Some aspects of the archaeology of the Theban necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods

Nigel Strudwick

> All the unsightly debris of a late Theban burial–fragments of small statuettes and stelae, cones, cartonnage, Sokar-hawks, etc.–came to light…
>
> Norman de Garis Davies[1]

Norman Davies was never one to express his feelings in anything other than a forthright manner; subsequently (in 1933) he made the additional comment that the Theban necropolis 'is the beautiful Cinderella of Egypt, appreciated by god-mothers and the princes of the New World, but neglected and ill cared-for by its mother-country'.[2] These comments were probably made as a result of his own experiences of dealing with the local population and the Antiquities Service of the inter-war period, and were heartfelt if rather harsh. At that time, he, Nina Davies and the Metropolitan Museum were virtually the only manifestations of scientific interest in Thebes. Since that time, although much still needs to be done, measures have been taken and continue to be taken to protect the monuments, and many persons, Egyptian and foreign, have contributed to the preservation and expansion of our knowledge of the site.

The later history of the necropolis is, however, still relatively poorly understood, and has often been ignored by Egyptologists, so that it perhaps is now the Cinderella of Thebes. For many Egyptologists, Ancient Egypt stops at 332 BC. Before the latter years of the twentieth century, only isolated attempts were made to study the later history of Thebes, the most important of which was the consideration of the Greek data from the site by Bataille.[3] In those latter years, most attention has been given to publication of the important papyrological texts, but a major advance in interpretation was made with a conference in Leiden on Graeco-Roman Thebes in 1992.[4]

The starting point of this paper is to add an archaeological dimension to the important papers presented at the Leiden meeting, by presenting an overall survey of what is known of western Thebes from archaeological evidence of the post-dynastic periods, together with a preliminary discussion of some of the different groups of information available. The focus is primarily on the necropolis, and the locations and identities of the burials, but the temples (some of which functioned as burial grounds) are too important to be omitted from consideration.[5]

1. Preliminaries

1.1 Notes on method

I attempt as far as possible to divide the data from each main area of the necropolis into that from the Ptolemaic period and that from the Roman period, with brief comments on immediate antecedents. The following topographical terms are used to distinguish different areas of the necropolis: Dra Abu el-Naga; Assasif, including Deir el-Bahari; Sheikh Abdel-Qurna and Khokha together; Deir el-Medina; Qurnet Murrai; Medinet Habu and the plain to the north; the Valley of the Queens; the Theban hills; Deir es-Shelwit. These toponyms are marked on **Fig. 1**; the term 'Theban hills' is obviously far more than one specific area. The individual mortuary temples along the edge of the cultivation are featured as necessary.

The survey draws primarily on the archaeological perspective which I understand best, but nevertheless uses the Demotic and Greek material as necessary. The quality of the archaeological sources is very variable. It is possible to make reasonable generalisations about a number of areas which have been excavated with some thoroughness, but it must be realised that there are great swathes of the Theban necropolis of which only tiny sections have been examined.

1.2 The published archaeological material

The varying amount and uneven distribution of archaeological material of this date in Western Thebes is a great problem. It cannot be denied that the later history of the site seems to be relatively unimportant to many Egyptologists. The prominence, beauty, and sheer number of Middle and New Kingdom monuments, together with the abundant funerary material from the Third Intermediate Period, have

[1] Davies 1925, 22.

[2] Davies and Davies 1933, 35 n. 2.

[3] Bataille 1952. His summary of the specific data from the necropolis will be found on pp. 181–96; the detail of this data will not be repeated here and the reader is urged to consult this highly significant book for the wider aspects of Thebes at the period in question. Bataille 1951 is a summary of most aspects of the book, presented as a lecture in 1950.

[4] Vleeming 1995a.

[5] A very general summary of this period at Thebes may be found in Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 198–205. Summaries of the status of each temple in this period will be found in Vandorpe 1995, 224–8.

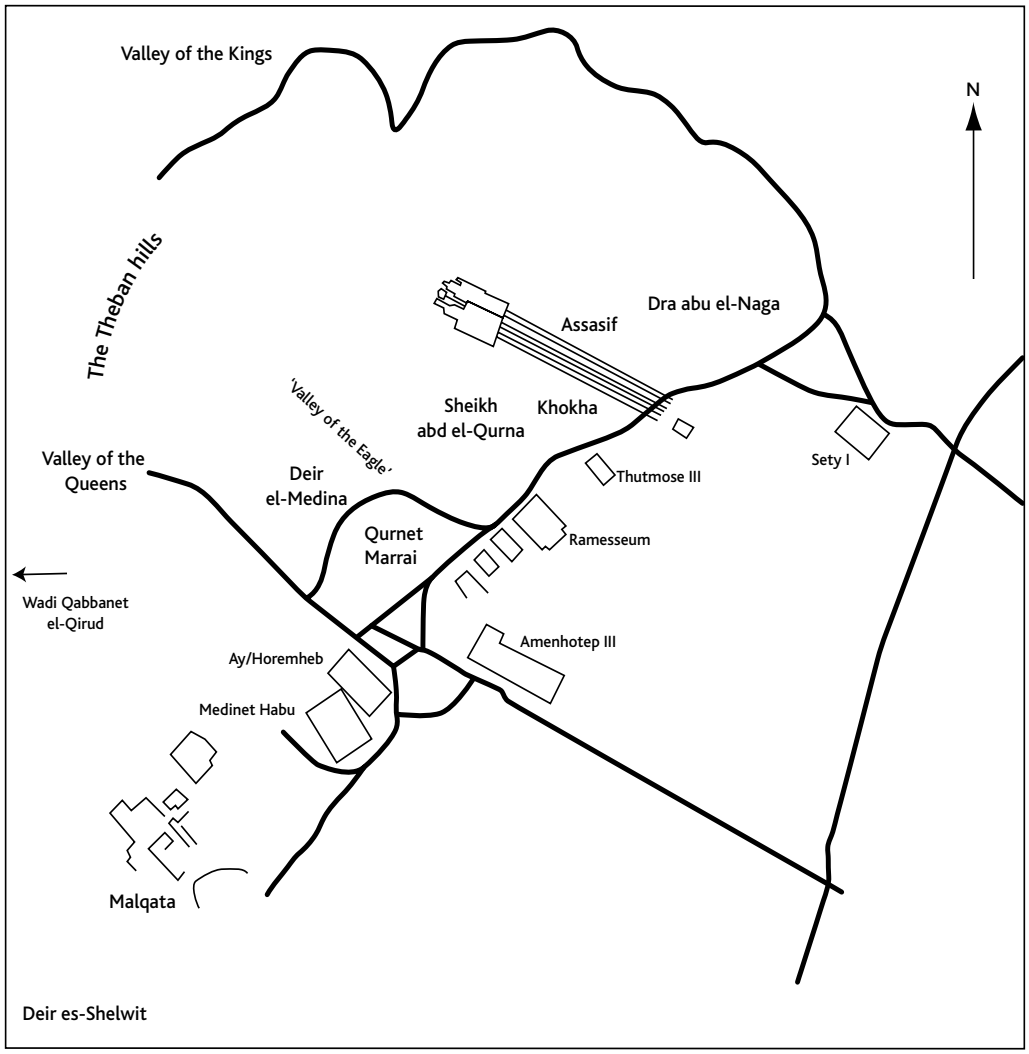

Fig. 1 Key sketch plan of the Theban necropolis indicating location of the principal toponyms used in this paper. Redrawn from Shedid and Seidl 1991, Abb. 2.

unfortunately meant that often in the past, and even occasionally today, the later material is considered only briefly, often ignored, and at worst discarded in the search for information from these great epochs. In this article, reference will often be made to the absence of material from a particular site or epoch; however, it needs always to be borne in mind that this could simply be due to the accident of preservation, and the fact that one site may have been more or less thoroughly excavated than another.

The state of available information from the later use of the private tombs, with which I am most familiar, serves as an illustration. The sheer number of these monuments means that very many of them still remain unpublished despite the efforts of the international academic community, but how complete are the data on those tombs which are considered as completely or partly published? The driving force behind work on these tombs is (rightly) to record and preserve the permanently endangered wall paintings, one of the major priorities in Egyptology. Nonetheless, there is also a necessity to explore the other aspects of the tomb, but the limitations of time and resources mean that reconciling these different aspects of the problem is often difficult. Some publications deliberately do not deal with the archaeology at all.[6] In most cases, however, the burial chambers were excavated, and yet in many books, such as those of Davies, which contain such superb epigraphic material, one searches in vain for a detailed report on the later history of the tomb; statements abound to the effect that nothing of interest was found.[7] A corollary to this is that in such reports the term 'late' can sometimes refer without further specification to anything from the Twenty-first Dynasty to the Roman Period; lack of information as to the subsequent whereabouts of most such material prevents easy re-analysis. Anyone who has worked in Thebes knows that one almost

[6] Such as Manniche 1988 and Hassan El Saady 1996.

[7] Such as Davies 1925, 22. Not dissimilar is his handling of a large number of later coffins found in TT39; these are illustrated in Davies 1917, 26–7, fig. 32 but only referred to in passing in the final publication (Davies 1922–3, I, xix, xxi).

always finds something relating to later reuse in each tomb, but this information has so often failed to appear in the publication. The trend is, however, improving.[8]

There are of course many objects in museum collections which come from the Graeco-Roman Period and which bear the provenance 'Thebes'. It is effectively impossible to use most of this material in the present study, which relies on knowledge of a more precise find-spot so that patterns of use can be identified. The majority of these objects found their way out of Egypt before the advent of more systematic excavation, probably during the first half of the nineteenth century.[9] One of the many benefits of modern investigation is that it can shed light on the original contexts of such collected material.

This survey concentrates on what can be learned from published sources, and it has not yet been possible to examine at first hand the major sources of unpublished material from the important scientific excavations of the earlier twentieth century, notably those of the Metropolitan and Philadelphia Museums, or more recent ones, such as the German and Austrian work in the Assasif.

1.3 Dating of archaeological material

A major problem with the post-dynastic period in Thebes is the scarcity of provenanced finds of archaeological material other than mummies, essential for a study such as this, as will become clear in the course of this paper. Although there has been immense progress in the study of funerary material from the Graeco-Roman Period,[10] very few studies deal with the types of artefacts commonly discovered in Thebes belonging to the period covered here, so that they cannot always be dated with any degree of precision. The following principal categories of object can be attested as coming from Thebes in the Graeco-Roman period, although very few indeed have provenances usable in this study: coffins,[11] stelae,[12] Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures,[13] canopic boxes,[14] funerary papyri,[15] ceramics (although these have fared rather badly in Theban studies; compare Rose, this volume), and (to a lesser extent) decorated mummy-cloths.[16] While shabtis do exist early in the Ptolemaic period, there seem to be none which can obviously be attributed to Thebes,[17] and their non-appearance may also be tied to changes in belief in this period.[18] There is little doubt that many of the objects of known provenance which can be dated to the Graeco-Roman period come primarily from places other than Thebes, and it is very questionable as to whether conclusions from elsewhere can be applied to this site; the two major classes to receive studies (Roman mummy portraits[19] and masks[20]) are relatively poorly attested from Thebes (see later). Lastly, unless there are texts present, the plain mummies which form so much of the later material from these tombs are at present almost undatable with any precision (see § 1.4).

In consequence, distinguishing between the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods is frequently remarkably difficult. The later Roman material can be identified, such as that from Deir el-Bahari or Medinet Habu (§ 2.2.2, 2.2.6), and there are relatively few difficulties with dating the written sources, but the lack of independent dates for other post-pharaonic archaeological remains from Thebes renders using typologies rather difficult. Parlasca commented that it is only with the Imperial epoch that a significant change in burial customs starts to be seen, but the paucity of material makes it hard to substantiate this at Thebes.[21]

1.4 The problem of the human remains

Work in Thebes has revealed vast quantities of human remains which cannot immediately or easily be associated with datable material. However, for the study of mummies to be established on a reliable basis, the evidence has to be recorded to some reasonable standard, something which has not always been done. Many reports refer to mummies, but relatively few, generally only from the past thirty years, have actually presented an intelligible description of the human remains. There also needs to be an underlying corpus of datable material available for comparison. Nerlich and Zink (this volume) show what is possible with high-quality data.

These numerous individuals usually come down to us either as disarticulated skeletons or as anonymous mummies, and are often not dated by their excavators, or are given the most vague of dates.[22] Without easy access to sophisticated methods of dating bones, something difficult in the field at the best of times–Carbon 14 (C14) dating comes to mind–the disarticulated bone will always present a particularly difficult problem. What is the situation with dating mummies, or bodies which bear some relation to their original living shape? Assuming C14 dating to be impracticable, there are two ways in which this might be

[8] Publications which give fair weight to the archaeological study of monuments include Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978–82, Guksch 1995, and Polz 1997.

[9] As a starting point, see the lists in PM I², 782–847.

[10] Surveyed in Riggs 2002.

[11] Taylor 1989, 61–2; Niwinski 1984, 455–9, who also points out how few examples come from Thebes. None of the coffins in Edgar 1905 are apparently of Theban origin.

[12] Munro 1973.

[13] Raven 1978–9, 251–96; the list of Theban examples on pp. 291–2 seems overwhelmingly of the Third Intermediate Period.

[14] Aston 2000.

[15] There are some comments on Ptolemaic material in Mosher 1992, 143–72. I am not aware of any studies specifically on Books of the Dead of this date.

[16] Parlasca 1966, 152–92.

[17] Schneider 1977, I, 338–49; no examples appear in the principal collection of published Theban shabtis (Valbelle 1972).

[18] Compare Taylor 2001, 132.

[19] Bibliography and recent studies in Bierbrier 1997.

[20] Grimm 1973; Bayer-Niemeier in Bayer-Niemeier *et al.* 1993, 414–25; Riggs 2000.

[21] Parlasca 1997, 127. Compare also the comments of Riggs in this volume.

[22] For example, Seyfried 1990, 287–91, where of the 130 individuals, one example is said to be Twenty-first Dynasty, and another possibly Nineteenth Dynasty. Waldron, in Strudwick 1996, 145–6, attempts some generalised dating of some of the mummies. See also Nerlich and Zink, this volume.

done: by studying the actual technique of mummification, and the manner in which a body is bandaged.

There appears to be no general work available for assistance in dating mummified human remains, most studies concentrating on the anthropological and pathological information which they reveal about the population.[23] This is an ironic reversal of the manner in which so many Egyptian objects are studied, often concentrating on their use for dating, with study of the intrinsic interest of the objects themselves as a sideline. A technique which is useful in general terms is the study of arm and hand positions of mummies.[24] Many studies on mummies are based on examination of the royal mummies and other bodies from the caches of the Twenty-first Dynasty, and their conclusions should not perhaps be straightforwardly applied to the bodies of more ordinary Egyptians, especially of other periods.

Bruyère in his reports on Deir el-Medina generally characterised mummies as either 'blanche' or 'noire', a term he claims to have acquired from the people of Qurna,[25] and it would seem that he categorised the former as older than the latter, 'momies blanche' being broadly of pharaonic date, and 'momies noires' being characteristic of the Graeco-Roman period (see also comments in § 2.2.4). In general, the standards of later mummification declined, and the technical treatment of the body is generally found to be much poorer,[26] although there are of course good Roman examples.[27] To judge from the amount of Theban evidence from that period (see further below), the embalmers were certainly kept extremely busy, and this might account for more shoddy workmanship.

If the study of bandaging technique is to be of any use for dating a mummy, it presupposes that the subject has been carefully unwrapped and recorded, something rarely possible in the field[28] (it takes a considerable amount of time under museum conditions, and is today regarded as perhaps too interventionist), and also good comparative examples. There are no studies dedicated to the wrappings of mummies, but some recent mummy investigations have carefully noted the techniques of individual examples.[29] New styles of mummy wrapping are introduced in the Roman period,[30] but to what extent these were applied to Theban mummies, and to those of the non-elite, is far from clear.[31] It is wellnigh impossible to distinguish the date within the Graeco-Roman period of the majority of examples devoid of distinctive wrappings or epigraphic and decorative features.[32]

All these means of helping to date a mummy, bereft of any archaeological or textual dating criteria, depend on a high level of recording of the specimens. For others to study them, a level of publication, so far not achieved, is needed.

1.5 Variety of sources

For the later periods of Egyptian history, particularly those in which Demotic and Greek were the everyday scripts, there is a large increase in source material, which should be advantageous. For the Graeco-Roman period the following exist: archaeological material, both finds and their contexts; the sites themselves; Demotic texts; and Greek texts. These sources of data rarely meet on common ground,[33] and the structure of Egyptology is itself an obstacle: the number of archaeologists who can read Demotic is minimal, and Greek almost zero; how familiar are papyrologists with the material remains of and conventional terminology used for Thebes? There are always dangers in handling material with which one is not familiar; I have inevitably had to fall back on the transcriptions and translations of others when considering the papyrological evidence.

One of the most successful attempts to relate the written sources to the archaeology is Bataille's *Les Memnonia*; it is perhaps no coincidence that Bataille spent a number of seasons in the field in Thebes in the 1930s and was thus very familiar with the site and its material remains, although he also urges caution in using sources with which one is unfamiliar.[34] But he deals primarily with Greek sources, and I doubt whether the book has been read by many Egyptologists.

It is clear that a full exploration of the later necropolis at Thebes needs to be a joint effort, a 'multi-disciplinary study' to use fashionable language. The range of sources is such that few individuals could undertake the work on their own, now or in the future.

1.6 Use of the accounts of early travellers and Egyptologists

While some early visitors to Thebes are responsible for expanding our knowledge of the site, many of them were little more than antiquities hunters. I strongly suspect that a vast number of burials were still more or less intact in the late eighteenth century AD. The extent to which Theban burials were ransacked in the hunt for mummies for medicinal purposes during the late Middle Ages is very uncertain; most of the early references to mummies seem to emanate

[23] As this book was going to press, Macke *et al.* 2002 became available, and I have added references to it without having the time to absorb it fully. This important book presents minute descriptions of mummification techniques observed on bodies found in the Valley of the Queens, with the longest section on those of the Roman period (pp. 63–106). While it is beyond my abilities to apply these findings to comparative material, it is to be hoped that specialists may be able to do so for future reports.

[24] Gray 1972, 200–4.

[25] Bruyère 1925, 27. Less often he used 'au natron' and 'au bitume' (for example Bruyère 1929, 21).

[26] For example, Dawson and Gray 1968, xii–xiii and Taylor 2001, 87–91. But see also Macke *et al.* 2002, 63–106.

[27] Compare the selection in Filer in Bierbrier 1997, 121–6.

[28] A better than average field description of some late Roman mummies may be found in Hölscher 1954, 43–4. See also Macke *et al.* 2002, 63–106.

[29] The most detailed accounts pertain to the unwrapping of the mummy of Horemkenesi in Bristol. See Dawson *et al.* 2002, especially pp 55–138. Taylor 1995, particularly 76–83, 92–5 is a more popular and accessible account of the same project.

[30] For example the 'rhombic' wrapping type (examples Corcoran 1995, 82–125).

[31] Some helpful observations on the wrapping of mummies in the Valley of the Queens may be found in Lecuyot 1992, 95–6.

[32] This is also confirmed by a rapid examination of Macke *et al.* 2002.

[33] Compare comments on the gulf between hieroglyphic and other written sources in De Meulenaere 1995, 85.

[34] Bataille 1952, vii–viii.

from Saqqara northwards,[35] and few visitors seem to have travelled this far south before Pococke and Bruce. Theban burials were subsequently despoiled in the search for antiquities which could be sold to the various European agents active in the early years of the nineteenth century, or were dug out by Europeans themselves, such as Belzoni.[36] The frustrating lack of precision in these earlier accounts, and the lack of description of objects found, prevents us from drawing firm conclusions, but nonetheless they paint graphic pictures of mummy caves and pits, largely in the central area of the necropolis.[37] Some of these burials were in coffins (many one suspects were Third Intermediate and New Kingdom), while others consisted just of mummies.

1.7 A note on animal mummies

One aspect of the necropolis which is easily overlooked is its use as a burial place for animals. Kessler has examined the data from Thebes as part of his wider survey of sacred animals, and has adduced evidence for burials of ibises, hawks, snakes, crocodiles, dogs and other canines, gazelles, hippopotami, cats, cattle, fish, apes, and sheep, as well as various other birds, small mammals, small reptiles and beetles.[38] Specific mentions of some of these will be found in the sections on Dra Abu el-Naga (§ 2.2.1), Assasif (§ 2.2.2), the Valley of the Queens (§ 2.2.7), and the Theban hills (§ 2.2.8). Animal mummies without further contextual data are as hard if not harder to date than human remains, but there is certainly a very good chance that they indicate use of a cemetery for this purpose in the Late and Graeco-Roman periods, when animal cults reached their peak of popularity. Various isolated examples of animal burials will doubtless be located in the future; for example, from my own work in TT99, two bird mummies in jars were noted as stored in the tomb when it was first opened (**Plate 95**).

2. An overview of the data from the Graeco-Roman period

The reader is reminded that this study concentrates on published sources. Sites which have received more systematic examination, with overviews by their excavators or those who have studied the reports subsequently, receive less attention than those for which the material is more disparate.

2.1 Prelude: the Late Period

As this topic forms the subject of the last part of David Aston's contribution to this volume, I merely give the background to the post-pharaonic period. There is a noticeable decline in the amount of archaeological material which can easily be dated as the Twenty-sixth Dynasty progressed, particularly when one enters the sixth century BC. There is little which can be ascribed to that period with any certainty other than the great temple tombs in Assasif.[39] This is perhaps due to an increasing marginalisation of Thebes at this time, and a consequent drop in status of its high officials and their wealth or access to resources, resulting in less elaborate tomb provision. There is then the problem of the nature of the material from the first Persian Period, as discussed by Aston;[40] this gap also has its counterpart in the statuary record from Karnak, since it appears that there are virtually no statues of this date from the cachette.[41] Datable material resumes again with the 'renaissance' under Nectanebo I (380 BC).

This is not to say that material from this time does not exist (Thebes was not deserted), but simply that perhaps it is not recognised for what it is, as Aston has argued. The early Demotic choachyte archives cover the late Saite/early Persian period,[42] and it is clear that their owners were actively involved in dealing with tombs and the dead, despite the fact that it is not possible to point to any specific archaeological evidence of their activity. Following that there is, however, a gap in the papyrological material also of about 150 years until the time of the early Ptolemaic archives.[43] It seems impossible to say whether this gap is due to pure accidents of preservation, or to lack of recognition as suggested above for other material; it is perhaps possible that there was a short hiatus comparable to the final breakdown of the choachyte system some time in the first century BC (§ 2.3).

The number of Thirtieth Dynasty artefacts in existence is unclear; provenanced finds are very limited and restricted almost exclusively to the undisturbed interment of Wahibre in the tomb of Ankhhor (TT414).[44] However, there are Theban pieces in museums which can be dated to this period, and statues from the Karnak cachette. There is of course no archaeologically clear-cut division between the Thirtieth Dynasty and the early Ptolemaic period. Quaegebeur has well described the dating problems of this time.[45]

2.2 The sites[46]

2.2.1 Dra Abu el-Naga (**Fig. 2**)

Ptolemaic: The large tomb of Nebwenenef (TT157; Demotic *t3 ḥwt nb-wnn*; Greek Θυναβουνουν) is attested as a mass burial place in the papyrological sources of the second–first century BC,[47] although no specific traces of this aspect of its use at that date seem to be attested from the excavations;[48] a burial excavated in the tomb might date to the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, and a papyrus roll of

[35] Wiedemann 1906, 1–38; Germer 1991, 15–18.
[36] Belzoni 1922, *passim*. Compare also comments by Simpson in this volume.
[37] A description of the emptying of such a tomb may be found in Lane 2000, 329.
[38] Kessler 1989, 159–93. See also the earlier note by Bataille 1952, 231–2.
[39] The latest is that of Padineith (TT197); see table in Eigner 1984, 15.
[40] Aston 1999.
[41] Cf De Meulenaere 1995, 83–4.
[42] Pestman 1994, Malinine 1983 and Donker van Heel 1995.
[43] Cf Pestman 1993, 28; Vleeming 1995b, 242–3.
[44] Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978–82, II, 183–220.
[45] Quaegebeur 1995, 161.
[46] For a general description of these areas see Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 7–19.
[47] Pestman 1993, 451–4; Vleeming 1995b, 250–1.
[48] Bell 1973, 17–27, awaiting further publication.

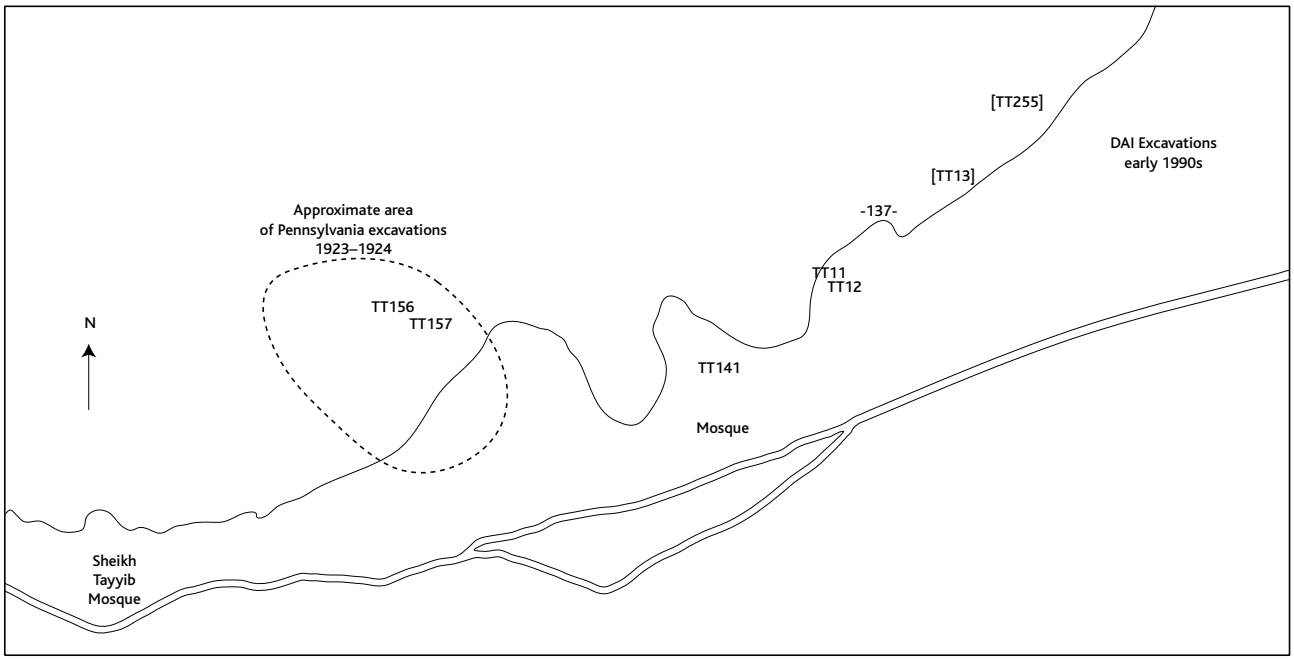

Fig. 2 Sketch plan showing approximate locations of tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga with material discussed here. [ ] marks the location of other well-known tombs for purposes of orientation. Redrawn from PM I², plans I–II.

Mutirdis is said to be late Ptolemaic or Roman.[49] The only provenanced set of choachyte archives, from the earlier Ptolemaic period, was also found not far below this large tomb, in a later house against the pylon of TT156.[50] There were also ibis and hawk galleries in this part of the necropolis but further to the north, attested primarily from Demotic graffiti and the remains of a stela in at least one large and three smaller tombs (two of the latter were those of Djehuty (TT11) and Heray (TT12: see **Plates 93–94**)).[51] The location of the large tomb is not certain, but it would seem from the description that it cannot have lain far from the two numbered tombs; PM I², 609 suggests a location near the tomb of Bakenkhonsu (TT141). A large Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period tomb west of TT11/12, which contains a number of likely burial recesses, seems a possible candidate.[52]

The Pennsylvania excavations of 1921–3 discovered a group of brick chapels in the plain to the east of the area of the tomb Θυναβουνουν,[53] which might at first seem like those of the Ptolemaic period from Assasif (§ 2.2.2).[54] It is, however, more likely that these chapels are a continuation of the New Kingdom cemetery found in the German excavations in north Dra Abu el-Naga rather than a Ptolemaic one,[55] and they are thus omitted from this study.

Roman: One isolated mummy is referred to in the Northampton excavations,[56] while Spiegelberg indicates the existence of hundreds of late bodies in the tombs which had been used as hawk and ibis catacombs in the Ptolemaic period;[57] assuming that these bodies are from a subsequent phase of use, they are perhaps Roman.

2.2.2 Assasif (**Fig. 3**)

Ptolemaic: At the eastern end of the Assasif, over the causeways and valley buildings of the temples of Deir el-Bahari, stood a sizeable necropolis of what are now known to have been mud-brick tombs, and which are indicated on early maps, for example, those of Wilkinson and Lepsius.[58] See **Fig. 3** and **Plates 96–97.**

A large number of these brick tombs were uncovered in the course of Lord Carnarvon's excavations, followed by

[49] Bell 1973, 24. The burial is dated by the excavator to about 250 BC, but, from the reference to two coffins with cartonnage, shabti, and shabti box, I wonder whether it could also be earlier; some modifications at the rear of the chapel just might possibly be associated with later reuse (plan Kampp 1996, 446).

[50] Fisher 1924, 45.

[51] Spiegelberg in Northampton *et al.* 1908, 19–25, pls XXVI–XXX; for a possible reference to these tombs in papyri of the fourth century BC, see Mustafa el-Amir 1959, part II, 66 (3). See further Kessler 1989, 159–65; he also notes a variety of other animal mummies coming from Dra Abu el-Naga (Kessler 1989, 167–70, 172–5).

[52] Kampp 1996, 694 (-137-). My thanks to Friederike Kampp for drawing this to my attention. Spiegelberg (in Northampton *et al.* 1908, 23) speculated that the tomb with the graffiti might have been an early New Kingdom royal tomb. Kessler 1989, 159–61 associates this tomb with that first noted by Rhind (Rhind 1862, 52).

[53] Fisher 1924, 47–9.

[54] cf Mustafa el-Amir 1959, part II, 65 n. 1.

[55] Daniel Polz, personal communication. His following preliminary reports should be consulted for details of this new cemetery: Polz 1992, 109–30; Polz 1993, 227–38; Polz 1995, 25–42.

[56] Northampton *et al.* 1908, 10.

[57] Northampton *et al.* 1908, 23. I visited TT11 and TT12 in 2000 and saw no traces of such a large number of bodies now. TT11 is presently under investigation by a team from Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid (http://www.excavacionegipto.com/).

[58] Wilkinson 1830; *LD* I, 73.

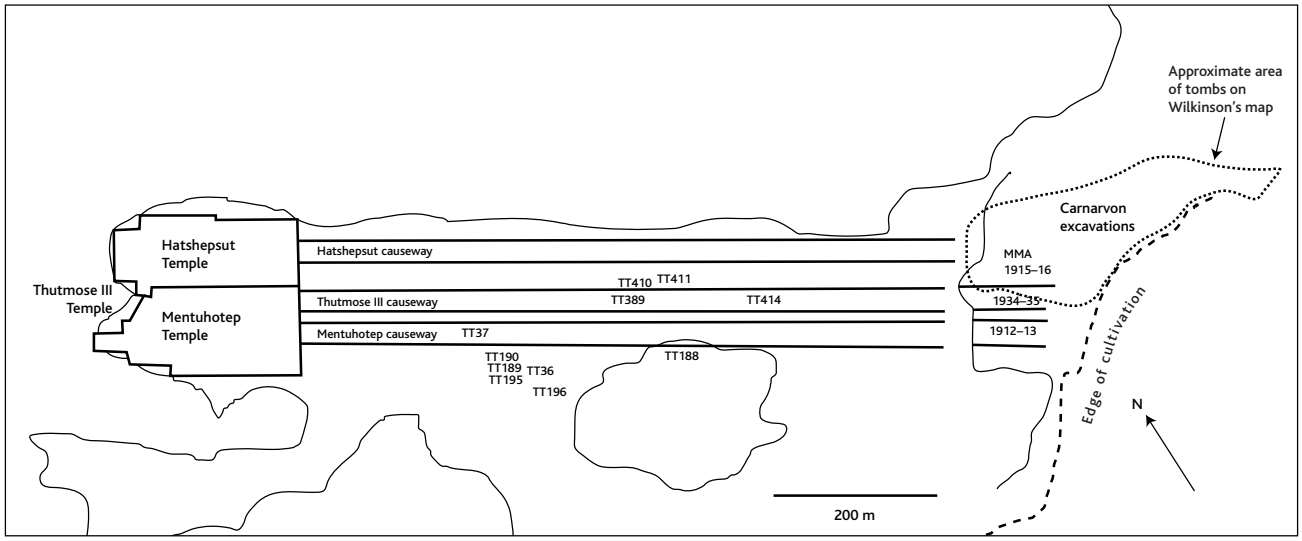

Fig. 3 Sketch plan showing approximate locations of finds of Graeco-Roman material in the Assasif area referred to in the text. Redrawn from Lansing 1917, fig. 1

those of the Metropolitan Museum, between 1909 and 1935.[59] The location of these groups of tombs is broadly indicated by a map of the different excavation areas produced in about 1917,[60] and it coincides well with the western part of the area marked on the Lepsius and Wilkinson maps. Winlock estimated that about 100 such tombs were found in 1912–13, and 22 years later Lansing found a smaller number[61] (the number for 1915–16 is not given); Carter and Carnarvon use the term 'numerous'. These excavators dated them all to the Ptolemaic era, some to the second half of the third century BC (coins of Ptolemies III and IV), others to around 200 BC (no reason given), and yet others to the mid-second century BC (coin of Cleopatra II).[62] The details published by the excavators do not tell us whether these dates are for first use or subsequent reuse. In these tombs, a subterranean burial chamber with a vaulted roof is reached via a stairway; the external brickwork was sometimes painted. As for finds, several tombs had small shrines outside with vessels in them,[63] and a stela of Djehutyirdis was found in this area.[64] Carter and Carnarvon tantalisingly mention wooden coffins, cartonnages, and various items of funerary equipment, which were 'almost pure Egyptian in type',[65] which might indicate that they felt they were post-pharaonic but not yet different enough to be Roman, and hence Ptolemaic.[66] It is just conceivable that the Northampton excavations might also have encountered some Ptolemaic, in addition to Saite, burials.[67]

The full extent of this cemetery of brick tombs is unlikely ever to be ascertained scientifically, partly because this end of the Assasif has not been fully excavated, and partly because it is likely that, being nearer the surface, they would have been exposed to damage, reuse, or as a convenient supply of bricks or *sebbakh*. The approximate indications of the extent of this cemetery in the 1820s from Wilkinson's map have been included on **Fig. 3**. At that time, far more brick remains were visible on the surface than when the tombs were excavated in the succeeding century, and there must have been some considerable loss over the preceding two millennia. This suggests that less than 50% of the original tombs were later examined. That which still remains from this cemetery is marked on Eigner's plan,[68] and some of it is shown in **Plate 97.**

The larger tombs of the Saite period in the central Assasif were reused in the Thirtieth Dynasty (§ 2.1) and this practice continued into Ptolemaic times for burials of varying numbers of individuals. The most extensive material comes from the tomb of Ankhhor (TT414),[69] and it is most likely that the burials found in this tomb are of relatively wealthy early and late Ptolemaic families (see also § 3.1) with rather opulent burial equipment;[70] other published examples come

[59] Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 42–5, pls XXXIII–XXXIV; Winlock 1914, 14–15, fig. 5; Lansing 1917, 8; Lansing 1935, 6, 8 fig. 2. Cf Spencer 1979, 54, 57.

[60] Lansing 1917, fig. 1.

[61] Note that the Eighteenth Dynasty family tomb of Neferkhuit might have been disturbed by those building these later tombs (my interpretation of Lansing 1935, 18).

[62] Respectively: Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 44; Winlock 1914, 14; Lansing 1917, 8.

[63] Carter and Carnarvon 1912, pl. XXXIV (1); Winlock 1914, 14.

[64] Winlock 1914, 14; PM I², 622. The canopic jars illustrated in Winlock fig. 2 are surely from the later Third Intermediate Period.

[65] Carter and Carnarvon 1912, 42.

[66] PM I², 620 mentions a bronze situla with a Demotic text from this area, said to be Ptolemaic; unpublished, see Carter Mss I, i.J.291 (left).

[67] From the description of the objects found in Northampton *et al.* 1908, 38 and the proximity of their site to the brick tombs (indicated on their Pl. II in the same area as Wilkinson did–doubtless this is based on his map).

[68] Eigner 1984, Plan 1.

[69] There are many references in Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978–82, for example I, 78–88, II, 154–5.

[70] Quaegebeur in Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978–82, II, 265.

from the tombs of Ibi (TT36: intrusive burials (perhaps also Roman), objects, Demotic texts),[71] and Padihorresnet (TT196: a wide range of objects including ceramics, amulets, erotic figures, stelae, offering tables and Demotic texts).[72] A particular concentration of evidence can be seen in the area of the early Middle Kingdom tomb of Inyotef (TT386), excavated by the German Archaeological Institute in the 1960s, in particular in reuse of the Saite tombs which were themselves inserted into the courtyard of the older structure: the burial chamber of Basa (TT389) was reused by a family probably of Ptolemaic date, including the addition of some pictures of divinities,[73] while part of the chapel of Psamtekdierneheh (TT411) seems to have been converted into an offering place in Ptolemaic times by a priest of Imhotep named Aapehty.[74] From the whole of this area, including also the tomb of Mutirdis (TT410), came a number of fragments of papyri and inscribed mummy bandages, two-thirds of which were Thirtieth Dynasty to early Ptolemaic, and the rest later Ptolemaic and Roman.[75]

Still in the same broad area, the reuse of the large tomb of Harwa (TT37) is attested in Demotic sources from the third and second centuries BC;[76] this reuse has now been supported by excavation work: the tomb was also turned into an offering place, as well as being used as a burial place from the early Ptolemaic period.[77] Modifications and inscriptions were added to TT190 and in the region of TT195,[78] and at least one Middle Kingdom tomb was reused at this time.[79] Some Ptolemaic remains were located in TT188,[80] and doubtless there are further tombs with similar remains in them.[81] There are also burials which are without detailed provenance but which are almost certainly from here; the best-known of these is the tomb-group of Hornedjtyitif from the third century BC.[82]

The concentration of tombs of various strata of society in the Assasif is surely to be associated with the holiness of the place. This extends back at least as far as the Middle Kingdom in respect of the Hathor cult and the Valley Festival, and was compounded in the second century BC by the erection of the shrine of Amenhotep son of Hapu in the temple.[83]

A cemetery of crocodiles (Ptolemaic at least) was also located at the entrance to the Assasif.[84]

Roman: Bietak's upper stratum for the Assasif is Roman,[85] and there are various Roman fragments in the tomb of Ankhhor, for example parts of a plain *qrsw* type coffin, and fragments of mummy-masks.[86] In the tomb of Padihorresnet (TT196) two fragments of Roman mummy portraits were found,[87] and also a plaque bearing a hieratic funerary text of Roman date.[88] Roman papyri were noted above in the area of TT389, TT410 and TT411. Excavations in the tomb of Harwa have also revealed Roman material.[89] It is not impossible that the intrusive burials in TT36 (above) could also be Roman, and a Roman burial was effected in the tomb of Djehutynakht (TT189).[90] Lastly, a sealing of the early imperial period was found in a Late Period tomb adjacent to the mortuary temple of Thutmose III.[91]

In the later imperial period numerous burials were cut into the debris over the temples at Deir el-Bahari (probably late third to fourth century AD); this were discovered during the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund and the Metropolitan Museum at the site. Some of these burials bore plaster masks; some were buried in reused coffins, while others were placed in the debris, sometimes covered with a basket or a ceramic.[92] It seems extremely likely that the material found was once just part of a considerable cemetery, since Naville and Bataille refer to Deir el-Bahari as being a productive site for mummy-hunters in earlier days.[93]

Also in the Deir el-Bahari area, the Polish expedition to the temple of Thutmose III found a mummy which they dated as Coptic but which Riggs (this volume) regards as being of Roman date.[94] Riggs also observes that some of the coffins reused in the late Roman burials might have originated in interments of the earlier Roman period.

71 Graefe 1990, 30–1, 65.
72 Anonymous 1975, 36–7.
73 Assmann in Arnold and Settgast 1968, 22–5, Taf. VIII.
74 Arnold and Settgast 1966, 81, 85, Taf. XIVb, XV.
75 Summarised in Burkard 1986, 10–11.
76 Pestman 1993, 468 n. w.
77 Francesco Tiradritti, personal communication; I am grateful for permission to mention this information.
78 Quaegebeur 1995, 146–51; Kampp 1996, 479–80 and 485 (the latter refers to possible late modifications in TT195).
79 Bietak 1972, 16 notes Ptolemaic pottery among the human remains along with a *ba* figure of probable similar date (Taf. VIII).
80 Redford 1996, 231.
81 For example, there is a reference to possible Ptolemaic coffin material in unpublished Metropolitan Museum records pertaining to TT207 (MMA 830B; information courtesy of Dorothea Arnold and Marsha Hill); PM I², 653 refers to Ptolemaic coffins from MMA 820.
82 Quaegebeur 1995, 142–4.
83 Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978–82, I, 19–29 covers the pre-Ptolemaic development of the area. See Laskowska-Kusztal 1984 for the shrine.
84 Kessler 1989, 170–1.
85 Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978–82, I, 39.
86 Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978–82, I, 154–5. These are not illustrated, but the description seems to bear some resemblance to the burials of the Pebos family at Deir el-Medina (see below). Eigner assigns to this tomb references in early travellers to great sources of antiquities (Eigner 1984, 54). His reference to Lane is now published (Lane 2000, 333).
87 Graefe 1997, 54.
88 Anonymous 1975, 37. Eigner attributes Burton's mention of a tomb full of mummies to TT196 (Eigner 1984, 30).
89 Riggs (this volume) refers to an unpublished fragment of a mummy portrait from the tomb of Harwa (TT37); other information from Francesco Tiradritti, personal communication.
90 Petra Barthelmess, personal communication.
91 Bietak 1972, Taf. IXa; cf p. 14 and Abb. 2.
92 See Riggs 2000 and Riggs and Depauw 2002, with details of context and earlier bibliography, as well as a catalogue of the surviving masks. See also Riggs (this volume).
93 Respectively, Naville in Griffith 1893–4, 4; Bataille 1952, 189. The existence of mummy-pits over Deir el-Bahari is noted in 1823–4 in the diary of Henry Westcar (Herzog 1969, 209). Such pits could refer to the better-known burials of the Third Intermediate Period as well as Graeco-Roman ones (see Barwik and Sheikholesalami, this volume). The existence of at least one other Graeco-Roman coffin from earlier excavations of Maunier is known (see Sheikholeslami, this volume).
94 Dzierzykray-Rogalski 1970, 87–94.

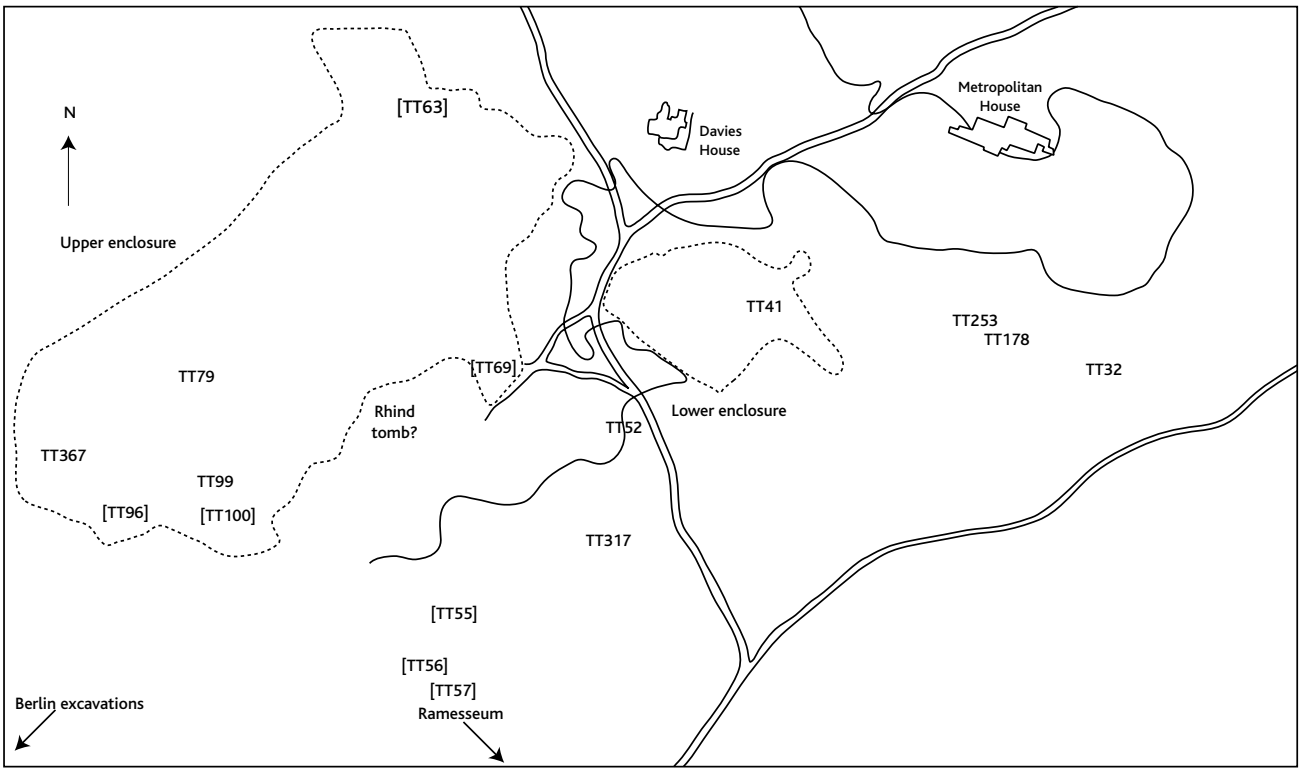

Fig. 4 Sketch plan showing approximate locations of finds of Graeco-Roman material in the Sheikh Abdel Qurna area. [ ] marks the location of other well-known tombs for purposes of orientation. Redrawn from PM I², plans IV–VI.

2.2.3 Sheikh Abdel Qurna/Khokha (**Fig. 4**)

Ptolemaic: Most evidence of Ptolemaic date is fragmentary in nature and comes from the reuse of earlier tombs. Material has survived from perhaps five generations of an early Ptolemaic family in the large Ramesside tomb of Djehutymose (TT32);[95] these burials had cartonnages and Books of the Dead, and some areas were bricked up for individual burials. Much more limited material is, for example, that found in the tomb of Khnummose (TT253).[96] 'Greek mummies' are reported to have been found in an otherwise unlocatable tomb.[97] Two shafts were possibly inserted into TT41 in the early Ptolemaic period, dated by a stone stela.[98]

Ptolemaic/Roman: The principal find in this area dating before the Soter burials (below) is that of Montusaf, the 'Rhind tomb' dating to the region of 30 BC,[99] and thus transitional between the two parts of our period.[100] See Riggs (this volume) for more detail on this burial.

Roman: The main find in this area of clear Roman date is the second century AD burial of the Soter family, discovered in the very early days of Egyptology and probably located in TT32.[101] The Hungarian expedition in TT32 also found other traces of Roman material which may or may not belong with this.[102] Other data is much more sparse: some Roman mummies are referred to in the courtyard of the tomb of Nakht (TT52),[103] and other burials said to be of this date were made in the tomb of Paser (TT367).[104] 'Roman (?) pits' are referred to in the first excavation of the tomb of Menkheperresoneb (TT79).[105] In the flatter area to the west of the Ramesseum, the excavations of Möller in 1911 revealed three poor Roman burials and a coffin of a child.[106]

There must be more fragmentary material, and it is possible (but very difficult to prove, see § 1.4) that the mass burials in other tombs were also partly of the Graeco-Roman period as suggested by their excavators;[107] some tombs in

[95] Kákosy 1995, 61, and Quaegebeur 1995, 155. See also Kákosy 1989, illustrations 43–5, 94, 96, 135–41. One mummy label, together with a (stray) ostrakon, are published in Vleeming 1994b.

[96] Strudwick 1996, 118, pl. 31 (253.068, early Ptolemaic).

[97] Mond 1905, 74. This tomb has similarities with the 'Rhind Tomb' (below), although it is probably not the same.

[98] Assmann 1991, 17, 244, Taf. LXXIV.

[99] Rhind 1862, 87–113. The location of this tomb has been lost, but it is thought to be about 40 m west of the tomb of Useramun (TT131). See also Spiegelberg 1904, 50–2.

[100] Parlasca refers to a burial from here as Roman (Parlasca 1966, 166).

[101] Kákosy 1995, 61–7 discusses the reasons for attributing the burial to TT32. See Herbin 2002 and Riggs (this volume) for more detail on this burial, and van Landuyt 1995, 69–82, for prosopographical data. Further notes on the individuals in this family will be found in Herbin's forthcoming publication of the Books of Breathing in the British Museum. See also Riggs and Depauw 2002 for references to unprovenanced Soter-like material from Thebes.

[102] Photographs in Kákosy 1989, illustrations 53–6.

[103] Daressy 1926, 12.

[104] Ahmed Fakhry 1943, 390.

[105] Engelbach 1924, 12.

[106] Anthes 1943, 25–6. Anthes realised that the shabtis found in the area of these burials are almost certainly earlier.

[107] Morimoto 1985; Morimoto *et al.* 1986 and Morimoto *et al.* 1988, which deal with human remains from TT317 and TT178, date the mummies to 1550–1530 BC. For TT253, TT254, and TT294, see Strudwick 1996, 189–91.

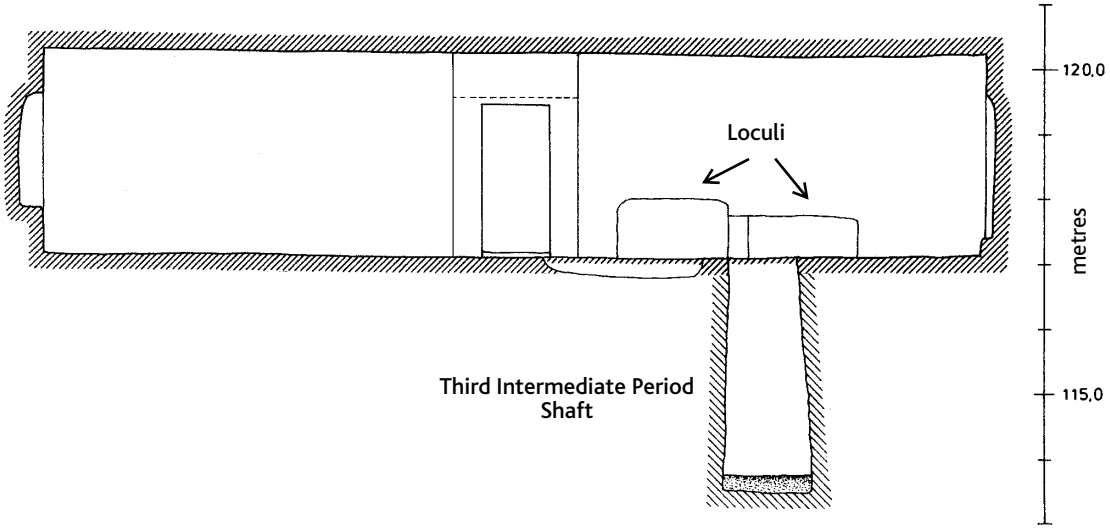

Fig. 5 Section looking west through the front hall of TT99 showing possible loculi. Plan by G Heindl.

addition to TT32 might have contained a mixture of mass and more elite burials.[108] Isolated burials may have been placed in loculi (such as two possible examples in TT99, see **Fig. 5**). The number of tombs known to have contained such isolated burials is not, at present, very large; other unverifiable references to possible comparable later burials are to be detected in the accounts of early explorers like Belzoni and early excavators like Rhind.[109]

2.2.4 Deir el-Medina (**Fig. 6**)

The overview by Bataille of this area of the necropolis in the Graeco-Roman period is particularly good,[110] and the use of the site was re-examined in 1997.[111] The problem already identified of distinguishing between burials of the two epochs raises its head yet again. Many burials are doubtless Graeco-Roman in date, but the principal excavator of the site, Bruyère, rarely commits himself in his reports beyond that, and when he does, the reasons for his attribution to Ptolemaic or Roman are rarely made explicit (see § 1.4 regarding his categorisation of mummies). Although the impression of the excavator is of paramount importance, it needs to be backed up with evidence. Many of his designations are vague and the variations often seem to have more to do with writing style than archaeological parameters. For example, tomb 1059 is both 'employé sous les Lagides' and 'de l'époque gréco-romaine', while 1141 was reused 'au temps de Djéme',[112] and references to 'basse époque' abound. I do not exclude the possibility of ceramic evidence supporting these statements, but that material is mostly unpublished. Bruyère appears to have been heavily influenced by his awareness of the existence of the choachyte archives, and often automatically assumed that these men were responsible for the late burials he was finding, and thus that they were Ptolemaic.[113] I thus suggest extreme caution be exercised when using attributions based on Bruyère, such as those of Bataille and Montserrat/Meskell.

A considerable number of tombs contain mass burials, together with enlargements and modifications to turn the reused burial chambers into a sort of catacomb.[114] These burials are almost always undatable.

Ptolemaic: Statements abound in Bruyère about Ptolemaic activity (see above), but little funerary material from Deir el-Medina can be so dated explicitly, although there is some ceramic material (early Ptolemaic material is referred to in Aston, this volume). Doubtless some mass burials are Ptolemaic, but the principal choachyte material does not explicitly refer to this area of the site.[115] But there is no doubt that the site was something of a religious centre at that time due to the presence of the temple begun by Ptolemy IV.[116]

Ptolemaic/Roman: from the transitional period comes an inscription from the roof of the temple of Hathor.[117] At some point in the Ptolemaic period, perhaps towards its very end, the sarcophagi of the divine adoratrices Nitocris and Ankhneferesibre were moved from their chapels at Medinet Habu to tombs 2003 and 2005 at Deir el-Medina, above and to the north of the temple.[118] The second of these two

[108] Riggs (this volume) observes that the remains of a shroud on one of the mummies from TT317 is similar to those from the Soter tomb (Morimoto 1985, Egypt, 5 (o), fig. 27).
[109] Examples: Belzoni 1822, I, 242–5; Rhind 1862, 150–1.
[110] Bataille 1952, 184–7.
[111] Montserrat and Meskell 1997.
[112] Respectively, Bruyère 1928, 37 and Bruyère 1929, 20.
[113] As an example, a Third Intermediate Period burial found outside a tomb near pit 1215 is assumed to have been placed there as a result of choachyte activity (Bruyère 1930, 31–2).
[114] For example, tombs 1153–5 (Bruyère 1929, 29–30) or 1138 (Bruyère 1929, 12–14).
[115] The references to the choachytes in Montserrat and Meskell 1997, 182–3 do not on examination specifically refer to Deir el-Medina but rather to the West Bank as a whole; Deir el-Medina does not seem to occur by name in any of the summaries of texts in Pestman 1993.
[116] See discussion of its history and use in Montserrat and Meskell 1997, 193–6.
[117] Spiegelberg 1928, 24 (c).
[118] See Nagel 1929; PM I², 685–6.

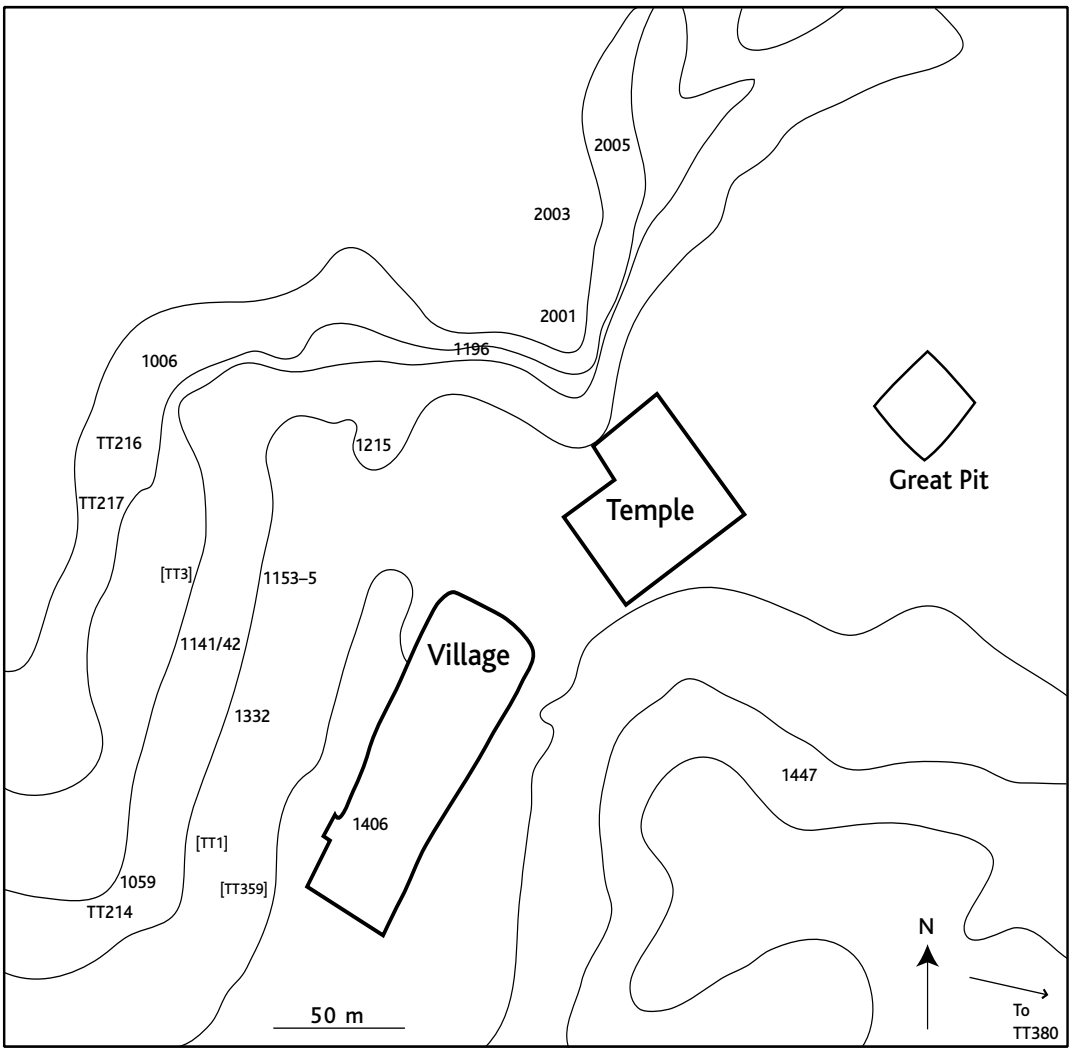

Fig. 6 Sketch plan of Deir el-Medina. showing principal locations of finds of Graeco-Roman material mentioned in the text. [ ] marks the location of other well-known tombs for purposes of orientation. Redrawn from Castel and Meeks 1980, plan 1 and PM I², plan XIII.

sarcophagi was probably reused for the burial of the 'brother of the royal family' Pamontu (the brother of Montusaf of the Rhind tomb described above).[119] Adjacent to the places in which these sarcophagi were found is the unusual tomb 2001, with its series of burial recesses, several containing stone sarcophagi.[120] This tomb may have had its origins in the Saite period, but it was clearly reused in Graeco-Roman times, and it seems very plausible that the presence of these sarcophagi in a group of tombs at the north-western end of Deir el-Medina argues for a limited number of elite burials in this part of the site.

Roman: The most spectacular late find from the excavations of Bruyère was the elite burial of the family of Pebos, most unusually in a house in the village.[121] This is probably to be dated to the late second/early third century AD.[122] Another significant group burial (60 mummies) of certain Roman date with shrouds and masks was discovered in tomb 1447 on the northern hillside of Qurnet Murrai.[123] Other finds specifically termed Roman by their excavator include (for example) a cartonnage in tomb 1332 A/B, a stone wall (perhaps forming a loculus) in tomb 1006, and a pottery coffin in tomb 1196.[124]

Spiegelberg published a number of Demotic texts found by Bruyère at Deir el-Medina. One graffito in TT216 is dated to AD 42/43;[125] Spiegelberg assumed that this, together with other undated graffiti in TT214, all expressing

[119] Spiegelberg 1904, 50–2. For evidence of a mummy said to have been found in the sarcophagus, see Nagel 1929, 18.
[120] Bruyère 1934, 94–6.
[121] Termed tomb 1406, Bruyère and Bataille 1936–7; cf Bataille 1952, 194–5.
[122] See Riggs in this volume; compare Montserrat–Meskell 1997, 188–93.
[123] Bruyère 1953, 104–10; also Montserrat 2000, 277–86.
[124] Respectively Bruyère 1937, 71; Bruyère 1937, 135; and Bruyère 1930, 86. Fragments of a pottery coffin were also found near TT217 (Bruyère 1925, 31).
[125] Spiegelberg 1928, 14–15 (I).

wishes for the well-being of named dead, related to burials in these tombs in the Roman period.[126] He dates a number of mummy bandages to the first–second century AD.[127]

For Ptolemaic and Roman material in the nearby Valley of the Eagle see §2.2.8 below.

2.2.5 Qurnet Murrai

The western side of the hill of Qurnet Murrai is closely associated with Deir el-Medina, and has been considered above, while the bottom of the eastern side of the hill has its association with the cemeteries of Medinet Habu (§ 2.2.6). There is one other monument on the east face of the hill: TT380 apparently contains a pair of Ptolemaic doorjambs of Ankhiufrehorakhty added to an older tomb.[128]

2.2.6 North and north-west of Medinet Habu

Ptolemaic: There are the remains of a small number of Ptolemaic brick tombs in the region of the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu. Four main types of tomb have been identified here, larger vaulted examples (perhaps three in number), two types of smaller individual brick graves (40–50), and burials direct in the ground (around 30).[129] One interment is said to be dated by a text on a decorated shroud to the Ptolemaic period. Some bodies were placed in pottery and some in earth coffins. The number of burials surviving is not large; it is not possible to tell from the sources whether there is any stratigraphic relationship between this cemetery and the later Roman one nearer Medinet Habu (see below), although the latter cemetery seems to be laid out in a more formal arrangement, whereas the locations of the burials in the Ptolemaic one seem much more haphazard. The layout of this cemetery seems very different to that in the Assasif, and it will be considered further below (§ 3.1).

Roman: Hölscher uncovered a large cemetery of the third and fourth centuries AD over and to the west of the original site of the mortuary temple of Ay and Horemheb, consisting of approximately 200 domed brick tombs;[130] the bodies were often arranged along the walls on low platforms. There were also about 150 burials simply in depressions in the ground, some of which were in pottery coffins like those noted above from Deir el-Bahari, while others reused older wooden coffins; a mummy mask was found on one such example.[131] That this cemetery extended further to the west is shown by the discovery in 1991 of at least a further 14 tombs of the domed brick type either side of the road to the Valley of the Queens.[132]

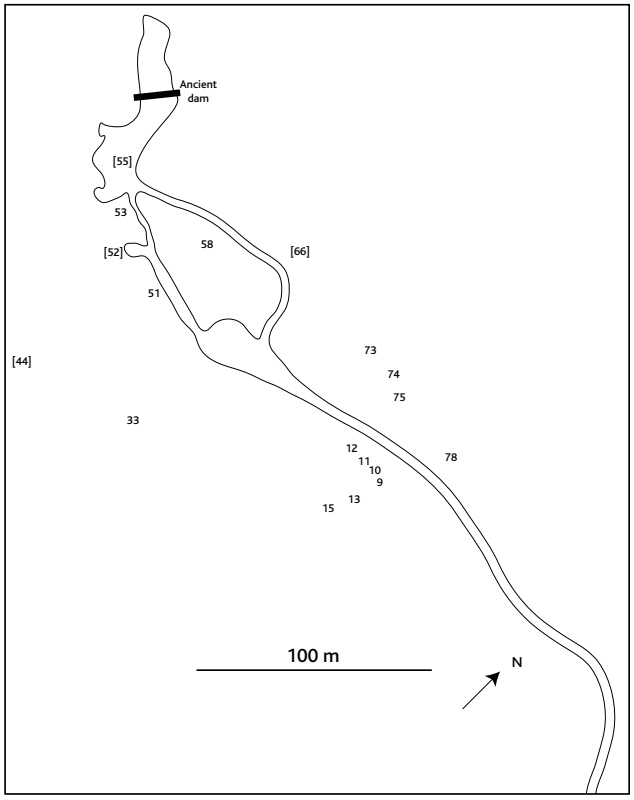

Fig. 7 Sketch plan of the central part of the Valley of the Queens, showing principal finds of Graeco-Roman material mentioned in the text. Numbers in [ ] are those of well-known tourist tombs for orientation purposes. Redrawn after Leblanc 1989, fig. 9.

2.2.7 Valley of the Queens[133] (**Fig. 7**)

Ptolemaic: There appears to be no material evidence for Ptolemaic burials, but there is at least one graffito there, perhaps of a visitor, dated to a year 49, presumably of Ptolemy VIII (122/121 BC).[134]

Roman: The work of the French mission in the Valley of the Queens in the 1980s and 1990s has brought to light many remains of mass burials in the New Kingdom tombs.[135] Most burials seem to have consisted simply of the mummy only, but some bodies were placed in ceramic coffins,[136] and fragments of coffins, mummy cloths, mummy masks, and mummy portraits were also recovered.[137] The attribution to the Roman period seems to be based on the

[126] Spiegelberg 1928, 15–17 (II); cf Bruyère 1928, 44–5.
[127] Spiegelberg 1928, 17–23 (b).
[128] Bruyère 1934, 93.
[129] Robichon and Varille 1936, 44–5. Cf Spencer 1979, 54–5, 57–8. The estimates of numbers given for these types are mine and based on the outlines of graves shown on Robichon and Varille 1936, pl. VIII, X, XII, XIV, XV.
[130] Hölscher 1954, 42–4, pl. 28 (E, F). Sixty-one mummy labels from these excavations are considered in Wilfong 1995; Wilfong in addition offers comments on the dating and context of the cemetery, also noting that the original excavation records, once thought lost, have now been recovered.
[131] Hölscher 1954, pls 27, 28 (A).
[132] Mohamed el-Bialey 1992, 83–7.
[133] Summary in Leblanc 1988–91, 98.
[134] Spiegelberg 1928, 26–7 (B).
[135] Macke and Macke-Ribet in Lecuyot 1992, 114–16 [QV 9–13]; Leblanc 1980, 39 [QV 33]; Nelson and Janot 1993, 371–2 [QV 53]; Ibrahim Mahmoud Soleiman and Tosi 1996, 216–17 [QV 51]; Leblanc and Ibrahim Abdel-Rahman 1991, 169 [QV 74]; Leblanc 1984–5, 57–8 [QV 58]; Leblanc 1988, 146 [QV 75] (human remains not specifically mentioned). The human remains are now studied in detail in Macke *et al.* 2002.
[136] Nelson and Janot 1993 includes a number of examples from the French excavations.
[137] Lecuyot 1992, 96–7, 105, 126 n. 76; Leblanc 1980, figs 4–10.

dating of the textual material (in Greek) to the first two centuries AD or later.[138] Several examples of remodelling of older chapels to turn them into catacombs are attested: for example, tomb QV15 was linked to its neighbour, while QV78 had two extra chambers added, unusually with a new pit.[139] A glance at **Fig. 7** suggests that tombs nearer the entrance to the valley were perhaps more favoured for reuse.

Some falcon mummies, apparently of Graeco-Roman date, were also found in the Valley of the Queens.[140]

2.2.8 The Theban hills

The Theban hills conceal numerous tombs in cliffs and in the more remote valleys. Many are candidates for the burial places of members of the Theban royal family at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[141] Carter surveyed a number of these more remote places between October 1916 and January 1917, and he cleared the best known of them, the cliff tomb of Hatshepsut, which did not reveal any material later than the New Kingdom.[142] However, recent examination of one of the other cliff tombs closer to the valley, the Bab el-Muallaq in the Valley of the Eagle, just north of Deir el-Medina, south of the so-called Sankhkare temple, has revealed evidence of use from the New Kingdom to the Roman period.[143] In the Graeco-Roman period it might be possible to see the Valley of the Eagle as an extension of the Deir el-Medina cemeteries.

In the **Ptolemaic** period, the Bab el-Muallaq received wooden coffins containing mummies in cartonnage cases or wrapped in painted shrouds accompanied by ceramics.[144] Roman material consisted again of mummies in coffins and cartonnages with shrouds, and also some in pottery coffins; ceramic vessels were also conspicuously present.[145] This material can all be dated on stylistic grounds, but the excavators have additionally drawn on graffiti from the base of the cliffs which may relate to the use and reuse of the tomb above. The graffiti quoted date between 241 BC and 161 AD,[146] while the brown Late Roman pottery was made well into the Byzantine period.

There is also a separate Roman burial in the Valley of the Eagle. This might be associated with a graffito of second century AD date indicating a person possibly buried in the valley.[147]

Legal and illegal excavations in the Wadi Qabbanet el-Qirud have revealed a number of baboon burials, often in the same context as corn-mummies.[148] Ceramics and lamps found with these objects are clearly Roman,[149] while the corn-mummies could be of the Late Period or Graeco-Roman;[150] the practice of burying them in a context such as this valley is almost certainly Graeco-Roman.[151]

2.2.9 Deir es-Shelwit area

The temple of Isis at Deir es-Shelwit appears to have been a centre of activity in the **Roman** period.[152] Excavations have revealed part of a settlement on the edge of the cultivation to the north-east of the temple,[153] and also a cemetery in the area of Kom es-Samak, about 300m to the north of the temple.[154] Ceramic coffins, some with decoration, were found in the latter site.[155] The relative proximity of these, coupled with their distance from other sites in Thebes, suggest that the latter is the necropolis of the former.

2.3 The papyrological evidence

It is impossible to discuss tombs of this period without reference to the Demotic and Greek choachyte sources, since the Ptolemaic period is that at Thebes in which the activity of these individuals is best represented.[156] For the Egyptologist, the choachyte can best be likened to the *ka*-priest known from the Old Kingdom on; individuals performing similar functions are not clearly seen in the New Kingdom, but parallels to their core activity of water pouring can be found.[157] The archives which form the basis of the choachyte data from the Ptolemaic period fall into two principal groups, those from the third century BC and those from the second. Both are covered by Vleeming's article, but the existence of a publication of synthesis by Pestman of the later of these groups has encouraged me to concentrate on the data they provide.[158]

While these archives are the most important written sources for this period, the choachytes themselves should not be accorded an inordinate importance purely on the basis of survival of documents. They may have worked primarily for the middle classes, and others may have seen to the burials and rites for the upper classes (compare § 3.1).[159] There are no Roman equivalents to the choachytes, and it

[138] Wagner *et al.* 1990, 365–80 [QV 11, 15, 53, 73, 78].
[139] Wagner *et al.* 1990, 367, 368.
[140] Nelson and Janot 1993, 371.
[141] Cf Strudwick and Strudwick 1999, 124–8.
[142] Carter 1917, 107–18. Various graffiti in the hills are perhaps of our periods, but only a very few appear to relate to burials (see below).
[143] Gabolde *et al.* 1994. This tomb was probably cut in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and has been suggested as being the tomb of Amenhotep son of Hapu or the *qsy* of Inhapy, as well as the tomb of a member of the royal family (summary in Gabolde *et al.* 1994, 174–5).
[144] Summary in Gabolde *et al.* 1994, 231–2.
[145] Summary in Gabolde *et al.* 1994, 232–3.
[146] See Gabolde *et al.* 1994, 231–3 with references to the publication of this material. In particular note Ptolemaic graffito 3548 (Jasnow 1984, 89–91) which might refer to a nearby burial of Horpayiset which might be from this tomb.
[147] Bruyère 1934, 94; Bataille 1939, 162–4 (37). At least one other graffito in this area is Ptolemaic (no. 35; Bataille 1939, 161–2).
[148] In particular, Lortet and Gaillard 1905, 239–48; summary of all material in Kessler 1989, 177. These finds are also discussed by Chistine Lilyquist in her publication of the Tomb of the Three Princesses (in press); I thank her for permitting me to see parts of this work before publication.
[149] Lortet and Gaillard 1905, figs 109, 112.
[150] Raven 1982, 20–1. See also Aston, this volume.
[151] Raven 1982, 32–3.
[152] The present temple is a product of the first two centuries AD (Zivie 1982, vii).
[153] Committee for the study of ancient Egypt 1992, 405–7.
[154] Committee for the study of ancient Egypt 1988, 215–6.
[155] Compare Committee for the study of ancient Egypt 1988, pls 8–18.
[156] Vleeming 1995b, 241–55.
[157] Donker van Heel 1992, 19–30.
[158] Pestman 1993; the earlier sources are mentioned on pp. 28–32; a diagram illustrating the periods covered by all these archives is in Depauw 2000, 13.
[159] Bataille 1952, 261; Derda 1991, 26.

appears that this system broke down and disappeared, perhaps for economic reasons, in the first century BC;[160] obviously mummification, burial, and all the associated rites continued, but such evidence as there is for the earlier periods just does not exist.

It can be seen from the choachyte archives of the Ptolemaic period that they built brick tombs and/or selected existing rock tombs as burial places for their clients.[161] The brick tombs are presumably those described above, primarily in the east end of the Assasif; how far their activity in the rock tombs spread north and south of the Assasif is uncertain because of the difficulty of reconciling the written and archaeological sources. The third century BC archives refer to more brick tombs than those from the second century. Vleeming believes[162] that this might be purely a consequence of the survival of the sources, the perennial problem of Egyptology. Perhaps in the second–first century BC there was a preference for brick rather than rock tombs, either for financial or other reasons (space?).

The second century archive indicates that many of these tombs were for individual families, while others were used as collective tombs.[163] Although the size of the regular payments made to the choachytes are unknown,[164] the choice between a brick and a rock tomb may have been a matter of cost if it were not one of supply–the quantity of bricks necessary to construct a tomb must surely have cost more than selecting and perhaps slightly modifying an existing rock tomb.[165]

It is not easy to gain an idea of the number of mummies in any one tomb. Pestman believes that a 'considerable number' were interred in Θυναβουνουν in the charge of the choachyte family of Horos in the second century BC; the notes he publishes suggest between 15 and 20.[166] Material relating to smaller family tombs tends only to mention two or three male individuals.[167] Although these lists only name male mummies, they regularly mention others not by name, including wives, children, brothers and further unspecified people.[168] Thus doubling or tripling the number of named mummies would give but a conservative total for the burials in one tomb.

It is little easier to ascertain the number of tombs in the archives. Pestman only lists mummies and tombs mentioned in his survey of the second century BC choachyte archive.[169] This by no means includes every tomb and mummy in the archive,[170] but in this subset of data I believe a maximum of 54 references to distinct tombs can be identified using the following terms: *mꜣʿ* 'place', perhaps meaning 'memorial' (6); *mr* 'pyramid' (1); *ʿwy n ḥtp* 'resting place' or 'tomb' (1); *st* 'seat' or 'tomb' (19); and *ḥwt* 'tomb' (27). While there is no way that this covers all examples, to count just the two main terms *st* and *ḥwt* indicates a minimum of 46 tombs in use at some point between 175 and 114 BC. But how many persons were buried here is unknown.

3. Comments on specific issues

3.1 Reconciling the papyrological and archaeological evidence (primarily Ptolemaic)

A wealth of data is provided by the Ptolemaic choachyte archives, but can it be related to the archaeological material? I have tried above to indicate an outline of the data relating to persons who might have been buried in some of the tombs mentioned in the papyri, but it is generally almost impossible to recognise family tombs from the archaeological record, as so little prosopographical and archaeological data are available from reports on burials of this date. There are some exceptions: from the genealogies presented in the publication of the tomb of Ankhhor,[171] it would seem that three early Ptolemaic families were represented in the tomb by 36 names; of course, given the broken condition of the fragments, it does not automatically mean that they were all buried here, although it is possible. The late Ptolemaic families are represented by 14 names. Regardless of their date, the burials of Montusaf and Pebos noted above do represent family burials, and these contained nine individuals each.

Caution has to be exercised as these people were of a relatively elevated priestly status, as illustrated particularly by the lavish burial equipment.[172] It has been suggested that such families may not have employed the choachytes, since the latter's clientele perhaps came from middle-income levels of society, and that the elite were dealt with by other, less well-attested, persons;[173] it must never be forgotten that we clearly possess only a part of the original choachyte documents, and that lost archives could have belonged to families who dealt with the better-off.[174] Nonetheless, there is no reason to assume that the number of burials in one family tomb might have varied by social status, and the

[160] Cf Bataille 1952, 261–4.
[161] Vleeming 1995b, 248–51 and Pestman 1993, 439–43.
[162] Personal communication.
[163] Pestman 1993, 439–47.
[164] Pestman 1993, 7. A typical practice in the earlier choachyte archives is for them to be paid from income from leasing land set aside for the purpose of paying for the care of the dead (Donker van Heel 1995, 195 (IV)); this does not seem to have been popular in late Ptolemaic times.
[165] Vleeming 1995b, 250 mentions 6,000 ordinary and 2,000 vaulting bricks being required for a tomb; these would together have cost 4 silver *kite* (Thissen 1984, 54 (6.1)).
[166] Pestman 1993, 451–4.
[167] Pestman 1993, 456–7.
[168] For example, Pestman 1993, 471–3.
[169] Pestman 1993, 475–84, with a discussion of the terminology for tombs on pp. 465–8. Examples of the use of certain tombs by specific families are given on pp. 444–57.
[170] For example, P Bruss. dem. 5 (Spiegelberg 1909, 19–25, Taf. VII) mentions 22 tombs, of which Pestman's list refers to 6 (Pestman's Document 3, Pestman 1993, 50–1, 475).
[171] Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978–82, II, 252–7.
[172] Comment by Quaegebeur in Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978–82, II, 265.
[173] Bataille 1952, 252–4; Derda 1991, 26.
[174] Vleeming (personal communication) has drawn my attention to the fact that the income from servicing the mummy of the priest of Hephaistos Harmais is divided between three choachytes (Pestman 1993, 440 (54A)). This may mean that the known choachytes did deal with those of more significant means, and perhaps also implies that they charged more for some persons, presumably offering better treatment.

numbers presented in the last paragraph seem to be of the same levels of magnitude as those extracted for individual tombs from the papyri.

Which were the tombs used by the choachytes? It is of course extremely difficult to equate the tombs in the papyri with the archaeological record; only the prominent monuments of Harwa (TT37) and Nebwenenef (TT157) can be identified so far, and not because of any archaeological material attesting to the presence of the choachytes.[175] None of the smaller family tombs can be located.

It would seem that the major activities of the second century choachytes concentrated in the area centred on the Assasif and to the north, since that is where the two identified rock tombs are, together with the Ptolemaic brick chapels. Yet the choachytes themselves lived in Medinet Habu (Djeme),[176] and possible reuse of tombs in Deir el-Medina and the existence of the brick tombs to the north of Medinet Habu suggest that there was a southern part to the necropolis.

The amount of Ptolemaic material from Deir el-Medina is not clear (see § 2.2.4). While it is quite possible that the Romans removed Ptolemaic bodies and reused the older tombs, this would seem to contradict the evidence, since references are scattered through Bruyère's reports of bodies of different periods in the same tomb (also true for the Valley of the Queens).[177] Thus I am uncertain whether Deir el-Medina was a major cemetery in the last three centuries BC; could there be a parallel at that time with the Assasif, which was in the main an elite cemetery with the multiple burials (in brick and rock tombs) at the periphery? As it is in general almost impossible to distinguish between Ptolemaic and Roman bodies, interments classified as Roman could well have been catacombs begun in the previous era which continued to be filled. It should not be overlooked that the other major cemetery of reused tombs in the southern necropolis, the Valley of the Queens, appears to have been a largely Roman creation.

It is unclear whether the tombs in the area of the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu north of Medinet Habu formed a part of the area in which the choachytes worked. Of the possible Ptolemaic material, only three tombs appear comparable in size to the brick chapels found in the Assasif and suited to the activities of the choachytes in the manner attested from the papyrological sources outlined above, that is, usable for family burials and the rituals which the choachytes were paid to perform. They are also not so systematically laid out as in the Assasif. The remaining tombs in this area are single brick graves or burials direct in the ground; they seem more likely to be individual unsystematic burials than part of an established system (although it cannot be excluded that some of them may belong with the Roman material in the same broad area to be outlined below). The persons buried there were probably unable to afford much in the way of burial and were thus interred in the simplest way possible.

There are, however, some possible references to this area in texts of the Ptolemaic period. The 'sand of Amenhotep' as an area for a tomb is mentioned in an ostrakon from TT373 of 226 BC,[178] as is the 'road of Djeme' in ostrakon Louvre ODL 314.[179] Both ostraka show tomb plots being purchased for 2.5 *kite* and make it possible that there was more formal choachyte activity in this area at this time than I have deduced from the archaeological evidence.

It is always possible that the cemeteries in this area were specifically associated with Medinet Habu, where the choachytes lived, but several choachyte burials are mentioned along with other tombs in their control, presumably those we have discussed above in the northern part of the site.[180] Possible, but perhaps less likely, is that these two areas were associated with two different parts of the necropolis, insofar as Medinet Habu was part of the administrative district of Memnonia while Assasif/Dra Abu el-Naga was probably part of Perithebas.[181] A third possibility is that there might have been some wish for a link with the underlying temple of Amenhotep, given that he had an important sanctuary in later Ptolemaic times at Deir el-Bahari.[182]

3.2 Discussion of other Ptolemaic material

The Ptolemaic archaeological material may be split approximately into three groups. A considerable amount of the published material points to burials of individuals of the wealthier and elite classes, distinguished by the use of a higher than average level of funerary equipment: these include the tomb of Montusaf and his brother Pamontu, the various fragments from the tomb of Ankhhor, and the assemblage of Hornedjtyitif, as well as the addition of inscriptions to existing chapels, as in TT190, TT195 and TT380. All these (apart from Hornedjtyitif, whose exact burial place is uncertain) exhibit the practice of reusing older tombs. The more fragmentary evidence from other private tombs may point to the same conclusion. Parlasca's comment about the lack of substantive change in burial practices again comes to mind.[183]

The second group of material also relates to the reemployment of rock tombs, this time containing simpler burials. This practice is probably more widely spread around

[175] My impression from the sources in §2.2 above is that the artefacts from there are perhaps of burials of higher status persons than those normally served by the choachytes (see also below). Another large collective tomb, that of *ỉbw-nfr*, is mentioned in the papyri, but attempts to identify it have so far failed (Pestman 1993, 449–50).

[176] Pestman 1993, 416–23.

[177] For example, TT336 at Deir el-Medina seemingly contained both late Third Intermediate Period burials in coffins and Roman mummies (Bruyère 1926, 108–13), as did many of the tombs published by Lecuyot in the Valley of the Queens (Lecuyot 1992, 89–129).

[178] Vleeming 1994a, 126–8 (56); Vleeming (personal communication) has asked me to draw attention to the fact that 'Amenhotep' could equally refer to an area associated with the cult of Amenhotep I. I thank Sven Vleeming for this and the next reference.

[179] Devauchelle 1983, I, 168–9.

[180] Two early Ptolemaic examples are Vittmann 1980, 131; Andrews 1990, 29.

[181] Pestman 1993, 413.

[182] Vandorpe 1995, 227, nn. 193–4.

[183] Parlasca 1997, 127. But compare Riggs, this volume.

the necropolis, but it cannot be attested unambiguously in large quantities, other than in the papyrological sources.

With both categories of reuse of rock tombs, the extent to which new chambers were cut is less certain; a possible example is the insertion of two small shafts into TT41. Modifications have often been noted, however, as in the tomb of Ankhhor or that of Basa; the Middle Kingdom tomb found by Bietak in the Assasif was walled-up in places to make it suitable for later users. The practice of reusing tombs, so evident at this time, was of course not a new departure, but rather continued a practice which began at the end of the New Kingdom and which had been the norm for most of the Third Intermediate and Late Periods.

The third group of data relates to the new brick chapels in the Assasif, and to a much lesser extent those in the area of the former temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu to the north of Medinet Habu. The occupiers of these tombs were probably similar in status to the second group above, but there is little published evidence available as to their contents, although coffins are referred to in the excavations of Carter and Carnarvon.

It would appear that the evidence, archaeological or papyrological, does not clearly prove the existence of mass burials in the Ptolemaic period on the scale which is attested in the Roman period, for example in the Valley of the Queens (below), although there are major problems in distinguishing BC and AD data. It also appears that the main emphasis of activity in the necropolis was in the northern sector.

3.3 Discussion of Roman material

Three groups of Roman material may be identified. Firstly there are isolated elite burials, either in reused tombs or older houses, above all the Soter tomb and that of the family of Pebos at Deir el-Medina, both primarily second century AD, plus some traces elsewhere.[184] Then there are the largely anonymous mass burials, perhaps using the southern areas of the necropolis more than had been done in the last three centuries BC. These mass burials, very difficult to date, were mostly of uncoffined mummies, but there is evidence among the bodies of the use of various types of ceramic and wooden coffins as well as mummy-cloths. The last group, those later imperial burials north of Medinet Habu and at Deir el-Bahari, are perhaps a mixture of elite and lower burials from the mixture of evidence.

Texts of the Roman period do not reveal information about tomb use in the same manner as the Ptolemaic choachyte sources. However, it seems clear that for the first two centuries of the imperial era reuse of older tombs was paramount (my first two groups above).[185] Then the sources of my third group of data, the new cemeteries of Medinet Habu and Deir el-Bahari, came into use, with the construction of new brick tombs in the former area. Perhaps these developments were due to lack of space, or a desire to erect these tombs closer to the main settlement on the West Bank at Djeme (Medinet Habu), or, in the case of Deir el-Bahari, perhaps to be near that site with its sacred associations with Amenhotep son of Hapu.

Two particular areas were especially exploited for mass burials in reused tombs, the Valley of the Queens, and to a lesser extent Deir el-Medina; in the former site it is reasonably sure that there had been no real reuse since the end of the Third Intermediate Period, although one Ptolemaic graffito has been noted above. As an example of the numbers of burials, excavations in the Valley of the Queens from 1983 to 1994 revealed 1070 bodies of Roman date.[186] There was some remodelling of tombs at this date to create catacombs in both the Valley of the Queens and Deir el-Medina. We cannot, however, exclude that some mass burials were also made in reused private tombs at this time.

3.4 Summary of patterns

To summarise: in the **Ptolemaic** period (**Fig. 8**) there is evidence for both the reuse of rock tombs in the northern and central part of the site and the construction of new brick tombs in the Assasif. A number of elite burials were made in various locations, and some older tombs modified. The Imperial epoch (**Fig. 9**) saw a continuation of the reuse of the rock tombs seen in the Ptolemaic period, but the centre seems to have shifted south, perhaps to be concentrated in the Valley of the Queens and Deir el-Medina, but no brick tombs were built until later in the era. A few elite burials are attested, but most graves seem to consist of mass depositions of bodies, regrettably nameless. Late in the period, burials recommenced in the debris over the temple of Deir el-Bahari. Either the earlier sanctity of the place was perhaps being reasserted, or else other areas were rather full.

3.5 Temple sites as necropoleis, and areas not used for burials

The use of some other areas for burials may possibly be related to the functioning of the local temples and the extent to which earlier temple sites were still regarded as 'sacred spaces'. The best examples of the latter will be given below; the Qurna temple of Sety I is a well-documented example of one which, while its religious significance seems to have been revived somewhat in the Graeco-Roman period, did not (apparently) have a major cemetery attached. This seems to have been used as a settlement between the third century BC and the seventh century AD.[187] The importance of this particular temple site may to some extent be due to its location at the north of the site and its proximity to the cultivation; as Caroline Simpson shows in this volume, this was also the major settlement in the area at the time of the first visits by Europeans.

The temple sites of both Deir el-Bahari and the Ramesseum functioned as burial grounds in the Third Inter-

[184] See Montserrat 2000, 284 for the suggestion that Deir el-Medina tomb 1447 might be another elite burial.

[185] The construction of new tombs has been denied by Vandorpe 1995, 237.

[186] Macke *et al.* 2002, 30; five small, originally Eighteenth Dynasty tombs alone contained around 300 bodies (Macke and Macke-Ribet in Lecuyot 1992, 116).

[187] Mysliewiec 1987, 15–26. Stadelmann and Mysliewiec 1982, 396 refers to an associated cemetery to the west and north of the temple.

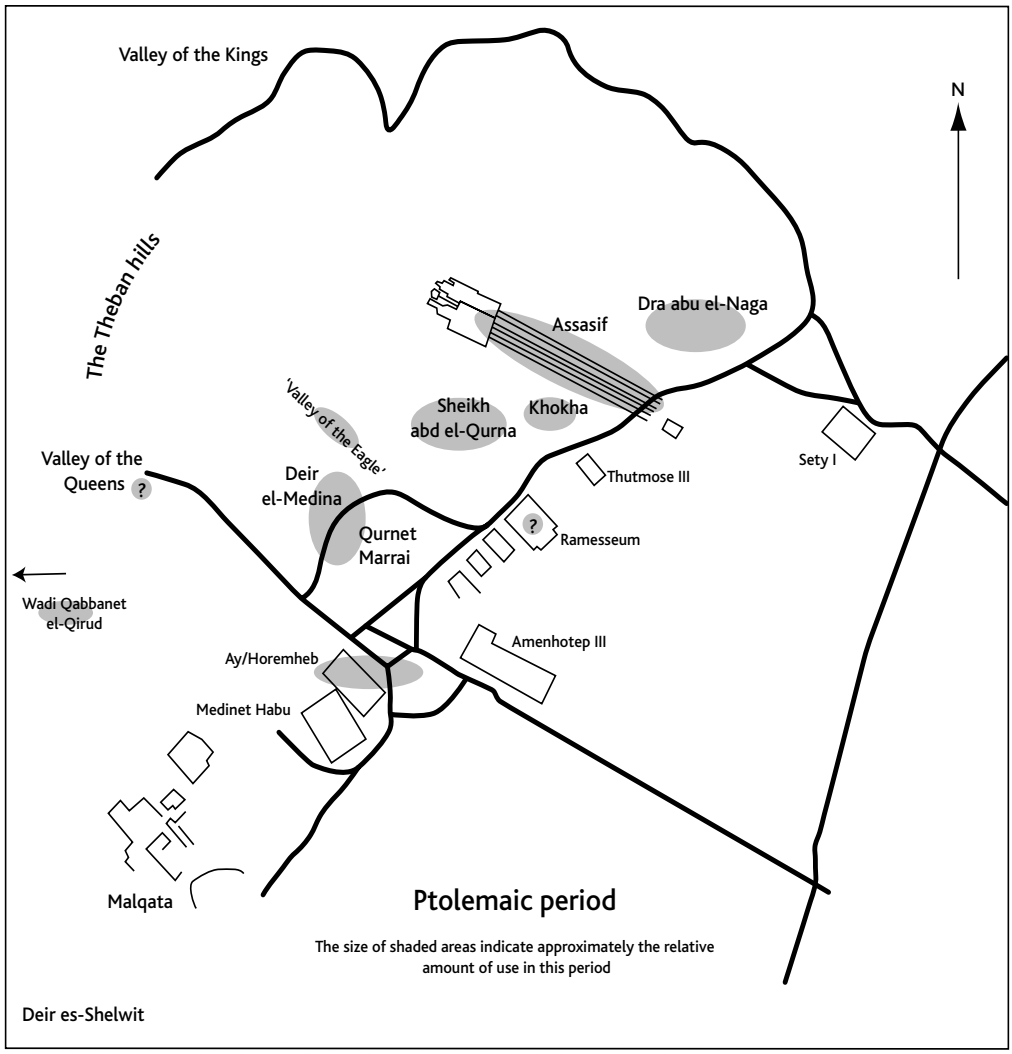

Fig. 8 Schematic diagram of cemetery use in the Ptolemaic period in Thebes. Base plan redrawn from Shedid and Seidl 1991, Abb. 2.

mediate Period, but their use seems to have ceased after relatively well-defined periods.[188] It appears that the attraction of Deir el-Bahari persisted, in that the Saite temple-tombs were in some way orientated towards the causeway of the temple; in the Ptolemaic period, the temple itself became the focus for the cult of Amenhotep son of Hapu,[189] and it seems possible that this cult focus might have influenced the positioning of the Ptolemaic tombs discussed above. Perhaps also the memory of the sacredness of the area which had been (and may still have been)[190] the focus of the 'Beautiful Festival of the Valley' and the associated cults lived on and was an important attraction for those seeking tomb space.

There is no consistent evidence for use of the Ramesseum after the late Third Intermediate Period, just some general mention of finds in the debris and possibly some poor burials.[191] Its lack of use may be paralleled with that of the other temples along the edge of the cultivation, in that it was perhaps preferable to bury the dead further into the desert. There may be other more specific reasons. Bataille thought that the Ramesseum was of relatively little importance in classical times, but this is largely due to his incorrect identification of the 'tomb of Osymandias' with the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III.[192] Perhaps the Ramesseum was still a very visible and holy place, and indeed there is some evidence that there might even have been a cult carried on there.[193]

The situation at Deir el-Medina is more complex, since it became a cult focus only in the Ptolemaic period, although it was used as a cemetery in parts of the Third Intermediate Period. Compare comments above in § 2.2.4. Montserrat and Meskell suggest that the sanctity of the temple of Deir el-Medina might have attracted people to be buried near

[188] Eigner 1984, 24–6.
[189] Laskouska-Kusztal 1984, 64–9.
[190] Montserrat and Meskell 1997, 195.
[191] In the north-western annexes at least: Desroches Noblecourt 1976, 178.
[192] Bataille 1952, 119–42. For a recent discussion see Leblanc 1985, 69–82.
[193] Vandorpe 1995, 227.

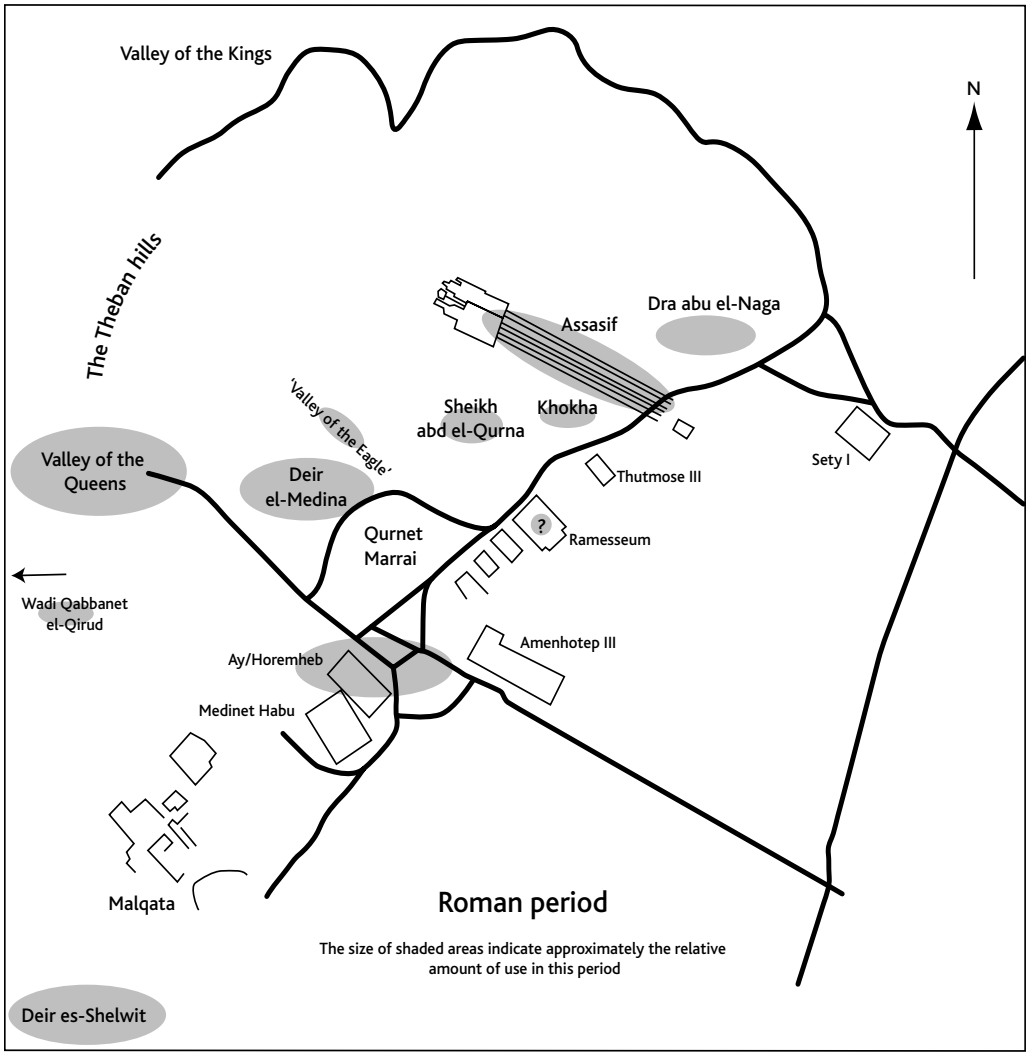

Fig. 9 Schematic diagram of cemetery use in the Roman period at Thebes. Base plan redrawn from Shedid and Seidl 1991, Abb. 2.

it;[194] the situation may have been not unlike that at Deir el-Bahari.

The other major area which does not seem to have been used for burials in the periods under discussion is the Valley of the Kings; no burials there are later than the Third Intermediate Period.[195] Perhaps the area may have been too sacred, too remote or difficult of access for those who worked with the dead, or too much of a tourist/pilgrim site.[196]

3.6 Changes in burial practices

The Ptolemaic period in Thebes is noteworthy for the vast increase in preserved textual sources in both Demotic and Greek. But there is no increase in the amount of preserved funerary artefacts of any type which make it easy to identify and date material to these epochs (see also my comments on Thebes versus other areas of Egypt, above § 1.3). The amount of provenanced finds is only marginally higher than that in the preceding period, and the same is true for material which can only be attributed to 'Thebes', as a scan through PM I², 782–847 will reveal.

To some extent, this lack of material may be due to the continued decline in the quantity of funerary goods buried with the mummy. This process of reduction in funerary equipment had begun in the later New Kingdom, and is best illustrated in the Third Intermediate Period by the lack of items which might be associated with daily life and an almost exclusive concentration on objects concerned with the next life (coffins, shabtis, and so on).[197] The almost total lack of relatively undisturbed deposits from the Ptolemaic period in Thebes (and in Egypt generally)[198] makes commenting on this somewhat difficult.

Roman material consists of a mixture of elite and lesser burials, in brick and rock tombs. From this point of view, it

[194] Montserrat and Meskell 1997, 196–7.
[195] Cf Taylor 1991, 186–206.
[196] Bataille 1952, 168–77.
[197] See Taylor 2001; Aston 1987.
[198] Cf Parlasca 1985, 97–8.

can be said to resemble the Ptolemaic material, but there is not the textual backup to this data. It is likely that major changes in burial practices did not appear in Egypt until the Imperial Roman period,[199] although the extent to which these are reflected at Thebes is not clear–Riggs (this volume) argues that Thebes shows more conservative styles of elite funerary equipment than elsewhere in the country. However, the continuing trend is to concentrate on the body itself, and other types of object almost completely disappear.

3.7 Why so many late burials?

There does seem to be an inordinate number of burials in Thebes in the Graeco-Roman period. Bataille surveyed the Greek data for the identity of those who were buried on the West Bank in the Graeco-Roman period.[200] It may of course have been that the number of people wanting to be buried in Thebes was simply growing, whatever the economic situation, and some of those in Bataille's survey (although not a huge number), came from beyond the immediate local area. Bataille's explanation for this phenomenon is that Thebes had acquired the distinction of being a holy site and was attractive as a burial place to those beyond the immediate nome boundaries. It is also true that the population in Egypt was increasing during the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods, although it is unlikely that this alone can explain the apparent increase in burial numbers.[201] It cannot explain away the large number of bodies overall, and it has been suggested that individual large graves, such as Valley of the Queens tomb QV53, might be explained by epidemics of plague.[202]

Perhaps, however, a different approach should be considered. The number of burials made in the earlier epochs may have been much higher than suspected, and the numbers of bodies for the latest periods appear to be higher because more material has survived; perhaps poor archaeology and the circumstances of preservation have kept the earlier material from modern eyes. For many years, there was no real indication where the non-elite of the New Kingdom were buried, but there is now a better idea from the cemeteries at Dra Abu el-Naga, for which a figure of 17,000 persons buried has been suggested.[203] After surveying the fragmentary material of the Third Intermediate Period from the private tombs and elsewhere on the West Bank, I suspect that considerable number of persons were buried on the West Bank in that period also: most publications of the private tombs, no matter how poor the reports, give some indications of reuse after the New Kingdom. The choachyte system, so clearly attested from the papyrological archives of the Ptolemaic period, can be witnessed in texts from at least 500 BC onwards, and there is surely no reason to presume that it is purely a creation of that date (§ 2.3 shows that their precursors may go back to the New Kingdom); certain priesthoods in the necropolis may actually have begun to develop towards their later choachyte form once the process of reusing older tombs became normal practice at the end of the New Kingdom, when the ability to find and maintain a place of burial perhaps became as important as building one from scratch in the preceding epochs.

I suggest, in the absence of a detailed prosopography of these earlier periods, particularly the Third Intermediate, that what is seen in the Graeco-Roman period on the West Bank is not necessarily a sudden increase in the numbers seeking burial, out of line with the natural demographic increase in Egypt. It would seem rather that much earlier material has been destroyed or remains as yet unrecognised.

4. Conclusion

There are many complex factors at work in the evolution of the necropolis in the Graeco-Roman period. These epochs permit us some glimpses into the burial practices of the ancient Egyptians and the evolution thereof, in ways which do not exist for earlier periods. Throughout this paper we have continually confronted the varied ways in which material from the site has been documented over the years. Whatever merits this paper might have, it is to be hoped that it stresses the need for the best quality of documentation for future explorations, coupled with the need to extract as much as possible from existing archives.

Acknowledgements

A first draft of this paper was written in the University of Heidelberg in 1997 while in receipt of a fellowship from the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung. I particularly wish to thank Sven Vleeming for first encouraging research on this paper for a lecture at Trier, and for many helpful comments, particularly with reference to the Demotic and choachyte sources, and for preventing some of my more foolish errors in relation to that material. I should also like to thank Petra Barthelmess, Friederike Kampp, Christine Lilyquist, Jaromir Malek, Lynn Meskell, Daniel Polz, Helen Strudwick, John H Taylor, Francesco Tiradritti and Erich Winter for helpful discussions and comments; John Taylor, Sven Vleeming and particularly Helen Strudwick have read and offered valuable comments on the manuscript. The present version has been written to tie in with other papers presented in this volume, in particular that of Christina Riggs. There is inevitably some overlap with the latter, but I have attempted to minimise it.

[199] Parlasca 1997, 127.
[200] Bataille 1952, 225–31.
[201] Butzer 1976, chapter 7, especially fig. 13 on p. 85.
[202] Macke and Macke-Ribet 1992, 299–306. For comments on plague and its effects or otherwise on the population of towns see Gilliam 1961, 239–42.
[203] Polz 1995, 25–42, particularly p 40. See also §2.2.1 above.

Bibliography

Anonymous 1975. Fouilles d'Assassif 1970–1975, *CdE* 50, 13–64.

Ahmed Fakhry 1943. Tomb of Paser (no. 367 at Thebes), *ASAE* 43, 389–414.

Andrews, C A R 1990. *Ptolemaic legal texts from the Theban area.* Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 4, London.

Anthes, R 1943. Die deutschen Grabungen auf der Westseite von Theben in den Jahren 1911 und 1913, *MDAIK* 12, 1–68.

Arnold, D and Settgast, J 1966. Zweiter Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo im Asasif unternommenen Arbeiten (3. Kampagne), *MDAIK* 21, 72–94 .

Arnold, D and Settgast, J 1968. Vierter Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo im Asasif unternommenen Arbeiten (5. und 6. Kampagne), *MDAIK* 23, 9–25.

Assmann, J 1991. *Das Grab des Amenemope (TT41)* 2 vols. Theben 3, Mainz.

Aston, D A 1987. *Tomb Groups from the end of the New Kingdom to the beginning of the Saite Period.* PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham.

Aston, D A 1999. Dynasty 26, dynasty 30 or dynasty 27? In search of the funerary archaeology of the Persian period. In Leahy, A and Tait, J (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egypt in honour of H.S. Smith.* London, 17–22.

Aston, D A 2000. Canopic chests from the twenty-first dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, *Ä&L* 10, 159–78.

Bataille, A 1939. Quelques graffites grecs de la montagne thébaine, *BIFAO* 38, 141–79.

Bataille, A 1951. Thèbes gréco-romaine, *CdE* 26, 325–53.

Bataille, A 1952. *Les Memnonia. Recherches de Papyrologie et d'épigraphie grecques sur la Nécropole de la Thébes d'Égypte aux époques hellénistique et romaine.* RAPH 23, Le Caire.

Bayer-Niemeyer, E, Borg, B, Burkard, G, von Droste zu Hülshoff, V, Franke, D, Gessler-Löhr, B, Polz, D, Roeder, H, Schlick-Nolte, B, Seidlmayer, S, Seyfried, K-J and Thissen, H-J 1993. *Skulptur, Malerei, Papyri und Särge. Liebieghaus, Frankfurt: Museum Alter Plastik. Ägyptische Bildwerke* III. Melsungen.

Bell, L 1973. In the tombs of the high priests of Amun, *Expedition*, 15.2, 17–27.

Belzoni, G B 1822. *Narrative of the operations and recent discoveries within the pyramids, temples, tombs, and excavations, in Egypt and Nubia : and of a journey to the coast of the Red Sea, in search of the ancient Berenice, and another to the oasis of Jupiter Ammon.* 2 vols. 3rd ed. London.

el-Bialey, Mohamed A 1992. Découverte d'une nécropole tardive aux environs de Gurnet Murrai, *Memnonia* 3, 83–7.

Bierbrier, M L (ed.) 1997. *Portraits and Masks. Burial Customs in Roman Egypt.* London.

Bietak, M 1972. *Theben-West (Luqsor). Vorbericht über die ersten vier Grabungskampagnen (1969–1971)* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 278, 4). Wien.

Bietak, M and Reiser-Haslauer, E 1978–82. *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor.* 2 vols. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes 4–5, Wien.

Bruyère, B 1925. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1923–1924).* FIFAO 1.1, Le Caire.

Bruyère, B 1926. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1924–1925).* FIFAO 3.3, Le Caire.

Bruyère, B 1928. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1927.* FIFAO 5.2, Le Caire.

Bruyère, B 1929. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1928.* FIFAO 6.2, Le Caire.

Bruyère, B 1930. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1929.* FIFAO 7.2, Le Caire.

Bruyère, B 1934. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1931–2.* FIFAO 10.1, Le Caire.

Bruyère, B 1937. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh 1933–4.* FIFAO 14, Le Caire.

Bruyère, B 1953. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (Années 1948 à 1951).* FIFAO 26, Le Caire.

Bruyère, B and Bataille, A 1936–7. Une tombe gréco-romaine de Deir el Médineh, *BIFAO* 36, 145–74.

Burkard, G 1986. *Grabung im Asasif 1963–1970. Die Papyrusfunde.* AV 22, Mainz.

Butzer, K W 1976. *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt. A study in Cultural Ecology.* Chicago.

Carter, H 1917. A tomb prepared for queen Hatshepsuit and other recent discoveries at Thebes, *JEA* 4, 107–18.

Carter, H and the Earl of Carnarvon 1912. *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes. A record of work done 1907–1911.* London.

Castel, G and Meeks, D 1980. *Deir el-Médineh 1970.* 2 vols. FIFAO 12, Le Caire.

Committee for the study of ancient Egypt 1988. *Malkata-South III.* Tokyo.

Committee for the study of ancient Egypt 1992. *Malkata-South IV.* Tokyo.

Corcoran, L 1995. *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I–IV Centuries A.D.).* SAOC 56, Chicago.

Daressy, G 1926. Le voyage d'inspection de M. Grébaut en 1889, *ASAE* 26, 1–22.

Davies, Norman de G 1917. The work of the Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Fund at Thebes, BMMA 12, part II, 26–31.

Davies, Norman de G 1922–3. *The tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes.* RPTMS 2–3, New York.

Davies, Norman de G 1925. *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes.* RPTMS 4, 1925.

Davies, Norman and Nina de Garis 1933. *The Tombs of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmose, and Another (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226).* TTS 5, London.

Dawson, D P, Giles, S and Ponsford, M W (eds) 2002. *Horemkenesi, May he live forever! The Bristol Mummy Project.* Bristol.

Dawson, W R and Gray, P H K 1968. *Mummies and Human Remains.* Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum 1, London.

Depauw, M 2000. *The archive of Teos and Thabis from early Ptolemaic Thebes.* Bruxelles.

Derda, T 1991. Necropolis workers in Graeco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Greek papyri, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 21, 13–36.

Desroches Noblecourt, Ch *et al.* 1976. *Le Ramesseum* X. *Les annexes nord-ouest (I'').* Le Caire.

Devauchelle, D 1983. *Ostraca démotiques du Musée du Louvre.* 2 vols. BdE 92, Le Caire.

Donker van Heel, K 1992. Use and meaning of the Egyptian term *wsḥ-mw.* In Demarée, R J and Egberts, A (eds), *Village Voices.* Leiden, 19–30.

Donker van Heel, K 1995. *Abnormal hieratic and early demotic texts collected by the Theban choachytes in the reign of Amasis.* Dissertation, Leiden.

Dzierzykrai-Rogalski, T 1970. Mummy of a woman found on the premises of Totmes' III temple at Deir el-Bahari, *Etudes et Travaux* 4 , 87–94.

Edgar, C C 1905. *Graeco-Egyptian coffins, masks and portraits.* CG 33101–33285, Cairo.

Eigner, D 1984. *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der*

thebanischen Nekropole. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes 6, Wien.
Engelbach, R 1924. *A Supplement to the Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs at Thebes (Nos. 253 to 334) with some notes on the Necropolis from 1913 to 1924*. Le Caire.
Filer, J 1997. If the face fits: a comparison of mummies and their accompanying portraits using Computerised Axial Tomography. In Bierbrier 1997, 121–6.
Fisher, C S 1924. A group of Theban tombs: work of the Eckley B. Coxe Jr. Expedition in Egypt, *Pennsylvania Museum Journal* 15, 28–49.
Gabolde, L, Hassan Ibrahim Amer, Ballet, P, Chauveau, M, Laferrière, P and Le Fur, D 1994. Le "Tombeau Suspendu" de la "Vallée de l'Aigle", *BIFAO* 94, 173–259.
Germer, R 1991. *Mumien. Zeugen des Pharaonenreiches*. Zürich/München.
Gilliam, J F 1961. The plague under Marcus Aurelius, *American Journal of Philology* 82, 225–51.
Graefe, E 1990. *Das Grab des Ibi, Obervermögenverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36)*. Bruxelles.
Graefe, E 1997. A Mummy Portrait of Antinous from Thebes. In Bierbrier 1997, 54.
Gray, P H K 1972. Notes concerning the position of arms and hands of mummies with a view to possible dating of the specimen, *JEA* 58, 200–4.
Griffith, F Ll (ed.) 1893–4. *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report 1893–4*. London.
Grimm, G 1973. *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten*. Wiesbaden.
Guksch, H 1995. *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb Theben Nr. 87 und 79*. AV34, Mainz.
Hassan El Saady 1996. *The tomb of Amenemhab, No. 44 at Qurnah*. Warminster.
Herbin, F R 2002. *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter*. Paris.
Herzog, R 1969. Über Henry Westcars Tagebuch einer Reise durch Ägypten und Nubien (1823–24), *MDAIK* 24, 201–11.
Hölscher, U 1954. *Post-Ramessid Remains. The Excavation of Medinet Habu* V. OIP 66, Chicago.
Ibrahim Mahmoud Soleiman and Tosi, M 1996. La tombe de la reine Isis (VdR 51), grande épouse de Ramsès III, *Memnonia* 7, 213–25.
Jasnow, R 1984. Demotic Graffiti from Western Thebes. In Thissen, H J and Zauzich, K-T (eds), *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*. Würzburg, 87–105.
Kákosy, L 1989. *Dzsehutimesz sírja Thébában*. Budapest.
Kákosy, L 1995. The Soter tomb in Thebes. In Vleeming 1995a, 61–7.
Kampp, F 1996. *Die thebanische Nekropole*. 2 vols. Theben 13, Mainz.
Kessler, D 1989. *Die heiligen Tiere und der König*. ÄAT 16, Wiesbaden.
van Landuyt, K 1995. The Soter family: genealogy and onomastics. In Vleeming 1995a, 69–82.
Lane, E W 2000. *Description of Egypt*. Cairo.
Lansing, A 1917. Excavations in the Assasîf at Thebes, *BMMA* 12 Part II, 7–26.
Lansing, A 1935. The Museum's excavations at Thebes, *BMMA* 32, Part II, 4–16.
Laskowska-Kusztal, E 1984. *Le sanctuaire ptolemaique de Deir el-Bahari*. Warsaw.
Leblanc, C 1980. Le dégagement de la tombe de Ta-nedjemy. Une contribution à l'histoire de la Vallée des Reines, *BSFE* 89, 32–49.
Leblanc, C 1984–5. Les tombes No. 58 [anonyme] et No. 60 [Nebet-taouy] de la vallée des reines–achèvement des dégagements et conclusions, *ASAE* 70, 51–68.
Leblanc, C 1985. Diodore, le tombeau d'Osymandyas et la statuarie du Ramesseum. In Posener-Kriéger, P (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*. 2 vols. BdE 97, Le Caire, II, 69–82.
Leblanc, C 1988. L'identification de la tombe de Henout-mi-Rê', fille de Ramsès II et grande épouse royale, *BIFAO* 88, 131–46.
Leblanc, C 1988–91. *Ỉ3 st nfrw* - une nécropole et son histoire. In Schoske, S (ed.), *Akten München 1985*. SAK Beihefte, Hamburg, 2, 89–99.
Leblanc, C 1989. *Ta Set Neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire*. I: *Géographie–Toponymie historique de l'exploration scientifique du site*. Le Caire.
Leblanc, C and Abdel-Rahman, Ibrahim 1991. Remarques relatives à la tombe de la reine Douatentipet, *RdE* 42, 147–69.
Lecuyot, G 1992. Les tombes VdR 9 à 13 de la vallée des reines, *Memnonia* 3, 89–129.
Lortet, L and Gaillard, C 1905. *La faune momifiée de l'ancienne Egypte*. Lyon.
Macke, A and Macke-Ribet, C 1992. Paléopathologie osseuse de la population égyptienne d'époque romaine provenant de la Vallée des Reines, *Sesto congresso internazionale di Egittologia. Atti*, 2 vols. Torino 1992, II, 299–306.
Macke, A, Macke-Ribet, C and Connan, J 2002. *Ta Set Neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire*. V: *Momification, chimie des baumes, anthropologie, paléopathologie*. Le Caire.
Malinine, M 1983. *Choix de textes juridique en hiératique 'anormal' et en démotique*. 2 vols. Paris/Le Caire.
Manniche, L 1988. *The Wall Decoration of Three Theban Tombs (TT 77, 175, and 249)*. CNI Publications 4, Copenhagen.
De Meulenaere, H J A 1995. La prosopographie thébaine de l'époque ptolémaïque à la lumière des sources hiéroglyphiques. In Vleeming 1995a, 83–90.
Mond, R 1905. Report of work in the necropolis of Thebes during the winter of 1903–1904, *ASAE* 6, 65–96.
Montserrat, D 2000. Burial practices at Third Century A.D. Deir el-Medina. In Demaree, R J and Egberts, A (eds), *Deir el-Medina in the third millennium AD*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 14, Leiden, 277–86.
Montserrat, D and Meskell, L 1997. Mortuary archaeology and religious landscape at Graeco-Roman Deir el Medina, *JEA* 83, 179–97.
Morimoto, I 1985. *The human mummies from the 1983 excavations at Qurna, Egypt*. Studies in Egyptian Culture 2, Tokyo.
Morimoto, I, Naito, Y, Hirata K and Wakebe, T 1986. *Ancient Human Mummies from Qurna, Egypt*. Studies in Egyptian Culture 4, Tokyo.
Morimoto, I, Naito, Y, Hirata, K and Wakebe, T 1988. *Ancient Human Mummies from Qurna, Egypt* II. Studies in Egyptian Culture 7, Tokyo.
Mosher, Jr, M 1992. Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period, *JARCE* 29, 143–72.
Munro, P 1973. *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*. ÄF 25, Glückstadt.
Mustafa el-Amir 1959. *A family archive from Thebes*. Cairo.
Mysliewiec, K 1987. *Keramik und Kleinfunde aus der Grabung im Tempel Sethos' I in Gurna*. AV 57, Mainz.
Nagel, G 1929. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (Nord) (1928)*. FIFAO 6.3, Le Caire.
Nelson, M and Janot, F 1993. Une "gisante" renaissant de ses cendres, *BIFAO* 93, 371–8.
Niwinski, A 1984. Sarg NR–SpZt, *LÄ* V, 434–68.
Northampton, Marquis of, Spiegelberg, W and Newberry, P E

1908. *Report on some excavations in the Theban necropolis during the winter of 1898–9*. London.
Parlasca, K 1966. *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler.* Wiesbaden.
Parlasca, K 1985. Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Gräberwesen der griechisch-römischen Zeit, *Ägypten–Dauer und Wandel.* SDAIK 18, Mainz, 97–103.
Parlasca, K 1997. Mummy Portraits: old and new problems. In Bierbrier 1997, 127–30.
Pestman, P W 1993. *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive.* Studia Demotica 2, Leuven.
Pestman, P W 1994. *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor.* 2 vols. Leuven.
Polz, D 1992. Bericht über die erste Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga/Theben-West, *MDAIK* 48, 109–30.
Polz, D 1993. Bericht über die 2. und 3. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga/Theben-West, *MDAIK* 49, 227–38.
Polz, D 1995. Dra' Abu el-Naga: Die thebanische Nekropole des frühen Neuen Reiches. In Assmann, J, Dziobek, E, Guksch, H and Kampp, F (eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen. Neue Perspectiven archäologischer Forschung.* SAGA 12, Heidelberg, 25–42.
Polz, D 1997. *Das Grab des Hui und des Kel, Theben Nr. 54.* (AV 74, Mainz.
Quaegebeur, J 1995. A la recherche du haut clergé thébain à l'époque Gréco-Romaine. In Vleeming 1995a, 139–61.
Raven, M J 1978–9. Papyrus-sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues, *OMRO* 59–60, 251–96.
Raven, M J 1982. Corn-Mummies, *OMRO* 63, 7–38.
Redford, S 1996. Preliminary report on the work in the tomb of Parennefer, *Memnonia* 7, 227–34.
Rhind, A H 1862. *Thebes. Its Tombs and their Tenants.* London.
Riggs, C 2000. Roman period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahri, *JEA* 86, 121–44.
Riggs, C 2002. Facing the dead: recent research on the funerary art of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, *AJA* 106, 85–101.
Riggs, C and Depauw, M 2002. 'Soternalia' from Deir el-Bahri, including two coffin lids with demotic inscriptions, *RdE* 53, 75–90.
Robichon, C and Varille, A 1936. *Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou* I. FIFAO 11, Le Caire.
Schneider, H D 1977. *Shabtis. An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden.* 3 vols. Leiden.
Seyfried, K-J 1990. *Das Grab des Amenmose (TT 373).* Theben 4, Mainz.
Shedid, Abdel Ghaffar and Seidel, M 1991. *Das Grab des Nacht. Kunst und Geschichte eines Beamtengrabes der 18. Dynastie in Theben-West.* Mainz.
Spencer, A J 1979. *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt.* Warminster.
Spiegelberg, W 1904. Varia, *RT* 26, 41–52.
Spiegelberg, W 1909. *Die demotischen Papyrus der Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire.* Bruxelles.
Spiegelberg, W 1928. *Demotica II.* SBAW: philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl. Abh. 2, München.
Stadelmann, R and Mysliwiec, K 1982. Der Tempel Sethos' I. in Qurna. Vierter Grabungsbericht, *MDAIK* 38, 395–405.
Strudwick, N 1996. *The Tombs of Amenhotep, Khnummose, and Amenmose at Thebes (Nos. 294, 253, and 254).* Oxford.
Strudwick, N and Strudwick, H 1999. *Thebes in Egypt. A guide to the monuments of Ancient Thebes.* London.
Taylor, J H 1989. *Egyptian Coffins.* Aylesbury.
Taylor, J H 1991. Aspects of the history of the Valley of the Kings in the Third Intermediate Period. In C N Reeves (ed.), *After Tut'ankhamun.* London, 186–206.
Taylor, J H 1995. *Unwrapping a mummy.* London.
Taylor, J H 2001. *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt.* London.
Thissen, H J 1984. Ziegelfabrikation nach demotischen Texten, *Enchoria* 12, 51–5.
Valbelle, D 1972. *Ouchebtis de Deir el-Médineh.* DFIFAO 15, Le Caire.
Vandorpe, K 1995. City of many a gate, harbour for many a rebel. In Vleeming 1995a, 203–39.
Vittmann, G 1980. Ein thebanischer Verpfründungsvertrag aus der Zeit Ptolemaios' III. Euergetes. P. Marseille 298 + 299, *Enchoria* 10, 127–39.
Vleeming, S P 1994a. *Ostraka Varia.* P.L. Bat. 27, Leiden.
Vleeming, S P 1994b. *Minima Demotica* from Theban Tomb 32. In Eyre, C J, Leahy, A and Leahy L M (eds) *The Unbroken Reed. Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt.* EES Occasional Publications 11, London, 355–64.
Vleeming, S P (ed.) 1995a. *Hundred-gated Thebes.* P.L. Bat. 26, Leiden.
Vleeming, S P 1995b. The office of a choachyte in the Theban area. In Vleeming 1995a, 241–55.
Wagner, G, Leblanc, C, Lecuyot, G and Loyrette, A-M 1990. Documents grecs découverts dans la vallée des reines, *BIFAO* 90, 365–80.
Wiedemann, A 1906. Mumie als Heilmittel, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für rheinische und westfälische Volkskunde* 3, 1–38.
Wilfong, T G 1995. Mummy labels from the Oriental Institute's excavations at Medinet Habu, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 32/3–4, 157–82.
Wilkinson, J G 1830. *Topographical survey of Thebes, Tâpé, Thaba, or Dispolis Magna.* London.
Winlock, H E 1914. Excavations at Thebes in 1912–13, by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition, *BMMA* 9, 10–23.
Zivie, C M 1982. *Le temple de Deir Chelouit* I. PIFAO, Le Caire.

1 Tomb of Heray (TT12); part of a banquet and offering scene (PM I2, 24 (3–4). Over the scene is a Demotic graffito in red: Spiegelberg in Northampton 1908, pl. XXX (28). Photograph N.C. Strudwick.

2 Tomb of Heray (TT12); part of an offering list (PM I2, 24 (3–4). Over the scene is a Demotic graffito in red: Spiegelberg in Northampton 1908, pl. XXX (30). Photograph N.C. Strudwick.

3 Remains of a bird mummy in a ceramic from TT99. Photograph N.C. Strudwick.

4 Area of the Metropolitan Museum's excavations at the eastern end of the Assasif. Photograph N.C. Strudwick.

5 Possible remains of mud brick structures of Ptolemaic date at the eastern end of the Assasif. Photograph N.C.