20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3b.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

**Minimal number of persons
buried:** 1

Dating: 25th-26th dynasty

Dating criteria: coffin, spelling
of the name of Osiris

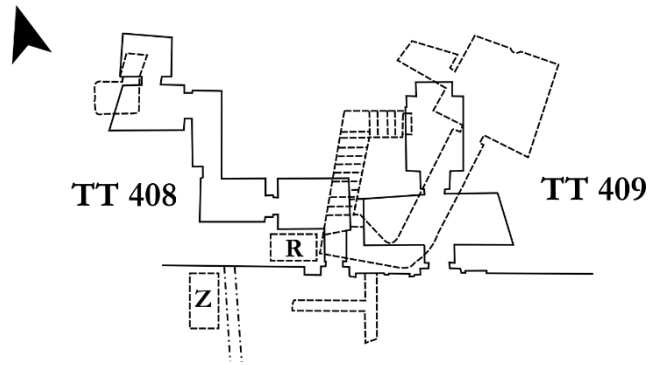


Figure 224. Plan of TT 408 and TT 409

Remarks:

Five metres to the west of TT 408, Abdul-Qader discovered a burial shaft (dubbed 'Z') hidden under a heap of debris, with a mudbrick wall erected around its mouth. Its entrance was blocked with big blocks of stone *'which looked to be well arranged and gave the impression that these were the original tomb-stones'* (Abdul-Qader 1966, 184). However, the 7 metres-deep shaft and both chambers on its bottom proved to be looted. Among the debris from the heap was an anthropoid coffin with a mummy inside, most likely coming from the shaft, belonging to a priest of Montu named Djedasetiufankh (Abdul-Qader 1966, Pls. 105-106). The coffin's lid, with a single line of text (the offering formula) and a winged deity above, is of Taylor Design 1, datable to the 22nd to 26th dynasty, but the late orthography of the name of Osiris dates it after 740 BCE.

Remains of the mudbrick structure in the courtyard were dated to the Ramesside Period by their excavator, but such a date seems unlikely, as was pointed out by Kampp. She suggested that the structure belonged to the period when the tomb served as a dwelling (Kampp 1996, 611), but an earlier date should not be discarded.

Bibliography:

Abdul-Qader 1966; Kampp 1996, 611-612.

TT 409

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 224)

Royal/private: private (Simut, also known as Kyky, counter of cattle in the domain of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnage

Remarks:

The tomb of Simut, also known as Kyky, was discovered accidentally by Abdul-Qader. The only information on the finds from this monument is Abdul-Qader's mention of '*few fragments of an anthropoid cartonage which bears no inscription*', discovered in the burial chamber (Abdul-Qader 1966, 179). This may indicate that an interment took place in the tomb in the 22nd-25th dynasty.

Bibliography:

Abdul-Qader 1966; Wilson 1970; Kampp 1996, 612-613; Negm 1997.

TT 410

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab* (Figure 225)

Royal/private: private (Mutirdis, attendant of the God's Wife)

Dating: 26th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 3

Dating: 30th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: papyri (palaeography), pottery

Remarks:

Some of the 30th dynasty to early Ptolemaic papyri, discovered during the German works in Asasif, originate from the tomb of Mutirdis. These are: the funerary papyrus of a God's Father named Iriri, discovered in the shaft in the corridor of TT 410, containing the text of the Book of the Dead written in late hieratic (Burkard 1986, 25-35), the papyrus of a sculptor named Nesmin, found in the *Lichthof* (Nesmin's coffin was found nearby), also with the Book of the Dead written in late hieratic (Burkhard 1986, 68-71), and the papyrus of a lady called Tasheritmin, most likely mother of Iriri, Nesmin, and Nesbanebdjed (Burkard 1986, 74-75). According to Aston, pottery from the tomb confirms that TT 410 was reused at that time (Aston, D. 2003, 162).

No other finds were reported from the tomb, except for some cartonnage fragments and remains of coffins, possibly intrusive (Arnold, Di., Settgest, Bidoli 1970, 4).

Bibliography:

Arnold, Di., Settgest, Bidoli 1970; Assmann 1977; Burkard 1986; Aston, D. 2003.

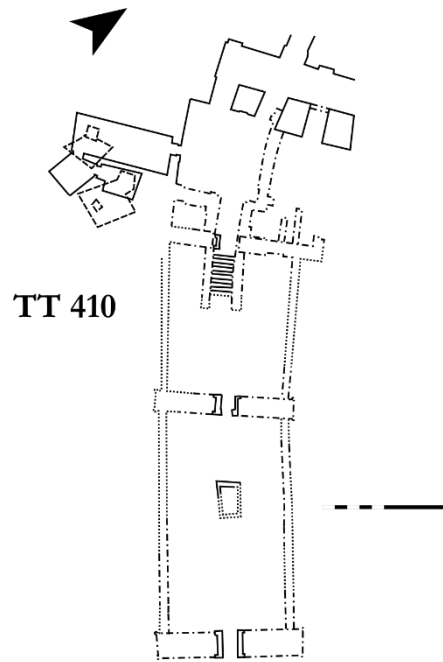


Figure 225. Plan of TT 410

TT 411

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab*

Royal/private: private (Psamtekerneheh)

Dating: 26th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

No publication of objects found in TT 411 is known to me.

Bibliography:

Arnold, Di., Settgast 1965; Arnold, Di., Settgast 1966; Eigner 1984, 50.

TT 412

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (*Sonderform*) (Figure 226)

Royal/private: private (Kenamun, royal scribe)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Hatshepsut to Thutmose III)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 3

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty (1 burial), 750 BCE or later (2 burials)

Dating criteria: cartonnage fragments, pottery (supposedly)

Remarks:

A burial shaft was explored in the north part of the columned hall ('court') of TT 412 by Saleh.

On the bottom of the shaft, two chambers were discovered. The north one, with rounded corners,

proved to contain *'some pot-sherds, three broken mummies, and some fragments of Late-Period cartonnages, as well as pieces of wooden coffins'*. In the west chamber, nothing was found except the broken pieces of Kenamun's tomb's ceiling. Both in the east and the south wall of the shaft passages were discovered – perhaps of a later date – but, due to safety reasons, none was explored.

In the debris in the columned hall, three faience winged scarabs, three sets of the faience Four Sons of Horus figurines (with holes to be attached to the bead net), a fragment of a shabti box (Aston type VIIc), and a pottery ushebti were discovered. Inside the shaft, four limestone models of the canopic jars (broken) as well as a wooden beard and a face from a wooden coffin came to light. The inner part of TT 412 remains unexcavated, same as the remaining shafts in the columned hall.

The presence of the cartonnage fragments points to either the 22nd-25th dynasty or, less likely, Ptolemaic Period. The bead nets indicate a date after 750 BCE; possibly the bead nets and cartonnages belonged to the same burials. According to Schreiber, vessels similar to those from Kampp -61- (*'roughly datable to 550 and 350 BC'*), seen by him in the storeroom of TT 412, come from Saleh's 1960s excavations (Schreiber 2015b, 51).

Bibliography:

Saleh, M. 1983; Kampp 1996, 613-614; Aston, D. 2009a, 163-164; Schreiber 2015b, 51.

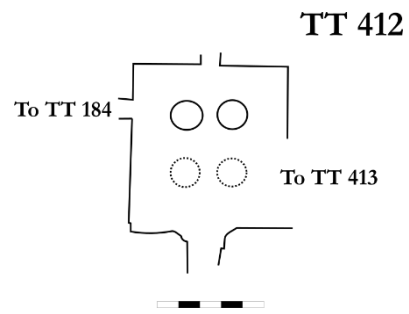


Figure 226. Plan of TT 412

TT 413

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: other (Figure 227)

Royal/private: private (Ankhunis, royal chamberlain and overseer of Upper Egypt)

Dating: 6th dynasty-First Intermediate Period

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnage

Remarks:

TT 413, discovered in the 1960s, was reused, perhaps more than once. Inside the tomb, three 'sloping passages' were discovered. Entrances to two of them, oriented along the east-west axis, were located in the main room and are probably original. The third 'sloping passage', perpendicular to the first two, seems to be later: '*This is a subsidiary passage cut under the northern part of the sepulchre beginning nearly in the middle and running under the northern wall A. (...) The burial chamber below is very small and runs to the west. (...) The walls are roughly cut and the ceiling is slightly arched*' (Saleh, M. 1977, 13). Inside the burial chamber at the end of the 'corridor', some 'late' wooden coffins and cartonnages were found. A mention of miscellaneous '*late New Kingdom*' objects appears in the list of finds (Saleh, M. 1977, 17), but except for several ushebtis, probably datable to the Ramesside Period, no photographs of these were published.

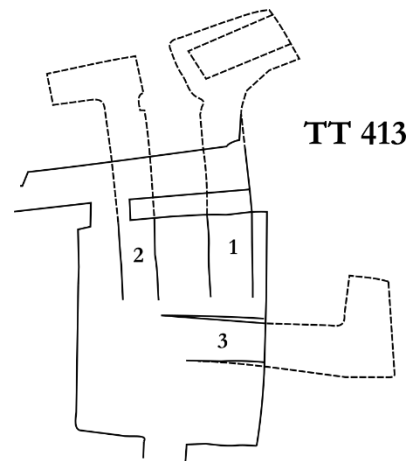


Figure 227. Plan of TT 413

It seems that the ‘sloping passage’ is an unusual form of a late dynastic burial shaft. Presence of cartonnages inside coffins perhaps could indicate that the tomb was reused in the 22nd or 25th dynasty, but a later date should not be excluded.

Bibliography:

Saleh, M. 1970; Saleh, M. 1977, 12-17; Aston, D. 2009a, 163.

TT 414

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: *Tempelgrab* (Figure 228)

Royal/private: private (Ankhhor, chief steward of the God’s Wife of Amun)

Dating: 26th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1, 2*

Intact/disturbed: intact
(1 burial)

**Minimal number of persons
buried:** 2

Dating: 30th dynasty

Dating criteria: Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, canopic jars, wooden stela

Remarks:

An intact burial of a priest Wahibra – the only undisturbed interment known from the 30th dynasty – was discovered by the Austrian mission in a shaft in TT 414. Wahibra’s burial equipment consisted of two coffins, a cartonnage, a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure

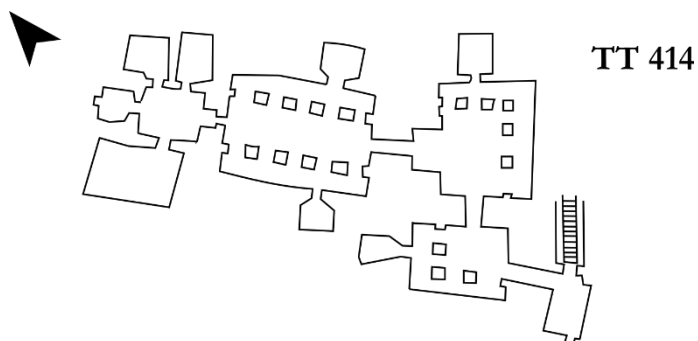


Figure 228. Plan of TT 414

(Bielesch type 6.b), canopic jars (Aston type C2), a wooden stela (Munro type III),¹⁰⁸ a papyrus with the text of the Book of the Dead (Mosher type II), pottery vessels, a hypocephalus, faience ushebtis (my type 5a) as well as a mould for production of ushebtis, a wooden statuette of Isis, amulets, and copper implements used during mummification. Wahibra's burial was accompanied by mummified animal remains of an ibis, a cat, and a falcon (Bietak, Reiser-Haslauer 1982, 183-220; Aston, D. 2003, 162).

It is difficult to say to which type should Wahibra's burial be ascribed. It was found on the bottom of a shaft cut in the chamber adjacent to the *Lichthof* (Raum 10.2), and it would seem that it was a later addition to the tomb. However, similar side chambers can be seen for example in the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), where they probably belong to the original layout. According to Budka, '*Für Wach-jb-Ra ist ein bereits bestehender Schacht erweitert worden und eine neue Kammer an dessen Sohle ausgehauen worden*' (Budka 2008, 70), hence my – tentative – attribution to type 2.

Wahibra's interment was just one of many later burials in TT 414. Wahibra's descendants, living in the early Ptolemaic Period, were also buried in the tomb (Budka, Mekis 2017), while an offering table belonging to Padiamunnebesuttawy, father of Wahibra, was found *in situ* in TT 414's *Lichthof* (Bietak, M., Reiser-Haslauer 1978, 146-151). The original burial shaft of Ankh-Hor is said to also have been reused during the 30th dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period (Budka 2008, 70). Mudbrick walls erected in the cult chambers can be dated to the period of reuse.

Bibliography:

Bietak, Reiser-Haslauer 1978; Bietak, Reiser-Haslauer 1982; Aston, D. 2003; Budka 2008; Budka 2009; Budka, Mekis 2017.

¹⁰⁸ Found earlier in the upper part of the tomb, not in the burial chamber (Budka 2008, 77).

Part 2

Other tombs

MMA tombs

Original context**Location:** Deir el-Bahari**Type of tomb:** unknown (shaft tomb)**Royal/private:** private (Minmose)**Dating:** 18th dynasty**Later context****Type of burial:** 1**Intact/disturbed:** intact**Minimal number of persons buried:** 1**Dating:** 21st dynasty**Dating criteria:** coffins**Remarks:**

The tomb was found by Winlock; according to him, it possibly belonged to one of the engineers responsible for the transportation of Hatshepsut's obelisks (Winlock 1924, 22). Its plan is unknown, although Winlock mentioned that the tomb consisted of a deep pit and a burial crypt on the bottom. Though the original interment was plundered, the burial of a lady of the house and singer of Amun called Henuttawy (F), deposited in the tomb in the 21st dynasty, was discovered intact.

The 21st dynasty blocking of the tomb was made of stones, fragments of Minmose's coffins, and blocks from the nearby wall of the temple of Mentuhotep II. Inside the rectangular burial chamber, Henuttawy's coffin was found resting on a thick layer of debris. Henuttawy's burial (Aston TG 828) consisted of two coffins and a mummy board as well as several pieces of jewellery. The coffins can be dated to the 21st dynasty, just like Henuttawy's mummy board. Henuttawy, about eighteen years old at the time of her death, was not embalmed but simply bandaged up and buried (Winlock 1926, 21).

Bibliography:

Winlock 1924, 22-24; Winlock 1926, 5-32; Winlock 1942, 93-95; 110; Aston, D. 2009a, 198-199.

MMA 60**Original context**

Location: Deir el-Bahari

Type of tomb: unknown (corridor tomb)

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1, 4a.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 9

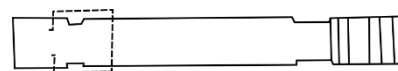
Dating: 21st dynasty (8 burials), 26th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: mummy boards, funerary papyri, shabti boxes, stela, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

The tomb, discovered by Winlock in the north part of the courtyard of the temple of Hatshepsut, was provisionally dated to the 21st dynasty; such a date was endorsed by Kikuchi. Thomas proposed that it should be redated to the 18th dynasty (a date accepted also by Cooney), while Aston suggested that it originally belonged to an 18th dynasty queen. The layout of the tomb (as described by its excavator) suggests indeed some similarity with other queenly and kingly tombs of that era. Winlock did not

publish the plan of the tomb, and all the plans produced so far – including one drawn by Kikuchi (Figure 229) – are hypothetical.¹⁰⁹ The description of the tomb and its location in the vicinity of other 18th dynasty mortuary monuments confirm the early dating of the monument, and therefore I will refer to the tomb as to an 18th dynasty one.



MMA 60 - hypothetical reconstruction

Figure 229. Hypothetical plan of MMA 60

The tomb, reused several times, was destroyed by water flowing to the inside through a robbers' hole in the doorway. The first reuse took place in the 21st dynasty and, according to Winlock, all burials of that period were stacked in the presumably original burial chamber. These include no less than eight interments, belonging to: princess Henuttawy (B, daughter of Pinodjem I and chantress of Amun) (Aston TG 829), Djedmutesankh (chief of the harim of Amun) (Aston TG 830), Henuttawy (C, chief of the harim of Amun) (Aston TG 831), Menkheperra (priest of Amun) (Aston TG 832), Tabakenmut (Aston TG 833), Nesitiset (Aston TG 834), Tiye (Aston TG 835) and Gautseshen (chantress of Amun) (Aston TG 836). The first three coffins lay side by side, with the fourth one (Menkheperra's) on top of them; the remaining ones were found somewhere on the top of the pile, but their exact location is unknown. Remains of coffins were found also in the burial shaft. The burials were plundered, but the remaining objects allow to date them to the 21st dynasty: all the deceased were provided with a set of two coffins and a mummy board (except for Tiye, who did not receive a board), and all but Menkheperra and Tabakenmut were buried with funerary papyri (Book of the Dead, Niwiński BD.I.2, and Amduat, Niwiński A.II.1a, A.II.1b, A.III.1b). Apart from these, six Osiris figures were found (three between the coffins, three in the shaft), five shabti boxes (Aston type VIC) with blue faience figurines inside, floral garlands as well as different amulets and ornaments. Of special interest is the mummy of Gautseshen: about twenty years old girl had been struck in the head with a blunt instrument, which mauled the left side of her face and caused her death several weeks after (Winlock 1926, 22).

After the first phase of reuse, which did not involve any changes of the original layout of the tomb, MMA 60 was reused at least once more, this time '*a new chamber and pit*

¹⁰⁹ Kikuchi, for example, did not include a later side chamber with a shaft in his drawing (Kikuchi 2002, Abb. 2).

had been quarried in it for a priest named Nesikhonsu, son of the Prophet of Montu, Zemontefonekh. His crypt had been flooded out and we retrieved nothing from his funeral outfit except a charmingly painted but sadly decayed limestone stele’ (Winlock 1924, 28). Winlock dated Nesikhonsu’s burial to the 23rd dynasty, although the style of the stela (*Bild-Schrift*, Munro type I/IIAS, Aston type VII) points to the Saite Period. Such dating is additionally confirmed by the late spelling of the name of Osiris.

Bibliography:

Winlock 1924; Winlock 1926; Thomas 1966, 174; Kikuchi 2002; Aston, D. 2009a, 199-202; Jansen-Winkel 2014, 1061-1062.

MMA 65 (see TT 358)

MMA 219

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari (‘Priests’ Cemetery’)

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private

Dating: Middle Kingdom?

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 21st dynasty (1 burial), 22th-early 25th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: coffins, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

According to Porter and Moss, remains of burial equipment belonging to two different persons came to light during excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the unpublished, probably Middle Kingdom tomb 219: coffins of ‘*Anesenmosi, songstress of Amen-Re*’ (21st dynasty), and ‘*Esamūn, son of Bakenamūn*’ (26th dynasty) (Porter, Moss 1964, 655); the latter is said to be intrusive.

‘Anesenmosi’ proved to be Anresenmose, singer of Amun, and her coffin (Niwiński lid type IId), currently kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, can be securely dated to the 21st dynasty. ‘Esamūn’'s coffin was published several years ago by Mininberg, who dated it to the 25th dynasty; the coffin's lid seems to belong to Taylor Phase II, Design 1, which can be dated to the 22nd-26th dynasty. Moreover, the orthography of the name of Osiris, written without a pennant sign, points to the first half of this interval, 22nd or early 25th dynasty. The analysis of Nesiamun's mummy revealed that the deceased suffered serious injuries before his death including skull damage, which most likely caused his demise (Mininberg 2005).

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1964, 655; Mininberg 2005; 36-37; MMA website, Inner Coffin of The Singer of Amun, Anresenmes [MMA 26.3.4a-b]; MMA website, Mummy of Nesiamun [MMA 26.3.12]; MMA website, Painted Wooden Coffin of Nesiamun [MMA 26.3.11a-b].

MMA 505 (see TT 310)

MMA 508 (see TT 311)

MMA 509 (see TT 312)

MMA 510 (see TT 313)

MMA 511

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari slope ('North Asasif')

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 230)

Royal/private: private (Henu?)

Dating: Middle Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: 4a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period or Late Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

Porter and Moss give the following information on later objects from the tomb: '*Wooden shrine of Pedehor, Prophet of Monthu, fragments, Late Period, from 511, in New York, M.M.A. photo. M.7.C.209*' (Porter, Moss 1964, 651). No published photography of the shrine is known to me. A slate heart scarab, dated to 'Dynasty 21-30', according to the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art also comes from the tomb. Finally, remains of burial equipment from '*the Third Intermediate Period (fragments of chests and coffins, cartonnages, and clay ushabti figurines)*' were discovered during the recent Polish works in MMA 511 (Chudzik 2016, 297).

The findspot of these objects remains unknown; however, several side chambers are visible on the plan of the tomb published by Chudzik. Probably at least some of them were hewn to accommodate new burials.

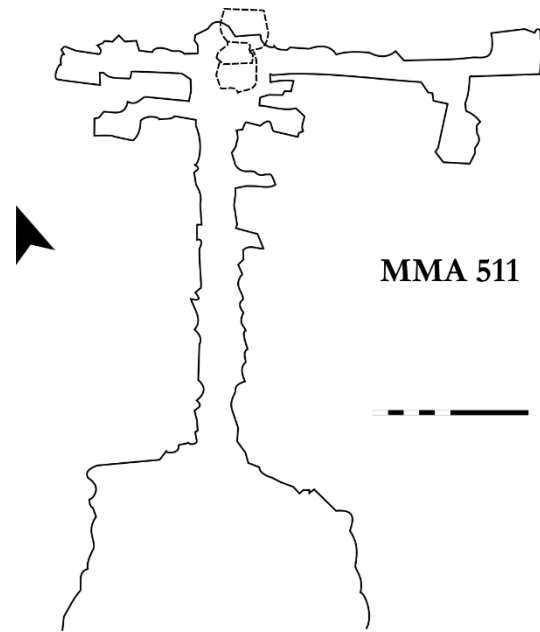


Figure 230. Plan of MMA 511

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1964, 651; Chudzik 2016, 295-297; MMA website, Heart Scarab [MMA 26.3.235]; MMA website, Shrine Fragment [MMA 26.3.234a].

MMA 512**Original context**

Location: Deir el-Bahari slope ('North Asasif')

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 11th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: perhaps 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

'Fragments of burial equipment dated to the Third Intermediate Period, mainly clay and faience shabti figurines and faience beads from nets covering the wrapped bodies of the deceased' were discovered during Chudzik's exploration of the courtyard and entrance of MMA 512 (Chudzik 2015b, 243). However, in Chudzik's 2018 report, a contradictory statement can be found: *'The only tomb not to be usurped in later times was the early Middle Kingdom funerary complex MMA 512, which was left unfinished'* (Chudzik 2018, 192). Perhaps this means that the objects retrieved during previous seasons were intrusive from other tombs in the area.

Bibliography:

Chudzik 2015b, 241-243; Chudzik 2017, 191; Chudzik 2018, 188-191.

MMA 513 (see TT 314)

MMA 514

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari slope ('North Asasif')

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 231)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Middle Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: '25th dynasty'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

Excavations in MMA 514, which according to Chudzik had been reused at least twice (once in the 18th dynasty and once in the first millennium BCE), yielded a large amount of material associated with later burials: ushebtis (faience and clay), cartonnage and coffin fragments, pottery (Chudzik 2015b, 244-245; Chudzik 2017, 191-192; Chudzik 2018, 191), and human remains (Campbell 2018). The only securely dated object from the late dynastic era mentioned in the excavation reports is a fragment of funerary linen with the name Khonsuiraa.

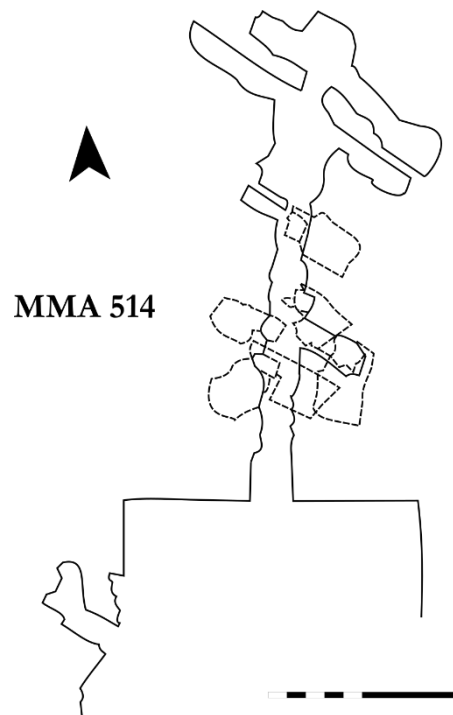


Figure 231. Plan of MMA 514

A dignitary named Khonsuiraa (probably identical with the owner of the piece) is attested on two 25th dynasty statues from Karnak (Chudzik 2018, 191).

Bibliography:

Chudzik 2015b, 244-245; Chudzik 2017, 191-192; Campbell 2018; Chudzik 2018, 191.

MMA 515

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari slope ('North Asasif')

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Middle Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

So far, only preliminary remarks on the results of works in MMA 515, conducted by the Polish mission, have been published. However, according to Chudzik, '*studies of grave goods collected in the previous season, mostly various decorated coffin and cartonnages fragments, indicated the presence of intrusive burials from the Third Intermediate Period in this complex*' (Chudzik 2018, 192).

Bibliography:

Chudzik 2017, 193-195; Chudzik 2018, 192.

MMA 516 (see TT 315)

MMA 517 (see TT 240)

MMA 518 (see TT 316)

MMA 737 (Grab I)

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIb (Figure 232)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Middle Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 3

Dating: 22nd-early 25th dynasty (1 burial), 27th dynasty (1 burial), 30th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (1 burial)

Dating criteria: pottery, cartonnage fragments, canopic jars, bead nets

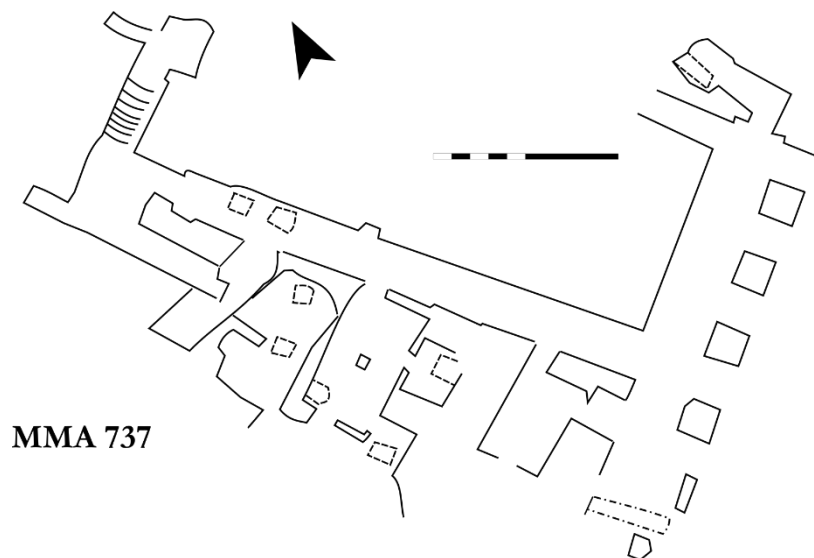


Figure 232. Plan of MMA 737

Remarks:

The Middle Kingdom *saff* tomb MMA 737 ('Grab I'), excavated by the Austrian archaeological mission, was reused several times, starting from the late 17th or early 18th dynasty. The monument was then partly destroyed by the construction of the causeway leading to the temple of Thutmose III and subsequently robbed. It was reused again in the first millennium BCE.

At least one burial took place in the tomb in the Libyan Period or early 25th dynasty, as attested by pottery, cartonnage fragments, canopic jars, and possibly mud ushebti. No architectural feature could be associated with this interment. According to Budka, the majority of finds come from the front areas of the tomb – most probably a result of the activity of the robbers who removed the mummies and their coffins from the burial chambers to search for the valuable items in a better light (Budka 2017, 63-64).

The tomb was further reused in the First Persian Period. A selection of pottery dated to this phase was published by Budka (Budka 2010a, 493-521). As in the case of the earlier period, no architectural features could be unequivocally associated with this phase of reuse. Perhaps some of the ushebti found in the tomb constituted part of the Persian burial assemblage.

Finally, some pottery sherds, dated to the 30th dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period, were found (Budka 2010a, 493-521). As before, it is impossible now to establish whether any new architectural elements can be associated with this phase of reuse.

Bibliography:

Budka 2010a, 83-97; Budka 2017c.

MMA 801

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari

Type of tomb: other (Figure 233)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Middle Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: 3a.1

Intact/disturbed: intact

Minimal number of persons buried: 4

Dating: 22nd dynasty

Dating criteria: stelae

Remarks:

Intact burials of at least two persons were discovered by Winlock in the Middle Kingdom tomb MMA 801. Unfortunately, they have never been published and only scanty pieces of information can be retrieved from Winlock's report and his notes. Plan of the tomb was drawn by Eigner and published in his work on Theban monumental tombs in the Late Period.

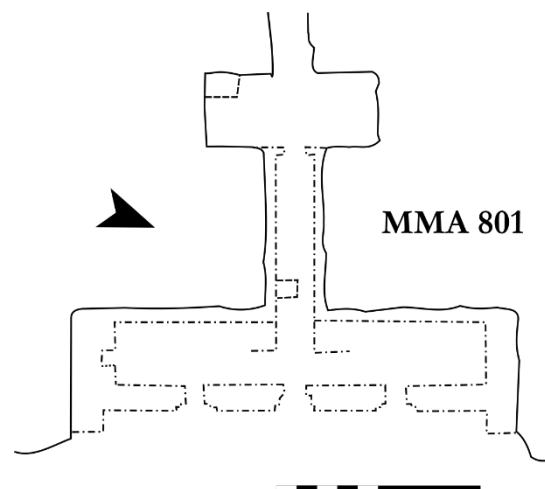


Figure 233. Plan of MMA 801

The original Middle Kingdom tomb was appropriated by a priestly family at some point in the Libyan Period. A mudbrick façade was constructed and at least one additional shaft was hewn to house the new burials. Winlock's photography shows two undisturbed coffins laying on the bottom of a shallow shaft, but in the text he mentions four burials belonging to members of the same family (Aston TGs 904-907); four wooden stelae were found by him near the tomb entrance. It is unclear if all four coffins were found in the shaft or just two of them, and the other two in a different location.

On Eigner's plan, two shafts are visible: one in the corridor and the other in the chapel. It seems that the latter is an original descent to the Middle Kingdom burial chamber, while the former – a new shaft cut in the Libyan Period. The sketch found in Winlock's unpublished notes confirms that the shaft ends with a single burial chamber (I would like to thank Andrzej Ćwiek for sharing this information with me), although in the official report from his work Winlock mentions multiple '*little chambers cut in the floor*' (Winlock 1922, 32).

Unlike the stelae, the coffins were never published and the only piece of information available is that they were of anthropoid shape. The stelae, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, give names of the deceased: Djedbastet, his son Zaiah, Zaiah's son Inamunnaifnebu, and Zaiah's daughter, chantress of Amun named Tanetdiset (all the men were priests of Amun). Djedbastet's stela is of Munro type IIa, dated to around 850-800 BCE. The remaining ones were dated by Aston to post 850 BCE (the presence of *rn-nfr*). The latest of the four seems to be the stela of Inamunnaifnebu (Munro type IIc, 825-750 BCE), although the stelae are rather unusual, being painted on both sides.

Bibliography:

Winlock 1922, 32; Winlock 1942, 53-54; Eigner 1984, 36; Jansen-Winkel 2007, 462-463; Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 218.

MMA 807 (see TT 103)

MMA 820 (see TT 366)

MMA 825

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 11th dynasty?

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: votive bed

Remarks:

The unpublished tomb MMA 825, located in a 'Late Period' necropolis 'south of Mentuhotp Causeway' (Porter, Moss 1964, 652), was mentioned by Winlock: '*Puzzles abound in archaeology, and two were left to us by the later Egyptians who were buried in the Eleventh dynasty tombs near that of Djar. Some one who lived under the Empire had been provided with three curious little terracotta stands (fig. 38) of which we can give no satisfactory explanation. They were to be placed against the wall, for their backs are in every instance plain*' (Winlock 1932a, 37). The 'curious terracotta stands', described by Winlock in detail in the same paragraph, are votive beds of Del Vesco type B1, datable to the 22nd-25th dynasty (Del Vesco 2009). According to information on the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, apart from the votive beds a pottery stela was found in MMA 825, with decoration very similar to that of the beds (a central female figure, standing on a boar, holding papyrus stems) and therefore most likely datable to the same period.

Bibliography:

Winlock 1932a; Winlock 1942, 219-220; Porter, Moss 1964, 652; Del Vesco 2009; MMA website, Stela [MMA 31.3.110]; MMA website, Votive Bed [MMA 31.3.108]; MMA website, Votive Bed [MMA 31.3.109].

MMA 828 (Kampp -359-)**Original context**

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: New Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: “Third Intermediate Period”

Dating criteria: MMA archives

Remarks:

In his publication of TT 297 and the neighbouring area, Strudwick lists MMA 828 as reused in the Third Intermediate Period (Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65). Such a statement is based on the analysis of records coming from the excavations in Asasif by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but since the tomb remains unpublished, it is impossible to propose the exact date of the reuse.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 763; Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65.

MMA 830 (Kampp -366-)

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 147)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Middle Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period'

Dating criteria: MMA archives

Remarks:

Strudwick lists MMA 830 as one of the tombs reused in the Third Intermediate Period (Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65). Several objects dated to the period of reuse were mentioned by Porter and Moss: three canopic jars of 'Naysthat' (26th dynasty), a '*doorway-fragment of Horemhab (?), Scribe of offerings of Amun, sandstone*' (Late Period), a '*fragment, an Overseer of the throne of the divine wife, the King's wife, sandstone*' (Late Period), and a cartonnage of a man named 'Pedemut' (Late Period) (Porter, Moss 1964, 624). From the aforementioned grave goods, the only object identified by me in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art is the canopic jar of the lady of the house Naysetjau (Aston type I, datable to the 21st-25th dynasty); however, according to the Museum's website, the jar was found in the tomb MMA 830C (= Kampp -368-). It is therefore unclear which of the tombs was the actual findspot of Naysetjau's jars.

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1964, 624; Kampp 1996, 764; Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65; MMA website, Falcon-headed Stopper from a Canopic Jar [MMA 28.3.116b].

MMA 830A**Original context**

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: New Kingdom?

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period'

Dating criteria: MMA archives

Remarks:

In his publication of TT 297 and the neighbouring area, Strudwick mentions that the tomb was reused in the Third Intermediate Period (Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65).

Bibliography:

Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65.

MMA 830B (see TT 207)

MMA 830C (Kampp -368-)

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp IIb (Figure 147)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: New Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 21st-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: canopic jar

Remarks:

As mentioned above (MMA 830), the canopic jar of the lady of the house Naysetjau (Aston type I, 21st-25th dynasty) is said to come from MMA 830C (= Kampp -368-). Strudwick mentions this tomb among the monuments reused in the Third Intermediate Period (Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65).

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1964, 624; Kampp 1996, 765; Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65; MMA website, Falcon-headed Stopper from a Canopic Jar [MMA 28.3.116b].

MMA 830D (Kampp -369-)

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 147)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: New Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period'

Dating criteria: MMA archives

Remarks:

In his publication of TT 297 and the neighbouring area, Strudwick mentions that the tomb was reused in the Third Intermediate Period (Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 765; Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65.

MMA 831 (see TT 297)

MMA 832 (Kampp -362-)

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIa (Figure 147)

Royal/private: private

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3b

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 950/925-850/825 BCE (1 burial), 25th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: coffin, Osiris figure, stela

Remarks:

Little is known of the burials found by Winlock in MMA 832 (Kampp -362-); the only mentions on the works there can be found in his much later reports. The original tomb seems to date to the 18th dynasty. On the plan published by Kampp, four shafts are visible in the courtyard. It is impossible now to establish their original date, but in Winlock's report we find the following remark: *'(...) some years later (...) another pit was dug in the same tomb for "the doorkeeper of the Temple of Amūn, Pe-khor-en-Khonsu". The debris of his funerary equipment yielded a little statue of the god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (fig. 27) as well as fragment of his coffin (fig. 28)'* (Winlock 1928, 24). Therefore, it seems that one of the shafts in the courtyard is the shaft in which Pakharenhonsu's disturbed burial (Aston TG 909) was discovered. Based on the style of the coffin (dated by Aston to 750-700 BCE) and Osiris figure as well as canopic jars and a cartonnage (not mentioned by Winlock) it can be dated to the 25th dynasty.

In the same report, a mention of a 22nd dynasty burial of the scribe of the treasury Iufenmut (Aston TG 908) can be found. In the final publication of his excavations in Deir el-Bahari, there is information on Iufenmut's wooden stela (Winlock 1942, 164), which can be identified as Munro type IIa, thus confirming Winlock's dating. Additionally, Porter and Moss give information on a foot of a coffin and a cartonnage of one 'Heresib-ento' (Aston TG 910), a shabti box of 'Ankhak(er)zet', and tabs of Osorkon I, from the same tomb.

According to Kampp, the mudbrick walls in the courtyard should be dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period.

Bibliography:

Winlock 1928, 24; Winlock 1942, 164-165; Porter, Moss 1964, 652-653; Kampp 1996, 752; Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 219.

MMA 833**Original context**

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: New Kingdom?

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period'

Dating criteria: MMA archives

Remarks:

In his publication of TT 297 and the neighbouring area, Strudwick lists MMA 833 as one of the tombs reused in the Third Intermediate Period (Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65).

Bibliography:

Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65.

MMA 834 (Kampp -364-)

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 147)

Royal/private: private (Usi, servant of the double chamber of Amun)

Dating: New Kingdom (18th dynasty?)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Late Period'

Dating criteria: information by Kampp

Remarks:

According to Kampp, the tomb was reused in the Late Period (although this dating is given with a quotation mark), possibly by '*a servant of Esenamun (overseer of troops)*'. Fragments of his inscription were listed by Porter and Moss (Porter, Moss 1964, 653; Kampp 1996, 764). The mudbrick porch, remains of which can be seen on the plans made by the American expedition, can perhaps also be associated with reuse of the tomb in the late dynastic period (Kampp 1996, 764). However, in Strudwick's publication of TT 297 and the surrounding area, MMA 834 is not listed among the tombs reused in the Third Intermediate Period (Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65). Alternatively, the text may originate from Kampp -365- (Kampp 1996, 764); however it was also not mentioned by Strudwick among the reused monuments.

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1964, 653; Kampp 1996, 764; Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65.

MMA 835 (see TT 208)

MMA 838

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Middle Kingdom?

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 660/650-625/600 BCE

Dating criteria: stela, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

According to Porter and Moss, a stela of a priest named Irethoreru, bought in Luxor, was stolen from MMA 838 (Porter, Moss 1964, 653). The stela is of Munro type VII, datable to ca. 660/650-625/600 BCE. This dating is additionally confirmed by the late spelling of the name of Osiris.

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1964, 653; MMA website, Stela of the Temple-Servant of Amun, Irthararu [MMA 30.3.57].

MMA 851

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: unknown, perhaps Middle Kingdom¹¹⁰

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown, likely disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 'Late Period'

Dating criteria: information by Porter and Moss

Remarks:

The only information on reuse of MMA 851 known to me is a mention by Porter and Moss of a cartonnage with names of Merytamun and Tamyt, allegedly datable to the Late Period (Porter, Moss 1964, 677), and canopic jar belonging to a man called Khonsumose, dated likewise. This information cannot be verified, as I was unable to identify these objects in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1964, 677; Piccione 2005.

MMA 1008 (pit 1016)

Original context

Location: Third Valley ('Valley of the Colours')

¹¹⁰ Like the nearby MMA 850 (Piccione 2005).

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Middle Kingdom?

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: intact

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: late 21st-early 22nd dynasty

Dating criteria: coffin

Remarks:

During his works in the valley, Winlock found a shaft tomb, discovered '*just as the undertakers had left it in the XXII dynasty after blocking its door with stones*' (Winlock 1921, 35). Only the latest burial, belonging to one Itefamun, '*charioteer to the general*' (Aston TG 923), was intact. The other four occupants of the pit, all women, '*had been buried there successively, and as each newcomer was brought down the pit for her everlasting rest her undertakers had taken the occasion to drag her predecessors out of their coffins and break up their furniture in the search for valuables. Finally the last occupant was brought down, a spot cleared out in the corner of the room, baskets, wigs, coffins, and pitifully maltreated mummies brushed aside, and his coffin left there*' (Winlock 1921, 35). The presence of the baskets and wigs suggest a New Kingdom date for these burials, therefore they should be excluded from this investigation. As for Itefamun's burial, his equipment consisted of a set of two coffins (originally belonging to a man named Nesamun), a mummy board, a box placed upon the outermost coffin (canopic box, according to Winlock; shabti box, according to Aston), and a whip. The reused coffin and a mummy board can be dated the 21st dynasty; however, Aston dates this tomb group to around 900 BCE or later (style of the box). Therefore, I propose a safer time interval between the late 21st and early 22nd dynasty.

Bibliography:

Winlock 1921, 34-36; Winlock 1942, 34-35; Aston, D. 2009a, 232.

MMA 1021**Original context**

Location: Second Valley

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: royal (Amenemhat)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Remarks:

See *Excursus*.

MMA 1101 (see TT 280)

MMA 1121 (see TT 117)

MMA 1151**Original context**

Location: hill to the south of the Third Valley

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 234)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 11th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2c

Intact/disturbed:
disturbed

**Minimal number of
persons buried:** 1

Dating: 'Late Period'

Dating criteria:
excavator's statement

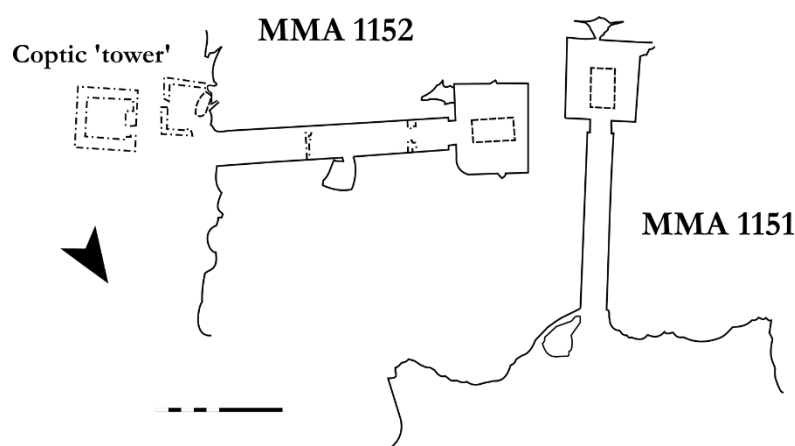


Figure 234. Plan of MMA 1151 and MMA 1152

Remarks:

MMA 1151, excavated by Winlock, is currently investigated by the Polish mission. Its shaft has not been cleared yet. Winlock believed that the tomb had not been finished and its burial chamber, with characteristic rounded corners, was a Late Period addition to the earlier structure (Kaczanowicz 2018b, 219-220). A large number of objects, mostly pottery sherds, textiles, beads, and clay ushebtis were found in the courtyards of MMA 1151 and the nearby MMA 1152. According to the archives of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a scarab made of lapis lazuli was discovered in MMA 1151 (Kaczanowicz 2018b, 223-226).

Bibliography:

Kaczanowicz 2018b.

MMA 1152

Original context

Location: hill to the south of the Third Valley

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 234)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 11th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1, 3b.1 or 4a.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 22nd dynasty (1 burial), 25th-26th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: pottery, cartonnages, coffins, beads nets, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

A large number of objects datable to the first millennium BCE were discovered during Polish excavations in MMA 1152. These include pottery of both Libyan (represented mostly by bowls with straight walls and a foot) and Kushite-Saite date, coffin fragments (Taylor Phases II and III), cartonnages pieces (including gilded fragments), faience (my types 3 and 4) and clay ushebtis (my types 1a, 2b, 2e, 2i, 3a, 3b, 3e, 3f, 3h, 3i), amulets, beads (from bead nets), a faience heart scarab inscribed with Chapter 30B of the Book of the Dead (name of the owner missing), textile fragments, and horns from the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure. Several other objects, clearly intrusive, such as a funerary cone of Ramose, owner of TT 132 (25th dynasty), were also found in the tomb (Kaczanowicz 2018b, 220-226). One of the coffin fragments bore the name of Osiris written with a pennant determinative (Kaczanowicz 2018b, 222).

The stratigraphy of the tomb was disturbed by thieves and previous, undocumented archaeological works; however, at least one burial was certainly deposited at the end of the unfinished corridor going down from the bottom of the main shaft. Possibly, the niche in the north wall of the shaft was hewn out to accommodate new burials in the first millennium BCE. A side chamber, adjacent to the main corridor, was hewn at some point, but it can be Coptic. Finally, a shallow shaft was found in the courtyard, filled with a mix of Coptic and Pharaonic material (Kaczanowicz 2018b, 219).

Bibliography:

Chudzik, Ćwiek 2015; Kaczanowicz 2018b.

Kampp tombs

Kampp -14- (Mond Mummy Pit 2)

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 235)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Middle Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 1075-725 BCE

Dating criteria: stela, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

During Mond's works, two mummy pits, '*situated at the end of a tunnel arched with bricks*', were examined (Mond 1905, 73). During the clearance of the chambers on the bottom of Pit 2, a third shaft was discovered (Mond 1905, 75). The tomb is probably identical with

Kampp -14-
(Kampp
1996, 630).

Pit 1 proved
to be devoid
of finds,
while Pit 3
contained

objects which could not be securely dated to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period. In Pit 2, several objects datable to the first millennium BCE were discovered:

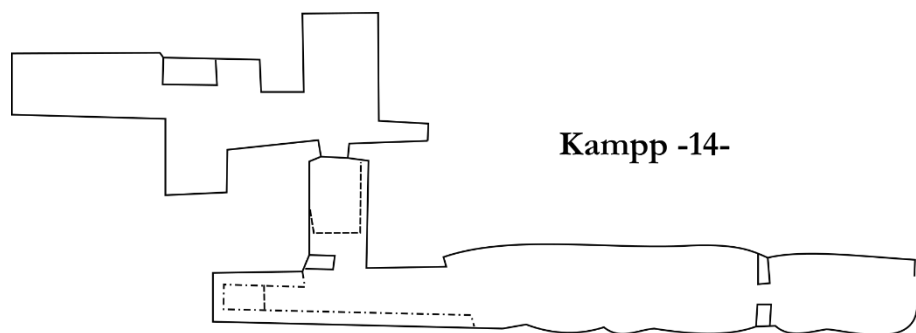


Figure 235. Plan of Kampp -14-

a wooden stela painted on both sides of a lady Tjetashakhet, dated by Mond to the Saite Period (no drawing of the stela was provided, but the description of decoration suggests Aston types I-III (ca. 1075-725 BCE); such dating is confirmed by the early spelling of the name of Osiris), six wooden coffins of a black type, datable to *‘a late period, with names erased, in which were greek [sic!] mummies, which did not belong to them and contained no valuables’*, a painted wooden coffin *‘of the XXVIth dynasty’*, *‘representations of the sun boat and of a naos mounted on four wheeled carriages’*, some pottery lids of canopic jars, one travertine lid, four heart scarabs, a papyrus with the text of Book of Hours, 25 wooden faces from coffins, and 5000 pottery ushebtis (Mond 1905, 73-75). Tjetashakhet’s stela was found in front of the entrance to the pit, and the ushebtis in *‘a shallow pit leading out of the second chamber’*; the findspot of the remaining objects was not given.

Section of the tomb published by Mond (no scale was provided) shows that the shaft was of significant depth and chambers on the bottom formed a sequence of rooms. According to Kampp, the underground complex was hewn or enlarged to accommodate later burials. Mond’s remark on the ‘Greek mummies’ deposited in earlier coffins should not be discarded. Since Tjetashakhet’s stela seems to be the only relatively well datable object from the pit, I am forced to assume the minimal number of burials in the first millennium BCE, i.e. 1.

Bibliography:

Mond 1905, 73-75; Kampp 1996, 630.

Kampp -28- (AT 28)

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp VIII (Figure 236)

Royal/private: private (Amenhotep Huy, vizier)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Amenhotep III)

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 1100-960 BCE (1 burial), early
22nd dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: coffins

Remarks:

The tomb, currently investigated by the Spanish mission, proved to be reused several times in the first millennium BCE.

Apparently, the site was held sacred in this period, a manner similar to the nearby tomb of Kheruef (TT 192). The excavations revealed that the original chapel was ‘dedicated during the Third Intermediate Period. Later it became a site for preparation of mummies, and the vizier venerated here, as an intermediary before the god Osiris’ (Martín-Valentín, Bedman 2017, 379). Around the chapel, some wooden and pottery ears were found, interpreted by the excavators as votive offerings. Associated with the embalming process probably should be the mudbrick bed ‘with the evidence of having been used for mummification of a body, along with dozens of bundles of linen containing natron’ (Martín-Valentín, Bedman 2013, 193). Inside the chapel, leather straps were discovered; one with the representation of Osorkon I (Martín-Valentín, Bedman 2013, 194).

Remains of burials datable to the period of reuse were found: a coffin with an intact mummy of an anonymous chantress of Amun (Niwiński type II) discovered next to the façade, a coffin of a priest of Amun called [Pa]diirykhonsu; according to Martín-Valentín and Bedman a relative of Osorkon I, pottery ushebtis of [Pa]diirykhonsu (my type 2g), an ivory female figurine (‘a concubine’) dated by the excavators to the Third Intermediate Period, ushebtis and mummy bandages as well as human remains (Martín-Valentín, Bedman 2013, 186; 191-193; Martín-Valentín, Bedman 2017, 379; 383).

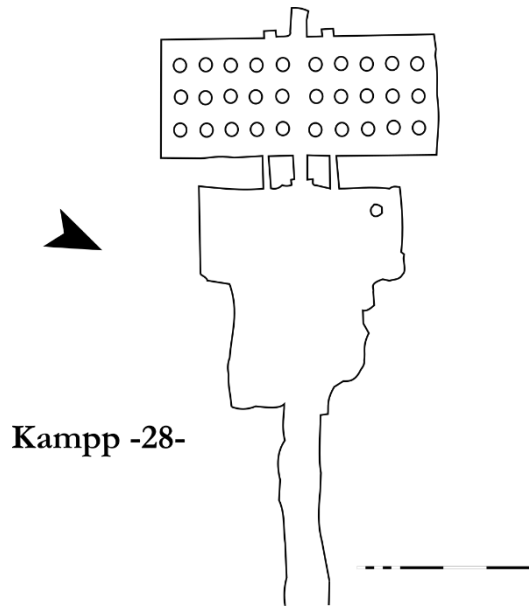


Figure 236. Plan of Kampp -28-

Bibliography:

Gordon 1983; Kampp 1996, 637-638; Martin-Valentin, Bedman 2011; Martín-Valentín, Bedman 2013; Martín-Valentín, Bedman 2017.

Kampp -43-

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 237)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: New Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

**Minimal number of persons
buried:** 1

Dating: 22nd dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnage

Remarks:

Excavations in Kampp -43- are conducted by the Hungarian archaeological mission: *‘Minor finds indicate that the rubble accumulated in the tomb chapel was not at all intact. The identity of the fragmentary though beautiful pieces of a 22nd Dynasty cartonnage-case (Figs 30–32), the limestone-vessel fragment, probably that of a canopic jar (Figs 33–34), the torn mummy-wrapping, the bones and other human remains is not clear. They are evidently the results of tomb robbing, but they could belong to the burial(s) of this tomb or equally to those of some nearby monuments*

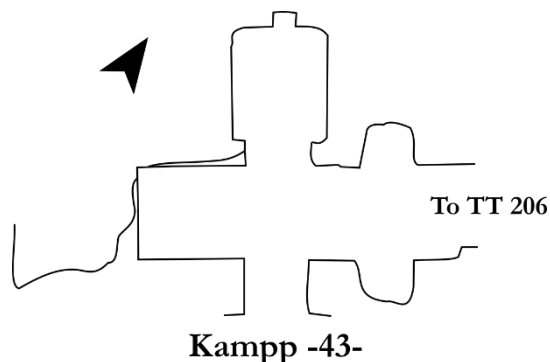


Figure 237. Plan of Kampp -43-

(...)' (Fábián 2005, 15). The tomb was further reused in the Ptolemaic Period (Mekis 2010).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 644; Fábián 2007; Mekis 2010.

Kampp -48-

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 238)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: New Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: 2*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Twenty-First Dynasty'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

The tomb was briefly discussed by Davies in his publication of the nearby TT 39: *'The gallery to which the outer shaft gives access is as imposing as Puyemre's own is tortuous and unpromising. A wide passage (...),*

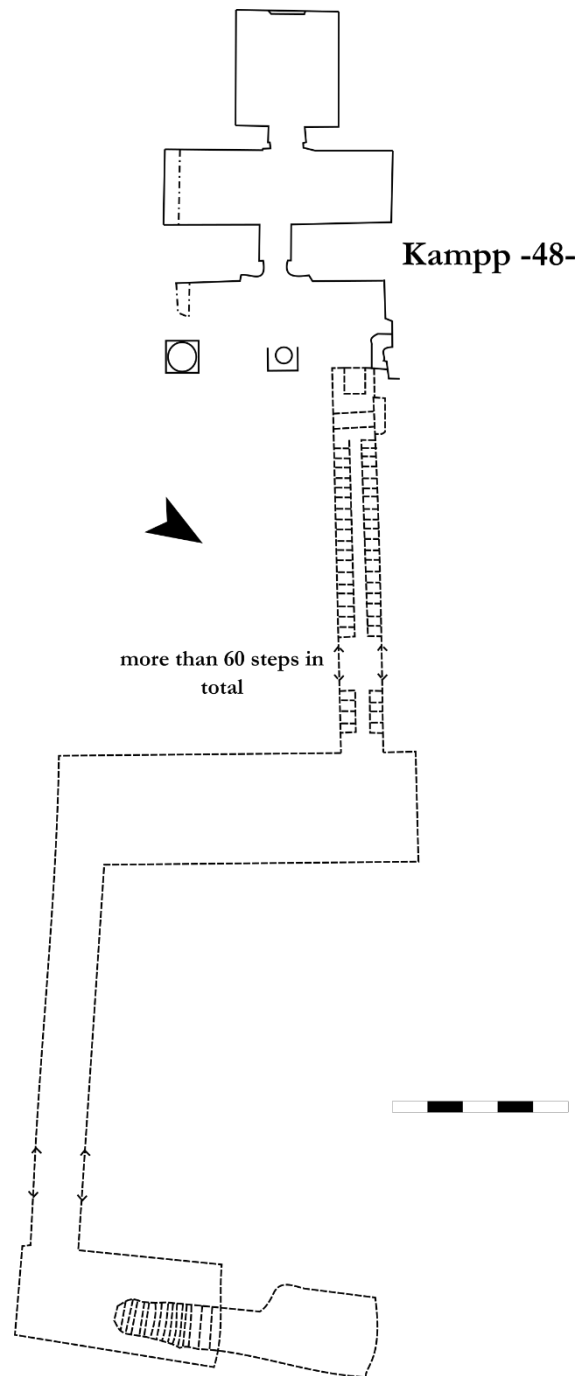


Figure 238. Plan of Kampp -48-

which at first is of some height, descends by a long flight of easy steps, as well cut as the rock allows and broken in the center by a narrow slide on which heavy coffins might be lowered with ease. (...) The writer, remembering his own sensations when, having crept over the debris nearly blocking the long descent, he plunged knee-deep into a wild tangle of human remains, mummy bandages, and cartonnage, can well imagine that the designer of the sepulchre, if he shared at all the feelings of the explorer, might well attribute to the dead also a preference for lying a little nearer the upper air. (...) Little of interest was secured from this mass of dry corruption. Woodwork of coffins, if there had been any, had all been carried to the fire. The remains gave the impression of a late age, and this opinion was more than confirmed by some small pieces of cartonnage which were composed in part of Greek papyri. But this does not in any way give a date for the hewing out of the chambers, though these too wear a late aspect. On the other hand, the descending slide suggests heavier burdens than the late period generally furnished, and the mass of extruded coffins of the Twenty-First Dynasty which were found in the courtyard may have been previous occupants. The small size of the actual sepulchre indicates that the tomb was not hewn as a common grave; while, on the other hand, the dimensions of the lower chamber suggest a hospitable attitude towards relatives or retainers' (Davies, N. 1923a, II, 58-59).

The exact number of objects in the 'mass of extruded coffins' was not given anywhere. Since it was customary during the 21st dynasty to provide the deceased with a set of three coffins, I am forced to assume the minimal number of burials, i.e. 1.

Bibliography:

Davies, N. 1923a; Kampp 1996, 651-652.

Kampp -49- (AT 2)

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 239)

Royal/private: private (Mahu, guardian of the king's treasury?)

Dating: 19th dynasty (Merenptah)

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: bead nets, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, pottery

Remarks:

The tomb, first reused in the late Ramesside Period by a man named Amenosi (who restored part of the original decoration; Redford, S. 2006, 316), was reused at least once more during the late dynastic times. However, according to Redford, both the main shaft and sloping passage were hewn out in the New Kingdom; *'Items of Late Period burial assemblages confirm the use of the tomb during this time, however, no physical modifications to the tomb are apparent'* (Redford, S. 2006, 129).

A large number of objects associated with later burial(s) in Kampp -49- were found during Redford's excavations in TT 188 and the neighbouring area: amulets (including winged scarabs and Four Sons of Horus), beads (from bead nets), pottery canopic jars, an almost complete set of pottery ushebtis (my type 2), more pottery (my types 2 and 3i), more pottery and faience ushebtis (one fragment, unknown type), bronze flail from Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, wooden horns from Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, coffins fragments, and pottery (dated by the excavator to the Third Intermediate Period/Late Period; the only sherd mentioned in this group is a Phoenician jar rim of Saite date) (Redford, S. 2006, 164-169; 252). The bead nets can be dated to 750 BCE or later; of similar date must be the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue, since figures with horns made their first appearance around the beginning of the Kushite Period and remained in fashion until the end of the Ptolemaic times. The rest of the finds cannot be dated more precisely.

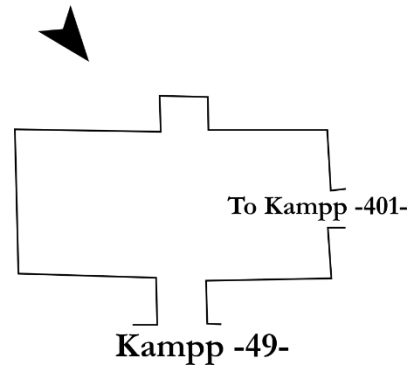


Figure 239. Plan of Kampp -49-

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 652; Redford, S. 2006.

Kampp -56- (see TT 392)

Kampp -61-

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Va

Royal/private: private (Amenhotep, chief physician in the domain of Amun)

Dating: 20th dynasty (Ramesses III)¹¹¹

Later context

Type of burial: 1, 3a.1, 3b.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 24

Dating: late 21st dynasty (7 burials), 22nd dynasty (4 burials), 26th-27th dynasty (10 burials), 30th dynasty-early Ptolemaic Period (3 burials)

Dating criteria: coffins, mummy braces, cartonnages, depictions of unguent cones, pottery

Remarks:

The tomb, discovered by Saleh, was reused several times in the first millennium BCE. The first reuse took place in the late 21st dynasty: remains of burial equipment dated to this period were discovered in Rooms VII and IX, the original (Ramesside) burial chambers of the tomb. Fragments of at least 7 ‘yellow’ coffins - three female and four

¹¹¹ A reused 18th dynasty tomb.

male - were discovered during the Hungarian excavations in the tomb. No name could be reconstructed from the fragments, although one of the coffins belonged to a priest of Amunrasonther. While the coffins could be part of elaborate multi-piece sets, Schreiber convincingly argues that the style of these coffins and absence of mummy boards as well as other elements of burial equipment suggests that their owners were of a lower economic status and probably could not afford more than one coffin (Schreiber 2015b, 39). The presence of mummy braces, painted red, corroborates the 21st dynasty date. Apart from these finds, a lead falcon pectoral was discovered in Room VII. No 21st dynasty pottery was recorded in the tomb; according to Schreiber, its absence can be attributed to the shift in beliefs regarding the afterlife and objects required there, which can be observed in the 21st dynasty.

During the later Libyan Period, burials continued to be deposited in the Ramesside burial chambers, although according to Schreiber the ownership of the tomb changed between the 21st and 22nd dynasty (Schreiber 2015b, 42). Remains of at least four burials were discovered in these rooms and the neighbouring area: of a God's Father of Amun named Hor, of his father entitled likewise, Ankhefenamun, of Hor's wife (?), and the anonymous burial in Room VII. Of Hor's burial equipment, fragments of coffin and cartonnage (with the depiction of unguent cones of Maraite/Taylor type 1) were discovered; of Ankhefenamun's, a heart scarab and a linen roll with his titles written in black ink. Remains of a female cartonnage, ascribed by Schreiber to Hor's wife, were discovered in the same chamber (Room IX), together with a set of 332 uninscribed ushebtis of fired clay (those of workmen and overseers whitewashed), which may have belonged to any of the deceased interred there. The fourth burial was discovered in Room VII: its remains comprise a cartonnage case with a wooden footboard, coffin fragments, and fired clay ushebtis painted blue.

The next reuse of the underground chambers of Kampp -61- took place during the Saite-Persian era and the 30th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (Schreiber 2015b, 50). Pottery of these eras (locally manufactured bowls, beakers and jars of Nile silt and marl as well as painted vessels), faience scarabs, the Four Sons of Horus, *tjet*, *djed*, *wedjat*, *ankh* and other amulets, and 330 complete ushebtis of clay and faience were discovered in the sloping passage and Rooms VI-IX (Schreiber 2015b, 50-58). According to Schreiber, at least 8 different sets of bead net amulets were found in the tomb (five of the Saite Period and the other three dated to the late 27th and 30th

dynasty-Ptolemaic Period), indicating that the minimal number of burials in the Saite-Persian Period and the 30th-Ptolemaic times should also be 8. Ushebtis discovered in this tomb belong to types 4b (faience), and 1a, 2a, 2g, 2h,3h (clay).

A new shaft, ending in a single burial chamber ('Shaft 2'), was hewn in the courtyard in the late Saite Period. While its contents were found in a fragmentary state, the ceramic vessels date it securely to the sixth century BCE. Particularly noteworthy is a Lesbian amphora, manufactured around 600-550 BCE, with remains of embalming materials. Apart from the pottery, fragments of an undecorated *qeresu* coffin ('with buff coat') were discovered in the shaft.

Finally, another shaft ('Shaft 4') was cut in the rear part of the chapel in the Late Period. The shaft ends in a single large burial chamber. Inside the chamber, remains of at least four burials came to light. The main dating criterion was pottery, including both local and foreign vessels (Clazomenian amphorae).

The mudbrick wall in the chapel can be associated with the later burials (Schreiber 2015b, 48).

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 662-664; Aston, D. 2009a, 164; Schreiber 2015b.

Kampp -162-

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp VIIb (Figure 240)

Royal/private: private (Parennefer, high priest of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty (Tutankhamun to Horemheb)

Later context

Type of burial: 3a*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 750 BCE or later

Dating criteria: bead nets, excavator's statement

Remarks:

Kampp reports the presence of several later shafts in the transverse hall and the chapel which were not excavated due to '*statischen Gründen*'; they were not marked on the published plan (Kampp 1996, 714). However, the presence of several burnt burials, hundreds of ushebtis, shabti boxes, and remains of bead nets indicates that indeed at least one burial must have taken place in the tomb after 750 BCE.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1994; Kampp 1996, 713-716.

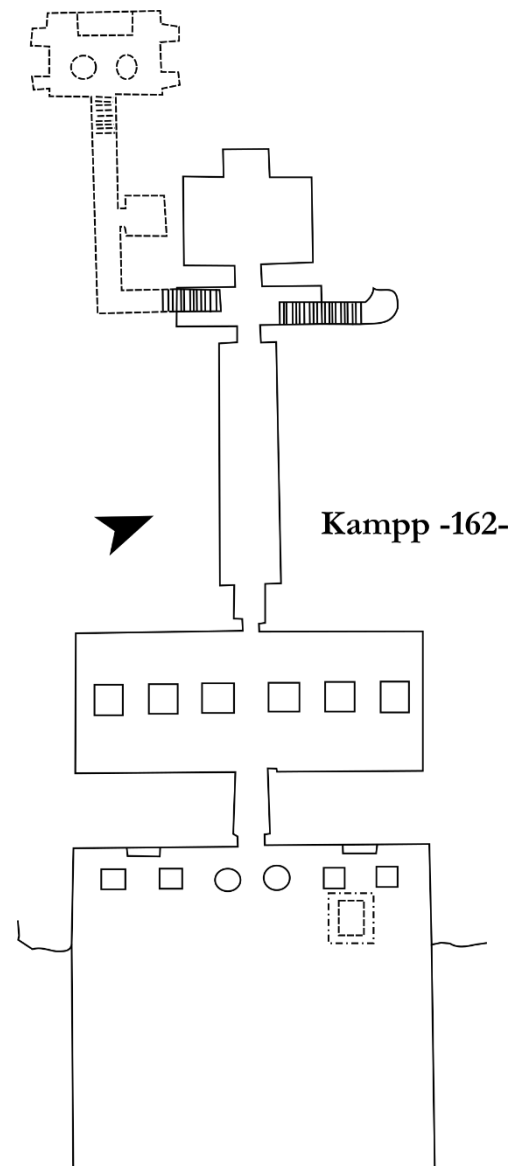


Figure 240. Plan of Kampp -162-

Kampp -171-

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: possibly Kampp IVa¹¹² (Figure 241)

Royal/private: private (Usi, scribe of the accounts of corn in the southern cities)

Dating: 18th dynasty

¹¹² Tomb currently inaccessible.

Later context

Type of burial: 3b.1

Intact/disturbed: intact

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: first half of the 22nd dynasty

Dating criteria: coffins, shabti boxes

Remarks:

Two intact interments were discovered by Petrie in the course of his 1908-1909 excavations in Qurna. Both burials were placed in a single chamber at the bottom

of the shallow square shaft in front of the entrance to Kampp -171- (close to TT 19; in Aston's catalogue it appears as a burial 'in the forecourt of the tomb of Amenmesse (TT 19)'). Petrie also discovered an intact mudbrick platform, covering the mouth of the shaft, made of bricks mixed with funerary cones.

The exact dimensions of the shaft were not published, although Petrie remarked that the pit was very shallow, 'only just deep enough to allow of a chamber roof under the court'. He also mentioned that the coffins had to be dismantled in order to get them on the surface due to the small size of the underground chamber.

In the room beneath the court, Petrie discovered mummies of a woman, a chantress of Amun named Perenbastet (Aston TG 653), and of an unnamed man (TG 652). The woman's mummy was found in a yellow coffin covered with a thick layer of pitch and accompanied by two wooden boxes filled with blue pottery ushebtis (respectively, 185 and 183) of type 2b, clean sand, an Osiris figure, and lotus flowers. The man was buried in two coffins (the outer one was black). Inside the inner coffin, there was a pillow, a clay figure wrapped in cloth, and a flower on the deceased's chest, but no traces of pitch were recorded by the excavator. The man was buried with two shabti boxes with figurines (my type 3f), and an Osiris figure. The style of coffins and boxes indicates that both burials can be dated to the early 22nd dynasty.

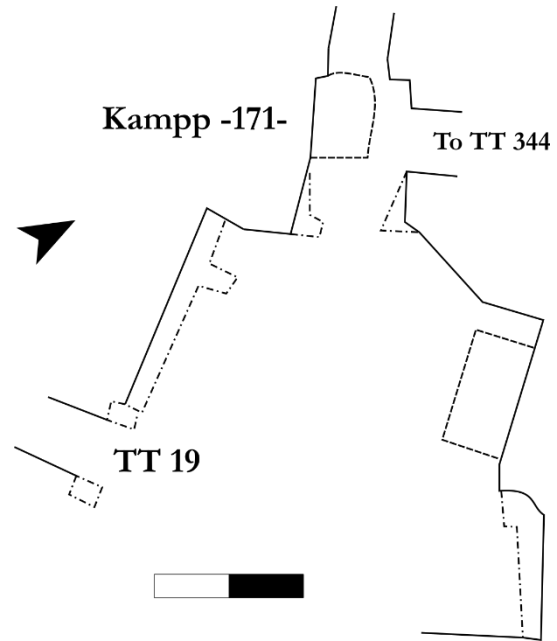


Figure 241. Plan of Kampp -171-

The other shaft in the courtyard of Kampp -171- (the northwest part), probably original, contained a broken granite statue of Usi and an upper part of a limestone statue, which according to Hofmann and Guksch (quoted by Kampp) dates to the Third Intermediate Period.

Bibliography:

Petrie 1909, 12; 15; Kampp 1996, 719-720; Aston, D. 2009a, 160; Manchester Museum website, Shabti [5053.g]; Manchester Museum, website, Shabti [5101].

Kampp -183- (see TT 233)

Kampp -264- (Mond Tomb H)

Original context

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: Kampp IIIa (Figure 242)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Middle Kingdom¹¹³

Later context

Type of burial: 1*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 21

Dating: 750 BCE or later

Dating criteria: bead nets

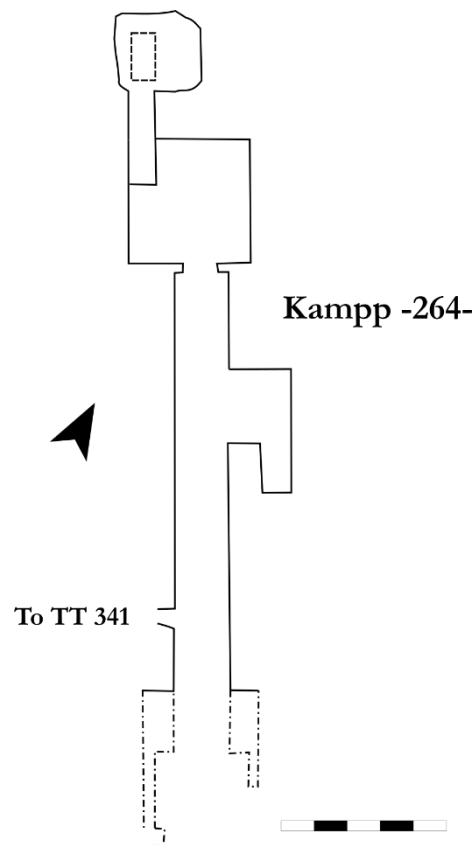


Figure 242. Plan of Kampp -264-

¹¹³ According to Kampp, reused in the 17th or early 18th dynasty (Kampp 1996, 748).

Remarks:

Remains of 21 plundered mummies ‘*of the Saitic period*’ were found by Mond and Emery in the first chamber, ‘*but beyond a quantity of blue faience cylinder beads nothing of interest was found on them*’ (Mond, Emery 1927, 31). These ‘blue faience cylinder beads’ are probably remains of bead nets, thus indicating a date after 750 BCE. Additionally, ‘*on the west wall of the entrance passage an attempt had been made to cut a second burial chamber, probably at a later period, but this was abandoned before the work had progressed to any great extent*’ (Mond, Emery 1927, 31).

Bibliography:

Mond, Emery 1927, 31-33; Kampp 1996, 748-749.

Kampp -327- (see TT 109)

Kampp -359- (see MMA 828)

Kampp -362- (see MMA 832)

Kampp -364- (see MMA 834)

Kampp -365-

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: Kampp IIa (Figure 147)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: New Kingdom

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Late Period'

Dating criteria: information by Kampp

Remarks:

'*Fragments of texts*' of Nesiamun, mentioned by Porter and Moss as originating from MMA 834, may as well originate from Kampp -365- (Porter, Moss 1964, 653; Kampp 1996, 764). However, in Strudwick's publication of TT 297 and the surrounding area, Kampp -365- (just like MMA 834) is not listed among the tombs reused in the Third Intermediate Period (Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65).

Bibliography:

Porter, Moss 1964, 653; Kampp 1996, 764; Strudwick, N. 2003b, 65.

Kampp -366- (see MMA 830)

Kampp -368- (see MMA 830C)

Kampp -369- (see MMA 830D)

Kampp -400-

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: Kampp Vb (Figure 243)

Royal/private: private (Khamin, scribe of the treasury in the Domain of Amun)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2b, 3a.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 13

Dating: 25th dynasty (2 burials), 25th-27th dynasty (11 burials)

Dating criteria: coffins, palaeography, pottery, cartonnages, spelling of the name of Osiris, bead nets

Remarks:

A burial shaft ('Structure 3'), located in the east part of the transverse hall (to the right of the entrance to the long corridor), was discovered by the Hungarian archaeological mission. The shaft, approximately 6 m deep, ends with two burial chambers (dubbed 'Chambers 2 and 3').

Chamber 3, apparently the earlier of the two, contained remains of four coffined burials. Associated with the earliest of them were fragments of a coffin and of a cartonnage case of similar style, proving that the burial belonged to the 'transitional' phase between the Libyan and Kushite Period. Only on one of the three remaining coffins the name of the deceased was preserved: Djedisety. The palaeography (the late orthography of Gardiner V28 sign and the spelling of Osiris name with a pennant determinative) points to a date between 740 and 650 BCE. Djedisety's coffin's lid as well the remaining cases exhibit Taylor Phase II Design 1 (a single column of inscription, running through the whole coffin lid).

In Chamber 2, remains of at least seven burials came to light. The published burial equipment discovered in the chamber includes seven anthropoid coffins (belonging to Takhat, Tahereret, Minirdis, and four anonymous deceased), pottery sherds (including local Theban vessels, a Phoenician jar, a Clazomenian amphora, a Memphite bottle), and a piece of linen with a name of Besa (or Basa), dated to the Year 28 of an unnamed king.

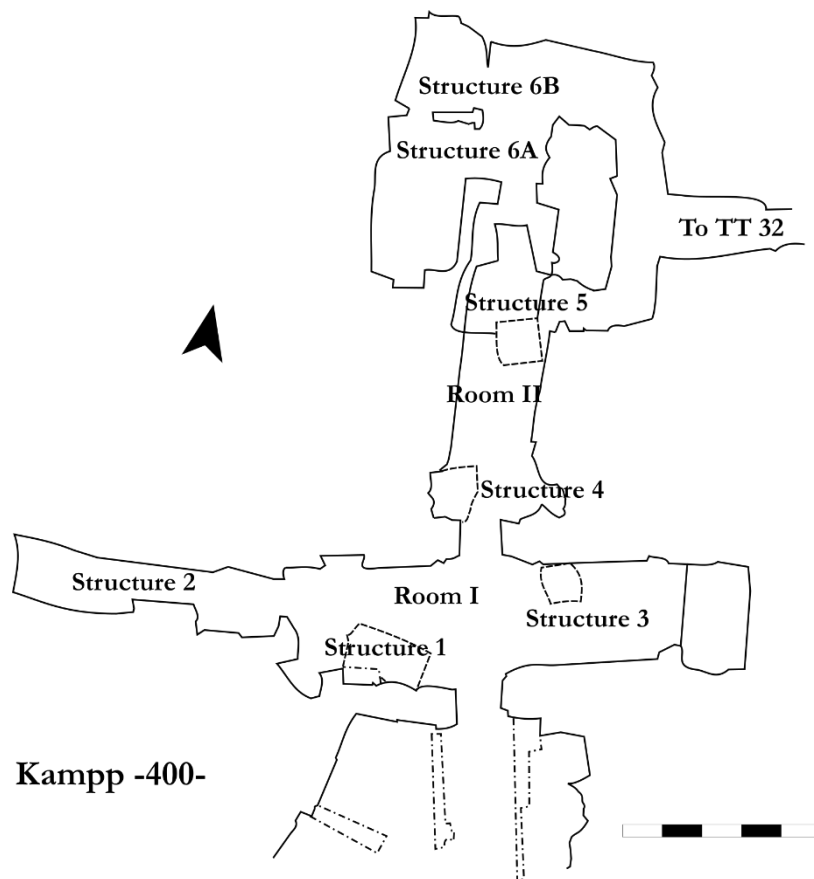


Figure 243. Plan of Kampp -400-

The coffins represent a broad chronological span, starting with Takhat and Taheret's coffins dated to the second half of the 26th dynasty (Taylor Phase III Design 3), ending with the three plain coffins (one painted yellow, one black, and one 'a tan hue') most probably datable to the Persian Period. The pottery vessels, especially imported ones, corroborate such dating; vessels of similar date were discovered also in the fill of the courtyard. It was proposed by Schreiber that the linen discovered in Chamber 2 should be dated to the reign of Psamtek I or Amasis.

At the bottom of a Ramesside shaft ('Structure 5'), two burial chambers were discovered, one late Ramesside ('Chamber 2'), and the other hewn in the Kushite Period ('Chamber 1'). Since we are dealing here with enlargement of already existing underground spaces, I have attributed burials discovered in Chamber 1 to type 2.

Inside Chamber 1, the following elements of burial equipment came to light, all very fragmentarily preserved: pieces of coffins and cartonnages (Taylor Phase II Design 2C), belonging to the chamber manager in the Domain of Amun named Panetyenpawtyrekhsu, and [...]ankhet, possibly Panetyenpawtyrekhsu's wife or

another female family member, clay ushebtis (types 2a, 3f, 3h), amulets from bead nets (a winged scarab and Four Sons of Horus, Budka type 1), and pottery vessels representing Aston Phase III S, giving to the burials deposited in the chamber a date in the 25th dynasty. The orthography of the name of Osiris, preserved on cartonnage fragments, corroborates such a date.

The Kushite burial chamber was connected with the Ramesside sloping passage of Kampp -400- in the Ptolemaic Period, when the tomb was extensively reused.

Bibliography:

Kampp 1996, 769; Schreiber 2015a; Schreiber 2018a; Schreiber 2018b.

KV and WV tombs

KV 1

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 244)

Royal/private: royal (Ramesses VII)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

**Minimal number of persons
buried:** 1

Dating: Late Period

Additional remarks:

Pottery fragments, dated to the Late Period, were discovered in KV 1. It remains unknown if they had constituted part of the actual burial equipment deposited in the tomb or are intrusive.

Bibliography:

Aston, D., B. Aston, Brock 1998, 160-163.

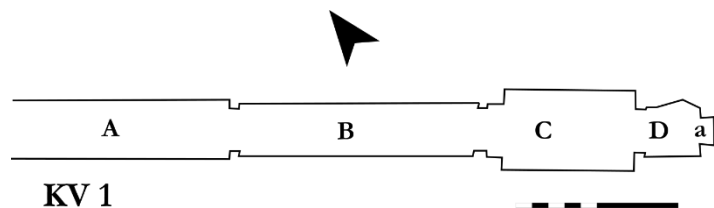


Figure 244. Plan of KV 1

KV 4

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 245)

Royal/private: royal (Ramesses XI)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

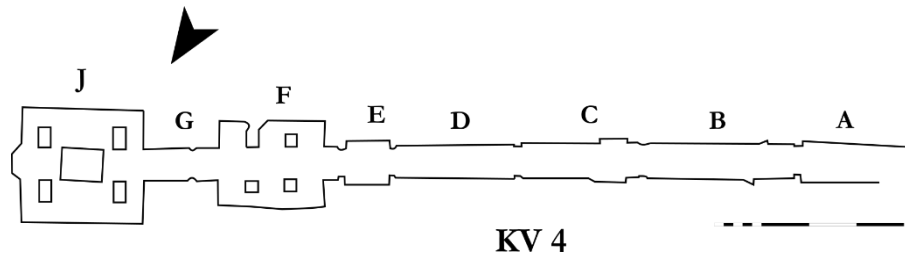


Figure 245. Plan of KV 4

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnages

Remarks:

KV 4, originally planned for Ramesses XI but never used, bears signs indicating that Pinodjem I intended to reuse it for his own burial; his cartouches were added to the original decoration. Ultimately the idea was abandoned and the tomb was left unfinished (Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 172).

Remains of '*up to three private burials*' were discovered by Romer in the tomb during the 1978-1980 excavations and dated by Aston to 930-700 BCE based on the presence of cartonnage fragments. Pieces of wooden coffins came to light as well (Ciccarello, Romer 1979, 2; Aston, D. 2009a, 157).

Bibliography:

Thomas 1966, 132-133; Ciccarello, Romer 1979; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 172-173; Aston, D. 2009a, 157.

KV 5

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: other (Figure 246)

Royal/private: private (children of Ramesses II)

Dating: 19th dynasty¹¹⁴

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: perhaps 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period-Late Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

Pottery sherds dated to the 'Third Intermediate Period, Late Period, and Coptic' were found inside the first chamber of KV 5, principally in the southeast quadrant. *'The pottery seems originally to have lain, largely intact, along the chamber walls and have been crushed in situ by the weight of ceiling fall and debris'* (Weeks 1992, 110; 113). However, Weeks interpreted these fragments as stray finds, not associated with any burial in the tomb. Since no other rooms were excavated, it remains unclear whether the sherds are indeed intrusive. No late dynastic *graffiti* were found on the walls.

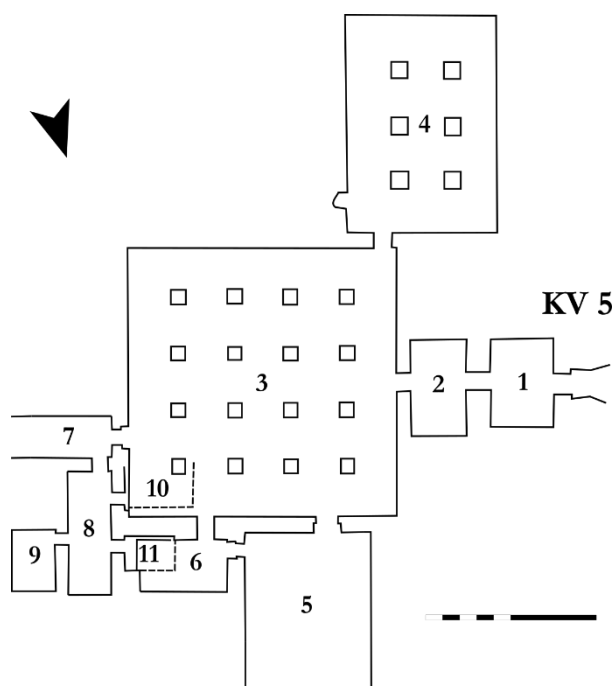


Figure 246. Plan of KV 5

¹¹⁴ Weeks argues that the tomb was a reused 18th dynasty structure (Weeks 1992, 105-108).

Bibliography:

Weeks 1992.

KV 10

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 247)

Royal/private: royal (Amenmesse, later appropriated by Takhat and Baketwerner/Baketwerel)

Dating: 19th dynasty

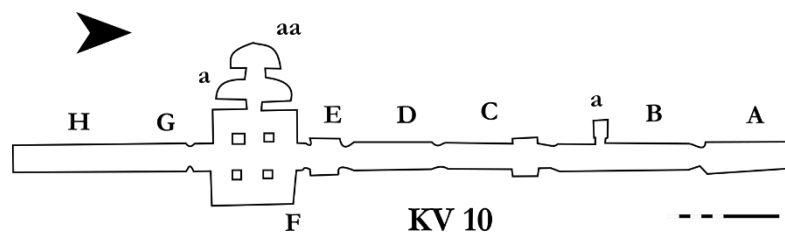


Figure 247. Plan of KV 10

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 21st-22nd dynasty

Dating criteria: ushebtis

Remarks:

A fragment of a blue faience ushebtis (my type 3a), found by Schaden inside the tomb in 2000, as well as a crudely made mud figurine, which can be dated to the later era, indicate that at least one burial took place in KV 10 in the first millennium BCE.

Bibliography:

Thomas 1966, 110-111; Schaden 1998; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 150-151; Schaden 2004.

KV 11

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 248)

Royal/private: royal (Ramesses III)

Dating: 20th dynasty

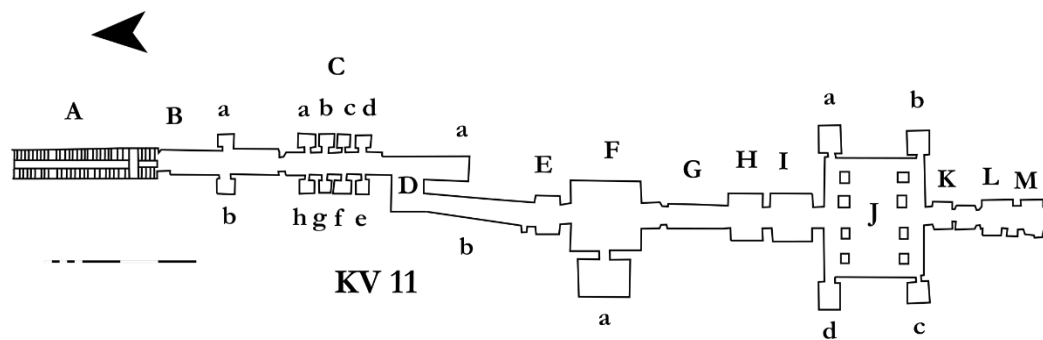


Figure 248. Plan of KV 11

Later context

Type of burial: 1*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Late Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

Five body sherds of a ‘Late Period Phoenician amphora’ came to light during the archaeological works by the Egyptian authorities in the well of KV 11 (Aston, D., B. Aston, Brock 1998, 149). However, it is unclear if the vessel was part of a burial deposited in the tomb, or was brought into it by floodwater. Similarly, ‘human remains noted in one of the side chambers of the tomb (J2) by both the French expedition and James Burton were evidently intrusive and of Third Intermediate Period date’ (Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 161).

Bibliography:

Thomas 1966, 125; Aston, D., B. Aston, Brock 1998, 149; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 159-161.

KV 16**Original context**

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 249)

Royal/private: royal (Ramesses I)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons

buried: 2

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Late Period

Dating criteria: tomb covered with debris in the Graeco-Roman Period

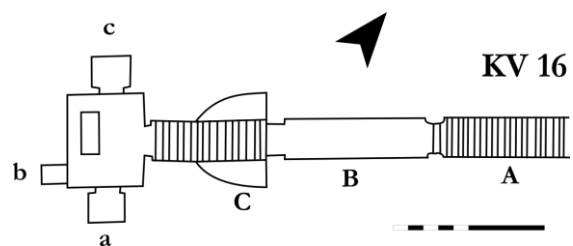


Figure 249. Plan of KV 16

Remarks:

Belzoni discovered ‘a sarcophagus of granite, with two mummies in it’ in the tomb, but did not describe grave goods associated with them, although he mentioned some remains of the original tomb equipment. Therefore, I concur with Aston’s statement that the mummies cannot be dated otherwise but to the 21st dynasty, when the body of the king was probably removed, or later. Lack of *graffiti* from the Graeco-Roman era indicates that the tomb was probably covered with debris at that time.

Bibliography:

Belzoni 1821, 229; Thomas 1966, 103-104; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 134-135; Aston, D. 2009a, 157.

KV 17**Original context**

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 250)

Royal/private: royal (Seti I)

Dating: 19th dynasty

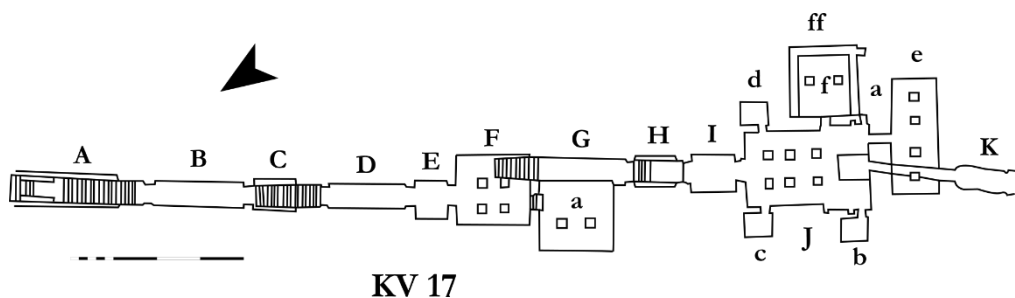


Figure 250. Plan of KV 17

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: perhaps 1

Dating: late 26th-30th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

Late Period pottery, including a bowl with a flaring rim and a miniature globular jar, both datable to the late sixth or fifth century BCE, and a keg datable to the fifth or fourth century BCE, came to light in the vicinity of the tomb (Aston, D. 2014a, 75-76).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2014a.

KV 18

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 251)

Royal/private: royal (Ramesses X)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: perhaps 1

Dating: late 26th-27th dynasty

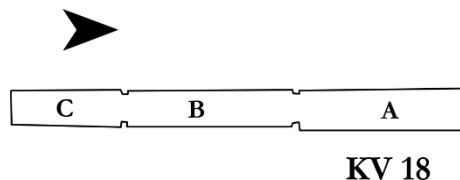


Figure 251. Plan of KV 18

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, pottery sherds similar to those found near KV 17 and datable to the ‘Late Saite-Persian Period’ were found next to KV 18 (Aston, D. 2014a, 75).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2014a.

KV 19

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 252)

Royal/private: royal (prince Montuherkhepeshef, son of Ramesses IX)¹¹⁵

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2b*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons

buried: 1

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnages

Remarks:

Ayrton, quoted by Thomas, gives the following description of the burial chamber of KV 19: ‘...as oblong pit had been sunk in the floor in which the mummy was placed,

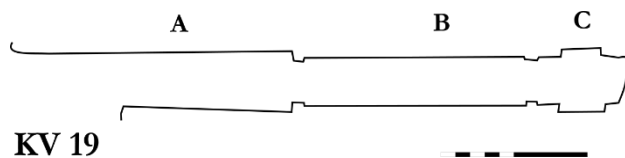


Figure 252. Plan of KV 19

¹¹⁵ Originally intended for prince Ramesses Sethherkhepeshef, later known as Ramesses VIII.

and the pit was then covered with flat limestone slabs level with the floor'. It is unclear whether the 'oblong pit' belonged to the original layout of the tomb or was added at some point.

The exact number of later burials discovered by Belzoni in the tomb is unknown. Aston dated at least one burial to years 930-700 BCE based on the presence of cartonnage fragments; this date should probably be extended to the Kushite era (perhaps Graeco-Roman as well). Since it cannot be proven that the pit was part of the original design, I tentatively assume a later date and therefore assign the burial to type 2.

Bibliography:

Belzoni 1821, 227; Thomas 1966, 151-152; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 170-171; Aston, D. 2009a, 157.

KV 21

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 253)

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner, perhaps a queen)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

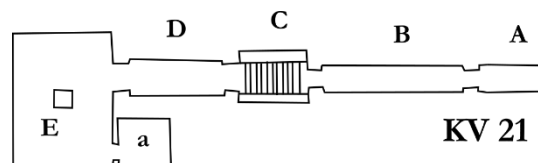


Figure 253. Plan of KV 21

Remarks:

Belzoni, who had excavated the tomb in 1817, found two female mummies, '*naked, without cloth or case*'. The position of the arms suggests the royal pose and therefore the mummies might belong to the original occupants of the tomb. Remains of the mummies were later rediscovered by Ryan, together with other objects, which '*fall into three categories: those from the original Eighteenth dynasty burial, those suggesting reuse during the Third Intermediate Period, and other objects that are intrusive*'. The exact date or description of finds has not yet been published.

The two niches in the pillar room in the opinion of Thomas appear to be later than the original structure.

Bibliography:

Belzoni 1821, 228; Thomas 1966, 139; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 115; Ryan 2007a.

KV 27**Original context**

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: shaft tomb (Figure 254)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period (or later)'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

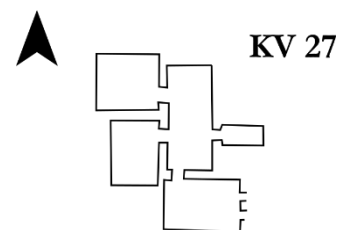


Figure 254. Plan of KV 27

Remarks:

In 2007, rotten remains of a wooden coffin were discovered by Ryan in the upper layers of the debris in the chamber B-b. The coffin was tentatively dated to the '*Third Intermediate Period (or later)*' by its excavator. A '*base of a Late Period beaker*' was found in Chamber C in 2006, but it could be intrusive.

Bibliography:

Thomas 1966, 138-139; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 109; Ryan 2007b; Ryan 2010.

KV 28**Original context**

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: shaft tomb (Figure 255)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Third Intermediate Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

During Ryan's 1990 season, the remains of two individuals were discovered. They were tentatively assigned to the phase of reuse. In 2005, pieces of one or more wooden coffins were discovered. It was suggested that the shape of wood fragments probably

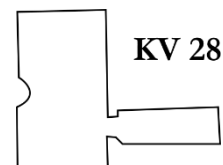


Figure 255. Plan of KV 28

indicated the presence of a patchwork coffin, originally housing a cartonnage, but this supposition has not been yet confirmed.

Remains of a child burial had been discovered by Carter in the loose debris of the tomb and dated by him to the Coptic era. However, this falls beyond the chronological scope of this paper.

Bibliography:

Thomas 1966, 138; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 182; Ryan 2007a.

KV 34

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 256)

Royal/private: royal (Thutmose III)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: Third Intermediate Period-Late Period

Dating criteria: presence of mummies

Remarks:

In one of the lateral rooms of the burial chamber, two destroyed mummies (one in a wooden coffin) were found. The lack of burial equipment does not allow to date them more precisely than the first millennium BCE, although Aston suggests a date in the ninth or eighth BCE, when other burials in the Valley took place. In the Late

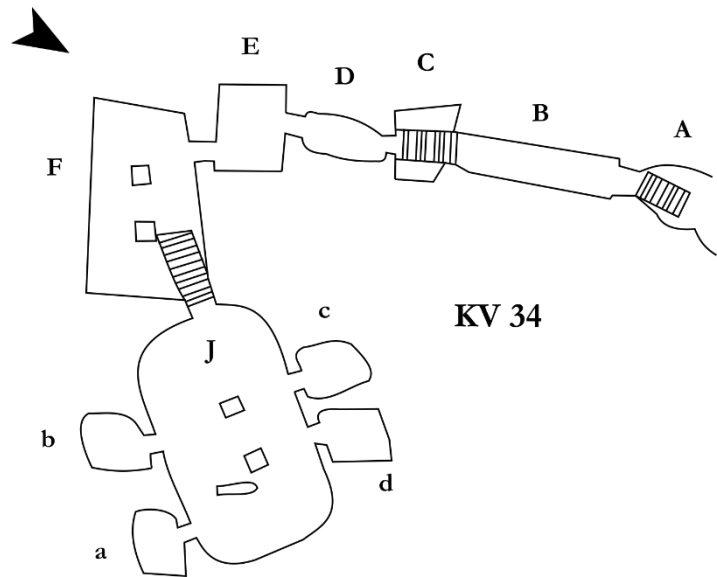


Figure 256. Plan of KV 34

Period, a copy of the royal sarcophagus was made, although it is impossible now to establish whether the mummies had already been present in the tomb at that time.

Bibliography:

Thomas 1966, 77; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 97-99; Aston, D. 2009a, 157-158.

KV 35**Original context**

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 42)

Royal/private: royal (Amenhotep II)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context**Remarks:**

See *Excursus*.

KV 40

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: shaft tomb (Figure 257)

Royal/private: private (communal burial place of the royal entourage of Amenhotep III)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd dynasty

Dating criteria: coffins

Remarks:

Fragments of painted cartonnage as well as of polychrome wooden caskets were discovered during Bickel and Paulin-Grothe's excavations, which were subsequently dated by them to the 22nd dynasty. It is in keeping with the results obtained from the neighbouring tomb KV 64, where an intact burial from the 22nd dynasty was discovered. The results of the project have not yet been fully published.

Bibliography:

Thomas 1966, 161; Bickel, Paulin-Grothe 2014.

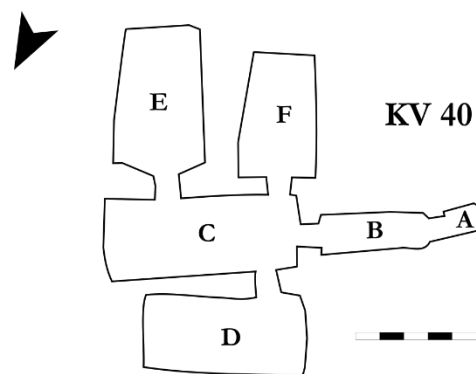


Figure 257. Plan of KV 40

KV 44

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: shaft tomb (Figure 258)

Royal/private: private tomb (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: intact

Minimal number of persons buried: 3

Dating: 22nd dynasty

Dating criteria: leather braces with the name of Osorkon I, coffins, cartonnages

Remarks:

Three intact mummies in coffins were found by Carter in 1901 in a sealed tomb, ‘*placed beside one another at one side of the chamber*’. The first one belonged to Iufaa (Aston TG 647), the second to an anonymous chantress of Amun (TG 648), and the third to Tjenetkherersheri (TG 649). The latter, found in a cartonnage, can be dated to years 923-891 BCE (the red leather braces with the name of Osorkon I). Aston brings out the similarity between TG 649 and TG 648 and suggests that both should be dated to the same period, i.e. 930-700 BCE. The mummy of Iufaa was discovered in a ‘*heavy wooden coffin, painted black, with rough yellow ornamentation, and inscription with red filling*’, which probably points to the 22nd dynasty. This would be in keeping with other burials, as they were probably more or less contemporary. All three burials were found with wreaths of flowers, identified by Newberry as *Mimusops*, *Mimosa Nilotica*, *Centaurea Depressa* (?) and *Nymphaea Coerulea*, which indicates that at least the last burial took place in summer.

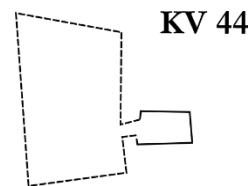


Figure 258. Plan of KV 44

Bibliography:

Carter 1901; Rowe 1942; Thomas 1966, 162; Ryan 1992a; Ryan 1995, 157; Aston, D. 2009a, 158.

KV 45

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: shaft tomb (Figure 259)

Royal/private: private (Userhat, overseer of the fields of Amun)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: intact

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 22nd dynasty

Dating criteria: coffins

Remarks:

During the 1902 season, Carter discovered remains of two mummies (male and female), each in two coffins and accompanied by two shabti boxes filled with figurines and floral wreaths (Aston TGs 650 and 651). The man's mummy was also accompanied by a black limestone scarab. The text on the scarab identifies the man as Merenkhonsu, the doorkeeper in the House of Amun. According to Carter, due to the flooding the burial equipment could not be retrieved. In 1991 the Pacific Lutheran University team entered the tomb and rediscovered pieces of coffins described by Carter, including the woman's facepiece and eighty-eight clay ushebti fragments. In 2005, remains of further 44 terracotta ushebtis came to light. According to Aston,

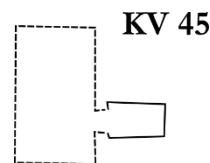


Figure 259. Plan of KV 45

a description of the man's coffin given by Carter (and now photos of the woman's coffin as well) makes it possible to identify it as the type with detachable face, which can be dated to 950-730 BCE.

Bibliography:

Carter 1903b; Ryan 1992b; Ryan 2007a; Aston, D. 2009a, 158-159.

KV 47

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 260)

Royal/private: royal (Siptah)

Dating: 19th dynasty

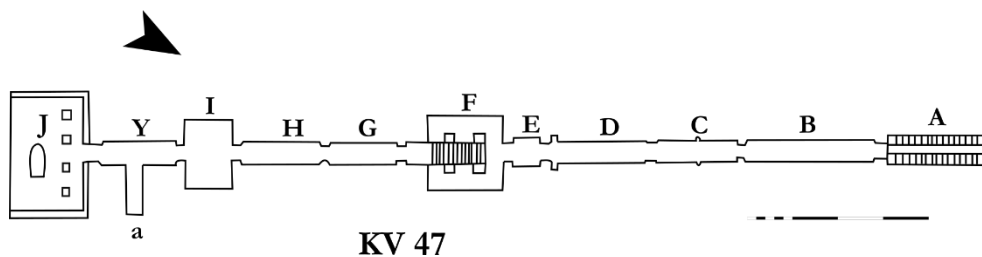


Figure 260. Plan of KV 47

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: perhaps 1

Dating: sixth-fifth century BCE

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

During Burton's excavations in the tomb, human remains ('*nothing more than a few scattered human bones*') were identified in the sarcophagus (Burton 1916, 16). Since Siptah's mummy was discovered in the 'cache' KV 35, the bones must have belonged to some other deceased. Reeves and Wilkinson proposed that they should be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 155). Additionally, a bowl with modelled rim datable to the sixth or fifth century BCE was discovered in the vicinity of KV 47 (Aston, D. 2014a, 75).

Bibliography:

Burton 1916; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 155-156; Aston, D. 2014a.

KV 64**Original context**

Location: Valley of the Kings (East Valley)

Type of tomb: shaft tomb (Figure 261)

Royal/private: private (a princess of the reign of Amenhotep III?)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: intact

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 22nd dynasty

Dating criteria: coffin, stela

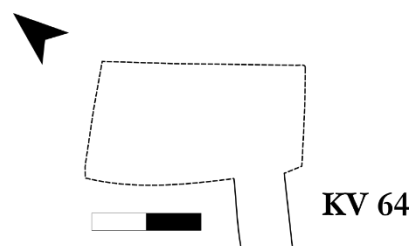


Figure 261. Plan of KV 64

Remarks:

An intact burial of a chantress of Amun and lady of the house named Nehemesbastet was discovered in the tomb during the recent excavations of the University of Basel. The burial assemblage consisted of two elements only: black coffin housing a mummy (Taylor Phase II), discovered in the north part of the original burial chamber, and stela (Munro type IIa), reclined against the west wall and facing towards the deceased. Surprisingly, no pottery associated with Nehemesbastet's burial was found. Dating of both the coffin and stela points to a date in the 22nd dynasty.

According to the excavators, 'prior to the reuse of this space, the decision was taken to preserve these remains of a distant past [remains of the original burial] and to rebury them with a thick layer of limestone debris from the above desert surrounding; the chamber was filled to a height of ca. 0.80-1.20m. This measure has several parallels within the Valley of the Kings, but was not chosen systematically. (...) After the funeral of Nehemesbastet, the shaft was filled with sandy debris and sealed with a layer of heavy stones placed horizontally on the fill above the level of the entrance passage' (Bickel 2017, 85).

Bibliography:

Bickel, Paulin-Grothe 2012a; Bickel, Paulin-Grothe 2012b; Bickel 2017.

WV 22**Original context**

Location: Valley of the Kings (West Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 262)

Royal/private: royal (Amenhotep III)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2b*

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons

buried: 4

Dating: 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: names

Remarks:

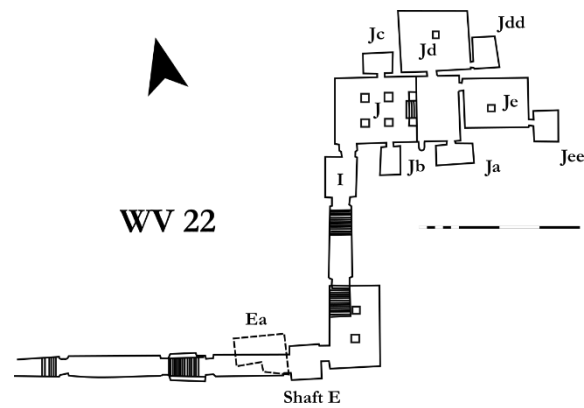


Figure 262. Plan of WV 22

Scattered remains of objects belonging to Siamun (faience bowl), Padihor (coffin fragments), and a lady called Ta[...] (coffin fragments) were discovered by Carter, while a coffin fragment with the name of Padihorresnet was recovered by Yoshimura and Kondo. Carter unearthed also a small faience bezel ring with the name of Usermaatra-setepenra. It was identified by him as belonging to Ramesses II, although it was later proposed that it might have belonged to a 22nd dynasty king buried in the Valley in that period (Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 115).

It was suggested by Thomas that the niche in the wall of the burial chamber and depression in the floor are later additions to the tomb. Therefore, I assigned burials from the tomb to type 2, although not without doubt. Of later date is also the west half of the room on the bottom of the 'well' (Ea), as indicated by different widths of the chisel marks and the lower level of the floor, although the exact date of the enlargement is as yet unknown (Kondo 1992, 43).

Bibliography:

Thomas 1966, 83-87; Kondo 1992; Kondo 1995; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 110-115; Yoshimura 2004; Aston, D. 2009a, 159.

WV 24

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (West Valley)

Type of tomb: shaft tomb (Figure 263)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 5

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnages

Remarks:

Remains of at least five individuals, among whom were two children, were discovered by Schaden in the tomb. The burial equipment found in the chamber included ‘*small crude coffin*’ for a child dated by its excavator to the 21st-22nd dynasty, fragments of coffins, many of them covered in black resinous substance, bandages, and cartonnage pieces. The presence of cartonnages points to the 22nd-25th dynasty date for at least one burial. The Ptolemaic date cannot be ruled out either, although it seems unlikely.

Bibliography:

Thomas 1966, 163; Schaden 1991; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 182; Harwood 2013.

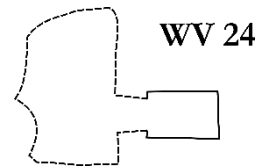


Figure 263. Plan of WV 24

WV 25

Original context

Location: Valley of the Kings (West Valley)

Type of tomb: corridor tomb (Figure 264)

Royal/private: royal (unknown owner, perhaps Akhenaten)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: intact

Minimal number of persons buried: 8

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Dating criteria: cartonnages, ushebtis

Remarks:

Belzoni found eight intact mummies in coffins (one of them with a large covering of painted linen on the casket) lying flat on the floor on the bottom of the staircase, with their heads towards the north. One of them bore traces of rewrapping and was decorated with garlands of flowers and leaves as well as two metal plates on the breast. The unwrapping of the mummy resulted in exposing a yellow skeleton, confirming the age of the mummy older than the remaining occupants of the tomb. The remains of the skeleton were rediscovered by Schaden in 1972, together with bandages, pottery sherds, pieces of cartonnages, blue glaze ushebtis as well as actual remains of the original, royal equipment. These finds confirm that at least one, if not all, burials can be dated to the 22nd-25th dynasty. The yellow skeleton belongs perhaps to a royal person, whose identity is now lost.

There are no elements on the plan which would suggest the later enlargement of the tomb. Belzoni, however, remarked on the fact that the coffins he found were ‘*sunk four inches into cement*’. It was assumed by Schaden that by ‘cement’ he had meant debris and therefore ‘*as the coffins were found to have left impressions in the floor debris one might assume that this floor fill contained many fragments of the earlier burial equipment*’.

Bibliography:

Belzoni 1821, 171; 223-224; Thomas 1966, 81-83; Schaden 1979; Wilkinson 2002; Aston, D. 2009a, 159; Harwood 2013.

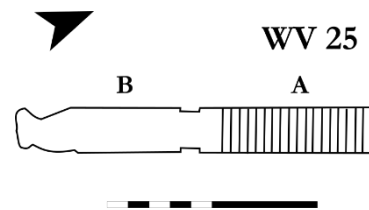


Figure 264. Plan of WV 25

QV tombs

QV 3

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 3 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 7

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other (Figure 265)

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

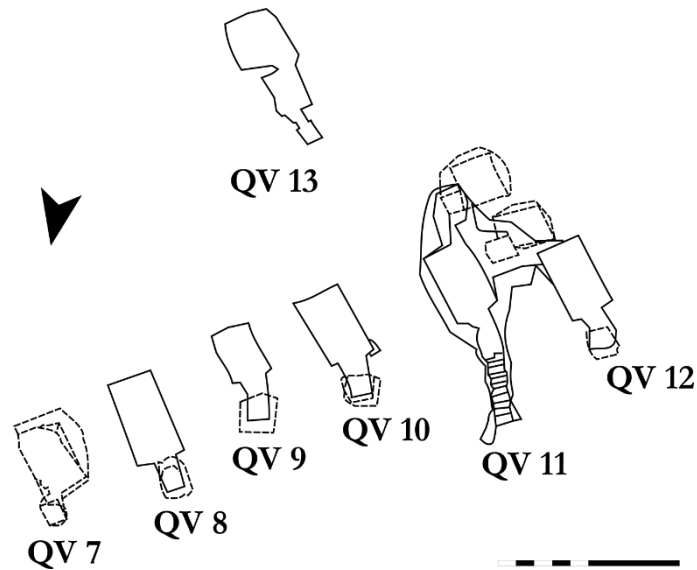


Figure 265. Plan of QV 7, QV 8, QV 9, QV 10, QV 11, QV 12, and QV 13

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 7 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the ‘*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*’ (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 8

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other (Figure 265)

Royal/private: private (Hori)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 8 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 9

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other (Figure 265)

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: bead net, pottery

Remarks:

Fragments of wooden coffins dated to the Third Intermediate Period by Lecuyot as well as '*quelques perles de résilles funéraires*' and '*une quarantaine d'ouchebtis, assez frustes, en terre cuite rouge badigeonnée de blanc*' were discovered in QV 9 (Lecuyot 1992, 98). According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in the tomb can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260), which would be in agreement with the presence of bead nets.

Bibliography:

Lecuyot 1992; Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 10

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other (Figure 265)

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: bead net, pottery

Remarks:

In QV 10, a number objects datable to the '*Troisième Période Intermédiaire*' were discovered: wooden anthropoid coffins, beads from a bead net, fragments of blue faience and clay ushebtis as well as '*coupes et coupelles*' which, according to Aston, should be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Lecuyot 1992, 99; Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260). As in the case of QV 9, such dating is in agreement with the presence of a bead net.

Bibliography:

Lecuyot 1992; Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 11

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other (Figure 265)

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 3

Dating: 25th dynasty (1 burial), 25th-26th dynasty (2 burials)

Dating criteria: coffins, pottery, shabti boxes, bead nets, canopic jars

Remarks:

QV 11 bears evident traces of altering the original layout in later times: ‘*sur le côté nord du puits, un escalier de onze marches (L: 0,34; 1: 0,90-0,95; h: 0,25-0,30 m. (Pl. XVII-B); et dans le caveau principal deux puits secondaires furent creusés; l’un au sud pratiqué sur l’axe longitudinal de la tombe, agrandissant cette dernière de 3,00 m. dans cette direction, Il’autre localisé à l’ouest dans un renforcement (L 2,00; 1: 2,10 m.) ménagé dans la paroi (Pl. XVI-B). Chacun d’eux mène à une petite pièce rectangulaire orientée est-ouest (fig. 3)*’ (Lecuyot 1992, 91).

In the main shaft, fragments of a rectangular (*qeresu*) and anthropoid coffins were discovered, accompanied by remains of bead nets, clay ushebtis, and some pottery vessels (Lecuyot 1992, 100-101). In the south shaft, fragments of wooden coffins, a plume from a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, a wooden box containing 256 clay ushebtis painted blue, a pierced pip of *Balanites aegyptiaca*, beads from bead nets, and some pottery sherds came to light (Lecuyot 1992, 102). From the west shaft, filled with debris to the $\frac{3}{4}$ of its height, were retrieved: a canopic jar lid (Imsety), coffin fragments, a mummy, a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, a canopic box containing four unused canopic jars (Aston type II) belonging to a man called Pairyiah, a floral garland (*Mimusops schimperi*), two shabti boxes (Aston type VII or VIII) containing about 200 clay ushebtis painted blue each, and two pottery cups (Aston TG 1016) (Lecuyot 1992, 102-104). On Pairyiah’s canopic box, the late spelling of the name of Osiris is displayed.

While Pairyiah’s burial can be securely dated to the 25th dynasty, the presence of bead nets, the *qeresu* coffin, and pottery (dated by Aston to the late eight or seventh century BCE) allows to narrow down the dating of the remaining two interments to the interval between the beginning of the 25th and first half of the 26th dynasty.

Bibliography:

Lecuyot 1992; Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 12**Original context**

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other (Figure 265)

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

Fragments of wooden coffins, remains of a bead net (with two amulets, one of them Qebehsenuef's), and 115 clay ushebtis were discovered in QV 12 (Lecuyot 1992, 108). According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in the tomb can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260), which would be in agreement with the presence of a bead net.

Bibliography:

Lecuyot 1992; Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 13

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other (Figure 265)

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

A large number of objects dated by Lecuyot to the Third Intermediate Period came to light in QV 13: fragments of wooden coffins, a piece of wood with a depiction of a falcon-headed god, remains of a bead net, a fragment of a blue faience ushebti, mud ushebtis, and some pottery fragments dated by Aston to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Lecuyot 1992, 109-110; Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260). Aston's dating is partially confirmed by the presence of the bead net.

Bibliography:

Lecuyot 1992; Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 14

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 14 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 16

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 16 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 17

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Meritra and Urmerutes, king's daughters)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 17 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 18

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 18 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the ‘*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*’ (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 22**Original context**

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 22 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the ‘*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*’ (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 23**Original context**

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 23 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 24

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 24 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 31

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: royal (unnamed queen)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 31 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 32

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 32 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 33

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: royal (Tanedjemy, queen of Seti)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 33 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the ‘*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*’ (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 34**Original context**

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (unknown princess)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 34 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the ‘*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*’ (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 43 and 44

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (princes Sethherkhepeshef and Khaemwaset, sons of Ramesses III)

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 33

Dating: 25th dynasty (9 burials), 26th dynasty (10 burials), 25th-26th dynasty/unknown (14 burials)

Dating criteria: coffins, bead nets, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

A ‘cache’ of 42 coffins was found in the tombs by Schiaparelli, although in the majority of cases the exact findspot is unknown and it is impossible to even identify a tomb in which they were found (Guzzon 2017). Not all the coffins were published or identified in the museum collections. Known specimens were recently listed by Aston and Guzzon and nearly all of them¹¹⁶ seem to date to the interval between mid-25th and late 26th dynasty. 8 persons belonged to the same family, which makes it very likely that one is dealing with a family cluster here. The names of owners which appear on

¹¹⁶ Two of the listed coffins, due to the poor state of preservation, could not be dated.

the coffins and could be identified are as follows (in the brackets I am giving Taylor's dating, after Aston): '*prophet of Kamut*' Ankhpakhered (650-575 BCE), Asetemhat,¹¹⁷ Basa (700-670 BCE), '*head perfumer of the estate of Amun*' Besenmut (630-580 BCE), Harwa (I) (675-625 BCE), '*lotus-carrier of the temple of Amun*' Harwa (II) (650-600 BCE), Hetepamun (650-580 BCE), Hor (I) (700-600 BCE), Hor (II) (650-600 BCE),¹¹⁸ Irtyru (700-650 BCE), Iufdy (700-650 BCE), Mose (unknown date),¹¹⁹ Montuirdis (675-600 BCE), Mutemhat,¹²⁰ Mutemnehyt (625-575 BCE), Nakhtkhonsu (675-650 BCE), Namunkhaemopet (650-600 BCE), Nesamunipet,¹²¹ Nesamunwedjat (625-575 BCE), Nesamunwedjem (700-650 BCE), '*head of field-workers of the estate of Amun*' Neskhnosuunekhhy (625-575 BCE), Nes-[...]-kheryneheh,¹²² Padiamunenipet ('E' = I),¹²³ Padiamunenipet ('F' = II),¹²⁴ Padiamunhotep (700-650 BCE),¹²⁵ Ruru (700-600 BCE), Sekheperamun (675-600 BCE), Tadisetakheru (720-675 BCE), Tadiatra (700-650 BCE), Tahotep (675-625 BCE),¹²⁶ Takhaenbastet (650-600 BCE), Tjesmutperet (650-600 BCE), and Sekheperamun.¹²⁷ Tadiasetkheru's coffin displays the name of Osiris with a pennant determinative (740 BCE or later). Additionally, bead nets, some shabti boxes with mud ushebtis, and two wooden stelae (one of Asetemkheb – possibly identical with 'Asetemhat', owner of the coffin – and the other of Hor; both of the Saite Period) came to light (Schiaparelli 1923, 124-142; 193-206; Porter, Moss 1964, 770-771; Aston, D. 2003, 155; Aston, D. 2009a, 258-260) as well as at least four Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues (Guzzon 2017, 196-197).

Bibliography:

Schiaparelli 1923, 124-142; 193-206; Porter, Moss 1964, 770-771; Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 258-260; Guzzon 2017.

¹¹⁷ Not listed by Aston.

¹¹⁸ According to Guzzon, Hor's title (a '*sistrum-player of the estate of Amun*') was translated mistakenly; no alternative reading, however, has been provided (Guzzon 2017, 194).

¹¹⁹ Not listed by Guzzon.

¹²⁰ Not listed by Aston.

¹²¹ Not listed by Aston.

¹²² Not listed by Aston.

¹²³ Not listed by Aston.

¹²⁴ Not listed by Aston.

¹²⁵ Not listed by Guzzon.

¹²⁶ Not listed by Guzzon.

¹²⁷ Not listed by Aston.

QV 53

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Ramesses, son of Ramesses III)¹²⁸

Dating: 20th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 53 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 58

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

¹²⁸ The tomb was not used by Ramesses due to his accession as Ramesses IV and the subsequent construction of the royal mortuary monument.

Type of tomb: other (Figure 266)

Royal/private: royal (queen of Ramesses II)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery, bead nets

Remarks:

During the clearance of QV 58 conducted by the French archaeological mission, remains dated to the Third Intermediate Period were discovered: fragments of cartonnages, beads from bead nets, and a wooden bird figure (Leblanc 1984-1985, 57). According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels discovered at that occasion can be dated to the 'late *Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Leblanc 1984-1985; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

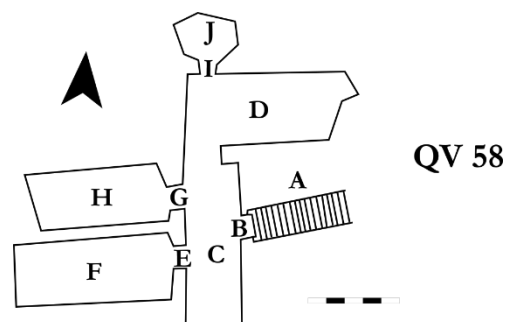


Figure 266. Plan of QV 58

QV 71

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: royal (Binth-Anat, queen of Ramesses II)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 71 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the ‘*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*’ (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 77

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 77 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the ‘*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*’ (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 78

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 78 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the ‘*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*’ (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 79**Original context**

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: unknown (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 79 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

QV 80

Original context

Location: Valley of the Queens

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: royal (Tuy, queen of Seti I)

Dating: 19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: unknown

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 25th-early 26th dynasty

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Aston, some of the pottery vessels found in QV 80 during excavations by the joint CNRS-CEDAE expedition (largely unpublished) can be dated to the '*late Eight or Seventh Century BC*' (Aston, D. 2003, 149; Aston, D. 2009a, 260).

Bibliography:

Aston, D. 2003; Aston, D. 2009a, 260.

Other

AN B

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: other (Figure 267)

Royal/private: royal (perhaps Amenhotep I)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2*

Intact/disturbed:
disturbed

**Minimal number of
persons buried:** 1

Dating: 750 BCE or
later

Dating criteria: bead nets

Remarks:

The location of the tomb of Amenhotep I has been lively discussed by scholars since the beginning of the scientific exploration of the Valley of the Kings. The layout of the early 18th dynasty tomb AN B, discovered in 1914, suggests a royal occupant, although the similarity with contemporary queenly rather than kingly tombs was noted.

Carter's description of finds from the rubbish (*'the burnt coffins (...) characteristic of the period of Osorkon I or later'*, a large scarab of blue faience, originally gilded, several parts of winged scarabs of blue faience and *'of quite poor quality'*, a small copper plaque with engraved *wedjat* eyes, two uninscribed stone scarabs, a haematite head-rest amulet, two blue faience Sakhmet amulets, pottery ushebtis, a blue faience seal with an unintelligible royal cartouche) does not allow the precise dating, nor even

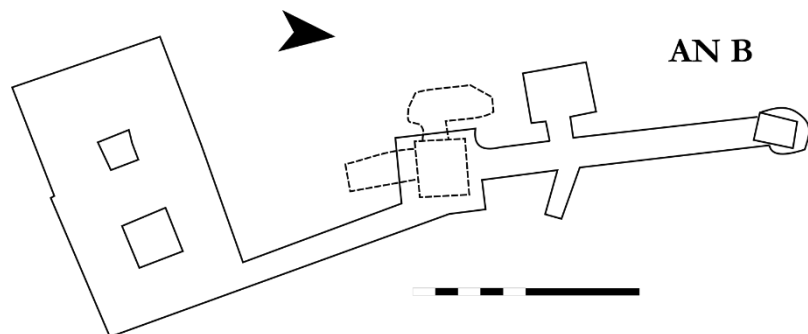


Figure 267. Plan of AN B

determining the types of objects except for the blue faience winged scarabs, which probably come from the bead nets, dated to 750 BCE or later. ‘*Bronze eye-brows, eye-sockets, pieces of lapis-lazuli inlay, and decayed wood, found at the bottom of the Protective Well*’ were dated by Carter to the original phase of the tomb’s construction.

Both the well and the burial chamber are probably later than the original structure. It is especially evident in the case of the well: the irregular shape of the chambers on the bottom suggests a later date. A similar situation can be observed in WV 22, investigated by the Japanese mission, where the excavators recorded different widths of the chisel marks on the bottom of the well, indicating that some enlargement of the feature took place in a later period. Therefore, I decided to assign the later burial in the tomb to type 2, albeit tentatively.

Bibliography:

Carter 1916; Thomas 1966, 171; Polz 1995; Reeves, Wilkinson 2002, 90; Aston, D. 2009a, 160; Dodson 2013.

CC 5

Original context

Location: Deir el-Bahari

Type of tomb: unknown (Figure 268)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: Middle Kingdom?

Later context

Type of burial: 1, 4b.1

Intact/disturbed: intact

Minimal number of persons buried: 9

Dating: 22nd dynasty (6 burials), 25th dynasty (3 burials)

Dating criteria: coffin, spelling of the name of Osiris

Remarks:

In the north cliff, Carter found an undisturbed group of burials deposited in the so-called 'Site 5'. It was probably an unfinished Middle Kingdom tomb, reused several times in the later periods.

In the east part of the courtyard, a side chamber was discovered. Its entrance *'was walled in with stones mixed with bricks and pieces of pottery, and it was found intact with the exception of a small opening at the top accidentally made by the workmen before discovering its real nature'* (Carnarvon, Carter 1912, 23). Inside the chamber, a burial of a man named Padiamun was found. His body was deposited in two coffins (one made for him, the other usurped), lying on the east-west axis, with his head towards the west. His mummy, described as of *'male adult, middle aged, with the hands placed at the sides'* (Carnarvon, Carter 1912, 25), was covered with folded pieces of linen and napkins embroidered with small blue patches and a pink shawl. Aston dated Padiamun's burial (TG 895) to the period between 730-670 BCE, thus firmly within the 25th dynasty (a similar date was proposed for the interments of Padiamun's parents buried in the inner part of the tomb). Padiamun probably originally wanted to be buried in a chamber the hewing of which started in the west part of the courtyard. It was, however, abandoned at a very early stage of construction, probably due to the presence of large flint boulders in the rock, which made it difficult to progress with chiselling.

The entrance of the tomb housed a burial of a couple, a woman named Irtyru and a man called Padikhonsu (Aston TGs 896-897), who were Padiamun's parents. Their coffins, placed on the east-west axis (with their heads to the east, not west like in case of Padiamun), were deposited on the thick layer of rubble (Padiamun's burial chamber was found clean of debris). Among Irtyru's bandages, wax figurines of a bird and Four Sons of Horus were found. The coffins, dated by Aston to the period between 730-670

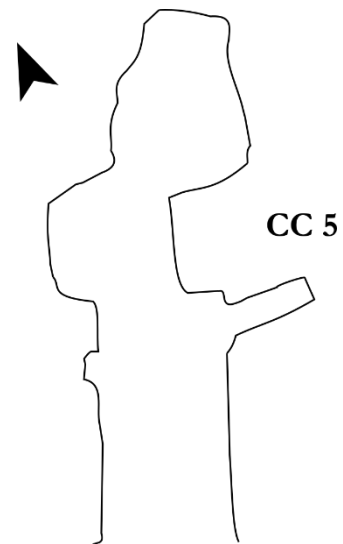


Figure 268. Plan of CC 5

BCE, were adorned with pink shawls, garlands of leaves, and a bouquet of cornflowers. These were probably left by the mourners during the last funeral, indicating that at least one family member was buried in spring/early summer, during the cornflowers' blooming season. The entrance to the tomb was blocked with a wall, found intact by Carter's workmen.

Five intact burials were found in the 'chapel' of the unfinished tomb (the burial shaft, located at the rear, was also never finished) and the sixth one in the entrance of the tomb, close to Padiamun's parents (Aston TGs 898-903). All six burials were oriented north-south, with their heads towards the south, thus completely different from Padiamun's family buried in the tomb in the 25th dynasty: '*they were crowded together as if to make room for the latter burials*' (Carnarvon, Carter 1912, 24). Some of the coffins were adorned with mummy-cloths and garlands.

The coffins, smaller than the ones of Padiamun's family, were of 'black' type and therefore dated by Aston to the ninth or eighth century BCE. No name of the owner was preserved, but if Aston's dating is correct, it would indicate an uninterrupted sequence of burials in the Libyan and Kushite Period and the possible relationship between Padiamun's family and other deceased buried earlier in the tomb.

Bibliography:

Carnarvon, Carter 1912, 23-26; Aston, D. 2009a, 217.

Grab I (see MMA 737)

Grab VI

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 26th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 30th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

Pottery sherds datable to the 30th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period were discovered in Grab VI, together with other 'late' objects such as remains of coffins, beads, and funerary papyri, precise dating of which cannot be established with certainty (Budka 2010a, 110-111). Vessels datable to the late Saite to Persian Period could be associated with the original burial in the tomb, but also with a phase of reuse (Budka 2010a, 110).

Bibliography:

Budka 2010a, 107-111.

Grab VII

Original context

Location: Asasif

Type of tomb: other

Royal/private: private (Kheriru and Iru, Kushite family)

Dating: 25th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2b

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 30th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

According to Budka, the cutting of Kammern 4, 5, and 6 (additional burial chambers) as well as the construction of mudbrick blocking of the shafts must be dated to the 30th dynasty-Ptolemaic Period (Budka 2010a, 127).

Bibliography:

Budka 2010a, 111-134.

K93.11

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: other (Figure 269)

Royal/private: probably royal; appropriated and modified by a high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht during the late Ramesside Period

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 3b.1, 3b.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 7

Dating: 26th dynasty (5 burials), 750 BCE or later (2 burials)

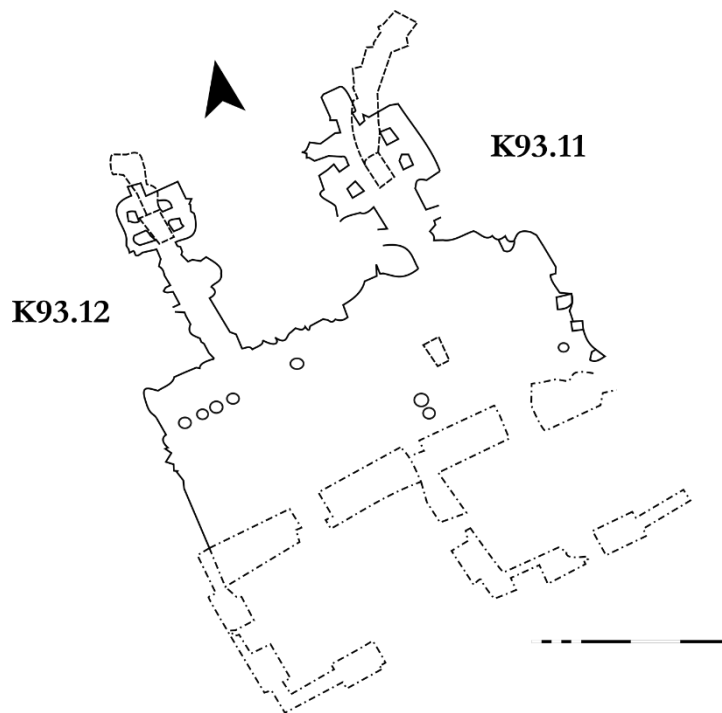


Figure 269. Plan of K93.11 and K93.12

Dating criteria: bead net, coffins, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, shabti boxes, funerary stela

Remarks:

A shaft in the southwest part of the inner courtyard of the tomb K93.11 was discovered during the German excavation in Dra Abu el-Naga and subsequently dubbed 'K93.11.3' by its excavators. The shallow shaft was cut in the floor of the courtyard and surrounded by a low wall, constructed of limestone chunks (lower part) and mudbricks (upper part). The shaft was at least partially smoothed and plastered. On the bottom of the shaft, a single chamber was chiselled in the south direction, lined with mudbrick on three sides (the fourth side was formed by the original foundation of the wall of the court). Probably linked to this shaft is also a small hole in the courtyard wall a few meters to the west of the shaft, perhaps used for the burial of the embalming materials. The remains of a woman's skeleton in a badly damaged coffin were found inside the burial chamber (Aston TG 654). Fragments of a bead net (Silvano type A), partially intact, were discovered on a mummy, that can be dated to post 750 BCE.

In the southwest part of the inner courtyard, another shaft, with two burial chambers located on the bottom, was discovered (K93.11.4 and K93.11.5). The shaft was partly cut in the original façade of the tomb. Due to the bad quality of the rock, its upper part is now destroyed, and therefore the entrance to the underground rooms can be reconstructed only theoretically. The ceiling of one of the chambers (K93.11.4) collapsed in the course of excavations, which is why the west corner of the chamber remains unexcavated. The south of two chambers (K93.11.4), with a small entrance passage and lined with bricks, housed burials of a man and a woman (listed collectively by Aston as TG 655). Both burials were found in severely damaged double-coffins (Taylor type II), accompanied by Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures (Bielesch type 5) and shabti boxes filled with mud figurines painted blue (Aston type VIIc, two boxes per person). The woman was also buried with a funerary stela (Aston type VII). The grave goods present in the chamber point to the burial in the early years of the 26th dynasty. Apart from easily datable items, the remains of floral garlands were found by the excavators in the shaft.

The north chamber (K93.11.5), although bigger than K93.11.4, contained remains of only one burial (Aston TG 656), although it cannot be ruled out that originally it housed two mummies. A double coffin came to light, similar to the ones discovered in K93.11.4, therefore dated to the 26th dynasty. The orientation of the coffin, however, was the opposite to the burials in the other chamber: its head was oriented in the direction of the entrance (southeast), while in the case of K93.11.4 the coffins' heads were placed towards the west. In the northeast part of the chamber, a passage to the small room was discovered; its function remains unclear. Worth mentioning is also a narrow passage connecting the burial chambers and cut in the south wall of the north chamber (K93.11.5).

Located in the northwest part of the inner courtyard, close to the corner, there is another shaft (K93.11.6), cut in the floor. At the bottom of the shaft a destroyed, albeit *in situ*, coffin came to light, of iconography pointing to the 26th dynasty (Aston TG 657). Apart from the coffin, pottery ushebtis as well as floral garlands were discovered by the German mission.

In the north part of the inner courtyard, a little bit to the east of K93.11.7, yet another burial shaft was discovered and excavated (K93.11.8). The two irregular chambers at

the bottom of the shaft proved to be devoid of finds, likely due to the later Coptic activity, which left its trace also in the architecture of the structure. Except for some debris consisting of mixed materials from different eras found in the shaft remains of wooden fragments, bones, and faience amulets came to light in the vicinity (Aston TG 658). The presence of the Four Sons of Horus, once attached to a bead net, indicates that the burial in the shaft can be dated to after 750 BCE.

To the east of the previous shaft, in the north part of the inner courtyard, another pit – with two chambers on the bottom – is located (K93.11.10, Aston TG 659). The chamber to the south proved to contain remains of supposedly Saite date: coffin(s) (perhaps of the *qeresu* type), blue faience beads (of bead net), and brown pottery ushebtis; once in a box, but now destroyed by water. Remains of the original mudbrick blocking of the shaft came to light as well. The other chamber was interpreted by its excavators as belonging to the Coptic phase of reuse.

In the northeast corner of the inner courtyard, another shaft, dubbed ‘K93.11.9’, was discovered. The shaft was cased with mudbricks. In the middle of the shaft, a chamber was cut in its north wall. The chamber leads to another one, hewn in the west wall. It is unclear whether these rooms were created in the Late Period or during the Coptic era, when the whole structure was reused.

On the bottom of the shaft yet another chamber was discovered, again reused in the Coptic period. According to the excavators, the orientation of the chamber speaks against its use as a burial chamber. However, several Late Period pottery sherds were discovered in the tomb, together with natron bags and a falcon-headed lid of a canopic vessel. From the surroundings of the tomb come fragments of a wooden coffin and human remains. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that the feature was originally a Saite Period burial shaft, with the two upper rooms hewn in the Christian era.

A chamber, this time accessible from a sloping corridor, was discovered in the north part of the inner courtyard, and dubbed ‘K93.11.7’. The feature was reused in the Coptic times when the original structure was significantly altered: a mudbrick building was erected in the entrance area, the burial chamber was plastered, and all the remains of the burial were allegedly disposed of. Therefore, no date for it can be proposed, although the excavators tentatively dated the chamber to the Late Period. Immediately

to the west of the entrance, a Late Period mummification vessel was found, although it might have been linked as well to the burial in the nearby shaft 3 (K93.11.6).

Bibliography:

Polz *et al.* 2003, 352-353; 360; Polz 2005; Aston, D. 2009a, 161.

K93.12

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: other (Figure 269)

Royal/private: probably royal; appropriated and modified by a high priest of Amun Amenhotep, during the late Ramesside period

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 14

Dating: '21st dynasty' (1 burial), 'late 21st-early 22nd dynasty' (7 coffins), 22nd dynasty (5 burials), 25th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: excavator's statement, coffins, cartonnages

Remarks:

The burial chamber was reused at least three times in the first millennium BCE (aside from the 'usurpation' of the tomb during the 20th dynasty), with the first phase in the 21st dynasty. This phase is represented in the archaeological material by several wooden fragments, belonging to at least three different coffins and three different boxes.

The second phase of reuse of the burial chamber of K93.12 can be dated to the 22nd dynasty: partly burnt remains of five black coffins and five cartonnage cases were discovered. Among the cartonnages, two have been identified as belonging to men, at least one to a woman, and one to a child (a girl). Two of the cartonnages were covered with a black resinous substance.

The final phase of reuse of the burial chamber detectable in the archaeological material took place in the 25th dynasty. Pottery fragments datable to this period were retrieved by the German team. In the preliminary report on coffins found in K93.12, hundreds of the wooden fragments, bones, and clay ushebtis discovered in the chamber were mentioned. It cannot be excluded that some of those are also of Kushite date, although so far only pottery can be dated with precision to the 25th dynasty.

A group of 20 coffins, dated to the late 21st or early 22nd dynasty, was discovered on the inner courtyard of K93.12, *in situ* where they were left by the tomb robbers. The original location of the coffins is unknown, although, according to the excavators, they *‘most probably originate from the yet unexcavated intrusive shafts, four of which could be identified by their openings along the tomb’s façade’*. As it is not clear whether either each of the coffins belonged to a different individual or the coffins formed sets, I am assuming the minimal number (the number of coffins divided by three, which was the standard number of coffins per person in that period).

Bibliography:

Polz 2005, 233-245; Rummel, Fetler 2017.

MIDAN.05

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp Va (Figure 48)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 17th-18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2b

Dating: ‘tra fine XXV dinastia-età saïtica’

Dating criteria: excavator’s statement, pottery, bead nets

Remarks:

MIDAN.05 was accidentally discovered by the Italian mission during the exploration of TT 14. The shaft, located in the chamber dubbed ‘d’ by its excavators, has four rooms cut at its bottom (‘g’, ‘h’, ‘i’, and ‘j’). The chamber ‘j’ certainly belongs to the original plan of the tomb as fragments of the *rishi* coffins were discovered inside. On top of the debris and sealed by an ancient flood, however, remains of two ‘Late Period’ burials (25th or 26th dynasty) came to light: 353 crudely moulded ushebtis, once in a box (now decayed), figurines of the Four Sons of Horus, winged scarabs, and beads from a net.

According to the excavators, the remaining rooms (‘g’, ‘h’, ‘i’) were also reused in the first millennium BCE, with the chamber ‘h’ probably cut during this period to accommodate more burials, hence my attribution to type 2.

In the courtyard, dated to the phase of reuse was paving of the original floor with mudbricks and the construction of a ramp which ends in front of the entrance (Betrò 2017b, 41). Associated with the ramp are three uninscribed offering tables (two of them discovered intact) covered with a black layer of burnt organic matter. Numerous remains, such as floral garlands scattered around, probably should be linked to rituals taking place in front of the tomb for a long period after the death of the new owners of MIDAN.05. Pottery sherd present in the courtyard according to Betrò should be dated to ‘tra fine XXV dinastia-età saïtica’, which is also her proposed date for the offering tables (Betrò 2017b, 43; 46).

Bibliography:

Betrò, Del Vesco, Ghiroldi 2007; Betrò, Miniaci 2009; Betrò, Miniaci, Del Vesco 2012; Betrò, Miniaci 2016; Betrò 2017b.

‘Rhind Tomb’**Original context**

Location: Sheikh Abd el-Qurna

Type of tomb: unknown

Royal/private: private (chief of the Medjay)

Dating: 18th-19th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: perhaps 1

Dating: 22nd dynasty

Dating criteria: canopic jars, coffins

Remarks:

Several scattered objects later than the original structure were found by Rhind in the upper part of the now-lost tomb of the anonymous chief of the Medjay and his wife. These are: a set of dummy canopic jars, destroyed black coffins with disarticulated human remains, *‘several painted funeral tablets of wood of the usual character, boxes that had contained sepulchral clay images, wooden jackals, hawks, the common upright swathed figures on pedestals, and a torn scrap of a hieroglyphic papyrus’*, and some ‘Roman’ lamps (Rhind 1862, 90-93). Interestingly, while Rhind’s description suggests that the tomb was reused in the Libyan Period (dummy canopic, black coffins), he also mentions that the mummies had their arms crossed over their breasts,

which according to Gray is a practice characteristic for the Ptolemaic Period. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the mummies were placed in earlier coffins.

In the underground chambers of the tomb, Rhind discovered several intact burials of the Ptolemaic and early Roman date, but these are beyond the scope of this work.

Bibliography:

Rhind 1862, 77-123; Maitland 2017.

Saff 1

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: other (Figure 270)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: First Intermediate Period

Later context

Type of burial: 3b.1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

**Minimal number of persons
buried:** 3

Dating: 25th dynasty

Dating criteria: spelling of the
name of Osiris, cartonnages,
canopic jars, shabti box, bead
nets, pottery

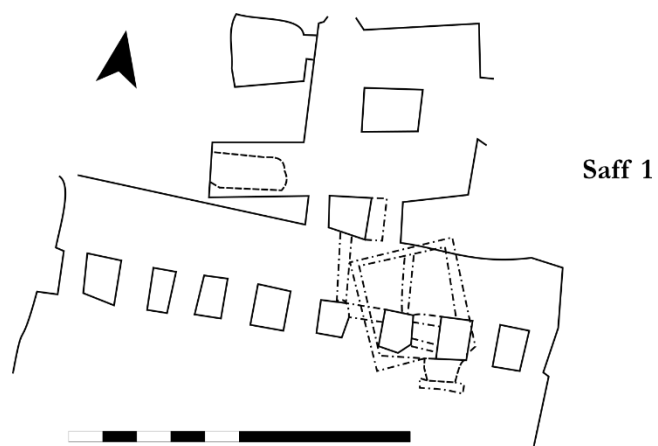


Figure 270. Plan of Saff 1

Remarks:

Numerous remains found in the vicinity of the shaft cut in front of the entrance to the tomb dubbed ‘Saff 1’ by the Hungarian mission as well as the architecture of the feature indicate that it was hewn out to accommodate later burials. Among the finds discovered by Fábián and his team were: fragments of coffins of black type featuring the late spelling of the name of Osiris (scattered all over the tomb), cartonnages of Taylor type 2b or 2c (found in the burial chamber on the bottom of the shaft), two dummy canopic jars, an intact shabti box (Aston type VII or VIII) containing 184 clay ushebtis, fragments of another shabti box, several clay ushebtis, remains of two bead nets (Silvano type A), fragments of two sausage jars, and several Clazomenian amphorae (Fábián 2017). Additionally, the remains of 38 individuals came to light in the tomb, although according to Fábián, only three burials could be dated to the 25th dynasty. The vessels datable to the later period (such as the sausage jars) according to him do not indicate that actual burials took place in the tomb at these times, but suggest the presence of an embalmers’ cache; it seems that the tomb collapsed soon after the last burial in the Kushite times and further reuse was impossible (Fábián 2017, 88).

The shaft in which later burials were deposited was a shallow one (ca. 2 m deep), with a single burial chamber (3 x 3.3 x 1.35 m) at the bottom, entrance to which had been blocked with a mudbrick wall. The square mouth of the shaft also had been surrounded with bricks (Fábián 2017, 86). The existing row of pillars characteristic for *saff* tombs was reused as well as a superstructure for the shaft: a mudbrick wall was erected, connecting the third pillar and the rear wall; *‘the inner surface of this wall was plastered, but the outer was not, there must have been piles of debris already in those days. Two intercolumnia, the first and the third ones, were also walled up, double mud brick constructions were applied here filled up with debris. The inner surfaces were plastered, but no other decoration can be seen on the remains of the plastered walls. The entrance was the second, middle intercolumnium and this is how the superstructure, presumably a cult chamber was formed’* (Fábián 2017, 86). At an unspecified date, an additional niche (*‘loculus-like hollow’*) was cut in the northeast corner.

Bibliography:

Fábián 2017.

The Hanging Tomb (Bab el-Maâleg)

Original context

Location: Valley of the Eagle

Type of tomb: other (Figure 271)

Royal/private: unknown

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: unknown

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 25th-26th dynasty (1 burial), 27th-30th dynasty (1 burial)

Dating criteria: pottery

Remarks:

Remains of at least 70 different individuals were discovered during the works in the cliff tomb located in the Valley of the Eagle (Gabolde *et al.* 1994, 197). The tomb was extensively reused at least from the beginning of the Late Period through the Ptolemaic and Roman times. Egyptian pottery fragments datable to the 25th-26th dynasties (including the so-called New Year flasks), sherds dated by its excavators to the times between the 27th dynasty and the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, and imports from Greece and the Levant were discovered (Gabolde *et al.* 1994, 201-225). Some of these correspond with Aston types 16 (seventh century BCE) and 55 (750 BCE and later), and Wodzińska type LP 102 (400-350 BCE). The additional evidence

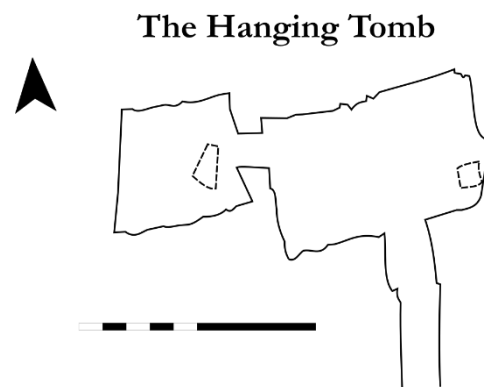


Figure 271. Plan of The Hanging Tomb

for late dynastic reuse of the tomb is the presence of coffin fragments (dated to the 25th-26th dynasty, and the 26th-30th dynasty by the excavators), a fragment of a dog's figurine (dated to the Late Period), and cartonnage fragments. The stratigraphy of the tomb had been disturbed, but it seems that most of the Late Period material concentrated in the second room (Gabolde *et al.* 1994, 231). It is unclear, however, whether the room was enlarged in the first millennium BCE. The shallow shaft in the middle of the room could perhaps be a later addition to the complex, but the exact date of its cutting is unknown.

Head of an ushebti, apparently of the 21st dynasty date, as well as several similarly dated vessels, were found in the tomb (Gabolde *et al.* 1994, 230-231). Nevertheless, these objects were probably left by people involved in the transfer of older remains to the 'caches'. A *graffito* of Butehamun, responsible for similar transfers, was found nearby (Gabolde *et al.* 1994, 229).

Later inscriptions in the valley seem to link the tomb to the burial of king Amenhotep. According to Gabolde *et al.*, this (probably wrong) attribution as well as the inaccessibility of the place were the factors which contributed to its desirability as a burial place during the Late Period (Gabolde *et al.* 1994, 229).

Bibliography:

Bruyère 1934, 94; Gabolde *et al.* 1994.

'The Unnumbered Tomb'

Original context

Location: Dra Abu el-Naga

Type of tomb: Kampp IVb (Figure 272)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 4a.2

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 1

Dating: 'Late Period'

Dating criteria: excavator's statement

Remarks:

An unknown tomb of the *saff* type was discovered during Ockinga's works in TT 148.

The newly found sepulchre, apparently of the 18th dynasty date, is located to the south of Kampp -159-. Of particular interest here is the mention of a Late Period chamber with a burial shaft: *'In its south wall a doorway gave access to a Late Period burial chamber of irregular shape (see Fig. 5). It has a height of 160 cm, a width of approximately 166 cm, and a maximum length of approximately 540 cm. In the southwest corner of the chamber a pit some 82 cm deep, 73 cm wide and 263 cm long had been hewn out of the floor to receive a burial'* (Ockinga 2002, 145-146). The only objects found in the tomb were: fragments of 'black' coffins, 18th dynasty pottery, *'remains of Late New Kingdom burial equipment'*, papyrus fragments (mythological papyri, possibly datable to the 21st dynasty), parts of a disarticulated mummy, and modern matchsticks and cigarette wrappings (Ockinga 2002, 143-146).

Bibliography:

Ockinga 2002; Aston, D. 2009a, 161.

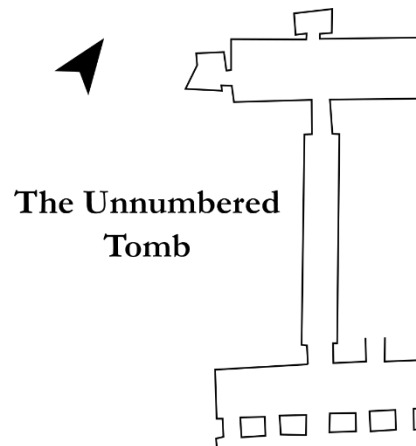


Figure 272. Plan of 'The Unnumbered Tomb'

Tomb B

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: other (Figure 273)

Royal/private: private (Payom and Nespattawy)

Dating: 22nd-25th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 2

Dating: 25th dynasty

Dating criteria: coffins, pottery, bead net, shabti box

Remarks:

Tomb B, a rare example of a 22nd dynasty hypogeum tomb, was discovered in 1991 by the Hungarian mission. Its continuous use, probably by a single family, is attested from the ninth until early seventh century BCE.

According to the excavators, a secondary burial shaft was added to the underground part of the tomb (Room 2/b) in the 25th dynasty. Such dating is supported by the style of the coffins, pottery, presence of bead nets beads and amulets, parts of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, a shabti box lid (Aston type VIII), and a faience spoon fragment, modelled in the shape of a head of a Nubian girl, found inside.

Yet another shaft, also dated by its excavators to the 25th dynasty, was added in Room 2/b of the underground complex. Just like in the case of the previous shaft, no more information can be provided due to the disturbed context, although the finds from the area of the tomb (coffin's style, pottery, beads) confirm a 25th dynasty date.

Bibliography:

Schreiber, Vasáros 2005; Schreiber 2008, 65-77; Aston, D. 2009a, 164.

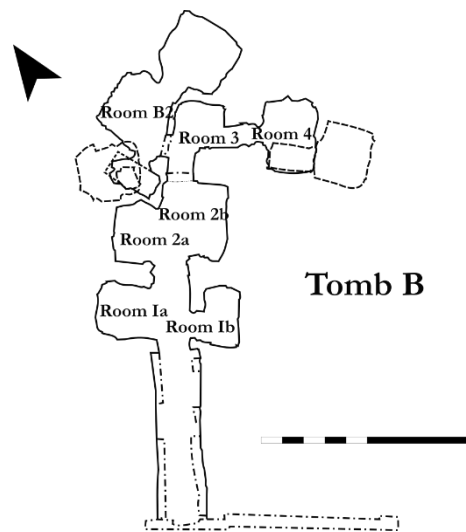


Figure 273. Plan of Tomb B

Tomb C

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: unfinished tomb, but probably intended as Kampp V (Figure 274)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 18th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 1

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

Minimal number of persons buried: 3

Dating: 21st dynasty

Dating criteria: coffins, mummy board

Remarks:

Tomb C, discovered during the Hungarian excavation in TT 32, proved to be an unfinished 18th dynasty monument the construction of which was suddenly abandoned. To make up for unfinished rooms, a corridor and burial chamber was added in the west part of the first hall.

Archaeological material datable to the 18th dynasty (and probably early 19th) was found, as well as remains of 'yellow' coffins and a mummy board that indicate the reuse in the 21st dynasty. According to Kákosy, one coffin fragment had been inscribed with the name Hennutawy, but the ink faded away since it was excavated and this information could not be confirmed by Schreiber who published the finds. At least three persons were buried in the tomb in the 21st dynasty, as estimated from the diagnostic fragments of coffins (earrings). No new architectural features could be associated with the new burials.

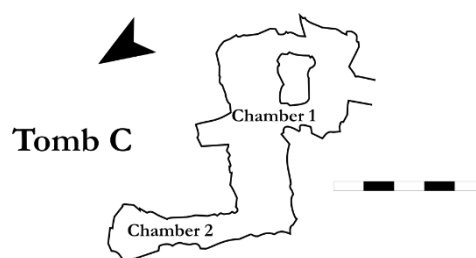


Figure 274. Plan of Tomb C

Bibliography:

Schreiber 2008, 32-35; Aston, D. 2009a, 164.

Tomb G

Original context

Location: el-Khokha

Type of tomb: other (Figure 275)

Royal/private: private (unknown owner)

Dating: 25th dynasty

Later context

Type of burial: 2a

Intact/disturbed: disturbed

**Minimal number of persons
buried:** 1

Dating: 26th-27th dynasty

Dating criteria: architecture, pottery

Remarks:

Similar to Tomb B, Tomb G (discovered in 1995) belongs to the group of rock-cut tombs with a mudbrick superstructure, hewn in el-Khokha during the transition between the Third Intermediate and Late Periods.

According to Schreiber, two ‘*loculi*’ were added to the original underground system of rooms. These *loculi* (dubbed ‘Tomb F’) clearly postdate the original construction of the tomb as they break into the original staircase. The stratigraphy of the tomb is destroyed, but in the light of finds from other parts of the tomb and its surroundings (especially pottery), the date in the late Saite or Persian Period seems likely.

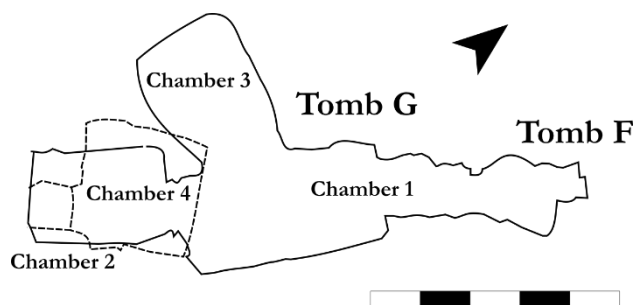


Figure 275. Plan of Tomb G

Bibliography:

Schreiber 2008, 77-83.

Abbreviations

AAAG	<i>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</i>
AAALiv	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
AAASH	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AH	<i>Ancient History</i>
AION	<i>Annali [del] Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i>
AR	<i>Archaeological Report</i>
ARC	<i>Archaeological Review from Cambridge</i>
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
ASR	<i>American Sociological Review</i>
Ä&L	<i>Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete</i>
BACE	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
BARCE	<i>Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
BCE	<i>Bulletin de liaison de la céramique égyptienne</i>
BFSL	<i>Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
BMHBA	<i>Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
BMRAH	<i>Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire</i>
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
CAJ	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
DAN	Dra Abu el-Naga
DeB	Deir el-Bahari
DeM	Deir el-Medina

EA	<i>Egyptian Archaeology</i>
ÉtudTrav	<i>Études et Travaux. Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences</i>
EVO	<i>Egitto e Vicino Oriente: Rivista della sezione orientalistica dell'Istituto di Storia Antica, Università degli Studi di Pisa</i>
FRA	<i>Frankfurter elektronische Rundschau zur Altertumskunde</i>
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
JAC	<i>Journal of Ancient Civilizations</i>
JACF	<i>Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum</i>
JA EI	<i>Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JEA	<i>The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JÉ	<i>Journal égyptien</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Egyptian History</i>
JES	<i>Journal of Egyptological Studies</i>
JoES	<i>The Journal of Egyptian Studies</i>
JMAHS	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSA	<i>Journal of Social Archaeology</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
KMT	<i>KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt</i>
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
LS	<i>Libyan Studies</i>
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MJ	<i>Museum Journal (The Penn Museum)</i>
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
MMS	<i>Metropolitan Museum Studies</i>
OMRO	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden</i>

<i>PAM</i>	<i>Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean</i>
<i>QM</i>	Qurnet Murai
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
<i>RecTrav</i>	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
<i>RISE</i>	<i>Ricerche Italiane e Scavi in Egitto</i>
<i>RMNW</i>	<i>Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie</i>
<i>SAAC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization</i>
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
<i>SAQ</i>	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna
<i>TdE</i>	<i>Trabajos de Egiptología - Papers on Ancient Egypt</i>
<i>VoK</i>	Valley of the Kings
<i>VoQ</i>	Valley of the Queens
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

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Streszczenie (summary in Polish)

Celem niniejszej rozprawy była analiza fenomenu ponownego wykorzystania grobowców tebańskich w Trzecim Okresie Przejściowym oraz Okresie Późnym (1076-332 p.n.e.). Na podstawie stworzonego katalogu grobów podjęto próbę nakreślenia kompleksowego obrazu tego zjawiska oraz przyczyn jego popularności w I tysiącleciu p.n.e.

Rozdziały 1-3 zawierają informacje na temat najważniejszych wydarzeń omawianego okresu, metod prezentacji danych w katalogu oraz kryteriów datowania poszczególnych pochówków. Rozdział 4 omawia topografię nekropoli tebańskiej i rolę wtórnie wykorzystanych grobowców w ramach krajobrazu kulturowego Teb Zachodnich w I tysiącleciu p.n.e. Rozdział 5 zawiera informacje dotyczące przestrzennych aspektów ponownego wykorzystania istniejących grobów: pochówki podzielono na pięć typów, w zależności od tego, w jaki sposób zostały one zdeponowane w obiektach. Zaproponowana została chronologia pochówków we wcześniejszych grobach w zależności od sposobu ich depozycji. Rozdział 6 porusza zagadnienie postrzegania przestrzeni grzebalnej przez mieszkańców starożytnych Teb oraz zjawiska zaznaczania obecności nowych właścicieli we wcześniejszych grobach. Rozdział 7 zawiera analizę tożsamości osób, których pochówki odkryto w kontekstach związanych z ponownym wykorzystaniem grobowców tebańskich. W *Ekskursie* omówiony został szczególny rodzaj ponownego wykorzystania wcześniejszych grobów w Trzecim Okresie Przejściowym – tzw. skrytki. W Rozdziale 8 podjęto próbę umieszczenia analizowanego w pracy fenomenu w szerszym kontekście zmian zachodzących w Egipcie w I tysiącleciu p.n.e.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate the strategies of the reuse of tombs from the Egyptian necropolis of Thebes in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period (1076-332 BCE). My aim was to analyse the available data on the reuse of Theban tombs, offer some observations regarding the patterns and developments, examine previous scientific hypotheses, and try to better understand the phenomenon of the popularity of the reuse of tombs by the population of Thebes in the first millennium BCE.

Chapters 1-3 contain a summary of the historical events of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, a general description of methods used in this work and presentation of data in the *Catalogue*, as well as criteria of dating burials discovered in reused monuments. Chapter 4 examines the topography of the Theban necropolis with respect to the reuse of tombs, as well as possible links between the reused structures and other monuments. In Chapter 5, I focus on the technicalities of the reuse: burials were divided into five types, according to the feature in which they were deposited. Chapter 6 turns to the notions of reuse and sacred space, and examines the perception of the tomb reuse by the Thebans living in the first millennium BCE. In Chapter 7, I address the question of the identity of the new occupants of reused tombs. In *Excursus*, several remarks regarding the very specific kind of tomb reuse, the so-called ‘caches’, are offered. In Chapter 8, I attempt to put the phenomenon of tomb reuse in the context of more general changes that took place in Egypt in the first millennium BCE.