
**BURIAL AND MORTUARY
PRACTICES IN LATE PERIOD
AND GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT**

Edited by Katalin Anna Kóthay

BURIAL AND MORTUARY PRACTICES IN LATE PERIOD AND GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

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FOREWORD

The present volume collects papers presented at the international conference ‘Burial and Mortuary Practices in Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt’ organised by the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, and held on 17–19 July 2014. The aim of the conference was to share up-to-date information and research on the funerary culture of Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt, addressing both past and current issues and themes. In addition to reconsidering and reinterpreting published text and artefacts, as well as previously known archaeological sites, a special objective was to integrate into the discussion unpublished materials preserved in museum collections, archival records relating to earlier excavations and research, as well as recent archaeological discoveries.

The great majority of the contributions deal with various aspects of the funerary culture of the Late and Graeco-Roman periods (c. second half of the first millennium BC – first half of AD first millennium). Yet the actual time span covered by the volume is broader, extending back to the previous epoch, the Third Intermediate Period (c. first half of the first millennium BC), a time of innovative re-interpretation of old motifs and traditions in funerary culture, which can be seen as a starting point for the semantic changes that took place in funerary symbolism during the second half of the first millennium BC. It is then also essential to investigate aspects of this earlier process, as is done by two papers (Maya Müller; Alain Dautant, Rita Lucarelli, Luca Miatello, Cynthia May Sheikholeslami).

This long period of the funerary history of Ancient Egypt presents a number of contradictory and unresolved issues, such as dating and chronological problems; interpreting old concepts and traditions in changing contexts; reconstructing original burials and burial equipment; interpreting and reconstructing ritual practices; interaction of textual, visual and material representations; distinguishing regional variants of styles; identifying collectives of artists and regional networks of artists producing the surviving funerary artefacts; as well as establishing typologies for various types of funerary objects. These are the main issues addressed by the papers, which provide a list of perspectives on the interpretation of burial practices and funerary beliefs of the period in question. The various approaches, methods and interpretations of the contributors hence offer a comprehensive scope of and a very valuable contribution to the present state of research.

The first chapter (*Texts, objects, iconography and rituals*) sets out to discuss issues concerning the interaction between rituals on the one hand, and their representations in the burial context in textual, visual and material forms, on the other. The opening paper aims at understanding the broader textual and ritual context and roots of the corpus of funerary literature (Martin Stadler). The bulk of the contributions in this chapter interpret specific ritual texts and objects in terms of meaning, function and use (Susanne Töpfer, Nadine Guilhou, Ladislav Bareš, Mandy Mamedow, Silke Grallert), while the semantic and contextual changes of a particular iconographic motif (the image of the papyrus scroll) associated with rituals, is also explained (Mykola Tarasenko).

The papers of the second chapter (*Burial contexts*) are organised in chronological order, and attempt to reconstruct and interpret original burial contexts or parts of contexts (Zoltán Imre Fábrián, Orsolya László, Gábor Schreiber, Mélanie Flossmann-Schütze), decoration programmes in particular tombs (Renata Landgráfová and Jiří Janák; Silvia Einaudi), as well as to reconstruct sacred funerary landscape (Nenad Marković).

The third chapter (*Burial equipment: coffins and associated material*) is devoted to coffins and associated objects. The first two contributions are concerned with particular coffins and coffin sets (Maya Müller; Alain Dautant, Rita Lucarelli, Luca Miatello, Cynthia May Sheikholeslami), and demonstrate the high degree of creativity in funerary symbolism during the Third Intermediate Period. A distinct group of the papers identify and examine coffins originating from specific funerary sites in the northern part of Middle Egypt, while also drawing conclusions on certain aspects of coffin production and workshops in that region (Beate Gessler-Löhr, Sabine Schmidt, Katalin Anna Kóthay). A next group of papers focus on certain aspects of the mummy, as well as of particular objects or objects types directly associated with it (Alessandra Colazilli, Adrienn Almásy, Asja Müller, Carlo Rindi Nuzzolo, Piotr Czerkwiński).

The title of chapter four (*Beyond the burial context*) refers back to the key point of the opening contribution to the volume (Martin Stadler), which suggests to see the roots of funerary texts and rituals in a complex textual and

ritual tradition extending beyond the funerary sphere. In the same way, this chapter collects papers discussing funerary object types that are not exclusive to the funerary sphere, but appear in various ritual contexts (Mladen Tomorad; Simone Musso and Simone Petacchi; Grzegorz First).

The staff of the Egyptian Department thank all people who contributed to the organisation of the conference and the production of the volume. We are indebted to the participants and to each of the contributors to the volume. We would also like to thank Dr László Baán, General Director of the Museum of Fine Arts for his substantial support. The publication of the volume was financially supported by the Museum of Fine Arts and the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (grant no. K108S07).

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Katalin Kóthay

RE-USE AND MODIFICATION OF A SAFF-TOMB ON THE SOUTH SLOPE OF EL-KHOKHA, THEBES*

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ABSTRACT

On the el-Khokha hillock, in the central part of the Theban necropoleis, recent excavations have pointed out saff tombs with pillared façades. In one of these that can be dated to the First Intermediate Period, not only a rich material of the original burial was found but later architectural modifications could also be identified. More than a millennium later than the saff tomb was constructed, new burial places were formed, among others a shaft tomb, and a part of the saff tomb seems to have served as its superstructure. The intercolumnia of some of the pillars were blocked with mud brick walls and a new chamber was shaped, probably a cult chamber. However, this seems to have been used as a burial chamber, too, after an earthquake. The analysis of the mostly fragmentary and rather mixed material of the shaft tomb, which contained gilded faience amulets, Grecian amphorae, *in situ* finds as well, shows that the shaft tomb was used in several phases both during the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period. This can also contribute to a more precise dating of the finds and the better understanding of the secondary architectural structures.

On the south slope of el-Khokha, ancient tombs and mortuary monuments are very dense; they are very close to each other. The most ancient decorated tombs that we know about can be found here,¹ and the area was used for burials in the forms of rock-cut monuments, with free-standing superstructures and with burial places in earlier tombs alike throughout all the major periods of ancient Egyptian history.² Finds from different ensembles and from different periods are usually rather mixed on the slope, but even fragments of the same pieces can at times be found relatively far from each other. Even so, with more or less probability, several find groups can be related to certain burial places or certain burials.

The tomb that we named *Saff-1* was cut in *tafla* between two solid bedrock layers in the upper section of the slope of the hill. Some 10 metres west of it,³ another tomb with similar pillared façade can be distinguished. For the purposes of identification, we call it *Saff-2*.

Saff-1 consists of a partly rock-cut forecourt, an eight-pillared portico, which is over 15 metres in width, and further inner rooms (**Plate 13.1**). The corridor in the axis, behind the portico was widened in the whole of its length into a roughly square room on the right, i.e. east. In the centre of this room, a massive *tafla* pillar was left, and another entrance leads from the portico into the inner room. Except for the western corner of the portico and the eastern, widened part of the inner room, the ceilings have collapsed everywhere.

This *saff* tomb seems to have contained two burial chambers. Both could be reached on irregular, descending stairs. One of them was cut at the end of the corridor in the axis, below its left side wall. The other was also on the left, its staircase however opened into a kind of a side-room behind the entrance of the inner part. These chambers are not very deep; their floors are at 1.50 and 2.80 m below that of the axis respectively. Both are small and very low chambers. Each may have been prepared for one or perhaps for two burials. During the excavation, in the second chamber, the outlines of what had once been a wooden coffin could be identified, though it was devoured by termites and only some reddish dust was left. There were only a few finds in this chamber. The other one, at the end of the axial corridor, seems to have been reused in later periods, perhaps more than once, and then looted as usual.

* The excavation and research of the site would have been impossible without the support of the National Cultural Fund of Hungary (NKA) and the National Scientific Research Fund of Hungary (OTKA), as well as joint scholarships granted by the Hungarian Scholarship Board Office and the Egyptian Ministry of Higher Education.

1 Saleh 1970; Saleh 1977; Fábán 2011; Fábán 2014.

2 For earlier publications concerning the research of the site, see <http://tt184en.blogspot.hu/p/publication.html> and <http://tt184.blogspot.hu/p/asatasi-naplo-1984-2011.html>.

3 Here and below, I refer to magnetic orientation.

Several pieces of the burial equipment of the *saff* tomb have come to light: more than 180 vessels, most of them unbroken, several with mud-and-barley food models, offering trays, servant statues and broken parts of boat models. The vessel types suggest a First Intermediate Period dating.⁴ Most of these objects were found in the central corridor, they had probably been thrown out from one or both burial chambers.

One of the reasons why the ceilings collapsed was that in later periods of the cemetery a whole row of tombs was created in the uppermost part of the hill, above the *saff* tomb, too. These are usually Eighteenth Dynasty constructions, one is Ramesside, and there are further shafts in each of them from later periods and finds even from Ptolemaic times. This part of the cemetery seems to have been rather popular and during the millennia the whole landscape underwent some transformation, too. From the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, besides these smaller or more monumental, decorated rock-cut tombs in at least five levels on the slope, more modest shaft tombs could also be found. While creating the upper row of tombs, some parts of the earlier monuments were also utilized and modified. This happened to the *saff* tomb, too, when during Thutmose III's reign, the owner of TT 205, also called Thutmose, had the sidewall of the forecourt somewhat refashioned for the ramp or staircase leading up to his own monument. The forecourts of the upper row of tombs were then to be approached on such ramps or staircases, and not from tomb streets.

In the forecourt of the *saff* tomb, perhaps in the same period or later, during the Nineteenth Dynasty, a small pyramid was erected as the superstructure of one of the monuments on a lower level of the slope.⁵ This happened in the forecourt of the other *saff* tomb, the western one, too, where the remains of the pyramid of Djehutimes (TT 32) were explored.⁶

The ceilings, as we have seen, collapsed in the *saff* tomb, and probably this is why and how the objects from the monuments above have been removed from their context as a result. The latest ones, also fragmentary in nature, are recent, from the twentieth century;⁷ their source must be the Metropolitan House, whose litter was thrown on this side of the hill.

The secondary burial place in the *saff* tomb, the actual subject of this paper, whose history is to be reconstructed, was prepared in the eastern part of the portico.⁸ This is a well outlined architectural unit. The plan of its burial chamber is a 3 x 3.30 m rough square, its height is 1.35 m. It is right below the floor of the portico, where the bedrock was less than 40 cm. The chamber could be approached through a 2-m-deep, roughly square shaft (0.93 x 0.85 m) cut in front of the second pillar of the portico. The entrance of the burial chamber was blocked with a mud brick wall and the mouth of the shaft was also surrounded with bricks. It must have been filled up with debris.

The eastern part of the portico served as the superstructure: between the rear wall and the third pillar, a wall was built of mud bricks. The inner surface of this wall was plastered, but the outer was not, there must have been piles of debris already in those days. Two intercolumnia, the first and the third ones, were also walled up, double mud brick constructions were applied here filled up with debris. The inner surfaces were plastered, but no other decoration can be seen on the remains of the plastered walls. The entrance was the second, middle intercolumnium and this is how the superstructure, presumably a cult chamber was formed. In the north-eastern corner, however, a *loculus*-like hollow was cut in the rock for a coffin.

When the ceiling of the burial chamber, that is, the floor of the portico collapsed, so did the mud brick separating wall. The ceiling of the *saff* tomb must have collapsed at the same time as that of the burial chamber of this secondary burial place. We can surmise that this was caused by an earthquake and both the burial chamber and the cult chamber were filled up by the debris as a consequence. Later, however, the cult chamber was partly cleared from debris, but not as far down as to the floor level. The new floor was 65 cm higher than the old one. The roughly 1-m-high new chamber cannot have functioned as a cult chamber any longer. However, the new construction was larger than the old cult chamber. A new wall was erected between the fourth pillar of the *saff* and the rear wall of the

4 For a sample of the material, see Fábíán in Bács–Fábíán–Schreiber–Török 2009, 54–55, and catalogue items nos 14, 15a, 15b.

5 Fábíán 2006.

6 Kákósy 2004.

7 Németh 2011.

8 For an account of the material of the shaft tomb, Németh 2010.

portico, laid on the debris. For the new construction, which was also laid on debris, a further intercolumnium was blocked. The walls were once again plastered on their inner surfaces, but no further decoration can be discerned. The outer surfaces of the walls were left unplastered, they must have been covered by debris.

The finds from the eastern part of the portico and the shaft tomb can mostly be dated to the Third Intermediate Period or to the Late Period probably corresponding to the two architectural phases of the secondary burial place.

Most of the finds from both the upper cult chamber and the burial chamber are fragmentary, and they were very much mingled in the debris. Those from above, the cult chamber, are without clear context (even some modern letters were found here). The burial chamber, however, is more expressive, but it is evident that looters also contributed to this state of affairs. Furthermore the collapse of the ceiling, that is the floor of the cult chamber, should also be taken into account.

After the preliminary dating of the finds, we would have to establish what types of objects could be expected from this fragmentary material of these periods, if they were less fragmentary. We could proceed by process of elimination and first consider what has *not* been found.⁹ One cannot be surprised that there is no trace of *qrs* coffins, because a larger coffin could hardly be forced down through the small shaft. Wooden fragments do not indicate any trace of a canopic chest, and no fragment of an Osiris or Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue or papyrus fragments can be pointed out. No wooden stela, not even in fragments, was found, and there were no wooden statuettes of the sons of Horus.¹⁰ The research of the human remains does not point to the presence of wax sons of Horus, either. No leather braces, no heart scarab, no winged pectoral or corn mummy, no trace of a wooden *ba*-bird or wooden jackals were found, either. Unfortunately, no names or titles have survived on the fragments.

There are, however, remains of coffins: a part of the lid of a chest, and very fragmentary pieces of anthropoid black coffin(s) with yellow and some further, coloured decoration.¹¹ The latter were spread all over the *saff* tomb, not only in the secondary burial chamber, which is somewhat disconcerting. Smaller fragments of wooden coffins with inscriptions arranged in both horizontal and vertical lines with alternating backgrounds abound in the secondary tomb. They can be dated not earlier than the last decades of the eighth century, on the basis of the pennant writing of Osiris' name.¹² These fragments belonged to coffins where the wood was covered with textile.¹³ What is also interesting about these fragments is that they are usually the plastered textile fragments, not much of their wood material survived the looters.

Fragments of three coffin heads could be reconstructed, two with the sun disc and a pair of uraei, and one with a scarab. The latter must have belonged to a man, for it had dark red ears. It cannot be much later than the early seventh century, when Nephthys suppressed the scarab as the standard motif on the head.¹⁴ The other two ones decorated with the sun disc, however, may also be dated to a later period, but only if they did not belong to one and the same person or persons, as we must take into account the possibility of outer and inner coffins as well, or the possibility that they were the outer coffins of one-piece cartonnage cases.

Larger and smaller fragments of such cartonnage cases have indeed come to light from the burial chamber. The fragments of probably three similar cartonnage cases can be identified, and the decoration on some of them is relatively well preserved. They all seem to be of Taylor's Type 2b (perhaps 2c), where the ram-headed and falcon-headed winged figures of the sun god are represented. Furthermore, below, on each side of the central Abydos fetish, there are usually two scenes of winged deities, and on the feet, the Wepwawet jackals. The type can be followed from the ninth to the end of the eighth century. In the fragments, though the banding is rather simple, the decoration contains more textual elements than the earlier variants. The wings of the falcons do not cross each other. In the central offering formula, Re-Harakhty, Atum and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris are mentioned, and the lower falcons on the sides are referred to as *bhdt*-s. All these suggest a late eighth century dating.

9 The basis for the reconstruction of burial equipments of the periods in question can be Aston 2003; and Aston 2011; for Kushite and Saite burials on el-Khokha, see Schreiber 2008 (Tombs B and G) and esp. Schreiber 2014.

10 Wooden fragments were analysed in Darvas 2010.

11 For the dating, Julia Budka proposes Dynasty 30, and I am grateful for her remark.

12 Leahy 1979.

13 For 'cartonnage type coffins', see Taylor 1989, 56; Jørgensen 2001, 14–17.

14 Taylor 2003, 116.

In the south-western corner of the burial chamber a whole group of finds survived, probably as they had been placed there during the funeral. The looters seem not to have reached this relatively far end of the chamber, and even gilded pieces have remained to us. In the corner, there were two dummy canopic jars (**Plate 13.2**) without a chest, an intact shabti box containing 184 clay statuettes, remains of a bead net and large piles of further beads, two sets of amulets, once attached to bead nets. The latter ones, a gilded faience sons-of-Horus-plus-winged-scarab set (**Plate 13.3**) as well as the gilded wooden sons-of-Horus indicate two persons who were buried here not earlier than the last decades of the eighth century, but not too much later, as they must have adorned bead nets Silvano Type A, which only consist of the sons of Horus and the winged scarab.¹⁵ The use of dark blackish paint on the scarab, however may suggest the possibility of a somewhat later dating, too.

The dummy canopic jars can probably be earlier or not much later than Taharqa's reign, that is, the first half of the seventh century.¹⁶ The shabti box is a very simple one. On one of its short sides, red-yellow-black dado-like stripes survive, and some black remains on yellow ground. This may be a variant of Aston's Type VII or perhaps Type VIII, which may come from the same period as the above objects.¹⁷ The fragments of the other shabti box were also found in the debris as well as 34 further statuettes of the same types as those in the intact box.¹⁸ Both groups of the gang represent five types, that is, they were prepared in five different moulds. What might be important with the shabti set is that there are also bearded statuettes among them, together with the beardless ones. Such clay shabtis are regularly beardless in the Third Intermediate Period. The representation of the beard appears towards the end of the eighth century on faience shabtis, but in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, Nile silt as raw material for shabti figures was abandoned.¹⁹

All this considered – and if this group of finds was indeed buried together in the corner and survived the collapse of ceilings and the looters – they can be dated to the first decades of the seventh century. They could be rich burials regarding the gilded amulets, but the rough shabti types indicate some contradictions.

Another group of finds in the debris was also almost on the floor, near the blocked entrance from the shaft. Below some mummy parts, large sections of a bead net came to light. They seem to have been dropped back into the burial chamber by looters as some less appreciated spoil. Once again, only the four sons of Horus and the winged scarab are attached to the net (**Plate 14.1a–b**) as in Silvano Type A, but these figurines are prepared from beadwork as those of Silvano Type Bb.²⁰ The application of beadwork for the amulets seems to have begun later than that of other materials, but their arrangement here in the pattern of Silvano Type A would indicate the possibility of a relatively early dating, too, not long after the amulets found in the corner, and the bead material of their nets.²¹

Characteristic pottery, if present, would still be significant for the dating of the shaft tomb, especially if two phases could indeed be distinguished. Two types of vessels found in fragments are characteristic. From a functional point of view, both belong to the so called embalmers' cache, namely Aston's Type B, where embalming materials were stored in such jars.²²

Two of the large, slender, neckless jars frequently referred to as sausage jars (**Plate 14.2**) were found broken into pieces all around the burial chamber, along with their contents. Similar vessels with the same function can also be found in earlier variants, but their characteristic usage can be dated to the late seventh and sixth century, and they continued in the fifth and the fourth centuries.²³ The two vessels are different in measurements, material and regarding their probable dating, as well. One is a Twenty-sixth Dynasty type, the other is a later, fourth century variant.

15 Silvano 1980. For the two sets of gilded amulets see Németh, cat. nos 46, 47 in Bács, Fábán, Schreiber and Török 2009, 110–113, with parallels and further literature. I am here somewhat puzzled by the fact that the faience sons of Horus look in the same direction.

16 For the description of the two pieces and further references, see Fábán, cat nos 37–38 in Bács, Fábán, Schreiber and Török 2009, 101–102.

17 Aston 1994.

18 For the possible number of shabtis, Aston 1994, 43; and Černý 1948.

19 Taylor 2001, 129–131; cf. Strudwick 1996, 161–162.

20 The net at present is in the Luxor Museum, where four restorers attempted to reconstruct it adding the beads found nearby.

21 Silvano 1980, 85, fig. 2, 88–89; Aston 1987, 522, 641; Taylor 2001, 206: fig. 148, and 207.

22 Aston 2003, 154.

23 Aston 2003, 155. For further typologies, Seiler 2003; Budka 2006, 92–93.

The other vessel type is not Egyptian. Three amphorae could be reassembled from the fragments (**Plate 14.3**), and their contents, the embalming textile material was also found. They are East Grecian, Clazomenian amphorae, decorated with painted red bands, and can be dated to the sixth century.²⁴

The dating possibilities and probabilities of the above finds can be demonstrated in the following chart, where probabilities are marked with shades.

DATING RANGE	900-800	800-700	700-600	600-500	500-400	
Wooden coffin: scarab						
Wooden coffins: sun disc						
Woodden coffin fragments						
Cartonnage cases 2b (+2c)						
Bead net A						
Bead net Bb						
Gilded faience amulets						
Gilded wooden amulets						
Ushebtis (F)						
Shabti box (VII/VIII)						
Canopic jars (dummy)						
Clazomenian amphorae						
Sausage jar 1						
Sausage jar 2						
DYNASTIES	XXII		XXV	XXVI		

The most probable dating range of the bulk of the material is roughly from the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the end of the Twenty-sixth, in two characteristically different periods. Within the time-span of about two centuries, two shorter periods are outlined with at least about three quarters of a century between them if the production of the material is considered. The collapse of the ceilings could take place thus, not earlier than the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and perhaps not later than the last decades of the sixth century, if the jars were buried shortly after their production, which is not at all certain.

Several of the finds can be related to the first period: the wooden coffins with the scarab on the head, the cartonnage cases, the bead nets with the gilded faience and wooden amulet sets, the shabtis with their boxes and the canopic jars. Only a few objects represent exclusively the second period: the three amphorae and one of the sausage jars, while there are two groups where both periods might be possible for dating: the wooden coffins with the sun disc on the head and perhaps the bead net with the beadwork amulets.

One of the possible interpretations can be that the two distinct periods represent two burial phases, one in Kushite times and the other towards the second half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. However, in this case we are faced with the problem that we only have one wooden coffin and probably three cartonnage cases for the first phase. Another possibility is thus, that the two wooden coffins with the sun disks on the head are near-contemporary with the third one, that with the scarab. The three coffins may correspond to the three cartonnage cases. The early dating of the beadwork amulets attached to the net can also be taken into account, and thus, we also have three bead nets with three amulet sets and all the rest for the first phase, except for the vessels containing the embalming material.

²⁴ For the type and dating, see Dupont in Cook and Dupont 1998, 151–156.

The result of this arrangement is that all the burials of probably not more than three persons whose material can clearly be detected, are to be related to the first, Kushite phase. Following this approach, however, no further material can be related to the presumed Saitic phase, when the upper chamber did not function any more as a cult chamber after the collapse of the ceiling than the amphorae and the sausage jar. Shall we thus think that after the partial clearing of the rubble, the chamber simply served for storing embalming materials in pottery containers without human burials? This can indeed be a possible solution. However, we still have to reflect on the other, fourth century sausage jar as well as two further features. One is the wooden coffin fragments from the Thirtieth Dynasty, thus apparently contemporary with this embalming vessel. The other feature is the niche for a coffin in the corner of the upper chamber, though without any significant related material. The latter somewhat confuses the interpretation, and for the moment, no source of dating is available. The fourth century finds, the sausage jar and the coffin fragments, however, might outline a third phase for the reuse of the *saff* tomb, even though no further datable material can be involved. Thus, a further possibility cannot be ruled out either, namely that the earlier vessels, the three amphorae and the other sausage jar, were used as containers of embalming material much later than they were made.

The research of the human remains were hoped to clear up the picture. Physical anthropologist, Orsolya László examined the mummified remains,²⁵ reassembled them with the bone material scattered around in the upper and lower chambers, and could identify not less than the remains of altogether 38 individuals just in this part of the *saff* tomb, 14 of which were down in the burial chamber. This is not at all consistent with the information provided by other finds.

Perhaps we could make another attempt through the examination of the precise provenance of some more significant or larger mummified body parts and some of the finds whether they can be related to each other, or perhaps their position would provide some information on the dating possibilities. The results are quite disappointing: the whole material is very much mingled in such a small place, certainly except for the south-western corner of the burial chamber. I am going to demonstrate this with three examples.

The mummified remains of a lady of 40–44 years were found half a metre below the ceiling of the burial chamber, near the large cartonnage fragments whose decoration is not preserved. This information on its own, however, does not serve too much for the dating.

The mummy parts which were first thought to have been parts of one and the same person were found near the floor, just below two larger cartonnage fragments fortunately with identifiable decoration. There were also the pieces of the broken shabti box, the stray statuettes and a lot of the fragments of the striped wooden coffins. This would have given some hope to relate at least one person to some find groups of the earlier, Kushite phase, but a lot of fragments of the amphorae were also found nearby. This would be quite an interesting ensemble, but what is still more disconcerting is that the mummified remains proved to belong to three persons not one, two different children of around 14, and the skull to a young man who died when he was some more than 20 years old.

A further part of a mummy was found together with the wooden lid of the coffin chest, fragments of the wooden coffin with the scarab on the head, and the bead net with the beadwork amulets. This would perhaps denote something, relating this bead net to the Kushite phase, too. However, the overall picture of the material indicates that almost everything was so thoroughly and extensively interspersed, probably more than once, that such minor results may hardly be trusted.

Summing up the probabilities and reasoning why this paper has been worth writing, it can be established that a burial place was constructed in a much earlier *saff* tomb towards the end of the eighth century or rather in the first decades of the seventh, and not only by the mere preparation of a new burial chamber with a shaft, but with more essential, though modest architectural modifications. This architecturally modified part of the monument, after the ceilings had collapsed, was partly rebuilt. This could take place either during the Twenty-sixth or the Thirtieth Dynasty, though it is not quite clear whether this was indeed a burial place.

The dating methods seem to have worked. The wooden coffin with the scarab on the head, the cartonnage cases, the bead nets with the gilded faience and wooden amulets, the shabtis with their boxes and the canopic jars can

25 For her results, see this volume.

obviously be related to this first, Kushite phase, and it seems to be probable that the wooden coffins with the sun disc on the head and the third bead net with the beadwork amulets can be added to the funerary equipment of the three persons buried here. The amphorae and the sausage jars, on the other hand, can belong to (one of) the later phase(s). Or the other way round, they can serve us in dating the secondary building phases of the structures, too.

What can be interesting around the individual elements of the material and their relationships is that the dating of the cartonnage design²⁶ may perhaps be extended to somewhat later than has been suggested, that is, to the first decades of the seventh century. Another point is the question of the bearded Nile silt shabtis in one and the same set with the usual beardless ones. Further information seems to be required from recent excavations, which would confirm the appearance of the divine outlook of shabtis in non-royal Twenty-fifth Dynasty burials. The five types of figurines in one and the same set, on the other hand, can provide information on their manufacture, and their selection for a burial.

The strange phenomenon of rich, gilded amulets attached to bead nets accompanied by a set of the coarse shabtis and their not much less humble box would also raise questions concerning the organization of a burial assemblage.

Regarding the vessels of two different periods containing embalming material, for the moment we may remain uncertain whether they mark two burial phases, one Saitic, where no further material can be pointed out, and a much later one accompanied by coffin fragments, or the sixth century amphorae and sausage jar were used at least a century later together with the other sausage jar. However, I cannot emphasize enough the possibility that after the rebuilding of the place, the upper chamber served exclusively for storing embalming material. To word it in a more straightforward way, this is the case of the embalming cache. Similar jars with similar contents could be observed in several other parts of the cemetery, in el-Khokha, too.²⁷ They can frequently be related to burials, but not always. One conclusion can be that the embalming cache played an important role among the items of the typical burial assemblages, and when they were available, prestigious import jars for embalming material seem to be desirable for the families who buried their relatives. The details are however not always clear and we can only draw our general conclusions after understanding the individual cases.

With the preliminary arrangement of the material, in the interpretation of the site, my starting point was that if a burial cache with embalming material is found, a burial should be related to it, and the fragmentary material of the eastern part of the *saff* tomb must be arranged in this way. However, the 'two architectural phases – two sets of jars: let us find the two corresponding periods of burials' model has not yielded results. One burial phase, which can be dated to the Kushite dynasty, seems to be clear, but without embalming jars. On the other hand, the picture concerning the jars containing embalming material, as a further part of the puzzle, is not quite clear. Questions should still be put forward and the answers are to be found in the context of other similar find groups,²⁸ those of the Valley of the Kings, the Queens, the royal memorial temples, Medinet Habu, Sethi I,²⁹ those in the Deir el-Bahari area, Asasif, el-Birabi and the individual finds in the necropolis, perhaps as well as the archives of the embalmers and *choiachite* undertakers.

Can we thus consider our second, later architectural modification in the *saff* tomb to be a place separate from but related to a certain burial or burials, where the embalming material was stored? If the answer is yes, we have to find out which one it is or which ones they are from the not less plundered burials in the vicinity.

Or is our *saff* tomb once again a place in the necropolis, which may have been used as an independent storeroom for embalming material? Did it belong to some workshop of embalmers other than the supposed ones inside or near the old temples? If it did, we shall have to find the corresponding *pr-nfr*, which is not an easy task, but not completely hopeless, as there are quite a few remains of mud-brick structures all around.³⁰

26 Taylor's 2B/2C=Elias Phases 3/4.

27 Schreiber 2014.

28 Budka 2006, Eaton-Krauss 2008.

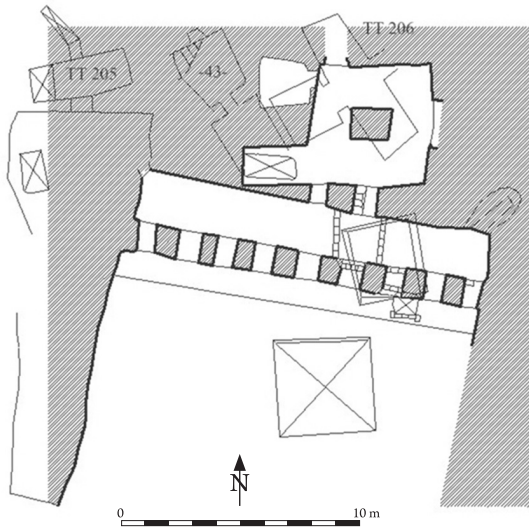
29 Horst Jaritz and David Aston report masses of such vessels from the Merneptah-temple, too.

30 If we can rely on the interpretation of the plan of the Asasif house as that of a *pr-nfr* (Bietak 1972, 29; Budka 2006), it would support this research, but we can perhaps also expect results from this point of view from the Spanish excavations in Thutmose III's temple, about two hundred meters away.

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PLATES



1
Plan of *Saff-1* on the south slope
of el-Kohokha. (Survey and drawing
by Katalin Wéberné Jánossy and
Zoltán I. Fábíán.)



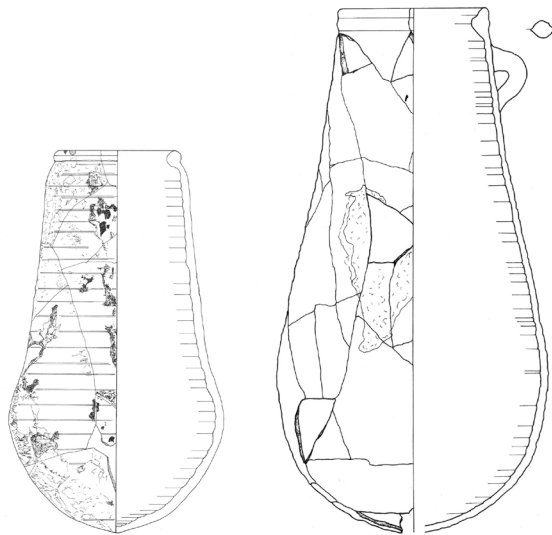
2
Dummy canopic jar from
the south-western corner of the
secondary shaft tomb in *Saff-1*.
(Drawing by Kálmán Malárik.)



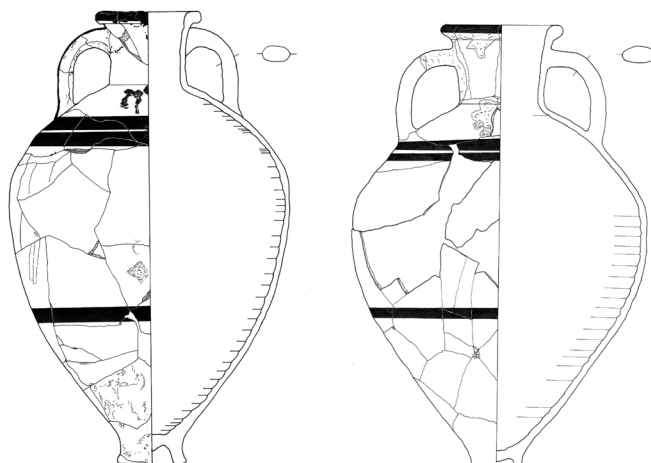
3
Gilded faience amulets.
(Drawing by Kálmán Malárik.)



1a-b Beadwork amulets.



2
Sausage jars.
(Drawings by Bori Németh
and Noémi Darvas.)



3
Clazomenian amphorae.
(Drawings by Bori Németh
and Noémi Darvas.)



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