

Funerary uses and reuses of Theban rock-cut architecture between the 9th century BC and the Ptolemaic period: planimetric re-functionalization of tombs at the Neferhotep Complex (Luxor-Egypt)

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After our preliminary paper concerning the funerary monuments within the ‘Neferhotep Complex’ in Luxor, which has been presented in this journal a few years ago², it is now necessary to reconsider all the monuments of this architectural complex³ from a wider perspective, in order to reinterpret the changes of uses and rituals, which are attested in these tombs, as important elements to understand how most of the private funerary monuments of the Theban necropolis are often characterised by an unpredictable complexity and an elaborated cultural stratification.

When approaching the study of private tombs at Thebes, often the main emphasis is given to the iconographic and epigraphic apparatuses, to the typologies and chronologies of the finds and to the layout. In general Theban tombs, as suggested by some scholars⁴, are mostly associated with the names of the individuals for whom they were built; they are considered as if they were always and for ever ‘pre-planned projects’ for a single individual or family. But in this way we lose the developments and the changes to the project which may have occurred even during the early phases of construction; some alterations in accommodation may be due to unexpected reasons which occurred even during the construction of the monument. There are numerous cases of premature deaths of members of the family or of related families which determined a different choice in the layout and in the burials. Possible changes to the original project may have occurred due to an abrupt change in lithotypes to forms which are unsuitable for quarrying, determining therefore the change of orientation of chambers and corridors in order to find more suitable bedrock. Moreover, there was also the need to respect or avoid chambers and sections of close tombs which were earlier in date and may have been unknown because they were no longer in use: in this case the reaching of the chamber of an unknown earlier tomb during the quarrying may have determined the choice to adapt or change the project or even re-use earlier burials. The partial use or reuse of sections or chambers of other tombs may certainly happened in later phases, but it could also belong to the early phases, in case the original project have reached nearby tombs.

Therefore the study of use, reuse and later developments of these tombs, in order to properly understand the chronology and the stratification of the architectural and planimetric phases, needs to take into account, together with iconographic, epigraphic, ritual and anthropological studies, also the geomorphology of the area, the topography of the surrounding monuments, the study of lithotypes and sub-lithotypes, the micro-

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² PEREYRA ET ALII 2015.

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⁴ For instance DORMAN 2003, in part p.30.

mapping of the tool marks on the inner surfaces and the associations of all these data with the finds. These monuments are often characterised by a stratified cultural complexity: only by using a cluster analysis approach with a holistic intent we can try to answer to the main ‘questions of the funerary architecture’: when and why was a tomb built? For whom? How can we understand the original building project amid several later phases of adaption and reuse?

We may assume that the most evident reason for building the private tombs of the Theban necropolis, was the celebration of owners of the tombs and their families, for attesting their social and political role and status of individuals/families/groups, and for the maintenance of their memory and life after death through prayers, offerings and funerary equipment the afterlife of the buried persons, in order to perpetrate and celebrate the name and the memory of the tomb owners and consequently their families, obviously to preserve their mummies and life after death. However, do we know how these mechanisms may be applied to later family members and descendants perpetrating their use and reuse even centuries later? Do we always know how the ‘plots’ for the tombs were given or chosen (concessionary system/attribution/sale/else?) and how were them re-sold or re-distributed later and by whom? Is there always, even in case of re-use of the monuments, an intent of grouping the tombs on the basis of social status, familiar connection, religious or political role? How the ‘new owners’ re-approached the earlier plans and decorations? When can we define the re-use as usurpation? Which are the markers of continuity and discontinuity of re-uses?

The recent projects of excavation in several Theban private tombs and monumental funerary complexes may now help us find some of these answers, but we must always be aware that, even in the same period and context, the choices may be different and it is therefore better to look for a comparative method among contexts in order to find the main steps and reasons for the development of a monument and for an interpretation of some choices in specific periods, instead of establishing preconceptual generic rules.

The tombs of the monumental ‘Neferhotep complex’ were built in different periods, between the late Eighteenth and Twentieth dynasties, but then intensively reused between the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC) and the late Ptolemaic age (332-30 BC), with possible de-functionalization and differentiated use in Roman and Coptic periods. The funerary complex is arranged around a central courtyard (**fig.1**) and is located on the eastern slope of *El Khokha*. The complicated plan layout suggests the existence of multiple phases of re-use of this rock-monument, with the addition of new chambers through the centuries, and the modification of earlier parts. Consequently, each single tomb which is part of this complex should be closely analysed in order to properly understand the architectural and planimetric evolutions of the whole monument.

The central and main tomb, TT49, is the funerary monument of *Neferhotep* and can be dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty; it has been largely presented and discussed

by Egyptologist V. Pereyra⁵ in several recent publications⁶ and the epigraphic as well as iconographic studies of its spectacular painted decorations will be published by the Argentinian and Brazilian team of Egyptologists in forthcoming papers and volumes. A preliminary volume of the plan and the paintings of this tomb was published by Norman De Garis Davies, who visited the tomb between 1920 and 1930⁷. Obviously the axiality of the tomb and the orthogonal layout of the monumental upper rooms and elements of the tomb, that is the antechamber/vestibule, the chapel and the main funerary niche with the statue of Neferhotep and his wife (positioned, as usual at the far end of the chapel), have strongly influenced the choice for the location and for the plan of tombs TT187 and TT362, which are slightly later, but still planned on common symmetrical and axial bases. However, the idea of a ‘courtyard’ and of a ‘monumental complex’ which can be perceived today when looking at this monument, is very far from the original intent and is the result of a long evolution of the middle terraces of the oriental slope of the hill today known as *El Khokha*. It seems to be conceivable that the location of TT49 has been originally chosen with a specific intent of scenography as well as of orientation for ritual purposes⁸, including in origin a more limited ‘courtyard’, probably rectangular in shape, following the natural rocky terraces. The limestone slope was then quarried and regularised in order to create a more monumental aspect to the façade, which was particularly emphasised from a lower view, that is for the peoples who were approaching from below this area for ritual or funerary purposes. The specific choice to excavate the rock-cut tomb into one of the three lower limestone terraces, which is characterised by more monumental and decorated tombs, is certainly due to a more homogeneous limestone, easier to regularize and to smooth, while the upper terraces of the hill present a limestone conglomerate more porous and difficult to carve with regular chambers and smoothed surfaces. Therefore the monumental appearance of TT49 in the Eighteenth Dynasty (1549-1292 BC) was facing a rectangular courtyard, which allowed in origin a wider view of the façade, with a strong impact from below and focusing in this way not only on the central entrance, but widening the view also to the lateral architectural elements of the rock-cut stelae (see the 3D scanning of the façade of TT49 in **fig.1**) and epigraphic apparatus, which were used as architectural symmetric alae which framed the first passage of the entrance.

Then, the choice to introduce, in the Nineteenth Dynasty (1292-1189 BC), tombs TT187 and TT362 (for their location see **fig.1**), was certainly planned as ‘completing’ this view, but deliberately without changing this original arrangement, possibly for a ‘familiar’ connection or, more probably, for a ‘common ritual position’ within the clergy of Amun of the owners of these two funerary monuments. From the

⁵ My acknowledgments here must go first to Maria Violeta Pereyra for inviting the team of Chieti University as responsible for the archaeological works and study of the tombs surrounding the TT49 and for helping our students with seminars, bibliography, advices and great help. It has been and it still is a very fruitful collaboration. A special and grateful thought goes to the Late Antonio Brancaglioni Jr, who has contributed greatly to the improvements of the team and has left us too early to see the final phases of this long common research. Moreover, I would like to thank also all the members of our team, Argentinians, Brazilians, Italians and Germans, working always in a close collaboration. Last, but not at least, I should mention, with enormous gratitude Eugenio Di Valerio, Maria Violeta Carniel, MariaGiorgia Di Antonio and Marialaura Di Giovanni, for their constant support and enthusiastic participation. For information about the project and all the participants to the fieldwork and to the research see <http://proyectoneferhotep.org/>.

⁶ PEREYRA 2006, 2009, 2015, 2016, 2018, 2020 with previous bibliography.

⁷ DAVIES 1933.

⁸ For the ritual meaning and intent see PEREYRA 2020.

epigraphic data coming from both tombs, in fact, the position of *wab* of Amun seems to be attested for both the owners of these tombs (see below).

The two tombs (TT187 and TT362) were constructed with ‘twin’ plans, in an identical but specular position to the north and to the south of the TT49, and they present a similar planimetric choice, with orthogonal rectangular antechambers and chapels, and presenting a new T-shaped planimetric scheme with rectangular elongated antechamber, which finds parallel in tombs dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty (1549-1292 BC), as the examples of TT17⁹, TT53¹⁰, TT66¹¹, TT69¹², TT174¹³, TT333¹⁴. For the use of antechambers not so elongated and narrow, in particular the two tombs TT187 and TT362 can find direct parallels with the plans of TT17 and TT53, while the funerary chapels, shorter and wider, seem to be closer to TT333 and TT53. They represent quite an interesting stage of the evolution of planning, still with a constant planimetric and volumetric relationship between the chapel and the antechamber, which was then lost with a gradual narrowing and elongation of the corridors in the tombs dating to later periods¹⁵. In general the two tombs are still far from the changes which can be seen normally in the tombs of the nobles dating to the end of the Nineteenth (about 1292 - 1189 BC) and Twentieth dynasties (1189-1077 BC.)¹⁶, which are often characterised by long corridors and lack of proper antechamber, or with the contraction of the plan and a sort of hybridisation in the roles of the antechamber and the chapel.

Concerning the sloping corridors which were leading to the funerary chambers, and in TT187 and TT362 they are quite different, shorter and more regular in the latter, and longer and more tortuous in the former. However, quite similar is the tunnel of the corridor, which is rectangular in section, but quite roughly conducted on the sides and ceiling. This difference in plan and length was certainly due to the need to adapt, both the plan of the corridors and the location of the funerary chambers, to the existence of previous tombs, which must have conditioned greatly the projects of the later funerary monuments. The original funerary chambers of the two monuments were then similar in volumetry and in their rough aspect, without any smoothing or decoration of the sides and the ceilings. Obviously for the funerary chamber of TT362 just the ceiling can be seen today, because of the later reorganisation (which saw enlargement and changes of plan), but the original plan of the chamber is still quite clear (see the description below or previous papers¹⁷) from the mapping of the different tool marks and from the remains of the original perimeter along the borders and the ceiling of the original chamber.

⁹ TT17 or Tomb of Nebamon, which is located at Dra Abu El Naga: PORTER AND MOSS 1927, pp. 29-31; DONADONI 1999, p. 115.

¹⁰ TT53 or Tomb of Amenemhat, which is located at Sheik Abd el Qurna: PORTER AND MOSS 1927, pp. 102-104; GARDINER AND WEIGALL 1913, pp. 20-21.

¹¹ TT66, or Tomb of Hepu, which is located at Sheik Abd el Qurna: PORTER AND MOSS 1927, pp. 124, 132-133; GARDINER AND WEIGALL 1913, pp. 22-23.

¹² TT69 or Tomb of Menna, which is located at Sheik Abd el Qurna: PORTER AND MOSS 1927, pp. 134-139; GARDINER AND WEIGALL 1913, p. 23.

¹³ TT174 or Tomb of Ashakhet, which is located at El Khokha: PORTER AND MOSS 1927, p. 281; GARDINER AND WEIGALL 1913, pp. 32-33.

¹⁴ TT333, which is located at Dra Abu El Naga and apparently the name of the owner is still unknown: PORTER AND MOSS 1927, pp. 399-401.

¹⁵ DODSON AND IKRAM 2008, pp. 230-231.

¹⁶ DODSON AND IKRAM 2008, pp. 232-246.

¹⁷ MENOZZI 2015, pp. 37-47.

The evolution of the Tomb of *Pakhihat* between the Ramesside period and the Ptolemaic age

TT187 is known as the Tomb of *Pakhihat*¹⁸, *wab* priest of Amun, son of *Ashakhet* (who is the owner of TT174, just mentioned above) and of *Tazabu*¹⁹. The epigraphic sources within the tomb are also mentioning the wife *Mutemonet* and the daughter *Ta-muyet(?)*, both mentioned as chantresses of Amun, and two sons, *Amen[-em]-wia* and *Thut[-nefer?]*, both *wab* of Amun²⁰. Interesting is that the plan of the tomb of the father of *Pakhihat*, named *Ashakhet*²¹ (TT174), had a similar T-shaped arrangement, although with a longer and narrower chapel; however TT174 has never been completely excavated and what it is at the moment visible, it is strongly damaged because of the modern re-use of part of the tomb. The use of a similar plan in the two tombs of father and son, which is basically strictly depending from tomb plans dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty (1549-1292 BC), may attest its continuity of use also in the Nineteenth Dynasty (1292-1189 BC), possibly for a deliberate choice among the clergy of Amun in order to attest a common sense of affiliation and probably for a continuity of rituals and beliefs.

TT187 has suffered from modern reuses of and it has been difficult, at the beginning of the excavations, to properly understand the phases of the ancient funerary uses and re-uses in this tomb. Now, after concluding the excavations of the other tombs in this context, it has been possible to see the different moments of the ancient use of the monument, although the finds were not so numerous to properly date the phases, as for other tombs of the monumental complex. When Norman De Garis Davies visited and documented these tombs, in the years around 1927²², he was able to see either more hieroglyphs and better preserved reliefs and paintings: what we got today are just his descriptions of the decorative and epigraphic apparatuses and only a few remain in situ today. The jambs and the architrave of the door as well as the sides of the first passage/entrance, were decorated with low reliefs. On the architrave there was represented a quite well known iconographic schema with a scene of adoration of Osiris and Ra-Harakhty by *Pakhihat* and members of his family, which is almost completely lost today; however still well recognizable are Osiris and three male worshipping figures (*Pakhihat* and his sons), as well as the inscriptions and prayers relating to Osiris and Ra-Harakhty²³. The two lateral sides of the entrance through the first passage, were decorated with low reliefs, but only the western side still preserves some remains of the iconography. There was the representation of *Pakhihat* and his wife, while raising their arms in praise to the sun facing the entrance (**fig.2a**), according to a largely attested and standardised iconographic schema. Possibly the opposite side was presenting the two spouses as returning back into the tomb, as typical of this context; however, the eastern side of the entrance has been totally erased during the recent reuses of the tomb as a stable. The antechamber/vestibule is rectangular in shape and, according to Davies, the paintings were still visible and quite well preserved when he visited the tomb. Today heavy quarrying of the lower part of the side walls of the rock-cut antechamber, together with a thick layer of smoke and soot, make difficult to attempt a proper interpretation

¹⁸ PORTER AND MOSS 1927, pp. 291-293; DAVIES 1933, pp. 7-8. For more detailed and recent description and study see the paper by DI GIOVANNI 2015, pp. 48-52.

¹⁹ PORTER AND MOSS 1927(ried.1970), pp. 293-294.

²⁰ DAVIES 1933, pp. 7-8.

²¹ PORTER AND MOSS 1927(ried.1970), p. 281.

²² DAVIES 1933.

²³ DAVIES 1933, pp. 7-8.

of the few remains of the paintings, but it is quite clear a procession of figures on the eastern corner of the southern side wall, probably representing the familiar group moving in procession (**fig.2b**). The original Ramesside phase of the tomb was characterised by a second passage, leading into the funerary chapel, with a niche, in front of the entrance, with the representation of the statues of the couple, which are no longer preserved, but which is quite typical of the arrangement of the Theban chapels of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1549-1292 BC) and the early Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1292-1189 BC). Again, the preservation of the chapel is very poor, although remains of paintings with the representation of the *djed* pillar are still quite visible (**fig.2c**). From the north-western corner of the chapel, a long, steep and elaborated sloping corridor was then leading into a small and roughly excavated funerary chamber, where the space was quite limited and did not allow in origin more than two burials. The boundary between the descending passage and the funerary chamber was marked by limestone blocks and fragments of mud bricks, partially still in situ and roughly organised, which were probably part of a wall blocking the passage to the funerary chamber, made of stones for the lower part and mud bricks for the upper part.

But this original phase was then followed, already in ancient times, by the introduction of two new burial contexts, which are represented by two rectangular funerary pits, quite regularly carved, certainly using iron tools, as the regular toolmarks and the sharp edge cuts seem to suggest. The western pit was completely filled with mummies (in secondary and probably also in modern re-depositions) which were then burned there in modern times, certainly after Davies' survey, because he does not mention the heavy remains of burning in this tomb. At the preliminary anthropological analysis of the minimum number of bodies, the remains of at least 70 people were buried inside this pit, as secondary deposition/re-deposition, probably due to the reorganization of the tomb for later funerary phases, and also for more 'modern reuses'²⁴.

The eastern pit included very poor remains of mummies, suggesting that it was completely emptied, probably a first time during its 're-functionalization' and again during the recent uses of the tomb. This pit, however, is quite interesting from the architectonic point of view, because it is deeper than the eastern one (is about 1,50 m deep, while the western pit is around 60 cm) and presents in the lower part an opening (on the northern side wall) which leads to the tomb K-348- (fig.3).

The two pits in the antechamber/vestibule of TT187 seem to have been contemporarily planned, probably during the Third Intermediate Period, but then the eastern pit was used for a longer period and probably between the Late period (Twenty-sixth dynasty or Saite Period, 664–525 BC) as suggested by a fragmentary 'back-pillar *shabti*') and the Ptolemaic age was re-functionalized and reused for further burials, but in connection with adjacent tomb K-348-, becoming in this period as a secondary upper funerary chamber of the tomb K-348-. Therefore, the eastern pit is the only element of TT187 that presents a phase of use between Late and Ptolemaic periods, but only when it was then joined to another tomb (K-348-) and when it was no longer belonging, from the planimetric point of view, to TT187.

Concerning the finds from TT187, only few and poor fragments of pottery are attested, numerous bandages, small fragments of *cartonnage* of the coffins dating to the Ramesside Period (both Nineteenth Dynasty, 1292-1189 BC and Twentieth Dynasty, 1189-1077 BC) and to the Twenty First Dynasty (1069-945 BC), small fragments of

²⁴ LEMOS ET ALII 2017; DI GIOVANNI 2015, in part. p. 51.

shabtis, which are mainly attesting the second burial phases in the Late period, although in a very scanty way.

Certainly the introduction of new burials in the antechamber have determined a 're-functionalization' of this room, with the change of the planimetric relationship of the new burials with the chapel, and attests a possible re-distribution of the burial spaces in earlier monuments at least already in the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC), although still 'respecting the original layout' of the monument. But the very poor conditions of preservation of this tomb, because of the modern exploitation of the tomb²⁵, did not allow further hypothesis at the moment of the excavations, while after digging the other tombs in this complex and studying the finds, the situation of reuses seems to become more and more clear and also more easily datable.

The Tomb of *Paenmuaset* and its re-functionalization between the 9th and the 4th centuries BC

TT362²⁶, was originally built for *Paenmuaset*, for his wife *Hathor* and for their son *Hori*, dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1292-1189 BC). It presents the typical T-shaped plan, with vestibule (antechamber, A in **fig.4**) and chapel (B in **fig.4**) both rectangular in plan, but orthogonally carried out, with the chapel perpendicular to the antechamber. A short, and just slightly sloping corridor (C in **fig.4**), leads to the original funerary chamber (D in **fig.4**), which had a maximum height of 1 m high (as also for the funerary chamber of the TT187).

Not much later a squared funerary shaft (E in **fig.4**) was dug just at the beginning of the corridor (see **fig.4**), probably leading into a small funerary chamber (probably for a son? - F in **fig.4**). The shaft, for its quadrangular and regular typology, can find parallels with shafts and small funerary chambers below the antechamber of the TT49²⁷ (and probably belonging to descendants of Neferhotep?). It seems to be plausible that the original funerary chamber of this shaft was rectangular in shape, north-south oriented and just 2 m below the entrance of the shaft. The use of new shafts and secondary chambers seems to be widely attested²⁸ for the Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1292-1189 BC) and in general for the Ramesside Period (1292-1077 BC), possibly related to members of the family, which are then included also in the figurative and epigraphic apparatus, as it has been mentioned for the TT362.

Therefore the original Ramesside tomb presents the usual T-shaped vestibule and chapel, the *dromos* and the funerary chamber for the first generation of the family as primary burial, and then soon including the shaft and the secondary funerary chamber for the second generation (possibly belonging to *Hori?*), son of *Paenmuaset* and his family. The tomb presents a rich painted apparatus, just partially preserved for the antechamber, and better preserved for the ceiling of the chapel, as we will see below.

However, already since the preliminary phases of the excavation it became clear that the original layout of the tomb was strongly changed through centuries of use, which determined also a palimpsest in the paintings of the ceiling of the chapel.

According to the descriptions dating before the damages of the modern activity and reuse of the tomb, the main entrance was characterised, according to Davies²⁹, by

25 LEMOS ET ALII 2017; DI GIOVANNI 2015.

26 PORTER AND MOSS 1927, p.426; DAVIES 1933, pp. 9-11. For more recent studies: MENOZZI 2015.

27 DI ANTONIO 2015.

28 KNAPP 1995; DORMAN 2003, in part. pp. 31-32.

29 DAVIES 1933, pp. 9-11.

prayers and offerings to Horus and Hathor, which are today completely lost; the side walls of the vestibule were then completely painted and showed on the northern long side wall (that is the side of the entrance) to the west the representation of *Paenmuaset* in front of his son *Hori* and of a priest, attending to the funerary rituals; while to the east of the northern side wall there were representations of the pyramid, which was used as marker of the tomb, and of the goddess Hathor in its iconographic schema as a cow. On the southern wall, a palace or a pavilion is depicted, together with the ‘Barque of Amun’ and personages in prayer of adoration. These decorations of the side walls of the vestibule have been almost completely lost, together with the hymns to Hathor and Ptah (which were still visible at the beginning of last century), except for the upper part of the representation of a palace or a pavilion, which is still visible (**fig.5a**). The decoration of the vestibule was completed with a colorful decoration of the ceiling (**fig.5b**), which was characterised by larger squared elements, which present internal smaller squares in red, yellow, green and white, in a pattern possibly typical of fabrics, carpets and tents and deliberately used here for resembling the ceiling of a tent.

The so called second passage, that is the entrance from the vestibule to the chapel, presents remains of the original decorations of the ceilings, apparently badly preserved, but more visible using multispectral techniques for remote sensing, which have been applied to show the decorations with thin stars on a dark blue sky (**fig.5c** and **d**).

The chapel is quite small and rectangular in shape; it is characterised by the two statues of the owners of the tomb, situated within a rectangular niche in front of the entrance, creating the typical axial position for the statues. Unfortunately, the statues are not very well preserved, because they have been deliberately heavily damaged. Nevertheless, it is clearly the representation of a sitting couple, according to a standard funerary iconography for the New Kingdom (1550-1070 BC).

The paintings that decorated the ceilings of the chapel are a sort of palimpsest (**fig.6a**), which is quite well preserved and attests clearly two different phases of decoration. The original painting was characterised probably by the representation of the mummy just after the entrance, and then at least three funerary boats. However, in a later phase of use of the tomb, probably between the Third Intermediate (1069-664 BC) and the Saite (664–525 BC) periods, and specifically between the 9th and the 5th centuries BC, the southern part of the ceiling of the chapel was re-painted, overlapping the representation of a man and a woman (**fig.6b**), which are represented as seated on their knees, placed at the sides of a door, in the traditional symbolic gesture with both arms rising in praise to the sun. Above the painted door, a long and rectangular epigraphic frame, with yellow background, is still visible, but no longer shows signs of the original hieroglyphic texts. Of the two personages, the male figure is quite well preserved, while the female figure has been erased, probably during the modern reuses of the tomb. The iconography of the male figure is certainly extremely interesting, because it is represented with dark skin, quite elongated head, short hair, but not totally shaved head, high forehead and protruding chin. Moreover, the male figure is represented with short skirt, naked bust but with a white band across the chest, from the left shoulder to the belt, which was known as *sash* and is typical of the ‘lector priests’³⁰. The position of the male figure, although with a wide lacuna in the area of the legs, seems to be based on the right knee on the ground, while the left knee was folded in front of the figure (as the few remains of the dark red paint for the skin may suggest).

³⁰ TEETER 2015, in part. p. 22.

It is extremely interesting that this new layer of painting, with the two figures, was added in later periods, with the intent of re-use just part of the original painted decorations, as two of the funerary boats which were not overpainted, can attest, probably for a continuity of use of the iconography and of the ritual meaning of the two boats in relationship with the two overpainted figures. Probably, the introduction of two 'new owners' of the tomb represents a sort of ritual funerary 'usurpation'³¹ due to a 're-organization' and re-distribution of earlier funerary spaces, with a partial 're-use' also of paintings and ritual meanings.

From the finds of the excavations and from the tool-marks which are visible in the corridor/*dromos* and in the funerary chamber, it seems now clear that the short original *dromos* and funerary chamber have then been strongly re-cut/re-quarried, re-lowered and transformed into a lower and wider funerary chamber (**fig.9**), which was then connected with a completely different tomb (joining and including also two further earlier chambers related to two parallel sloping down corridors) which is located to the south-west of TT362 and which has never been mapped before (this new context will be discussed below).

The tool-marks relating the 're-cutting' and 're-curving' of the corridor and of the wider resulting funerary chamber, attest the use of an iron toothed chisel, which is technically known as '*gradina*' and it is a kind of tool which has not been introduced before the 7th-6th century BC. The introduction of the teeth or toothed chisel/*gradina* is a quite debated question and it depends also on contexts: in Greece, for instance, this instrument does not seem to be attested before the 6th century BC³²; in Egypt, and in particular in the area of Thebes, it is attested in architecture from the 7th century BC³³. In particular the tool marks of this kind of chisel seem to be attested for the first time in TT197 (or Tomb of *Padineith*)³⁴ and in TT312 (or Tomb of *Nespakhashuty*)³⁵, both dating to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664–525 BC): in particular the former to the period of *Psammetichos/Psametek* the II, and therefore between 595 and 589 BC, and the latter to the period of *Psammetichos/Psametek* the I in the late 7th century BC.

It seems to be plausible, then, that in this second phase, dating possibly between the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC) and the early Late Period (664-332 BC), TT362 was re-planned and transformed, losing the original funerary chamber, which was then joined to another context and was not easily reachable anymore, because of the lowering of the chamber and of the interruption of the corridor.

Therefore a new funerary chamber was cut for later burials (for the two persons which are represented in the painting?), and it was then directly cut in the antechamber, consisting in a rectangular shaft/pit (G shaft in **fig.4** and see also **fig.7**), leading into a small funerary chamber (see the plan of the lower level in the **fig.7**), which was located just below the antechamber and was originally trapezoidal in shape (I in **fig.7**), but which was then re-enlarged twice (L and M in **fig.7**), probably between the Saite (664–525 BC) and the Hellenistic periods.

It is then extremely interesting that in the Third Intermediate Period (and in particular probably between the 9th and the 7th centuries BC) the funerary context of

³¹ Concerning the meaning and the phenomenon of the 'usurpation' in the Egyptian tombs and in general in the tombs of the Necropolis of the Nobles at Thebes see CARNIEL 2015 with specific previous bibliography.

³² ETIENNE 1968, p. 53; ORTOLANI 1989, pp. 19-42, in part. p. 25.

³³ PALAGIA AND BIANCHI 1994, pp.169-203, in part. pp. 189-190; PAGA 2013, pp. 185-197, in part. pp. 173-174.

³⁴ GARDINER AND WEIGALL 1913, pp. 34-35; PORTER AND MOSS 1927, p. 302.

³⁵ PORTER AND MOSS 1927, pp. 387-388.

TT362 received a new planimetric arrangement, with the de-functionalization of the vestibule/antechamber, which was used as a new funerary hypogeum and a rectangular shaft or pit (**fig.7**), which has been dug with iron tools, as attested by the regular cuts and tool-marks.

The finds from the shaft and from the new funerary chamber date from the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC) to the early Hellenistic/Ptolemaic age, attesting quite a long use of the tomb, and two possible re-enlargements of the small funerary chamber, which were limited but which are quite evident. Moreover, just at the entrance of TT363, a quite rough stepped sloping corridor (in yellow in the **fig.7a**) emphasised the entrance to the pit, re-defining the inner paths, but without affecting the original layout and functions of the antechamber and of the chapel.

From the stratigraphic point of view, the situation of the pit/shaft seems to be characterised by an upper *locus* which is rich in bandages, fragments of human remains, modern objects and ancient small finds, attesting a modern use of the upper part of the tomb probably in the last century.

However, continuing the excavations, and going down into the pit, the further layers do not present modern finds and are rich in larger fragments of cartonnage, and of wooden boxes and of *shabtis*, while the pottery does not seem to be largely attested.

The entrance of the lower funerary chamber seems to have been carried out, again, with iron tools and quite well refined with pseudo-gabled ceiling (**fig.8a**). The chamber seems to have been already robbed in Antiquity. Among the most interesting finds there is a fragment of painted bandage, representing *Kbh-snwf/Quebehseuef*, son of Horus and related to the West cardinal point and to the intestines of the dead person. It was painted in red, green and black on a yellow background directly painted on the bandages (**fig.8b**). According to preliminary parallels, it seems to be part of the decoration of the bust of the mummy, and the iconography and its style seems to be plausible dated to between the Saite and the Ptolemaic periods. Among the finds also numerous *shabtis* must be mentioned, both in faience and in mud clay (see the appendix by M.V. Carniel and R. Lemos), which may be dated mostly to the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC).

From a preliminary analysis by anthropologists the western shaft contained about 12 persons: all of them mummified, although partially unwrapped by tomb robbers since early periods (probably already in Roman times as some Roman sherds of Terra Sigillata suggest). Moreover, the bandages of the mummies were presented at least four different kinds of wrapping of the bodies, indicating probably different chronologies or different treatments of the mummies depending on social differentiations³⁶. Moreover, the inner organs are generally presented as small separate 'wrapped packages', which were then associated to the mummy and included within the coffin or just deposited next to the mummy.

The large number of burials and the wide range of the chronology of the finds, dating between the beginning of the Third Intermediate period (1069-664 BC) and the Ptolemaic age, suggest that this shaft/pit was probably quarried in the Third Intermediate Period, but then used for a long time, probably also during the reorganization of the burials in the Ptolemaic period, when the main Sanctuary and the clergy of Amun was reorganizing the previous tombs and sealing the funerary spaces for the new burials.

³⁶ The anthropological study is still in progress and the data presented here is based on a preliminary report of the anthropologists.

The situation of the stratigraphy of the pit and of the funerary chamber seems to suggest that the tomb was heavily sacked in early periods, when probably the looters/visitors of the tombs were looking for scarabs, statuettes and amulets. The poor finds, although quite representative for the dating of the phases of the chamber, are very fragmentary and probably represent the few remains of the funerary equipment, which was left behind by looters. However, the scanty presence of sherds dating to Roman and late Roman times (coarse ware and very poor terra sigillata), may suggest that there was a ‘different frequentation’ of the monument in that period, without funerary purposes, possibly for the presence in this area of the Roman legions³⁷ or for the settlements nearby³⁸. Certainly, no funerary equipment dating to Roman times is attested in TT362.

The re-functionalization and the changes in the layout seem to be largely attested for this tomb, with the complete transformation in terms of function and ritual use of each room, apart for the chapel, which continued to be used for the funerary cult of the new owners of the tomb, as before, at least from the Ramesside Period (1292-1077 BC) to the end of the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC).

The need to create a new funerary hypogeum in the vestibule of the tomb in the Third Intermediate Period, was certainly due to the new layout of the original funerary chamber, as mentioned above, which was enlarged, heavily re-quarried and re-lowered, so much so to be joined to other two previous small funerary chambers (nn.1 and 2 in the **fig.9**), belonging to another tomb (which has been named TT362bis or Tomb of the two corridors) and including at this point also the original funerary chamber of the Ramesside shaft (F in **fig.9** and **fig.4**) of the TT362, that is at least three previous funerary chambers of two different tombs (TT362 and TT362bis).

The Tomb of the ‘two corridors’: a new architectural palimpsest

This further unknown funerary tomb is located to the south of TT362 and has never been mapped before; then for this reason it has been for the moment named as ‘TT362bis’ (for the plan and the location of TT362bis see **fig.10**), but which had no relationship with TT362 and with Neferhotep’s courtyard and architectural complex. Only when TT362 and the Tomb of the two corridors were joined in the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC) these two contexts created together a new layout: in fact, the original corridor of TT362 (A in **fig.9**) was cut during the quarrying for re-lowering the room and ‘de-functionalised’; while the new funerary chamber/hypogeum was then reachable through two corridors (east and west in **fig.9** and **fig.10**) belonging to TT362bis and not TT362 any more.

However, before analysing the transformed and enlarged hypogeum, it is important to understand something more about this new tomb, which has not been excavated yet, but already a preliminary mapping revealed interesting features in the plan and in the paintings, both suggesting a quite early date for this unknown monument. The entrance of TT362bis has been located, but it has not been cleaned and excavated yet, especially to avoid looting or damages. The tomb has been surveyed and mapped entering from TT362 and climbing the two parallel corridors (east and west in **fig.9** and for the photo see **fig.10**), which were the descending passages of the original tomb, leading to two small funerary chambers (1 and 2 in **fig.9**).

³⁷ BROULET 1984, pp. 175-179; GATIER 2000, pp. 341-349; KINDLER 1980, pp. 56-58; DARIS 2000, pp. 365-367; KEPPIE 2000, pp 228–229.

³⁸ RIGGS 2003, pp. 198-201.

The main chapel is rectangular and irregular and presents a decentered rock-cut quadrangular pillar (**fig.10**, see the plan). The main entrance to the chapel was located on the southern wall of the chapel. The eastern wall seems to present a small rectangular niche, still full of debris and just partially visible. The western wall shows a quite interesting rectangular niche/corridor, which seems to be a sort of shrine within the main chapel, possibly for a funerary statue or for purposes related to the cult: but again, it has not been excavated and can not be definitively interpreted yet. The northern wall is interesting because of remains of paintings, which are heavily damaged (**fig.11**), but still presenting quite emblematic iconographic schemata. Using UV filters and infra-red camera, as well as filtering the images, it has been possible to see that the wall just above the entrance to the two descending passages, which were leading to the funerary chambers, is presenting a decoration on two or three registers, and the eastern section of the northern wall is presenting a series of figures and animals (**fig.11a**), walking toward a larger seated figure which is represented in profile (**fig.11b**) and in front of an offering table. The eastern section of the same wall shows very scanty remains of animals and reeds within a swamp context, and part of a boat (mainly the rudder is visible). The paintings are characterised by very diluted colours, mainly red and black on a white background, rarely a very light green and just used for the reeds; moreover, the figures are interspersed with fairly large black hieroglyphs, in a hybrid use of texts and paintings within the same narrative context.

The layout, the presence of the decentered rock-cut quadrangular pillar, the twin parallel corridors, as well as the iconographies of the paintings and the paleography of the hieroglyphs, seem to find parallels with quite early tombs in Luxor, dating to the Old Kingdom (2686 - 2181 BC) or more possibly to the First Intermediate Period (2181–2055 BC). Five tombs have been found at *el Khokha* dating to these early periods³⁹: they are the closest parallels in Luxor for the TT362bis, moreover they are located very close (one of them less than 100 mts) and within the same topographic context: that is on the middle terrace of the southern/south-eastern slope of *el Khokha* hill and along the same ancient path. The study and the publication of TT362bis will be possible only in the future, after finishing the excavations; however, some considerations, on the main architectural phases of this monument, are already possible and suggest interesting evolutions for this tomb.

Obviously the early phase, dating probably to the First Intermediate Period (2181–2055 BC), was then certainly followed by, at least, other three phases. Without excavation we do not know anything about the possible continuity of use during the Middle Kingdom (about 2055-1650 BC), but certainly a phase of use of the tomb in the New Kingdom (1550 BC–c. 1077 BC) seems to be suggested by the finds and is dating from the Ramesside Period, as possibly attested by the find of the very well preserved wooden and painted *shabti* (**fig.12a**) mentioning *Heqanakht*, which has been found during the excavation of the small western funerary chamber (1 in the **fig.9**). The study of this splendid find is in progress and the team of Egyptologists have translated the text which is painted all around the legs of the *shabti*⁴⁰ (for a preliminary publication of the text see the appendix by M.V.Carniel and R.Lemos). Moreover, also terracotta

³⁹ The five tombs are very well documented: three in the publication by Saleh in 1977 and two excavated and published by the Hungarian team. The tombs are TT186 or Tomb of Ihy, which has been discovered in 1896 and excavated in 1969, the Tomb of Khentu, which has been found in 1968/69, TT405, which has been discovered in 1957, TT185 or Tomb of Sny-Ikr, whose excavation is still in progress and the Tomb of Unas-Ankh or TT403: SALEH 1977; FÁBIÁN 2011.

⁴⁰ Maria Violeta Pereyra, the Late Antonio Brancaglione, Rennan Lemos and Maria Violeta Carniel have finished the preliminary study of the *shabti* and the publication is in progress.

painted *shabtis* belonging to a local production (**fig.12b** and for further details see the appendix) have also been found, although re-deposited within a later context, but suggesting that in the Ramesside Period the tomb had certainly a new use and new burials, although difficult to identify from the plan now visible, which is the result of later changes. However, two questions must be mentioned at this point: first of all, were the two small funerary chambers 1 and 2 only reused during the Twentieth Dynasty (1189-1077 BC.)? Or has one of them been directly dug in this second phase of the tomb? Unfortunately, the later re-quarrying of these chambers make impossible definitive answers.

A third and evident phase is dating to the late Third Intermediate period (in particular between the 9th and 7th centuries BC), when the large funerary chamber or hypogeum was cut, including the previous chambers D and F of the TT362 and 1 and 2 of the TT362bis (see **fig.9**) joining them and transforming the new large burial context into a single funerary chamber now definitively belonging to TT362 bis. The quarrying of this large chamber has also determined the total interruption of the corridor of TT362, determining that the new chamber was then reachable just from TT362 bis. The tool-marks belonging to iron chisels and the finds of Bichrome ware shards (**fig.12c**) may attest this third phase, as well as the finds of small *shabtis*, which are quite roughly moulded in mud clay with Nile fabric, some of them with whitish or light bluish surfaces, but which are very numerous and present quite standardised and simplified iconographic schemata. Among the finds also a funerary mask (**fig.12c**) has been found, closely related with the later phases of use of the western chamber (1 in **fig.9**), belonging to the Ptolemaic period.

From the planimetric point of view, this large new funerary chamber is quite articulated and presents a sort of tri-partition of the inner room (**fig.13**), using different ‘niches’, two of them in form of a sort of rough ‘*proto-arcosolia*’.

A first niche/*arcosolium* (**fig.13**, photo below on the right) is located on the northern wall and the excavation has produced interesting elements of a wooden coffin, such as a painted large fragment with paintings directly added on the surfaces of the coffin, without any preparation or homogeneous background. It is a quite interesting iconography, because presenting two decorative registers separated by a geometrical pattern characterised by green squares and red and yellow hieroglyphs; the lower register shows a female figure totally wrapped as a mummy with a sort of net or squared bandages, funerary cone and bearing a plume. The upper register seems to present a standing figure on a sort of small podium in front of a cumulus of offerings, which are probably located on an offering table. This feature and the location of the find just under the niche/*arcosolium* could suggest that the coffin was located just below the niche.

Most of the finds from the main funerary chamber are represented by *shabtis*, which seem to be of different kinds, but certainly of quite identifiable typologies. In fact most of the *shabtis* are serial productions, single moulded and of quite poor quality, with a whitish or light blue slip, just imitating or simulating the appearance of faience. The three main typologies of *shabtis*, have been found in association with these three different contexts of burials, which are also associated with the above mentioned niches.

The renovated and enlarged funerary chamber is also characterised by the presence, in the north-western corner, of an offering table (**fig.13**, photo above), which was built using earlier stamped mud bricks. An interesting feature of the stratigraphy, which was related to the offering table, is the find of numerous offerings which were probably deposited on the table or close to it, both vegetal (as garlands, flowers, seeds and fruits) and animal votive offerings, as two mummified ducks and part of a leg of beef (the archaeozoological and palaeobotanical analyses are still in progress).

Moreover, two reused, complete Twentieth Dynasty *shabtis*, together with the fragments of a third one, have been found in association with the offering table, probably in a sort of re-deposition in the later phases of the burials (between Third Intermediate Period, that is 1069-664 BC, and the Ptolemaic age) of earlier materials, which were considered still important for their artistic or ritual meanings.

TT363: The Tomb of *Paraemhab* and *Seankhentaueret*

The situation of ancient and modern reuses of TT363⁴¹ is quite similar to the rest of the monuments, although attesting even more phases and heavier transformations.

During the first phase (**fig.16**) the tomb was planned with an axial plan, with a short narrow entrance (A1) leading to a quadrangular chamber which has been used as a chapel (A) and a long sloping corridor (D), which is in axis with the rest of the tomb in its first section, and then turning and going to the main funerary chamber. The entrance of the tomb, in this phase was slightly oblique in order to give a view on the niche (**fig.15**) with the sculpture of the funerary couple (*Paraemhab* and his wife *Seankhentaueret*), and specifically for this view, also the sculptures and the niche with them was cut in an oblique way, in order to make easier to look at them directly from the corridor of the entrance.

The passage between the chapel (A) and the corridor (D) is marked by the remains of a recessed corner (D1) quite regular for closing the corridor probably with a slab or a wooden door. The eastern limits of the main chapel are quite evident from the S-E corner, still preserving remains of the painting of the ceiling (A3), which clearly attest the turning of the corner (this side has been then quarried during the second phase). This was the original plan and its decorations were concentrated to the chapel (A), where poor remains of wall paintings are still visible, although not clearly (within the daily report a description has been done). This first phase of the tomb dates to the Twentieth Dynasty and the tomb was built for the couple *Paraemhab* and his wife *Seankhentaueret*. The original funerary chamber (L in **fig.16**) was quite small, quadrangular at the level of the floor, but irregularly and roughly quarried in its sides and ceiling.

Two burial contexts of the second phase have been excavated: one of them a sort of loculus, more limited and certainly destined to a single burial (M in the **fig16**) and another more elaborated funerary context (N, O and P in **fig16**). It seems to be plausible that the smaller loculus (M in the **fig16**) was directly related with the original owners of the tomb, possibly hosting the remains of a close descendant. However, the larger secondary burial context (N, O and P in **fig16**), which was articulated in an antechamber (N), a small passage (O) and a further burial chamber (P), could be a sort of secondary tomb within the original context, probably with a familiar link to the original family of ancestors. Room N is lower than L and M, and the passage was characterised by a staircase with three small steps which are still partially preserved. However, the two benches delimiting the staircase are still preserved. Chambers O and P are quite poorly finished and the surfaces and the ceiling are very rough, while in room N at the entrance and the benches seems to be quite well refined. Probably the passage between N and O was closed with mud bricks and not visible from the outside and several fragments of mud bricks have been found. Other mud bricks, including complete ones, have been found between L and M, attesting that, again, the funerary

⁴¹ PORTER AND MOSS 1927, p. 90.

chamber M was closed just at the entrance. It is difficult to precisely date the several passages and enlargements of the tomb, but certainly they reflect the dating of the finds from the rooms L, M, O, M and P, which are characterised by Ramesside objects, together with fragments of coffins attesting also the beginning and the end of the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC). This long evolution is also attested by the types of finds, dating from the Ramesside (1292-1077 BC) period (**fig.17**) to the end of the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC). The plan was slowly enlarged, including new rooms, in order to give space to later members of the family. The rooms named "M" and "P" seem to belong to the last phases, but their adding has not completely defunctionalised the earlier spaces and the main plan of the tomb has been kept intact.

Among the finds dating to the original construction of the tomb, certainly two complete wooden painted *shabtis* (**fig.17**) must be mentioned here, and a third fragmentary painted wooden *shabti*, as well as two well preserved amulets in the shape of djed pillars (**fig.17**) in painted wood and dating to the Ramesside period (1292-1077 BC). Moreover, the two wooden Ramesside *shabtis* are directly mentioning the name of the original owner of the tomb with his titles (see the appendix by M. V. Carniel and R. Lemos), attesting continuity in their re-functionalisation.

Also large fragments of at least four decorated coffins have been found: out of them, fragments of two 'yellow coffins', fragments of plaster and a second one in cartonnage, have been found and they can be dated to the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC). In particular, the use of the yellow-varnished coffins seems to be typical of the Twenty-first (1069 – 945 BC) and the very beginning of the Twenty-second (943 - 716 BC) Dynasties⁴², and in particular for the iconographic features they can be dated to the 10th century BC⁴³. Fragments of two other coffins/cases in cartonnage have been found, and they are bear figures on several registers and in quite vivid colours on a whitish background and they can be dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty (943 - 716 BC)⁴⁴; quite clear are the representations of *Isis* and *Nephthys*, together with the sons of *Horus Qebehseuef*, *Duamutef* and *Imsety*, while *Hapy* is not preserved.

Again, as in other contexts, the continuity between the later phases of the Ramesside Period (1292-1077 BC), which represents the original use of the tomb, and the burials dating to the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC) seems to be attested, without any abrupt interruption in the use of the tomb, which saw several enlargements, as well as the transformation of the original burial chamber L into a landing passage, which led to further funerary chambers, but without any change in the original entrance (E), chapel (A) and sloping corridor (D), that is to the original plan of the upper part of the tomb.

However, more evident reuses with re-functionalisation and opening of new passages, linking TT363 to other tombs, are attested for later periods, probably dating between the Late (664 BC until 332 BC) and the Ptolemaic periods. One of these openings was conducted between tombs TT362 and TT363, joining in this way the two contexts and linking directly the antechamber of TT362 with the chapel of TT363. The tool marks attested for the carving of this passage and the type of gable roofed ceiling of this opening (which can find architectural parallels with the gable roofed ceiling of some Alexandrine loculi), could suggest a Ptolemaic date, but it opens up certainly the question: whether the opening of this passage still saw the main entrance in use (but in

⁴² TAYLOR 2003, pp. 95-121, in part. pp. 103-104.

⁴³ The use of this kind of coffins seems to have disappeared with the reign of *Osorkon I*, at the beginning of the 9th century BC: TAYLOR 2003, in part. p. 103.

⁴⁴ TAYLOR 2003, in part. pp. 104-106.

this case why this new opening?) or if for some reason the main entrance had become disused. Because of the level of the entrance and of the floor of the chapel of TT363, which was lower than TT362, it could be conceivable that alluvial events or collapsing of debris could have obstructed, even just partially, the main entrance, inducing then the opening of a new passage on the northern side of the chapel.

Moreover, this opening to the northern side is just one of the minor changes to the chapel of TT363, which saw larger and more numerous changes and enlargements to the opposite side of the chapel, with the quarrying of the shaft B and the opening of chamber C, which determined the conjunction of TT363 with tomb -347- (**fig.16**), even defunctionalising the main entrance of the latter, as we will see below.

These huge changes started between the late Third Intermediate (1069-664 BC) the Saite (664–525 BC) periods, when shaft B was then opened in order to reach an earlier funerary chamber (G), which was originally reachable just through the shaft (H) of tomb -347-. Moreover, room C was consequently opened, re-quarrying and re-lowering the original floor of the entrance of tomb -347-, again de-functionalising another entrance and creating a completely different organisation of the plan in both tombs. The presence of mainly bones in room C suggests that the room was originally used more as an ossuary than as a funerary chamber. The date of the opening of room C could be even later than the opening of shaft B, and could even date to the Ptolemaic Period, as the finds of fragmentary *shabtis* and sherds dating to this period suggest.

Again the question is similar to what we have mentioned above, that is whether the cutting of room C was consequential to the dismissal? of the entrance of -347-, or if there were other reasons for such complicated and intricate-changes of plan and even levels, which certainly determined the impossibility to use the entrance of tomb -347-.

Moreover, it can be plausible that when shaft B and the new opening into the funerary chamber G were carried out, this chamber was also elongated and a new short loculus (I in **fig.16**) was opened probably to enlarge and re-define the burial spaces.

During these new works related to the later phases, probably between the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC) and the Ptolemaic age, the entrance of the tomb was enlarged, creating, just to the south of the entrance a sort of rock-cut offering table (H in **fig.16**), carved directly on the original bedrock, creating a wider perspective while entering into the tomb and emphasising a large common offering space, probably in continuity with the earlier offering tables.

The last phases of re-planning of the tomb seem to be attested in the Ptolemaic age, when, as mentioned above, the openings between TT363 and TT362, as well as between TT363 and room C were conducted, determining the quarrying and the de-functionalisation of tomb K-347-. Moreover, a new and more regular funerary chamber (F in **fig.16**), with a rough barrel ceiling, was cut just at the far end of chamber G, creating a new large burial space, which was in continuity with the layout of chamber G, but deliberately separated in plan.

Tombs K-347- and K-348-

The original plan (**fig.16**) of tomb K-347- was less monumental and more limited than the plan of TT 363; however, the external appearance must have been quite emphasised by the narrow sloping staircase, leading into the tomb, which was at a lower level than the entrance of TT363, because it has been cut on a lower terrace of the eastern slope of the hill. The entrance was opening directly into a small quadrangular chapel, without any antechamber. At the south-western corner of the chapel, a short shaft (less than 2m

deep) leads into the funerary chamber G, which was originally limited (3 in **fig.16a**) related to this tomb and only later, as mentioned above, linked to TT363, when it was enlarged and re-organised (G in **fig.16b**). The shaft is quadrangular and quite regularly shaped and possibly dating to the Twentieth Dynasty (therefore around the 1100-1080 BC).

Since the beginning of the excavation the stratigraphy seems to have been quite disturbed by modern debris and finds, however, also a lot of fragments of *shabtis* in faience and mud clay have been found: they are extremely fragmentary mainly feet and legs, with very few fragment of busts and quite rare heads. Concerning the dating of the finds they are quite mixed. A lot of faience objects seem to belong to the Ptolemaic period. However, the fragments of *shabtis* in mud clay seem to date mainly to the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC).

Tomb -347- is certainly affected the most by modern re-use, especially during the 19th and 20th centuries, when a modern house has been built just above and the chapel and the tomb was used as rubbish dump for the house. This late reuse can explain why the upper levels of the stratigraphy contained only modern finds, while only the lower *loci* were still presenting ancient finds, although quite poorly preserved.

Similarly to K-347-, K-348- presents a less articulated appearance and plan. It was carved into the northern side of the courtyard and as K-347- on a limestone terrace, which is lower than the rest of the tombs. The plan is quite peculiar and different from the other tombs of this context. It consists of a quite narrow entrance (A in **fig.18**), which did not lead into any specific room or chapel, but into a narrow and long sloping corridor (B in **fig.18**), with few steps, which determines a strong axiality. The corridor is followed by a small and irregular rectangular chapel (C in **fig.18**), quite roughly built. The original arrangement of this tomb was probably completed by the shaft (D in **fig.18**), which is located to the north-eastern corner of the chapel and which presents two burial chambers (E and F in **fig.18**), which have not been excavated yet. This original plan of the tomb is certainly quite similar to K-347- and both have probably been built during the Twentieth Dynasty (1189-1077 BC). In both cases the narrow sloping corridors (external in K-347- and internal in K-348-) and an emphasised axiality are strongly characterising the planimetric layout, as also the choice of the location of the shaft in a similar, but specular, position. From the tool marks on the limestone and from the finds coming just from a preliminary superficial survey, chamber B was the original funerary chamber of the tomb, which maintained also the axiality with the entrance.

Moreover, again from a preliminary survey, because the tomb has not been excavated yet, the secondary burial chamber (F in **fig.18**) has been dug later; it is rectangular and narrow, as a sort of 'loculus', and dates probably to the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC), probably between the 9th and the 8th centuries BC. It attests in this monument a quite regular continuity of the use of the tomb, but still respects the original plan and just adds this secondary burial to the layout, which still conserves its ritual meanings.

The original plan of tomb K-348- saw, then, further reorganisations, in later periods, with the construction of further burial chambers, but at an upper level (that is at the level of the chapel), carving both a new large rectangular chamber to the east of the chapel (G in **fig.18**), and opening a passage on the south-west corner of the chapel, reaching in this way the eastern shaft of TT187 and joining the two tombs, which determined the quarrying and relowering of the original pit and using it as a new funerary chamber for K-348- (H in **fig.18**). At this point these two new funerary chambers (G and H in **fig.18**) were cut at the same level of the chapel, loosing the

original ritual meaning of the previous burials, which were built generally at a lower level. On the basis of the finds from chamber H (or eastern pit of TT187) and of the poor superficial finds from the large funerary chamber G (**fig.18**) on the eastern side of the chapel, this phase of de-functionalisation of the axial plan, enlargement of the chapel and creation of the two new burial contexts at the same level of the chapel, seems to date to the Ptolemaic Period.

Conclusions

The excavations of the tombs around the courtyard have been able to confirm that the monumental funerary complex has been cut onto three natural limestone terraces, determining a quadrangular courtyard, which presented in Antiquity tombs at three different levels: TT49, TT187 and TT362 on the same upper terrace, then TT363, slightly lower, and on the lowest step K-347- and K-348-. Although the tombs have been built in different periods, between the late Eighteenth (around 1360-1292 BC) and the Twentieth Dynasty (1189-1077 BC), the external appearance of the courtyard has always been respected. The plan of the tombs and their entrances have been functionally planned around the courtyard, but following the natural terraces of the slope of the hill through tombs located at different levels and emphasising in this way the topographic scenography when approaching from below. This attention to the external aspect of the complex is certainly following and repropounding the general terraced impact of the slopes of *El Qurna* and *El Khokha*, which are determining the main scenography of the Necropolis of the Nobles. It is extremely interesting that in this section of the necropolis the later burials did not affect the original aspect of the external facades and courtyards; most of the changes dating between the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC) and the Ptolemaic age, though numerous, were mainly internal.

Going to the kinds of changes which have been made to this monumental tomb complex, it seems clear that since its early periods few changes may have occurred for arranging the burials of close descendants, as in the case of the shaft and secondary burial which was built at the beginning of the sloping corridor of TT362 (E and F in **fig.4**), or of the two shafts and the funerary chambers in the antechamber of TT49⁴⁵. In these cases they were probably new funerary spaces for family members and therefore they did not change the use and the plan of the tombs. In this case the shafts and their chambers were perpetuating the celebrations of the family⁴⁶ and the new burials were planned as secondary funerary chambers on common architectural and ritual focuses⁴⁷, using therefore shafts and not descendant corridors. These shafts are generally squared and quite regularly cut as vertical passages with the funerary chambers at the bottom, which were quite limited and rectangular or trapezoidal in shape.

Further, but more 'invasive' planimetric additions are attested between the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC) and the Saite Period (664–525 BC), when in general at Thebes there are few tombs which have been built completely new, while numerous burials were added into previous tombs or in the forecourt⁴⁸. These operations must have determined a reorganisation of the properties in the necropolis and a 're-use' of previous burials not necessarily for familiar rights, but probably for 're-assignment' and 're-sale' of funerary plots and spaces. The political situation in this

⁴⁵ DI ANTONIO 2015.

⁴⁶ DORMAN 2003.

⁴⁷ ASSMAN 2003.

⁴⁸ DORMAN 2003; DODSON AND IKRAM 2008, pp. 270-287; STRUDWICK 2012, p. 258.

period has determined a de-structuration of the original central power, with the consequential growth of different powerful centres and the loss for Thebes of a direct control of the 'royal' power. This political situation determined at Thebes the increasing of the power of the clergy of Amun, which was locally substituting or representing the power of the pharaohs. The priests of Amun were therefore directly involved in the assignments or re-assignments of funerary plots, or in their 'sales/re-sales' due possibly to conspicuous offerings to the temple.

In this period the rectangular pit/shaft in the antechamber of TT362 was excavated, rectangular and wide, in order to move easily the coffins, and leading to a rectangular chamber just below the antechamber (I in **fig.7**). Obviously the antechamber was not completely de-functionalised and in general the superstructures of the tomb (chapel and antechamber) did not change their ritual role, however a new owner and his wife partially 'usurped'⁴⁹ the paintings of the ceiling of the chapel, using part of them, that is the section concerning the funeral and the funerary boats, but then adding new paintings including their own representations while praying the sun, in an iconographic continuity with previous schemata with ritual meanings.

The burials dating to this period are generally not very large, but represented by small funerary chambers, often trapezoidal or roughly rectangular in shape, usually located at the bottom of short pits more than shafts, as in the case of TT362 (G and I in **fig.4**), just mentioned above, or, more often, as narrow rectangular rooms for single burials, as a sort of rough 'loculi-shaped chambers' or 'pseudo loculi', which were cut into previous funerary chambers, as in the case of the burials M and I in TT363 (**fig.16**), or of the eastern and western shaft in TT187 (**fig.3**), or the rectangular funerary chamber C in K-348- (**fig.18**).

Also the re-planning of the previous main funerary chambers is attested, as in the case of the main funerary chamber of TT362 (**fig.9**), which has been re-quarried, re-lowered and joined to the funerary chambers of TT362 bis, creating a very large burial chamber, completely renewed, but then belonging completely to. It is clear that at this point the sloping down corridor of TT362 was completely losing its function, determining the complete rearrangements of both tombs.

All these works in the Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC) were aiming at the reuse of the internal spaces and mainly the funerary chambers and the burial contexts, but were always respecting the ritual and symbolic meaning of the superstructures of the original tombs. New paintings or decorations were carried out, but without changing the original planimetric arrangement of the ritual funerary spaces: chapels, antechambers, if present, continued to be used in their original functions, and the main changes were done within the funerary chambers.

The approach of the Ptolemaic Period was completely different, more de-structuring and more invasive from the architectural point of view; probably the increasing need for new burials, brought to a complete reorganisation of the system of allotment of funerary spaces with a more intensive and invasive re-exploitation of the earlier tombs, even changing the use of the ritual spaces, re-functionalising new entrances, re-delimiting the spaces and even changing the rituality of the sacred passages and spaces.

The funerary chamber originally related to K-347- (3 **fig.16a** and then G in **fig.16b**) in this period may attest to how the original plan was modified, enlarged, the entrance was changed and connected directly to another tomb, that is TT363 (**fig.16b**),

⁴⁹ For meaning and bibliography about the 'usurpation' of the tombs since earlier periods, see CARNIEL 2015.

probably determining even the complete abandonment of the chapel of K-347-, which also saw its chapel completely modified because of an opening between TT363 and K-347- (**fig.16b**) and of the creation of a small chamber, probably an ossuary (C in **fig.16b**), which determined the partial re-quarrying of the chapel of K-347-.

Moreover, new connections between tombs were opened, as in the case of the opening between TT362 and TT363 (**fig.19b**), between TT187 and K-348-, or the just mentioned opening between TT363 and K-347-. The new openings were then creating different paths inside the tombs, with the consequential interruption of the ritual meanings of the original paths and the creation of a new ratio for the use of the inner spaces. From the architectural point of view, moreover, the use of new tools and techniques modified also the main structures and frames of the new openings, as attested by the gabled ceiling of the gate between TT362 and TT363 (**fig.19**) or the pseudo-gabled shape of Entrance H in TT362 (**fig.8a**), which was presumably remodelled during the Ptolemaic Period, when chamber I was enlarged (L and M in **fig.7**).

The burial spaces dedicated to a single burial were probably reduced, and the funerary chambers were now rarer, with a more intense use of previous chambers. In order to delimit these more exiguous spaces, mud brick walls were built, or small niches were excavated to emphasise and separate the single burials. For instance in the large renovated funerary chamber of TT362 bis, three niches were ideally delimiting the burial spaces; they were carved directly on the limestone bedrock, and were rectangular in shape and two of them ending in a rough arch (**fig.13**), determining a sort of ante litteram '*proto-arcosolia*'.

The long use of the tombs of the monumental funerary complex of Neferhotep is certainly extremely significant to testify that during the long use of the tombs of the Necropolis of the Nobles at Thebes, the kinds of changes and re-functionalization of the spaces had quite different motivations from period to period, attesting indirectly also large social and ritual changes⁵⁰.

The complete lack of Roman burials in this complex may suggest that in Roman times it was not used for funerary purposes any longer, probably because at this point the burial spaces were more concentrated in the lower slopes and on the plain areas⁵¹. The few sporadic sherds of Roman pottery may suggest just a limited frequentation of the southern and eastern slopes of el Khokha, which could also be related to the presence of Roman troops, which were probably using the hills of el Khokha and el Qurna as good natural strongholds to control the fertile fields toward the east and the road network passing just below. Certainly, in Roman times, the main north-south road was passing very close to these two hills, crossing just in this area the main axes coming from the Nile and from the east, which were connecting the town with the necropolis, but also with the fertile strip along the Nile. The new territorial organisation, in Roman times, saw a division of power among different settlements and Thebes lost its central role.⁵²

The presence of the Roman army, certainly, on these hills is at the moment still a preliminary hypothesis⁵³, but which is still based on an *argumentum ex silentio*, and

⁵⁰ MINIACI 2019; see also COONEY 2011; KACZANOWICZ 2020.

⁵¹ CARTRON 2012; Dodson and Ikram 2008, pp.288-308; RIGGS 2003; STRUDWICK 2003.

⁵² BATAILLE 1951; COPPENS 2007.

⁵³The presence of the *Legio III Cyrenaica* is attested at Thebes since the Augustan Period (BROULET 1984, pp. 175-179; GATIER 2000, pp. 341-349; KINDLER 1980, pp. 56-58; KRAMER 1993, pp. 147-158; WOLFF 2000, pp. 339-340), and after the middle of the first century AD also the *Legio XXII Deitoriana* was located in this area. More than 25 legionary forts are attested in the territory of Coptos and Thebes,

therefore needs to find further information, investigating also the surroundings of the monumental complex. It may be possible that some of the looting of the tombs in the Necropolis of the Nobles, can be related to the massive presence of the troops, which may have determined also the early deprivation from the bandages of some of the mummies, especially the upper part of the bodies, because looking for amulets and small faience elements.

In this perspective further excavations in the Necropolis of the Nobles may help us understanding also this late, but crucial phase of the use of this section of the necropolis, and even if the funerary use may have been interrupted in some areas, the presence of the troops has certainly contributed to the abandonment and the destruction of some of the funerary monuments and, for proper interpretation, it is crucial to understand how and when.

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and mainly located along the main road network (DARIS 2000, pp.365-367; KRAMER 1993, pp. 147-158; KEPPIE 2000, pp 228–229; SCHÄFER 2003, pp. 118-120). During the fourth century AD, with the reforms of the army, the *Legio III Diocletiana*, the *Legio I Maximiana* and the *Legio II Flavia Costantia* are also attested in Upper Egypt, between Thebes, Kom Ombo and Philae. Both legions, *Legio I Maximiana* and *Legio II Flavia Costantia*, were created by the emperor Diocletian between 296 and 297 AD. They were used as twin legions located in southern Egypt, to defend territories, economic resources and road network against tribes from Libya and Nubia and they were stationed. The twin units were stationed specifically in the neighbourhood of Thebes and along the Nile. *Notitia Dignitatum* VII. The constant presence of the army in Egypt is due to economic reasons, because of the fertility of the Nile basin, because of the caravan routes coming from the south and carrying precious goods, as well as because of the presence of quarries in Egypt and mines in Nubia, which were resources imported throughout the Roman Empire. The topography of Egypt, strongly depending on the Nile, has also determined the interruption of the west-east continuity of the Roman *limes*, changing completely when reaching Egypt, and basing there the forts and the main legions along the north-south axis of the Nile. It was then important to keep solid natural strongholds along the main road and along the river, which were useful for military purposes but also for the control of the main economic paths, both along the river and along the roads.

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Figures

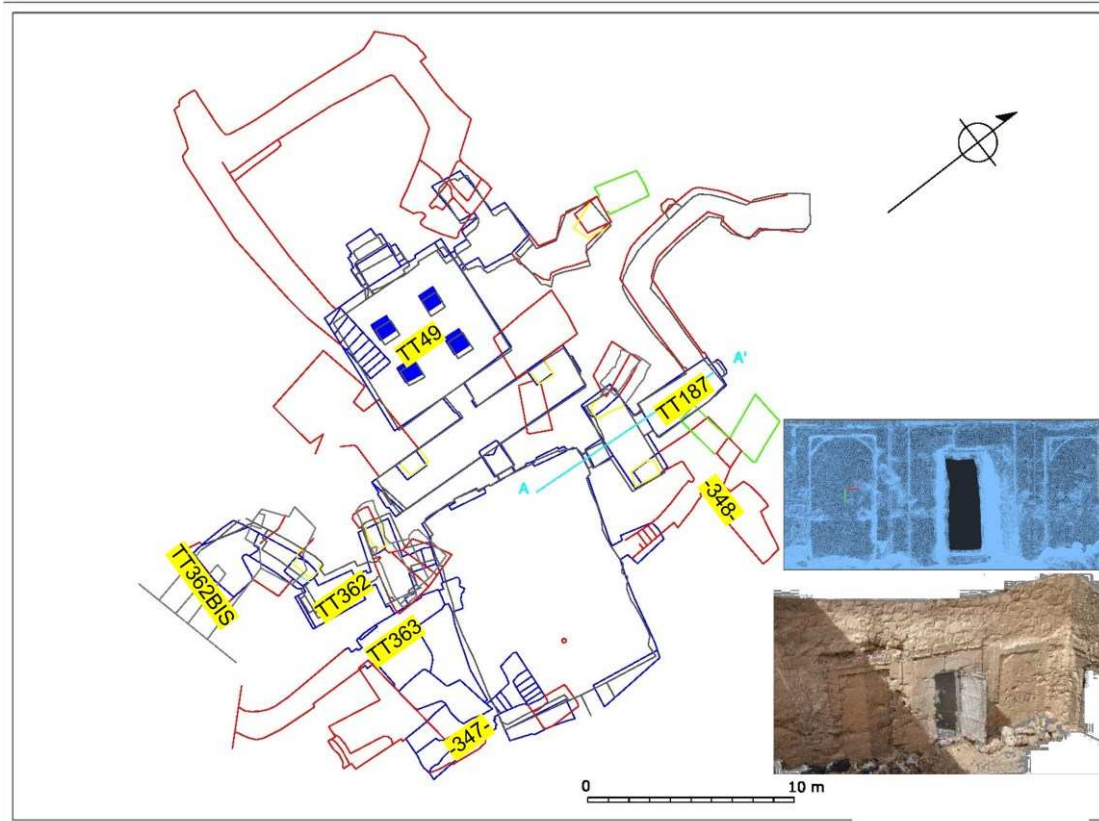


Fig.1 The plan of the Neferhotep Complex and to the right the 3D scanning of the façade of TT49 (by E. Di Valerio).



Fig.2 TT187. Particulars of the decorations at the entrance (a), in the antechamber (b) and in the chapel (c).



Fig.3 Plan of TT187 and in orange the eastern shaft which is related to K-348; on the right the photo of the eastern pit.



Fig.4 Location of TT362 and TT362 bis and details of the layout of TT362:
A-vestibule/antechamber; B- chapel; C- sloping corridor; D-original main funerary chamber;
E-shaft; F-reconstruction of the secondary funerary chamber related with the shaft E; G-
shaft/pit.

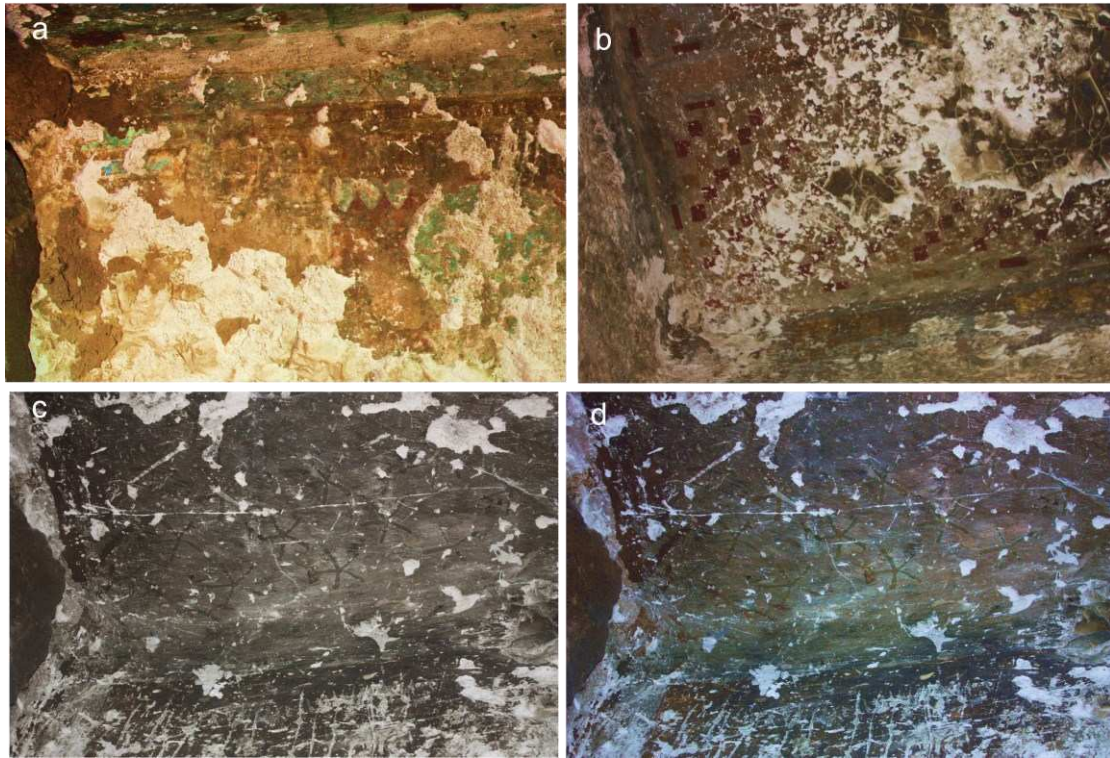


Fig.5 TT362. Remains of the paintings of the walls (a) and of the ceiling (b) of the antechamber, and multispectral imaging (c and d) of the ceiling of the passage between antechamber and chapel.



Fig.6 TT 362. The ceiling of the chapel: a-general view; b-particular of the two overpainted figures.

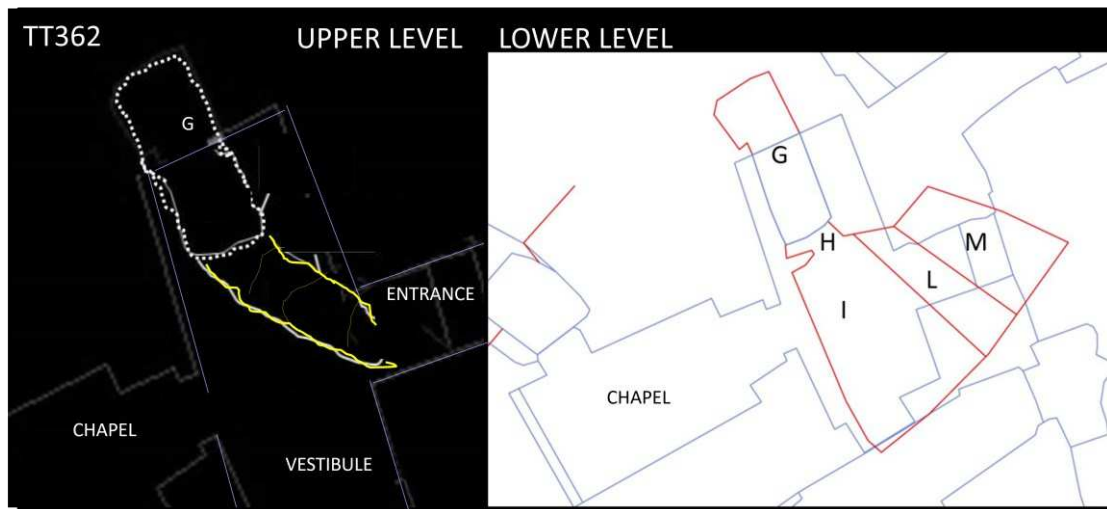


Fig.7 TT362: the pit/shaft G and its funerary chamber (I/L/M). On the left, on black background, the upper level with the cuts of the pit G in white, and the irregular cuts of a possible rough staircase in yellow, while in light purple the original plan of the tomb; on the right the lower levels in red, while in light purple the original plan of the tomb on the upper levels.



Fig.8 TT362: a-the entrance from the shaft/pit in the antechamber into the funerary chamber I, which is filled by bandages and unwrapped human remains; b-one of the fragments of painted bandages which is still preserving the representation of *Quebehseuef*.

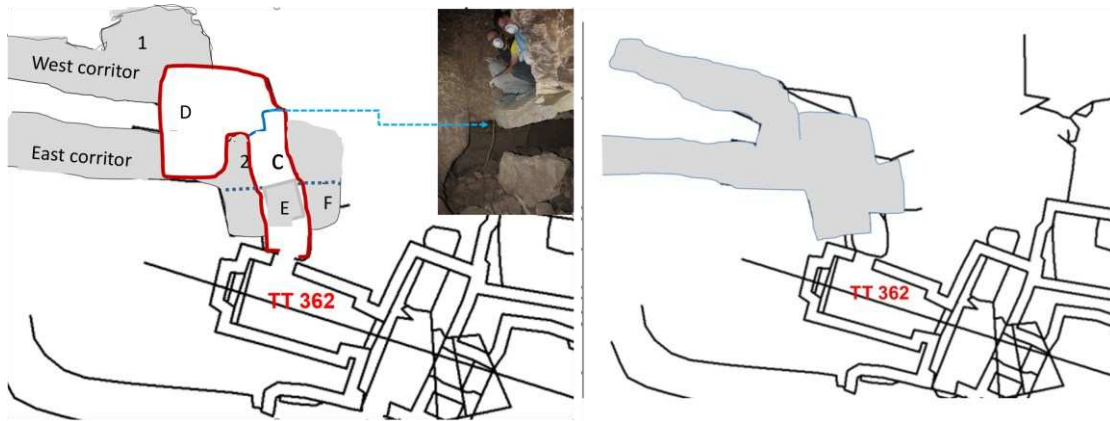


Fig.9 To the left: schematic layout of the first phase with the corridor (D) and funerary chamber (C) of TT362, the indication (in light blue and in the photo) of the cut for quarrying for the second phase; on the right schematic layout of the second phase, when the large new funerary chamber is belonging to TT362bis and is including the west and east corridors and the funerary chambers 1 and 2 of the earlier phase of TT362bis.



Fig.10 TT362bis: schematic plan of the tomb and view of the two descending corridors/passages.



Fig.11 TT362bis: the poor remains of the wall paintings: on the left human figures and animals and hieroglyphs; on the right a filtered image the profile of the seated figure, larger and located in front of the offering procession of men and animals.



Fig.12 Some of the finds from the funerary chambers of TT362/TT362bis.

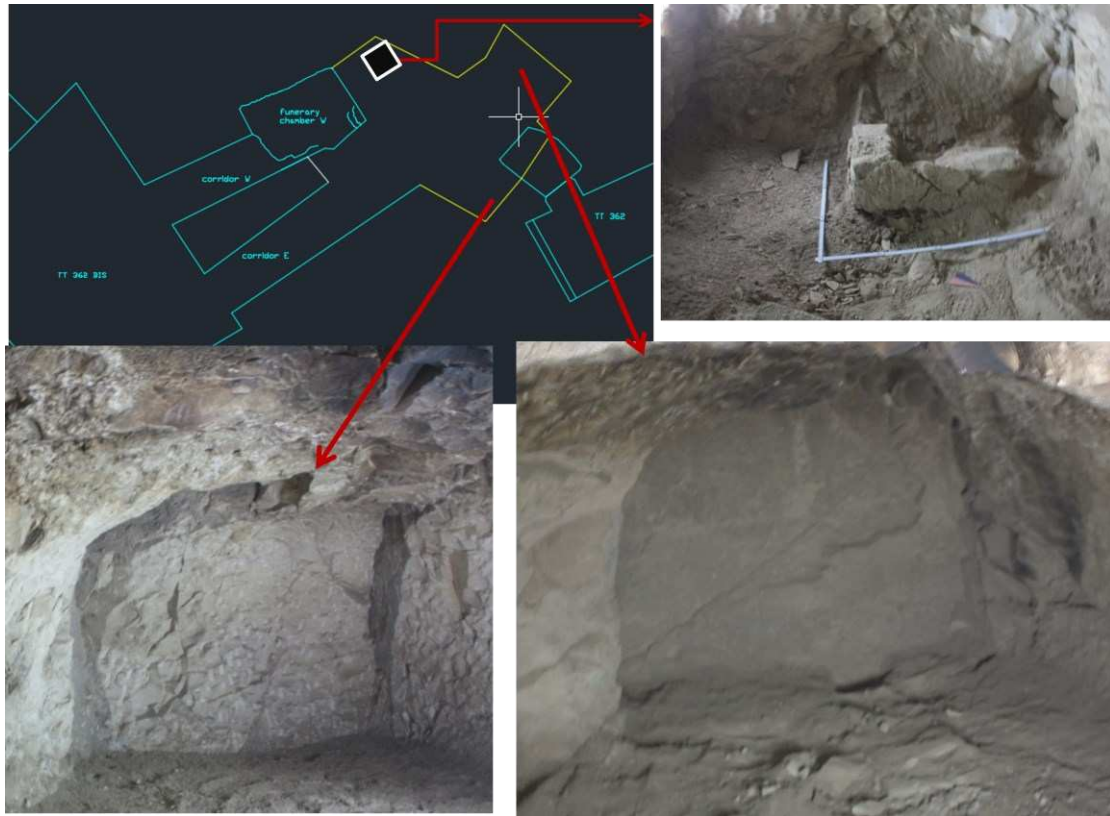


Fig.13 Plan of the renewed and enlarged funerary chamber with the positioning of the niches/*protosolium* in shape.



Fig.14 The painted wooden coffin and some of the numerous *ushabtis* from the area of the '*arcosolium*-shape niches'.

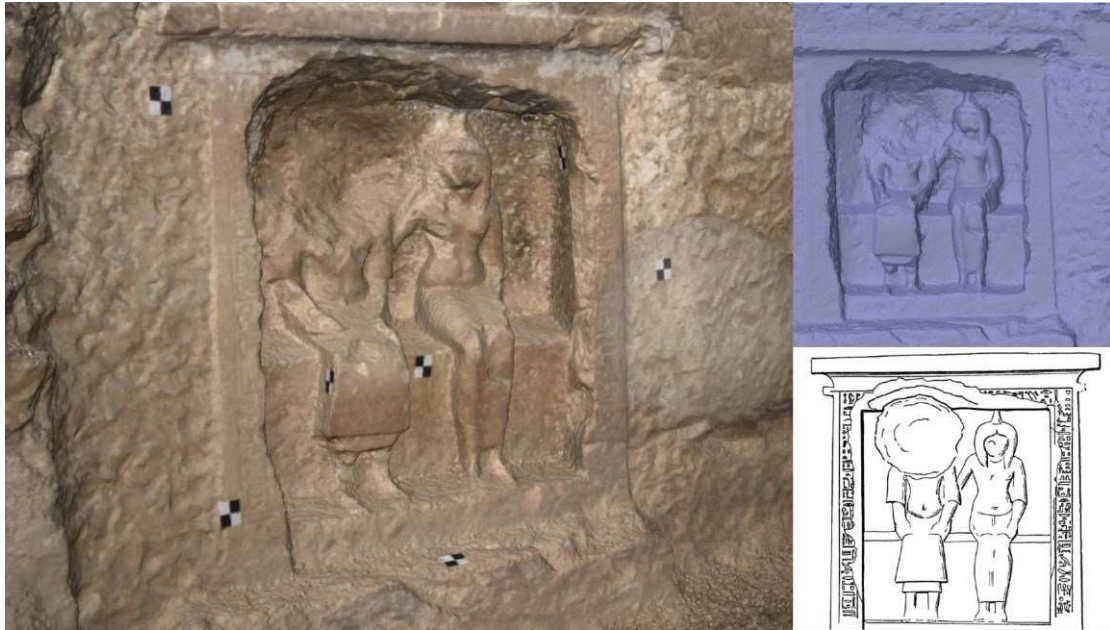


Fig.15 TT363: 3D models and drawing of the seated couple



Fig.16 The phases of TT363 and K-347-.



Fig.17 The two wooden shabtis and the *Djed* pilaster in wood from the excavation of TT363.

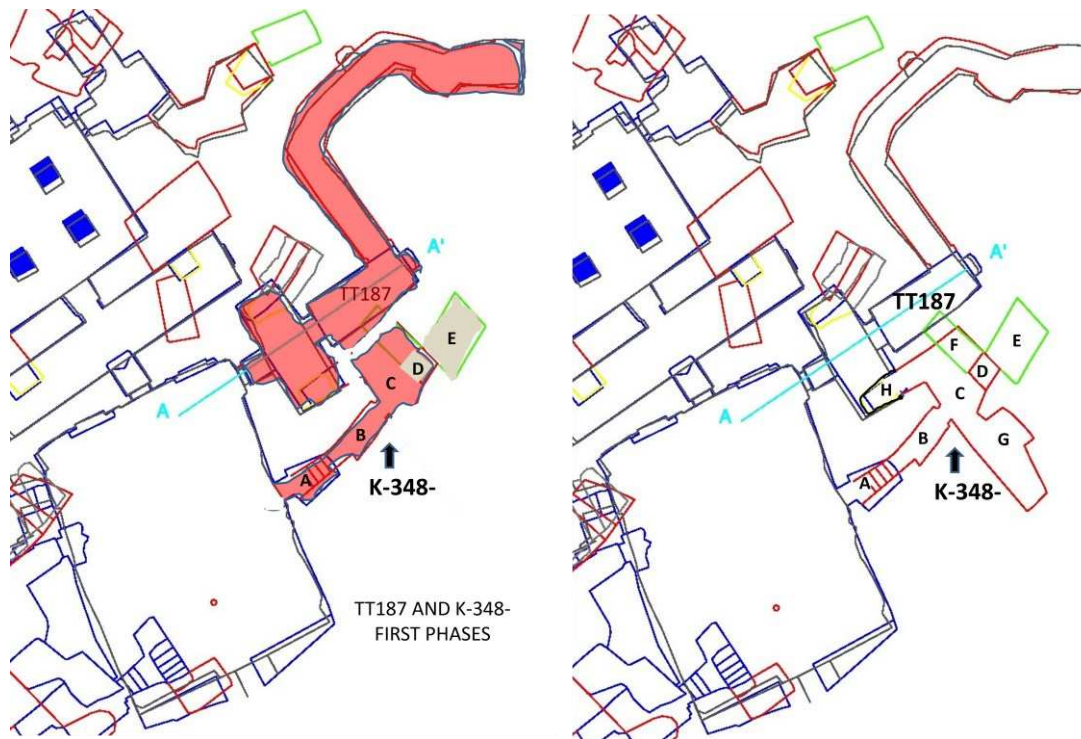


Fig.18 The phases of TT187 and K-348-.



Fig.19 The opening with gabled roof between TT362 and TT363.

Appendix

A preliminary note on the shabti corpus from the tomb complex of Neferhotep (TT49, TT362 and TT363)

Maria Violeta Carniel and Rennan Lemos

Funerary beliefs are an important feature of ancient religions, including the ancient Egyptian religion, which left a rich material record associated with their belief in the afterlife. The material culture of death reveals aspects of such beliefs, but also social features that influenced ritual practice. This is the case of shabti figurines, which work as evidence not only of ancient mortuary beliefs and practices, but also the long and complex social history of the Theban necropolis, where the materiality of older tombs was later adapted to fit other social realities⁵⁴.

Shabti figurines are among the many categories of funerary objects found in the tomb complex of TT49. Different types of shabtis, their materials and styles cover a long use history at various tombs. The shabtis excavated in the Neferhotep tomb complex range in date from the 20th Dynasty to the Late Period. The shabti corpus from TT362 is the most representative in terms of number of excavated items, including both complete and fragmentary examples dating mostly to the very end of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period (table 1).

Table 1: preliminary typology of shabtis excavated at various tombs of the Neferhotep tomb complex.

Type	Sub-type	Description	Date	Example
1	a	Polychromed wood, mummiform	Late New Kingdom (20th Dynasty)	Fig. 12a and Figure 17a (see above in the paper by O.Menozzi)
	b	Polychromed wood, overseer		Fig. paper 17d (see above in the paper by O.Menozzi)
	c	Polychromed pottery, mummiform		Fig. paper 12b (see above in the paper by O.Menozzi)
2	a	Moulded clay, mummiform	Beginning of the Third Intermediate Period	Fig. 20
	b	Moulded clay, overseer		
3	a	Moulded clay, mummiform	Third Intermediate Period to Late Period	Fig. 14b and 14c
	b	Moulded clay, mummiform		
	c	Moulded clay, overseer		
4	a	Blue faience, mummiform	Third Intermediate Period	
	b	Blue faience, overseer		

⁵⁴ COONEY 2011; 2017; MINIACI 2019; KACZANOWICZ 2020.



Fig.20

Fig.21

The examples published in main paper offer a good overview of the use and reuse of tombs at the courtyard of TT49, from their original owners to much later burials deposited in architecturally adapted tombs.

The shabtis of Paraemhab, chief musician of Amun (figure 17, a and d)

Two large polychromed wooden shabtis were excavated at TT363. The red-faced figurines wear a greenish tripartite headdress and a broad collar. Their arms are crossed and they carry a greenish hoe in each hand, which are also painted red. The bodies of both figurines are painted yellow and white, though while one wears the garment of the living, the other is mummiform. The mummiform shabti carries a red painted basket on its back. Both figurines bear an inscription naming Paraemhab, owner of TT363.

The owner of TT363 is first mentioned in an inscription associated with the couple's statue sculpted on the west wall of the first chamber ('A' in figure 16; figure 15)⁵⁵. Part of this inscription says: *Hry Hsyw n imn pA-ra-m-Hb mAa xrw* – "The chief musician of Amun, Paraemhab, justified".

The same inscription can be found on both shabtis, though with variations. These variations can be probably explained, to some extent, by different levels of

literacy, which are manifested, for instance, in the use of \ominus instead of \odot in Paraemhab's name on both shabtis. The more complete inscription, on the shabti wearing the garment of the living (Figure 17a), can be read as:

⁵⁵ DAVIES 1933, p.11.



Wsir Hry Hsyw(t) pA a n imn pA-ra-m-Hb

Osiris, chief musician of the domain of Amun, Paraemhab

In the inscription inside the tomb, Paraemhab's title appears as *Hry Hsyw n imn* – chief musician of Amun. However, the inscriptions on his shabtis introduce a variation *Hry Hsyw(t) pA a n imn*, in which *a* can be translated both as 'domain' or 'choir'. Moreover, *Hsyw(t)* can also be used to refer to a specific type of musician, namely harpists⁵⁶.

Based on these inscriptions, we can clearly conclude that the figurines belong to the original tomb owner. Therefore, shabtis from the tomb complex of Neferhotep can help us understand the very first phases of use inside late New Kingdom tombs associated with TT49. Other burial assemblages from el-Khokha include shabtis of the same style that can be securely dated to the 20th Dynasty (Schreiber 2018a). Together, this evidence supports Kampp's suggested date for the tomb against earlier proposed dates⁵⁷. However, the fact that these shabtis were found in a later, probably Third Intermediate Period extension of the tomb (room O in figure 16) suggests that these objects also work as evidence for the reuse of earlier material culture in later contexts.

Late New Kingdom shabtis as evidence for objects multitemporal biographies (figure 12, a and b)

The 20th Dynasty shabtis of tomb owner Paraemhab illuminate aspects of the first use phase inside TT363. Other shabtis manufactured in the same style were found in the tomb complex of Neferhotep, such as the shabtis of Heqanakht (figure 12a) and wab priest Any (figure 12b).

The wooden shabti of Heqanakht wears a greenish tripartite headdress ending in yellow stripes. The face is painted yellow with black eyes and eyebrows. The shabti's

⁵⁶ ONSTINE 2005, pp.13-16.

⁵⁷ KAMPP 1996, p.589; cf. PORTER AND MOSS 1960, p. 427.

arms are crossed over its chest, which is covered by a red-lined broad collar on yellow background. The hands, which hold tools, seem to come out of the broad collar. The figurine holds two water pots and two baskets suspended by a rope over its shoulders. The body is painted white, though covered by a black-painted long inscription separated by red horizontal lines on a yellow background. The inscription consists of Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead and reads:



sHD wsjr HqAnxt mAa-xrw Dd.fj SABty

The illuminated Osiris Heqanakht, justified. He speaks: Oh shabti



jpn jr jp.tw jr jp.tw wsjr

If one calls Osiris



HqAnxt mAa-xrw r jrt kA.wt nbt jr

Heqanakht, justified, for doing all the works



r jrty m Xrt-nTr r s[rw]D [...] sxt r smHy

which are to be done in god's land, to cultivate and irrigate the fields,



wDbw r Xnt Say n jAbtt r jmntt

to transport sand from the West to the East



is Hw [...] n.f sDb(w)

and to carry out unpleasant tasks which are obstacles for him



jm.f r s r Xrt.f jry jp.tw
 when he is called to fulfil his duties.

Similarly decorated, the ceramic shabti of Any wears a greenish tripartite headdress and its face was painted red with black outlined eyes. The figurine's arms are crossed over its chest. The hands holding tools are painted red on a yellow background. The body is painted white with red crossed lines representing the ropes which held the mummy's bandages. Below the crossed arms, there is a yellow column containing a black-painted inscription, which says: *wsjr wab n imn Any* - Osiris, the wab priest of Amun, Any. Disguised amid the crossed red lines on the back, there is a basket beneath the headdress.

Both shabtis come from the funerary chamber of TT362 (figure 9). Following the discussion in the main text, architectural evidence suggests that this part of the tomb was considerably modified from the Third Intermediate Period. Even though the shabtis of Heqanakht and Any can be dated to the 20th Dynasty, as their style indicates, they also work as evidence for the reuse, in later contexts, of material culture belonging to earlier burials inside adapted earlier tombs. This is especially true in the case of the shabti of Any, which was found beneath a stamped brick used as part of an offering table or altar built inside the Third Intermediate Period extension of the funerary chamber at TT362 (figure 13). In a later context, the 20th Dynasty shabti could have worked as a votive offering or a way to re-establish the sacred nature of a previously plundered space. Therefore, objects such as the 20th Dynasty shabti of Any also work as evidence for Third Intermediate Period activity in the necropolis and the multitemporal biographies of objects from funerary sites in Egypt in the *longue durée*.

Coarse clay shabtis of the Third Intermediate and Late periods (figure 14, b and c)

Coarse clay shabtis became common from the 21st Dynasty throughout the Third Intermediate and Late periods. Although their typology varies, coarse clay shabtis were mostly mass-produced by quickly pressing Nile clay into small mummy-shaped

moulds. TT362 provided various types of coarse clay shabtis. Some fragments bear rough black-inked features (headdress, facial traits and inscriptions), various fragments of which seem to have belonged to a single owner, whose name we were able to reconstruct based on complete examples from TT49 itself (figure 2).



Fig.22 21st Dynasty shabti of Tanetamun found at the late 18th Dynasty tomb of Neferhotep (TT49).
Courtesy of V. Pereyra.

Later in the Third Intermediate Period, coarse, mass-produced clay shabtis were much smaller⁵⁸. These shabtis are found in abundance throughout the Theban necropolis, and a vast number of such small, coarse clay shabtis come especially from TT362. These objects suggest the presence of later burials in earlier sacred spaces, including tombs and temples and were used both in the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period, as suggested by burial assemblages from elsewhere in the necropolis⁵⁹. In the end of the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period, small, coarse clay shabtis coexisted with other funerary traditions materialized, for instance, as archaizing stone shabtis of the 25th Dynasty and back-pillar shabtis of the Late Period⁶⁰. Examples of such shabtis are lacking from the Neferhotep tomb complex so far, despite other evidence for later tomb reuse.

Final remarks

The examples preliminarily discussed here show that shabtis work as evidence from which we can explore the long use history of tombs in the Neferhotep tomb complex and across the Theban necropolis. Shabtis' morphological features help us date various

⁵⁸ SCHREIBER AND VASÁROS 2005; ASTON 2009, pp.364-365

⁵⁹ MAKOWZKA 2015; KACZANOWICZ 2018.

⁶⁰ SCHREIBER 2018B; KACZANOWICZ 2020.

use phases inside tombs. Firstly, they offer glimpses of tombs' original New Kingdom contexts, which are usually reconstructed based on iconographic and textual evidence only. Secondly, various types of shabtis suggest that intensive activity took place in the Third Intermediate Period, which is confirmed, for instance, by architectural evidence inside various tombs. Lastly, shabtis can also shed light onto later uses of original New Kingdom tombs, although information about Late Period and Ptolemaic Period activity in the tomb complex of Neferhotep comes mostly from other categories of objects, such as the funerary mask found at TT362/TT362bis (figure 12d) ⁶¹.

The archaeology of tomb reuse in the Theban necropolis offers major challenges to interpretation, given the comingled character of material culture dating to various periods⁶². Shabti typologies then help us shed light onto complex (re)use histories of tombs in the Theban necropolis. In such an environment, it is difficult to distinguish use phases and particular archaeological contexts⁶³. However, the study of shabti figurines helps us understand subsequent use phases in the Neferhotep tomb complex. Moreover, when information is available regarding specific contexts inside tombs, shabtis also offer basis for us to understand the multitemporal biographies of objects and various practices attached to them, which carry multiple meanings and functions throughout objects' life histories.

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⁶¹ SCHREIBER, VASÁROS AND ALMÁSY 2013.

⁶² LEMOS ET AL. 2017.

⁶³ NAESER 2013.

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