

Linking Karnak and the Asasif:

New thoughts based on Ptolemaic burials from TT 414

Julia Budka

1. Introduction

The monumental tombs of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties located in the Asasif of Western Thebes, also known as “temple tombs”, represent excellent examples to tackle the subject of the discourse between Egyptian temples and tombs. This paper will highlight some aspects of the intense reuse of these monuments during the fourth and third centuries BCE. It is already well-known that the Asasif tombs were occupied during this timespan predominantly by families of the Amun clergy, working in the temples of Karnak being responsible for various rituals both on the East and the West bank. In light of the general theme of the 2017 Tempeltagung, the significance of the Amun priesthood involved in using the Asasif tombs – both for burials and cultic use – will be discussed, taking Ptolemaic families buried in the Saite tomb TT 414 as a case study. The interchangeability of rituals in Theban temple tombs and temples will be debated as well, including unpublished material and new dating evidence based on tomb groups and pottery from TT 414.

2. The Asasif necropolis

The part of the Theban necropolis known as the Asasif¹ is situated in front of the valley of Deir el-Bahari.² The royal temples of Deir el-Bahari (Mentuhotep Nebheptre, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III) rise above the plain of the Asasif valley and a strong connection between the Asasif and Deir el-Bahari is traceable throughout much of Egyptian history.³ Most importantly, the royal causeways – processional approaches to the temples in Deir el-Bahari,

1 For the obscure etymology of the toponym “Asasif” see D. EIGNER, Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole, DÖAWW 8, UZK 6, Vienna 1984, 28; J. P. ELIAS, Coffin Inscriptions in Egypt after the New Kingdom, Chicago 1993, 188, note 1.

2 F. KAMPP-SEYFRIED, Thebes, el-Asasif, in: K. BARD (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt, London 1999, 802; D. POLZ, Asasif, in: OEA I, 140–142.

3 M. BIETAK, I. Zur Topographie des Asasif und der Lage des Anch-Hor-Grabes innerhalb der Thebanischen Nekropole, in: M. BIETAK/E. REISER-HASLAUER, Das Grab des Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris, Vol. I, DÖAWW 6, UZK 4, Vienna 1978, 19–29; EIGNER, Die monumentalen Grabbauten, 21; N. STRUDWICK, Some aspects of the archaeology of the Theban necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, in: N. STRUDWICK/J. H. TAYLOR (eds.), The Theban Necropolis, Past, Present and Future, London 2003, 174 with note 83; A. ŁAJTAR, Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, A study of an Egyptian temple based on Greek sources, The JJP-Suppl. IV, Warsaw 2006, passim; J. BUDKA, Bestattungsbrauch und Friedhofsstruktur im Asasif. Eine Untersuchung der spätzeitlichen Befunde anhand der Ergebnisse der österreichischen Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1969–1977, DÖAWW 59, UZK 34, Vienna 2010, 38–44 and passim.

especially on the occasion of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley⁴ – run through the Asasif, which was consequently regarded as sacred landscape throughout the millennia.⁵ The finds and structures within the area originate from the early Middle Kingdom⁶ and continue through the Roman Period⁷ with a particular prominence in the Late Period (eighth to fourth century BCE).⁸

In the eastern part of the Asasif, Austrian excavations directed by Manfred Bietak were undertaken from 1969 to 1977 (Fig. 1) and uncovered many small tombs with mud brick superstructures as well as numerous shaft tombs.⁹ The focus of the work was on the monumental tomb of Ankh-Hor (TT 414, Twenty-Sixth Dynasty),¹⁰ which then served as exemplary study for an “ideal” Theban tomb of the Late Period by the mission’s architect Dieter Eigner.¹¹

2.1 *The concept of the temple tombs in Western Thebes*

During the Egyptian Late Period, considerable changes in the private tomb architecture and the funerary customs are traceable. In the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties the largest private tomb buildings were built in Thebes, introducing new elements compared to earlier Theban rock tombs.¹² The highest officials were buried in monuments which are

- 4 For this important festival of the Theban necropolis see S. SCHOTT, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale, Festbräuche einer Totenstadt*, AAWMainz 11, Wiesbaden 1953; C. J. BLEEKER, *Egyptian Festivals, Enactments of Religious Renewal*, SHR 13, Leiden 1967, 137–139; E. GRAEFE, *Talfest*, in: LÄ VI, 187–189; S.-A. NAGUIB, *The Beautiful Feast of the Valley*, in: R. SKARSTEN/E. J. KLEPPE/R. B. FINNESTAD (eds.), *Understanding and History in Arts and Sciences*, Oslo 1991, 21–32; M. BIETAK, *La Belle Fête de la Vallée: l’Asasif revisité*, in: CH. ZIVIE-COCHE/I. GUERMEUR (eds.), « Parcourir l’éternité », *Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, BEHE, Section des Sciences religieuses, Paris 2012, 135–163; M. BIETAK, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale: Kult zur Vereinigung mit den Toten in der thebanischen Nekropole*, in: G. DANEK/I. HELLERSCHMID (eds.), *Rituale, Identitätsstiftende Handlungskomplexe. 2. Tagung des Zentrums Archäologie und Altertumswissenschaften an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2.–3. November 2009*, *Origines* 2, Vienna 2012, 23–35; K.-J. SEYFRIED, *Bemerkungen und Quellen zum ḥ3b nfr n jnt, dem „Schönen Fest des Tales“ in Theben*, GM Beihefte 13, Göttingen 2013.
- 5 BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 45–48.
- 6 See H. WINLOCK, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931*, New York 1942, 4–6; M. BIETAK, *Theben-West (Luqсор)*. Vorbericht über die ersten vier Grabungskampagnen (1969–1971), SAWW 278.4, Vienna 1972, 13.
- 7 Cf. E. HASLAUER, *Gesichter von Särgen aus dem Asasif. Eine Ergänzung zu den Särgen der Soter-Familie*, in: E. CZERNY/I. HEIN/H. HUNGER/D. MELMAN/A. SCHWAB (eds.), *Timelines. Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, OLA 149.1, Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA 2006, 121–128; J. BUDKA, *Neues zu den Nutzungsphasen des Monumentalgrabes von Ankh-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris (TT 414)*, in: *Ä&L* 18, 2008, 61–85.
- 8 BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 60–78 with further references.
- 9 See BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, passim.
- 10 BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Ankh-Hor*, Vol. I; M. BIETAK/E. REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Ankh-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris*, Vol. II, DÖAWW 7, UZK 5, Vienna 1982; EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 54–55.
- 11 EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 59–62, 121–122, 154, fig. 121.
- 12 EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, passim; J. BUDKA, *The use of pottery in funerary contexts during the Libyan and Late Period: A view from Thebes and Abydos*, in: L. BAREŠ/Ā. COPPENS/K. SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition. Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE*, Prague 2010, 60–74.

known as “temple tombs” since their outer form and inner structure reflects sanctuaries and temples for gods.¹³ This has to be viewed within the context of a general development: in the course of the first millennium BCE, Egyptian funerary cult became more and more like temple cult,¹⁴ and tombs were considered to be temples respectively sanctuaries of gods. An increasing focus on the other-worldly aspects of the funerary beliefs can be already noted since Ramesside times.¹⁵ This “Osirianisation” in the advanced New Kingdom seems to be essential for the later development of the merging of the funerary and the temple sphere. In contrast to everyday life associations of burial gifts and tomb decoration in the early New Kingdom, funerary cult, tomb architecture and tomb equipment now was strongly related to afterlife beliefs and finally referred almost exclusively to the funerary sphere.

The Theban temple tombs of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties are not only remarkable in terms of size, but they also show unique architectural features. They combine elements from temples, royal tombs¹⁶ and Osirian tombs/sanctuaries with non-royal tomb architecture of various periods of Egyptian history.¹⁷ References to earlier traditions, demonstrating continuity, have been noted as some of the characteristics of the first millennium BCE and in particular of the Late Period in architecture and art.¹⁸ Probably an innovative element of the Theban temple tombs is the so-called “Lichthof”, an open courtyard representing the central place for cultic activities and offerings in front of the subterranean parts of the monuments.¹⁹ The Late Period “Lichthof” is characteristic for the monumental temple tombs located in the Asasif and might reflect the open courtyards of so-called New

- 13 Vgl. BUDKA, in BAREŠ/COPPENS/SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 77–78. The term “temple tomb” was first used for the Saqqara tombs of the New Kingdom like the tomb of Horemhab (G. T. MARTIN, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great. New Aspects of Antiquity*, London 1991); lately, it was also proposed for the temple-like mastaba of Ptahshepses of the Old Kingdom (J. KREJČI, *Die Mastaba des Wesirs Ptahshepses*, in: *Sokar* 21, 2010, 44–55). Authors have also used “tomb temples” for Ramesside Theban tombs, see, e.g., T. A. BÁCS, *The last New Kingdom tomb at Thebes: the end of a great tradition?*, in: *BMSAES* 16, 2011, 1–46; U. RUMMEL, *Der Tempel im Grab: die Doppelgrabanlage der Hohepriester des Amun Ramsesnacht und Amenophis (K93.11/K93.12) in Dräʿ Abū-el-Nagā/Theben-West*, in: I. GERLACH/D. RAUE (eds.), *Sanktuar und Ritual: heilige Plätze im archäologischen Befund, Menschen, Kulturen, Traditionen* 10, Rahden 2013, 221–233 (and in this volume).
- 14 See, e.g., F. COPPENS, *Funerary practices in Ptolemaic and Roman temples. A Case-study of the complex of wabet and court*, in: H. GYÖRY (ed.), *Aegyptus et Pannonia IV. Acta Symposia anno 2006*, Budapest 2010, 13–37; F. COPPENS, *The so-called “Lichthof” once more: on the transmission of concepts between the tomb and temple*, in: E. PISCHIKOVA/J. BUDKA/K. GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2014, 346.
- 15 J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab des Amenemope TT 41, Theben 3*, Mainz 1991, 6–8; see also BUDKA, in BAREŠ/COPPENS/SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 25.
- 16 J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der Thebanischen Nekropole*, AV 6, Mainz am Rhein 1973, 54; N. K. THOMAS, *A Typological Study of Saite Tombs at Thebes*, Ann Arbor 1980, 284–285.
- 17 EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 91–102, 106, 163–182; see also N. CASTELLANO I SOLÉ, *L'Arquitectura funerària al període Saïta*, NSAeg IV, Barcelona 2007, 384–386.
- 18 ASSMANN, *Das Grab des Basa*, 11; THOMAS, *A Typological Study of Saite Tombs*, 287; also EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 18.
- 19 EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 13; J. BUDKA, *Neues zum Grab des Anch-Hor (TT 414, Asasif): Der „Lichthof“*, in: *Sokar* 18, 2009, 80–87; COPPENS, in PISCHIKOVA/BUDKA/GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC* 2014, 343–356.

Kingdom temple tombs in Saqqara.²⁰ As was demonstrated by the case study of TT 414's "Lichthof", its use as an important place for rituals and offerings survived into Ptolemaic times.²¹ These activities focused on matters of regeneration and were thus connected with Osiris and the sun-god.²² Installations for these activities are cult niches and inventory like offering plates and stands, in use during the original phase of use and re-activated centuries later.²³ The "Lichthof" can be regarded as architectural embodiment of key issues in Late Period funerary culture: the increasing importance of the god Osiris and the concept of tombs as temples and places for cultic activities. This corresponds well with the interpretation that the "Lichthof" embodies the close connection between tombs and coffins²⁴ – the tomb was regarded as a monumental coffin, and in particular as the coffin of the god Osiris.²⁵

Manfred Bietak's recognition that the orientation of the monumental temple tombs was not arbitrary but should be seen in connection with the Beautiful Feast of the Valley and the function of the Hatshepsut causeway as a processional street can be considered as a milestone in the understanding of the structure of the Asasif necropolis.²⁶ Building upon this thesis and following Joachim Quack with further considerations,²⁷ I have argued elsewhere that the Late Period tombs in the Asasif are first of all "tombs at the temple dromos".²⁸ They became part of the religious landscape of the West Bank by being added to the already existing royal processional ways to Deir el-Bahari. This conceptual designation as "at the temple dromos" covers three essential aspects of the Theban monumental tombs: (1) their architectural-historical integration into the general development of tomb architecture of the first millennium BCE, (2) the takeover and integration of royal elements and concepts, and (3) their manifold references to Osiris and the worship of the gods, which ultimately resulted in (1) and (2). For the royal tombs at Tanis and Sais, the chapels of the god's wives in Medinet Habu and the Asasif tombs, the most significant aspect of these tombs located in the neighborhood of temples in the first millennium BCE seems to be an emphasis on the

20 Cf. BUDKA, Sokar 18, 80–87 with literature; see also COPPENS, in PISCHIKOVA/BUDKA/GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC 2014*, 343.

21 BUDKA, Sokar 18, 80–87.

22 EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 120; BUDKA, Sokar 18, 85–86; COPPENS, in PISCHIKOVA/BUDKA/GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the first millennium BC 2014*, 344.

23 EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 185–194.

24 E. RUSSMAN, The motif of bound papyrus plants and the decorative program in Mentuemhat's first court (further remarks on the decoration of the tomb of Mentuemhat), in: JARCE 32, 1995, 117–126; D. EIGNER, Remarks on the Architecture of the Lichthof in TT 223, Karakhamun, in: E. PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries and Research 2012–14*, Cairo 2017, 73–88.

25 RUSSMAN, JARCE 32, 117–126; see also C. GRECO, The forgotten tomb of Ramose (TT 132), in: E. PISCHIKOVA/J. BUDKA/K. GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2014, 193–197.

26 BIETAK, in BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor I*, 30–37.

27 J. QUACK, *Das Grab am Tempeldromos. Neue Deutungen zu einem spätzeitlichen Grabtyp*, in: K. ZIBELIUS-CHEN/H.-W. FISCHER-ELFERT (eds.), „Von reichlich ägyptischem Verstande“. Festschrift für Waltraud Guglielmi zum 65. Geburtstag, *Philippika 11*, Wiesbaden 2006, 113–132.

28 BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchstum*, 77–78; J. BUDKA, Totenkult im Tempelgrab. Zu rituellen Handlungen in Elitegräbern des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. in Theben (Ägypten), in: G. THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale. Tod und Jenseits in Frühgeschichte und Altertum*, Akten der 3. Tagung des Zentrums Archäologie und Altertumswissenschaften an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Origines 3*, Vienna 2014, 44.

funerary cult of the gods, especially numerous references to Osiris and to temple processions towards the god's tomb.²⁹ The temple tombs in the Asasif are thus not only architecturally, but especially conceptionally closely related to royal temples. References to temple cult and the adoration of gods in these tombs find forerunners since the New Kingdom, making the Asasif tombs with their location at the most important processional causeway of the New Kingdom the last outcome of a complex evolution of the merging of temple and funerary sphere in tombs. As will be highlighted in the following, the cult of Osiris can be understood as the key aspect for this development creating proper "temple tombs".³⁰

3. TT 414

TT 414 (Fig. 2) was not completely unknown before its discovery in 1971 by Manfred Bietak, but it was almost forgotten, after during the nineteenth century CE the agents of Henry Salt collected a substantial amount of objects and also Richard Lepsius reported rich findings in the tomb, especially many mummies and coffins.³¹ The Austrian mission under Manfred Bietak was responsible for the complete scientific exploration;³² Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer and Herman de Meulenaere presented genealogies of the families buried in TT 414 based on the finds and especially the coffins.³³ These objects have until now not been published in total. The final publication of the material, aiming to present the complete use-life and prosopography of people buried in TT 414 throughout the ages, is currently in preparation.³⁴ The history of research, but especially the intense re-use of TT 414 and several phases of plundering resulted in a very complex jigsaw puzzle of the tomb and its inventories; objects like wooden stelae, statues, cartonnage or coffins find joints in several museums.³⁵ Some

29 QUACK, in ZIBELIUS-CHEN/FISCHER-ELFERT (eds.), „Von reichlich ägyptischem Verstande“, 113–132; BUDKA, in BAREŠ/COPPENS/SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 64. Note that also the Osirian chapels in Karnak are arranged along "streets", see most recently L. COULON/A. HALLMANN/F. PAYRAUDEAU, *The Osirian chapels at Karnak: An historical and art historical overview based on recent fieldwork and studies*, in: E. PISCHIKOVA/J. BUDKA/K. GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, GHP Egyptology 27, London 2018, 271–293.

30 BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 45.

31 See EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 54–55; BUDKA, *Ä&L* 18, 64–65.

32 BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor I*; BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor II*.

33 E. REISER-HASLAUER, *B. Familien aus der zweiten Belegungszeit des Grabes (ca. Zeit der 30. Dynastie und frühe Ptolemäerzeit)*, in: M. BIETAK/E. REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris, Vol. II, DÖAWW 7, UZK 5*, Vienna 1982, 252–256; E. REISER-HASLAUER, *IX. Genealogisches Register*, in: M. BIETAK/E. REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris, Vol. II, DÖAWW 7, UZK 5*, Vienna 1982, 267–284; H. DE MEULENAERE, *Notes de prosopographie thébaine, Quatrième série*, in: *CdE* 64, 1989, 55–73.

34 The Ankh-Hor Project of LMU Munich (<https://ankhhorproject.wordpress.com/>) has conducted a first study season in March 2018, focusing on Ptolemaic coffins. See also BUDKA, *Ä&L* 18, 61–85; J. BUDKA, *Varianz im Regelwerk. Bestattungsabläufe im Monumentalgrab von Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris (TT 414)*, in: *Ä&L* 20, 2010, 49–66.

35 See, for example, the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure which is now in Warsaw (inv. nr. 143346, as a loan from the Louvre, N670; J. LIPINSKA, *An unusual wooden statuette of Osiris*, in: S. H. D'AUZIA (ed.), *Servant of Mut. Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, PdÄ 28, Leiden/Boston 2008, 166–169) while its pedestal was just found during the Austrian excavations (Reg. No. 695, BUDKA, *Ä&L* 18, 72, n. 70); another example is the wooden stela of Heraset, of which a large part came via Henry Salt to London (BM EA 8457), while Bietak excavated its joining part (Reg. No. 508), see BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des*

pieces were recovered in good state of preservation during the nineteenth century CE and are currently housed, among others, in the British Museum, the Egyptian Museum Turin and the Louvre Paris.³⁶

3.1 *The phases of use of TT 414*

The monumental Late Period Theban tombs were originally designed as family tombs and this also holds true for TT 414.³⁷ Apart from Ankh-Hor, who probably died in 585 BCE, one daughter, several brothers and one sister were buried in TT 414. The original burial compartments of the late Twenty-Sixth Dynasty were reachable via the rooms 7, 8 and 9 with room 7 functioning as the main chamber. The upper part of shaft 10 with a small chamber might also belong to this period.³⁸ Following a rather short period of abandonment, TT 414 was reused in several phases and for a long time since the Thirtieth Dynasty. Here, three main types of burial modes can be differentiated: First, the original burial compartment of Ankh-Hor was reused by the new owners of the tomb. Second, new shafts and chambers for burials were executed, best illustrated by the example of Wah-ib-Re who extended shaft 10 (see below). And finally, also areas that were originally not used as burial places like the pillared hall (room 4) were transformed into burial compartments during the phases of reuse.³⁹

3.2 *The new heyday: Thirtieth Dynasty to early Ptolemaic*

The reuse of Theban temple tombs of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties flourished especially during the fourth and third centuries BCE.⁴⁰ An increase in both pottery and burial equipment like coffins, chests and other objects is noticeable in many Theban tombs during the fourth century BCE.⁴¹ Because burial equipment of this period still provides some difficulties in dating,⁴² family relations between individual family members attested

Ankh-Hor II, pl. 155; BUDKA, *Ä&L* 20, 56.

36 For examples, especially stelae, statues and cartonnage see J. BUDKA/T. MEKIS/M.-C. BRUWIER, Re-use of Saite temple tombs in the Asasif during the early Ptolemaic time – the tomb group of *Mwt-Mnw* from TT 414, in: *Ä&L* 22/23, 2012/2013, 209–251; J. BUDKA/T. MEKIS, The Family of Wah-ib-Re I (TT 414) from Thebes, in: *Ä&L* 27, 2017, 219–240.

37 BUDKA, *Ä&L* 20, 53–57.

38 BUDKA, *Ä&L* 20, 57.

39 BUDKA, *Ä&L* 20, 57.

40 See D. A. ASTON, The Theban West Bank from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, in: N. STRUDWICK/J. H. TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis, Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, 162 with literature; STRUDWICK, in STRUDWICK/TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 181; for case studies see, e.g., the tomb of Padihorresnet (E. GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 196)*, with contributions of J. QUAEGBEUR (†), P. DILS and D. EIGNER, *MonAeg* IX, Turnhout 2003) and the tomb of Karakhamun (J. BUDKA, *Pottery from the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223)*, in: E. PISCHIKOVA (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis, Thebes. Karakhamun (TT 223) and Karabasken (TT 391) in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty*, Cairo 2014, 254–256).

41 Cf. G. SCHREIBER, Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic Painted pottery from Thebes (4th–2nd c. BC), *DissPan* III.6, Budapest 2003; BUDKA, in BARES/COPPENS/SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 22–72.

42 For a recent summary see G. SCHREIBER, Early and Middle Ptolemaic funerary art at Thebes (ca. 306–88 BC), in: Z. HAWASS/T. BACS/G. SCHREIBER (eds.), *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Theban Archaeology*

by coffins and other inscribed finds provide the necessary tools for fine dating phases of use, as was demonstrated for TT 414 (Fig. 2) and here in particular for burials from the Thirtieth Dynasty and the early Ptolemaic time.⁴³

During this era, choachytes were responsible for selecting spacious tombs from earlier periods for new burials for any individual and his/her family.⁴⁴ This was also the case for TT 414,⁴⁵ as was already pointed out by Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer.⁴⁶ A small amount of Twenty-Seventh Dynasty pottery was found in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty tomb, but all in all, the monument was probably abandoned in the late sixth century and only reused *c.* 150 years later. This phase of abandonment is indicated by the state of preservation of various parts of the tomb, in particular the “Lichthof”; which was in urgent need of consolidation.⁴⁷ For its consolidation, also coffin fragments of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty were used and it is therefore safe to assume that plundering of the original burials happened already prior to the fourth century BCE.⁴⁸

Based on finds from the “Lichthof” and the original burial compartment of Ankh-Hor, an Amun priest with the name Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy was responsible for the beginning of the intense re-use of TT 414 which lasted until Roman times.⁴⁹ Several offsprings of this Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I (G 66)⁵⁰ are attested who were all buried with their families in TT 414. The first generation of this family used the main burial chamber of Ankh-Hor as burial place.

Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I held several titles connected with Amun from Karnak, but he is also associated with Mut and Khonsu as well as with the triad Isis, Osiris and Horus from Coptos (see below, 3.3.1).⁵¹ He restored the “Lichthof” of TT 414 which is associated with Amun, Re and Osiris (see above). Interestingly, the new installations with offering plates

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- at the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Cairo 2011, 105–139. Cf. also D. A. ASTON, *Dynasty 26, dynasty 30 or dynasty 27? In search of the funerary archaeology of the Persian period*, in: A. LEAHY/J. TAIT (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith, Occasional Publications – EES 13*, London 1999, 17–22; ASTON, in STRUDWICK/TAYLOR (eds.), *Theban Necropolis*, 162–163; BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 362–363.
- 43 REISER-HASLAUER, in BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor II*, 252–256; BUDKA/MEKIS/BRUWIER, *Ä&L 22/23*, 209–251.
- 44 S. P. VLEEMING, *The office of a Choachyte in the theban area*, in: S. P. VLEEMING (Hg.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period (P. L. Bat. 27)*, P.L.Bat 27, Leiden/New York/Köln 1995, 241–255; K. DONKER VAN HEEL, *Djekhy & Son. Doing Business in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo/New York 2012, *passim*; S. REDFORD, *An interment of the early Ptolemaic Period*, in: P. P. CREASMAN (ed.) *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings and Ancient Thebes. Papers Presented in Honor of Richard H. Wilkinson*, WES 1, Tucson 2013, 277–285; BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 45–53.
- 45 BUDKA, *Ä&L 18*, 61–85; BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 82–84.
- 46 BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor I*, 141–146; BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor II*, 183–220. For the complex use-life of TT 414 see BUDKA, *Ä&L 18*, 61–85.
- 47 BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor I*, 141–146.
- 48 BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor I*, 141.
- 49 BUDKA, *Ä&L 20*, 57–58 with references.
- 50 REISER-HASLAUER, in BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor II*, 274. All of the G-numbers used in the following refer to the numbers in the genealogical register for TT 414 established by REISER-HASLAUER, in BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor II*, 267–284.
- 51 REISER-HASLAUER, in BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor II*, 274.

during the Thirtieth Dynasty follow the original Saite design and are oriented towards the east, towards Karnak.⁵² Osirian beds clearly give references to Khoaik rites and focus on the resurrection of the god and the deceased.⁵³ This focus on resurrection is nicely illustrated by the offering plate of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I from TT 414 and a bronze situla bearing his name which is now in the British Museum. Both objects testify that the main offering rites in the “Lichthof” are libation, for the gods and also the deceased.⁵⁴ The offering plate Reg. No. 646 shows Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I as ba-bird but also as a person drinking the libation water⁵⁵ and the situla carries PT 32, the spell for re-activating Osiris by the god’s own efflux, thus with Nile water.⁵⁶ The offering plate is also remarkable, because Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy’s parents are named and represented as ba-birds. It remains unclear and rather unlikely that his parents were also buried in TT 414, but the offering in the “Lichthof” included this first generation and fits perfectly into the Osirian theme and the cult of ancestors (see below).

Regarding the actual burial of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I, only few fragments from his inner and outer anthropoid coffins have survived (Reg. Nos. 607 und 680, Figs. 3 and 4) and were found in the original burial chamber of Ankh-Hor, associated with coffins of other family members. As mentioned above, similar to the original phase of use when siblings of Ankh-Hor had new shafts executed in secondary rooms, the second generation of the re-occupation of TT 414 also used new burial compartments. The finding of the intact burial of one of the sons of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I, Wah-ib-Re I (G42), in room 10/2 of TT 414⁵⁷ can be regarded as one of the most important discoveries in the Theban necropolis during the 1970s because more or less intact tomb groups datable to the Thirtieth Dynasty have rarely survived in Thebes.⁵⁸ The burial of Wah-ib-Re I is therefore of special importance, also for the reconstruction of the use-life of TT 414 as will be pointed out in the following.

3.3 *The family of Wah-ib-Re I*

Despite the intact state of his burial in room 10/2, only little information about the family of Wah-ib-re has survived there. However, his family tree was recently reconstructed with objects found in TT 414 by the Austrian mission, but taking also into account objects originally coming from TT 414, nowadays kept in museums outside of Egypt and not documented

52 BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 46–47.

53 EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 169–174; BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 46.

54 BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 47–49.

55 BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor I*, 147, fig. 60; BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 47.

56 The find spot of the situla is unclear and could have been TT 414 (as suggested by L. DONATELLI, “Cat. 120, situla di Hor”, in: D. FERRARI/P. PIACENTINI (eds.), *Il senso dell’Arte nell’antico Egitto*, Milano 1990, 174), since pottery situlae were found in the “Lichthof” (BUDKA, in BAREŠ/COPPENS/SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 41–44); however, it seems slightly more likely that the bronze situla comes from Medinet Habu/Djeme, see BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 52.

57 BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor I*, 183–220; BUDKA, *Ä&L* 18, 69–82; BUDKA, *Ä&L* 20, 57–58.

58 See ASTON, in STRUDWICK/TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 162; BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 358–362.

during scientific excavations.⁵⁹ One of the significant objects found in the burial chamber during the Austrian excavations, was a mould for a son of Horus figure sealed by someone with the name of Imhotep.⁶⁰ Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer proposed that this might represent the oldest son being responsible for the burial of Wah-ib-Re.⁶¹ Lately, the owner of a stela in Durham was confirmed as the same Imhotep, son of Wah-ib-Re.⁶² A coffin fragment found in TT 414 also attests to the burial of this newly established son in the tomb and gives the name of his mother and therefore of the wife of Wah-ib-Re I, Aset-em-akh-bit (Reg. No. 759). Based on other objects from TT 414, the family tree of Wah-ib-Re was enlarged (Fig. 5), adding proof for his wife, for three sons and several grandchildren.⁶³

In particular, the demotic mummy labels from TT 414 proved to be highly relevant for identifying persons.⁶⁴ Thanks to the reassessment of the data, fresh light was shed on the identities of several individuals with the name of Wah-ib-Re interred into TT 414. Firstly, it is now confirmed that Wah-ib-Re I is identical with Wah-ib-Re III and IV, resulting in the reassignment of objects like the stela BM EA 8641.⁶⁵ This stela was probably once set up in the “Lichthof” and belongs to the person buried in room 10/2.⁶⁶ Secondly, the demotic mummy label Reg. No. 617 (09/04) testifies a previously not known grandson of Wah-ib-Re I/III/IV, labelled as Wah-ib-Re V. Wah-ib-Re II (G43), known only from the side board of a canopic box found in the lower debris of the “Lichthof” of TT 414 in front of its northern wall (Reg. No. 377c)⁶⁷, is now confirmed as great-grandson of Wah-ib-Re I/III/IV.⁶⁸ Other demotic mummy labels also helped to clarify additional family ties of Wah-ib-Re I/III/IV: two further sons are attested and were also buried in TT 414 (Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, G76a and Iret-Hor-ru, G34/36).⁶⁹

Although little has survived from the original burial equipment of the family from TT 414 itself, objects looted from the tomb and now distributed in various collections and museums add much information for the reconstruction of the tomb groups.⁷⁰ Thanks to the newly

59 BUDKA/MEKIS, *Ä&L* 27, 219–240.

60 BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor II*, 189–190.

61 REISER-HASLAUER, in BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor II*, 256, n. 89 mentioning already the Durham stela.

62 BUDKA/MEKIS, *Ä&L* 27, 231–233.

63 BUDKA/MEKIS, *Ä&L* 27, 219–240.

64 J. QUAEGBEUR, Demotic inscription on wood from the tomb of Anch-Hor, in: M. BIETAK/E. REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris*, Vol. II, *DÖAWW* 7, *UZK* 5, Vienna 1982, 259–266; S. P. VLEEMING, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications*, A. Texts, *StudDem* 9, Leuven/Paris/Walpole 2011, 11–15; BUDKA/MEKIS, *Ä&L* 27, 221–222.

65 For the stela see M. L. BIERBRIER, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 11*, London 1987, 36–38, pls. 70–73; for its ownership by Wah-ib-Re I see BUDKA/MEKIS, *Ä&L* 27, 2017, 231.

66 See BUDKA, *Ä&L* 18, 77.

67 See REISER-HASLAUER, in BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Das Grab des Anch-Hor II*, 271 (G43).

68 BUDKA/MEKIS, *Ä&L* 27, 235–236.

69 BUDKA/MEKIS, *Ä&L* 27, 236–237.

70 See, e.g., the stela BM EA BM 8462 of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II (BIERBRIER, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, 36–38; BUDKA, *Ä&L* 18, 75–78, figs. 13–14) and the fragments of Book of the Dead papyrus of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I (G65/66) BM EA 10539, 10700, 10733 (JR. M. MOSHER, *The Book of the Dead, Saite through Ptolemaic Periods; A Study of Traditions Evident in Versions of Texts and Vignettes*, SPBD Studies, Vol. I, Charleston 2016, 16–19).

established family relations, some of these objects are now fine-dated and will contribute to the general understanding of tomb groups during the Thirtieth Dynasty and Ptolemaic times in Thebes.⁷¹

Interestingly, the offsprings of Wah-ib-Re, and thus the 3rd and 4th generation of the re-occupation of TT 414, introduced a new modus of burial, using the pillared hall as burial place.⁷² It is remarkable that at least in some cases coffins of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty were re-used.⁷³ Besides evidence of burials of the immediate offsprings of Wah-ib-re in the pillared hall (room 4), there are finds attesting to the re-use of the main chamber of Ankh-Hor (room 7/1,2). All in all, this reuse during the Ptolemaic period seems to bear a number of clear associations to the earlier history of TT 414 and its original owner.⁷⁴

3.3.1 The priestly titles of the Wah-ib-Re family

Some new observations concerning the priestly titles of the Wah-ib-Re family are possible, especially regarding the question of the inheritance of titles. Wah-ib-Re had three sons: Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy was the eldest, followed by Iret-Hor-ru and then possibly Imhotep. These sons inherited the most common titles of their father: god's father, prophet of Amun and *s3h-wd3.t*, scribe of the district of the town. The specification of "prophet of Amun-Re, Lord of the throne of the two lands in the Akhmenu" (*hm ntr n Jmn-Rc nb nswt-t3wj m 3h-mnw*) is in particular notable (see below). The priestly titles refer in general to the Theban Triad, to Hathor, to Amun of Opet and also to Osiris residing in Opet (*Wsjr hrj jb Jpt*).⁷⁵ Other common titles of the family are: prophet of Osiris the great *Ser* of/in Thebes, prophet of Osiris residing in Coptos (*hm ntr n Wsjr hrj jb Gbtjw*), of Horus and Isis from Coptos (Triad from Coptos).⁷⁶ References to gods in Qus (*Gsj*) are also common. Thus, the family is not just an "Amun priest" family – from grandfather Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I onwards over at least three generations, they had titles associating them with rituals for Osiris in Karnak. This also holds true for other family members: *P3-hr-Hnsw* was the (second) husband of the sister of Wah-ib-Re I/III/IV and was also buried in TT 414. His naophorous statue with Osiris

71 BUDKA/MEKIS, *Ä&L* 27, 219–240.

72 BUDKA, *Ä&L* 20, 60–61.

73 BUDKA, *Ä&L* 20, 59–63.

74 Notable are also the references to Saite Kings (Psamtik I and Apries) by means of the anthroponym Wah-ib-Re; such references were common during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (H. RANKE, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I*, Glückstadt 1935, 72–73) and again in the Thirtieth Dynasty and Ptolemaic era. For mentions to earlier pharaohs in personal names see M. M. DEPAUW/W. CLARYSSE, *When a pharaoh becomes magic*, *CdE* 77, 2002, 55–64; A. LEAHY, "Necho" in Late Period personal names, in: D. ASTON/B. BADER/C. GALLORINI/P. NICHOLSON/S. BUCKINGHAM (eds.), *Under the Potter's Tree: Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday*, OLA 204, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2011, 547–573.

75 For the importance of Osiris of Opet, in particular in connection with Osiris of Coptos, see L. COULON, *Une trinité d'Osiris thébains d'après un relief découvert à Karnak*, in: C. THIERS (ed.), *Documents de théologies thébaines tardives* (D3T 1), CENiM 13, Montpellier 2009, 1–18.

76 For the otherwise rare title "prophet of Osiris, the great *Ser* of/in Thebes" see L. COULON, *Les formes d'Isis à Karnak à travers la prosopographie sacerdotale de l'époque ptolémaïque*, in: L. BRICAULT/ M. J. VERSLUYS (eds.), *Isis on the Nile. Egyptian Gods in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. Proceedings of the IVth International Conference of Isis Studies*, Liège, Novembre 27–29, 2008, RGRW 171, Leiden 2010, 130; BUDKA/MEKIS, *Ä&L* 27, 233.

(Karnak Cachette, JE 37993bis) can be understood as three-dimensional representation of his titles and duties: He holds similar titles like Wah-ib-Re, *jt ntr hm ntr (n) Jmn m Jpt-swt* and various titles associated with Mut, Khonsu, Hathor, but also the above mentioned title *hm ntr n Wsjr p3 sr 3 (n) W3st*.⁷⁷ The latter, associations of a priest buried in TT 414 with Osiris, Koptos and Khoiak rituals, leads to questions of general aspects of funerary cult in the Theban temple tombs which will be discussed in the following.

4. Funerary cult as temple cult

The major changes in funerary customs of the first millennium BCE are influenced by the increasing importance of the Osirian concept, the merging of Amun and Osiris and the idea of a tomb as a temple, culminating in the practice of funerary cult as temple cult for the gods. As was already pointed out by Filip Coppens and others, evidence from both tombs and temples underlines that a separation into funerary cult and temple cult is artificial and does not account to the data available.⁷⁸ In terms of deities, there are strong references to Osiris, Amun-Re and Re in the temple tombs in the Asasif. In Karnak, there is also a solid presence of Osiris in the northeastern part of the Amun precinct and elsewhere.⁷⁹ It is significant that the original owners of the large temple tombs in the Asasif, in particular the High Stewards of the Divine Adoratrice, were directly involved in the building of small Osirian chapels in Karnak.⁸⁰ Both the god's wives of Amun and their officials were depicted in reliefs and named in texts, especially in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.⁸¹ Thus, the High Stewards like Ibi, Pabasa and Sheshonq and others possessed not only a tomb built with references to the tomb of Osiris and the Osireion at Abydos, but they also participated in the annual Osirian procession at Karnak and presumably dedicated statues to the god. Subsequently, a merging of the cult for the dead, the cult of Osiris and festivals with a funerary connotation took place. These processes seem to be displayed in the material evidence from fourth (to third) century BCE Asasif as well, especially in the use of pottery.⁸²

77 H. SELIM, The Naophorous Statue of *P3-hr-hnsw* in Cairo Museum JE 37993 bis from Karnak Cachette, Excavation Number K.585, in: N. KLOTH/K. MARTIN/E. PARDEY (eds.), *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück: Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, BSAK 9, Hamburg 2003, 399–407; BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 51; see also BUDKA/MEKIS, *Ä&L* 27, 233.

78 COPPENS, in GYÖRY (ed.), *Ägyptus et Pannonia IV*, 13–37; COPPENS, in PISCHIKOVA/BUDKA/GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC 2014*, 346. See also F. COPPENS, *Unguent and pectorals. Instruments of regeneration in Ptolemaic and Roman temples*, in: M. DOLIŃSKA/H. BEINLICH (eds.), 8. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples*, Warschau, 22.–25. September 2008, KSGH 3.3, Wiesbaden 2010, 39–55.

79 See, e.g., L. COULON, *Les chapelles osiriennes de Karnak: aperçu des travaux récents*, in: BSFE 195–196, 2016, 16–35.

80 COULON, BSFE 195–196, 16–35; A. HALLMANN, *Iconography of prayer and power: portrayals of the God's Wife Ankhnesneferibre in the Osiris chapels at Karnak*, in: M. BECKER/A. I. BLÖBAUM/A. LOHWASSER (eds.), *“Prayer and Power”: Proceedings of the Conference on the God's Wives of Amun in Egypt during the First Millennium BC*, *ÄAT* 84, Münster 2016, 205–222.

81 COULON/HALLMANN/PAYRAUDEAU, in PISCHIKOVA/BUDKA/GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC 2018*, 278.

82 BUDKA, in BAREŠ/COPPENS/SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 46–48, 62–64; BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 50.

The combination of the titles of the people buried in TT 414 clearly show that during the fourth and third centuries BCE Amun priests were interred in the monument who were involved in the cult for the Triad of Coptos and the Khoiak rites at Karnak.⁸³ Djeme and Medinet Habu were also important religious sites with Djeme as the best example of funerary cult for a deity,⁸⁴ and several members of the greater family of Wah-ib-Re I are attested there.⁸⁵ This seems to be reflected in the way funerary cult was executed: the cult in tombs is not distinctive from the one in temples and, most importantly, also at the presumed tomb of the god Osiris at Umm el-Qaab the same rituals and votive ceramics are traceable as in the temple tombs of the Asasif.⁸⁶ Several objects from TT 414 exemplify the richness of theological thoughts of Theban priests of the time of the turn of the fourth to third centuries BCE. A relative freedom of the usage of texts is traceable, priests dared to recompose the texts of these objects to gain an *individual* piece in every case. Furthermore, this seems to coincide with the extended use of texts formerly associated with the temple sphere to the funerary and private use.⁸⁷

The god Osiris, his protection and his resurrection was evoked in many ways, in reliefs, in texts, on funerary objects and in architectural design.⁸⁸ Interestingly, specific texts like the lamentations of Isis and Nephthys are found primarily on coffins from Akhmim and only rarely on Theban coffins. One of these rare Theban examples is a coffin of one of the brothers of Wah-ib-Re I from TT 414.⁸⁹ The awakening of Osiris can be seen as the general focus, in the funerary sphere but also in several temple rituals.⁹⁰ I would suggest further that because of this focus on the resurrection, the emphasis is on divine, royal and human ancestors (see the

83 COULON, in BRICAULT/ VERSLUYS (eds.), *Isis on the Nile*, 130.

84 BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 52–53.

85 See BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 52–53.

86 BUDKA, in BAREŠ/COPPENS/SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 49–61.

87 See BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 476; S. TÖPFFER, *Funktion, Verwendung und Entstehung der Textkomposition Balsamierungsritual*, in: B. BACKES/J. DIELEMAN (eds.), *Liturgical texts for Osiris and the deceased in Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt / Liturgische Texte für Osiris und Verstorbene im spätzeitlichen Ägypten: proceedings of the colloquiums at New York (ISAW), 6 May 2011, and Freudenstadt, 18–21 July 2012, SsR 14, Wiesbaden 2015, 245–258 with further literature. As an example for the merging of temple cult with funerary liturgies see e.g. pWalters Art Museum 551, Y. BARBASH, *The Mortuary Papyrus of Padikakem: Walters Art Museum 551, YES 8, New Haven 2011. See also the use of divine decrees on exclusively Theban funerary stelae of this period, cf. G. SCHREIBER, The Hellenistic and Roman Periods on el-Khokha, in: T. A. BÁCS/Z. I. FÁBIÁN/G. SCHREIBER/L. TÖRÖK (eds.), Hungarian Excavations in the Theban Necropolis. A Celebration of 102 Years of Fieldwork in Egypt, Budapest 2009, 124–125; BUDKA/MEKIS/BRUWIER, *Ä&L* 22/23, 224; A. KUCHARÉK, *Die Klagelieder von Isis und Nephthys in Texten der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit*, in: J. ASSMANN (ed.), *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, Bd. 4, *Supplemente zu den Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 22, Heidelberg 2010, 311. For the close relations between temples and tombs see also A. VON LIEVEN, *Das Verhältnis zwischen Tempel und Grab im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, in: *RdE* 61, 2010, 91–106; BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 45–53.**

88 J. BUDKA, *Kushites at Abydos: A view from Umm el-Qaab*, in: C. JURMAN/D. A. ASTON/B. BADER (eds.), *A True Scribe of Abydos. Essays on First Millennium Egypt in Honour of Anthony Leahy*, OLA 265, Leuven 2018, 54–63.

89 Reg. No. 664 of Pa-khar-Khonsu II (G 56). Cf. KUCHARÉK, in ASSMANN (ed.), *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* 4, 311.

90 See COPPENS, in PISCHIKOVA/BUDKA/GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC* 2014, 346 with references.

evidence from “Lichthof” in TT 414 mentioned above as well as the general location of the Asasif with its connections to Deir el-Bahari and royal monuments). It does not seem to be a coincidence that Abydos and the Akhmenu, both associated with ancestors’ cult, are of prime importance in the sphere of the temple tombs in Asasif. As highlighted, the priests buried there are also involved in the Khoiak rites and the northeastern sector of Karnak dedicated to Osiris. Already in 1984, Dieter Eigner stressed reflections of the Osirian sanctuary at the back side of the Seti I complex in Abydos in certain sets of rooms within the subterranean structures of the Theban temple tombs in the Asasif,⁹¹ for example in the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34).⁹² Thanks to two rock inscriptions at Abydos, a visit by Montuemhat to the site is attested and it is safe to assume that he was not only familiar with the tomb of Osiris at Umm el-Qaab and the respective ritual activities, but also with the older still standing monuments like the temple of Seti I and the Osireion.⁹³

5. The Asasif and Karnak

Based on the theological development sketched above, I would like to propose that the temple tombs in the Asasif mirror the sacred landscape of Thebes and that their Ptolemaic re-occupants consciously revived concepts of the Late Period. These tombs, their inventories and occupants as well as the cultic installations and ritual practices carried out in the monuments embody the fusion of temple and funerary spheres and the merging of Amun and Osiris. The Osirian rituals at Karnak, including the cult of the fetish of Abydos and thus references to Abydos⁹⁴ (and Koptos) are integral aspects of the Amun complex in Ptolemaic times and consequently Amun priests are also involved in Khoiak rituals.⁹⁵ Karnak, Amun and Osiris dominated the professional life of the priests and of the population living on the east side. This applies in particular to the persons buried in TT 414. The connection to eternity, to the hereafter and to the deceased was accomplished by the passage to the west, evoking older traditions going back to the second millennium BCE. The cultic framework was created by the Valley Festival and the Decade Festival.⁹⁶ As already noted by Claude Traunecker, there are many hints that the character of these two festivals has changed in the course of the first

91 EIGNER, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, 163–183; see also BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 71 and 78. For TT 33 and its reflections of Abydos see C. TRAUNECKER, The “Funeral Palace” of Padiamenope (TT 33): Tomb, place of pilgrimage, and library. Current research, in: E. PISCHIKOVA/J. BUDKA/K. GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2014, 205–233; C. TRAUNECKER, *Abydenian pilgrimage, immortal stars and Theban liturgies in the tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33)*, in: E. PISCHIKOVA/J. BUDKA/K. GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, GHP Egyptology 27, London 2018, 126–151.

92 See BUDKA, *Bestattungsbrauchtum*, 65 with further references in note 346. Also remarkable is the “Osirian monumental tomb” section of TT 33, see TRAUNECKER, in PISCHIKOVA/BUDKA/GRIFFIN (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC* 2014, 217–221.

93 See U. EFFLAND/A. EFFLAND, *Abydos: Tor zur ägyptischen Unterwelt, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie; Sonderbände der Antiken Welt*, Darmstadt 2013, 81.

94 L. COULON, *Les uraei gardiens du fétiche abydénien. Un motif osirien et sa diffusion à l’époque saïte*, in: D. DEVAUCHELLE (ed.), *La XXVI^e dynastie continuités et ruptures. Actes du Colloque international organisé les 26 et 27 novembre 2004 à l’Université Charles-de-Gaule-Lille 3. Promenade saïte avec Jean Yoyotte*, Paris 2011, 85–108.

95 Cf. COULON, in BRICAULT/ VERSLUYS (eds.), *Isis on the Nile*, 130.

96 BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 53.

millennium BCE and that the two were celebrated more or less in a union.⁹⁷ Exactly this fused character of the festivals seems to be reflected in the archaeological findings in the Asasif.⁹⁸

The otherworldly pivot points on the west side and thus in the sphere of the underworld are Medinet Habu / Djeme and the Asasif with Deir el-Bahari. There, the funerary rites include references to feasts and temple worship, thus creating a cyclical cycle that guarantees eternal renewal. For the temple tombs and the burial place of Asasif, this means that they were integrated both conceptually and externally into the temple landscape. Since the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, the temple tombs in the Asasif are integral parts of the festivals combining the cult for the gods with the cult for the deceased.⁹⁹ The tombs themselves have references to temples, the tomb of Osiris, the Osireion in Abydos and a number of other features. Therefore, I would argue that, as was illustrated by the case study of TT 414, the perfect, “the beautiful place” for the burial of an Amun priest in Ptolemaic times was indeed one of the temple tombs in the Asasif.

6. Outlook

Research on the coffins and other burial equipment from TT 414 in the Asasif is still ongoing and this holds also true for the analysis of statues from the Karnak cachette and elsewhere in the temple of Amun and of the Osirian chapels in Karnak. Thus, more prosopographical data and religious texts from both sites are to be expected in the near future which will potentially contribute to the interpretation of the temple tombs and the connections between the Asasif and Karnak as outlined in this paper. The objects from TT 414 have much potential because of their secure context and they can serve as important terms of reference in order to analyse many objects without provenience in museum collections throughout the world.¹⁰⁰ This will enable further insights to the specific usages of temple tombs in the Asasif in general, and increasing the understanding of the connections, interrelationships and developments between the Twenty-Sixth and Thirtieth Dynasties and Ptolemaic times in particular. A detailed prosopographical study and analysis of all titles from people buried in TT 414 still needs to be undertaken¹⁰¹ and promises new insights of complex processes associated with the Late Egyptian funerary culture. Future work will provide a new quality of our understanding of the close connections between Karnak and the Asasif and of the gradual merging of cultic activities in Theban temples, of rituals during local festivals, especially Osirian processions, and of funerary cult executed at private tombs taking the shape of Theban temple tombs.¹⁰²

97 C. TRAUNECKER/F. LE SAOUT/O. MASSON, *La chapelle d’Achôris à Karnak*, RGC 5, CahKarn 2, Paris 1981, 134–137 and 145–146.

98 BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 53.

99 BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 52–53.

100 See BUDKA/MEKIS/BRUWIER, *Ä&L* 22/23, 209–251.

101 See BUDKA/MEKIS, *Ä&L* 27, 236–237 with references to earlier work.

102 Cf. BUDKA, in BAREŠ/COPPENS/SMOLÁRIKOVÁ (eds.), *Egypt in Transition*, 62–64; BUDKA, in THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale*, 45–53.

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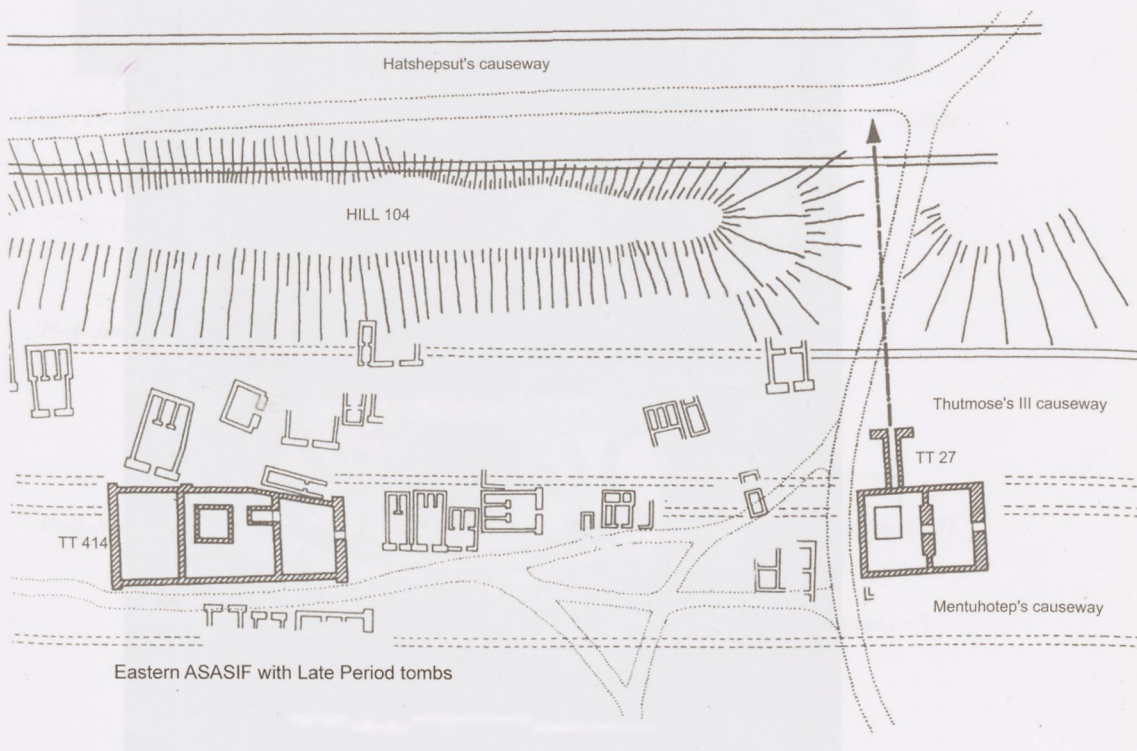


Fig. 1 Plan of the Eastern Asasif with Late Period tombs above the causeways of the Middle and New Kingdoms (after BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Ankh-Hor I*, fig. 1)

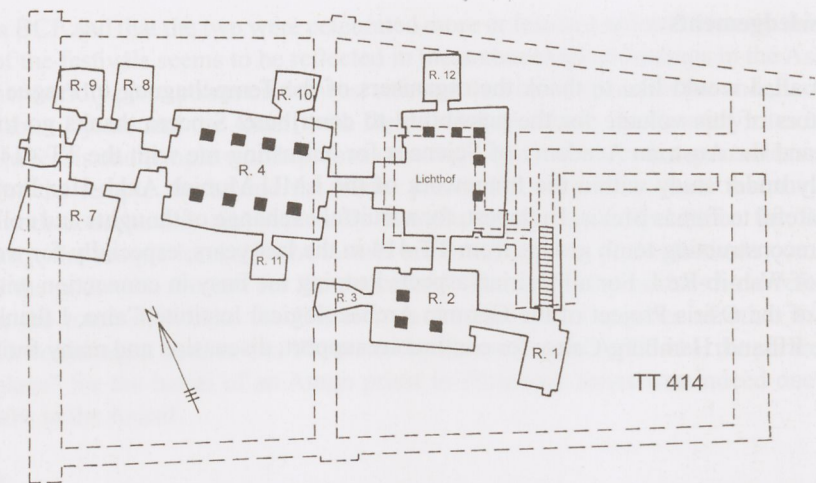


Fig. 2 Plan of TT 414 (after BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER, *Anch-Hor I*, Plan 10)



Fig. 3 Inner and outer side of a fragment from the pedestal of the outer coffin fragment of Pa-di-Amun-nesut-tawy I (Reg. 680) (photo C. Geiger, © Ankh-Hor Project, LMU Munich)

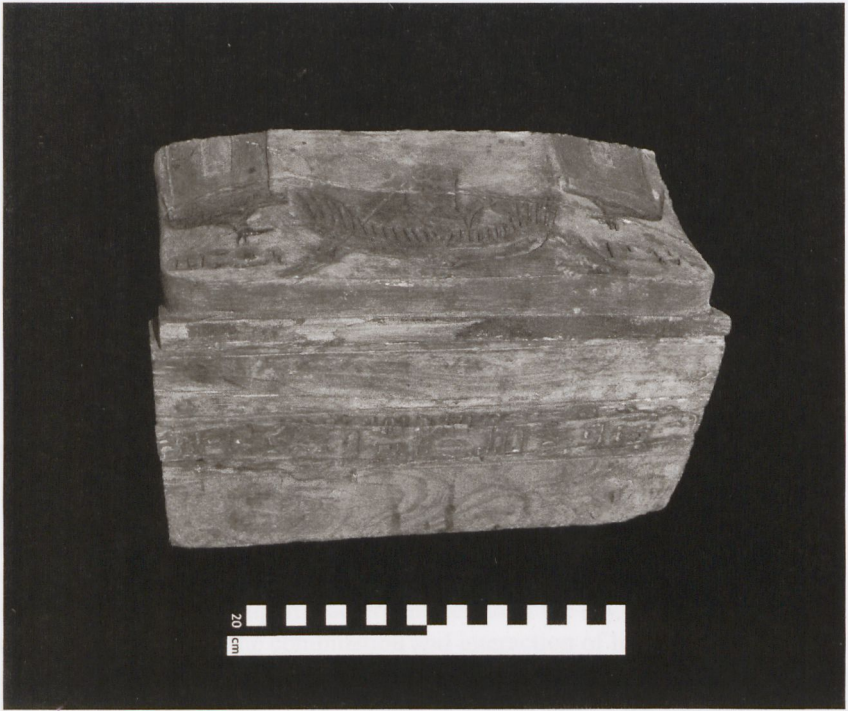


Fig. 4 Foot part of the inner coffin of Pa-di-Amun-nub-nesut-tawy I (Reg. No. 607) (photo C. Geiger, © Ankh-Hor Project, LMU Munich)

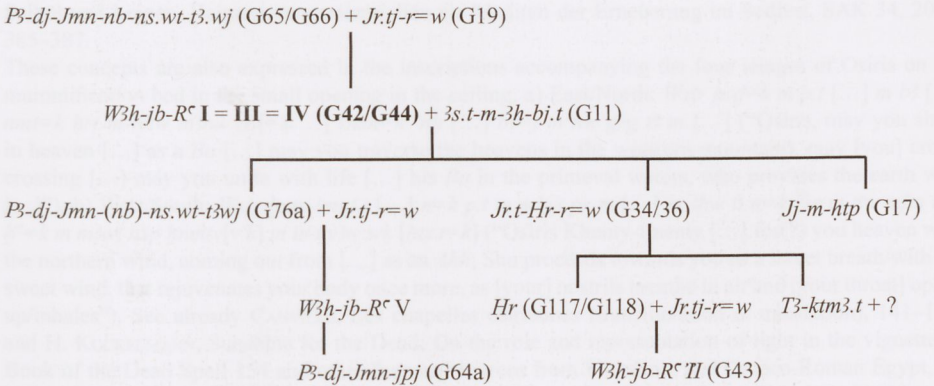


Fig. 5 Family tree of Wah-ib-Re I (adapted from BUDKA/MEKIS, Ä&L 27, 237)