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IN HONOUR OF
M. A. NUR EL-DIN (10-12 April 2007)



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Contribution to the topography of the late Third Intermediate Period necropolis at Thebes (Twenty-second – early Twenty-fifth Dynasties)

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Thanks to our growing awareness of the Theban necropolis in general and the finds dating to the Third Intermediate Period in particular, it is now generally agreed that shortly after the fall of the first dynasty of high priests, which ruled Thebes from the end of the New Kingdom until the pontificate of High Priest Psusennes III, there was a marked change in the Theban burial practice, which affected most elements of the burial assemblage. Theban tomb groups are indicative of the fact that the transition from the old tradition to something new is datable to the reign of Osorkon I. This period also witnessed the considerable expansion of the necropolis, which, disregarding sporadic individual burials in other areas, had been restricted to Deir el-Bahari and its immediate vicinity in the Twenty-first Dynasty. During the Twenty-second Dynasty, a considerable part of Hatshepsut's temple precinct was turned into a cemetery for priests.¹ From the reign of Osorkon I, another cemetery started to grow in the Ramesseum.² Burial shafts for priests and their relatives were dug into the floor of the temple's storerooms, which had previously been used as a royal magazine from the reign of Ramesses III. During the Twenty-second Dynasty tombs with mud brick superstructures also appeared there.³ As time went on, this cemetery, centred in the Ramesseum, also stretched over the neighbouring areas, i.e., the slopes of Sheikh abd el-Gurna⁴ and Gurnet Murei.⁵ At the same time, the reuse of New Kingdom tombs became a widespread and accepted practice in most part of the necropolis but particularly in the area situated between the Ramesseum and Sheikh abd el-Gurna.⁶ Similarly to the tombs in the Ramesseum, a burial shaft with one, less frequently with two or more, chambers was added to the New Kingdom monuments.

The archaeological material from the Third Intermediate Period necropoleis at Thebes has been surveyed recently by J. P. Elias⁷ and D. A. Aston.⁸ These studies confirm the view that during the earlier part of the Twenty-second Dynasty Theban burials centred around two main areas, viz., the Ramesseum and Deir el-Bahari. During the later Twenty-second Dynasty the necropolis significantly expanded, and in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty almost all parts of the former New Kingdom necropolis became reused for burials. In light of this evidence it is notable that neither Elias⁹ nor Aston¹⁰ discusses in detail the Third Intermediate Period burials on el-Khokha hillock, which area represents a blank space on the map of the Third Intermediate Period Theban necropolis. The aim of this contribution is to help fill in this blank space by offering a short overview of the most important finds from el-Khokha.

El-Khokha hillock is situated in the centre of the Theban necropolis, between the zones of Sheikh abd el-Gurna/ Ramesseum and Deir el-Bahari/ Asasif. It is on the south slope of this hill where Hungarian expeditions have been carrying out excavation and epigraphic recording since 1983. Three missions are active on this area,¹¹ the neighbouring concessions of which cover almost the entire south slope of the hill. Besides the documentation of the original, New Kingdom monuments, all three missions have laid much emphasis on recording the finds from secondary burials, which are believed to provide a sound basis for the reconstruction of the site's rich post-New Kingdom history. With regard to the topography of the Third Intermediate Period necropolis, it is remarkable that all three ongoing excavations yielded evidence to suggest that the reuse of New Kingdom tombs on this area was typical during the Twenty-second and Twenty-fifth Dynasties.

Theban Tomb 32

The most significant concentration of Third Intermediate Period finds was excavated in TT 32, a Ramesside funerary monument, originally constructed for Djehutymes, a high-ranking official of Ramesses II. During the Twenty-second Dynasty the lower rooms of TT 32 were occupied by a Theban family, whose male members were *chamber managers (of the domain) of Amun* (*hry ˁ.t (pr) Jmn*), a non-priestly post in the Theban temple hierarchy.¹² Three cartonnage coffins from these burials could be partially reconstructed – all three representing J. Taylor’s “Two falcons type”, characterised by the presence of a ram- and a falcon-headed winged deity on the chest and a tall Abydos fetish over the abdominal parts and the legs.¹³ Inscriptions have been preserved on two examples, which identify the owners as (*Š3*)-*p3-dj-hnsw*¹⁴ and *Dd-jmn.t*,¹⁵ both holding the aforementioned title. (*Š3*)-*p3-dj-hnsw*, whose cartonnage on style-critical grounds appears to be the earliest (Figure 1), occupied the Ramesside burial chamber of Djehutymes, while his relatives were interred in two secondary chambers at the terminus of the sloping passage of TT 32, near the opening of the New Kingdom tomb shaft. The burials were equipped with sets of coarse quality, non-inscribed Nile silt funerary figurines. Considering the style of the *cartonnages*, a dating to the later 9th century BC seems likely for these burials.

Somewhat later, in the 8th centuries BC, a burial shaft was dug into the floor of the axial corridor of TT 32. Typically for this period, the shaft has a square opening and is provided with a single chamber.¹⁶ The disturbed burials found there were provided with figurines of the Sons of Horus placed inside the bandaging, dummy jars and cartonnage coffins. Regarding that both dummy canopics and cartonnage coffins continued for a while in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, a dating to the early Kushite Period for these burials cannot be ruled out.

Besides intrusive burials in the inner rooms of TT 32, a tomb of considerable size was also built in the area of the first and second porticos of Djehutymes’ monument during the late 9th – early 8th centuries BC. This tomb (Tomb B), consisting of a forecourt, a vaulted vestibule, a vaulted corridor and burial chambers hewn out of the bedrock and arranged alongside an L-shaped corridor, finds analogues in late Third Intermediate Period Theban tomb buildings in the Ramesseum and the Asasif necropolis.¹⁷ It seems that some of the individuals buried in Tomb B were provided with anthropoid wooden coffins and inner cartonnage cases of a style that is typical of the later Twenty-second Dynasty. One of the occupants was a certain *Bw-jrw-Hr*, *hunter of Amun (nw Jmn)*, whose name has been preserved on his cartonnage coffin.¹⁸ Burials, however, continued in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, as indicated by coffin fragments with the pennant writing of Osiris’ name, which gained acceptance only after 720 BC. Recurrent elements of the burial ensembles were bead nets decorated with funerary scarabs and the Sons of Horus, coarse quality Nile silt ushebti and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues. Tomb B also yielded a significant concentration of ceramic vessels which appear to date from between the early 8th century and the mid-7th century BC, thus signifying that the occupation continued until the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty or even beyond. The most remarkable find from Tomb B was an elaborately painted wooden door, which was originally installed into the doorway between the superstructure and the vaulted corridor of the tomb (Figure 2).¹⁹ Since the style of this unique object requires comparison with Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffins, it is most likely that the door dates from the time of a second generation of owners, who were interred there in the Kushite Period. The inscriptions on the door mention four individuals, viz. (1) *P3-ym*, *servant of the Palace* (*šmsw n ˁh*),²⁰ (2) *Jh-nts*, (3) *Ns-p3wtj-t3.wj*, *maker of the nsj-plant in the domain of Amun* (*jrw nsj n pr-Jmn*) and (4) her mother, *Hr-jry*, *mistress of the house (nb.t pr)*. Since *Jh-nts* and *Hr-jry* appear only in the filiation of the two remaining persons, however, one may presume that only *P3-ym* and *Ns-p3wtj-t3.wj* were buried in Tomb B.

Theban Tomb -61-

TT -61- is situated in the third “necropolis street” of el-Khokha and was originally intended for Amenhotep, chief physician in the domain of Amun and *wab*-priest of Mut under Ramesses III.²¹ The New Kingdom owner and his wife were buried in the lowermost chamber of the tomb (Room IX), which was provided with two niches in the floor to accommodate the coffins.

During the Twenty-second Dynasty Room IX was occupied by the intrusive burials of a priestly family. On the basis of inscriptions two individuals viz. *Hr*²² and his father, *ḥḥ=f-n-Jmn*²³ can be identified from this family. The name of *Hr* remained preserved on his coffin and cartonnage (Figure 3), whilst that of *ḥḥ=f-n-Jmn* is legible on his heart scarab (Figure 4) and in *Hr*’s coffin and cartonnage inscriptions. Both father and son bore the title *god’s father of Amun* (*jt ntr n Jmn*), and *Hr* was also *wab-priest who enters in Karnak* (*wḥb ḥ m j[p.t-s]wt*).²⁴ From the burial ensemble two elaborately painted cartonnage coffins could be reconstructed. One of them exhibits a composition which finds parallels in Theban coffins and cartonnages of the 9th century BC, while the other is a representative of Taylor’s Type B 2, which first appeared in the later 9th century BC.²⁵ Judging by coffin fragments, at least the burial of *Hr* was also provided with a black coloured outer coffin decorated in yellow. The excavation in Room IX yielded, furthermore, an almost complete set of coarse ushebti figurines and *ḥḥ=f-n-Jmn*’s heart scarab inscribed on the underside with an abbreviated version of Book of the Dead chapter 30B.

TT 184 and its surroundings

TT 184 is situated in the third “necropolis street” of el-Khokha, not far from TT -61-. The tomb was constructed for Nefermenu, mayor of the Southern City during the later half of Ramesses’ II reign or that of his immediate successors.²⁶ Similarly to TT 32 and TT -61-, the burial chamber of TT 184 was reused during the Twenty-second Dynasty for an intrusive burial. What could be associated with this burial were coarse quality Nile silt ushebtis²⁷ and a cartonnage case inscribed for *P3y=f-ḥ.w-ḥ.wj-Mntw*, son of *Hr*.²⁸ Since titles are not given in the cartonnage inscription, it remains unknown whether the *Hr* mentioned here is identical to the man with the same name from TT -61-, who is known as the son of *ḥḥ=f-n-Jmn*. Such a suggestion is otherwise possible not only because *P3y=f-ḥ.w-ḥ.wj-Mntw*’s cartonnage can also be dated to a late phase of the “Two falcons type” but especially since family burials clustered around a single tomb or a group of tombs are typical for the intrusive burials of this period.

The mission working in TT 184 also excavated part of the fifth and sixth “necropolis streets” of el-Khokha. In the fifth “necropolis street” a *saff* tomb dating to the Middle Kingdom was discovered. The tomb was reused in the Third Intermediate Period for multiple burials. Two individual graves were hollowed out of the bedrock this time on the east and the west part of the *saff*. The cartonnage fragment discovered in the north-eastern corner of the *saff* (Grave 2)²⁹ appears to be of a relatively “late” date as its pattern work is actually identical to one of the cartonnage coffins discovered in Tomb B (TT 32),³⁰ which can be dated to the 8th century BC. Another spot where diagnostic Twenty-second Dynasty material was discovered is TT -43-, an Eighteenth Dynasty monument in the sixth “necropolis street” of el-Khokha. The cartonnage case excavated in this context displays a characteristically Twenty-second Dynasty painting style,³¹ but the object is too fragmentary to allow a more precise dating.

Other spots on el-Khokha

Other tombs yielding Third Intermediate Period finds include TT 257, the New Kingdom tomb of Noferhotep and Meh, which is situated on the west slope of el-Khokha, very close to the tombs excavated by the Hungarian missions. The inner rooms of TT 257 were reused for multiple burials during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The most important finds from this period of TT 257 belong to the burial equipment of a certain *Jmn-p3-sdnw* and his son *Jwty-3-r-Wsjr*, both holding the title *chamber supervisor of the Divine Adoratrix of Amun* (*jmy hn.t n dw3.t-[ntr] n Jmn*).³² A most interesting feature of this burial ensemble, constructed for father and son, is that it represents an unusual blend of Twenty-second and Twenty-fifth Dynasty styles. In accordance with the “new” coffin style of the Kushite Period, both persons were provided with outer coffins of the *krsw* type,³³ however, their innermost coffins were actually cartonnage cases decorated in the style of the Twenty-second Dynasty.³⁴ The finds also included a large fragment from the ushebti box of *Jmn-p3-sdnw*,³⁵ which shows resemblance to Aston’s Type VII boxes inscribed with the shabti formula.³⁶ Boxes of this type are characteristic of the later Third Intermediate Period.³⁷ The burial equipment as a whole provides further arguments strengthening the view already sounded both by J. Taylor³⁸ and the author of this article³⁹ that cartonnage cases survived into the early Kushite Period.

Besides the above burials datable to the second half of the 8th century BC, TT 257 also accommodated the funerary equipment of a certain *P3-dj-B3st.t*, son of *Htp.wt*, who held the title *jry 3 pr-Jmn* (*doorkeeper of the domain of Amun*).⁴⁰ His burial equipment included a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue datable to the 7th century BC and probably also a funerary stela.⁴¹ Since the inscriptions testify to the pennant writing of Osiris’ name, *P3-dj-B3st.t*’s burial must postdate the late 8th century BC, when this orthography was introduced.

TT 373, a Ramesside monument excavated and published by K.-J. Seyfried, is located on the south-east slope of el-Khokha. The reuse of this tomb in the later Third Intermediate Period is indicated by two cartonnage cases of the “Two falcons type”.⁴² Personal names are not preserved on the reassembled fragments. The finds are complemented by fragments from Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues⁴³, ceramic vessels⁴⁴ and coffins,⁴⁵ which illustrate the continuing use of TT 373 during the Twenty-fifth and the Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

Further examples of Twenty-second Dynasty coffins and cartonnages have been reported from the tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose and Amenmose (TT 294, 253 and 254) on the south slope of el-Khokha.⁴⁶

Conclusion

This brief survey was perhaps sufficient to illustrate that most tombs on el-Khokha that have already been examined archaeologically witness a reuse during the later Third Intermediate Period. Evidence from TT 32, -61- and 184 indicate that during the 9th and early 8th centuries BC the original burial chambers of New Kingdom tombs became reused first. In the case of larger family burials, such as the one in TT 32, secondary chambers were also constructed to house the burials of the occupants. Another solution to assess a burial properly in a reused tomb was to cut a secondary burial shaft. This practice is found throughout the Theban necropolis in tombs of the New Kingdom. Shafts of this type have a characteristically square opening and vary in depth between 2.5 and 4.5 metres. On the basis of the archaeological material the shaft in Room II of TT 32 appears to postdate the burials in the lower rooms of the tomb and may be put at around the 8th century BC (late Twenty-second – early Twenty-fifth Dynasties). Roughly at the same time tombs with massive mud brick

superstructures also appeared at the base of the hill. The archaeological material from Tomb B, a good example of this tomb type, demonstrates that the first owners were interred there during the Twenty-second Dynasty. The occupation of Tomb B, however, also continued in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. El-Khokha hillock thus represents a connecting chain in the network of late Third Intermediate Period Theban burials between the area of the Ramesseum and Deir el-Bahari/ Asasif/ Birabi.

The examination of the socio-economic status of tomb owners also yields interesting results. Considering now only the objects on which both names and titles have been preserved, one may state that, with the exception of TT -61-, all reused tombs on el-Khokha were occupied by individuals who held non-priestly titles and represent a middle layer in contemporary society. Moreover, it is probably more than a coincidence that most attested titles seem to refer to the same class of profession, representatives of which are described either as *chamber managers in the domain of Amun* (*hry ʿ.t pr-Jmn, jry ʿ.t pr-Jmn*), *chamber supervisors of the Divine Adoratrix of Amun* (*imy hn.t dw3.t-ntr n Jmn*) or *doorkeepers of the domain of Amun* (*jry ʿ3 pr-Jmn*). It is well known that a number of family clusters existed in the Theban necropolis. This clearly meant that the subsequent generations of a family wanted to share a common burial place, be it either a single tomb or a group of nearby tombs. Another organising force in tomb selection was the socio-economic status of the owners. The study of entire tomb groups has already led to the recognition that during the Third Intermediate Period Medinet Habu accommodated the burials of the *singers of the abode of Amun* (*hs.wt hnw n Jmn*),⁴⁷ the Ramesseum was designed to be the cemetery of a certain class of priests and their relatives (mostly *jt ntr.w n Jmn*),⁴⁸ while, at a later date, the zone of Deir el-Bahari was chosen as the burial place for the priests of Montu.⁴⁹ If one takes the data from the aforementioned tombs as a representative sample, a similar “socio-economic cluster”, with tombs reused by members of the middle layer, can be established in relation to el-Khokha. Such a conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the tomb of User (TT 21) situated close to el-Khokha was also reused for multiple burials of a family (the Disiese family), whose members were *chamber managers of the domain of Amun*.⁵⁰ If we are correct, the burials on el-Khokha offer important data for the reconstruction of the socio-economic stratification of tomb reuse during the late Third Intermediate Period.

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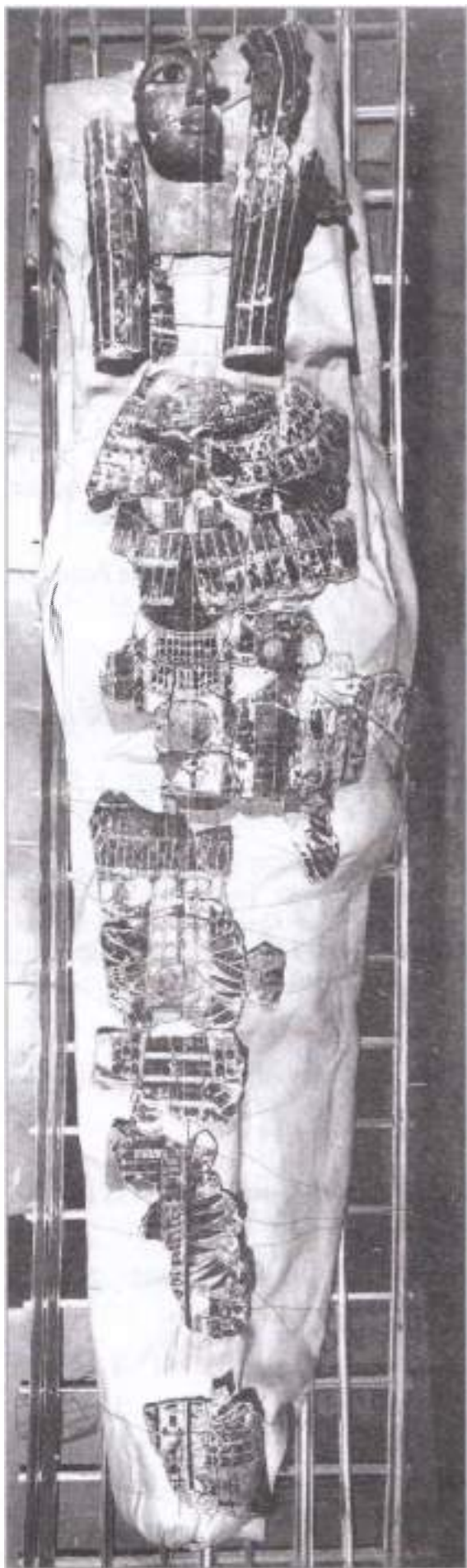


Figure 1

The cartonnage case of (Š3)-p3-dj-hnsw
from TT 32

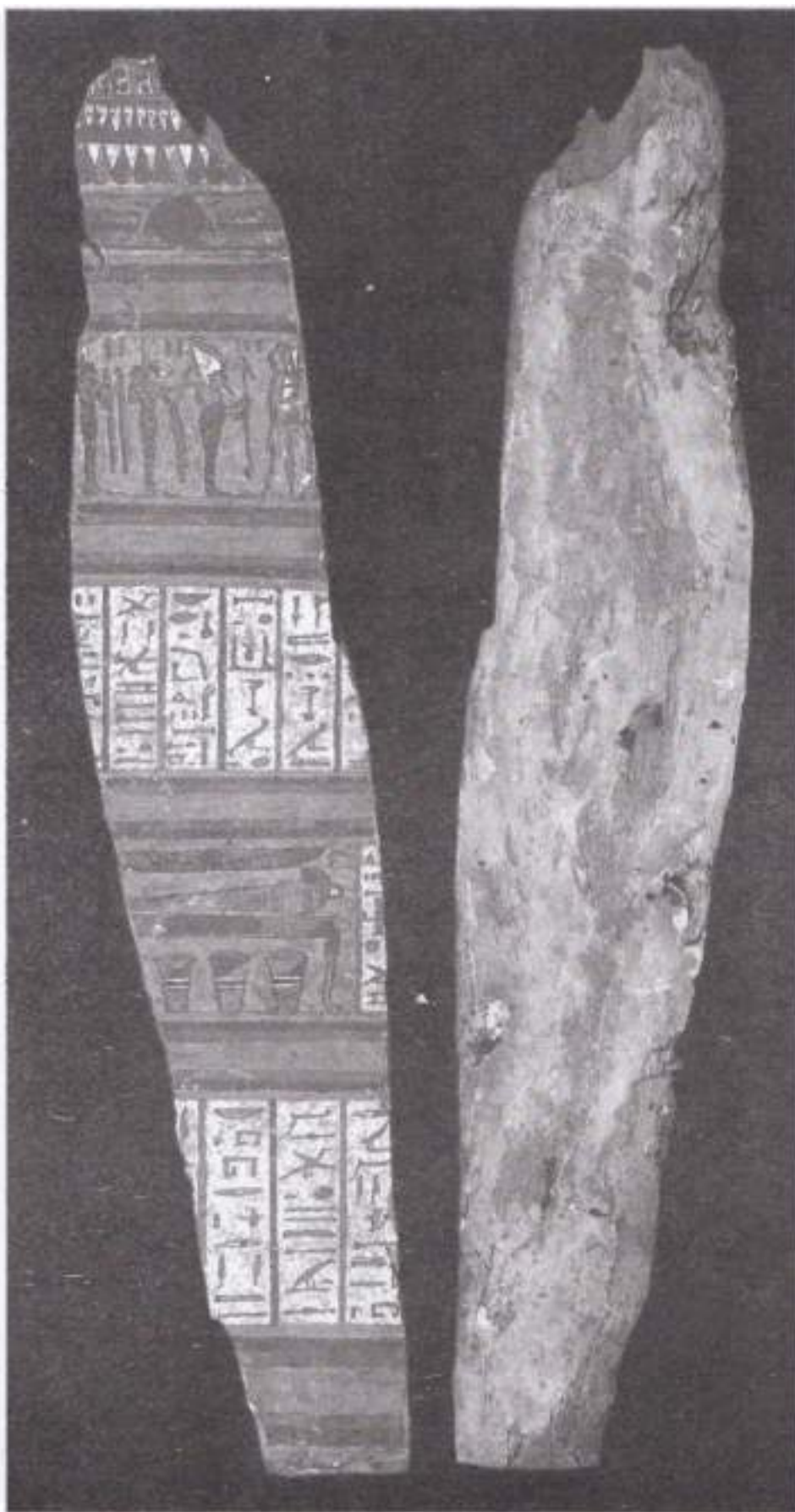


Figure 2 Wooden door from Tomb B (TT 32)

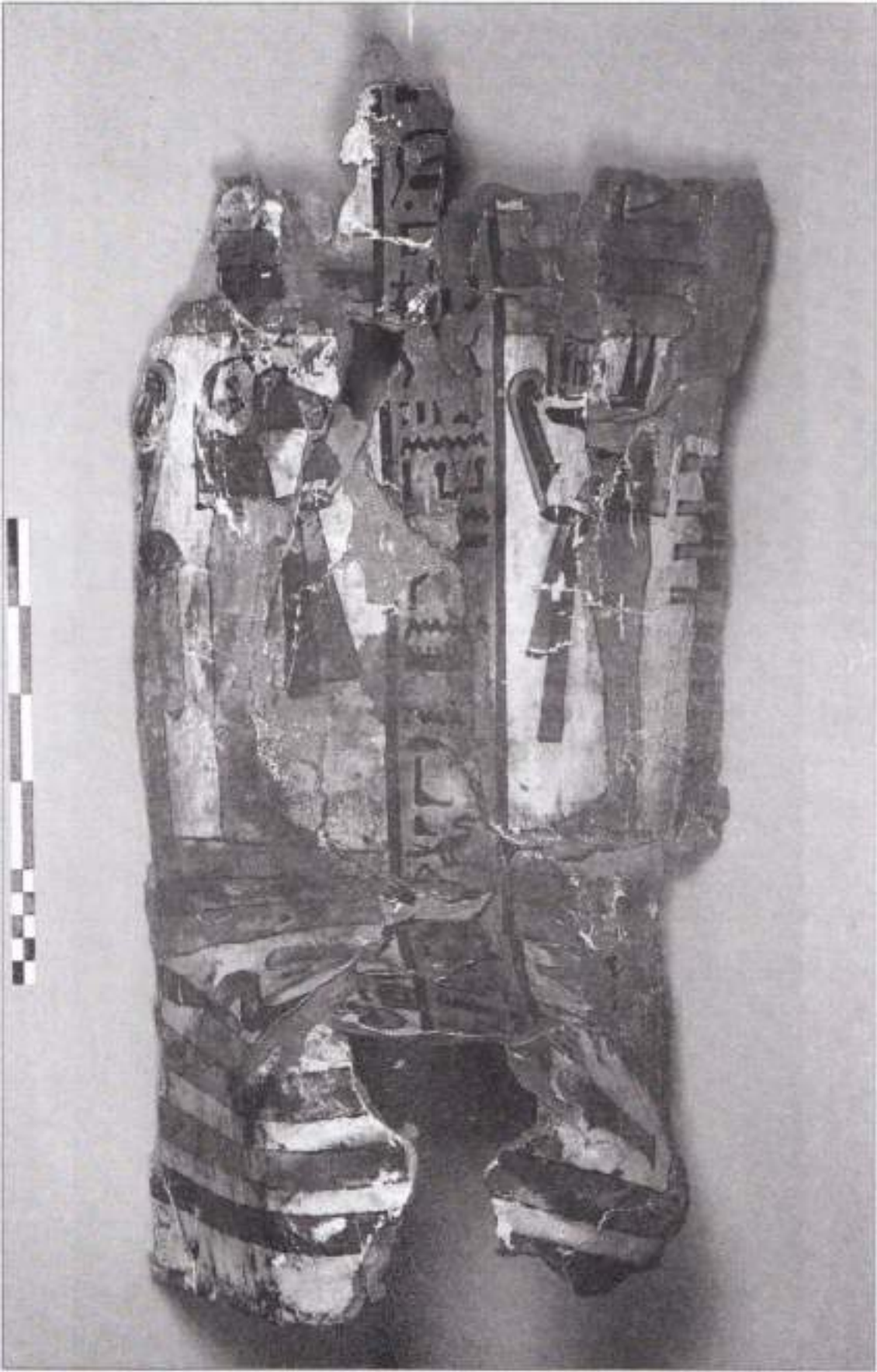


Figure 3 Detail of the cartonnage case of *Hr* from TT -61-



Figure 4 The heart scarab of ʿnh=f-n-Jmn from TT -61-

Endnotes

I dedicate this brief contribution to Professor Abdel Halim Nur el-Din, renowned demotist and expert of late Pharaonic Egyptian culture who as former secretary general of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, has never ceased to support Hungarian field archaeology in Egypt.

¹ Niwiński 1988, 29. See also Barwik 2003.

² Quibell 1898, *passim*; Elias 1993, 92-107.

³ Elias 1993, 97-98; Guichard and Kalos 2000, 47-69; Nelson 2003, *passim*.

⁴ Anthes 1943, 1-68.

⁵ Castel and Meeks 1980.

⁶ Elias 1993, 173-186.

⁷ Elias 1993, 52-321.

⁸ Aston 1987. Cf. Aston 1996, 47-57. For a general overview of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Theban necropolis, see Aston 2003, 138-149.

⁹ Elias discusses the family burial of Iddi from TT 23 in the lower enclosure of Sheikh abd el-Gurna and intrusive burials from his „Mid-Wadi Tomb Group” only. See Elias 1993, 177, 179-184.

¹⁰ Aston makes some comments on the findings of M. Saleh in the tomb of Qenamun (Aston 1987, 321-322). Elsewhere he also refers cursorily to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty burials in TT 257. See Aston 2003, 149.

¹¹ A Hungarian mission, conducted between 1983 and 2002 by L. Kákósy and since 2003 by the author of this article, has been excavating TT 32 and its surroundings. The Third Intermediate Period finds are described in detail in Schreiber 2008. For an introduction into the history of TT 32, see Kákósy and Schreiber 2003. Another mission, directed by Z. I. Fábíán, is investigating TT 184 and the tombs of the upper “necropolis streets” of el-Khokha. For the current state of work, with references to previously published reports, see Fábíán 2007. A third mission, directed between 1996 and 2005 by E. Gaál and since 2006 by present writer, cleaned and investigated TT -59-, and has been carrying out excavation in TT -61-.

¹² It is notable that the same title was held by the male members of the Disiese family buried in the nearby tomb of User (TT 21). Collins 1976, 38-39; Elias 1993, 174-175.

¹³ Taylor 1988, 166-167. Cartonnage cases which share the same iconography represent Type 2 B in Taylor’s recent typology: Taylor 2003, 106.

¹⁴ For the reading of this name, see Schreiber 2008, Cat. No. 2.1.2.1.

¹⁵ The name is probably an abbreviated form of *Dd-jmn.t-jw=s/f-ḥnh* (PN II, 334.7) or, less likely, an unusual form of the name *Nsj-jmn.t* (PN I, 409.22, note 1). The name form *Dd-jmn.t* is known from other sources as well: Vittmann 1978, 132, 235. For the occurrence of the name *Dd-jmn* on ushebtis, see Quibell 1896, pl. V.

¹⁶ The same shaft type is to be found e.g. in the Ramesseum necropolis (Elias 1993, 94).

¹⁷ For a detailed description of Tomb B and the finds retrieved from it, see Schreiber and Vasáros 2005.

¹⁸ Schreiber and Vasáros 2005, 16, fig. 8.

¹⁹ Schreiber and Vasáros 2005, 21-23, fig. 7.

²⁰ A similar title (*\$msw n dw3.t-nṯr*) was connected with the institution of the Divine Adoratrices: Graefe 1981, II, 41.

²¹ On work in the tomb a progress report in Hungarian has been published: Gaál 2004: 53-63.

²² PN I, 245.18.

- ²³ *PN* I, 67.5.
- ²⁴ *Wb.* I, 283.
- ²⁵ Taylor 2003, 106.
- ²⁶ In a recent article (Fábián 2002) Z. I. Fábián argued for a dating for TT 184 to the later Nineteenth Dynasty.
- ²⁷ Fábián 2007, 32.
- ²⁸ Fábián 2007, 38.
- ²⁹ Fábián 2007, fig. 54.
- ³⁰ Schreiber and Vasáros 2005, fig. 11.
- ³¹ Fábián 2007, 15, figs. 30-32.
- ³² On this title, see Graefe 1981, II, 36-38.
- ³³ **Coffin of *Jwtj-ʿ3-r-Wsjr*:** Mostafa 1995, 79-80, pls. XX, XLI-XLII (Obj. Nr. 84). **Coffin of *Jmn-p3-sdnw*:** Mostafa 1995, 80-81, pl. XLIII.
- ³⁴ Mostafa 1995, 85-86, pl. XLVI (Obj. Nr. 122, 123).
- ³⁵ Mostafa 1995, 81, pls. XIX, XLIII (Obj. Nr. 88.1).
- ³⁶ Aston 1994, 33-34, pl. 6/4.
- ³⁷ Aston 1994, 45.
- ³⁸ Taylor 2003, 113.
- ³⁹ Schreiber and Vasáros 2005, 11-17.
- ⁴⁰ On this title, see Černý 2001, 161.
- ⁴¹ **Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue:** Mostafa 1995, 77-78, pls. XIX, XL (Obj. Nr. 75). **Stela:** Mostafa 1995, 74, pl. XXXVII (Obj. Nr. 37).
- ⁴² Seyfried 1990, 232, 234, fig. 179 (Obj. Nr. 1615-1620) and 268-269, 272, fig. 180 (Obj. Nr. 1287).
- ⁴³ Seyfried 1990, Obj. Nr. 738, 1326, 1715, 1817 and 2355.
- ⁴⁴ E. g. Seyfried 1990, Obj. Nr. 1419.
- ⁴⁵ Seyfried 1990, Obj. Nr. 1126.
- ⁴⁶ Strudwick 1996, 159, pl. 44.
- ⁴⁷ Elias 1993, 74-75.
- ⁴⁸ Elias 1993, 98-99.
- ⁴⁹ Elias 1993, 243-321.
- ⁵⁰ Collins 1976, 38-39; Elias 1993, 174-175.