

The family of
Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy
from Thebes (TT 414) revisited

The case study of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu
(G108 + G137)

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with contributions by
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Cover: London, British Museum, EA 38 212 depicting on the right the seated pair, Hor and Nes-Khonsu/Kalutj, on the left Hor is seen in the gesture of adoration in front of Osiris.

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Dedicated to fond memories of Gábor Schreiber (1974-2020) – a much appreciated friend and colleague who will be greatly missed in Ptolemaic Thebes and beyond

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Preface

In Egyptology, it is still rare that a complete volume presents Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic secondary burials from a 26th Dynasty tomb. The tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT 414 on the West bank of Thebes in the Asasif, however, represents such a rich source and enables the reconstruction of important aspects of burial customs of a still little investigated period of Egyptian culture, the post-Persian to early Ptolemaic period.

Beginning in the 30th Dynasty (380–343 BCE) the family of the priest Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy purchased the right to use the long-abandoned tomb of the 26th Dynasty official, Ankh-Hor, for the burial of its own dead members. Such use continued over several generations. Thanks to the excavations conducted by an Austrian mission in the 1970s, which have been documented more recently by the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München (LMU) Ankh-Hor Project, it became clear that the way in which different generations equipped the dead, depended on changes in their wealth and transitions in styles being produced within local workshops.

Though the family of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy belonged to the higher echelons of the priestly society of Thebes, certain members of the family (1) maintained the same rank as their predecessors through generations while others (2) earned an honourable rank in the priesthood by their own virtues, still others (3) did not hold influential priestly titles. These patterns can also be observed in other large families besides that of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy. All these factors are reflected in the archaeological material from the excavated burials. In previous studies we demonstrated the cases of the first and third patterns in the family of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy. The topic of this book illustrates the second pattern. The family of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu demonstrates that although Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu's husband Hor was only the second son of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, he still achieved higher ranking positions in Karnak during the 30th Dynasty by his diligence, talent, and networks.

We hope that this publication contributes to awareness of the richness and creativity of Late Period Thebes in regard to funerary and temple rituals and to the fact that great potential still lies in the combination of data from previous excavations like the Austrian mission in TT 414, new data like the LMU Ankh-Hor project, and objects stored in museums and collections.

Julia Budka, Tamás Mekis, Munich and Budapest, October 2021

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Special thanks go to François R. Herbin who made it possible for us to study the written mummy bandages of Ta-sherit-Min, although he is working on these pieces within the framework of a major catalogue on inscribed bandages of the Louvre. We are particularly thankful to our contributors Malcolm Mosher, Jr. and Marc Étienne who broadened the perspectives of our research with their expertise. We are thankful to Malcom Mosher, Jr. and Mike Schurer for improving the written English of this publication.

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Prologue

Gábor Schreiber was a talented and energetic researcher, and his early death is a great loss for Egyptology. He was much interested in the archaeology and history of religion of Thebes, focused in particular on the Late to Ptolemaic Periods. With this study we would like to commemorate the importance of the results of his last research project *The Sacred Baboons of Khonsu. History of a Theban cult* (Budapest, 2020). This book was published just a few months before his sudden death. He could finely combine his archeological results in TT-400- with his excellent knowledge on the theologies of Thebes. The occasion of his last writing was the discovery of the intrusive Ptolemaic burial of a family of Khonsu priests who reused TT-400- as burial place with Shaft-Structure 4. Each of the male family members were lesser known attendants of the baboon cult of Khonsu in Thebes. Among others, these family members held the following titles: servant of the baboon (*sdm-š p3 jn*), overseer of the servants of the baboon (*hrj sdm š n p3 jn*), overseer of the caretakers of the living baboons (*hrj mnj n jn.w nh.w*), overseer of the wabet (*hrj wcb.t*), priest of Hathor (*wcb n Hw.t-Hr*), and guardian of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep (*s3w.tj n Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp*). Gábor managed to reconstruct the mechanism of the baboon cult in Thebes from the 4th century BCE well up to the Roman Period. In particular, he traced the personnel of the divine animals from the late fourth to the middle second century BC in demotic documents, suggesting that the sacred monkeys of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep had their own priesthood (*jt-ntr, hm-ntr, 3 wcb*), temple personnel (*sdm-š*) and funerary ritualists (*hrj-hb*).¹ Our research, which now deals with another previously overlooked priestly family of Khonsu buried in TT 414, fits well with his results and moreover gives complementary information about the flourishing 4th century BCE beginnings of the Theban baboon cult and of its institutions.

We deeply regret that we cannot share these new insights with Gábor. We hope that the scientific community will appreciate his important contribution to this topic, as well as all his other achievements for Theban archaeology. We will never forget him.

¹Schreiber 2020: 104–139. See also Kessler 1989: 178.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The part of the Theban necropolis known as the Asasif is situated directly east of the valley of Deir el-Bahari, one of the great mortuary landscapes of the world. This part of the cemetery flourished during the Late Period (8th to 4th century BCE), a period which is still poorly understood and not systematically studied in Western Thebes.² One exception to this lacuna in Theban archaeology is the architecture and decoration of the monumental tombs of the highest officials of the 25th and 26th Dynasties (c. 722–525 BCE), whose mud brick superstructures are still well-preserved and have been the subject of scholarly work since the 19th century.³ Previous studies have focused on the architectural layout and decoration of these ‘temple tombs’,⁴ but little attention has been paid to the objects which were found in them, such as the remains of funerary equipment and pottery.

Austrian excavations directed by Manfred Bietak were undertaken in the eastern part of the Asasif from 1969 to 1977. This work uncovered many small tombs with mud brick superstructures as well as numerous shaft tombs, mostly dating to the Late Period.⁵ The major discovery by the Austrian Mission was the monumental tomb of Ankh-Hor (TT 414, Figure 1). This tomb was excavated, then restored and opened to the public in 1982. It was published as a two-volume monograph by Manfred Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer, presenting the stratigraphic evidence, the architecture, decoration and the objects found *in situ*.⁶ TT 414 was not completely unknown before its (re-)discovery in 1971 because it actually had been entered in the 19th century by agents of British consul Henry Salt, who collected a substantial amount of objects from it, and Richard Lepsius also reported rich findings in the tomb, especially many mummies and coffins, but it was then almost completely forgotten.⁷

Considering the well-preserved conditions of the ‘temple tombs’ in the Asasif and the list of relevant publications from past and on-going excavations,⁸ it is striking how little is known about the original contents of the tombs from the 25th and 26th Dynasties. This is due to the repeated robberies and reuse of the monuments in ancient times, while early scholars tended to ignore fragmentary or uninscribed objects from the tombs in favour of their architectural and decorative programmes.⁹ The current difficulties in reconstructing an elite burial within one of the temple tombs of Kushite or Saite date are therefore at least partly the result of past Egyptological practice and can be largely resolved by a detailed study of these excavated objects.¹⁰

² Cf. Aston 2003; Budka 2010a.

³ For a concise history of the work in the Asasif see Eigner 1984: 18–20; most recently Einaudi 2021: 17–30 with updated references.

⁴ On this term, see most recently Budka 2020 with references.

⁵ See Budka 2010a with references.

⁶ Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978; 1982.

⁷ See Eigner 1984: 54–55; Budka 2008: 64–65.

⁸ Cf. Budka 2010a: 32–38; Gester mann et al. 2021.

⁹ The only exception is Graefe 2003 who presents all finds and pottery from TT 196.

¹⁰ See, e.g., Wagner 2018; Wagner in press.

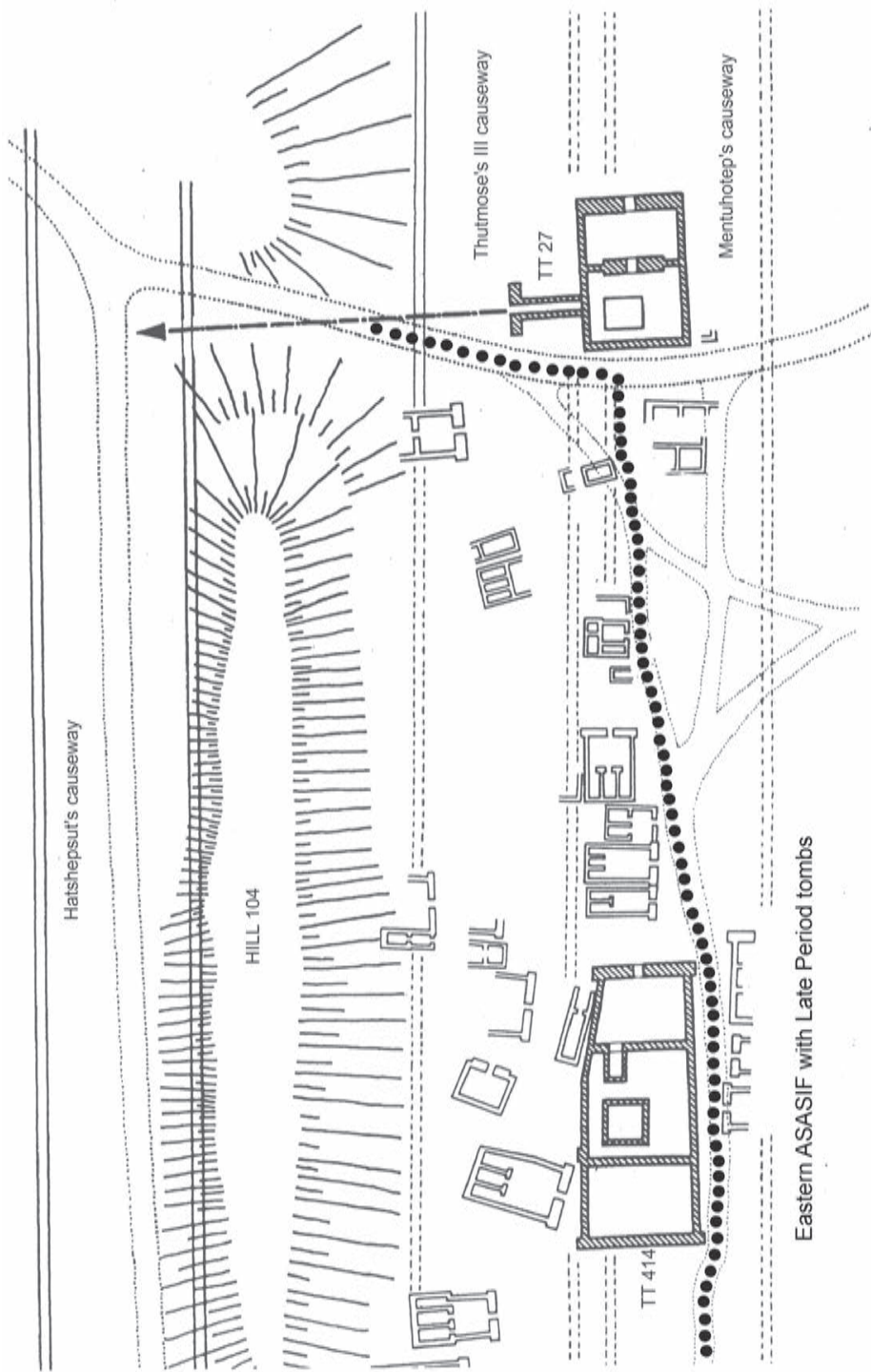


Figure 1. The location of TT 414 in Asasif in relation to the causeways of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III and Mentuhotep. Highlighted are here paths in the necropolis and the exemplary cultic axis of TT 27 to illustrate the connection of the temple tombs with the causeway of Hatshepsut. Map: modified after Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978, fig 1.

From TT 414, fragments of the coffin of Ankh-Hor himself have already been published and provide one of the rare examples of a dateable coffin within the period between 600–300 BCE.¹¹ The coffin set of Ankh-Hor can be securely dated to the reign of Apries based on the dates of his career (c. 590–586 BCE).¹²

The tomb of Ankh-Hor (Figure 2) remained unfinished after his death; it was subsequently modified several times, expanded, destroyed, restored and looted to a large extent. Its general use lasted until late Roman times and has left many archaeological traces.¹³

The frequent reuse of the Asasif temple tombs in the fourth and third centuries BCE is well known, such as the tombs of Harwa, Padihorresnet, Mutirdis, Basa, Ibi and Ankh-Hor.¹⁴ Vast numbers of later coffins, shrines, cartonnage cases, papyri, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues and pottery fragments were found in all these monumental tombs, but once again, few of these finds have been published. The most important so far published intact burial is that of Wahib-Re in TT 414.¹⁵ Since this burial was found *in situ*, it gives a particularly good indication for both the reconstruction and dating of other remains in Thebes and especially those within TT 414 itself.

The rich material from the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE is of especial importance since it attests to a kind of revival or ‘renaissance’ in this period, recalling many aspects of the culture of the 26th Dynasty. This has been much studied in private and royal sculpture, but clearly Theban funerary architecture and burial equipment was also re-used and imitated.¹⁶ This vivid period is still poorly understood and often neglected by Egyptologists,¹⁷ as is the following Roman period, partly due to the lack of published contextualised finds such as the ones from TT 414. The standard reference work of this latter period, Riggs, *The beautiful burial in Roman Egypt* (2005), is, for example, based on objects from publications and museum collections which are often unprovenanced or at least not from documented excavations.¹⁸

The unpublished finds excavated in TT 414 are currently the focus of the new LMU Ankh-Hor project.¹⁹ The majority of the finds belong to the complex reuse of TT 414 from the 30th Dynasty onwards. This material therefore holds rich potential for understanding funerary customs in the Late Period and the Ptolemaic as well as Roman eras. We know from textual records that in Late Period and Ptolemaic Thebes choachytes were responsible for selecting spacious tombs from earlier periods for new burials for individuals and their families.²⁰ It is well known that choachytes also chose the abandoned 26th Dynasty tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT

¹¹ Cf. Taylor 2003: 119; see also Budka 2019: 173–174, fig. 3

¹² The length of Ankh-Hor’s tenure was reduced since new finds found in the South Asasif indicate that he was preceded by a previously unknown high steward, Padibastet (see Graefe 2017: 241–243; Pischikova 2018: 469). Ankh-Hor was not 9–10 years in office as previously thought (Taylor 2003: 99 with references), but probably just 4–5 years; Budka 2019: 173, note 30).

¹³ See Budka 2010b; 2010c; 2010d; 2019.

¹⁴ See Aston 2003: 162 with literature; Budka 2010a: 358–364; Budka et al. 2013; Budka and Mekis 2017.

¹⁵ Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1982: 182–220.

¹⁶ Cf. Bothmer et al. 1960: *passim* with important additions by Josephson 1997.

¹⁷ See Strudwick 2003: 167.

¹⁸ Riggs 2005.

¹⁹ See Budka 2008; 2009; 2010b; 2015; 2019.

²⁰ Vleeming 1995: 241–255; Strudwick/Strudwick 1999: 200–202; Aston 2003: 160; Taylor 2010: 228–229; Donker van Heel 2012, *passim*; Redford 2013: 277–285; Budka 2014: 45–53; Donker van Heel 2021a; 2021b.

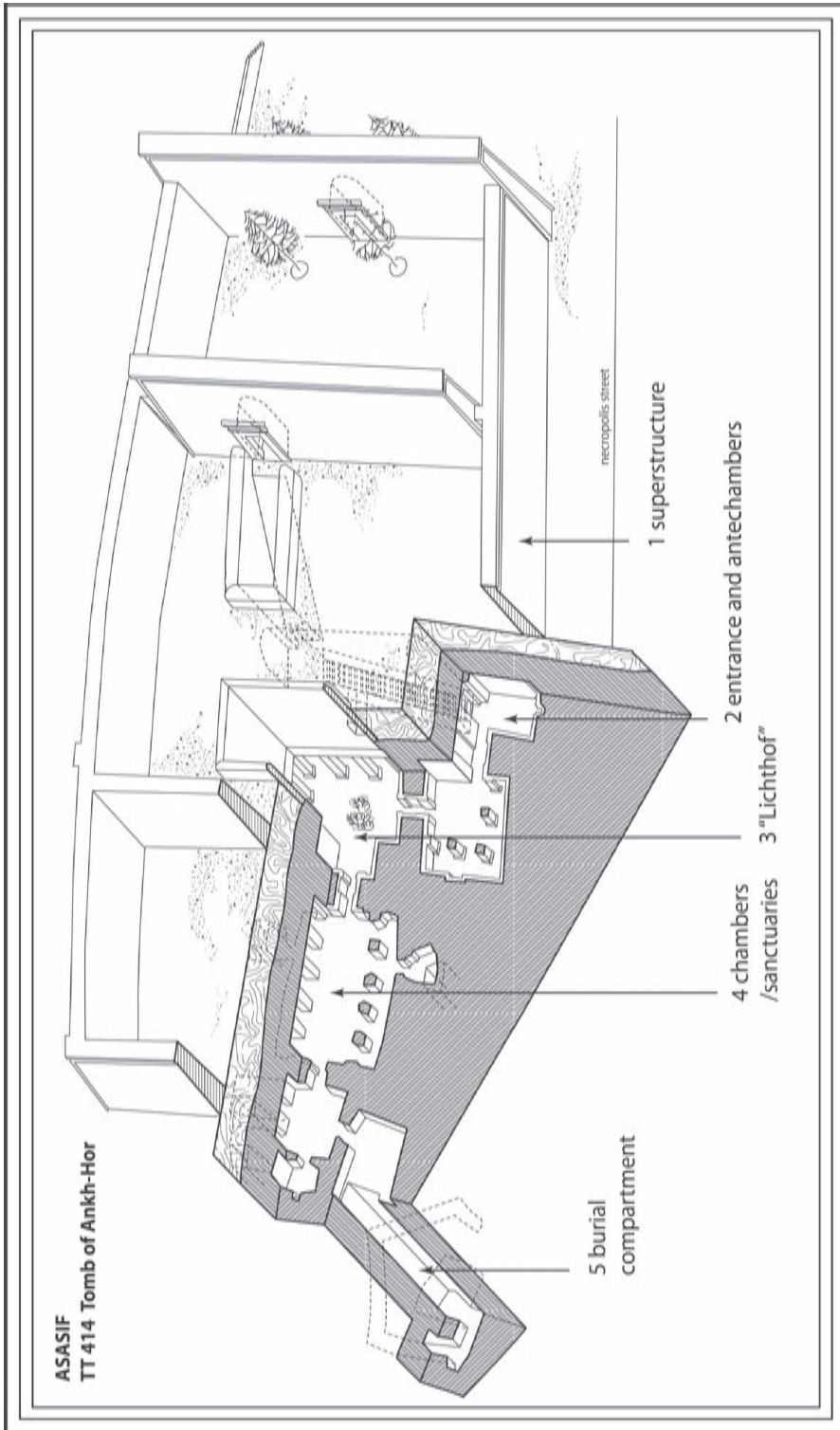


Figure 2. Isometric view of the tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT 414 after Eigner. Graphic: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Hassan Ramadan.

414, for this purpose (Figure 1).²¹ A high ranking priest, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy and his descendants were buried in this huge tomb over centuries, from the 30th Dynasty onwards.²² Unfortunately, when the Austrian mission started its work in the tomb in 1971, TT 414 proved to have been robbed not only in antiquity but also in more recent times.²³ Only the burial chamber of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy's son Wah-ib-Re I (Room 10.2 of TT 414) escaped the 19th century CE sackings. Other members of his family were not as lucky, and only scattered remains attest to their burials.²⁴ Well-preserved and moveable parts of their burial equipment (e.g. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues, stelae and boxes) were sent to Europe as part of the great collections of consuls and private collectors.²⁵ This resulted in a wide distribution of objects from TT 414, especially within the museums of London, Paris and Turin. One of the aims of the LMU Ankh-Hor Project is to match up objects and materials taken from TT 414 and that are now located in international collections.²⁶

The following case study illustrates the urgent necessity to combine the study of the finds from TT 414 unearthed during the scientific excavation with so-called secondary sources, objects now stored in museums and collections.

²¹ For details of the complex use life of TT 414 see Budka 2008: 61–85. For another example of the reuse of older tombs by choachytes see TT 157 in Dra Abu el-Naga; cf. Strudwick 2003: 171–172 with references.

²² For the genealogical relations, and for the objects see: Reiser-Haslauer 1982a: 252–256; Reiser-Haslauer 1982b: 267–284; Budka 2008: 69–82; Budka 2010b: 49–66.

²³ See Budka 2008: 64–65; 75.

²⁴ See Budka 2008: 61–85; Budka 2009: 23–31; Budka 2010a: 82–84; Budka 2010b: 49–66; Budka *et al.* 2013: 209–251.

²⁵ See Reiser-Haslauer 1982a: 252–256; Budka 2008: 64–65; 75; Lipinska 2008; Budka *et al.* 2013: 209–251; Budka and Mekis 2017; Budka 2019; 2020

²⁶ See Budka 2008: 64–65 for the history of research of TT 414; cf. also Budka and Mekis 2017.