

A THEBAN TOMB OF THE LATE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD ON EL-KHOKHA

INTRODUCTION

The profound social changes occurring under the late Ramessides and the early years of the Libyan rule have not remained without an effect on Egyptian material culture. One of the best indicators of this phenomenon is funerary art and, more specifically, the funerary artefacts retrieved from the tombs of the Theban necropolis. Although the material from regional cemeteries in Middle Egypt, the Delta and especially the royal necropolis at Tanis also provides valuable data to a better understanding of the characteristics of this change, it is only at Thebes that a vast sequence of tomb groups preserved by favourable climatic conditions can serve as a basis for more elaborate studies yielding a compass for the assessment of contemporary corpora throughout Egypt. The significance of the Theban material was already recognised by early scholars following the discovery of tomb groups in Deir el-Bahari, the Ramesseum and other sites at Thebes. More recent investigations have also convincingly shown that the period between the 11th and mid-7th c. BC is far from being homogeneous with regard to cultural patterns and paradigms expressed in material culture.¹ Relying on typological studies of various genres of this material,² the production of the 21st and early 22nd dynasties is now safely distinguishable from the preceding and successive Theban corpora. The present study offers a summary of the digging activities carried out in a mortuary complex that dates to the second part of the Third Intermediate Period, i.e., the late 22nd and 25th dynasties.³

This period witnessed the revival of most parts of the ancient necropolis occupying the slopes of the Theban mountains. Burials dated to Dynasties 22 and 25 have so far been reported from Taref,⁴ Dra abu el-Naga,⁵ Deir el-Bahari,⁶ el-Asasif,⁷ the zone of the Ramesseum together with the lower enclosure of Sheikh abd el-Gurna,⁸ Gurnet Murei⁹ and Medinet Habu.¹⁰ The two most important necropoleis, viz., el-Asasif and the zone of the Ramesseum, are situated in the central part of Thebes-West, in the proximity of the New Kingdom mortuary temples. These areas are not only distinguished by the high status of persons buried there and the large number of burials but also by the presence of newly constructed tombs. Tomb construction in the 21st and early 22nd dynasties was actually limited to the transformation of earlier monuments for multiple burials by adding new shafts, corridors and chambers to the original monuments. Although this practice was massively retained during the later Dynasty 22, a demand for newly constructed tombs clearly appeared at this time. The standard tomb-type of this period represented a two-storey construction consisting of a massive, typically brickwork, superstructure built on the surface and underground rooms hewn out from the bedrock. As it was convincingly demonstrated by Eigner,¹¹ this tomb type developed from late Ramesside tomb chapels, representing an early example of archaising tendencies that became predominant in Egyptian art from Dynasty 25. Besides funerary at Medinet Habu, numerous exam-

¹ ASTON 1987.

² Cf. esp. ASTON 1996; NIWIŃSKI 1988; NIWIŃSKI 1989.

³ Mention of Dynasties 23 and 24 contemporary to Dynasties 22 and 25 has been deliberately avoided in this study.

⁴ PETRIE 1909, 15, pls xlix–li, liv.

⁵ POLZ et al. 2003, 351–362.

⁶ PM I, 630–656; WINLOCK 1942, 92–99, pls 82–90.

⁷ BIETAK 1972, 26–35; EIGNER 1984, passim.

⁸ QUIBELL 1989, passim; ANTHES 1943, 1–69; BARAIZE 1907, 193–200; GUICHARD-KALOS 2000, 47–69; NELSON 2003, 88–94; MOND-EMERY 1927, 13–34; YEIVIN 1926, 3–16; COLLINS 1976, 18–40.

⁹ CASTEL-MEEKS 1980.

¹⁰ HÖLSCHER 1954, 17–20.

¹¹ EIGNER 1984, 91ff.

ples are known from both aforementioned necropoleis. Excavations of the 1960s and 1970s have demonstrated that the area of el-Asasif was once dotted with chapel like tombs of the late Third Intermediate Period that were arranged in insula-like blocks along '*Nekropolisstrassen*' running in an east-west direction.¹² In the zone of the Ramesseum the re-use of earlier monuments predominated, though there is sufficient data to think that tombs with brickwork superstructures were also constructed.¹³ With respect to Third Intermediate Period constructions, there was, however, a blank space on the map between the two areas that can now be filled in with monuments excavated by the Hungarian Mission (*Fig. 1*).

El-Khokha hillock is actually situated in the centre of the Theban necropolis flanked by el-Asasif on the north, Sheikh abd el-Gurna on the west and the zone of the Ramesseum on the south. Discussions of Third Intermediate Period Theban monuments usually lack references to tombs on el-Khokha. Recent excavations, however, positively verified that nearly all monuments under investigation also yielded considerable material from this period.¹⁴ The objects in question belonged to intrusive burials deposited in secondarily cut side-chambers or shafts in New Kingdom monuments. The re-use of these monuments is, of course, not surprising given the fact that el-Khokha lies in the closest proximity of el-Asasif and Deir el-Bahari, i.e., the final destination of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. Since this feast played a prominent role in the religious life of Thebes-West,¹⁵ a tomb in the closest vicinity of the Deir el-Bahari temples or of the processional route of the feast may have significantly increased the prestige of the burial. This is also the reason behind the extensive tomb building activities on el-Asasif, the area that actually covers the causeways to the temples of Deir el-Bahari. El-Asasif is separated only by a low ridge from the southern slope of el-Khokha where TT 32, the original target of the Hungarian Mission, is situated. The physical endowment of this area is similar to that of el-Asasif; one can see a flat or slightly sloping terrain in the foreground of the hill. It is in this area where the network of Third Intermediate Period necropolis continues. The zone excavated by the Hungarian Mission features two hypogeum-type tombs arranged regularly in a system of NE-SW orientation. It is interesting to note that this orientation does not conform to the system of New Kingdom necropolis streets but forms a different pattern. On the basis of the coherent pattern of orientation one may suggest that this Third Intermediate Period necropolis on el-Khokha continues under the rubble that now blankets the territory to the west and south of the Hungarian concession. As the analysis of the archaeological material indicates, both tombs date to the late Third Intermediate Period. In the following, the structure termed Tomb B will be described to illustrate the burials considered typical for this cemetery.

EXCAVATION IN TOMB B

Tomb B occupies a large area on the southern slope of el-Khokha that partly overlies the first and second forecourts of TT 32. After the completion of cleaning works in the innermost forecourt of the New Kingdom monument, the Hungarian Mission set about to excavate the outer parts of Djehutymes' tomb in 1991. While searching for the remains of the second courtyard, a shaft tomb (Tomb B 2) was discovered to

¹² BIETAK 1972, 26–35; BIETAK–REISER–HASLAUER 1978, 19–29.

¹³ GUICHARD–KALOS 2000; LECUYOT et al. 1990, 88–95; NELSON 2003, 88–94.

¹⁴ Cf. e.g. the objects from TT 373: SEYFRIED 1990, Nos 738, 1645, 1715, 2355 (fragments from Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues), Nos 1287, 1615–1620, 1628, 1814 (cartonnages of the "Two falcons type") and the ushebtis on p. 282–284. From the excavations of M. Saleh in the tombs of Unisankh, Kenamun, Bakenamun and their environment, coffins and cartonnages of the Third Intermediate Period came to light: ASTON 1987, 321–322. The cleaning in TT 184 yielded, inter alia, a 22nd dynasty cartonnage

case and pottery datable to the same epoch (personal observation). In the tomb of Amenhotep (TT-61–), pottery, ushebtis and amulets of the late Third Intermediate period were found. The lower rooms of this tomb were also the find-spot of five cartonnage cases dated between Dynasties 22 and 26 (personal observation). For the TIP material from the inner rooms of TT 32, see: KÁKOSY–SCHREIBER 2003, 203–204.

¹⁵ For the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, see: SCHOTT 1952; FOUCART 1924, 38–103; KARKOWSKI 1992. On the late history of the feast, see: BATAILLE 1954, 89–92; TRAUNCKER et al. 1981, 134–137.

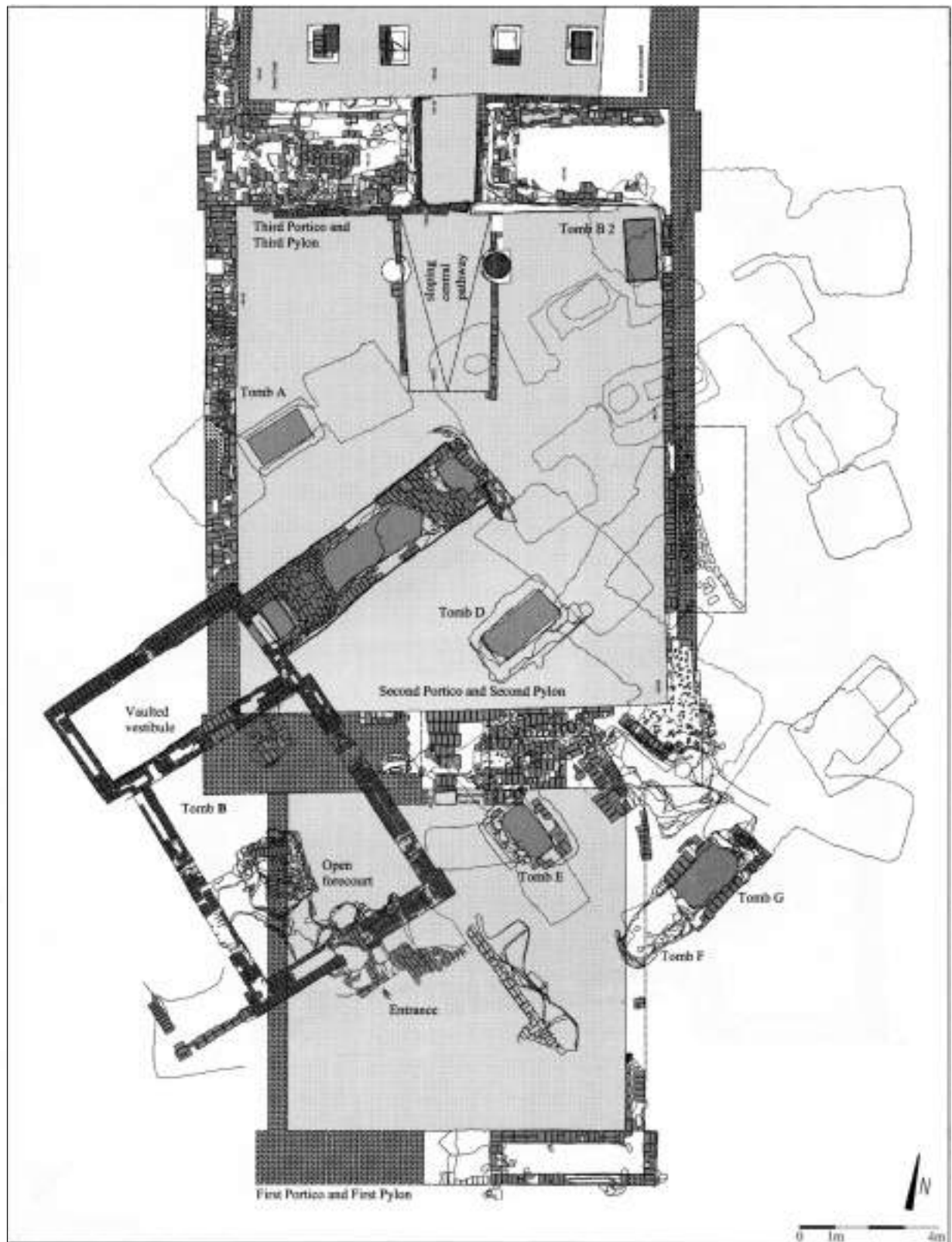


Fig. 1. Tombs in the outer forecourts of TT 32

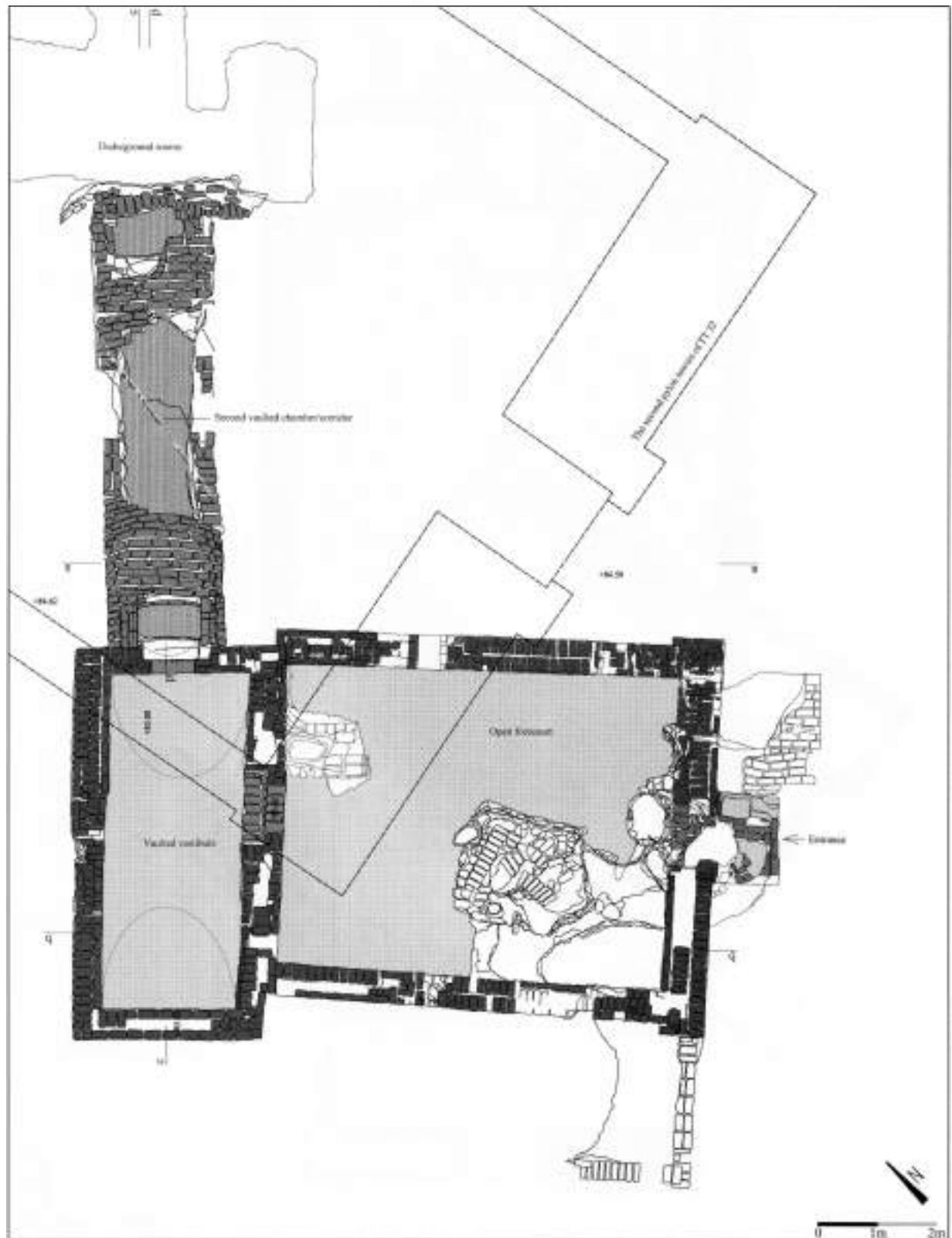


Fig. 2. Ground plan of the superstructure of Tomb B

the south of the innermost eastern pylon tower in the same season.¹⁶ It turned out soon that this shaft-tomb was connected by several breaks in the rock to another underground structure that we now term Tomb B (formerly called Corridor Tomb B).¹⁷ Excavations continued in both monuments during the next two seasons (1992–1993), ending in the cleaning of all side-rooms of the shaft-tomb (Tomb B 2) and a considerable part of Tomb B as well.¹⁸ The research provided a firm basis to suggest that Tomb B, in contrast to Tomb B 2, was a hypogeum-type tomb accessible from the west from a brick-vaulted chamber. Although the outer part of this structure was not completely cleaned during seasons 1991 and 1992, the study of Tomb B was temporarily suspended in favour of excavating the remaining parts of TT 32's second forecourt. The excavation in the area of Tomb B was finally resumed in 2001.¹⁹ The main objective of the campaign was to clean the entrance of the tomb, thereby gaining a better understanding of the physical environment of TT 32 as well. The excavation programme continued in 2002,²⁰ and was followed by a study season in 2003. During season 2004, an additional cleaning was launched in order to clear the entrance area in front of Tomb B's gateway completely, and to finish the excavation of a small shaft in one of the underground rooms that was suspended in 1993. In line with the digging activities, a restoration programme was also carried out in years 2002 and 2004. Following the control diggings of season 2002, the vault over the corridor leading to the underground parts of the tomb was reconstructed. In season 2004 all remaining parts of the superstructure (vestibule and forecourt) were consolidated and partially reconstructed (*Figs 37–38*).

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE TOMB

The structure of Tomb B is constituted by two architectural units: the superstructure made entirely of mudbrick (*Fig. 2*) and the underground parts hollowed out from the bedrock (*Fig. 3*). The superstructure consists of an open forecourt and a vaulted vestibule that was probably used as a cult chamber. The forecourt has its entrance from the south by a gateway flanked by two small pylon towers (*Figs 2, 4*). The eastern side wall of this forecourt cuts through the second western pylon tower of TT 32, suggesting either that this part of the original New Kingdom monument was already in a highly deteriorated state by the time of building Tomb B, or that the builders of this later age deliberately removed the New Kingdom installations. The fact that the other parts of the New Kingdom court are preserved in a comparatively good condition speaks in favour of the latter suggestion. Such a hypothesis is also in keeping with the fact that the foundations of the western part of the New Kingdom court had been laid on a stone fill, which was later removed when establishing the foundations of Tomb B that were laid directly over the *tafla*. Due to this, the floor of Tomb B's forecourt and vestibule is approximately 0.75–1.5 m lower than that of the New Kingdom court.

The vestibule of the tomb (*Figs 2, 4, 5*) opens in the axis of the forecourt. During the course of the excavations numerous bevelled bricks with grooves on one side were found in this chamber, indicating that the vestibule was covered by a vault. Since the ledge in the walls for a support to carry the vaulted roof has been preserved at several places, the whole chamber could be reconstructed. The vault was closed originally on the two ends by the extended faces of the side walls that were carried up to the height of the crown of the vault. The outer faces of the front and rear walls of the chamber also extended over the façade – clearly with the aim to receive the thrust of the vault. An unusual feature in this chamber is that it has its entrance from one of the long sides and not from the short side which would be the logical solution. This feature, explained by the layout of the tomb, considerably weakened the support of the vault and certainly contributed to its collapse. As indicated by remains embedded in mortar, the doorway was bridged by a wooden architrave.

At the eastern side wall of the vestibule there is a small doorway which gives access to a second vaulted chamber sunk partly into the bedrock (*Figs 3–5*). This chamber is actually a corridor that connects

¹⁶ KÁKOSY 1993, 3–5.

¹⁷ KÁKOSY 1994, 24–26.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 24–26; KÁKOSY 1995, 3–6.

¹⁹ KÁKOSY 2002, 319–331.

²⁰ KÁKOSY 2003, 423–432.

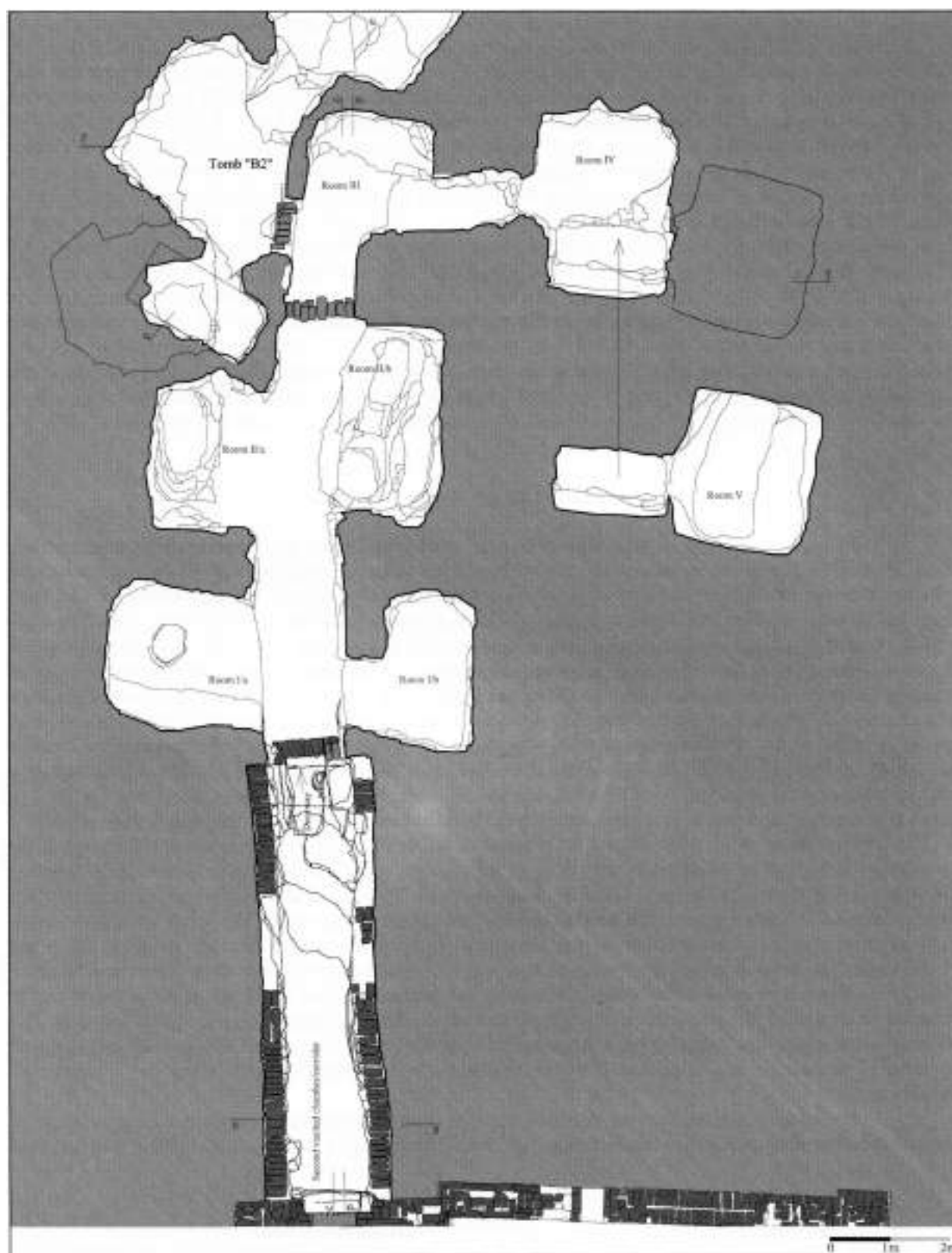


Fig. 3. Ground plan of the underground parts of Tomb B

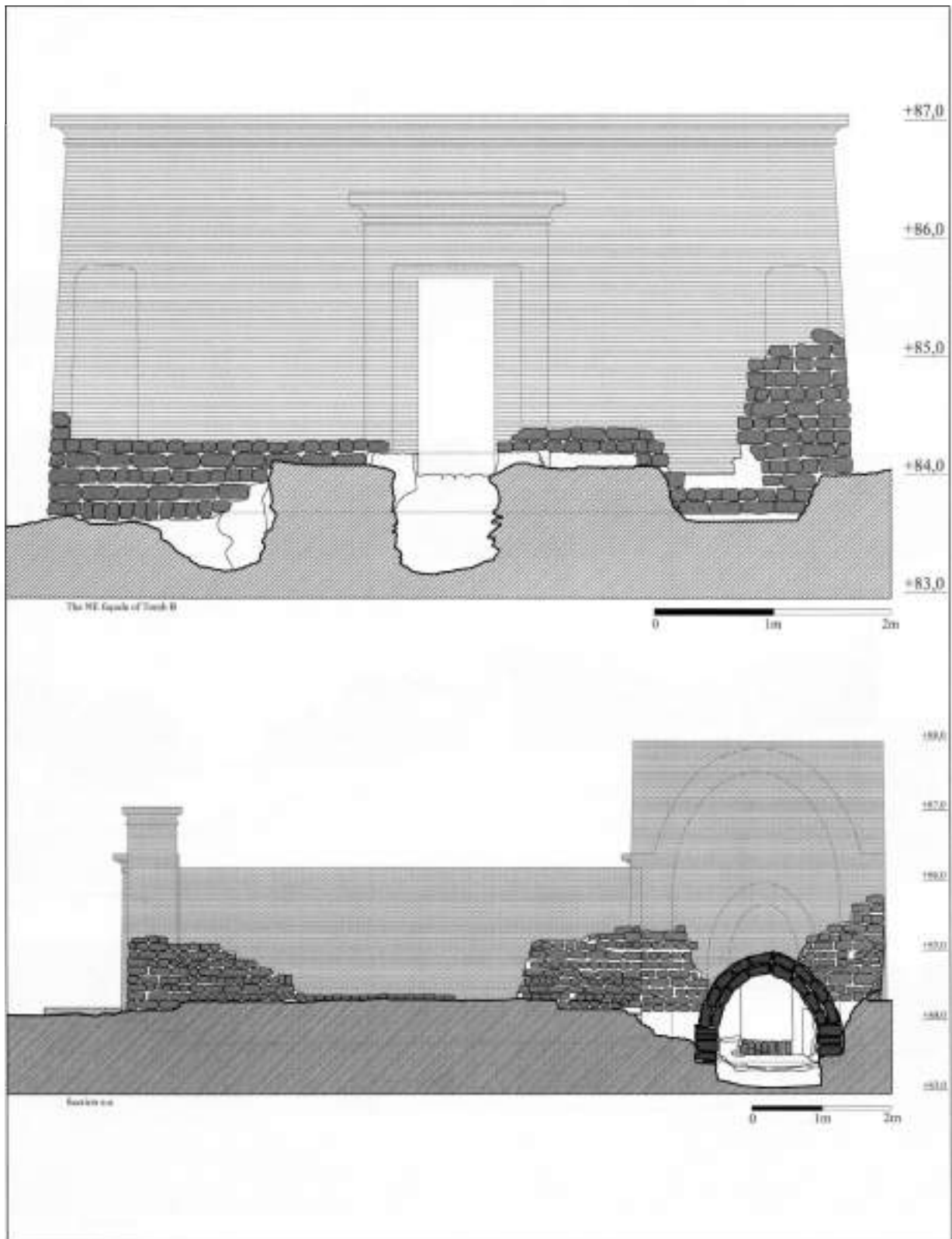


Fig. 4. The NE-façade and section a-a of Tomb B

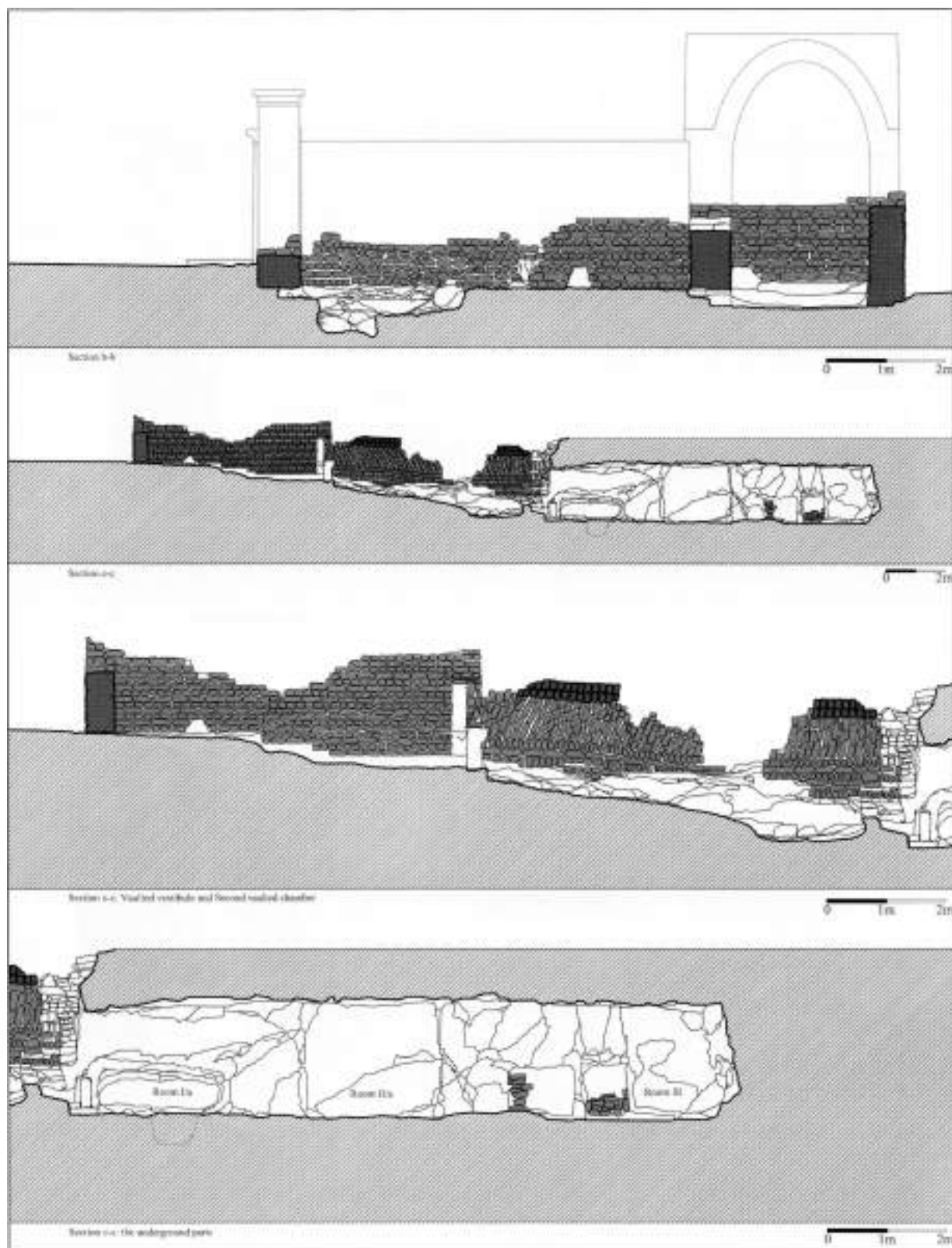


Fig. 5. Sections b-b and c-c of Tomb B

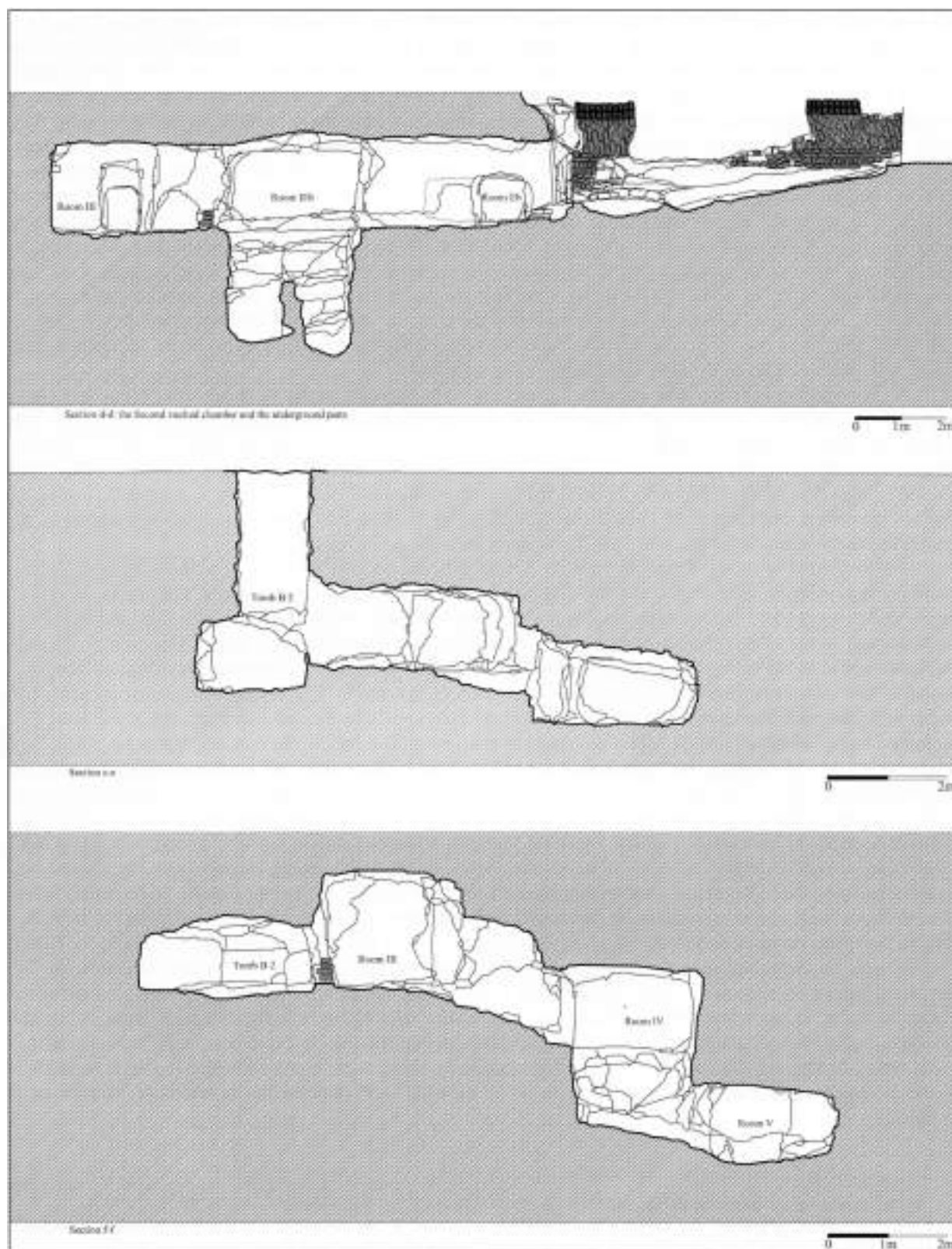


Fig. 6. Sections d-d, e-e and f-f of Tomb B

the superstructure and the underground parts. Its entrance from the vestibule was originally closed by a lavishly decorated wooden door (*Fig. 7*) that came to light in the 2002 season.²¹ Since the door opened inwards and it was somewhat higher than the vault of the corridor, a larger, eight to ten bricks long vaulted section had to be inserted at this point (*cf Figs 2, 4*). The *raison d'être* of this unusual construction forming actually two superimposed vaults can probably be explained by a planning mistake. Other interesting features of this doorway are represented by its perfectly preserved wooden threshold embedded into a mud-brick mortar and a stone block with the name of Djehutymes re-used as a doorjamb – an obvious *post quem* evidence for the dating of Tomb B (*Fig. 13*). The vault of the corridor was a barrel vault built in a parabolic section. This method,²² also widely used in modern Egypt, does not require the costly aid of timber centring since the rings of the vault are made obliquely, leaning against the end wall of the vault. In contrast to the vestibule intended to be exposed, this second vault was covered with rubble, thus forming part of the underground system of the tomb. Noteworthy is the feature that the vault bears on its interior white painted linear motif decoration. The six to ten centimetres wide irregular stripes executed with reed brush seem to follow the texture of the vault. The decoration as a whole recalls the so-called spiral white decoration typical of Nile fabric vessels of the late Third Intermediate Period.²³

The vaulted corridor was separated from the underground rooms of the tomb by another door. Although the doorway is now badly destroyed, the original sandstone doorframes were found *in situ*. The remaining parts of Tomb B that follow behind this door are carved out from the rock (*Figs 5, 6*). This underground gallery actually features an L-shaped corridor and side chambers arranged alongside. The original burial chamber of the tomb was probably the innermost Room V. This chamber is accessible through a shallow, so-called entrance shaft that is characteristic for Theban burials of the Third Intermediate Period.²⁴ Two secondary shafts, dated to the 25th dynasty were found in Room II/b.

On formal grounds, Tomb B finds its closest parallels in late Third Intermediate Period Theban funerary monuments. Although it seems, that most newly constructed tombs share the layout of a two-storey construction, this period witnessed heterogeneous tendencies with respect to the organisation of the architectural space. Disregarding simple shaft tombs or rock-cut chambers, the contemporary Theban tombs can be divided into two categories on the basis of the functional criteria whether the cult chapel is found in the superstructure or in the underground part of the tomb. The chapel-like tombs excavated in Medinet Habu, the Ramesseum and el-Asasif clearly belong to the former category, while the so-called “temple tombs” of Dynasties 25–26 on el-Asasif to the latter. The two traditions overlap since chapel-like tombs continued to be made in Dynasties 25 and 26 as well.²⁵ That these two traditions did not represent conflicting ideas but rather two variants of the hypogeum-type tomb, appears to be corroborated also by Tomb B which exhibits a transitional form. Regarding its size (relatively small in comparison with the “temple tombs” of el-Asasif) and the place of the cult chamber in the superstructure, a relation with chapel-like tombs is hardly disputable. Chapel-like tombs, on the other hand, usually have three chambers in the superstructure as a throw back to the New Kingdom standard in Theban temple architecture, while their underground rooms are accessible through either a shaft or a staircase. In contrast, Tomb B exhibits a different arrangement of architectural space, characterised by a linear sequence of a forecourt, vestibule, corridor and underground rooms. Analogues of this system may be identified among the large-size 25th–26th dynasty hypogea on el-Asasif.²⁶ Although Tomb B lacks numerous elements that are typically present in the “temple tombs” of el-Asasif, the articulation of the building as a whole is comparable to those. A parallel for the combination of a forecourt with a single vestibule is provided by Tomb VII, a 25th dynasty monument excavated by M. Bietak on el-Asasif.²⁷ Considering these facts, the architectural characteristics of Tomb B can be understood in the framework of the late 22nd–25th dynasty development of Theban tomb building.

²¹ *ibid.*, 431–432.

²² The technique of barrel vault is explained in CAR-NARVON-CARTER 1912, 43–44; *cf.* also SPENCER 1979, 123–126; EL-HAKIM 1999, 37 and EL-NAGGAR 1999, 8–10.

²³ *Cf.* ASTON 1996, 81.

²⁴ The depth of such shafts varies between 0.9 and 1.7 m. Shafts of this type were discovered in TT 32 and TT-61–.

²⁵ E.g., the tombs of the Divine Adoratrices in Medinet Habu: HÖLSCHER 1954, 17–30.

²⁶ *Cf.* EIGNER 1984, *passim*.

BURIALS OF THE LATE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD – THE FIRST PHASE OF TOMB B

Since Tomb B was plundered more than once, the funerary artefacts have been preserved in fragmentary state. Due to tomb robbery, some of the objects found their way to areas in the vicinity. The highly mixed contexts did not allow, of course, a full reconstruction of the original equipment. The find analysis has shown that Tomb B served as a family tomb with the burials of several generations.²⁸ The survey of human remains has not been completed yet but there is sufficient information to think that Tomb B accommodated more than twenty burials.²⁹ This number must also include the secondary burials of Ptolemaic times; nevertheless, if one only allows for the half of it, the number of Third Intermediate Period burials still remains high enough to signify a long life-span for the tomb. The chronological conclusions borne out by a typological study of all diagnostic archaeological remains indicate that Tomb B was built in the second half of Dynasty 22 and remained continuously in use in Dynasty 25, as well. In absolute terms, the time span of the tomb ranges from around the late 9th c. BC to the early 7th c. BC with a possible extension into the second half of the same century. The uncertainty in dating is not only explained by the mixed and disturbed context in Tomb B. Another important factor is that the dating of various genres of late Third Intermediate Period Egyptian material culture is not yet as precise as one might wish. In addition, Tomb B also yields a graphic illustration for the situation when the chronology of individual parts of a given find context conflict each other. To quote the most intriguing example of this phenomenon, I only refer here to the cartonnages (*Figs 8–11*) and the pottery found in Tomb B (*Figs 21–28*). The excavations in Tomb B brought to light a vast collection of cartonnage cases together with a minimal assemblage of coffin fragments. The cartonnage cases appear to date from the 22nd dynasty since all of them represent the so-called “Two falcons type”,³⁰ the chronological spectrum of which is held to terminate with the end of Dynasty 22, when cartonnage cases were replaced once again by wooden innermost coffins.³¹ The dating to the 22nd dynasty that emerges from this picture stands in a sharp contrast to the pottery finds from the tomb. Although there is a significant collection of pottery vessels firmly dated to Dynasty 22, the bulk of the material is represented by types that are thought to post-date the middle of the 8th c. BC, i.e., the beginning of Kushite rule. Thus one can arrive at the conclusion either that the production of ceramic types in question started earlier or that cartonnages continued in Dynasty 25. The most feasible suggestion is probably that the typological complexes of Dynasty 22 and Dynasty 25 do at least partly overlap. Besides this conclusion that seems especially valid for the pottery, I am also inclined to accept that cartonnage cases had continued in Dynasty 25. To support such a suggestion one may align the contextual evidence from Tomb B and stylistic considerations, as well. The hallmark of the “Two falcons type” cartonnages is the presence of two winged deities – a ram-, and a falcon-headed one –, the depiction of which is usually followed on the lower part of the case by a long vertical motif – almost exclusively the Abydos fetish.³² These motifs are omnipresent on the fragments from Tomb B, so that their association with the aforementioned typological group is out of question. On the early examples of the “Two falcons type” cartonnage cases, the central elements are usually complemented with subsidiary registers filled with religious symbols, protective genii and deities associated with the funerary cult. This scheme appears in a slightly different variant on the examples from Tomb B: the protective genii are featured in small compartments that display “label texts” arranged in two or three columns. Although the rendering of subsidiary figures in panels or compartments is also attested on cartonnages firmly dated to the 22nd dynasty, this type of arrangement is much more typical of coffins in Dynasty 25.³³ Even more informative is probably the colour code used on these specimens. What is

²⁷ BIETAK 1972, 30–35.

²⁸ Cf. KÁKOSY–SCHREIBER 2003, 204–205; SCHREIBER 2003, 61–62.

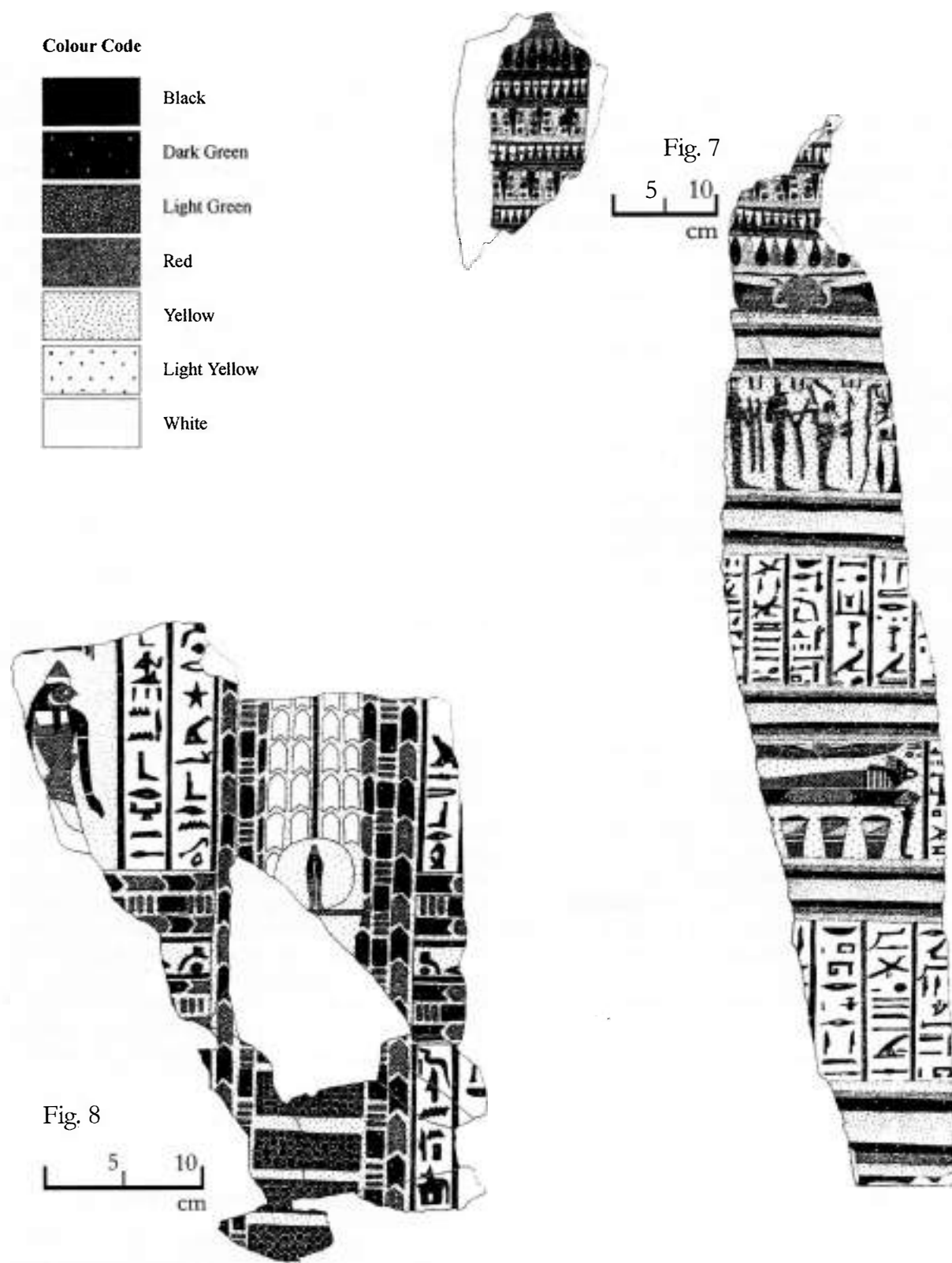
²⁹ Personal communication of Dr. Á. Makó.

³⁰ For the definition of this style cf. TAYLOR 1988, 166–167.

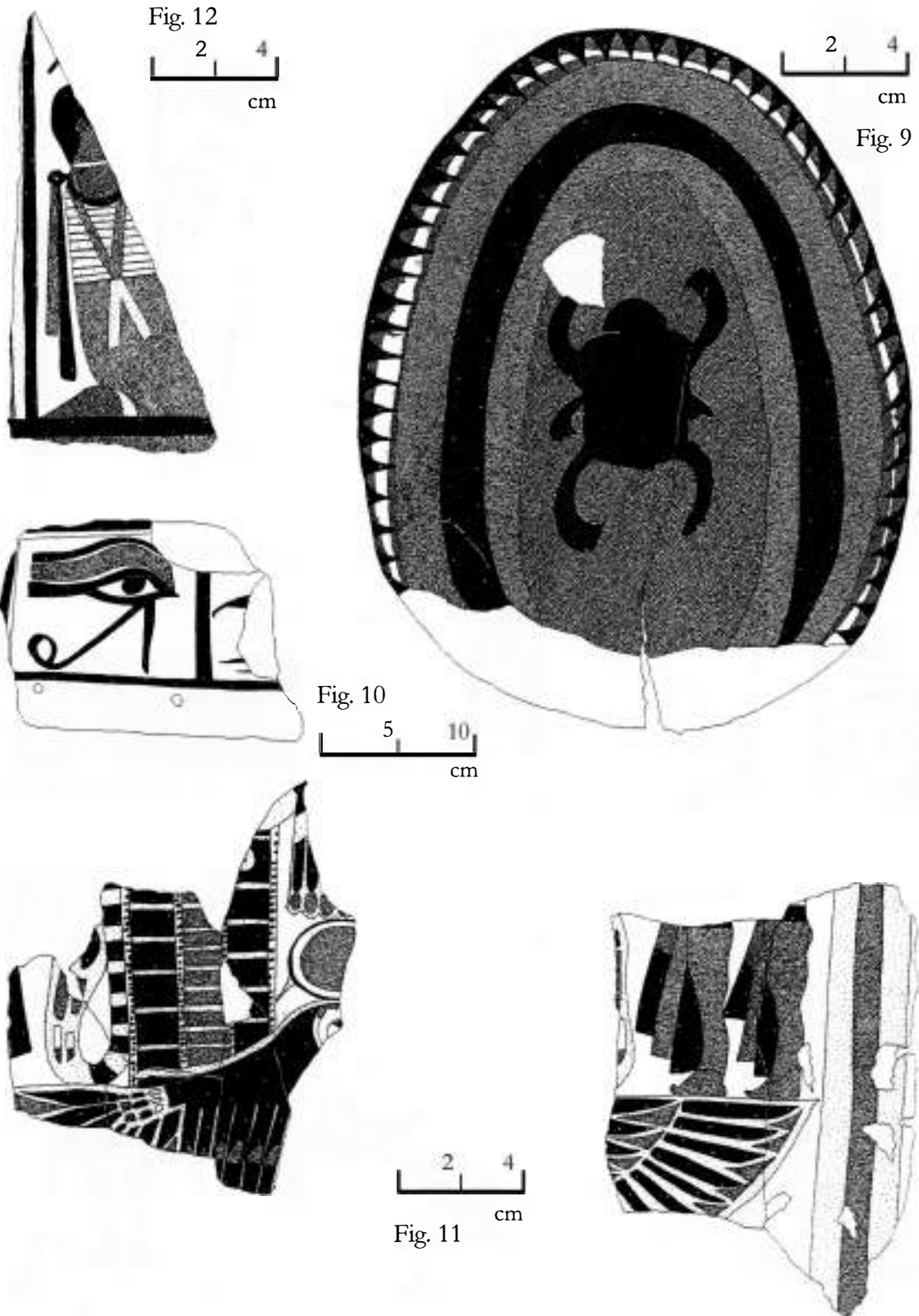
³¹ TAYLOR 1989, 53; TAYLOR 2003, 113–114.

³² TAYLOR 2003, 105–106.

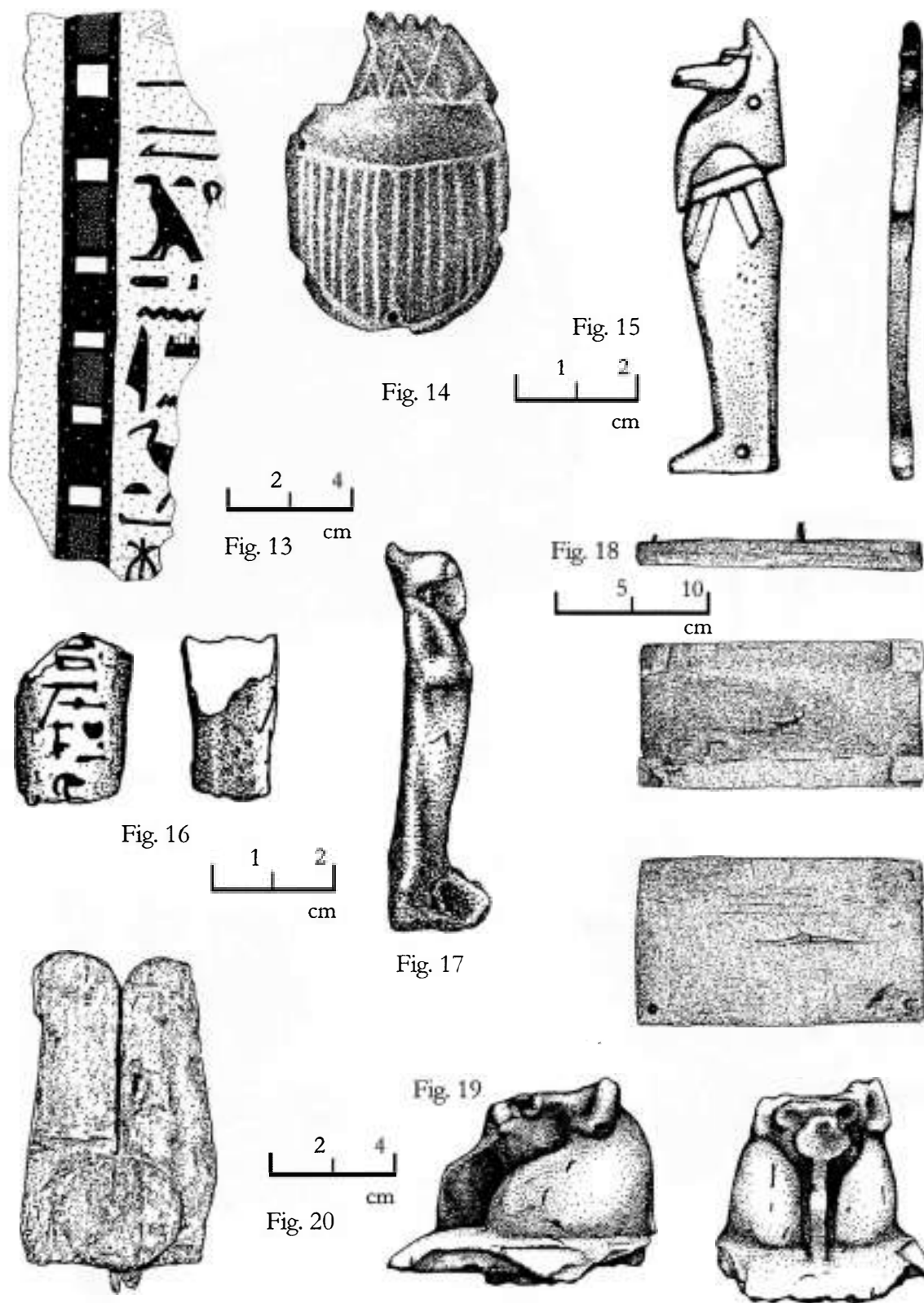
³³ Cf. e.g., the coffin of Nehemsimontu: KUENY–YOYOTTE 1979, 100–104; Cf. also the coffins of Takhebkhenem and Irbastwedjanefu: TAYLOR 2003, figs. 61–62.



Figs 7–8. Third Intermediate Period objects from Tomb B



Figs 9–12. Third Intermediate Period objects from Tomb B



Figs 13–20. Finds from Tomb B



Fig. 21

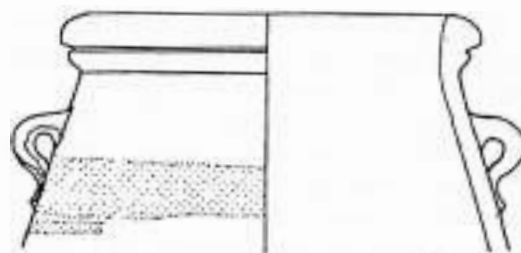
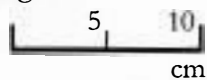


Fig. 24

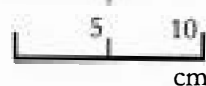


Fig. 22

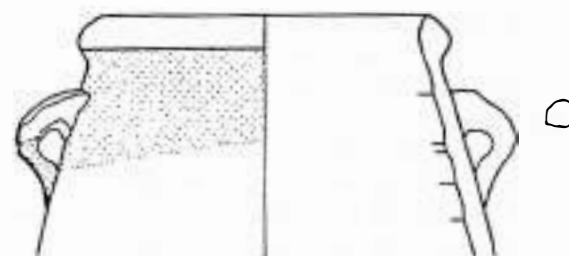
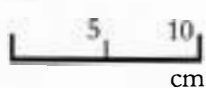


Fig. 25



Fig. 23

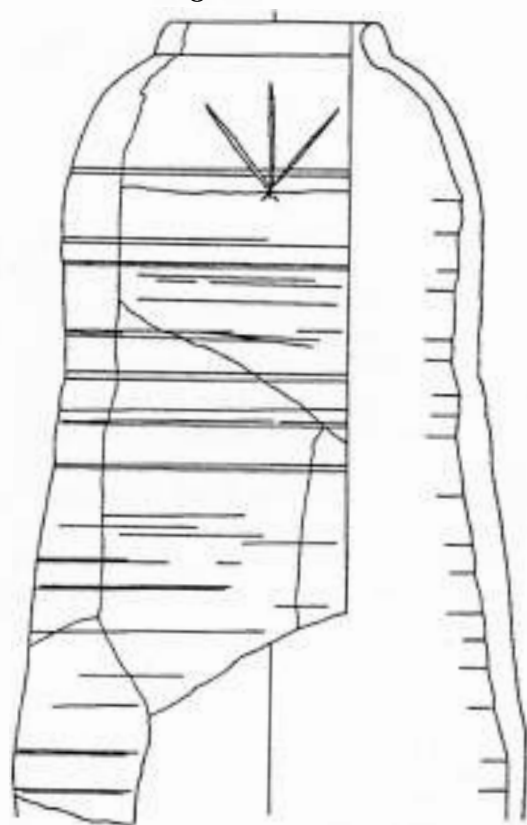
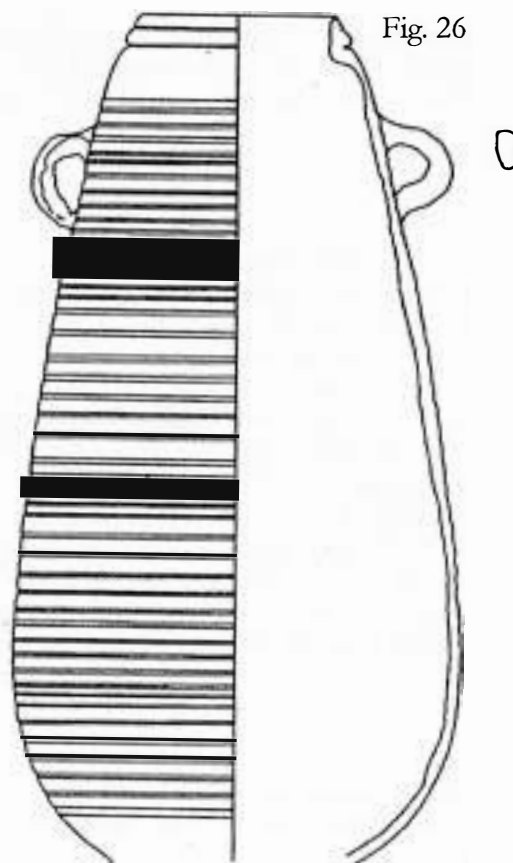


Fig. 26



Figs 21–26. Third Intermediate Period pottery from Tomb B

especially important to us now is that the background of the compartments is white, while the inscriptions are carried out in blue pigment. These compartments are divided by chevron motifs and horizontal inscriptions written on a yellow background. The use of blue hieroglyphs on white, on the one hand, and the alternating yellow and white background colours,³⁴ on the other, are once again indicative of a relatively 'late' date, clearly alluding to the usual colour code of 25th dynasty coffins. The subject matter on the cartonnage cases from Tomb B finds good parallels on 22nd dynasty exemplars. There are certain motifs, however, that escape most cartonnages of the "Two falcons type". One fragment from Tomb B exhibits, e.g., an eye-panel, which is a motif characteristically absent from the coffins of Dynasty 22, but frequently attested in Dynasty 25.³⁵ It is a widely accepted consensus that the decorative styles on cartonnages reflect the style of contemporary coffin designs. As was shown, there are numerous characteristics of these cartonnages that require a comparison with 25th dynasty coffins. Although the excavation in Tomb B has not brought to light firm evidence concerning the date of the cartonnages, the style critical considerations suggest a dating to between the late 22nd and the 25th dynasty.

Before turning to the discussion of the finds, a paragraph has to be devoted to the prosopographic data from Tomb B. Unfortunately, tomb robbery and modern vandalism eliminated nearly all textual evidence concerning the owners of the tomb. It seems that there are only two objects that refer to individuals certainly buried in the tomb. The first object is the aforementioned wooden door found in the vaulted corridor of Tomb B. The inscriptions on this door mention four names, viz., Payom, Ikhentes, Nespaut-taui and Heriry.³⁶ Since Ikhentes and Heriry appear only in the filiation of the two remaining persons, one may presume that only Payom and Nespaut-taui were buried there. Prominence is nevertheless given to Payom who is mentioned twice with the title *šmsw n ꜥḥ* "servant of the Palace". The other object containing a prosopographic information is a cartonnage case (Fig. 8). The reading of the name is somewhat problematic; the most feasible suggestion is Bu-iru-heru.³⁷ Although the names Payom and Nespaut-taui occur elsewhere,³⁸ none of the above individuals in Tomb B are known from other sources.

In order to allow the reader a more detailed insight into the material, in the following, a brief description is given of all important find groups of Tomb B.

Coffins and cartonnage cases

Since the stylistic features of the coffins and cartonnages were already discussed above, it is sufficient here to touch upon the most important exemplars only. As was shown by Taylor, a characteristic Theban coffin set of Dynasty 22 consisted of an anthropoid outer coffin painted with yellow signs on a black background, one or two polychrome inner coffins and an innermost cartonnage case usually of the "Two falcons type".³⁹ Sometime in Dynasty 25 the anthropoid outer coffins were replaced by the so-called Qrsw-coffins and the cartonnage cases by wooden innermost coffins.⁴⁰ Although arguments were aligned above to suggest that this shift in tradition was not a sudden one but had a transitory phase in the 8th c. BC, it is clear that numerous elements of a Dynasty 22 coffin set – e.g., the black background outer coffins – cannot post-date significantly the beginning of the Kushite rule. Unfortunately, the coffins in Tomb B remained preserved in a highly fragmentary state. The remaining fragments testify to a craftsmanship deeply rooted in the tradition of Dynasty 22. The outer coffins of this age are represented by a fragment from an anthropoid coffin depicting side panels filled with protective deities. The polychrome coffin fragments discovered in Tomb B may come from inner coffins of the same period (Fig. 12).

³⁴ TAYLOR 2003, 118.

³⁵ In Taylor's interpretation the reappearance of eye-panels is associated with coffins of Dynasties 25–26: TAYLOR 2003, 117.

³⁶ See KÁKOSY 2003, 431–432. The name Heriry was given by Kákósy as Heribiry. As was shown by Clarysse, however, the

component 'jb' is not to be read in Late Egyptian names of this kind CLARYSSE 1978, 239, footnotes 2–3.

³⁷ PN I, 94, 4.

³⁸ PN I, 100, 15 and 176, 1.

³⁹ TAYLOR 1989, 47.

⁴⁰ TAYLOR 2001, 236.

As it was shown, the cartonnage cases can be dated to the period between the late 22nd and the 25th dynasty. The preserved fragments are characteristic enough to suggest that the cartonnages in question represent a late phase in the development of the “Two falcons type”. Unfortunately, the number of exemplars cannot be determined with precision. Judging by fragments with the depiction of the Abydos fetish (Fig. 8), one may assume that at least three such cartonnages were once deposited in the tomb. A fourth example is represented by cartonnage flakes that exhibit a black resinous coat on the exterior. As it was demonstrated by Niwiński, this rather rare type of “decoration” was applied to coffins and cartonnages with a ritual purpose in Dynasties 21 and 22.⁴¹ The surfaces left uncovered by this treatment allow us to identify the cartonnage as a “Two falcons type” piece. Fortunately, a good number of characteristic iconographic elements could be reconstructed from all four cartonnage cases. A frequent motif is, e.g., the solar falcon with two rearing cobras and four protective figures (probably the Four Sons of Horus) on its outstretched wings that appears on the chest (Fig. 11). As Fig. 9 indicates, the top of the head was occasionally decorated with a scarab beetle, alluding to the solar concept later more elaborately expressed by hypocephali. Another interesting feature is the aforementioned eye-panel that decorates one side of a cartonnage case (Fig. 10). Since eye-panels are recurrent elements on the coffins and sarcophagi between the Middle Kingdom and the 19th dynasty, the occurrence of this motif is clearly an archaizing throw back to classical tradition.

Amulets

The collection of amulets from Tomb B exhibits almost exclusively types that were used as pendants on bead nets belonging to Silvano’s Types A and B.a.⁴² The nets were made of tubular faience beads, forming a reticulated pattern composition laid over the wrapped mummy. The types in question required the attachment of the figures of the Four Sons of Horus and a tripartite winged scarab to the upper part of the net (Figs 14–15). The chronology of these bead nets established by Silvano has been lowered recently by Aston who claims that bead nets cannot predate 750 BC considerably.⁴³ His view is also supported by Teeter in suggesting that tripartite winged scarabs composed of two wings and the scarab beetle first appear in Dynasty 25.⁴⁴ However, some scholars still maintain a dating to Dynasty 22 for the earliest bead nets.⁴⁵ Since concrete archaeological features did not date the exemplars from Tomb B, only a tentative chronology to the 8th and early 7th c. BC can be proposed for them.

Ushebtis

The excavation of the fill overlying Tomb B yielded at least fifteen different types of funerary figurines dated to the Third Intermediate Period. Some examples also bear short inscriptions featuring personal names – e.g. Paherhes,⁴⁶ Padiamun,⁴⁷ Nes-khonsu⁴⁸ (Fig. 16) and Ankhefenkhonsu⁴⁹. Considering that all these types were represented by one or two exemplars, none of which can safely be associated with Tomb B, it is likely that they came from nearby monuments and did not belong to the original context of our tomb. What could be securely connected to Tomb B were small, typically crude quality figurines of Nile mud. Some of these ushebtis were coated with a blue or green wash clearly in imitation of faience prototypes. Although Egyptological literature gave little attention to this inferior class of funerary figurines so far, their frequency in Theban tombs of the Third Intermediate Period indicates important archaeological phenomena in the background of their use. Recent studies have shown that from Dynasty 21 only the elit

⁴¹ NIWIŃSKI 1992, 457–471.

⁴² SILVANO 1980, 84–88.

⁴³ ASTON 1987, 642.

⁴⁴ TEETER 2003, 135.

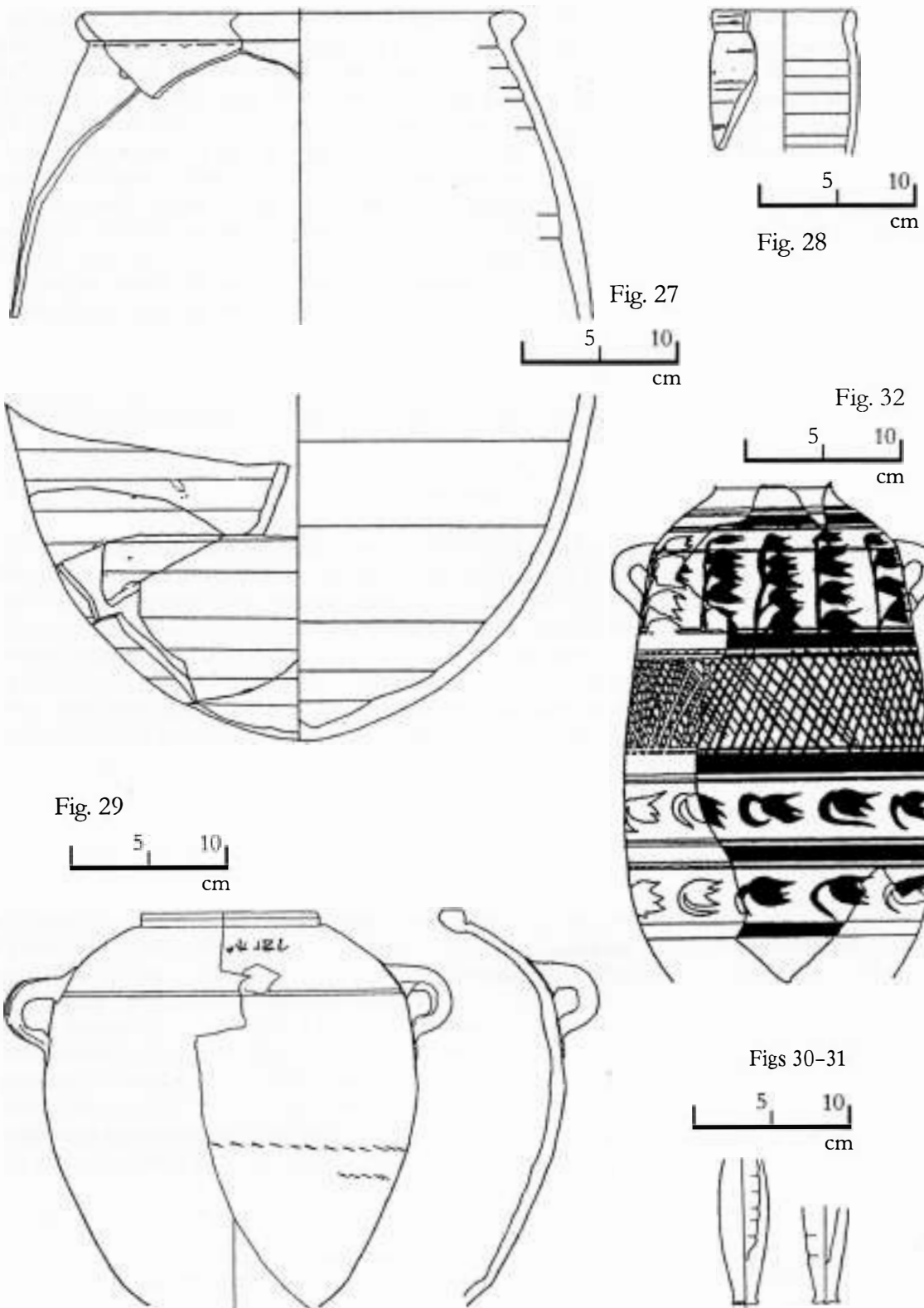
⁴⁵ IKRAM–DODSON 1998, 145.

⁴⁶ PN I, 116, 2.

⁴⁷ PN I, 121, 23; CHAPPAZ 1987, 145.

⁴⁸ PN I, 178, 20.

⁴⁹ PN I, 67, 9.



Figs 27-32. Pottery of the Third Intermediate Period and Ptolemaic Period

Fig. 33

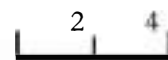
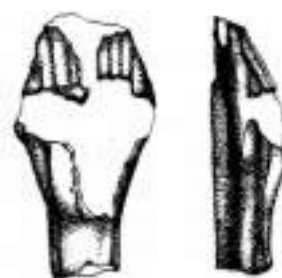
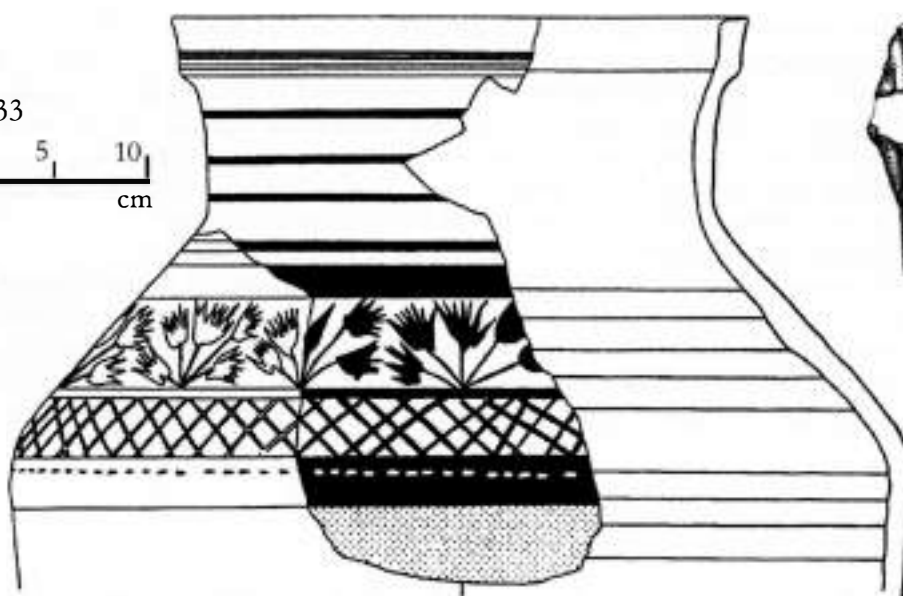
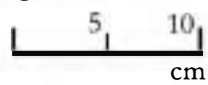


Fig. 34

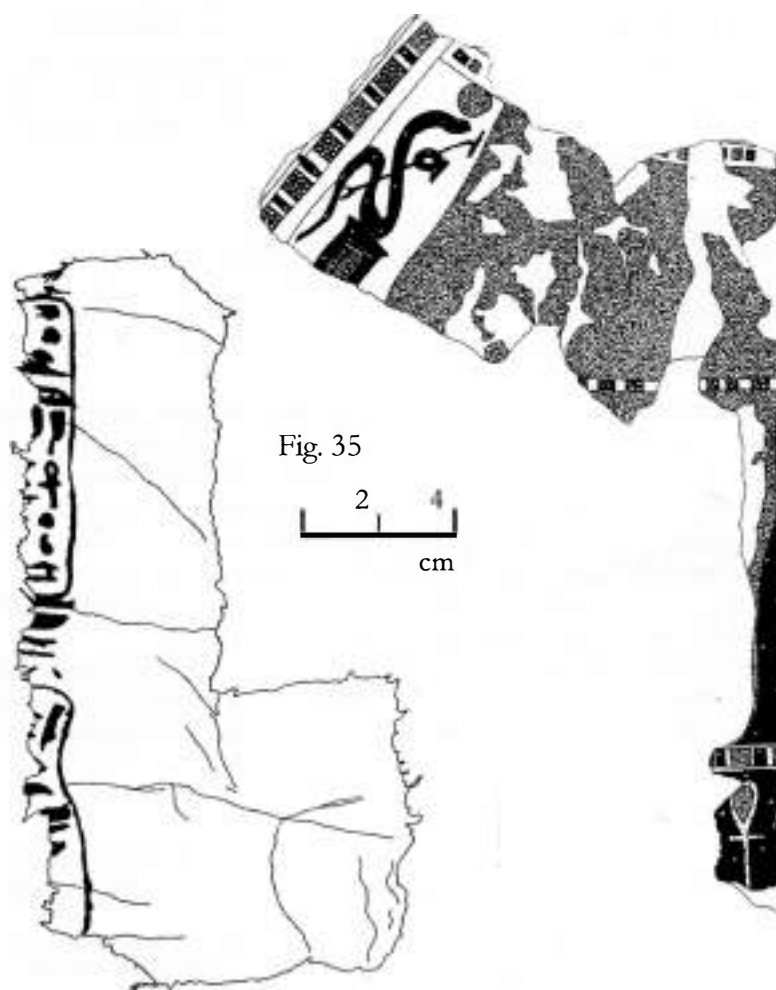


Fig. 35

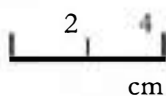
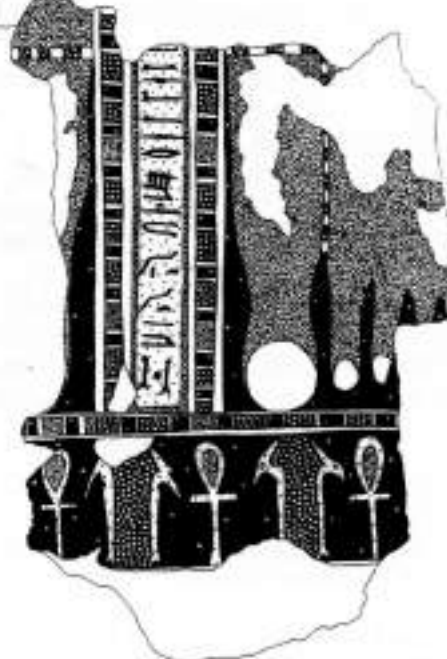
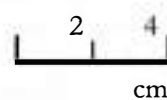


Fig. 36



Figs 33–36. Ptolemaic finds from Tomb B

could afford the elaborate faience ushebtis that now fill the exhibition cases of Egyptian collections. For all other burials, mass-produced clay ushebtis became the norm from the turn of the 10th–9th c. BC.⁵⁰ The iconography of this class imitates the faience figurines: workmen are depicted in a mummiform posture, while the *reis* ushebtis – when present – wear the costume of daily life. Since these figurines always lack inscriptions, their identification is difficult if other objects of the equipment do not provide prosopographic data. This is also the case with the figurines from Tomb B that once formed at least five different sets each containing 401 ushebtis. The workmen ushebtis were made in all five cases according to the same model portraying an unbearded mummiform figure with tripartite wig and hoes held in the hand (*Fig. 17*).

The ushebtis' transportation to and storage in the tomb required ushebti boxes. Unfortunately, tomb robbery has spared only one such object, viz., a lid for a box (*Fig. 18*). On the basis of the profile and the four corner-posts, the lid can be identified as part of a box representing Aston's Type VIII.⁵¹ The hallmark of this type is the aforementioned corner posts that imitate qrsu-coffins of the late Third Intermediate Period. Since this coffin type post-dates the beginning of Dynasty 25, the boxes imitating them cannot be earlier either.

Pottery

The cleaning work in and around Tomb B has yielded nearly four hundred ceramic vessels associated with Third Intermediate Period dates. As mentioned above, the pottery items represent two typological phases, corresponding to Aston's Phases II and III, i.e., to the periods dated between 950 and 750 BC, and 750 and 625, respectively.⁵² The entire chronological spectrum of the material is, of course, not necessarily so broad but seems to be restricted to the period between the late 9th c. BC and the early 7th c. BC. The bulk of the recorded ceramic vessels falls into the following pottery classes:

- A dishes and bowls of Nile fabric B2 and C,
- B so-called sausage jars of Nile fabric C,
- C Nile-based vessels with spiral white decoration,
- D large containers of Marl fabrics,
- E carinated jars of Marl fabrics (Marl A4).

Class A is a heterogeneous complex, consisting of several morphologically and chronologically different types. Parallels associated with dates from Libyan times to the 25th dynasty may date flat-based dishes (*Fig. 21*), of which ten exemplars were found.⁵³ The chronology of shallow bowls (not illustrated) can be given even more broadly. These vessels, derivatives of Late New Kingdom prototypes,⁵⁴ are thought to be especially characteristic of Aston's Phases I and II, though they apparently continued until the 25th dynasty.⁵⁵ Similar conclusions can be established concerning the bowl-type distinguished by its taller shape and smaller rim diameter.⁵⁶ Of the types occurring with frequency, the latest one is undoubtedly the bowl with ledge base (*Fig. 22*) that dates to the late Third Intermediate Period (25th dynasty).⁵⁷

Class B comprises neckless slender jars usually described as sausage jars. This type (*Fig. 23*) evolved from a jar-type of the 22nd dynasty,⁵⁸ appearing with remarkable frequency in Theban contexts of the late Third Intermediate Period which is due to its function as container of mummification materials or

⁵⁰ ASTON 1994, 33.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, 35–37.

⁵² ASTON 1996, 87–93.

⁵³ Examples from Tanis dated between Osorkon II and Shoshenq III: BRISSAUD et al. 1987, fig. 16, No 200. From Elephantine dated to the Libyan period: ASTON 1999, Nos 524 and 1071.

⁵⁴ Cf. ASTON 1999, Nos 15–16, 48, 77–78, 193–194, 284–286.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, Nos 525–526, 1460, 1473–1484, 1599–1602, 1706, 1745.

⁵⁶ POLZ et al. 2003, 342, figs. 1–2; BRISSAUD et al. 1987, 94, fig. 16, Nos 192–193, 197, ASTON 1999, Nos 1489–1491.

⁵⁷ ASTON 1996, 73, fig 217b.

solid foodstuffs for the deceased. Although Aston gives a time-span for the type in the 7th and 6th c. BC, this chronology is certainly too low for the examples in Tomb B where Saite burials are unattested. Instead, I would suggest a dating to the 8th and early 7th c. BC, thus attributing these vessels to the younger generations of occupants.

Class C consists of morphologically heterogeneous vessels, the common features of which are represented by the presence of modelled rims and painted decoration (*Figs 24–25*). The vessels of this class were made of coarse Nile clay, covered with red self-slip and painted with white pigment in a manner that forms a spiral decoration.⁵⁹ The examples so far known came to light at Thebes,⁶⁰ assuming a Theban origin for the product. These contexts also suggest that the debut of the type took place around the middle of the 8th c. BC.

Class D is once again a morphologically heterogeneous complex, featuring ‘meat jars’ and amphorae. The broad-set vessels of Marl A4 fabric illustrated by *Fig. 27* are extremely difficult to date precisely, since they first appeared in the New Kingdom but continued, practically unchanged, at least until the late 22nd dynasty.⁶¹ The vessels from Tomb B belong to the late phase of the evolution. A dating to the 22nd dynasty can also be proposed for the amphora neck *Fig. 28*. This neck originates from a rare type of elongated amphora with bulbous body, short bulging neck and handles on the sides.⁶²

The vessels of Class E, though heterogeneous in morphology, were ultimately made of Marl A4 fabric, while their articulation is characterised by complicated rim forms, carinated vessel-surface and handles attached to the body. As shown by Spencer, this pottery first appears around the middle of the 8th c. BC, thus being contemporary to Dynasty 25.⁶³ Vessels of this type were frequently destined to store the leftovers of mummification. This is also the case with *Fig. 26* which contained pieces of textile adhering to a hard resinous material.

The five pottery classes of Tomb B can also be characterised from a chronological viewpoint. On the basis of parallel materials one may state that Class A is represented in both typological phases, Class D is typical of the earlier phase, while Classes B, C and E only appear in the later phase. The evidence of pottery finds militates consequently in favour of a relatively long time span for Tomb B from the late 22nd dynasty to the 25th dynasty.

Other finds from Tomb B

The range of the archaeological material from Tomb B cannot be fully outlined without mentioning a few important finds not belonging to the above categories. The most interesting of these is doubtlessly the wooden door retrieved from the vaulted corridor of the tomb (*Fig. 7*). Since the find context of the door and the personal names written on it have already been discussed in this study, and its inscriptions were presented by L. Kákósy in a previous number of this periodical,⁶⁴ it seems sufficient here to comment on the stylistic features and dating only.

The decoration of the door is divided into five main registers. The uppermost register consists of a wide decorative tier subdivided into seven stripes of patternwork, which is followed further down by a winged sun disk with uraei. As was noticed by Kákósy, this element, usually adorning lintels on temple gates, was intended to assimilate the tomb to a temple. The winged sun disk surmounts further four broad tiers, two of which are filled with inscription while the rest contain figural scenes. Directly under the disk a figural scene represents Nephthys, Isis, Osiris and a rearing serpent, most plausibly Nehebkau, standing before an offering table. By analogy with similar scenes from coffins, the deified deceased and/or the judgement scene of BD 125 should have been depicted on the now missing right side of the scene.⁶⁵ The next tier

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 76.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 81.

⁶⁰ CASTEL–MEEKS 1980, pl. XIXb, No 51; POLZ et al. 2003, 365, fig. 19.1.

⁶¹ ASTON 1996, 71.

⁶² Cf. *ibid.*, 71, figs 213–214; ASTON 1999, Nos 616–619; BRUNTON 1930, pl. XLI.41.

⁶³ SPENCER 1997, 67.

⁶⁴ KÁKÓSY 2003, 431–432.



Figs 37–38. The superstructure of Tomb B after restoration

consists of an offering formula arranged in columns, followed by a figural scene in the fourth tier. The latter represents a deceased on the bier with four canopic jars beneath and a winged disk above the protected corpse. The preserved inscription accompanying it gives the name of the deceased as Payom. Finally, the last broad register is inscripational again; the arrangement of the text repeats that of the third register.

The stylistic and chronological assessment of this door is problematic because we possess only a handful of data concerning such objects from funerary contexts. The most famous example is the door from the New Kingdom tomb of Sennedjem at Deir el-Medine.⁶⁶ This object, elaborately decorated in a Rameside style, has, however, apparently little to do with the door from Tomb B that exhibits a more complex composition. The figural scenes on our door invite a comparison with coffins of Dynasty 25.⁶⁷ The row of deities seen in the second register and the deceased on the bier in the fourth register are iconographic elements that became especially popular from Dynasty 25⁶⁸ when panel-like compositions started to be replaced by a system of arranging the decoration in registers. The advanced phase of this style is well known from the coffins of the Basenmut family produced in the later half of the 25th and the 26th dynasties.⁶⁹ The door in question is, of course, not necessarily so late in date. Another important feature to be considered here is the style of the inscripational panels. These were executed with hieroglyphs in blue pigment on a white background which is a colour code identical to the cartonnages from Tomb B. Since these cartonnages are supposed to date from the late 22nd and the early 25th dynasty, a similar chronology can also be suggested for the door. Such a chronology is also supported by late Third Intermediate Period so-called 'inscripational style' shabti boxes.⁷⁰ The inscriptions on these objects are carried out in a manner clearly comparable to our door – with blue or black hieroglyphs on white background.

Besides the wooden door, two more groups of artefacts have to be mentioned that may contribute to a better understanding of the character of the burials in Tomb B. In the case of the first group it is probably more justified to speak of the absence of certain objects. Only a sandstone lid portraying jackal-headed Duamutef, i.e., represented canopic jars. This lid (*Fig. 19*), dated by analogies to the 25th–26th dynasties,⁷¹ was found in a mixed context of Tomb B's forecourt, so that even its direct association with the tomb may be called into question. It is difficult to decide whether canopic jars were stolen from the tomb or never placed there. Noteworthy is, however, the fact that at least one mummy in the tomb testifies to the custom of replacing the internal organs into the body cavity.⁷² This practice widely applied during Dynasties 21 and 22 did not require the attachment of canopic jars to the funerary sets. Even dummy jars appeared only in elite burials while most contemporary assemblages lacked such items.⁷³ It seems that the old custom of storing the human intestines in jars revived under Taharqo,⁷⁴ remaining sporadic until Dynasty 26. Since the individuals buried in Tomb B did not belong to the Theban elite but to the middle class, it is also possible that their burials were unaccompanied by canopic equipment. The sole exception is probably the burial placed in one of the side chambers (Room I) of the tomb. This chamber was provided with a niche in the floor (*cf. Fig. 3*), which, by analogy with similar niches from Medinet Habu, Saqqara and Giza,⁷⁵ was constructed for the storage of canopic jars.

The second group of objects may arouse interest for other reasons. This group contains wooden objects – an *akhom*-bird, two *shuty*-feathers and fragments from ram's horns – which belonged to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues. Wooden statues of Osiris were frequently placed in Theban tombs from the New Kingdom, undergoing a significant functional and iconographic change during the Third Intermediate

⁶⁵ Cf. the coffins of Shepenmehyt and Djedmontefankh (25th–26th dynasty): TAYLOR 2003, pls 64–65. See also the coffins of Tadiiset and Hor: LAURENT n. d., Nos 167 and 168.

⁶⁶ Cairo 27303, cf. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT 1985, No 45.

⁶⁷ Cf. e.g., TAYLOR 2003, pls 61, 63–65; RAVEN 1981, pl. 5; LAURENT n. d., 126–132; LISE 1979, Nos 1, 3.

⁶⁸ TAYLOR 2003, 114–115.

⁶⁹ Cf. RAVEN 1981, 7–21; SHEIKHOESLAMI 2003, 131–137.

⁷⁰ See esp. the 'inscripational style' boxes of Aston's Type VII: ASTON 1994, 33–34, fig. 6.4.

⁷¹ HASLAUER 1989, 2,111–2,112; REISNER 1967, 82–83 (CG 4120), 90 (CG 4139).

⁷² Personal communication of Dr. Á. Makó. Cf. also FARKAS 1993, 19–21.

⁷³ BROVARSKI 1978, 4.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 4; ASTON 1987, 640.

⁷⁵ ASTON 2000, 161.

Period. The presence of ram's horns and *shuty*-feathers (*Fig. 20*) indicates that the statuettes from Tomb B belong to a late phase in the development of Osiris figures when the image obtained a more specific iconography referring to the composite deity Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.⁷⁶ Types III and IV in Raven's typology that exhibit this scheme appeared in Dynasty 25. The relatively 'late' chronological position of these statues is also indicated by the *akhom*-bird that used to decorate the pedestal of such statues. Unfortunately, the chronology cannot be elaborated further on since we miss the statues themselves, which may have provided more precise criteria for dating. Considering that several examples of Type IV and at least one example of Type III are Ptolemaic in date,⁷⁷ only a vague chronology to between the 8th and 3rd c. BC is possible.

BURIALS OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD – THE SECOND PHASE OF TOMB B

The archaeological material positively verifies that Tomb B, after a period of abandonment and decay, became reused in Ptolemaic times. As indicated by the diffusion of finds, two parts of the tomb were favoured by the late occupants: the vestibule and the rock-cut chambers of the tomb. The vestibule, probably being in a highly damaged and deteriorated state by that time, was restored by the new owners, and transformed to house multiple burials. The finds retrieved from these burials included painted and domestic pottery (*Figs 29–33*), footcases from Ptolemaic cartonnages (*Fig. 36*) and blue-glazed ushebti figures (*Fig. 34*). Especially significant was the concentration of Ptolemaic painted pottery decorated in a style, which exhibits a unique amalgam of Egyptian and Hellenistic motifs⁷⁸ (*Figs 32–33*). Five types of ushebti figures were represented – all characterised by a thick blue glaze as well as back pillars and pedestal, features that are typical of post-26th dynasty funerary figures.⁷⁹ On one of them the fragmentary name of a certain [...]hertjebty⁸⁰ is preserved. The most remarkable find of this chamber was a papyrus roll retrieved from a niche in the south wall of the vestibule.⁸¹ The papyrus containing the Book of the Dead chapter 1 also features two personal names,⁸² viz. Setj-guwa and Ronpetnoferet.⁸³ According to O. Illés who is studying the papyri from TT 32, this papyrus did not form part of a longer roll but contained only the extract of BD chapter 1. Similar rolls used as magical charms appear in post-Ramesside funerary contexts.⁸⁴ The chronology of the burials in the vestibule can be established on the basis of pottery finds. The stylistic features of the painted pottery are indicative of a dating to the 3rd and early 2nd c. BC. Similar conclusions can be borne out by the co-presence of two undecorated pottery types illustrated as *Figs 29–31*. While *Fig. 29* is a four-handled oil container that has a time-span from Late Dynastic times to the early Ptolemaic Period,⁸⁵ the unguentaria illustrated by *Figs 30–31* are unattested in Egyptian contexts before the 3rd c. BC.

As already mentioned, other Ptolemaic burials were identified in the rock-cut chambers of the tomb. It is hard to say if this part of the tomb was accessible in Ptolemaic times through the original entrance or the shaft of Tomb B 2. The fact that the side chambers of Tomb B 2 yielded predominantly Ptolemaic material points to the latter suggestion, also signifying perhaps that Tomb B 2 was a Ptolemaic addition to this large tomb-system. The layout of the side chambers of the shaft tomb⁸⁶ seems to corroborate that Tomb B 2 is later in date than the underground corridor of Tomb B. What seems certain, however, is that the interior rooms of Tomb B connected by breaks to Tomb B 2 were also re-used at this time. The burials in these chambers could be dated to the second half of the 3rd c. BC on the basis of an inscribed mummy wrapping containing the names of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoë III⁸⁷ (*Fig. 35*). The occupation probably

⁷⁶ RAVEN 1978–79, 263–271, esp. 290–291.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 265, 269–270.

⁷⁸ SCHREIBER 2003, 61–62.

⁷⁹ STEWART 1995, 34, 40.

⁸⁰ Cf. CHAPPAZ 1991, 120.

⁸¹ KÁKOSY 2003, 432.

⁸² I owe this information to O. Illés.

⁸³ PN I, 224, 11.

⁸⁴ Cf. TAYLOR 1999, 59–72.

⁸⁵ Cf. ARNOLD 1966, 66–68, fig. 4; FRENCH–GHALY 1991, 105, Nos 18 a–b.

⁸⁶ The layout of the first eastern side chamber of Tomb B 2 clearly indicates that the original rectangular plan for the chamber was deliberately modified by the builders in order to avoid break-through to Tomb B. Cf. ground plan.

⁸⁷ KÁKOSY 1994, 27; SCHREIBER 2002, 415–416.

continued in the 2nd c. BC, as it is indicated by painted ceramic vessels dated to this time.⁸⁸ Although tomb robbery did not spare human corpses either, two mummies could be safely dated to this time. Both were carefully mummified with hands crossed over the chest typically for the practice that gained acceptance in Late Dynastic times.⁸⁹ The burials were equipped with cartonnages and painted hypocephali⁹⁰ as well. The preserved coffin fragments invite comparison with early Ptolemaic examples coming from Theban elite burials.⁹¹ Manuscripts of the Book of the Dead were given to at least two individuals. These rolls, in contrast to the papyrus found in the vestibule, contained texts and vignettes from various chapters of the Book of the Dead. One of them was made for a certain Hornofer.⁹² One may presume that the fragmentary basalt head of a king exhibiting stylistic features of early Ptolemaic portraiture discovered in the fill overlying Tomb B 2 might also come from one of these burials.⁹³ The presence of objects such as hypocephali and Book of the Dead manuscripts, rarely given to non-elite burials, suggests that Tomb B 2 served as a burial place for high-ranking individuals in contemporary Theban society. It is also noteworthy that the occupants did not re-use large size rock-cut tombs of earlier periods as it is otherwise typical in the Theban necropolis but preferred a new construction, incorporating the side chambers of Tomb B into their tomb system. This fact yields information concerning the prestige of el-Khokha that remained, together with el-Asasif, among the most important cemeteries of Thebes-West in early Ptolemaic times.

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⁸⁸ SCHREIBER 2003, 61–62.

⁸⁹ GRAY 1972, 200–204.

⁹⁰ Cf. KÁKOSY 1994, 26, figs. 8, 10. The re-examination of the material in 2004 demonstrated that one gessoed linen fragment formerly described by Kákosy as a hypocephalus (*ibid.*, fig. 9) belongs to a Ptolemaic cartonnage.

⁹¹ Unfortunately, the preserved material is too fragmentary

to allow even a partial reconstruction of these coffins. It is, nevertheless, evident that antropoid coffins comparable in style to those of the Nesmin family in TT 32 and to the ensemble of Hornedjitef were deposited in the tomb. For the ensemble of Hornedjitef, cf. bibliography in WALKER–BIERBRIER 1997, 30.

⁹² KÁKOSY 1993, 3.

⁹³ Unpublished, Reg. No 2002.S.002

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