



**Burial and Mortuary Practices  
in Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt**

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**Abstracts**

### ***Mummy linen inscribed by Demotic texts from TT400***

*Adrienn Almásy (Montpellier)*

In the tomb TT400 nine fragments of mummy bands inscribed by Demotic text have been found in a heap, next to the entrance of the tomb, where the grave robbers accidentally dropped them. One of those is complete and enabling us to presume its possible position on the body. They are all dated back to the Roman period and six persons have been mentioned by the texts written in the same formula. Most of the Demotic mummy bands of the museums have been sold by antiquity dealers and its origin are unknown. They are usually supposed to come from Akhmim or the Theban area and only few fragments found in Deir el-Medinah. These findings of TT400 suggest that the Theban area would provide us more bands than we suspected.

The lecture will give an overview on the use, the types and on the provenance of these inscribed bands while looking for the orthographical, paleographical and wording characteristics of the text of different provenance.

### ***Pseudo-Mummies or Fake-Mummies? A new interpretation in the light of the most recent scientific analyses***

*Alessia Amenta (Vatican)*

In the Egyptian Collection of the Vatican Museums there are two small mummies which are usually referred to as 'Pseudo-Mummies' or 'Kinder-Mumien', which represent an intriguing subject.

We are talking about a cylindrical bundle wrapped in linen bandages, covered by a mask in gypsum plaster over the upper part of the body and the head. The face has been painted and the whole of the mummy has been covered with a uniform brownish substance over the bandages. There is evidence that elements of painted *cartonnage* were attached to the bandages.

This type of 'miniature-mummy' (between 30 and 60 cm long, only one single example of around 70 cm) all display the same characteristic human facial features, and can be found in various collections from Florence to Turin, from Venice to Vilnius, from London to Berlin, from Budapest to Uppsala, from Stockholm to Bristol. In many cases these mummies are inside a rectangular coffin made of re-used pieces of ancient coffins.

The Vatican Museums' Diagnostic Laboratory for Conservation and Restoration has carried out a series of scientific analyses: non-destructive image analyses (induced ultraviolet fluorescent light, FT-IR, IR false-colour imaging, XRF, digital radiography) and destructive analyses (micrographic analysis of cross-section, thin section petrography, SEM-EDS and  $\mu$ XRF) of several samples of pigment and gesso so as to better understand the origin of these similar mummies. Some microsamples of the brown substance covering the whole mummy have also been investigated (FT-IR, CG-MS). Some samples of bandages and of bone (taken from a break at the level of the feet) were examined with C14 radiocarbon dating. The two mummies were sent for CT scanning at the University of Messina. In the light of the results and of comparison with recent analyses of other small mummies a new interpretation has been put forward.

The study of these 'Pseudo-Mummies' has been carried out as part of the *Vatican Mummy Project*, set up in 2006 and directed by Alessia Amenta, with the aim of cataloguing, studying and restoring the collection of human mummies held in the Egyptian Department of the Vatican Museums.

### ***Offering lists in the large Late Period shaft tombs at Abusir***

*Ladislav Bareš (Prague)*

Although the large Late Period tombs known so far from the Abusir cemetery had been built during a short span of time at the very end of Dynasty 26, they show a remarkably considerable number of

divergences, be it the orientation of the deceased, the arrangement and decoration of their superstructures and burial chambers, the shape and decoration of the sarcophagi, etc. The use and position of the offering lists, an almost inevitable feature of any ancient Egyptian tomb except for the poorest ones, differs in the large LP tombs at Abusir as well. While in the tombs of Udjahorresnet and Padihor tiny lists with only a few items are preserved, two large and extensive lists appear in the burial chamber of Iufaa, in addition to a number of smaller such lists that are inserted among the texts on his sarcophagi. On the other hand, no offering list appears in the burial chamber of Menekhibnekau, whereas numerous fragments of an offering list/offering lists(?) attest to its/their existence in the now completely demolished superstructure. In the paper, various questions connected with the existence of the offering lists in the large Late Period shaft tombs at Abusir are discussed and some possible explanations concerning their different appearance and use are suggested.

***TT 414 Revisited: New insights into Theban mortuary practices during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE***  
*Julia Budka (Vienna)*

The 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and the early Ptolemaic Period mark an important turning point within the Late Egyptian funerary culture, traceable in funerary texts, objects, tombs and temples. The rich material from the Asasif datable to the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE is of special importance, since it attests to a Theban revival that recalls many aspects of the culture of the 26th Dynasty. Similar as it was already noted for private and royal sculpture, Saite funerary architecture and burial equipment were also reused and imitated during this era.

TT 414, the Saite tomb of Ankh-Hor, excavated by the Austrian mission under the direction of Manfred Bietak in the 1970ties, provides ready case studies to illustrate Theban mortuary practices during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The material found in this tomb, attesting to its long use-life from Saite times until the Roman era and Coptic age, is currently being restudied. Because of their unusually secure context, the objects from TT 414 may serve as important terms of reference in order to analyse the numerous objects without provenience in museum collections throughout the world.

This paper aims to illustrate by selected finds from TT 414 (coffins, cartonnage, wooden boxes and papyri) some of the most important aspects of Theban funerary culture in the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and the early Ptolemaic Period. The specific reuse of Saite monumental tombs in the Asasif will be discussed, focusing on connections, interrelationships and developments between the 26th, the 30th Dynasties and Ptolemaic times. The gradual merging of cultic activities in Theban temples, rituals during local festivals, especially Osirian processions, and funerary cult executed at private tombs will be stressed and highlighted by objects from TT 414.

***Mummies' sexual identity and sexuality in the hereafter. Body restoration, ritual and religious belief***  
*Alessandra Colazilli (Rome)*

During Late and Graeco-Roman Egypt mummy restoration was a common practice finalized to the well preservation of the body, in order to guarantee a new life in the hereafter. Artificial prosthesis and body shaping were realized when deceased's corpse was not considered to be in good condition to attempt the afterlife. Being a prerequisite to the reanimation expected in the next world, dead's corpse had to be intact also in its sexual organs.

Since Old Kingdom genitals were carefully wrapped or modeled but embalmers of the Twenty-first dynasty were particularly gifted in this respect, which gradually deteriorated in quality over the course of the Third Intermediate period. During Graeco-Roman period mummies were equipped with gold nipples or phalli as appropriate. Mummies with clear sign of restoration and re-wrapping could show also sexual reconstruction or gender reassignment. To prevent damages and to

repair were the main purposes of Egyptian embalmers. The dead body could be given back all the faculties it had had use of during life, especially sexual vigour.

During embalming process priests were also present to play magical spells before the deceased was wrapped, evoking Osiris' myth, whose body parts were reunited and reanimated and whose missing phallus was reconstructed by the goddess Isis and magically reanimated. The concept of sexuality in funerary beliefs was also underlined by the presence of spells evoking sex and placed in the coffin of the deceased, erotic activities in the hereafter were stimulated by reciting a description of ideal situations and a deceased man was given a concubine figure to accompany him, to stimulate his virility and ensure rebirth.

So the real embalmers' aim was not only to preserve the corpse but also to give a chance of immortality by restoring every part which needed to be reintegrate to a have a complete life and mobility in the next world. And that life included also sex.

### ***The Hypocephal of the Doorkeeper of the House of Gold of Amun (Inv. No. 238102). An attempt to reconstruct the missing registers***

*Piotr Czerkwiński (Warsaw)*

In the National Museum in Warsaw one can find a hypocephal, a very unique object and the only one of its kind in the Polish collection. The hypocephal arrived in Poland in the XIXth century and was later handed over to the National Museum along with a mummy and sarcophagus, probably from the area of the Theban necropolis. The hypocephal belongs to a group of amulets, which appeared in the Late Period burial customs and was a part of funerary equipment of priests related primarily to the worship of the god Amun. The Warsaw example was discovered in 1988 during the "excavations" inside the coffin belonging to the priest Amenhotep. Due to a small number of hypocephalus amulets they are studied relatively rarely. Scholars dealing with them analyzed both function of deities depicted, as well as the scenes appearing on the registers which refer to mythology and the Book of the Dead.

Sometimes, however, we do not have fully preserved objects. This is also the case of the hypocephal from Warsaw. Originally the iconography of this hypocephal was rich; black and red decorations on a yellow background. Approximately forty percent is currently preserved, which can cause problem for the future studies.

When you go into a detailed analysis of the iconography of these amulets you can see that a large group of them may be categorized according to number of registers and scenes appearing on them. The fully preserved analogies allow for restoration of the missing scenes, which can be very helpful in further studies on these rare objects. A better understanding of the hypocephali will contribute importantly to our knowledge of the Late Period burial customs and tomb equipment.

### ***Creativity and Tradition in the coffin of Padiamun (Liverpool 53.72): a case-study of 25th Dynasty mortuary practice***

*Alain Dautant (Bordeaux)*

*Rita Lucarelli (Bonn)*

*Luca Miatello (Como)*

*Cynthia May Sheikholeslami (Cairo)*

The early 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty coffin of Padiamun (Liverpool 53.72) was acquired in Egypt by James Burton. Padiamun and his brother Nehemsumontu (whose coffins are in Boulogne-sur-Mer and Grenoble) and their father were chiefs of the navigation of the great river barque of Amun in Thebes, and his mother was descended from a scribe of the estate of a Divine Adoratrix of Amun (also attested on a stela in New York). The design of the coffin is characterized by a high degree of creativity in the combination of iconographic elements and texts from the mortuary traditions of the Litany of the

Sun and the Book of the Dead. The theme of solar-Osirian unity that characterizes coffins, stelae, and funerary papyri dating to the Third Intermediate Period from the Theban region is evident in the interior decoration. Figures from the Litany of the Sun, flanking an anthropomorphic *djed* pillar at the base, associate the deceased with the sun and Osiris. The mummiform deities from the Litany of the Sun reveal a demonic character as well, since most of them hold knives, recalling the function of the *s3.w*, the “protectors” of the body of Osiris, represented on papyri and coffins already in the Middle Kingdom. Elaborate solar images and symbols and the figure of Nut at the head end emphasize the solar rebirth of the deceased. Demonic guardians are also the main motif of the external decoration of the coffin box, which consists of an abridged version of vignettes and texts from the Book of the Dead Spell 145. Book of the Dead motifs related to the final judgment occur on the lid exterior along with the text of Spell 125. This paper will present the preliminary results of the ongoing study of this coffin, including discussion of the family relationships of Padiamun and the acquisition history of his coffin, and the peculiarities of the iconography and texts, contextualizing them within the funerary religion of Third Intermediate Period Thebes.

### ***A Late/Ptolemaic Coffin Miscellany***

*Aidan Dodson (Bristol)*

The chronology of post-Saite coffins remains distinctly problematic, with only a handful of pieces that have any means of precise dating. In contrast with those from the Third Intermediate Period, there are very few chronological ‘hooks’ to allow any kind of granular chronological typology to be constructed. One of the few coffin-ensembles that have been credibly linked into a reign is that of Hornedjyotef in the British Museum (EA6677–79) to the reign of Ptolemy III. Given their close similarity to this group, the ensemble of Neswau in Stockholm (NME 005–7), must be of the same date. Also in Stockholm is a very usual piece, a mid-Eighteenth Dynasty ‘black’ coffin, which was externally partly remodelled and externally repainted in Ptolemaic times.

Another issue with Late/Ptolemaic coffins is that many are without meaningful provenance, having come from private collections. One which is from a private source, but whose place of discovery is known, is that of Hapymen (Stockholm MME 1980-002), from Memphis and thus a good means of identifying ‘northern coffins’. Another piece from a private source is Bristol H4308, the lid of coffin of Steward of the Temple of Hathor, Lady of Qusiya, Peditehuty. In this case it is possible to assume that piece came from Meir, the cemetery of Qusiya=Cusae. On the basis of iconographic similarities to H4308, it is possible that Edinburgh A.1910.97, belonging to one Irthorru, might also be attributed to the site of Meir as well.

### ***Aspects solaires et osiriens dans les croyances et les pratiques funéraires thébaines de l’époque tardive***

*Silvia Einaudi (Montpellier)*

Le programme décoratif et textuel de plusieurs tombes monumentales tardives de la nécropole thébaine (Assasif) montre l’existence de croyances et pratiques funéraires, qui sont caractérisés par une forte complémentarité d’éléments solaires et osiriens. Ce « dualisme » se manifeste souvent dans la division des plans des tombes en deux « parties », selon un axe longitudinal qui sépare la section plus osirienne/nocturne de celle plus solaire/diurne du monument.

L’union des éléments solaires et osiriens, qui remonte au Nouvel Empire, s’affirme en particulier dans la théologie thébaine de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire et de l’époque tardive quand, selon la définition d’Assmann, Rê et Osiris sont « komplementäre Aspekte einer einzigen Gottheit ».

***Re-use and modification of a saff-tomb on the south slope of el-Khokha, Thebes***  
*Zoltán Imre Fábrián (Budapest)*

On the el-Khokha hillock, in the central part of the Theban necropoleis, where the most ancient decorated tombs of the area are known, recent excavations have also pointed out *saff*-tombs with pillared façades. In one of these that can be dated to the First Intermediate Period or the early Middle Kingdom, 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* 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. After an earthquake, however this was also used as a burial chamber. These architectural modifications can be regarded as a special type of secondary burial places. The analysis of the mostly fragmentary and rather mixed material of the shaft tomb, which contained gilded faience amulets, Grecian amphorae and *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.

***Multiheaded protector of alive or dead?***  
*Grzegorz First (Krakow)*

One of the most significant feature of Late Egyptian religious iconography is presence of images with plurimorphy of attributes, divine and animal symbols, which constitute complicated hybrid representations. The so-called pantheistic or polymorphic deities, which in visual form are attested from beginnings of Late Period to the Roman times in statuettes, amulets, vignettes of papyri and on healing statues, are group strongly connected with magical message, readable especially in everyday life.

The term „pantheistic deity” traditionally refers to a representation which includes a conglomeration of human and animal elements such as heads of various animal species and other animal body parts such as wings, tails, genital and legs. Representations of Pantheos also consist of numerous embedded magical symbols, such as a snake eating its own tail (ouroboros) or knives and royal insignia, which are held by the deity. Some symbols like eyes, wings and arms are often multiplied. This kind of representation is shown *en face*, which is rare for Egyptian iconography and hence emphasises its unique character. The combination and common overload of various attributes is another characteristic feature.

The debate concerning this polymorphism argues, on the one hand, a possible seeking of a personal, universal god with a solar, hidden aspect; on the other hand, a magical, practical dimension, providing protection against evil powers and dangers.

Traditionally, researches on this phenomenon concentrate on magical, “live” aspects but some questions can point out that idea visualized in the image was also present in practices with horizon beyond the “real” world. This plot can indicate new perspective of research and can enlarge our knowledge of mortuary thought in Late Period and Graeco – Roman Egypt.

***Late Period and Greco-Roman burials of the religious association at the animal necropolis of Tuna el-Gebel***  
*Mélanie Flossmann-Schütze (München)*

Beside the underground galleries with animal burials and sanctuaries for local gods, the animal necropolis at Tuna el-Gebel comprises the archaeological remains of a religious association, namely a huge settlement at Kom el-Loli and a small cemetery. The oldest known burial of this association

belongs to the first prophet of Thot, Ankh-Hor, who probably lived in the Saite or Persian periods and has been buried amidst the animal mummies in the subterranean parts of the Ibiotapheion. In the Greco-Roman period, members of this association were buried in stone and mud brick tombs located along the processional way leading from the settlement to the animal necropolis. These tombs are situated among the living quarters of this settlement and obviously do not belong to the well known Petosiris necropolis in the south of the archaeological site.

In this paper, I will present current research of the project 'Tuna el-Gebel' of the Institute for Egyptology at Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich, on the funerary traditions of this religious association: the tomb equipment of Ankh-Hor comprises a sarcophagus, a wooden coffin, a funerary mask and further mummy applications as well as canopies, shabtis, and faience vessels. Of so called temple tombs, dating to the Ptolemaic period, like the tomb TG2004.G2 or the tomb of Djed-thot-ef-ankh only the lower stone layers remained. On the other hand, the pyramid shaped tomb TG2006.G7 and the mud brick tomb TG2006.G6, both dating to the Roman period, were well preserved and contained almost complete funerary equipments consisting of wooden funerary beds, gilded stucco mummies with glass inlays, mummy masks, stucco statues and amulets, glass, metal and pottery vessels, as well as animal mummies.

The finds of the Roman period tombs, especially the decoration of the gilded stucco mummies and the wooden beds, provide insights into the funerary beliefs of this period. Finally, some burial rituals will be reconstructed by means of the archaeological material and by comparing this decoration with scenes of other funerary beds and tombs from Greco-Roman Egypt as well with contemporary funerary literature.

### ***Jeder nach seinem Geschmack- römerzeitliche Bestattungen in Abusir el Meleq***

*Renate Germer (Hamburg)*

In den Jahren 1902 - 1905 grub Otto Rubensohn in Abusir el Meleq. Wie mit der ägyptischen Altertümmerverwaltung abgesprochen, war sein einziges Ziel die Gewinnung von Papyrus-Kartonage, eine systematische Freilegung der Nekropolen war nicht beabsichtigt.

Dennoch geben seine Grabungstagebücher umfangreiche Informationen zu den von ihm aufgedeckten römerzeitliche Gräbern und den darin gefundenen Särgen, Kartonagen und Mumienporträts, von denen ein großer Teil nach der Fundteilung an das Ägyptische Museum Berlin gelangte. Nur wenige Stücke davon sind allerdings bisher publiziert.

Die Särge zeigen eine große Vielfalt in der Form, der Dekoration und Beschriftung, ebenso die Kartonagen, von denen leider viele ohne vorherige Dokumentation zur Papyrusgewinnung aufgelöst wurden. Die Fundsituation und Ausgestaltung der erhaltenen Objekte wird jetzt zusammengestellt und dokumentiert.

### ***Zur Einordnung einer Gruppe später Holzsärge aus el-Hibeh. Aktualisierter Forschungsstand und Perspektiven***

*Beatrix Gessler-Löhr (Heidelberg)*

Trotz aller Fortschritte bei der Bearbeitung von Särgen aus dem ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend bestehen für einige Fundkomplexe vor allem ausserhalb Thebens nach wie vor erheblich voneinander abweichende Datierungsansätze. Dies trifft insbesondere auf die Holzsärge aus dem mittelägyptischen el-Hibeh zu, einem am östlichen Nilufer gelegenen, in diesem Zeitraum strategisch wichtigen Knotenpunkt im Grenzgebiet zwischen Unter- und Oberägypten. Anders als bei dem Friedhof von Gamhud auf der Westseite gegenüber mit seinem charakteristischen Sargtypus (sogen. Bauchsärge) und zeitlich begrenzter Belegungsdauer, kamen in den diversen Nekropolen von Hibeh im Gebiet der griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Stadtruinen, inner- und außerhalb der Stadtmauer und in den angrenzenden Felsabhängen die unterschiedlichsten Grablagen von der 22.

Dynastie bis weit in koptische Zeit zutage. Vom Altertum bis heute – zuletzt infolge der arabischen Revolution – fanden massive Raubgrabungen statt, und für das weiträumige, im Bereich der Stadtruinen viele Meter hoch anstehende, jeweils nur punktuell ausgegrabene und danach immer wieder durchwühlte Gelände liegen nur wenige, summarische Grabungsberichte vor. So sind auch neue Untersuchungen zu Särgen aus Hibeh weitgehend auf das umfangreiche, nach Florenz gelangte Museumsmaterial aus den italienischen Grabungen der 1930er Jahre angewiesen (*G. Botti, Le Casse di Mummie e i Sarcofagi da el Hibeh, Firenze 1958*). Der seit langem stagnierende Forschungsstand wurde erst mit John H. Taylors Vergleichsstudie zur Datierung eines speziellen Sargtyps in die 22. – 25. Dyn. und der Zuweisung etlicher Florentiner Säрге an dessen unterägyptische Variante wesentlich vorangebracht (*in: Broekman – Demarée – Kaper (Hgg.), The Libyan Period in Egypt, Leuven 2009, 375-415*).

Für eine weitere, noch nicht genauer definierte Gruppe anthropomorpher, bemalter Holzsärge mit jeweils mehreren Exemplaren in Hildesheim und Wien (aus einer 2tägigen Versuchsgrabung Hermann Junkers 1912) und Einzelstücken in anderen Museen reicht die diskutierte Zeitspanne immer noch von der 3. Zwischenzeit bis in die mittlere Ptolemäerzeit, umfasst also einen Zeitraum von ca. 1000 Jahren. Die qualitativ durchschnittlich gut gezimmerten Säрге mit teilweise aussergewöhnlichen Bildmotiven und farbenfroher, zuweilen etwas ungeschickter handwerklicher Ausführung lassen sich höchst wahrscheinlich lokalen, provinziellen Werkstätten in und um Hibeh zuschreiben. Aufgrund von einzigartigen Mumifizierungsszenen wie der Leichenwäsche über einem Wasserbecken und der Balsamierung des aufgebahrten Leichnams erweckten zwei der Hildesheimer Säрге seit langem besondere Aufmerksamkeit, denen jetzt ein drittes Exemplar in Wien anzuschließen ist.

Die kontroversen Datierungsvorschläge (inzwischen überwiegend saitischperserzeitlich *versus* ptolemäisch) dürften in erster Linie auf den eklatanten Mangel an Vergleichsstücken aus anderen Nekropolen zurückzuführen sein. Zudem gelangten die durchweg aus Massengräbern geborgenen Säрге entweder ganz ohne Beigaben, die als Datierungshilfe dienen könnten, in die Museen, oder wurden getrennt transportiert und lassen sich nicht mehr zuordnen.

Von daher kommt dem 1914 während der Heidelberger und Freiburger Grabungen unter Leitung von Hermann Ranke gefundenen Ensemble aus Innen- und Außensarg, der damals komplett erhaltenen Mumie mit figürlich dekoriertem Perlennetz, einer Ptah-Sokar-Osiris-Figur und einem (von zwei) Uschebtikästchen mit obeliskenförmigem Aufsatz (bis auf den Kastensarg alles in Freiburg) eine Schlüsselrolle zu (*H. Ranke, Koptische Friedhöfe bei Karara und der Amontempel Scheschonks I bei El-Hibe, Berlin/Leipzig 1926*). Grabungsfotos und Angaben aus dem Grabungstagebuch im Archiv des Heidelberger Instituts liefern im Vergleich mit anderweitigen Fundberichten zu Hibeh wichtige Hinweise auf den einstigen archäologischen Kontext.

Die noch unpublizierten Säрге dieser Gruppe sowie mehrere, als zugehörig erkennbare Stücke aus dem Kunsthandel und in diversen Museen und Privatsammlungen erweitern die Materialbasis nach meiner Kenntnis auf derzeit mehr als 20 Exemplare (ohne die durch Fundteilung nach Kairo gelangten Säрге, einige vermutlich unter den *Coffins with scenes and texts, Late period, JE 66783-66790, in: PM IV.125A, Griffith Institute Oxford, pdf version 3 June 2011*). Anhand von Form und Machart, Farbgebung und – soweit verfügbar – einiger ikonographischer, textlicher und genealogischer Kriterien soll für die mir zugänglichen Exemplare ansatzweise eine typologische Abfolge versucht und eine chronologische Eingrenzung vorgeschlagen werden. Ein institutionell wie national übergreifendes Projekt zur Dokumentation des auf zahlreiche Standorte in verschiedenen Ländern verstreuten Bestands unter Zuhilfenahme neuer naturwissenschaftlicher und archäometrischer Untersuchungsmethoden erscheint für eine grundlegende Bearbeitung als dringendes Desiderat.

***Museum of Fine Arts Budapest Inv.-No. 51.2523 and 51.2534: Integrated Sets of Model Vessels in Burials of the 26th Dynasty in Lower Egypt***  
*Silke Grallert (Berlin)*

The burials of high ranking officials of the 26th dynasty in Lower Egypt usually contain a very limited range of objects as burial equipment. Besides an extensive mummy adornment, canopic jars and ushabtis undisturbed tombs of this period always include model vessels, made mainly of faience and fixed as groups of 4 or more seldom of 10 vessels on a common base. Many museums and collections, the Museum of Fine Arts Budapest included, own this class of objects, often being part of their oldest stock and, thus, unfortunately lacking information on their provenance.

Taking the two examples from the Museum of Fine Arts Budapest as a starting point, the author will present systematized objects of this type as compared with other model vessels and discuss their archaeological and functional context in rituals, such as the Opening of the Mouth. The author will also reconstruct a possible process of their origin from mural representations and their emergence as material objects in the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty burial chambers in addition to other burial goods.

***Le rôle de Nout dans la renaissance du défunt d'après le sarcophage de Ny-Her (Caire 8390)***  
*Nadine Guilhou (Montpellier)*

Le sarcophage de Pa-en-Horemheb, dit Ny-Her, conservé au Musée du Caire, fait partie des sarcophages anthropoïdes de pierre noire d'époque tardive. Il comporte une riche décoration, en particulier sur le couvercle. Interface entre l'intérieur et l'extérieur, celui-ci développe à l'extérieur l'accueil et la protection du défunt par toute une série de génies gardiens. L'arrivée du défunt parmi eux a été rendue possible par le rituel funéraire et par l'intervention de Nout, dont la figure occupe l'intérieur du couvercle. Un hymne, inscrit sur la robe de la déesse, lui est adressé par le défunt. Tandis que sur les parois latérales, le ritualiste, s'adressant au défunt, explicite le rôle de la déesse. La communication s'attachera, à partir de la traduction de ces textes originaux, à mettre en évidence ce rôle de Nout, rendant son intégrité au cadavre et replaçant le défunt dans le monde des astres.

***Iufaa's Serpentine Bestiary: Some Notions of the Underworld in the Tomb of a Late Period Priest***  
*Jiří Janák (Prague)*  
*Renata Landgráfová (Prague)*

The shaft tomb of Iufaa at Abusir dates to the turn of the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> dynasties and the extent of its interior decoration is unique among Late Period shaft tombs. Only the tomb of Menekhibnekau at Abusir and the Theban tomb of Padiamenipe (TT33) contain a similar range and extent of texts and representations.

Almost all available spaces are fully decorated with hieroglyphic texts and images in the tomb of Iufaa – the northern, southern and eastern walls (but not the ceiling) of the burial chamber, the complete outer and inner surface of the outer sarcophagus (but not its lid), and the complete outer and inner surface of the inner sarcophagus (including its lid). The western wall of the burial chamber was also planned to be fully decorated, but due to Iufaa's premature death, it remained unfinished – the upper part is carved, the southern half of the lower part is painted in red, and the northern half of the lower part seems never to have borne any decoration.

The unfinished western wall of Iufaa's burial chamber, as well as the western part of the northern wall, contain a number of representations of snakes and snake-like creatures as well as texts pertaining to them. Snakes similar to some of these creatures can be found in the 6<sup>th</sup> hour of the Amduat, that is, the deepest regions of the Underworld, whereas others have been identified on the astronomical ceiling at Esna, as well as in Papyrus Jumilhac.

The paper presents an overview of the snakes that can be found on the walls of the shaft tomb of Iufaa and deals with their importance and interpretations. Special attention will be paid to the transmission of these snakes to Iufaa's tomb, the changes they underwent in the process of transmission (which are especially apparent in the Amduat examples), and their further transmission into the Ptolemaic tradition.

### ***The Gamhud Funerary Material in Regional Context***

*Katalin Kóthay (Budapest)*

In 1907 seventy anthropoid wooden coffins, as well as numerous additional funerary artefacts, were found in the Ptolemaic cemetery of Gamhud, Middle Egypt, by an Austro-Hungarian expedition. A considerable part of the finds (including twenty-five anthropoid coffins) were shipped to Budapest and donated to the Hungarian National Museum by Fülöp Bäck, sponsor of the excavation. This material was transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest in 1934. A number of funerary objects from Gamhud found their way to museum collections outside Hungary (e.g. Cairo, Vienna, and Krakow). Today approximately two-third of the coffins are known, whose stylistic study offers a rare insight into Ptolemaic funerary arts production.

The coffins and mummy trappings (cartonnages and painted linen shrouds) represent a number of iconographic types that can be attributed to different workshops or groups of artisans learning/working together. Funerary objects of the same types (and sometimes apparently attesting to the same artisans' hands) also appear at other contemporary sites in the region, suggesting an intricate local network of artisans and consumers of funerary objects in the region. In this paper I make an attempt at reconstructing some aspects of this network.

### ***The coffin from Gamhud and its mummy in the Museum of Ethnology Burgdorf (Switzerland)***

*Alexandra Küffer (St. Gallen)*

The Museum of Ethnology Burgdorf owns a coffin with its mummy that was purchased from the Egyptian Museum Cairo in 1926. According to the inventory book, it originally came from Upper Egypt and belonged to a high official of the 26th Dynasty. The wooden coffin measures over two metres and is the largest ancient Egyptian coffin in a Swiss museum. Unfortunately, the mummy is in very poor condition and has fallen into single parts.

In the context of the Swiss Coffin Project (Schweizer Sargprojekt), the coffin and its mummy were studied and examined for the first time by an interdisciplinary team of scientists, consisting of Egyptologists, physical anthropologists and specialists in forensic medicine. Additionally, the coffin wood and the mummy wrappings were radiocarbon - dated at the Institute of Particle Physics of the ETH Zurich.

The detailed study of the iconographic repertoire on the coffin shows that it originally comes from Gamhud, a lesser known Ptolemaic necropolis in Middle Egypt, where it was excavated by Smolenski/Kamal in 1907 and brought to the Cairo Museum. The mummy was covered by a painted linen shroud of which only a small fragment survives. The examination of the deceased's body, especially its skull, points towards a female person. This would be consistent with the presumed name "Neith has come" written on the coffin.

The paper will give a brief summary of the history and acquisition of the coffin and will present its main iconographic elements. A special focus will also be placed on the study of the mummy remains as well as its wrappings and coverings. The last two will be investigated in detail for the first time in May 2014.

***“From Chaos to coherence”: Anthropological analysis of commingled human remains from Tomb Saff-1 at El-Khoha Hill in Qurna***  
*Orsolya László (Budapest)*

Anthropological investigations of the human bone material from the excavation of the Hungarian Archaeological Mission at the southern slope of el-Khoha Hill was started in 2011 and continued in 2014. The analysis was completed on the comingled anthropological material of presumably secondary burials found without clear archaeological context but accompanied by scattered TIP and LP finds in the FIP/early MK Tomb *Saff-1*. The human remains were sorted using morphological techniques, including the assessment of the minimum number of individuals (MNI), as well as standard techniques to estimate age, sex and stature. For the whole material, the estimated MNI was 82. During the excavation, the finds of certain parts in Tomb *Saff-1* were separated according to the characteristically different architectural units. My examination was started following these smaller areas. The results show whether the separation is relevant in the case of the human remains, or the material is more mingled than expected, and if it is, in which areas. The overall high ratio of children (MNI=29) in the material is striking and our results also show that the inner parts of the tomb contained more sub-adults. As for general pathological observations, there was a high occurrence of certain pathological alterations, while others were lacking – possibly a characteristic of the population in this area. One of the most frequent phenomena was *endocranial lesions*, which could be found especially among children. It was extremely frequently detected at the axis of the inner part of *Saff-1* (MNI=4) and all the affected individuals were under the age of six. At the same time, inflammation of the periosteum (*periostitis*) on long bones was not detected, which might be the result of diffuse or local infections. Regarding dental problems, dental attrition was the most common, which appeared to be severe even in young ages. Symptoms of periodontal disease can also be found. With regard to dental problems, the presence of cysta/abscess and the high frequency of antemortem tooth loss were common.

***Re-visiting A.H. Rhind's pioneering excavation of an intact Roman Egyptian tomb at Thebes***  
*Margaret Maitland (Edinburgh)*

Although Sir Flinders Petrie is generally hailed as the Father of Egyptian Archaeology, Alexander Henry Rhind was probably the first person to pioneer archaeological techniques in Egypt almost thirty years earlier. This paper will present new archival research examining his progressive approaches in excavating the first intact tomb to be properly recorded—a Roman Egyptian burial in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. This stunning, provenanced burial group includes a funerary canopy, vaulted coffin, gilded mask and chaplet, and bilingual papyri, amongst other objects, now in the collection at National Museums Scotland. The assemblage provides a remarkable record of the changing funerary beliefs of the era, combining decorative motifs, symbols, and practices from both the Classical and ancient Egyptian worlds. This paper will reassess Rhind's excavation and original analysis of the tomb, as well as re-examining the burial group as whole with the addition of recently rediscovered, previously unpublished textiles, including a painted Osirian shroud and inscribed mummy bandage.

***Reconstructing Ritual: Functional Analysis and Contextualisation of Ceramics from a Graeco-Roman Cemetery in Middle Egypt***  
*Mandy Mamedow (Berlin)*

For Graeco-Roman necropoleis in Egypt, it is rather exceptional that pottery finds can be clearly associated with a particular burial. Many conclusions about mortuary practices during this period are often based on rather isolated studies of architecture, art or texts. The Graeco-Roman material

culture studies of certain object groups from funerary contexts are still under-represented and particularly lack an important element with great potential: pottery.

In contrast to many other Egyptian sites of this period, the site of Tuna el-Gebel in Middle Egypt is a very rare and promising case for advanced studies of mortuary practices in the Graeco-Roman Period. Recent excavations in a cemetery located to the north of the famous Petosiris necropolis and east of the subterranean animal galleries uncovered a series of interments providing pottery finds that are clearly related to the funerary context. One of the tombs (TG2006.G6) contained *in situ* finds of intact vessels and several fragmented vessels that can be classified as grave goods, offerings and ritual devices.

Functional analysis and contextualisation of the ceramics found in this cemetery allow conclusions to be drawn on what happened when people died, were buried and commemorated. Ceramic objects played an important role for a number of different ritual activities such as libations, burning incense, lightening candles/lamps, offering food or dining with the dead. These ritual activities basically mirror common practices of ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman tradition. By the use of different elements, however, they bear evidence for acculturation processes and cultural exchange.

The aim of this paper is to reconstruct rituals based on the analysis of ceramic objects and to show how ceramics can be indicative for local traditions of and interregional influences on mortuary practices in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

### ***Burial of the sacred bull Apis in the cultic landscape of Memphis during the Late Period (664-332 B.C.)***

*Nenad Marković (Belgrade)*

The cult of the sacred bull Apis is probably one of the oldest and the most prominent in ancient Egypt: evidence for Apis bulls goes back to the first king of the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, Horus-Aha (c. 3000 B.C.); the last sacred bull was mentioned in the Panegyric to the Western Roman Emperor Honorius, written by Egypt-born poet Claudian in 398 A.D. The four principal events in life of the Apis bull were birth, installation, death and burial. Entombment of the sacred bull of Memphis, during lifetime associated with Ptah, the city's primary god, as "Living Apis, the herald of Ptah" and after death transformed into god Osiris as Osiris-Apis and Apis-Osiris respectively, required long preparation, usually for 70 days, which is described in the late Ptolemaic papyrus Wien KHM ÄS 3873 (dated between 125-75 B.C., but with archetype probably from the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty [664-526 B.C.]): (1) taking the corpse of animal from the stall to the so-called "House of Purification" (from 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> day), (2) the embalming itself in the so-called "House of Embalming" (from 5<sup>th</sup> to 68<sup>th</sup> day), (3) procession to and journey on the so-called "Lake of the Pharaoh", sojourn in the so-called "Tent of Purification" on the lakes shore and return to temple (69<sup>th</sup> day), (4) taking the mummy of bull in a elaborate procession from temple through the Anoubieion to the tomb, along the avenue of sphinx which formed the Serapeum way probably during the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (380-343 B.C.), and (5) interment into the underground galleries of Serapeum at the edge of desert in Saqqara (70<sup>th</sup> day). Exact dates of death and interment are known for eight sacred bulls during the Late Period (664-323 B.C.): from the reigns of Psamtik I (644 B.C.), Nekau (595 B.C.), Apries (578 B.C.), Amasis (548 B.C.), Darius I (518, 488 B.C.), Nephertes (398 B.C.) and Nectanebo II (359 B.C.). The aims of this paper are determination of the ceremonial route from temple of Ptah in Memphis, where the embalming took place, to the Serapeum, and place of mentioned ceremony in the elite culture of the city.

**Keywords:** Apis; Memphis; Late Period (664-332 BC); animal burial; Saqqara; Serapeum.

### ***The Osirian obelisk-shaped "reliquaries". New evidence from European collections***

*Simone Musso (Milan and Florence)*

*Simone Petacchi (Milan and Florence)*

The so-called "Osirian obelisk-shaped reliquaries" are a religious or cult objects dating from the Late Period/Ptolemaic and Roman Epoch. Some specimens are preserved in Italian and European collections and are the subject of this paper.

This type of small shrine, a combination of an enthroned/standing Osiris figure and an obelisk, deserves particular attention not only for their rarity of the composition, but also for of their cultural function, which is still not clear. They have been made both in wood and stone, and they are generally small and rough artistic artifacts.

Almost all have an inner cavity to hold items such as "relics", most probably associated with the cult of Osiris: fragments of inscribed papyrus, statuettes of deities (often Isis nursing Horus) and, in some cases, fetuses or organic material of human origin.

We do not have accurate data concerning their origin so that this lack does complicate the interpretation of their real function. Are they objects associated to the domestic cult? Are they "ex votos" placed in the temples? Are they part of the funerary equipments?

Anyway, it is clear that these objects, albeit modest objects, have a theological meaning: they show the close link between the sun god Re, symbolized by the obelisk and Osiris the god of the Underworld.

### ***New research in Roman mummy masks: The case example of the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts collection***

*Asja Müller (Kiel)*

Roman mummy masks belong to a group of objects that have been neglected by the scientific research for quite a long time. One of the reasons for this lacking interest is to be seen in the fact that the importance of the masks was overshadowed by similar kinds of funerary goods like the Roman mummy portraits. This results in the fact that the only monograph that analyzes the Roman mummy masks in their entirety has been written in 1974 by the Classical Archaeologist Günter Grimm. The focus of this book is directed to one feature of the masks' appearance, only: the hairstyles. However, there are a lot of additional elements on the masks and little is known about their circumstances of finding since most of them stem from the art trade.

Therefore, this paper aims to take the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts collection of Roman mummy masks (26 pieces, all but one unpublished, studied by the author of this abstract in December 2013) as a starting point to take a fresh look onto some of the major issues that are closely linked to this kind of objects. The presentation aims to discuss problems like the deceased's identity as displayed by the mask's garb in contrast to what is known of legal and ethnic identity from written sources. In order to avoid that the masks are regarded as isolated art objects only, like it has happened in the past, I will present possible methods of reconstructing the provenance and the catchment area of the workshops. Additionally, thanks to recent research in some of the main necropolises of Graeco-Roman Egypt (Tuna el-Gebel and Antinoopolis), new Roman mummy masks came to light whose archaeological contexts can be used to get a better insight into the masks' function in the funerary ritual.

***An Unprecedented Female Burial: Nesikhons, Thebes, Royal Cache TT 320 (ca 980 BCE)***  
*Maya Müller (Basel)*

The burial of Nesikhons, wife of the High Priest of Amun Pinedjem II in the Royal Cache (TT 320) is a complex case. It has not been properly interpreted, in my opinion, and I try to give a rough draft of a more plausible reconstruction.

Pinedjem II, High Priest of Amun in the mid 21st Dynasty, living in a time of political and economical trouble (civil war, tomb robbery), moreover of personal distress (death of his young wife Nesikhons), thinks of a new and secure form of burial: a tomb outside of the necropolis, hidden in the mountain on the bottom of a deep shaft, without any visible overground construction, made for his beloved wife Nesikhons and himself exclusively. He plans a singular personal document according to a new concept of divine life in the hereafter, valid for Nesikhons and himself only: a decree of Amun granting immediate deification at death. (Great hymn with theological definition of Amun; guaranteed state of a goddess for Nesikhons; guaranteed first class sustainment; a personalised variant of BD 30 eliminating any self-destructive action of Nesikhons's heart; guaranteed eternal affection of the spouses' Ba-souls for each other!).

Further innovative ideas for optimizing female afterlife can be deduced from two sets of richly painted coffins, both made for Pinedjem II's chief wife and sister Isetemkheb D. The second set was created after the first one had been used for Nesikhons at her premature death (Cairo CG 61030 and 61031). For this reason we have the unique chance of comparing two sets of coffins of extraordinary quality which were ordered by the same sponsor for the same person at an interval of a few years. Both sets are distinguished by a coherent, ambitious, and partly innovative iconographical programme, the second, even more elaborate, emphatically advancing specific innovative motifs occurring on the first one. The main theme is the deification of Isetemkheb D, frequently wearing the horned crown of Isis/Hathor. In many scenes she acts as a king performing the daily offering ritual in the temple, thus aiming at a new definition of a powerful female state in the hereafter.

This paper concentrates on the motives of innovative ideas: can they be understood, in our context, as the product of an eminent personality (Pinedjem II, Isetemkheb D?) meeting with exceptional political and personal conditions?

[For TT320 see: Graefe et al. (eds), *The Royal Cache TT 320: A Re-examination*, Cairo 2010; for texts: Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy*, Atlanta 2009; for iconography: Niwinski, *The Book of the Dead on the Coffins of the 21st Dynasty*, in: B. Backes (ed.), SAT 11, 2006, 245-264].

***The looting of a mummy: an opportunity to explore the wrappings.***  
*Cinzia Oliva (Turin)*

Mummy, Inv. 25004

Period: 973-847 B.C.

*Dimensions : cm 163 x 33 x 25*

The Mummy (unpublished) belongs to the Egyptian Section of the Vatican Museum and is a part of the "Vatican Mummy Project", which focuses on the study and conservation of the mummies collection, under the direction of Dr. Alessia Amenta, Curator of the Egyptian Dept. of the Vatican Museums.

In the past, most of the treatments given to materials coming from Egyptian tombs and sites, especially to mummies, paid more attention to what was inside the mummy than to the external textile wrappings.

The poor condition of the mummy was partly due to the natural ageing of the linen and partly to vandalism that it had been victim to in the past. Material had been lost from the head and

upper chest and on the feet as a result of deep circular cuts, that left part of the skull and chest uncovered.

However, this accidental and partial unwrapping allowed a deeper insight into the material used and the wrappings techniques. The mummy was wrapped in four different shrouds of linen, folded and positioned over the body and kept in place by a series of bandages of different width and weaving techniques.

Bandages, textiles and shrouds were studied and analysed during the course of the restoration work, with special attention given to technical data such as fibers torsion, weaving, fringe, stitches and seams, darning patches.

Also the wrapping techniques were studied and compared with other mummies of the same period.

Analyses were conducted on the whole mummy: a radio-carbon dating and x-ray of the body, while the fibers have been observed under optical microscope.

The main purpose of the conservation work has been the consolidation of textile and wrappings in order to maintain access to the material for further study and analyses.

### ***Tradition et innovation dans la littérature funéraire de Basse Époque. Le lever du soleil dans la tombe de Ouahibrê-nebâh***

*Isabelle Régen (Montpellier)*

Récemment mis en vente aux enchères, des fragments d'une paroi de calcaire proviennent de la tombe d'un dignitaire de Basse Époque, Ouahibrê-nebâh, un nom basilophore inconnu jusqu'alors. Ses titres le présentent à la fois comme un prospecteur de minéraux (*smnty*) et un dignitaire d'Héracléopolis (*ḥ3 n(y) Nn-n(y)-sw.t*).

Ces blocs conservent une composition originale évoquant le lever du soleil. En effet, le programme décoratif mêle la douzième heure du Livre de l'Amdouat, la douzième heure du Livre de la Nuit et plusieurs représentations de génies-gardiens armés de couteaux.

Cette synthèse textuelle résultant d'une mise en séquence nouvelle de compositions évoquant le cycle solaire illustre le travail de critique littéraire de savants de Basse Époque, entre tradition et innovation.

### ***The Aesthetics (and Ethics) of the Egyptian Mummy***

*Christina Riggs (Norwich)*

The gulf between modern and ancient ideas of what a mummy is — and is for — has shaped Egyptological scholarship, research priorities, and museum displays for 200 years. Using examples from Late Period, Ptolemaic, and Roman Egypt, this paper frames the Egyptian mummy in terms of its aesthetics, contrasting what we can deduce about ancient aesthetic values (e.g. colour, materiality) with a modern aesthetic based on anatomical and forensic representation. This approach not only suggests new avenues of research into mummification and other funerary practices, but also raises questions of ethics in relation to the analysis, interpretation, and presentation of mummified remains. The paper builds on work presented in the speaker's most recent book, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt* (Bloomsbury 2014).

### ***Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures: evolving tradition through space and time***

*Carlo Rindi Nuzzolo (Florence)*

Wooden funerary figures representing the deceased with the features of the triune god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris became a distinctive element in the funerary furniture of elite burials dating from the Third Intermediate Period onwards. Such artifacts, usually placed next to the coffin and inscribed with

specific invocations, were considered an element of deep connection with the deceased, granting him resurrection and life everlasting beyond death.

The custom of placing Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures inside the tombs reaches a climax during the Late and Ptolemaic periods during which they were often mass-produced, falling eventually into disuse with the approaching of the Roman era. During this time frame, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures are subject to changes in typology, style and religious significance. This paper, taking into account geographical and chronological factors, intends to present a brief analysis of these changes, focusing on the morphological, structural, and typological aspects involved in this evolution.

***Bemerkungen zu den „weißen Särgen“ der 25. – 26. Dynastie aus den Grabungen der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin in Abusir el-Meleq (1902-1905)***

*Sabine Schmidt (Berlin)*

Zwischen 1901 und 1907 führte Otto Rubensohn im Auftrag der Berliner Papyruskommission und der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin Grabungen in Ägypten durch. Das Ziel war die Beschaffung von Papyri und Papyruskartonagen für die Berliner Museen. Die Ausgrabungen fanden in einigen römischen Siedlungen im Fayum, der Nekropole von Abusir el-Meleq, in Eschmunein sowie auf der Insel Elephantine statt. Neben Papyri traten ebenso zahlreiche andere Funde aus siedlungsarchäologischen Kontexten und Friedhöfen zutage, die bisher wie die Unternehmungen selbst weitestgehend unpubliziert blieben. Ein am Ägyptischen Museum Berlin angesiedeltes Projekt hat sich die Aufgabe gestellt, die nun vor über 100 Jahren beendeten Papyrusgrabungen unter der Leitung Otto Rubensohns aufzuarbeiten. Im Zentrum des Vortrages stehen – neben einem kurzen Überblick über die Papyrusgrabungen Rubensohns – die Funde des spätzeitlichen Friedhofs von Abusir el-Meleq. Hier soll besonders für die Gruppe der "weißen Säрге", die in die 25. bis 26. Dynastie datiert werden, erste Ergebnisse der Bearbeitung dieses Sargtyps unter Einbeziehung der in den Grabungstagebüchern beschriebenen Fundkontexte präsentiert werden. Vor allem die Halskrägengestaltung dieser Säрге erlaubt die Einteilung in drei in Abusir el-Meleq vertretene Typen. Alle Stücke sind sich in ihren gestalterischen Elementen und der Konstruktion so ähnlich, dass von einer einzigen Werkstatt, die vielleicht nahe der Nekropole angesiedelt war, ausgegangen werden kann. Auf einigen in den letzten 40 Jahren im Kunsthandel angebotenen Särgen finden sich vergleichbare Dekorationselemente, die eine Zuordnung dieser Stücke zur Nekropole von Abusir el-Meleq möglich erscheinen lassen. In die Betrachtung dieser Sarggruppe sollen ebenso bisher kaum bekannte Ptah-Sokar-Osiris-Figuren einbezogen werden, die das Dekorationsschema der „weißen Säрге“ aufnehmen.

***Once more on the Soter Tomb and the Soter Group***

*Gábor Schreiber (Budapest)*

The famous burial equipment of the so-called Soter family, now dispersed among many European museums, was discovered in the 1820's at an unknown location in the Theban cemetery. Based on circumstantial evidence and the fragment of a painted funerary shroud, comparable in style to those associated with the Soter burials, László Kákósy argued in 1995 for the original find place of the whole lot to be identified with Theban Tomb 32, originally a Ramesside temple tomb constructed for one Djehutymes in the reign of Ramesses II. Kákósy's theory gained an immediate positive reception from other researchers and is also widely accepted today. Besides pointing out some weak points in this theory, it will be shown that TT 32 still remains a likely candidate for the Soter Tomb, especially since during the course of the study of the archaeological material from TT 32 remnants of at least two further contemporaneous burials have been identified.

The presentation will also give a brief overview of the Roman burial equipment excavated in nearby TT -400-, which not only indicates that the el-Khokha cemetery was one of the nuclei of the

contemporary Theban necropolis but also suggests that the local dialect of funerary art exemplified by the Soter finds continued into the reign of Antoninus Pius.

***Pre-texts of Funerary Rituals: Royal Liturgy, Temple Liturgy, Funerary Liturgy***  
*Martin Stadler (Würzburg)*

The subject of the paper may also be summarized under the heading 'classification of funerary texts' because it addresses the issue of how funerary ritual texts can be distinguished from other ritual texts. This starts with the question whether 'First' and 'Second Document for Breathing' are always linked to identical texts or whether 'Document for Breathing' should be considered as a denomination of a genre rather than a title for a specific text. The text which Egyptologists commonly call the 'Second Document for Breathing', and its often neglected roots lead over to the next topic to be treated here: the royal ritual. There is little doubt about the fact that temple and funerary rituals are akin, but apart from sporadic references to an origin in royal contexts the article pleads to appreciate more systematically the possible roots of funerary texts in ultimately ceremonies to be conducted around the king. Rather than providing such a systematic study here, I have selected the so-called Second Document for Breathing, the Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land and the Book of Traversing Eternity as three examples to explore – more or less speculatively and with the intention to be thought provoking – the potential of such an approach.

***The image of scroll on the vignettes of the Book of the Dead***  
*Mykola Tarasenko (Kyiv)*

Illustrations from the Book of the Dead (BD) showing papyrus scroll (hieroglyph  / Y1 / *md3.t*) are examined in the report.

Depicted in the documents of the “Theban edition” is a rolled scroll in the hand of the deceased on the vignettes of Ch. 21, 41, 42, 96, 103 and 104. The vignettes of Ch. 1, showing a funeral procession, represent an unrolled scroll in the priest’s hands, who is reading funeral spells (4 documents).

In the manuscripts, belonging to Late tradition, the image of the rolled scroll in the deceased hand is characteristic for iconography of Ch. 1 (shroud Louvre N. 3138), 25 (about 80 documents) and 52 (*pWn-nfr* Paris Louvre N. 5450; *pIi-m-htp* New York MMA 35.9.20). In several cases, the scroll is depicted in the hand of the god Thoth, the patron of scribes (*pImn-m-s3=f* Paris Louvre N. 3292, Ch. 90 in *pIw=f-<sup>c</sup>nh* Turin 1791).

The semantics of the papyrus scroll can be associated with multiple references to “books” (*md3.t*), “scrolls” (*šfdw*), “writings” (*sš*) and “manuscripts/documents” (ꜥ) in the text of the BD. On the basis of data from the Ch. 25, the scroll was important to guarantee remembrance (*šh3w*) of the name (*rn*) in the afterlife. In addition, the scroll itself was considered to be magical and powerful protective symbol. Its faience models-imitations in the period of the New Kingdom were even included to the royal burials (Cairo CG 24473, CG 46422), and starting from the Third Intermediate Period special scrolls-amulets with single spell of the BD were appeared (Pleyte Ch. 166). Within the Late Period, magical papyri prescribed to place scroll on the deceased chest, to protect him from evil forces (pBrooklyn 47.218.138, XIII, 15–16). Particular case is represented by mummy *Ns-šw* (Musée du Château d’Yverdon) belonging to the Ptolemaic period, and which was completely wrapped in BD papyrus. The motive of the papyrus scroll is also resembled in the funerary art of Egypt in the Roman period (tomb of Petosiris in Dakhla Oasis, shroud Moscow PSMFA I.1a.5749).

## ***Shabtis from Graeco-Roman periods – Proposal for the classification (typology) of the shabtis discovered outside Egypt***

*Mladen Tomorad (Zagreb)*

Shabtis usually dates from the First Intermediate period until the end of the Hellenistic period. They changed their shapes, forms, texts and position of the agricultural implements a lot throughout history. These changes were classified in various typologies during 20<sup>th</sup> century (L. Speleers (1923), W. M. F. Petrie (1935), J. Monnet Saleh (1970), J. F. Aubert (1974), and H. Schneider (1977)) but chronologically usually only until the end of the Late period (30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty).

By the time of the Ptolemaic Dynasty their main role almost disappeared and since then they became one of the main cultic symbols of the Isiac cults (Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Harpocrates, Anubis, Bes etc.). Shabtis were discovered in various Greek settlements and later in various provinces of the Roman Empire. They were traded as cult symbols; they were manufactured in Egypt but probably in various workshops in main cultic centres of the Roman provinces. Until now such shabtis have not been classified or systematically studied. In many cases they were classified as “fakes” which are, in my opinion, definitely not. Such shabtis deserve to be re-interpreted as one of the main sources for the diffusion of the Ancient Egyptian cult deities. In this paper author will present the proposal for the classification (typology) of shabtis according to: form, decorations, headdress, implements, text and position of text, and material from which they were crafted (stone, pottery, glass, faience, wood etc.). He will also discuss various problems related with their provenance and previous dating.

**Key words:** shabtis, Graeco-Roman period, classifications (typologies), role in Isiac cults, diffusion, production, “ancient fakes”.

## ***Text and Mummies – The instructions of the “Embalming Ritual” in the light of archaeological evidence***

*Susanne Töpfer (Heidelberg)*

The “Embalming Ritual” has been preserved in hieratic in three funerary papyri dating to the Roman period (pBoulaq 3, pLouvre E 5158 und pDurham 1983.11+pSt. Petersburg ДВ 18128). The text can be divided into twelve sections in which the anointing and wrapping of a corpse from head to toe (*a capite ad calcem*) is prescribed. Some of the technical prescriptions are much detailed: they list the number of bandages, the measurement units of various unguents and plants, as well as the body parts on which these items were to be applied. In addition, the technical sections include information about the gilding of fingers and toes, and how to handle bodily organs. There is no mention of the removal of the organs nor the dehydration of the body. Therefore, the text pertains to embalming rites as part of mummification practices, but not the process as a whole.

The aim of this paper is to reconstruct the embalming process described in the text, and how the embalmed body might have looked like in the end according to the instructions. This reconstruction will be compared with evidence from mummies dating to the Roman period, since the papyri and their owner(s) date to that time. There is remarkable congruence between the instructions of the text and a group of nine mummies dating to the Roman period, which demonstrates that the operations described in the text correspond to the (upper class) standard practices of the Roman period. Nonetheless, there are precursors to this embalming practice from the Ptolemaic period which have to be considered as well.

### **Les cinq caveaux et les trente six gardiens de la tombe de Padiamenopé (TT 33)**

*Claude Traunecker (Strasbourg)*

La tombe TT 33 de Padiamenopé dans l'Asasif est un monument unique à plus d'un titre. Padiamenopé, probablement un contemporain de Moutouemhat, était un intellectuel versé dans les sciences religieuses, un conseiller pontifical auprès des souverains de la fin de la dynastie kouchite. Nous étudions sa tombe (Université de Strasbourg, Montpellier et Ifao), la plus complexe de l'Asasif, depuis sa réouverture en 2005. Je propose dans cet exposé de présenter les résultats récents de l'étude de ce monument en deux volets :

#### 1. Les cinq caveaux de la tombe de Padiamenopé.

Sur une structure classique (les salles axiales I – III avec la chapelle de culte ) Padiamenopé a greffé un complexe reproduisant des modèles d'architecture funéraires anciennes : salle VII-VIII-IX sur le modèle des tombes royales du nouvel empire (premier caveau) ; salles X-XI sur le modèle des pyramides de la V-VI<sup>ème</sup> dynasties (deuxième caveau) ; la partie discrète après le puits du couloir XII ; salles XVII à XX, sur le modèle abydnien (troisième caveau salle XIX) ; la salle XXI sarcophage de l'ancien empire comme leurre, (quatrième caveau). Enfin la salle secrète XXII, le caveau réel de Padiamenopé. Dans cette lecture la TT 33 est une sorte de tombe-musée au bénéfice de Padiamenopé. Nous savons qu'une partie de la tombe était ouverte aux visiteurs lettrés afin de consulter les compilations de la littérature funéraire de Padiamenopé (salles IV-V, XII et XIII). Une partie de la tombe fonctionne comme un sanctuaire osirien accessible à un public choisi (salles XIII, XIV, XV, XVI)

2. Une étude de la structure du décor du caveau XXII, le caveau caché et effectif. L'accent sera mis sur la compagnie des 36 divinités gardiennes représentées au niveau des 14 niches apotropaïque du caveau. Cette étude inclura une comparaison avec le dispositif analogue de la tombe de Montouemhat.

### **Cats and human burials at the Bubasteion of Saqqara**

*Alain Zivie (Paris)*

While most of the animal cemeteries - the complex known as the *Sacred Animals Necropolis* - are located in the north of the site of Saqqara (Anubeion), the area of the Bubasteion is further to the south, in the escarpment below the modern Antiquities rest-house. *Bubasteion* is the Greek word for the *temenos* dedicated to Bastet and her sanctuary and catacombs, connected with a cult dedicated to Bastet, *Lady of 'Ankhtawy*, at least from the New Kingdom and perhaps before. But it was not until the first millennium B.C. that cats began to be buried in this place. Before that, the site was dedicated to prominent New Kingdom officials. But while the animal cemeteries of Saqqara North were composed of catacombs dug for the express purpose of sheltering the animal mummies, it was not the case for the cat cemetery. It appears indeed that the animals have been buried by reusing of New Kingdom rock-cut tombs present on the site.

For centuries, thousands of individual animals more or less mummified have been buried in some parts of the site. Like for the city of Bubastis, the site has furnished a large number of the specimens of cat mummies and of objects associated with them (sarcophagi, statuettes, etc.) that are now in museums and collections throughout the world. But we must bear in mind that these catacombs often contained "mixed" populations. Not only because some other animals could be buried along with the cats (even a lion), but also because human beings have been also discovered in this area. Dating after the New Kingdom, they can be sometimes without connection with the cats, but in some cases they are associated to them and to the cult of Bastet.

The New Kingdom necropolis of the Bubasteion, with its important officials hypogea, has been the main focus of the excavation and the study led for years by the French Archaeological Mission of the Bubasteion. But in the same time, the later cats and human burials discovered inside the New Kingdom tombs have been explored and in part excavated in the framework of our study. Naturally,

these burials are an integral part of our excavation program. To excavate the cats of the Bubasteion is in fact to venture into archaeozoology, but also into the study of the religious practices and mentality of the later stages of ancient Egyptian history, in particular, those touching on what we conventionally call “sacred animals.” While some important results have been already obtained, the work connected to this aspect of the site is still in progress.

Some data obtained by the mission will be presented to the colleagues attending the conference, as well as some results obtained during the excavation of the now famous tomb Bub. I.20, of Lady Maïa/Mayati (Meritaton) of Post-Amarna Period, which was reused as a cat and human catacombs and remained closed before we entered it.

### ***Burials at the Red Sea harbor of Berenike***

*Iwona Zych (Warsaw)*

*Marta Osypińska (Warsaw)*

*Steven E. Sidebotham (Delaware)*

Recent excavations at the Red Sea harbor of Berenike (between 2010 and 2014) have uncovered a substantial number of animal burials in two complexes, a small area to the west of the southwestern harbor bay and a much larger and stratified area on the spot of the early Roman rubbish dump to the northeast of the bay and west of the city proper. There were altogether almost 100 animal burials, dated largely from the 1st and 2nd century AD. Most of these burials were of cats, usually of *juvenis* and sub-adult age with very few mature animals; dogs were present also, although in much smaller number, and there were also two guenons (*Chlorocebus aethiops*) and a baboon (*Papio anubis*). Evidence of mortuary practices was observed in most cases. The bodies were frequently wrapped or covered with textiles and some preserved elements of metal collars, but there were no mummies, such as are frequent in Roman Egypt proper. Large potsherds were used to cover the bodies and on occasion the bodies were inserted into more or less complete amphoras laid on their side. The arrangement of the bodies and their position in relation to other burials also does not seem to be accidental.

The same mortuary practice of wrapping bodies in shrouds and covering the burials with pottery sherds was observed in a formal cemetery lying on the main road leaving the city to the northwest. Beside shallow cist graves cut in bedrock, this cemetery included sepulchers built of fossilized coral heads and furnished with wooden coffins holding multiple burials. This particular cemetery can be dated from the early Roman at the very least through the 4th–5th century AD. Excavations over thirteen seasons since 1994 have also documented human remains scattered throughout the western part of the town, which had been occupied in Ptolemaic times, but which appears to have been a wasteland of ruins on the fringes of the settlement in the Roman period. Not in all of these cases was there evidence of formal burial. Interestingly, some of these bodies seem to have been decapitated. Also, one should mention a cemetery of Roman-era small circular mound graves, virtually all of them looted, lying on higher ground between wadis to the west and southwest of Berenike.

Notably, a few of these human burials were found interjected among the animal burials in the complex described above, located to the north of the harbor bay and west of the city proper.

The paper aims to explore the nature of the animal burials, which clearly do not resemble chronologically analogous burials from the Nile Valley, and their relation to human burials found in their immediate neighborhood. The way in which these animals were buried and their morphological state suggests an emotional bond with the owners or else practices connected with the animals that could be potentially of a magic nature.