

TT 414 REVISITED: NEW RESULTS ABOUT FORGOTTEN FINDS FROM THE ASASIF/THEBES BASED ON THE 2018 AND 2019 SEASONS OF THE ANKH-HOR PROJECT

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Abstract: Neglected finds, first of all, wooden coffins from the 26th Dynasty to Roman times, discovered during the Austrian excavations of the tomb of Ankh-Hor in Asasif (TT 414), are currently being studied by the new Ankh-Hor Project hosted at the LMU Munich. The project aims at reconstructing the complete history of the usage of the tomb and its multiple tomb groups, focusing on coffins as the prime evidence. The most important results from the 2018 and 2019 seasons regarding the large corpus of coffins from TT 414 are summarized and future work is outlined.

Keywords: Asasif, TT414, Ankh-Hor Project, wooden coffins, 26th Dynasty to Roman times

1. Introduction

The new LMU Munich Ankh-Hor Project is a follow-up project to the study seasons conducted by the present project director, Julia Budka, in the name of the Austrian mission between 2007 and 2009, on unpublished finds excavated under the directorship of Manfred Bietak in the years 1969 to 1977 in the Asasif, firstly, from the tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT 414 (Fig. 1).¹ These finds are currently stored in Tomb I of the former Austrian concession, a Middle Kingdom saff tomb (MM 737 of Winlock's cemetery 700) located opposite TT 27, the tomb of Sheshonk of the 26th Dynasty.² Although TT 414 was published soon after excavation as a two volume monograph by Manfred Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer,³ a large number of finds from the Austrian excavations have not yet been recorded and were left on-site. The majority of the finds belong to the complex reuse of TT 414

from the 30th Dynasty onwards.⁴ This material, therefore, holds rich potential for understanding the funerary customs in the Late Period, the Ptolemaic and Roman era and has not yet been published.

During the first season of the LMU Ankh-Hor project in 2018, all necessary steps for a fresh start were conducted, introducing new scientists and assessing the status of the objects stored in the magazine (Tomb I). In 2019, a large-scale conservation plan was commenced and consolidation of a number of objects carried out. The aims of this paper are 1) to summarize the work steps conducted in 2018 and 2019, 2) to highlight the most important results from the 2018 and 2019 seasons based on a short description of the coffin corpus, and 3) to outline the potential of the material for a closer understanding of the usage life of the Asasif necropolis during the 1st Millennium BCE until Roman times.

2. Work steps

Consolidation work

With the start of the new Ankh-Hor Project based at LMU Munich, conducted in cooperation with the Institute of Oriental and European Archaeology (OREA) and the Austrian Archaeological Institute (OeAI), both within the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the conservation work was redesigned because of personnel changes regarding the previous seasons.⁵ The new chief conservator of the project is Daniel Oberndorfer from the Austrian Archaeological Institute. Based on a general over-

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¹ For the original work of the Austrian mission see: BIETAK 1972, 1973, 1974–1977, 1976–1977; BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1978, 1982; BUDKA 2010a; cf. also EIGNER 1984. For the 2007–2009 seasons, see BUDKA 2008, 2009, 2010b, 2015.

² For Tomb I, see BIETAK 1972, 14–16; BUDKA 2010a, 85–97, 2017.

³ BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1978; 1982.

⁴ For this reuse of the Late Period Asasif tombs, see BUDKA 2010a, 358–364; BUDKA et al. 2013; BUDKA and MEKIS 2017.

⁵ The conservator in charge from 2007–2009 was Erico Peintner; he was assisted by Ahmed Refaat Eisa Abo El-Ata in 2009; see BUDKA 2010b, 49, note 1.

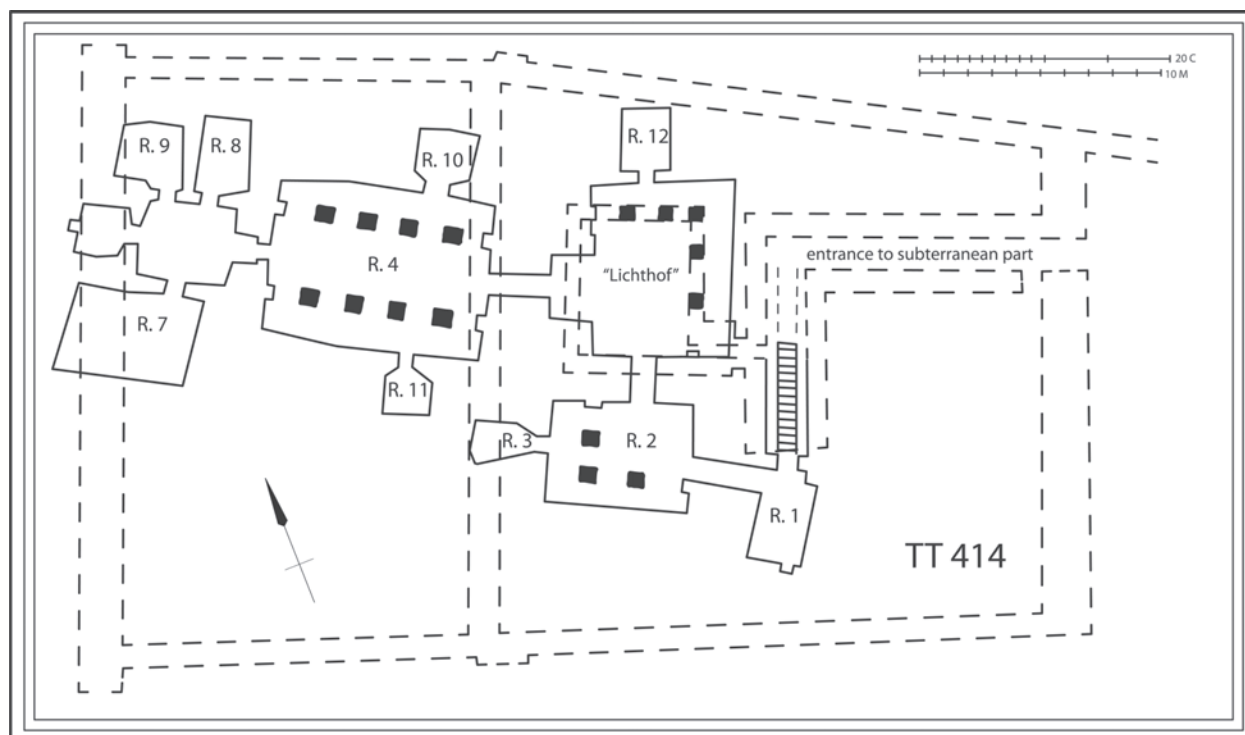


Fig. 1 Plan of the tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT 414, subterranean part.

view of the material, its needs and specifications, a program for cleaning and consolidation was developed and a team of young conservators from the University of Applied Arts in Vienna was introduced to the material from TT 414 in 2019.⁶

The main objective of the conservation work is the cleaning and consolidation of painted wooden objects, especially coffins and coffin fragments.⁷ The objects were cleaned mechanically by using different brushes and, if possible, latex (Akapad) and polyurethane sponges. In most cases, it was necessary to partially consolidate the unstable or flaking paint layers before taking this step. The adhesives used for consolidation were applied via syringes or fine brushes. Klucel G (hydroxypropylcellulose) was used in different concentrations in ethanol for powdery paint layers. Klucel G and Klucel E in ethanol were used in most cases to consolidate unstable flaking paint layers and cracks. Loose wood fibers and matching fragments were glued with Paraloid B44 (30 % in acetone) and fish glue. A filling with wood flour or bast fibers in tylose or fish glue was applied to

close gaps between fragments and paint layer bubbles to provide stabilization when necessary.

A number of fragments could be joined and are now glued together. Although this is a time-consuming task, it is especially relevant for the fragmented coffins and their documentation (see below).

Consolidation also included photography. All consolidated objects were documented photographically before and after conservation using a Canon 5D Mark II with a 50 mm objective lens. A datasheet for every object was filled in, containing the damages observed, the conservation measures, and images before and after conservation.

A total of almost 100 wooden and painted objects were successfully cleaned and consolidated in 2018 and 2019, including five fragmented coffins which were transported to the study magazine of the Ministry of Antiquities on the West Bank (comprising Reg. 590, 613 & 869, 510, see below). After consolidation and cleaning, the pieces were ready for the detailed recording and all were photographed with the full-frame camera of

⁶ Viktoria Ackerl, Stefanie Hasenauer, Irina Huller, Magdalena Theresa Hopfensperger and Jessica Karin Rossmann; this team of Austrian conservators was supported by Iman Ibrahim Zaghlol as Egyptian conservator (from the Inspectorate of the West Bank).

⁷ This section is based on the 2019 conservation report by the team of conservators mentioned in note 6, headed by Daniel Oberndorfer.



Fig. 2 Comparison of black and white photo and new photographic documentation of inner side of coffin fragments Reg. 657.

the Ankh-Hor Project. The large-scale conservation program will be continued in the upcoming seasons.

Photography

After cleaning and consolidation, all objects from TT 414 are photographed with a full-frame camera with high resolution (Nikon D810 with a 35 mm objective lens). These objects were primarily coffin fragments and fragments of wooden shrines and boxes. The new photographs allow a detailed study of the inscriptions of a large number of objects, primarily of the inscribed and painted coffins (see Figs. 2–14). In direct comparison to the original black and white photographs taken during excavations in the 1970s, our new documentation allows a comparison of the state of preservation, new matching or missing broken pieces, and the colors of the painted wood. Reg. 657 (Fig. 2) can serve as an example showing the addition of new

fragments, and a partially lost painting layer was revealed compared to 1972.

Database

All data about the objects from TT 414 are collected in Filemaker databases, especially the coffin fragments. The coffin database from TT 414 currently comprises 212 coffins, ranging in date from the 26th Dynasty to Roman times. The prosopographical data, primarily names and titles but also filiations, are collected in several Excel tables in order to reconstruct new details about family trees.⁸

Reorganization of the magazine

One of the main tasks during the 2018 and 2019 seasons was to reorganize the material of the former Austrian concession stored in Tomb I according to priorities. The system of arrangement could build upon the work conducted between 2007 and

⁸ For the reconstruction of family trees of people buried in TT 414, see QUAEGBEUR 1982, 264–266; REISER-HASLAUER

1982a, 1982b; DE MEULENAERE 1989; BUDKA et al. 2013; BUDKA and MEKIS 2017.

2009 and was continued.⁹ Most of the material which still needs to be studied are coffins, predominantly fragmented coffins, and cartonnage fragments. Small finds which still require a drawing are now stored on the wooden shelf system in corridor 1 of Tomb I.

One necessity was to gain more space in the densely packed pillared hall of Tomb I. To achieve this goal, the pottery from the Austrian mission, stored in baskets, was reassessed and checked. Part of the material studied already was repacked in large sugar bags, saving a lot of space within the pillared hall.¹⁰ A number of ceramic pieces were newly documented and drawn; only a very few pieces still need to be documented in the upcoming season. These baskets of pottery are clearly labelled and collected together.

Another task was to find and identify matches between the numerous coffin fragments preliminarily registered under “K-numbers.”¹¹ This proved to be very time-consuming but also quite successful. Several pieces from various “K-numbers” could be joined to large coffins, such as Reg. 590 and Reg. 869 (see Figs. 7 and 11).

The objects stored on the wooden shelf system are now divided between pieces still in urgent need of consolidation and documentation and fully studied pieces. All in all, the objects from TT 414 stored in the magazine (Tomb I) are now arranged according to their state of documentation, priority of interest and/or urgent need of consolidation.

3. The material

The focus during the study seasons in 2018 and 2019 was on the documentation of coffins from the tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT 414. These objects represent, like every coffin corpus, “a rich resource for the study of funerary practices, religious iconography and prosopography.”¹² The coffins from TT 414 belong to both primary burials of the family of Ankh-Hor and secondary burials of Amun priests, mostly dating to the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, who appear relatively wealthy. As a large set of coffins deriving from the same provenance, this material holds a lot of potential (see below).

Seminal work on the coffins from TT 414 was conducted in the 1970s by Reiser-Haslauer, who registered all the coffins and documented the texts and decorative programs.¹³ However, it goes without saying, how much effort this meant during excavation, with new pieces coming in and various tasks at the same time. The Austrian team did a great job back then, but, at that moment, detailed studies and especially the cleaning and consolidation of the coffins were not possible.

This is where the new Ankh-Hor project steps in – aiming for a reconstruction of all phases of the use of TT 414 and its burials, we now focus on details, a typological study considering the stylistic development and a revised prosopographical analysis.¹⁴ At this stage, quite a number of registered coffins are still scattered within the magazine (Tomb I), without indication of find location or find number – the big challenge is, therefore, to reconstruct all the joining pieces for one object. This can build upon the original documentation and photos by the Austrian mission – also small fragments can be identified, although it is quite a time-consuming task requiring sometimes luck and a diagnostic feature on the piece, such as a name or title.

All efforts within this complex jigsaw puzzle are definitely worth it, not only because of the high quality of the pieces and their significance for contextualizing funerary customs in Late Period and Ptolemaic Thebes, but also because previous work in the magazine has shown that unexpected finds might turn up during consolidation work. Some Book of the Dead papyri and mummy labels which were found in the study seasons 2007-2009 fall into this category.¹⁵ The rich material from TT 414 definitely still holds a lot of potential for surprises.

Use life of TT 414

The tomb of Ankh-Hor (Fig. 1) remained unfinished at the death of its builder (c. 585 BCE), was subsequently changed several times, expanded, destroyed, restored and looted to a large extent. The general use lasted until late Roman times and has left many archaeological traces.¹⁶

⁹ See BUDKA 2008, 2009.

¹⁰ These ceramics were published within BUDKA 2010a, *passim*.

¹¹ For the use of “Register numbers” (“Reg.”) and “K-numbers” (“K”), see BUDKA 2008, 65; 2010a, 25.

¹² TAYLOR 2003, 95.

¹³ This work laid the basis for the genealogical register created by Reiser-Haslauer: REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 1982b.

¹⁴ Cf. BUDKA et al. 2013; BUDKA and MEKIS 2017.

¹⁵ See BUDKA 2010b, 59–61; BUDKA and MEKIS 2017, 221.

¹⁶ See in more detail, BUDKA 2010b.

While the elites during the 25th and 26th Dynasties created new, monumental and innovative tombs,¹⁷ it seems that from the late 6th century BCE onwards, the representatives of the upper social strata were again, similar to during the Third Intermediate Period, just securing a place in a grave or buying finished monuments as a burial place.¹⁸ Thus, usurpation of tombs is not directly proportional to the social and economic background of the users but rather an expression of various factors, including changes in funerary culture.¹⁹

The usurpation of the Late Period tombs in Asasif also included substantial architectural modifications and the excavation of new shafts and chambers. The reuse of stone blocks from 26th Dynasty tombs in these younger structures is generally well-attested, also in TT 414. Original relief blocks of the 26th Dynasty were used for blocking entrances to burial chambers and erecting new dividing walls.²⁰

We know from textual records that in Late Period and Ptolemaic Thebes, choachytes were responsible for selecting spacious tombs from earlier periods for new burials for any individual and his/her family.²¹ It is well known that choachytes also chose the abandoned 26th Dynasty tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT 414, for this purpose (Fig. 1).²² Wah-ib-Re I, his parents and siblings as well as their descendants were buried in this huge tomb over centuries, starting from the 30th Dynasty onwards.²³ Unfortunately, when the Austrian mission started its work in the tomb in 1971, TT 414 soon turned out to have been ransacked and

robbed in antiquity and more recent times.²⁴ Only the burial chamber of Wah-ib-Re I (Room 10.2 of TT 414) escaped the 19th century CE sackings. Other members of his family were not so lucky and only scattered remains attest to their burials.²⁵ Well-preserved and moveable parts of their burial equipment (e.g. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues, stelae and boxes) were sent to Europe as part of the great collections of consuls and private collectors.²⁶ This resulted in a wide distribution of objects from TT 414, especially within the museums of London, Paris and Turin. One of the aims of the Ankh-Hor Project is also, therefore, relocating matches from the excavations from TT 414 stored in international collections.²⁷

While the establishment of the use life of a tomb such as TT 414 naturally requires the assessment of all groups of material, including ceramics, the present article focuses on a short overview of coffins as the most direct traces of users of TT 414 as a burial place.²⁸

Coffins from the 26th Dynasty

TT 414, like all such monumental tombs in the Asasif, was designed as a family tomb and several relatives were co-buried with Ankh-Hor (e.g. a daughter, several brothers, one sister). These burials are badly shattered, as can be illustrated by the two very fragmented anthropoid coffins of Ankh-Hor himself.²⁹ This coffin set can securely be dated to the reign of Apries, based on the dates of Ankh-Hor's career (c. 590–586 BCE).³⁰ The inner wooden coffin (Reg. 537, Fig. 3) especially stands

¹⁷ Temple tombs in Thebes, see EIGNER 1984; shaft tombs in the Memphite region, see GESTERMANN 2006; STAMMERS 2009.

¹⁸ ASTON 2003, 157.

¹⁹ BUDKA 2010a, 473–475. See also BUDKA 2010b.

²⁰ For examples from TT 414, see BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 162; BUDKA 2018.

²¹ VLEEMING 1995, 241–255; STRUDWICK and STRUDWICK 1999, 200–202; ASTON 2003, 160; TAYLOR 2010, 228–229; DONKER VAN HEEL 2012, *passim*; REDFORD 2013, 277–285; BUDKA 2014, 45–53.

²² For details of the complex use life of TT 414, see BUDKA 2008, 61–85. For another example of the reuse of older tombs by choachytes, see TT 157 in Dra Abu el-Naga; cf. STRUDWICK 2003, 171–172 with references.

²³ For the genealogical relations and the objects see REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 252–256, 1982b, 267–284; BUDKA 2008, 69–82, 2010b, 49–66.

²⁴ See BUDKA 2008, 64–65; 75.

²⁵ See BUDKA 2008, 61–85; 2009, 23–31; 2010a, 82–84; 2010b, 49–66; BUDKA et al. 2013, 209–251.

²⁶ See REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 252–256; BUDKA 2008, 64–65; 75; LIPINSKA 2008; BUDKA et al. 2013, 209–251; BUDKA and /MEKIS 2017.

²⁷ See BUDKA 2008, 64–65 for the history of research of TT 414; cf. also BUDKA and MEKIS 2017.

²⁸ For other find groups from TT 414 and their significance, see BUDKA 2008, 65–82.

²⁹ BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 167–175, figs. 69–73.

³⁰ Until recently, Ankh-Hor's tenure as High Steward was dated from c. 595–586, see TAYLOR 2003, 99 with references. Based on new finds from the South Asasif for a previously unknown predecessor of Ankh-Hor in the office of High Steward of the God's Wife and a newly established sequence of these officials as Pabasa-Padihorresnet-Padibastet (the new one) (see GRAEFE 2017, 241–243; PISCHIKOVA 2018, esp. 469), it is likely that Ankh-Hor was fewer years in office than presumed until recently.



Fig. 3 Fragment of inner anthropoid coffin of Ankh-Hor, Reg. 537.

out due to a very ephemeral painting of low quality – is this due solely to the premature death of the tomb owner, similar to the unfinished state of the underground cult complex? Lack of time, cost savings or simply inadequate execution and low valence – the inner coffin was not a “visible” pres-

tige object – are the most likely framework conditions around Reg. 537, but the real process of its production cannot be reconstructed with certainty. It should be noted that this wooden coffin is in sharp contrast to the architecture, size and decoration of TT 414 and it also differs markedly stylistically from the near simultaneous coffins of the relatives of the Ankh-Hor. The outer case is remarkable because it attests for the first time to a pedestal on an anthropoid outer coffin, anticipating examples from early Ptolemaic times.³¹ The foot part of Reg. 697 with its pedestal testifies to a colorfully painted coffin, whose decorated stucco top is unfortunately very poorly preserved today and still not consolidated. The cartouche of the god’s wife Nitokris could be read originally within the title line of the Ankh-Hor.³²

A new find from 2007 deserves to be highlighted regarding Ankh-Hor’s coffin set. It is a narrow piece of wood about 70 cm long (K07/327.1) showing the rest of a carved, vertical text column. The hieroglyphs were formerly painted yellow. The text can be supplemented as the name of the Ankh-Hor, including the cartouche of Nitokris within the title sequence. This new fragment K07/327³³ could belong to the coffin of a family member,³³ but it is more likely that it attests to a now lost intermediary anthropoid coffin of Ankh-Hor. Thus, it is likely that Ankh-Hor once had three anthropoid coffins of diverse types as one set.

Coffin fragments of family members of Ankh-Hor attest to the use of *qrs*w coffins as outer cases. Merit-Neith was the daughter of Ankh-Hor and fragments of her *qrs*w coffin have survived.³⁴ The sideboard of this coffin, Reg. 377b, was already published in 1982³⁵ and cleaned in 2009. In 2018, a small additional fragment was located in the magazine (Fig. 4). It is a piece from the vaulted lid of the *qrs*w coffin showing an ordinary *kheker* frieze. The style of painting the colors, the quality of the wood and the thickness of the board correspond to Reg. 377b, the fragment bearing the name of Merit-Neith.

Another small fragment of a lid of a *qrs*w coffin from the 26th Dynasty which is similar in style to Merit-Neith’s coffin has survived with Reg. 519.³⁶ This coffin can be used as an example of the typical decoration of such coffin lids with depic-

³¹ TAYLOR 2003, 118, note 217.

³² See BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 170–174, figs. 71–73.

³³ See BUDKA 2008, 66–68, fig. 3.

³⁴ REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 277, G90.

³⁵ BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 176, fig. 75.

³⁶ See BUDKA 2010b, 55–56, fig. 4.



Fig. 4 Board of *qrsu* coffin of Merit-Neith, Reg. 377b (bottom) and a new match found 2018 (top).



Fig. 5 Board of *qrsu* coffin of Psametk-men-em-Waset II, Reg. 595.

tions of the solar barque.³⁷ It belonged to Her-Aset, possibly a sister-in-law of Ankh-Hor.³⁸

The coffin set of another relative of Ankh-Hor named Psametk-men-em-Waset II, possibly his nephew or grandson, is comparatively well preserved and of high quality.³⁹ Fragments of the *qrsu* coffin and the anthropoid inner coffin are preserved. The boards of the rectangular *qrsu* coffin (Reg. 595, Fig. 5) were discovered at different

points of the tomb. The largest fragments came from the heavily looted shaft of Room 10, but another board was installed as an architrave in a brick wall of the “*Lichthof*.”⁴⁰ The decoration consists mostly of the typical depictions of deities in shrines (Fig. 5), but also comprises the eye-panel, a motif well-known from Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom coffins, which expresses the common ‘archaism’ in Late Period coffins.⁴¹

³⁷ TAYLOR 1989, 56; TAYLOR 2003, 117.

³⁸ BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 178; REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 279, G 111. Other fragments of her tomb group found in TT 414 are a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette and a wooden stele (Reg. 508) of which the larger, now missing part is in London (BM EA 8457), having been purchased by agents of Henry Salt in the 19th century. See BIETAK and

REISER-HASLAUER 1982, pl. 155 (BIERBRIER 1987, 23, pls. 38–39); BUDKA 2008, 69.

³⁹ REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 277, G86.

⁴⁰ For the reuse of coffin boards in TT 414 as building material see BUDKA 2008, 70, 2010a, 305 with references.

⁴¹ See TAYLOR 1989, 54 and 56, 2003, 117.



Fig. 6 Back side of anthropoid inner coffin of Iret-Hor-ru, Reg. 590.

The lower part of the associated inner coffin (Reg. 591) of Psametik-men-em-Waset II could be retrieved from shaft 10 again. The once elaborate painting on canvas in blue on white, for which numerous parallels can be found among 26th Dynasty coffins from Thebes, has suffered greatly due to the robbery and rearrangement. The back of the inner coffin falls into Design 2 after John Taylor, consisting of vertical columns and horizontal lines of texts.⁴² All in all, the poor state of preservation of the entire coffin ensemble of Psametik-men-em-Waset II is attributable to repeated deprivation and the reuse and related construction measures.⁴³

Another remarkable coffin from the 26th Dynasty found in TT 414 is Reg. 590. This lower part of the coffin of Iret-Hor-ru, called *Ns-b3-nb-ddt*,⁴⁴ was found placed in the northern area of Room 4, just in front of Shaft 10.⁴⁵ Shaft 10 housed on its base the still intact burial of Wah-ib-Re I from the 30th Dynasty.⁴⁶ Reg. 590 features a large *djed* pillar on its back (Fig. 6) and falls into Design 1 after Taylor.⁴⁷ With a depiction of the goddess Isis on the flat base of the foot (Fig. 7), “an archaizing touch”⁴⁸ of Iret-Hor-ru’s coffin can be noted, linking it to coffins of the Middle and New Kingdoms as is well-known for Late Period coffin designs.⁴⁹

Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer had already noticed the significance of the find position of Reg. 590 in Room 4, but they could not determine whether it was an arbitrary arrangement of the coffin or the result of a purposeful reuse in Ptolemaic or Roman times. Clarity could bring with it only a new find of the 2009 season: A Ptolemaic mummy label found inside Reg. 590 attests to the reuse of the coffin in later times (see below).

Coffins from the 30th Dynasty

Numerous coffin fragments and several fragmented coffins attest to the reuse of Room 7.1, the burial chamber of Ankh-Hor, by a priest named Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I (*P3-dj-jmn-nb-nswt-*

⁴² TAYLOR 2003, 115.

⁴³ BUDKA 2010b, 56.

⁴⁴ REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 270, G33.

⁴⁵ See BUDKA 2010b, 59–60.

⁴⁶ See ASTON 2003, 162; BUDKA 2010a, 358–360; 2010b, 57–58.

⁴⁷ TAYLOR 2003, 115.

⁴⁸ TAYLOR 2003, 116.

⁴⁹ See, e.g., TAYLOR 2003 with references.



Fig. 8 Foot part of inner coffin of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I, Reg. 607.

Fig. 7 Flat base of foot of anthropoid inner coffin of Iret-Hor-ru, Reg. 590.



Fig. 9 Foot part of outer anthropoid coffin of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I, Reg. 680.



Fig. 10 Inner anthropoid coffin of Aset-em-Akhbit, Reg. 613.

t3.wj)⁵⁰ and his family. Only few fragments from the actual burial of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I have survived. Reg. 607 is his inner (Fig. 8) and Reg. 680 (Fig. 9) his outer anthropoid coffin. The inner anthropoid coffins of some family members are much better preserved. Reg. 613 and Reg. 614 fall into the same type as Reg. 607 and are polished natural wood coffins with carved decoration datable to the 30th Dynasty and the early Ptolemaic era. The remains of a Book of the Dead papyrus inside the coffin for Reg. 614 are remarkable.⁵¹ Reg. 613 (Fig. 10), belonging to a lady with the name Aset-em-Akhbit,⁵² which was completely cleaned and consolidated in 2019, is of interest because fragments of the lid of its outer anthropoid coffin were also found (Reg. 869, Fig. 11). Unfortunately, this coffin is very fragmented and only a central part of the lid has survived. The outer side of the lid of Reg. 869 shows common scenes known from Late Period coffins and a design with a large flower collar, a depiction of the goddess Nut on the breast and the bier scene with the mummy on the bed. The inner side of the lid is decorated with female and male figures representing the hours of day and night on a light blue background.⁵³ All in all, the coffins datable to the 30th Dynasty from TT 414 are important links between the coffin ensembles from the 26th Dynasty and

the Ptolemaic era, in terms of both stylistics and designs.

Ptolemaic coffins

The numerous coffins datable to the early and late Ptolemaic Period from TT 414 represent the most extensive corpus of Ptolemaic material from all Late Period tombs in Asasif.⁵⁴ They fall into various styles, primarily in colorfully painted inner and outer anthropoid coffins and very large outer anthropoid coffins in the yellow-on-black and red-yellow-on-black style.

Reg. 661 comprises fragments of a nicely painted, inner anthropoid wooden coffin which was found as one of the secondary burials within the burial compartment of Ankh-Hor (Room 7.2). The softwood fragments are partly blackened and burnt due to the looting of TT 414 and the respective damage to the tomb inventories. The owner of Reg. 661 was a female singer of Amun-Re with the name Ta-remetj-Bastet. Based on her family tree, her death can be dated to the period of 320–300 BCE.⁵⁵

The decoration of the foot part of the coffin, which is today unfortunately very fragmented, is of particular interest (Fig. 12). A sun disc flanked by a snake and a crocodile – the opening scene of

⁵⁰ REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 274, G65.

⁵¹ BUDKA 2009, 26, fig. 3.

⁵² REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 267, G7.

⁵³ For Late Period coffin decoration with the hours of day and night see, e.g. ELIAS and LUPTON 2014; GRAEFE 2018.

⁵⁴ See STRUDWICK 2003, 173. Cf. also BUDKA in press.

⁵⁵ REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 282, G146 (name read as Ta-sherit-Bastet). See BUDKA 2013 with details and references.

the Litany of Re – used to be in the center of the foot board. There is only one parallel for this motif on foot boards of private coffins. CG 29316, a stone sarcophagus from the 30th Dynasty and, thus, almost contemporaneous with Reg. 661, shows this particular scene.⁵⁶

Reg. 661 from TT 414 is exemplary of the complex creation of decorated and inscribed coffins in Thebes during the 4th century BCE – Amun priests were extremely creative in combining various aspects, especially cosmogonic ones, using older texts and depictions and creating new ones, focusing on the resurrection of the deceased in conjunction with Re and Osiris. However, little is known about this fascinating creative work which is embodied in funerary objects such as coffins, cartonnage and canopic boxes.⁵⁷

Almost contemporaneous with the innovative decoration of Reg. 611 is the reuse of 26th Dynasty coffins in TT 4141, as attested for Reg. 590.⁵⁸ During the cleaning and consolidation of this coffin, a demotic mummy label was found, stuck to the bottom part on the interior of the coffin and covered by resin (Reg. 09/04).⁵⁹ The individual for whom the choachytes reused the coffin of Iret-Hor-ru was probably one of the descendants, precisely, the grandson of Wah-ib-Re I, named on the mummy label as “Wah-ib-Re, the prophet of Amun”.⁶⁰ The relatively high number of a total of eight Ptolemaic mummy labels from TT 414⁶¹ is so far singular for the Theban space.⁶² All were found in Room 4, the pillar hall, and they probably mark a time horizon, i.e. a series of successive burials. In contrast to earlier periods, grave goods were no longer made exclusively in the underground burial grounds, but a number of burials were introduced in the rooms of the subterranean cult complex, as illustrated by the description of Richard Lepsius and the second-

⁵⁶ For details and references, see BUDKA 2013.

⁵⁷ See BUDKA et al. 2013.

⁵⁸ For coffin reuse from earlier phases, see COONEY 2018, 2019.

⁵⁹ BUDKA 2010b, 59–61, fig. 8.

⁶⁰ BUDKA and MEKIS 2017, 221.

⁶¹ See QUAEGBEUR 1982; VLEEMING 2011, 11–15, for six labels from Room 4. For details of the seventh label from coffin Reg. 590, see BUDKA and MEKIS 2017, 221, with references. Another mummy label from TT 414, Reg. 07/61, is still unpublished.

⁶² For example, in contrast in the Saite tomb of Padihor-resnet, TT 196, only one mummy label was found; see VLEEMING 2011, 18–19, with references.



Fig. 11 Fragments of lid of outer anthropoid coffin of Aset-em-Akhbit, Reg. 869.

ary use of Reg. 590.⁶³ The assumption suggests that the Ptolemaic mummy labels from TT 414 are special identification marks that were used when the burial took place in older coffins labelled with the name of the previous owner. The labels attached to the dead could, thus, identify the mummified body independently of the usurped coffin.⁶⁴ This all corresponds to the fact that mummies were an essential source of income for the choachytes and were inherited, sold and traded.⁶⁵

Burials in TT 414 continued during the mid- and late Ptolemaic Period. One fine example from the mid-Ptolemaic Period is coffin Reg. 510 (Fig. 13). It is a large outer anthropoid coffin with

a pedestal, painted in the red and yellow style on black. The left side, part of the feet and lower part have survived, showing depictions of gods and demons and one offering scene of the deceased in front of Osiris.

Reg. 510 belonged to a male person with the name Tut of whom no titles are preserved, and his mother is unknown.⁶⁶ However, his father Djehuti-irdis was also buried in TT 414, in a very similar outer coffin (Reg. 514) and a colorfully painted inner coffin (Reg. 524). Djehuti-irdis allows the connection of this family with the wider family of Mut-Min.⁶⁷ The genealogical data suggest a dating of the death and burial of Tut around 150 BCE.



Fig. 12 Remaining fragment of foot board of inner anthropoid coffin of Ta-remetj-Bastet, Reg. 661.



Fig. 13 Outer anthropoid coffin of Tut, Reg. 510.

⁶³ See BUDKA 2008, 64–65; 2010b, 59.

⁶⁴ For general aspects of mummy labels, see QUAEGBEUR 1978.

⁶⁵ PESTMAN 1993, 101–102 and 444. See also BUDKA 2010b, 62.

⁶⁶ REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 283, G159.

⁶⁷ REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 283, G160; BUDKA et al. 2013.

Roman coffins

The two basic types of typical Theban Roman coffins can be distinguished in the Roman material from TT 414: Chapel coffins with a gabled roof and anthropoid coffins.⁶⁸ The location of the Roman coffins and coffin fragments implies that the burials were placed primarily in the burial chamber of Ankh-Hor, Room 7.1, thus, the tradition that began in the 30th Dynasty was continued. Striking, and again comparable with the findings from the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, are similarities between the secondarily buried families and the nuclear family of Ankh-Hor. Maybe as many as three men, for example, with the name *Ns-b3-nb-ddt* were buried in Roman times in the original burial chamber of the 26th Dynasty chief steward, of whom a close relative in the 26th Dynasty wore the beautiful name *Ns-b3-nb-ddt* (whose coffin, Reg. 590, had already been reused in Ptolemaic times, see above).⁶⁹

The Roman coffins and coffin fragments from TT 414 combine traditional motifs, which are based on older coffin designs,⁷⁰ with innovative elements.⁷¹ Women, for example, were now labelled in texts on coffins and other objects as Hathor NN instead of Osiris NN.⁷² Reg. 800 is the fragment of a lid of an anthropoid coffin for a woman with the name of Ta-Khonsu,⁷³ which illustrates nicely that the pattern with a floral collar and figure of Nut continues (Fig. 14).⁷⁴ The base of this coffin shows a figure of the goddess Nut. Stylistic elements typical for the Roman Period are the color pattern of text columns and hieroglyphs, where pink is becoming a common feature. Some wooden coffin masks, which were found in the debris of TT 414 and show striking similarities

⁶⁸ RIGGS 2005, 186; BUDKA 2008, 80.

⁶⁹ For these people, see REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, G. 99 (Reg. 861), G100 (Reg. 860) and G101 (Reg. 829).

⁷⁰ For these traditional motifs and trends in Roman funerary art in Egypt, see RIGGS 2005, 175; CORBELL 2006, 47; RIGGS 2018, 220.

⁷¹ See RIGGS 2005, 199.

⁷² VERHOEVEN and WITTHUHN 2003, 311, with references in note 10.

⁷³ REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 282, G140.

⁷⁴ The dating of Ta-Khonsu and her family remains a bit uncertain; the first century BCE and, thus, a late Ptolemaic date is also possible; QUAEGBEUR 1982, 264, proposed a general Ptolemaic date.



Fig. 14 Fragment of lid of inner anthropoid coffin of Ta-Khonsu, Reg. 800.

with the coffins of the Soter family, are also noteworthy.⁷⁵

4. New aspects of the use life of TT 414

All burials in TT 414 were heavily looted, including the one of Ankh-Hor and his possible relatives, except for Wah-ib-Re I.⁷⁶ Where most burials were originally placed remains unsecure. We know generally that the original burial compartments of the late 26th Dynasty were reachable via the Rooms 7, 8 and 9 – the rooms located at the western end of the subterranean cultic rooms of TT 414.⁷⁷ Ankh-Hor, as the tomb owner, was buried in the main chamber accessible from Room 7, but details about his relatives are difficult to establish. However, the new Ankh-Hor Project and its detailed study of all coffins and fragments of tomb groups has already provided new aspects at this early stage of the project.

In this regard, the burial of Ankh-Hor's daughter, Merit-Neith, can serve as an example. The heavily looted burial is only attested by the sideboard of her *qrsw* coffin found in the debris of Room 1, thus, very close to the entrance of TT 414 (Fig. 1). A fragmented Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue of Merit-Neith was unearthed in Room 2, associated with Ptolemaic pottery, so definitely dumped there at a late stage of reuse of the tomb. A possible indication of Merit-Neith's burial chamber might have come to light with the new small fragment from the vaulted lid of a *qrsw* coffin (see Fig. 4 top). This piece was found together with other fragments of 26th Dynasty *qrsw* coffins in the shaft filling from Room 8. Of course, one has to be very careful in using find positions of objects in heavily-looted tombs like TT 414 as a clear indication of its original location – several objects were scattered and distributed throughout the tomb.⁷⁸ But, in this case, it is just very tempting to suggest the chamber at the base of the shaft from Room 8 as the original burial place of Merit-Neith, daughter of Ankh-Hor (and presumably other relatives).

Room 4, the pillared hall of TT 414 (see Fig. 1) and originally used for cultic purposes and no interments in the 26th Dynasty, was clearly reused

as a burial place in Ptolemaic and Roman times. The find position of coffin Reg. 590 in Room 4, just in front of Shaft 10, where this coffin of Iret-Hor-ru was originally deposited in Saite times, is significant in this respect. Since the new mummy label from inside of Reg. 590 attests to its reuse in Ptolemaic times, an interpretation as an *in situ* find in the position the coffin was found in Room 4 is the most likely assumption. Thus, the various sections of rooms within TT 414 were used differently over the time span of burials in the monument.⁷⁹

5. Summary and outline of future work

The first two seasons of the new Ankh-Hor Project based at LMU Munich in 2018 and 2019 were successful and allow for the setting up of a detailed working plan for the near future. The focus of work was on coffins and coffin fragments and on other wooden remains and pottery.

Besides consolidation and cleaning, documentation by drawing and high-resolution photographing (full-frame camera), the main aim was finding matches and missing pieces for registered coffins. This was already fruitful in many respects but needs to be continued because many fragments are of very small size and difficult to relocate and identify.

Stylistic criteria and technical features are the main questions of research in order to establish a concise coffin typology of all styles and variants used in TT 414 throughout the centuries.⁸⁰ Diverse matters of reuse within TT 414 are related to these aspects and have already been studied by the example of selected pieces. The tomb of Ankh-Hor offers clear evidence that both very similar and diverse types, styles and qualities of coffins were used at the same time by members of the same family.⁸¹ On the other hand, we encounter very similar styles and types of objects that are centuries apart in their origin and belong to diverse members of different statuses.⁸²

TT 414 has clearly a big potential to serve as a case study to analyze various attitudes of later generations towards the original owners of Theban

⁷⁵ See HASLAUER 2006. For an overview of the Soter family burial, see RIGGS 2003, 193–195; 2005, 182–205; 2018, 220–221.

⁷⁶ BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, *passim*; BUDKA 2010b, 61–62.

⁷⁷ BUDKA 2010b, 57.

⁷⁸ BUDKA 2010b, 53–57.

⁷⁹ See also BUDKA 2010b, 61–62, Tab. 1.

⁸⁰ This can be built upon the coffin typologies presented by TAYLOR 2003 and BRECH 2008.

⁸¹ For recent studies of common features within coffins from one provenance and the question of workshops, see GUZZON 2018.

⁸² Cf. BUDKA et al. 2013; BUDKA and MEKIS 2017.

burial places.⁸³ A more in-depth study is, therefore, much needed for the understanding of the complete, very complex use life of TT 414. In this regard, the rich prospective of the detailed work on the finds from TT 414 became very clear during the 2018 and 2019 seasons. However, large amounts of coffins and fragments of coffins and cartonnage from the Late Period to Ptolemaic and Roman times still remain to be cleaned, consolidated and restored.

The exhaustive documentation of the objects brought to light by the Austrian mission during the 1970s and now conducted by the LMU Munich Ankh-Hor Project offers a unique opportunity to both study and preserve a large corpus of material coming from scientifically up-to-date excavations and covering a timespan from the 26th Dynasty up to Roman and even Coptic times.⁸⁴ Because of their unusually secure context, the objects from TT 414 may serve as important terms of reference in order to analyze many objects without provenance in museum collections throughout the world. This will enable us to gain further insights into the specific usages and functions of monumental tombs in the Asasif in general and to increase the understanding of the connections, interrelationships and developments between the 26th and 30th Dynasties and Ptolemaic and Roman times.

Another possible line of future research is a detailed comparison between funerary art from Thebes and Akhmim as, especially for the Ptolemaic burials from TT 414, close parallels can be found there.⁸⁵ One Ptolemaic coffin from the tomb of Ankh-Hor (Reg. 664), for example, attests the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, otherwise only known from coffins found at Akhmim.⁸⁶

Thanks to our recent work, the completion of a third monograph on the tomb of the Ankh-Hor, this time on the coffins, has come within immediate grasp. Despite the strong mixture of the find, the relevance of these objects exceeds that of a pure collection of materials, as the entire history of the heyday of the Asasif necropolis, from the Late Period to the Roman epoch, can be exemplified by the objects from TT 414. Despite recent studies, this section of Egyptian history is still inadequately published, especially from Thebes – the findings from the tomb of Ankh-Hor can,

therefore, contribute significantly to closing this gap in Theban archaeology and particularly the funerary culture of this period with its many facets to be clarified.

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⁸³ BUDKA 2015, 2016.

⁸⁴ The Coptic material from TT 414 comprises mostly ceramics.

⁸⁵ See BUDKA et al. 2013, 215 and 235.

⁸⁶ See most recently KUCHARÉK 2018; for general aspects of the *Lamentations*, see KUCHARÉK 2010.

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