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Topographical Archaeology in Dra' Abu el-Naga Three Thousand Years of Cultural History

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Dra' Abu el-Naga 1990–2013 – Current State and Perspectives

Since 1991, the German Archaeological Institute Cairo (DAIK) has maintained a long-term project in the area of the Theban necropolis referred to with the toponym Dra' Abu el-Naga². The area in which the project is active encompasses almost the entire plain and hillside between the outskirts of the former village of Dra' Abu el-Naga in the west and the road leading into the Valley of the Kings in the east. Its northern boundary lies to the north of the summit of the Dra' Abu el-Naga hills, and the southern boundary is delimited by the modern tarmac road that runs in the direction of Deir el-Bahri (Fig. 1 and fold-out plan in the pocket at the back of this volume).

The underlying questions of the project on its initiation were the following³: a large-scale area that extends over the northern part of Dra' Abu el-Naga and has remained untouched by modern structures was selected as the object of archaeological investigation and divided into various specifically-designated excavation trenches with the aim of tracing the central aspects of the overall development of an ancient Egyptian necropolis. These aspects initially included e.g. the distribution and alignment of tomb complexes in the terrain, their architecture and, where possible, their decoration, their material equipment as well as the design and function of potential cult buildings. An additional issue was the question of whether material attested in historical sources would be substantiated by the results of an archaeological investigation or, in other words, to what extent ar-

chaeology could contribute to the clarification of historical, sociological, prosopographical, and also theological, religious, ritual- and cult-related aspects of the population that once resided in ancient Thebes and was buried in the tomb complexes.

On the basis of published data gained from earlier archaeological activities that took place in Dra' Abu el-Naga predominantly during the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, tomb complexes dating to the late Second Intermediate Period and the early New Kingdom were initially expected in the concession. The large extent of the concession, which was applied for with a total area of 160,000 m² and granted by the former Egyptian Antiquities Organisation (EAO), was intended to ensure that the above-mentioned questions could be pursued in terms of their diachronic and diatopic dimensions. From the very start of the project, the research approach endeavoured to go beyond the prevailing method employed to date in Thebes and other ancient Egyptian necropoleis of recording large, decorated single tomb complexes, during which archaeological investigation is often deliberately neglected or carried out only cursorily, and which are often published in exactly the same manner⁴. Due to this practice, questions, for example, on the ancient cultic usage as well as the intended and realized access to these individual complexes and their various areas were rarely thematized.

Another distinctive part of the questions posed at the project's initial stage constituted the targeted search of several 'lost' royal tomb complexes dating to the 17th Dynasty, which, according to references in ancient Egyptian textual sources and the reports on

¹ We would like to thank CATHERINE H. JONES for translating this article into English.

² A continually updated list of all publications connected with the project can be found on the project's homepage at www.dainst.org/de/project/dra-abu-el-naga?ft=all (17. 07. 2013).

³ See the corresponding notes in the project's first preliminary report in D. POLZ, *Bericht über die erste Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga*, in: MDAIK 48, 1992 (hereafter D. POLZ, 1. Bericht), pp. 109–115.

⁴ One very striking example of this practice is demonstrated by the tomb complex TT 100 constructed by the Vizier Rekhmira during the reign of Thutmose III. Even though the tomb has been published three times from different perspectives, Egyptologists have no definite concept of the numerous underground complexes of the tomb due to the lack of adequate documentation and study (cf. D. POLZ, *Das Grab Nr. 54 in Theben. Ein Beitrag zur Archäologie thebanischer Felsgräber*, dissertation Heidelberg 1988, pp. 3–4).



Fig. 1 Satellite image of Dra' Abu el-Naga North (March 2013), © Google Earth Pro; Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe

sub-modern⁵ grave robbery activities, were located within the concession.

The project's main objective was and is the evaluation of archaeological material in its broadest sense obtained during the course of excavations in designated sub-areas in order to understand the complex mechanisms that are essential to the formation of an ancient Egyptian necropolis, and to present these observations in a coherent way. The presentation of the material will incorporate internal (gained through excavation) and external (such as the comparison with archaeological features in tomb complexes and necropoleis of other sites and/or time periods⁶), systemic and non-systemic facets and aspects of the formation of the necropolis. For this purpose, an archaeology-theoretical model developed by M. B. SCHIFFER with a focus on the use-life of objects in archaeological contexts will also be employed with subsequent modifications for the sphere of Egyptian tomb architecture which were defined by the present author in another context⁷. With corresponding refinements, the model can equally be applied to parts of necropoleis or sub-necropoleis as well as to a necropolis in its overall state⁸.

The procedure at the start of the project in the spring of 1990 consisted of an initial survey of the northern part of Dra' Abu el-Naga, which then consti-

tuted the basis of the application for an excavation concession submitted to the Egyptian Antiquities Authorities. Once the concession and permission for excavation was granted, two further surveys took place in the autumn of 1990 within the now specified concession area. The insights gained from these surveys in turn formed the basis for the definition of the first and, subsequently, a further four of the in total eight excavation areas that have been investigated over the last two decades (Areas A, E-H)⁹. During this period, annual excavation campaigns were undertaken both in the spring and/or in the autumn¹⁰.

The results of the excavations during the last two decades have only marginally changed the above-stated objective of the project to the extent that it could now be refined and defined more precisely. On the other hand, the initial questions were inevitably subjected to considerable modifications and substantial enhancements:

- Work undertaken in Area A (Fig. 1 and fold-out plan), a section of the concession that extends over the flat plain in front of the hill range, expectedly revealed a clear picture of the distribution and alignment of tomb shafts within a larger interrelated area of investigation. However, a most unexpected development was the discovery of

⁵ The term 'sub-modern' is used here in connection with excavation activities that took place during the period before a series of scientifically founded archaeological questions were developed, i. e. before A. MARIETTE was appointed as the director of the newly established antiquities department in Egypt in the year 1857.

⁶ A promising case for comparison is, for example, the situation of the large necropoleis in Deir el-Bersheh, which provides far-reaching parallels both in terms of detailed aspects as well as the overall occupation structure, see (generally) H. WILLEMS, *Dayr al-Barshā I*, OLA 155, Leuven 2007, pp. 1–17. On the question of processional ways through and approaches to necropolis areas in Western Thebes, see the corresponding chapter in J. BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauch und Friedhofsstruktur im Asasif*, UÖAI 34, Wien 2010, pp. 71–77; recent findings of the DAIK-Cluster Project in Abydos are also particularly instructive: A. EFFLAND/U. EFFLAND, *Kult- und Prozessionsachsen*, in: U. EFFLAND/J. BUDKA/A. EFFLAND, *Studien zum Osiriskult in Umm el-Qaab/Abydos*, in: MDAIK 66, 2010, pp. 78–85; *Id.*, "Ritual Landscape" and "Sacred Space" – Überlegungen zu Kultausrichtung und Prozessionsachsen in Abydos, in: M. K. LAHN/M.-G. SCHRÖTER (eds.), *Raumdimensionen im Altertum*, MOSAIKjournal 1, 2010, pp. 127–158.

⁷ M. B. SCHIFFER, *Archaeological Context and Systemic Context*, in: *American Antiquity* 37, 1972, pp. 156–165; *Id.*, *Behavioral Archaeology*, New York/San Francisco/London 1976, p. 27–41; D. POLZ, *Das Grab Nr. 54 in Theben. Ein Beitrag zur Archäologie thebanischer Felsgräber*, dissertation Heidelberg 1988, pp. 17–19; *Id.*, *Excavation and Recording of a Theban Tomb*, in: J. ASSMANN/G. BURKARD/W. V. DAVIES (eds.), *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology*, London 1987, especially pp. 122–127.

⁸ The use-life model in connection with tombs and shafts and their inventories was first modified by H. GUKSCH, *Über den Umgang mit*

Gräbern, in: J. ASSMANN ET AL. (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung. Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9.–13. 6. 1993*, SAGA 12, Heidelberg 1995 (hereafter J. ASSMANN ET AL., *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*), pp. 13–24; it was recently readressed in the context of methodological discussions by P. JÁNOSI (*Giza in der 4. Dynastie I*, UÖAI 24, Wien 2005, pp. 37–39) and J. BUDKA (*Bestattungsbrauch und Friedhofsstruktur im Asasif*, UÖAI 34, Wien 2010, pp. 27–28; cf. also J. BUDKA, *Fundmaterial aus Gräbern. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der archäologischen Interpretation und ihre didaktische Vermittlung*, in: A. VERBOVSEK/ B. BACKES/C. JONES [eds.], *Methodik und Didaktik in der Ägyptologie. Herausforderungen eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Paradigmenwechsels in den Altertumswissenschaften, Ägyptologie und Kulturwissenschaft IV*, München 2011, pp. 196–201). J. ASSMANN uses the German translation of the term, i. e. "Gebrauchsleben" (e. g.: *Die Lebenden und die Toten*, in: J. ASSMANN/F. MACIEJEWSKI/ A. MICHALS (eds.), *Der Abschied von den Toten. Trauerrituale im Kulturvergleich*, Göttingen 2005, p. 33).

⁹ The work undertaken in Areas B, C and D were conceived in 1991 as 'salvage excavations'. These excavations were necessary to archaeologically investigate three strips of the terrain situated within the concession in a section along the modern street before they disappeared beneath asphalt, a measure planned by the Egyptian government to widen the road at this point (D. POLZ, *1. Bericht*, pp. 114–115; 123). The Areas B, C and D are not discussed in the present article.

¹⁰ The results of the individual excavation campaigns can be found in the preliminary reports published in the MDAIK as well as in the annual newsletters of the DAIK ('Rundbrief') up until and including 2011 (www.dainst.org/de/node/28816?ft=all [17. 07. 2013]).

the remains of almost a dozen contemporaneous mudbrick superstructures, which had been constructed above several of the shafts¹¹. These chapel-like buildings proved to be rooms where painted and/or carved stelae of the individuals buried in the shafts were erected. Unequivocal indications of intensive cult practices in and at the superstructures¹² also enable us to paint a picture of the human activities evident during the 18th Dynasty usage phase of this area of the necropolis. In the ensuing period, the area continued to be used for burials, and the existing architecture provided the frame for this purpose: both the shafts already present at the site (the burial chambers however were intentionally left untouched!) as well as individual tomb superstructures were reused during the Third Intermediate and the Late Period as the burial sites of single coffins with only a minimal amount of additional burial equipment¹³.

Overall, the archaeological record in Area A enables an extensive reconstruction of the landscape in the Dra' Abu el-Naga plain at the time of the early and middle 18th Dynasty: the gradual incline of the plain in front of the hill chain was covered with white-plastered tomb superstructures between which tomb shafts were located – in parts tightly packed next to one another – that were presumably covered by vaults but had no associated superstructure. Depending on the intensity of usage of the individual superstructures and tomb shafts, it is almost obligatory to reconstruct approaches to and pathways between the buildings, even though they can no longer be attested archaeologically due to their temporary character. With this in mind,

the outward appearance of the necropolis during the peak of its activity was probably not unlike medieval and modern Egyptian Muslim cemeteries with free-standing tomb buildings¹⁴.

- At the highest point of the concession area (~ 145 m above sea level¹⁵ [a. s. l.]), i. e. the hill summit of Dra' Abu el-Naga, lies the spaciouly-planned but uncompleted rock-cut tomb K94.1 in Area F (Fig. 1 and fold-out plan), with (at least) one forecourt and a small interior. The tomb's interior gives access to a 17 m-deep shaft, to date the deepest shaft attested in Dra' Abu el-Naga¹⁶. The western end of the shaft also ends in an uncompleted chamber, which contains a small ledge hewn from the bedrock presumably for the deposition of objects belonging to the burial equipment. Above the façade of the tomb complex on the hill's summit were the sparse remains of a pyramid that had once been erected here using mudbricks, and was evidently better preserved at the beginning of the 20th century¹⁷. We can only speculate about its architectural and technical details. Even so, the few details of the planned layout of the tomb complex that are visible, or rather that can be reconstructed today, show remarkably clear parallels to the tomb complex K93.11 situated only a short distance further to the south. In their original state, both tombs should be viewed as intended royal burial sites of the early 18th Dynasty¹⁸.
- At one of the lowest-lying points of the concession (~ 80 m a. s. l.), an ensemble of rock-cut tombs was ascertained in Area G (Fig. 1 and fold-out

¹¹ D. POLZ, 1. Bericht, pp. 115–123; Id., Bericht über die 2. und 3. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga/Theben-West, in: MDAIK 49, 1993 (hereafter D. POLZ, 2.–3. Bericht), pp. 227–238.

¹² For example flat bowls sunk into the ground with intentionally pierced bases. Libations were poured into these bowls and the liquid would gradually drain through the holes in the bases into the ground (D. POLZ, Dra' Abu el-Naga: Die thebanische Nekropole des frühen Neuen Reiches, in: J. ASSMANN ET AL. (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, p. 25, Taf. 1a). Also large amounts of ritual pottery ('red polished bottles') were discovered on the antique surface between the buildings (A. SEILER, *Tradition & Wandel. Die Keramik als Spiegel der Kulturentwicklung Thebens in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, SDAIK 32, Mainz 2005, pp. 50–52; 93 with Abb. 43–47; 198–199).

¹³ E. g. D. POLZ, 2.–3. Bericht, pp. 229–230 with Abb. 2.

¹⁴ Compare, for example, the mausolea of the medieval Muslim Cemetery at Aswan (see now PH. SPEISER ET AL., *Umayyad, Tulunid and Fatimid Tombs in Aswan*, in: D. RAUE/ST. J. SEIDLMAYER/PH. SPEISER, *The First Cataract on the Nile. One Region – Diverse Perspectives*, SDAIK 36, Berlin/Boston 2013, pp. 211–222 with Pls. 44–48). A fitting parallel, not only in terms of a visual comparison, is also

the so-called 'Northern Cemetery' ('City of the Dead') beneath the Mokattam plateau in the south-eastern area of Cairo in its state towards the end of the 19th century, i. e. before the fairly recent usage of necropolis areas as 'informal settlements' in the 20th century, see H. HAMZA, *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo*, Cairo 2001, pp. vii; 46–48 and Fig. 1; an aerial photograph of the necropolis from the beginning of the 20th century can be found in E. SPELTERINI, *Über den Wolken. Par dessus les nuages*, Zürich 1928, p. 84.

¹⁵ The heights given are measured in absolute metres.

¹⁶ D. POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende*, SDAIK 31, Berlin 2007 (hereafter D. POLZ, *Der Beginn*), pp. 162–172 with Abb. 42–44.

¹⁷ In H. CARTER's plan of the Dra' Abu el-Naga necropolis, the complex is marked as "PYR TOMB" (*Report on the Tomb of Zeser-ka-Ra Amenhetep I, Discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon in 1914*, in: JEA 3, 1916, Pl. XIX (hereafter H. CARTER, *Report*); for a detail of CARTER's plan see D. POLZ, *Der Beginn*, p. 165, Abb. 43).

¹⁸ Argumentation in D. POLZ, *Der Beginn*, pp. 224–229. For the similarity of the architectural layout of the two tombs see especially Abb. 44 on p. 167.

plan), the centre of which was constituted by a large *saff* tomb complex with a 4-pillar/2-pilaster façade and a ca. 25 m-long corridor (K95.1)¹⁹. According to the pottery discovered in an antique systemic context on the corridor's floor, at least the first main phase of the *saff* tomb's usage dates to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th Dynasty. The architecture and design as well as the horizontal and vertical position in the plain of Dra' Abu el-Naga suggests that the complex should rather be assigned to the 'archaic' type of (earlier) *saff* tombs found in the necropolis of el-Tarif than to the high-lying, conspicuous (later) *saff* tombs located in the Asasif and on the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna²⁰. The *saff* tomb must have been accessible at a much later time and, perhaps due to its proximity to a processional way, retained a certain local significance. At the end of the Second Intermediate Period and the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, several shaft tombs were constructed in the immediate surrounding area in a way that presupposes exact knowledge of the *saff* tomb and its interior rooms as well as of the access to these spaces. The phenomenon of 'abutting' smaller tomb complexes on already-existent, large and 'time-honoured' tomb constructions is also attested elsewhere in Thebes and should be viewed as one of the many criteria for selecting the location of a burial place and for the practice of allocating sites for the planning and construction of tombs in general²¹. Perhaps the position of the *saff* tomb in relation to a processional way or a necropolis street also played a part in the redefinition or re-occupation of the area during this period: the tomb complex lies directly to the north of the modern-day, roughly north-east to south-west running tarmac road, which itself follows the course of an ancient

Pharaonic processional way (see the contribution by U. RUMMEL below, pp. 123–127). Thus, the *saff* tomb and the younger shaft tombs intentionally display a cult-topographical orientation²².

- In Area H (Fig. 1 and fold-out plan), the ruins of the pyramid of the king Nub-Kheper-Ra Intef were located and excavated in 2001²³. Due to the discovery of a pyramidion fragment from his presumed (elder) brother and predecessor, Sekhem-Ra Wep-Maat Intef, at least one further pyramid can be reconstructed in the immediate vicinity. These findings resulted in a substantial extension of the original underlying questions of the overall project. The construction of two royal buildings in pyramid form (in the case of Nub-Kheper-Ra Intef including a pair of obelisks, a postulated cult site and an enclosure wall surrounding the precinct) in the middle of the necropolis permanently altered the ancient landscape and its further usage. The presence of the complexes and the cult practices that took place there had a determinative influence on the formation of both the immediate and more distant surroundings for centuries until the end of the New Kingdom. On the basis of present knowledge, it can be assumed that from the end of the 17th Dynasty these royal pyramids constituted the decisive 'model' in terms of form and meaning for the numerous pyramids that were erected above private tombs during the early to late New Kingdom throughout the Theban necropolis (and presumably also elsewhere²⁴).
- In the same area, i. e. in the immediate and wider surroundings of the pyramid of Nub-Kheper-Ra Intef, a group of, as yet, nine shaft tombs were discovered that had been dug into three different le-

¹⁹ D. POLZ ET AL., *Bericht über die 6., 7. und 8. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga/Theben-West*, in: MDAIK 55, 1999 (hereafter D. POLZ ET AL., 6.–8. Bericht), pp. 370–377, Abb. 14, Taf. 60.

²⁰ D. ARNOLD's "fortgeschrittene" and "späte Form des Pfeilertyps" ('advanced' and 'late form' of the pillar type), respectively (D. ARNOLD, *Grabung im Asasif 1963–1970 I. Das Grab des Inj-jtj. f. Die Architektur*, AV 4, Mainz 1971, pp. 39–43 with Taf. XVIII–XIX).

²¹ D. POLZ, "Ihre Mauern sind verfallen ..., ihre Stätte ist nicht mehr". *Der Aufwand für den Toten im Theben der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, in: H. GUKSCH/E. HOFMANN/M. BOMMAS, *Grab und Totenkult im Alten Ägypten*, München 2003, pp. 81–83.

²² D. EIGNER uses this term (as opposed to "physical-topographical") with reference to the intended shift of the pylons of the superstructure associated with Padihorresnet's tomb in the Asasif. (in: E. GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 196)*, MonAeg 9, Bruxelles 2003, p. 73). For processional ways and ne-

cropolis streets in the Asasif see J. BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauch und Friedhofsstruktur im Asasif*, UÖAI 34, Wien 2010, pp. 74–77.

²³ D. POLZ/JA. SEILER, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Kheper-Re Intef in Dra' Abu el-Naga*, SDAIK 24, Mainz 2003 (hereafter D. POLZ/JA. SEILER, *Pyramidenanlage*); D. POLZ, *Der Beginn*, pp. 116–138 with Taf. 15–20.

²⁴ The structural affinity (dimensions, angle of inclination, components) of the royal pyramids of Dra' Abu el-Naga with the first royal Nubian pyramids of el-Kurru (e.g. Pianchi [Ku 17], D. DUNHAM, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush I. El Kurru*, Cambridge, Mass. 1950, pp. 64, Fig. 22a) indicates that these Nubian buildings were, at least, inspired (directly or indirectly) by the constructions in Thebes. These similarities have, to a certain extent, already been suggested by D. DUNHAM: "Presumably introduced into Kush by Pi'ankhy as a result of his Egyptian contacts, the form seems to have been restricted to the use of kings and queens throughout the Napatan period" (*ibid.*, p. 122).

vels of the sloping hilly terrain. This group significantly differs from the other shaft tombs uncovered so far in Dra' Abu el-Naga: generally considerably larger and deeper than the other shaft tombs, they each have an antechamber with ledges ('mastaba') on both sides for the deposition of offerings and pottery vessels, and were only intended to house a single burial. Although the remains of the original walls that surrounded the shafts' collars are, in almost all cases, preserved on the surface, there are no traces whatsoever of former superstructures associated with the complexes. An analysis of several objects originating from the antique context of their burials as well as a study of the original ceramic burial equipment preserved in varying amounts in each complex enables an assignment of these shaft tombs to a chronological frame that ranges between the late 12th and the mid 13th Dynasty²⁵. Furthermore, the remains of the ancient chamber equipment unequivocally show that the burials in question belong, without exception, to elite individuals.

An initially irritating detail of the overall features of these tomb complexes is the fact that one of the complexes is located directly beneath the chronologically significantly younger pyramid of Nub-Kheper-Ra Intef or, in other words, that the pyramid was intentionally constructed above this shaft tomb, which had already existed for quite some time²⁶.

With the discovery of this early group of shaft tombs, the underlying questions gain additional facets with far-reaching implications concerning the origin of the necropolis in Dra' Abu el-Naga. Whereas the 11th/12th Dynasty *saff* tomb in Area G and a number of isolated burials in the immediate vicinity²⁷ can indeed be interpreted as offshoots of the royal necropolis of el-Tarif, a direct reference point or context for the tombs of this considerably later sub-necropolis dating to the 12th/13th Dy-

nasty cannot be identified at first glance. This group differs greatly from the previously-known occupation history of the overall Theban necropolis for two reasons: on the one hand, no other comparably dense group of tombs of this period is known elsewhere in Western Thebes²⁸, and on the other, this is the first sub-necropolis of Middle Kingdom tomb complexes known of this kind (i. e. pure shaft tombs without superstructures but with extremely specific and uniform architecture) in Western Thebes. In view of this, the assumption that the choice of site for the construction of a tomb, especially in the case of the elite, was made according to mechanisms of coincidence, is not particularly convincing. The fact that a whole group of such tombs were constructed within a relatively short space of time at the same place and also spread over three naturally-formed terraces, and that these tombs show only minimal variations in terms of their axial alignment in the terrain, the choice of site and the construction of these tombs must have been based on a deliberate plan. It is still unclear which specific meaning was originally inherent to this site located on the Theban West bank. However this may be, the construction of the 12th/13th Dynasty tombs marked the site and perpetuated its significance into the ensuing centuries. With the erection of the two royal pyramids at the end of the 17th Dynasty in the immediate vicinity of the group of tombs that date to the 12th/13th Dynasty or, in the case of the pyramid attributable to Nub-Kheper-Ra Intef, directly above one of these tomb complexes, the site was established as a royal burial and cult site. The site also retained this meaning in the non-royal sphere for almost another half a millennium until the end of the New Kingdom.

- In addition to the large double tomb complex K93.11/K93.12 that was conceived as a royal burial

²⁵ This also applies to the coffin ensemble of Imeni and Geheset, which was discovered in one of these complexes in an almost entirely intact state, D. POLZ (ed.), *Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen. Die Särge des Imeni und der Geheset*, Mainz 2007 (hereafter D. POLZ (ed.), *Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen*).

²⁶ D. POLZ/A. SEILER, *Pyramidenanlage*, pp. 14–19, Abb. 5–6, Taf. 4 and 10.

²⁷ Such as two very simple (mat) burials of this period in Area H (D. POLZ (ed.), *Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen*, p. 15, Abb. 14), or the two earlier burials discovered near to Area G during the course of excavations undertaken by the Spanish mission directed by J. GALÁN (J. GALÁN, *An Intact Eleventh Dynasty Burial in Dra Abu el-Naga*, in: *EA* 35, 2009, pp. 32–35).

²⁸ The vast majority of the tomb complexes known today from the Middle Kingdom in Thebes (shaft, *saff* and corridor tombs) date to the 11th and the beginning of the 12th Dynasties and should be

viewed in connection with the royal necropolis of el-Tarif, the Asasif or the adjacent basin to the south with the so-called 'unfinished royal temple'. The latter or rather its unfinished causeway and its presumably only planned but never realized valley precinct on the edge of the floodplain seem to have been reference points for both the *saff* tombs high up on the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (M. M. A. Cemetery 1100, e. g. MMA 1120/1121, PM I.2², p. 668) as well as the necropolis located in the plain in the area of the Ramesseum, which was discovered by PETRIE/QUIBELL and contained shaft and corridor tombs (J. E. QUIBELL, *The Ramesseum*, *ERA* 2, London 1896, pp. 3–5). This is also probably the case for the recently discovered tomb complex APO.CN21, "located in the middle part of the West processional way of the Ramesseum" (I would like to thank H. GUICHARD and V. ASENSI AMOROS for providing information on this complex during a visit in the spring of 2012).

site at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, Area E (Fig. 1 and fold-out plan) encompasses a series of rock-cut tombs and several shaft tombs that date to the New Kingdom, as well as almost a dozen intrusive shafts dating to the Third Intermediate and the Late Period. The recent discovery of the remains of a southern entrance pylon from the New Kingdom period that gives access to the courtyards of the double tomb complex, and above all, the discovery of the causeway which leads to this entrance sheds new light on the question of processional ways and necropolis streets and their usage during various periods (see the contribution by U. RUMMEL below, pp. 123–127).

- Besides the above-mentioned *saff* tomb K95.1 in Area G, a series of further rock-cut tombs, the majority of which were previously unknown, were discovered in Areas E and H and subsequently excavated and documented. The range of architectural forms featured in these complexes reflects the spectrum already known from the Theban necropolis: smaller single-room tombs are attested alongside complexes with the typical T-shape, *saff* tombs both with more modest dimensions as well as examples of monumental size (TT 232) and also several individual solutions. In at least six of these complexes, the ancient polychrome painted wall decoration is preserved in varying degrees. Three of the decorated tomb complexes are small single-room tombs (K99.4, K01.1 and K01.2), another smaller tomb has a T-shaped ground plan (K01.5) and two complexes belong to the *saff* tomb type (K01.4 and TT 232). On the basis of the

preserved decoration remains, all of these tomb complexes were originally constructed in the early to mid 18th Dynasty; some show signs of being newly decorated or having decorations changed at a later date (K01.4, K01.5, TT 232; K99.4 was prepared for redecoration of the entire tomb²⁹).

In several cases, individual decorated and undecorated rock-cut tombs can be assigned to specific people, either on the basis of preserved inscriptions, funerary cones³⁰ found in or in front of the tombs or inscribed objects belonging to the burial equipment. Amongst the tomb owners are two high priests of Amun (Minmontu, TT 232³¹; Maya, K99.1); a high priest of Montu in Thebes (Neferamun, K10.5); a scribe of letters of the high priest of Amun (Neferhebef, K99.4); a skipper of the high priest of Amun (Nebanensu, K01.1)³²; an overseer of works at Karnak (Mahu, K01.4, later phase); an overseer of the two granaries of Amun (Nebamun, K10.1); a scribe and domain administrator of an (unnamed) god's wife (Amenhotep with his wife Amenemhab, K01.5); a standard bearer of the (military) unit "Bull in Nubia", etc. (Nakht, the exact position of his tomb is still unknown but is presumably in the forecourt of TT 232); and a *w^cb* priest of Amun (Amunpanefer, K13.5, partial redecoration of the forecourt during the Ramesside period).

According to the current state of knowledge, the undecorated rock-cut tombs situated in Areas E and H were also, with only few exceptions, originally constructed in the period from the early to the mid 18th Dynasty³³. In the case of the tomb ow-

²⁹ D. POLZ ET AL., *Bericht über die 9. bis 12. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga/Theben-West*, in: MDAIK 59, 2003, pp. 317–388 (hereafter D. POLZ ET AL., 9.–12. Bericht), especially pp. 374–377 with Taf. 61–62.

³⁰ For individual attributions made on the basis of funerary cones, see E. KRUCK, *Dra' Abu el-Naga I. Eindrücke. Grabkegel als Elemente der thebanischen Grabarchitektur*, AV 124, Wiesbaden 2012.

³¹ D. POLZ, *Der Hohepriester des Amun Minmonth und seine Grabanlage in Theben*, in: D. KESSLER ET AL. (eds.), *Texte – Theben – Tonfragmente. Festschrift für Günter Burkard*, ÄAT 76, Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 337–347.

³² A. HILBIG, *Die Grabdekoration der Bestattungsanlage K01.1 in Dra' Abu el-Naga*, in: G. NEUNERT/K. GABLER/A. VERBOVSEK (eds.), *Nekropolen: Grab – Bild – Ritual. Beiträge des zweiten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (MAJA 2), 2. 12. bis 4. 12. 2011, GOF IV Ägypten 54*, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 67–87.

³³ This chronological attribution also applies to the tomb complexes of Djehuti (TT 11) and Heri (TT 12) located at only a short distance to the northwest of Area G, as well as to other tombs connected with these complexes, namely 399– and the tomb of Baki. The aforementioned complexes, which have been excavated and re-

cord by the Spanish venture under the direction of J. M. GALÁN (for general information on the individual campaigns of the "Proyecto Djehuty", see the corresponding homepage of the project at www.excavacionegipto.com/index.jsp.htm; for a plan of the tomb complexes, also see J. M. GALÁN, *Proyecto Djehuty. Campañas 4ª y 5ª (2005–06)*, in: BAEDE 16, 2006, p. 48, fig. 1), exhibit a number of vast forecourts delimited by mudbrick walls, which are almost in alignment with the forecourts of K93.11 and K93.12 (see Fig. 1) and were, therefore, possibly constructed on the grounds of a similar cult-topographical orientation. Furthermore, it is also possible that the decorated rock-cut tomb TT 14 (Huy, *w^cb* priest of Amenhotep I 'image of Amun' and *w^cb* priest of Amun) situated in Area H was originally constructed in the 18th Dynasty (M. BETRÒ, *TT 14 and its Owner Huy*, in: M. BETRÒ/P. DEL VESCO/G. MINIACI, *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu el-Naga. The Tomb of Huy (TT 14): Preliminary Results*, Pisa 2009, pp. 82–84). The exceptions mentioned above also include the polychromously decorated Ramesside rock-cut tomb TT 13 (among others: Shuroy, overseer of the offering bearers of Amun), which, on its erection, truncated several older complexes and therefore has a particularly intrusive character (D. POLZ/A. SEILER, *Pyramidenanlage*, pp. 33–37 with Abb. 13 and Taf. 10b).

ners named above as well as other individuals, who are only attested by funerary cones, it is remarkable that almost all were, in some way or another, associated with the temple of Amun at Karnak³⁴.

During the early and mid 18th Dynasty, but presumably since the late Second Intermediate Period³⁵, the northern area of Dra' Abu el-Naga was the dominant burial site for the personnel of the Amun temple. Although written sources refer to its name only at a later date, this site is obviously regarded as the *wb3 n Jmn*, the 'courtyard of Amun', from an early stage and its significance as a cardinal ritual space in connection with the Valley Festival on the Theban west bank leads to its favoured use for the construction of tomb complexes³⁶.

- At a very early stage of the excavations in the open courts of the aforementioned tomb complex K93.11, the work yielded clear evidence of an intensive reutilization during the Late Antique/Coptic period. The architectural structures uncovered in this area proved to be the remains of various production areas³⁷ that supplied the nearby, higher-lying monastery complex of Deir el-Bakhît with its products over a period of several centuries. A number of surveys during the 1990s led to the initiation of a systematic excavation as well as architectural documentation in 2001, initially within the actual monastery area and adjacent cemetery (see the contribution by I. EICHNER below, pp. 127–131).

low, pp. 127–131). During the last few years, the work was extended by means of intensive surveys and a cartographical documentation of both the near and wider surroundings. In the course of these surveys, a number of elaborately shaped external structures as well as the nucleus of the monastery were identified (see the contribution by TH. BECKH below, pp. 131–134).

The results of the work in K93.11/K93.12, in the monastery area and the external complexes allow a new approach to the question of Late Antique/Coptic re-use of tomb complexes that date to the Pharaonic period. During the Coptic period, Pharaonic tomb complexes and other installations were far from viewed as mere 'foreign bodies' from the pagan past. As far as can be discerned, these complexes were intentionally and very specifically designated with a new purpose and constituted a constructive basis for the developing monastic structures in Thebes³⁸.

At the same time, processional ways that had been established during the Pharaonic period³⁹, served the Late Antique population as approaches to their installations in the Theban hills (see the contribution by TH. BECKH below, pp. 131–134): the Wadi Khawi el-Alamat as the northern entrance to Deir el-Bakhît and further in the direction of the so-called Farshût Road⁴⁰; the Wadi Shig el-Ateyat as the eastern entrance to the Deir el-Bakhît monastery; the Hatshepsut causeway to the Deir el-Bahri monastery. These routes were and are still used by the early modern

³⁴ See E. KRUCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–75. The only exception is the officer Nakht, who exclusively names his military titles without any affiliation to the Karnak temple whatsoever on two fragmentarily preserved stelae found in Area H (E. KRUCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–50 and 84–85 with Taf. 1d; D. POLZ, *Stelen und Stelenfragmente aus Dra' Abu el-Naga*, forthcoming). By contrast, the tomb complex of Neferamun (K10.5), the high priest of Montu of Thebes represents an exception only on first glance: even though a temple building dedicated to 'Montu of Thebes' is not yet archaeologically attested, the subject in question is presumably a structure, which preceded the Montu temple erected in Karnak at the latest by Amenhotep III, perhaps already during the reigns of Thutmose III/ Amenhotep II (L. GABOLDE, personal communication 18. 9. 2013).

³⁵ The activities of the rulers of the late Second Intermediate Period in Karnak are particularly revealing here (D. POLZ, *Der Beginn*, pp. 77–81).

³⁶ See now U. RUMMEL, *Gräber, Feste, Prozessionen: Der Ritualraum Theben-West in der Ramessidenzeit*, in: G. NEUNERT/K. GABLER/A. VERBOVSEK (eds.), *Nekropolen: Grab – Bild – Ritual. Beiträge des zweiten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (MAJA 2), 2. 12. bis 4. 12. 2011*, GOFIV Ägypten 54, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 207–209, 214–219 (hereafter U. RUMMEL, *Ritualraum*).

³⁷ Cf. below, p. 127 with note 64. The forecourt of K93.11 also presumably housed a school for scribes, see G. BURKARD, *Die Textfunde*, in: G. BURKARD/M. MACKENSEN/D. POLZ, *Die spätantike/koptische Klosteranlage Deir el-Bachît in Dra' Abu el-Naga (Ober-*

ägypten). Erster Vorbericht, MDAIK 59, 2003, pp. 61–64 (hereafter G. BURKARD ET AL., *Erster Vorbericht DeB*).

³⁸ In Dra' Abu el-Naga, it is striking that exceptionally few indications of activities during the Coptic period can be found in the tomb complexes situated in the plain and in the lower half of the hill chain even though these tombs and their forecourts would have been extremely suited for this purpose (such as the large court of TT 232, which was only 'used' to exploit the massive mudbrick structures). A similar situation can also be observed in the southern part of the main hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (in TT 29, see L. BAVAY, "Dis au potier qu'il me fasse un kôton". *Archéologie et céramique de l'Antiquité tardive à nos jours dans la TT 29 à Cheikh Abd el-Gourna, Égypte*, unpublished PhD dissertation, Université libre de Bruxelles, Bruxelles 2008, pp. 67–78) and again to the north of this area (Epiphanius monastery and associated complexes inside and around the 11th Dynasty tomb TT 103 [Dagi], see H. E. WINLOCK/W. E. CRUM, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes I*, PMMA 3, New York 1926 [hereafter H. E. WINLOCK/W. E. CRUM, *Epiphanius*], pp. 3–24).

³⁹ U. RUMMEL, *Ritualraum*, pp. 215–216 and p. 230, Abb. 2.

⁴⁰ See the various reports of the *Theban Desert Road Survey* by J. C. DARNELL/D. DARNELL in the *Chicago Oriental Institute Annual Reports* (1992–1998); D. DARNELL/J. C. DARNELL, *The Luxor-Farshût Desert Road Survey*, in: *BCE* 19, 1996, pp. 36–48. For a roughly parallel desert road cf. J. C. DARNELL/D. DARNELL, *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert I*, OIP 119, Chicago 2002, especially pp. 5–6 with Fig. 1, Pl. 1.

and present Muslim population in order to reach their settlements and other sites, particularly sacred installations. The old el-Ateyat mosque in the former Dra' Abu el-Naga village (Fig. 1, lower left corner) and the old el-Hasasna mosque at the entrance of the Asasif are both situated on the Pharaonic processional way, which leads from the north-east at the point of the el-Tarif/Valley of the Kings crossroad to the eastern exit leading out of the Asasif and continues to the temple of Hatshepsut⁴¹; the Muslim cemetery of el-Tarif, which was also established in modern times, stretches along the part of the pathway that runs up from the temple of Sety I (designated by CARTER as "Ghabanet el Sh. Taye"). The tomb of the sheikh and local saint, Sidi Musa, lies to the north at a short distance from this pathway.

D. P.

K93.11/K93.12: Two Ramesside tomb temples and their ritual infrastructure

One of the key monuments in Dra' Abu el-Naga is the double tomb complex K93.11/K93.12 (Fig. 1, Fig. 2 and fold-out plan), which also played a decisive role in the conception of the venture and the underlying questions of the project as described above. The tomb complex lies in the central part of Dra' Abu el-Naga just below the hill summit and, with a courtyard surface area of ca. 1,600 m², is one of the largest rock-cut tomb complexes in Western Thebes. The tombs are located in the immediate vicinity of the adjacent monastery, Deir el-Bakhît, and the monastery's enclosure wall (i. e. the south-east corner) was even built

over the remains of the mudbrick pyramid associated with K93.12. A glance at the topographical map (fold-out plan and Fig. 1) reveals the substantial size of the complex, which in terms of its unusual design especially of the interior rooms as well as its position, raised a series of questions. The northern part, K93.11, was archaeologically investigated between 1993 and 2000⁴². The work in K93.12 was started in 2006 and continues until today⁴³. The overlying aim of the investigation is to ascertain the site's occupation history, which can be traced from the beginning of the New Kingdom with certain interruptions to the Coptic period. The most prominently represented phase in the archaeological record is the phase of the tomb temples commissioned by the high priests of Amun, Ramsesnakht and Amenhotep, the destroyed remains of which were discovered in the forecourts. Particular emphasis also lays on an investigation of K93.11/K93.12's contextualization in the historical, religious and physical landscape of Dra' Abu el-Naga and its relation to other local monuments. Observations made during excavation of the Ramesside tomb temple constitute an important basis for these considerations, as monumental modifications of the site realized by the high priests reveal a particular concept of space.

The history of the site can be outlined as follows: the two rock-cut tombs were conceived and built in the early 18th Dynasty as a double tomb complex. The dating of the first phase is based on the analysis of ceramic material, considerations relating to tomb typology as well as observations with regard to the chronology of the terrace wall's construction⁴⁴. The original layout of the complex was essentially defined by the rock architecture⁴⁵ consisting of the tomb's interior rooms and a large terrace or platform, which opens out onto the Nile valley and is both delimited

⁴¹ The location and names of both mosques were recorded on the *Map of the Theban Necropolis* created during the Survey of Egypt between 1921 and 1924 (sheets D5 and D6). On his map *Karte der westlichen Umgebung von Luxor und Karnak [Theben]* (scale 1:25000), published in 1909, G. SCHWEINFURTH records a modern road way ("Fahrweg") running parallel to this ancient processional way. The toponyms Khawi el-Alamat and Shig el-Ateyat apparently only appear in this form on CARTER's map of Dra' Abu el-Naga North (H. CARTER, *Report*) and were included on the map published here with minor orthographic changes.

⁴² D. POLZ, *Bericht über die 4. und 5. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga/Theben-West*, in: *MDAIK* 51, 1995 (hereafter D. POLZ, 4. und 5. Bericht), pp. 211–223; ID., *The Ramsesnakht Dynasty and the Fall of the New Kingdom*, in: *SAK* 25, 1998, pp. 259–276 (hereafter D. POLZ, *Ramsesnakht*); ID., *Der Beginn*, pp. 174–192; U. RUMMEL, *A Late-Ramesside Sanctuary at Western Thebes*, in: *EA* 14, 1999, pp. 3–6; EAD., in: D. POLZ, 6.–8. Bericht, pp. 350–364; EAD., in: D. POLZ, 9.–12. Bericht, pp. 319–334.

⁴³ U. RUMMEL, *Grab oder Tempel? Die funeräre Anlage des Hohenpriesters des Amun Amenophis in Dra' Abu el-Naga (Theben-West)*,

in: D. KESSLER ET AL. (eds.), *Texte – Theben – Tonfragmente. Festschrift für Günter Burkard*, ÄAT 76, Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 348–360 (hereafter U. RUMMEL, *Grab oder Tempel*); EAD., *Der Tempel im Grab: Die Doppelgrabanlage K93.11/K93.12 in Dra' Abu el-Naga*, in: I. GERLACH/D. RAUE (eds.), *Forschungcluster 4. Sanktuar und Ritual. Heilige Plätze im archäologischen Befund, Menschen – Kulturen – Traditionen. Studien aus den Forschungscloster des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 10, Rahden, Westf. 2013, pp. 223–235 (hereafter U. RUMMEL, *Tempel im Grab*); EAD., *Ritualraum*, pp. 219–222 and p. 232, Abb. 4; EAD., *Ramesside Tomb-temples at Dra' Abu el-Naga*, in: *EA* 42, 2013, pp. 14–17. Also see the project's website at www.dainst.org/en/node/24162?ft=all (10. 02. 2013).

⁴⁴ D. POLZ, *Der Beginn*, pp. 179–183; U. RUMMEL, *Tempel im Grab*, p. 225.

⁴⁵ For a plan of the complexes and a description of their architecture, see D. POLZ, *Der Beginn*, pp. 174–179; U. RUMMEL, *Tempel im Grab*, pp. 223–232, as well as EAD., *Ritualraum*, p. 232, Abb. 4.

and supported by an enormous dry-stone wall⁴⁶. No epigraphic sources are preserved in the tomb complexes that indicate their original owners. However, on the basis of various observations we can infer that the tombs were constructed for Amenhotep I and his mother, Ahmose Nefertari, whereby several indications suggest that the northern complex, K93.11, should be attributed to Amenhotep I⁴⁷. One constitutive factor of the overall interpretation is the obvious spatial interrelation between Meniset, the temple of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari on the edge of the floodplain, and the two tombs, which also played an important role in the context of the site's reutilization during the Ramesside period (see below).

Approximately 400 years later, the double tomb complex was selected by Ramsesnakht and his son and successor in office, Amenhotep, for the construction of their, in every aspect exceptional tomb temples, whereby K93.11 was adopted by Ramsesnakht and K93.12 by Amenhotep. On the one hand, their monuments coincide with Ramesside traditions and correspond to the contemporary idea of the 'sacralized tomb', which possesses the quality and function of a 'sacred space' or temple⁴⁸. On the other hand, both tomb temples feature innovative architectural elements, which, in this well-developed, elaborate form, is without parallel in the context of New Kingdom tombs: namely the use of Hathor capitals, which until this point were exclusively limited to a temple context, furthermore, four peristyle courtyards (and not only one as evidenced by the archaeological record previous to 2012), the two-axis-system flanked in each

case by two pylons (an east-to-west and a north-to-south axis, see Fig. 2), and the min. 7 m-wide, ca. 60 m-long processional causeway, which ran from the south and led up to the lateral gateway of K93.12⁴⁹. The sophisticated temple tomb concept of Ramsesnakht and Amenhotep represents, in terms of innovative architectural details, monumentality and its elaborate religious decoration programme, the peak of the 'sacralization of the tomb' during the New Kingdom. Thus, their monuments should be viewed as the conceptual forerunner to the Late Period tomb constructions in the Asasif. The architectural features indicate that Ramsesnakht had already developed the monumental two-axis-system together with the causeway and therefore, perhaps in view of his son as a potential/designated successor, appropriated and reconstructed the whole double tomb complex. After year 10 of Ramses IX, Amenhotep finally provided the inner courtyard (VH 2) of K93.12 with a peripheral arrangement of columns (peristyle), and lined and decorated the walls with sandstone⁵⁰, whereby the quality of the construction and reliefs are distinctly inferior compared with the complex of his father. The complete lack of remains of portable tomb equipment attributable to Ramsesnakht in K93.11 suggests that the high priest was buried elsewhere⁵¹. The opposite is the case in K93.12: here extensive remains of the plundered burial equipment of Amenhotep were recovered in the subterranean chamber, and an Osiris bed with ritual ceramics dating to the 20th Dynasty connected with the high priest's burial was excavated in the inner courtyard⁵². The Late Ramesside occupa-

⁴⁶ This retaining wall is comparable to the stone wall of the so-called 'terrace temple' of Ahmose in Abydos South, see D. POLZ, *Der Beginn*, pp. 95–99, with Abb. 21 (= E. R. AYRTON/C. T. CURRELLY/A. E. P. WEIGALL, *Abydos III, Memoir EEF 25*, London 1904, Pl. LIII). It is particularly noteworthy that in both cases, entrance to the terraces was gained from the south. For information on the layout of monuments attributed to Ahmose's family in Abydos South, see note 61 below.

⁴⁷ D. POLZ, *Der Beginn*, pp. 172–197. Another indication is a cult installation dedicated to the deified Amenhotep I, which can be reconstructed in the forecourt of K93.11. See p. 127 with note 62.

⁴⁸ Essential information on this subject can be found in J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg. Zum Typenwandel des Privatgrabes im Neuen Reich*, in: *MDAIK 40*, 1984, pp. 277–290; ID., *Das Grab des Amenemope TT 41*, *Theben 3*, Wiesbaden 1991, pp. 5–9; ID., *Tod und Jenseits im Alten Ägypten*, München 2001, pp. 256–268; ID., *The Ramesside Tomb and the Construction of Sacred Space*, in: N. STRUDWICK/J. TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, pp. 46–52; ID., *Die Konstruktion des sakralen Raums in der Grabarchitektur des Neuen Reiches*, in: *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte 6*, 2004, pp. 1–18; F. KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, 2 vols., *Theben 13*, Wiesbaden 1996; also see E. HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel. Die Kunst der ramessidischen Privatgräber*, *Theben 17*, Mainz 2004, pp. 59 f. and 129–135.

⁴⁹ See the bibliography in notes 42 and 43.

⁵⁰ For the dating of the decoration programme in K93.12, see U. RUMMEL, *Grab oder Tempel*, p. 351.

⁵¹ Ramsesnakht was possibly buried in TT 148, a nearby tomb belonging to his son-in-law, Amenemope, which was evidently prepared as a family burial site. In addition to five stone sarcophagi, several faience shabtis of Ramsesnakht's wife, Adjedet-aat, were also discovered here, B. OCKINGA, *Use, Reuse, and Abuse of "Sacred Space": Observations from Dra Abu al-Naga*, in: P. F. DORMAN/B. M. BRYAN (eds.), *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, SAOC 61, Chicago 2007, pp. 145–146 and Fig. 9.29; ID., *Macquarie University Theban Tombs Project: TT 148 Amenemope. Preliminary Report on 1991/92 and 1992/93 Seasons*, in: *BACE 4*, 1993, note 9, and cf. D. POLZ, *Ramsesnakht*, p. 272 with note 42.

⁵² U. RUMMEL, *Tempel im Grab*, pp. 228–232, Abb. 9–14. The pre-Coptic pottery is currently being studied by SUSANNE MICHELS in the frame of a PhD-project (Heidelberg University), see S. MICHELS, *Cult and Funerary Pottery from the Tomb-temple K93.12 at the End of the 20th Dynasty (Dra' Abu el-Naga/Western Thebes)*, in: B. BADER/CH. M. KNOBLAUCH/E. CH. KÖHLER (eds.), *Vienna 2 – Ancient Egyptian Ceramics in the 21st Century. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the University of Vienna 14th–18th of May 2012*, OLA, Leuven (in press).

tion of the site begins with the first building phase begun by Ramsesnakht in the early reign of Ramses VI and ends with the destruction of both tomb temples during the reign of Ramses XI (presumably before year 19/year 1 *whm-mswt*): therefore a period of more than 50 years⁵³. The demolition of both tomb temples at the end of the New Kingdom is evidenced by an almost area-wide destruction layer consisting of sandstone rubble that permeates both courtyards as well as secondary chisel marks on a large number of the more than 7,000 relief fragments and architectural elements made of sandstone recovered to date. These findings possibly correlate with a very specific historical event, namely the so-called 'war of the high priest' and the related crisis in the Thebais during the years 17 and 19 of Ramses XI⁵⁴. Due to only vague textual evidence, a reconstruction of the actual historical events is problematic but it can be assumed that Amenhotep died at some stage during the course of this crisis and was ultimately buried in K93.12. It is conceivable that the demolition of the high priest's tomb temple occurred during this period of political dissolution – which shortly afterwards induced a renaissance (*whm-mswt*) – at some point after Amenhotep's burial as it represented a symbol of Theban power⁵⁵.

After the New Kingdom, the site continued to be intensively used as a burial ground. Numerous Third Intermediate and Late Period burials, or rather traces thereof, were discovered in the intrusive shafts along the courtyard façades, in the courtyards themselves as well as in the main shaft complex in the interior of

K93.12⁵⁶. This 'popularity' can be taken as further evidence for the special significance of the site that was still immanent after the New Kingdom. The last verifiable usage of K93.11/K93.12 is the Coptic occupation beginning in the 7th century AD in connection with the neighbouring Deir el-Bakhît. The sheltered courtyards accommodated parts of the economic areas associated with the monastery such as granaries and a bakery⁵⁷.

The multilayered information that can be derived from the archaeological record provides a detailed picture of the tomb complex's use-life, and in some cases, we gain an insight into the influential historical processes. Fundamental findings made in connection with the tomb temples of Ramsesnakht and Amenhotep are of vital importance as they occupy a significant position within the development of Ramesside funerary architecture and semantics⁵⁸: not only as the last-known example of elite tombs dating to the New Kingdom but also as a conceptual (missing) link to the Late Period temple tombs in the Asasif. Another focus of the investigations lies on the ritual-topographical contextualization of the site as the unique situation of the causeway allows new conclusions to be made on the itinerary of the Valley Festival during the 20th Dynasty as well as on how the two tombs were integrated into the festival events⁵⁹. On choosing K93.11/K93.12, Ramsesnakht selected one of the most significant sites in Dra' Abu el-Naga – which was considered to be the "forecourt of Amun"⁶⁰ – for his extraordinary concept of a tomb temple, which, with its architectural features that are specifically tailored to

⁵³ For the dating of building activities undertaken by Ramsesnakht, see U. RUMMEL, in: D. POLZ ET AL., 6.–8. *Bericht*, p. 35; EAD., *War, Death and Burial of the High Priest Amenhotep: The Archaeological Record at Dra' Abu el-Naga*, in: SAK 43, 2014 (in press); and cf. above, note 50. The assumption that the god's wife, Isis, could have been the co-owner of K93.12, has, in the meantime, been discarded, cf. U. RUMMEL, *Two Re-used Blocks of the God's Wife Isis at Deir el-Bakhit/Dra' Abu el-Naga (Western Thebes)*, in: S. SNAPE/M. COLLIER (eds.), *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, Bolton 2010, pp. 423–431. Even though Isis appears in the decoration programme of Ramsesnakht and Amenhotep, it is more likely that her tomb is located in the area of Deir el-Bakhît, cf. *ibid.*, p. 428, Fig. 8, and EAD., *Ritualraum*, p. 222, note 97.

⁵⁴ For these events, see E. WENTE, *The Suppression of the High Priest Amenhotep*, in: *JNES* 25, 1966, pp. 73–87; A. NIWINSKI, *Bürgerkrieg, militärischer Staatsstreich und Ausnahmezustand in Ägypten unter Ramses XI.*, in: I. GAMER-WALLERT/W. HELCK (eds.), *Gegengabe: Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut*, Tübingen 1992, pp. 235–262; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Das Ende des Neuen Reiches*, in: *ZÄS* 119, 1992, pp. 22–31; A. J. MORALES, *The Suppression of the High Priest Amenhotep: A Suggestion to the Role of Panehsi*, in: *GM* 181, 2001, pp. 59–73; A. THUIS, *The Troubled Careers of Amenhotep and Panehsy: The High Priest of Amun and the Viceroy of Kush under the Last Ramessides*, in: SAK 31, 2005, pp. 289–306.

⁵⁵ U. RUMMEL, in: SAK 43, 2014 (in press).

⁵⁶ The post-New Kingdom burials from K93.11 have been studied by ELKE MÄHLITZ in the frame of a PhD-project (Göttingen University, completed). The coffins and cartonnages from K93.12 are currently being analysed in the frame of a DAI scholarship by STÉPHANE FETLER, cf. U. RUMMEL/ST. FETLER, *The Coffins of the 3rd Intermediate Period from Tomb K93.12 at Dra' Abu el-Naga: Aspects of Archaeology, Typology, and Conservation*, in: A. AMENTA ET AL. (eds.), *Proceedings of the First Vatican Coffin Conference, June 19th to 22nd 2013* (in prep.). Also see the annual reports of the excavation seasons at the project's website.

⁵⁷ See U. RUMMEL, in: D. POLZ ET AL., 9.–12. *Bericht*, p. 322 with note 12, Taf. 55a, and cf. note 37 above.

⁵⁸ The investigation builds on the results of the Heidelberg-based "Ramessidenprojekt" initiated by JAN ASSMANN, cf. note 48 above.

⁵⁹ U. RUMMEL, *Ritualraum*, pp. 219–232.

⁶⁰ E. OTTO, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaves*, UGAÄ 16, Berlin 1952, pp. 47–48; R. STADELMANN, *Tempel und Tempelnamen in Theben-Ost und -West*, in: *MDAIK* 34, 1978, p. 175, note 42; A. CABROL, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, OLA 97, Leuven 2001, pp. 85–86; G. HOLLENDER, *Amenophis I. und Ahmes Nefertari. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung ihres posthumen Kultes anhand der Privatgräber der thebanischen Nekropole*, SDAIK 23, Berlin 2009, pp. 40–44; also see U. RUMMEL, *Ritualraum*, p. 208, 217.



Fig. 2 View over the forecourt area of K93.11/K93.12 towards the south-east with the restored mudbrick pylons of K93.11 in the centre (November 2012, Photo U. RUMMEL © DAIK)

festival-related rituals, represents a sophisticated innovation. The two-axis-layout resulting from the causeway leading from the south presumably adopts an already existent system, as the archaeological record beneath the Ramesside floor accumulation shows that access to the court terrace was also gained from the south in the pre-Ramesside period. Furthermore, a glance at the alignment of Meniset illustrates a connection between this temple and K93.11/K93.12, which already existed in this form in the 18th Dynasty or was intentionally established, namely the connection between the tomb and the temple of Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari⁶¹. Ramsesnakht monumentalised this existent connection, perhaps even an already present infrastructure (path, processional way etc.), and filled it with new ritual life. Several of the relief fragments recovered in K93.11 indicate that a wall cult image, i. e. a cult installation, existed here for the deified Amenhotep I⁶². In view of the substantial, repeatedly renewed processional way, perhaps a procession – also depicted in the decoration programme – where the cult images of the deified royal couple were carried in a palanquin can be reconstructed between Meniset and/or another shrine dedicated to Amenhotep I, namely the “House of Amenhotep of the Forecourt”, *pr Jmn-ḥtp n p3 wb3 (n Jmn)*. The latter can perhaps be localized in the now lost temple of Nebwenenef to the west of the Sety temple⁶³. The quality of the double tomb complex as a special/sacred site and as a dominant landmark as well as good accessibility to the tomb via the ancient causeway (the stratigraphy reveals usage of this causeway during the Coptic period and beyond) are factors, which motivated and facilitated the various (re-) usages over the centuries. The site naturally lost its emic religious meaning for the Coptic settlement but appeared to be ideal with regard to functional aspects.

U. R.

The monastery complex Deir el-Bakhît (monastery of St. Paulos)

Since 2001, the remains of the monastery complex Deir el-Bakhît (monastery of St. Paulos) have been excavated on the Dra' Abu el-Naga hill in Western Thebes/Upper Egypt (Fig. 3). Due to its exposed position during its existence as well as in its ruined state, the monastery was visible from a great distance from both the direction of the Nile as well as from the Farshût Road, a desert road to the north which has been used since Pharaonic times.

The monastery complex lies within the concession of the DAIK (Fig. 1 and fold-out plan). In the course of excavations directed by DANIEL POLZ and UTE RUMMEL on the Dra' Abu el-Naga hill between 1993 and 2000, the remains of Late Antique and medieval production areas came to light inside the forecourts of the Pharaonic tomb complex K93.11⁶⁴. Due to the spatial proximity, these areas could be unequivocally assigned to the Late Antique/Coptic monastery on the hill ridge. Conversely, architectural elements of the Pharaonic tomb complexes K93.11 and K93.12 were integrated into the area of the monastery as spolia. This situation ultimately constituted the catalyst for the idea to initiate an interdisciplinary excavation project, which placed the archaeological investigation of the monastery complex on the Dra' Abu el-Naga hill on an equal footing with the investigation of the Pharaonic monuments.

The excavation and study of this as yet largest-known Late Antique/Coptic monastery complex in Western Thebes, which dates to the period between the late 6th or early 7th century until the end of the 9th or early 10th century, was undertaken between the spring of 2004 and the spring of 2008 in the frame of a Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG)-project based at the Institute for Egyptology of the Ludwig-

⁶¹ D. POLZ, *Der Beginn*, pp. 187–190 with Abb. 47; U. RUMMEL, in: *EA* 42, 2013, pp. 14–17. A very similar constellation can also be observed in the case of the Ahmoside monuments in Abydos South, where the ‘terrace temple’ in the desert – architecturally comparable to K93.11/K93.12 – is associated with various valley precincts (including a pyramid) in terms of ritual interrelation, E. R. AYRTON/C. T. CURRELLY/A. E. P. WEIGALL, *Abydos III, Memoir EEf* 25, London 1904, Pl. LXI; ST. HARVEY, *New Evidence at Abydos of Ahmose's Funerary Cult*, in: *EA* 24, 2004, p. 4, and cf. above note 46. An interesting comparison in this respect is also the spatial interrelation between the tomb of Hatshepsut (KV 20) and her House of Millions of Years in Deir el-Bahri as well as the tomb complex of Mentuhotep II as an intentional adaptation of the 11th

Dynasty architectural concept, D. POLZ, *Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut und das Tal der Könige – eine Skizze*, in: E.-M. ENGEL/V. MÜLLER/U. HARTUNG (eds.), *Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer, Menes 5*, Wiesbaden 2008, pp. 525–532, Abb. 2.

⁶² U. RUMMEL, *Tempel im Grab*, pp. 232–233 with Abb. 18; EAD., in: *EA* 42, 2013, p. 16.

⁶³ See U. RUMMEL, *Ritualraum*, p. 217 and note 68.

⁶⁴ Cf. D. POLZ, 4. und 5. Bericht, pp. 215–216; A. SEILER, *Die Keramik aus K93.11*, in: D. POLZ, 4. und 5. Bericht, especially pp. 218–221; D. POLZ, in: G. BURKARD ET AL., *Erster Vorbericht DeB*, p. 44; U. RUMMEL, in: D. POLZ ET AL., 9.–12. Bericht, p. 320, note 5, Taf. 55a.



Fig. 3 Deir el-Bakhît, view over the central monastery buildings towards the north-west (April 2007), © Deir el-Bakhît Project

Maximilians-Universität München (LMU) under the direction of GÜNTER BURKARD und INA EICHNER. A campaign financed by the Gerda Henkel Foundation ensued in the spring of 2009. Since the spring of 2013 and again with the financial support of the DFG, an intensive search has been made for the church of the monastery. In the spring of 2014, a survey using, amongst others, geophysical prospection methods, was conducted. This focus is, above all, related to questions on the monastery's significance as a local or regional place of pilgrimage.

Until the beginning of the first surface surveys in 2001, the monastery had only been recorded in the topographical map made by JOHN GARDNER WILKINSON dating to 1830. In addition, P. GROSSMANN published a plan measured in strides, which originates from the 1970s⁶⁵. Scholars and travellers of the 19th century often mention the monastery complex on the Dra' Abu el-Naga hill. Furthermore, diverse excavation activities are attested for the 19th century and in the period before the excavations began in 2001. These 'old' excavations were, however, not aimed at a documentation of the Coptic features and structures in accordance with modern standards. For example in the area of the southern terrace of the monastery, a cigarette box dating to the early 20th century was found containing several leather fragments and was therefore clearly used as a finds box⁶⁶. Furthermore, a whole range of ostraca collections stored today in the British Museum in London, in the Papyrus Collection in Vienna, in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, in the Papyrus Collection in Berlin, in the Coptic Museum in Cairo or in the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery in Glasgow can meanwhile be unequivocally traced back to Deir el-Bakhît as the find spot therefore proving archaeological excavations that were carried out in the 19th and 20th centuries, however without adequate documentation⁶⁷.

At the start of and as preparation for the planned excavation project, MICHAEL MACKENSEN (LMU) carried out a survey in the years 2001 and 2002 in order to make an overall plan of the monastery by docu-

menting all of the walls that were visible on the surface⁶⁸. In the meantime, the schematic plan from this initial phase has changed considerably as a result of ensuing excavations and has also been corrected in certain areas.

Central to initial questions at the start of excavations was the architectural and chronological development of the monastery as well as the organization and significance for the monastic development of the Theban west bank. Whereas the excavations in 2004 focused on the central area of the complex with a gradual expansion in the following years to selected peripheral areas, the excavations from 2005 onwards also incorporated the associated necropolis that lies to the east of the monastery. Additional questions concerned everyday life and led to important insights, due to the large amount of small finds unearthed. These findings relate, for example, to textual correspondence between the individual monasteries and hermitages in Western Thebes, the exchange and manufacture of goods, the production and sale of pottery as well as the manufacture of textiles, leather objects, baskets and other products.

The large-scale archaeological investigations between the years 2004 and 2009 yielded a whole range of finds and features, the evaluation of which led to far-reaching conclusions on everyday life and the economic basis of the monastic community. For example, an in-depth study of the pottery undertaken by THOMAS BECKH provided the chronological frame for the occupation of the monastery complex, namely the period between the late 6th or early 7th and the 10th century, with a peak of activity in the 7th and 8th centuries⁶⁹. An analysis of the textual finds by SUZANA HODAK has been ongoing since 2008 in the frame of a separate DFG-project and has subsequently yielded significant findings concerning the social, economic and religious aspects of the monastery⁷⁰.

Excavations in the monastery's cemetery, which have been ongoing parallel to investigations within the monastery's interior since 2005, had several aims: to clarify the grave forms and furthermore to examine

⁶⁵ J. GARDNER WILKINSON, *Topographical Survey of Thebes*, Facs. Reprint Brockton, Ma., 1999; G. BURKARD ET AL., *Erster Vorbericht DeB*, Abb. 1; P. GROSSMANN, *Dayr al-Bakhît*, in: *The Coptic Encyclopedia* 3, New York 1991, p. 786. An unpublished coloured plan can also be found on the front pages of a sketchbook belonging to ROBERT HAY in the British Library, London, HAY ADD. MSS. 29816.

⁶⁶ Finds number: DB 3280.

⁶⁷ For the depositories of the ostraca and their attribution to Deir el-Bakhît, cf. S. HODAK, *Die Ostraka aus Deir el-Bakhît – Indizien zur Identifizierung des antiken Klostersnamens*, in: TH. BECKH/I. EICHNER/S. HODAK, *Briefe aus der koptischen Vergangenheit. Zur Identifikation der Klosteranlage Deir el-Bakhît in Theben-West*, in: *MDAIK* 67, 2011, pp. 23–24 (hereafter TH. BECKH/I. EICHNER/

S. HODAK, *Briefe*). For the 135 ostraca, which A. ERMAN acquired for the Berlin Museums, cf. G. BURKARD, *Die Textfunde*, in: G. BURKARD ET AL., *Erster Vorbericht DeB*, p. 61.

⁶⁸ G. BURKARD ET AL., *Erster Vorbericht DeB*, Abb. 3.

⁶⁹ THOMAS BECKH has presented the results of the ceramological study in his PhD-project: TH. BECKH, *Zeitzeugen aus Ton. Die Gebrauchskeramik der Klosteranlage Deir el-Bachît in Theben-West (Oberägypten)*, *SDAIK* 37, Berlin/Boston 2013.

⁷⁰ The project is entitled "Coptic non-literary texts from the Theban area". A description of the project can be found at the following URL: www.aegyptologie.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/projekte/koptostraka/index.html (07.10.2013).

whether an occupation pattern can be discerned in order to explain the expansion of the necropolis, in other words to establish where the oldest graves and the graves of the higher-ranking monks are to be found and where the youngest graves were constructed.

One of the objectives of the excavations in both the monastery's interior and cemetery is an extensive graphic reconstruction of the features, which exists only for very few monasteries from this period in Egypt.

The most important results from the excavation in the monastery's interior are outlined in the following.

According to the current state of knowledge, the monastery extended in all directions from a central tower (Fig. 3). To the west, the steep *Wadi Shig el-Ateyat* runs from north to south (fold-out plan). Whereas the northern and eastern areas of the monastery are relatively flat as they extend over the elevated saddle of the hill chain, the terrain occupied by part of the monastery drops steeply towards the western *wadi* and towards the Nile to the south. The steep incline of the terrain therefore necessitated the creation of terraces: three terraces were formed to the west of the tower in the direction of the *wadi* and four were created to the south. The monastery complex is surrounded by an irregular enclosure wall with parts that are projected or set back and was formed by the exterior walls of buildings stood at the monastery's edge. Main entranceways were situated in the west and, in all probability, also in the east⁷¹, where the ancient pathways end that connect the associated hermitages in Units XXVI and XXVII (Fig. 4) with the main monastery of Deir el-Bakhît⁷².

The central tower, a building similar to structures attested in other monasteries⁷³, rose above all other monastery buildings, thereby providing a view to the

Nile valley as well as to the important long-distance route, the Farshût Road. The previous interpretation of the building as the possible tomb structure of the monastery's founding father has now been discarded⁷⁴. The monastery's refectory adjoins the northern and western border of the tower. The six ring-shaped benches arranged in pairs in the refectory each enclosing a circular table in the middle, provided enough room for 11 to 12 people to sit at each table⁷⁵. This feature constitutes an important indication for the maximum size of the monastery community, which accordingly comprised between 66 and 72 people.

To date, three cell wings have been identified, two of which have been partially excavated. They differ from one another mainly in the number of beds they contain. One of the two partially uncovered buildings with monk's cells stretches along the north-eastern limit of the tower and contains cells for three monks as well as single cells⁷⁶. By contrast, two excavated cells located to the south of the tower that date to a later phase, each contain four to six beds.

In addition to the refectory and the cells, work spaces were also uncovered: two large rooms adjacent to the two cell wings each contained two loom pits. Both rooms date to the latest occupation phase and provide archaeological evidence for the activity of weaving, an activity which is normally mainly attested in written sources⁷⁷. Furthermore, several buildings and rooms designated for the storage of supplies were also excavated, which sheds light on the provision of the monks. The close interrelation between the structures in the Coptic monastery and the Pharaonic tomb complexes in the surrounding area is documented on the one hand by the usage of Pharaonic structures and on the other hand by the intensive use of Pharaonic spoils. Correspondingly, two Pharaonic burial caves at the south-western corner and at the eastern side of

⁷¹ The localization of the main entranceway in the east is one of the aims of an excavation campaign, which is planned for the autumn of 2013 along with the search for the monastery church with the help of geophysical prospection. An excavation on the eastern side of Room 3 in the autumn of 2012 did not yield clear results for the identification of a main access, as the exterior wall at this point has been demolished down to the natural bedrock. Another possibility is an entrance in the area to the north of Room 3. For Room 3, cf. M. MACKENSEN, in: G. BURKARD ET AL., *Erster Vorbericht DeB*, p. 52, Abb. 3.

⁷² See the contribution by TH. BECKH below, pp. 131–134.

⁷³ Compare e.g. the tower of the Epiphanius monastery or the Phoibammon monastery in Western Thebes: H. WINLOCK/W. E. CRUM, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes I*, PMMA 3, New York 1926, pp. 32–35 (hereafter H. WINLOCK/W. E. CRUM, *Epiphanius*); W. GODLEWSKI, *Le monastère de Phoibammon, Deir el-Bahari V*, Varsovie 1986, pp. 29–30, figg. 9–13.

⁷⁴ PETER GROSSMANN suggested such an interpretation during a visit in 2001, cf. M. MACKENSEN, in: G. BURKARD ET AL., *Erster Vorbericht DeB*, p. 51.

⁷⁵ See I. EICHNER/U. FAUERBACH, *Die spätantike/koptische Klosteranlage Deir el-Bachit in Dra' Abu el-Naga (Oberägypten)*. *Zweiter Vorbericht*, in: MDAIK 61, 2005, Abb. 2 (hereafter I. EICHNER/U. FAUERBACH, *Zweiter Vorbericht DeB*).

⁷⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 147–149.

⁷⁷ An M.A. thesis on the subject of the loom pits was written by JOHANNA SIGL: J. SIGL, *Gruben mit Querholz. Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Webstühlen in pharaonischer und koptischer Zeit mit Schwerpunkt auf die Webstuhlgruben in frühchristlichen Ansiedlungen in Theben-West* (unpublished M.A. thesis, Institute for Egyptology, Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich, 2005/2006); EAD., *Pits with Crossbars – Investigations on Loom-remains from Coptic Egypt*, in: K. ENDREFFY/A. GULYÁS (eds.), *Proceedings of the Fourth Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists, Studia Aegyptiaca 18*, Budapest 2007, pp. 357–372.

the monastery as well as perhaps an unfinished Pharaonic tomb and forecourt to the north-west were integrated into the complex, and hieroglyphic inscriptions were incorporated into the structure at various points of the monastery's floors and stairs⁷⁸. Finally, the mudbrick pyramid above K93.12 located in the south-eastern area of the monastery was overbuilt by the monastery's enclosure wall (fold-out plan). Pharaonic mudbricks were intensively used throughout the entire monastery. Many of them are stamped and were reused and combined with bricks that were newly produced for the monastery.

One of the questions which has not yet been resolved, is the location of the monastery's church. The effort involved in building the church as well as the nature of its furnishings are connected with the question of the significance assigned to the monastery. As the investigations in the surrounding area of the monastery complex, particularly in the hermitage Units XXVI and XXVII (Fig. 4), indicate that the complex located on the elevated saddle of Dra' Abu el-Naga was apparently erected at a time when the monastic community on the Dra' Abu el-Naga hill substantially increased in size, the question arises as to whether and also to what extent the veneration of the anchorite Paulos, which originally took place in the area of Unit XXVI, was transferred to the newly-established monastery complex situated on the hill's summit (fold-out plan).

The discovery of capitals, a column base and two column shaft fragments in the rubble beneath the youngest paved floor are indications of the existence of a church building in which such architectural components were normally used. The fact that columns and capitals of the church were carelessly used for the rubble fill suggests that the original church was demolished and replaced by a new building, whereby the older building decoration became obsolete and only fit for use as rubble.

Although it remains unclear why the monastery was abandoned at the end of the 9th/beginning of the 10th century, its usage as a monastery in the very last phase is certain: this fact is evidenced by the large wooden cross that was found attached to a pillar at the eastern side of the tower. These pillars fell down at a very late stage and buried the cross beneath

them. The pillars remained in this collapsed state on the paved floor and were not re-erected at a later date.

The results of the excavations undertaken in the monastery complex thus far and the investigations of the associated hermitages in Units XXVI and XXVII shed light not only on the history of the monastery but also on Coptic life throughout the entire Theban west bank from the Late Antique to the Islamic period. At the same time, the close ties between the Late Antique/Medieval and Pharaonic monuments that were reused or plundered become clear. In the context of the small-scale hill landscape of Dra' Abu el-Naga, interrelations in the Late Antique/Medieval period have now been brought to light to an extent that is unprecedented for any other region in Egypt.

I. E.

The monastic settlement structures in Dra' Abu el-Naga North. Preliminary survey results

On the basis of excavation results gained from the monastery complex of Deir el-Bakhît, the project entitled "Between Christianity and Islam" financed by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation was initiated in the summer of 2010. The investigations focused on complexes used during the Coptic period that are situated outside of the monastery in the area of Dra' Abu el-Naga North. These complexes had already been noted by H. WINLOCK during the course of his survey on the Coptic settlement of Western Thebes but were never the object of an in-depth investigation⁷⁹. The identification of a Coptic settlement phase in other tomb complexes in Dra' Abu el-Naga over the last few years⁸⁰, not only raises the question on the actual extent of the monastic settlement and the chronological development of the corresponding complexes but also on their interaction and interconnection on the hill. In order to create a basis to provide an answer to these questions, several measures were undertaken: on the one hand, Dra' Abu el-Naga was topographically surveyed and a map was created to document

⁷⁸ For two of these inscribed blocks, see U. RUMMEL, *Two Re-used Blocks of the God's Wife Isis at Deir el-Bakhît/Dra' Abu el-Naga (Western Thebes)*, in: S. SNAPE/M. COLLIER (eds.), *Ramesseide Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, Bolton 2010, pp. 423–431.

⁷⁹ H. WINLOCK/W. E. CRUM, *Epiphanius*, Pl. 1.

⁸⁰ Cf. B. OCKINGA, *Excavations at Dra' Abu el-Naga: Report on the Nov-Dec 2000 and Jan-Feb 2002 Seasons*, in: *BACE* 13, 2002, pp. 135–147; F. KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVII. bis XX. Dynastie*, Theben 13, Mainz 1996, Taf. 7, pp. 135–138.



Fig. 4 View over Unit XXVII from the north-east: unfinished Pharaonic tomb structures reused by Coptic monks and Deir el-Bakhît in the background (October 2010), © Deir el-Bakhît Project

the exact spot of complexes used during the Coptic period (fold-out plan)⁸¹. On the other hand, a ceramological survey, documentation of the still existing architectural structures and test excavations in specified areas were carried out at the same time. The aim of the venture was the reconstruction of the development of the early medieval settlement on the hill and a contextualization of the features into the overall settlement development in Western Thebes. Above all, the identification of the monastic complexes and of the people that lived in them played a vital role in the project's objectives. The above-mentioned measures proved to be surprisingly successful, as texts were recovered during the first test excavation, the content of which enabled the identification of the monastery Deir el-Bakhît as the monastery of St. Paulos⁸². This fact opened entirely new possibilities, as the latter monastery was already known from documents originating from the city of Djeme but had never been localized⁸³. The texts originating from Djeme not only prove the highly-developed contact between Deir el-Bakhît and the regional administration centre, but also provide a number of absolute dates for the activity of individual people and give an insight into the function of individual people at the monastery. In this context, a particularly interesting point is that three abbots were occasionally active for the Paulos monastery⁸⁴.

At the same time, three larger complexes were attested on the Dra' Abu el-Naga hill that are closely connected to each other via a system of paths, namely the main monastery Deir el-Bakhît and the complexes designated by WINLOCK as Units XXVI and XXVII⁸⁵. On the basis of this precondition, the hypothesis quickly arose that the enclosure wall of the main monastery did not delimit the extension but that all three complexes belonged to one community. However, the definitive confirmation first occurred during the epigraphic documentation of the inscriptions located in

the exterior complexes: not only a **ICXC ΠΑΥΛΟΣ** graffito was found here⁸⁶, but also the inscription of a certain **ΑΝΑΤΩΛΙΟΣ**. This person is attested in the Deir el-Bakhît texts as a member of the Paulos monastery. Therefore, it is clear that the three complexes belong to the same institution, namely the Paulos monastery⁸⁷. When the descriptions of the complexes given by H. WINLOCK are compared with the current results of the survey, it becomes clear that these descriptions do not do justice to the actual dimensions of the monastic units especially in the case of XXVI and XXVII. For example, Unit XXVI with a surface area of ca. 4,800 m² is almost half the size of Deir el-Bakhît. The unit uses five steps in the terrain, which were subsequently formed as terraces. At least six Pharaonic tomb complexes were integrated into the unit. A similar situation also applies to Unit XXVII (Fig. 4), which has a surface area of ca. 1,100 m² and incorporates a series of uncompleted Pharaonic tomb complexes. An unusually large amount of amphora sherds were documented in the ceramic surface material found in this area. This observation is not particularly surprising as Unit XXVII is situated at the end of a caravan supply route of the so-called Farshût Road⁸⁸.

Wares that arrived by caravan were unloaded in Unit XXVII and distributed from this point via smaller paths to the surrounding complexes used by the Copts. It is particularly interesting that in both Units XXVI and XXVII, pieces of fine ware were found that can be dated to the 5th/6th century AD⁸⁹. In Unit XXVI, these pieces were primarily found in the structurally oldest part of the complex, i. e. a Pharaonic tomb, the entrance of which was used as a painted reception room with visitors' inscriptions, and a tower erected in front of this tomb. This situation strongly corresponds to the so-called monastery of Epiphanius, which gradually developed from an anchorite's cell⁹⁰. A similar development, i. e. from an anchoritic structure to a community organised by coenobitic rules,

⁸¹ The map of Dra' Abu el-Naga North provided in the pocket at the back of this volume represents a preliminary and greatly simplified version of the overall map which is currently in preparation. The map was created by A. SCHMIDT using additional material from H. BÜCHERL, P. COLLET, I. DUDZINSKI, I. EICHNER, U. FAUERBACH, J. GOISCHKE, W. E. GORDON, G. HEINDL, G. HERDT, F. KAMPP, B. OCKINGA, D. POLZ, M. REINKE and S. WINTERHALTER.

⁸² TH. BECKH/I. EICHNER/S. HODAK, *Briefe*, pp. 15–30.

⁸³ See A. ARTHUR SCHILLER, *Ten Coptic Legal Texts Edited with Translation, Commentary and Indexes Together with an Introduction*, New York 1932; W. HENGSTENBERG, *Besprechung von A. Arthur Schiller, Ten Coptic Legal Texts Edited with Translation, Commentary and Indexes Together with an Introduction*, New York, 1932, in: *Biblische Zeitschrift* 34, 1934, pp. 78–95.

⁸⁴ W. TILL, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden aus Theben*, Wien 1962, p. 236.

⁸⁵ A description of both units can be found in H. WINLOCK/W. E. CRUM, *Epiphanius*, pp. 21–22.

⁸⁶ Cf. TH. BECKH/I. EICHNER/S. HODAK, *Briefe*, p. 20.

⁸⁷ Various other names were documented in TT 378, a tomb belonging to Unit XXVI, and all have counterparts in the corpus of names known from Deir el-Bakhît. However, they do not serve as clear references as names such as Isak and Johannes regularly occur in Western Thebes.

⁸⁸ J. P. GRAEF, *Die Straßen Ägyptens*, Berlin 2005, pp. 81–86.

⁸⁹ In Unit XXVI even a piece of African Red Slip Ware (Form 82, Type B) was discovered, which originates from Tunisia and, according to J. HAYES, dates to the second half of the 5th century. See J. HAYES, *Late Roman Pottery*, London 1972, pp. 128–131.

⁹⁰ H. WINLOCK/W. E. CRUM, *Epiphanius*, pp. 29–31.

can also be inferred for Unit XXVI. It is surprising that a similar early usage of the main monastery, Deir el-Bakhît, has not been documented so far and that occupation of this area is only attested with certainty from the 6th/7th century AD onwards⁹¹. These observations result in the following chronological sequence of the settlement structures: Unit XXVI constitutes the cell of the monastery's founder together with a 'storage unit' in XXVII, which was necessary to supply the gradually expanding Unit XXVI. As a consequence of the monastic movement's increasing success in Western Thebes, a complex planned as a coenobitic monastery was then built on the hill summit of Dra' Abu el-Naga, namely Deir el-Bakhît. This chronological evaluation is confirmed by a chain of guard posts lined up along the caravan route. For example, directly opposite Unit XXVI on the other side of the so-called "Khawi el-Alamat"⁹², a guard post (No. XXXIII) was documented that stretches along a natural bedrock ridge over four terraces and incorporates natural caves and monolithic boulders. A striking feature of these terraces is that they are oriented in direct line with specific complexes on the hill and therefore have eye contact with them. This means that the guard posts were built in alignment with structures that already existed, i. e. Units XXVI and XXVII, the settlement within the walls of the Sety temple as well as the guard posts on the Farshût-Road causeway. In addition, the discovery of ceramic dating to the 5th/6th century in the guard post provides a *terminus ante quem* for the other complexes. Therefore, the structures belonging to the Paulos monastery are not only the earliest sources for a monastic settlement known

in Western Thebes to date, they also represent a complexly organised community, whose economic contacts reached far beyond the Theban region. If additional features preserved at the monastery are taken into consideration particularly with regard to cryptography and magic⁹³, a unique picture of a monastic community emerges from its foundation to its demise, which is not only based on an evaluation of textual sources but can also be validated archaeologically. Further investigations at the monastery are planned with a focus on Units XXVI and XXVII in order to examine especially the early development structures in more detail.

Th. B.

Abstract

Concise presentation of the archaeological research carried out by the DAIK in Dra' Abu el-Naga over the last 23 years, from 2001 in co-operation with the University of Munich, focussing on its essential features. By means of selective investigations covering the entire area of the original concession, an extensive reconstruction of the origin and formation of an ancient Egyptian necropolis and its (historic) landscape gradually unfolds. In chronological terms, the archaeological evidence ranges from the first documented tomb complexes at the time of the 11th/12th Dynasty (c. 2,000 BC) to the abandonment of the Coptic monastery Deir el-Bakhît on the hill's summit presumably during the early 10th century AD.

⁹¹ For problems on the chronology of Deir el-Bakhît, see Chapter 2.3 in TH. BECKH, *Zeitzeugen aus Ton. Die Gebrauchskeramik der Klosteranlage Deir el-Bachît in Theben-West (Oberägypten)*, SDAIK 37, Berlin/Boston 2013, pp. 50–74.

⁹² H. CARTER, *Report*, Pl. XIX.

⁹³ J. DIELEMAN has already pointed out the existence of cryptography at Deir el-Bakhît. Examples of encoded visitors' inscriptions are also attested in TT 378. Furthermore, the find spot of the ma-

gical Carnarvon Papyrus was localized in Unit XXVII during the course of the survey. Cf. J. DIELEMAN, *Cryptography at the Monastery of Deir el-Bakhît*, in: H. KNUF/CH. LEITZ/D. V. RECKLINGHAUSEN (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, OLA 194, Leiden 2010, pp. 511–517; TH. BECKH, *Monks, Magicians, Archaeologists – New Results on Coptic Settlement Development in Dra' Abu el-Naga North, Western Thebes*, contribution to the *Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies* 2012 in Rome (in prep.).

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