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The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

**A Tale of Two and a Half Mummies: An Intrusive
Burial from the Tomb of Karabasken (TT 391)**

A Thesis Submitted to The Department of Sociology,
Egyptology and Anthropology

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for The
Degree of Master of Arts in Egyptology and Coptology

By Hayley Ruth Goddard

Under the Supervision of Dr. Salima Ikram, and
Readers Dr. Elena Pischikova and Dr. Lisa Sabbahy

December 2021

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This study has been a pleasure to undertake and I would like to thank Dr. Elena Pischikova for allowing me to join the team of the South Asasif Conservation Project (SACP) and to be able to examine the skeletal material found in Side Chamber 1A in TT 391 first hand. I am very grateful for the opportunity to be able to use the assemblage from Side Chamber 1A as the basis for my Masters' thesis. Thanks go to the members of the SACP who have assisted me with accessing information and photographs which have been invaluable for my research: John Billman, Katherine Blakeney, Marion Brew, Markus Wallas and Taylor Woodcock. Special thanks go to Afaf Wahba for sharing her insight and expertise when examining the human remains from the side chamber.

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Abstract

In 2014, the South Asasif Conservation Project, directed by Elena Pischikova, discovered a previously unknown side chamber cut into the north wall of the sun-court of the tomb of Karabasken (TT 391), a proto-Kushite tomb located in the South Asasif. Designated as Side Chamber 1A, it contained an intact burial assemblage. The contents of the tomb, all of which had suffered damage caused by repeated flooding, included three coffins which each contained a mummy. One of the mummies was most unusual, consisting of just the upper half of the body of a young man which was truncated at the waist. Also found in the chamber were two Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuettes; a canopic box; numerous uninscribed shabtis made of mud, painted clay and faience; pottery; the remains of furniture; faience amulets; and thousands of faience beads.

This study is the first to assess and examine the context and contents of this previously unknown burial assemblage. It describes each of the objects found within the chamber and, wherever possible, dates them via comparison with parallels from contemporary burial assemblages. Particular attention has been given to the unusual case of the truncated ‘half-man’ mummy. This study has also established the sequence of events from when the chamber was cut to house the original burial in the seventh century BC to when it was last used during the early-mid Ptolemaic Period.

The study concludes with a catalogue of the evidence for intrusive burial activity from the proto-Kushite tombs in the South and North Asasifs. The pattern of activity observed has allowed for speculation about why the tomb of Karabasken was reused for the burial of the three individuals found in Side Chamber 1A. It is hoped that this study will be of value to scholars researching the post-New Kingdom funerary activity in the Theban Necropolis.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The tomb of Karabasken (TT 391), a Mayor of Thebes, is located in South Asasif (see Figure 1) and dates to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, also referred to as the Kushite Period (747-656 BC). It is one of the tombs in the South Asasif Conservation Project's (SACP) concession, a project directed by Dr. Elena Pischikova.¹ In 2014, the entrance to a previously unknown side chamber was discovered during the clearance of the tomb's sun court². This chamber was first excavated in 2015, and work completed in 2018, which resulted in the discovery of an intact burial consisting of three mummies, their coffins and their assorted funerary accoutrements.

The assemblage found in the side chamber is an example of tomb reuse as the room was a later addition to an earlier tomb. Tomb reuse can be defined as “a tomb which was reused in a way that had not been intended by the first owner, such as adding a new shaft, cutting a new chamber, or interring ‘new’ tenants in rooms either designed for the original owner or not designed to house a burial at all”³. Such examples of reuse also can be referred to as “intrusive burials”⁴. This thesis aims to describe, date, and contextualise this assemblage and establish its depositional sequence using the archaeological contexts, grave goods, and architecture. This form of reuse, including the architecture of the intrusive space, will be compared with what is found in other tombs dating to the Kushite and Saite Periods (747-525 BC) from the South and

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Elena Pischikova for allowing me to join the team at the South Asasif Conservation Project (SACP) and for granting me permission to study the assemblage found in Side Chamber 1A in the Tomb of Karabasken for my MA thesis.

² See Figure 2.

³ Marta Kaczanowicz, “Old Tombs, New Tenants: Third Intermediate Period and Late Period Reuse of Theban Tombs” (PhD Thesis, Adam Mickiewicz University, 2021), 34.

⁴ Julia Budka, “Kushite Tomb groups in Late Period Thebes,” in *Between the Cataracts: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference of Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August – 2 September 2006*, ed. W. Godlewski and A. Lajtar (Warsaw: The Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology, 2010), 503-518.

North Asasif areas of the Theban Necropolis in order to place the Karabasken deposit within its wider context.

Introduction to the Site

The South Asasif is located in the southern section of the Theban Necropolis and is bordered by Sheikh Abd el-Qurna to the north, the Ramesseum to the west, Qurnet Murai to the south and Deir el-Medina to the east. The topography is relatively flat and the whole area is bisected by the Wadi Hatasun. The wadi has channeled several flash floods through it that have struck the area during antiquity as well as in more recent times⁵.

Since 2006, the SACP has been excavating and conserving three tombs in their concession in the South Asasif: the tombs of Karakhamun (TT 223), Irtieru (TT 390) and Karabasken (TT 391)⁶. Assessments of the architecture, inscriptions and iconography of the tombs have dated them to the Twenty-fifth (TT 391 and TT 223) and Twenty-sixth Dynasties (TT 390)⁷.

Precise dating of TT391 has been challenging for two reasons. The first is that the chronology of the Kushite Period is not well established and can be described as a “battlefield of numerous opinions”⁸. Second, precise dating of Kushite Period tombs has been difficult as there are a relatively small number of known tombs of this date, and not all of them have

⁵ Jared Carballo Pérez, Ángel Molinero Polo, and Miguel Ángel Molinero Polo. *Mummies under the Wadi: Preliminary Study of a Burial Deposit in Theban Tomb 209 (South Asasif, Egypt)*. Conference Poster: World Congress for Mummy Studies, 2018.

⁶ <http://southasasif.com/abouttheproject.html> (Accessed 19th July, 2021).

⁷ Elena Pischikova, “The History of the South Asasif Necropolis and Its Exploration,” in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: Thebes, Karakhamun (TT223), and Karabasken (TT391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty*, ed. Elena Pischikova (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014), 31-72.

⁸ Elena Pischikova, “Style and Iconography of the Decoration in the Tombs of Karabasken and Karakhamun: Archaism and Innovations,” in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: Thebes, Karakhamun (TT223), and Karabasken (TT391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty*, ed. Elena Pischikova (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014c), 73-92.

been published⁹. This lack of available information has meant that the establishment and application of a set of dating criteria for Kushite private tombs is still in its infancy¹⁰.

Precise dating of Karabasken's tenure as Mayor of Thebes has been challenging. Kitchen's chronology¹¹ situates Karabasken in his roles as Mayor of Thebes between 725-705 BC. This would place him within the early part of the Kushite Period (747-656 BC). Conversely, Vittmann proposes that Karabasken was succeeded as Mayor of Thebes, either directly or indirectly, by Montuemhat¹², who was in tenure during the reigns of Taharqa and Psametik I¹³.

Confirmation that Karabasken dates to the Kushite Period comes from the iconography of the two images of Karabasken that adorn the entrance to the pillared hall¹⁴. Karabasken is depicted "in the style and iconography of the Old Kingdom"¹⁵ and wears a distinctive double amulet "consisting of two overlapping drop-shaped elements on a long cord"¹⁶. Whilst this type of amulet has been attested in Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom material culture, it is only during the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties (747-525 BC) that it becomes an ubiquitous component of the tomb owner's dress¹⁷.

During the course of excavations, several faience shabtis belonging to Karabasken have been found. Pischikova notes that these shabtis share the general iconographic features as those

⁹ Pischikova, "Style and Iconography", 73-92.

¹⁰ Pischikova, "Style and Iconography", 73-92.

¹¹ K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, 1100-650 BC* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1986), Table 14.

¹² Günter Vittman, "A Question of Names, Titles, and Iconography. Kushites in Priestly, Administrative and other Positions from Dynasties 25 to 26," *Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 18 (2007): 139-161.

¹³ Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. 2nd Ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 56.

¹⁴ Pischikova, "Style and Iconography", 73-92.

¹⁵ Pischikova, "Style and Iconography", 73-92.

¹⁶ Pischikova, "Style and Iconography", 73-92.

¹⁷ Pischikova, "Style and Iconography", 73-92.

found on shabtis belonging to Kushite pharaohs Piye and Shabako from their pyramids at el-Kurru¹⁸. This further supports Karabasken's active career and life to the early Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

In addition to the title of "Mayor of Thebes", Karabasken was also "Fourth Prophet of Amun"¹⁹. Karabasken's tomb is cut down into the limestone bedrock. It consists of a long entrance staircase at the east with a vestibule that leads into an open-air sun-court (see Figure 2). The intrusive chamber that is the focus of this study is cut into the north wall of the sun-court. At the centre of the west wall of the sun-court, an opening leads into a pillared hall with a cult room and burial chamber at its westernmost end. This style of architecture, characterized by the sun-court or "*lichthof*" is a characteristic feature of the monumental tombs of Kushite and Saite Period date in the North and South Asasif areas of the Theban Necropolis²⁰. As the tombs of Karabasken (TT 391) and Karakhamun (TT 223) both date to the early part of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty²¹ they are the oldest of the proto-Kushite tombs and both their architecture and iconography served as a holotype for later tombs of this style²².

¹⁸ Elena Pischikova, "Recarved Kushite Head from the Tomb of Karakhamun? (Further Remarks on the Dating of the South Asasif Necropolis)" in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries and Research 2012-2014*, ed. Elena Pischikova (Cairo/New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2017b), 259-280.

¹⁹ <https://southasasif.wordpress.com/2015/08/31/discovery-of-padibastet/> (Accessed 19th July, 2021).

²⁰ Filip Coppens, "The so-called "Lichthof" once more: on the transmission of contexts between the tomb and the temple," in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC* ed. Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 343-356.

²¹ Elena Pischikova, "Early Kushite Tombs of South Asasif," *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 12 (2009): 11-30.

²² Silvia Einaudi, "Between North and South Asasif: The Tomb of Harwa (TT 37) as a 'Transitional Monument,'" in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, ed. Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 323-342.

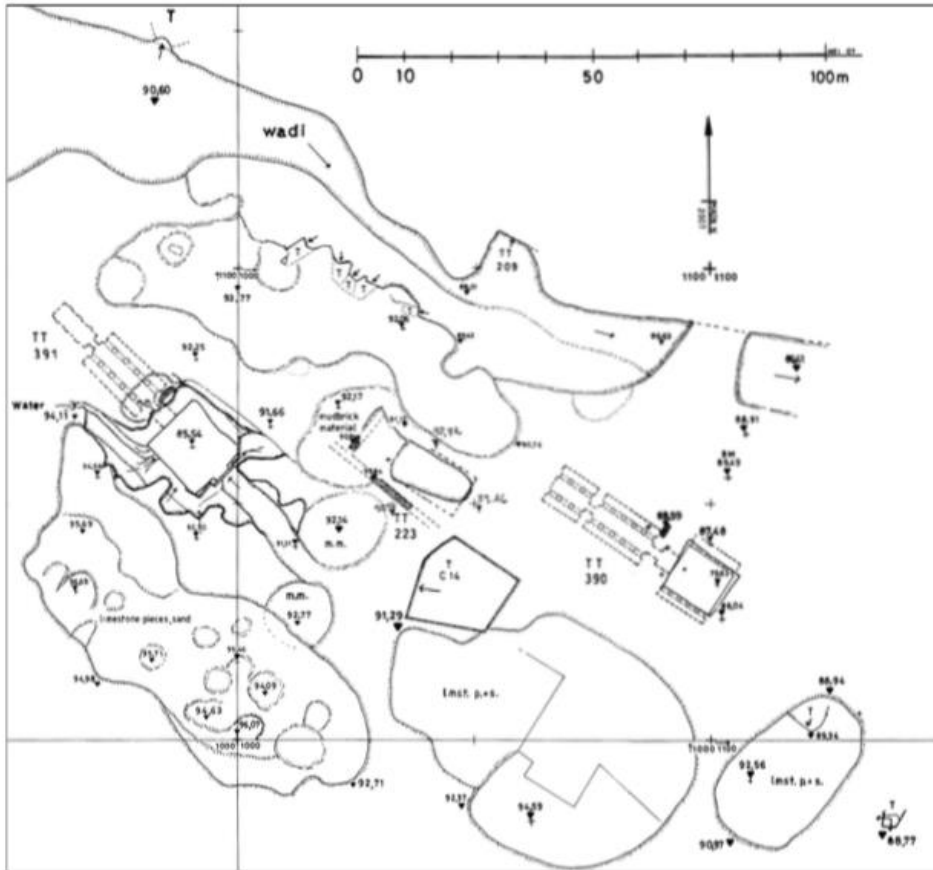


Figure 1: Survey map of the South Asasif necropolis, after Elena Pischikova, 2014: 32.

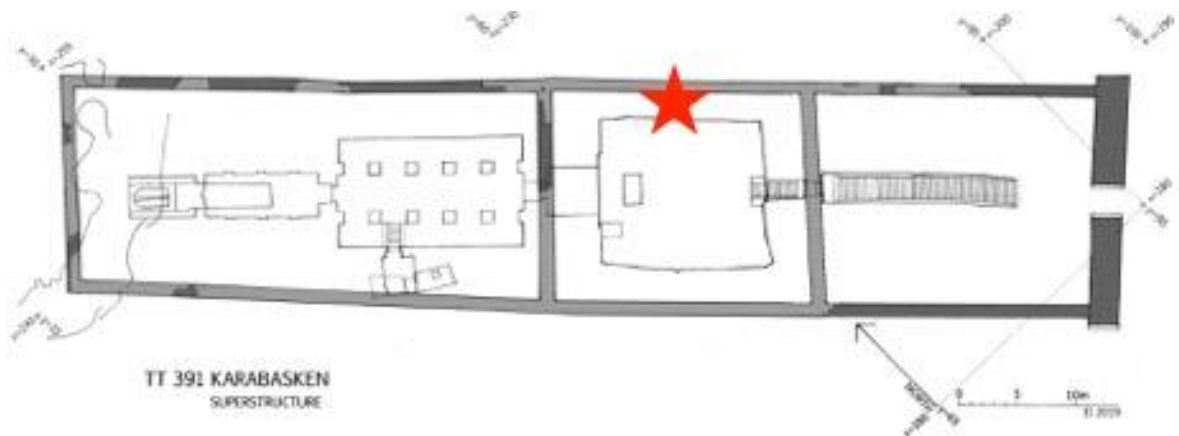


Figure 2: Plan of the tomb of Karabasken (TT 391), courtesy of the South Asasif Conservation Project. The red star indicates the location of Side Chamber 1A on the north face of the sun-court.

History of Excavation relating to Side Chamber 1A

When the SACP began their excavations in 2006, the tomb of Karabasken was in a perilous state. Debris from historic floods had washed down from the hills above via Wadi Hatasun

and almost completely filled the entrance staircase and sun-court with a layer that was 4 metres high. This flood debris was also found in the vestibule and pillared hall, where it had reached a height of 2.5 metres²³. A sondage conducted in the sun-court verified that the debris had been deposited in at least six separate flood events²⁴. More recently, local villagers had used the vestibule and pillared hall as a stable, and had consequently caused damage to the tomb's decoration which had been chiseled away or obscured by graffiti²⁵.



Figure 3: Excavations in progress in the sun-court of TT 391 (2014); photograph courtesy of Katherine Piper.

The team's primary objective was to clear the flood debris to facilitate assessment of the tomb's condition. Work began during the 2013 season, both in the sun-court and in the entrance staircase (see Figure 3). Interestingly, clearance of the vestibule revealed an inscribed doorjamb bearing the name and titles of the High Steward of the God's Wife, Padibastet, a high

²³ Pischikova, "Early Kushite Tombs of South Asasif", 13.

²⁴ Elena Pischikova, "Kushite Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: Conservation, Reconstruction, and Research," in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, ed. Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014b), 121-160.

²⁵ Pischikova, "Early Kushite Tombs of South Asasif", 13.

official who lived during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty²⁶. Further evidence of Padibastet was also found during the clearance of the sun-court when a stela bearing his image and texts was discovered carved onto the sun-court's west wall. In total, four images of Padibastet have been found to date both in the vestibule and sun-court²⁷, confirming that the tomb of Karabasken was reused during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Research by Erhart Graefe into the genealogy of Padibastet suggests that he was a grandson of Pabasa, the owner of tomb TT 279 in the North Asasif²⁸. Graefe estimates that Padibastet's tenure as High Steward to the God's Wife was around five years²⁹, meaning that he did not have time to build a monumental tomb in the North Asasif as his predecessors had done³⁰, instead opting to reuse the tomb of Karabasken.

Although Padibastet's presence in the tomb is verified through his inscriptions, his burial place within the tomb has yet to be identified³¹. One theory is that he could have reused Karabasken's burial chamber, with a second being that he could have been buried in one of the two chambers found at the bottom of a shaft³² cut into the floor of a side room off the south wall of the pillared hall³³. It is important, however, to note that none of these theories have yet been confirmed by archaeology or text.

²⁶ <https://southasasif.wordpress.com/2015/08/31/discovery-of-padibastet/>
(South Asasif Conservation Project: The Discovery of Padibastet).

²⁷ <https://southasasif.wordpress.com/2015/08/31/discovery-of-padibastet/>
(South Asasif Conservation Project: The Discovery of Padibastet).

²⁸ Erhart Graefe, "A New High Steward of the God's Wife Nitocris: Padibastet, Grandson of Pabasa and Successor of Padihorresnet," in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries and Research 2012-2014*, ed. Elena Pischikova (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2017), 241-249.

²⁹ Graefe, "A New High Steward of the God's Wife Nitocris", 241-249.

³⁰ Elena Pischikova, Fathy Yaseen Abd el Karim, Ramadan Ahmed Ali, and Ezz El Din Kamal El Noby, "Tombs of Karakhamun and Karabasken, 2012-2014: Fieldwork," in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries and Research 2012-2014*, ed. Elena Pischikova (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2017), 25-50.

³¹ Pischikova, "Kushite Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis", 121-160.

³² This shaft does not have a number or letter designation.

³³ Pischikova et al, "Tombs of Karakhamun and Karabasken", 25-50.

The 2014 season saw further clearance of the sun-court. At the end of the season, a group of limestone blocks sealing a doorway was discovered in the centre of the north wall of the sun-court³⁴. This doorway was the entrance to a rock-cut chamber, later designated as Side Chamber 1A, the focus of this thesis. As the chamber had been discovered late in the season, it was decided that excavation should be delayed until the beginning of the 2015 season³⁵.

The chamber was opened during the 2015 excavation season. It was accessed through a 75cm wide entrance cut into the chamber's western wall. The room's dimensions were 2.65m x 1.73m³⁶. It was immediately apparent that its contents had been greatly disrupted by the flood events that had deposited the debris in the sun-court (see Figure 4). However, the presence of two coffin lids in one of the corners of the chamber atop the layer of flood debris, some 80cm above the chamber floor³⁷ indicated that the chamber had been used as a tomb. This was subsequently confirmed when it was discovered that a total of three coffins were in the chamber, each containing a mummy. From west to east, based on the order in which they were found, these burials were designated as Burial 001, Burial 003 and Burial 002.

³⁴ Elena Pischikova, "The History of the South Asasif Necropolis and Its Exploration," in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: Thebes, Karakhamun (TT223), and Karabasken (TT391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty* ed. Elena Pischikova (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014d), 31-72.

³⁵ Pischikova, "The History of the South Asasif Necropolis", 31-72.

³⁶ Pischikova, "The History of the South Asasif Necropolis", 31-72.

³⁷ Pischikova, "The History of the South Asasif Necropolis", 31-72.



Figure 4: Excavation of Side Chamber 1A in progress (2015), showing the disruption of the contents of the chamber as a result of flooding; photograph courtesy of Taylor Woodcock.

Burial 001 was of particular interest as only the upper half of the body was present in the coffin; Burial 003, next to it, was conventional, as was Burial 002. In addition to the three mummies and their coffins, a large number of artefacts were also discovered within the chamber, including ceramics, faience beads, canopic boxes, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figurines, and shabtis, but none bearing a name.

Following the initial excavation in 2015, the chamber was sealed until September 2018 when it was reopened for further excavation. The majority of the funerary equipment discovered during the initial excavation had been removed and transferred to the nearby tomb of Irtieru (TT 390) for registration and conservation. The mummy from Burial 001 had also been transferred to TT 390 for safety and to facilitate access to the rest of the chamber. The three coffin boxes and the mummies from Burials 002 and 003 remained in the chamber and were the focus of the 2018 excavation season.

From the 1st to the 6th September 2018, Afaf Wahba, Markus Wallas and the author excavated the two mummies left inside the chamber and recorded notes about their body position, method of mummification, and current condition. The age and sex of the mummies were also assessed. The same notes were made about the mummy from Burial 001 that had been stored in the tomb of Irtieru (TT 390). During the course of excavating the layers that had not been dug in 2015, more artefacts, similar to those found previously, were uncovered. The chamber was totally cleared during this season.

Research Aims

Side Chamber 1A offered a rare opportunity to examine both the contents and context of an intact intrusive burial within the context of a monumental proto-Kushite tomb. This study therefore has the following aims:

- 1) To describe and catalogue the contents of the chamber.
- 2) To date the contents of the chamber by comparing them with parallels of known date.
- 3) To research the unique case of the ‘half-man’ mummy, finding parallels and discussing what could have happened to this mummy to result in only the top half of the body remaining,
- 4) To establish the chronology of burials in the chamber.
- 5) To compare the contents and context of this burial assemblage with those from intrusive burials identified in other proto-Kushite tombs in the South and North Asasif areas of the Theban Necropolis
- 6) To discuss the distribution of intrusive burials found in these tombs and examine reasons why this reuse may have occurred.

Methodology

This study utilized a number of different methodologies in order to better understand and interpret the deposit in Side Chamber 1A. The mummies were examined by the author during excavation in September 2018. Notes about the condition, body position, wrappings and style of mummification were taken, and these details were compared to those of published examples of Late and Ptolemaic Period mummies. Special attention was paid to finding a parallel for the unusual truncated ‘box mummy’ via a review of relevant literature, and to examine what fate could have befallen this individual that resulted in only the upper half of the body remaining.

The objects found within Side Chamber 1A were catalogued and parallels from contemporary burial assemblages identified using references from archaeological reports or museum catalogues. Because the author was not able to examine these objects firsthand, as they had been removed from the chamber and put into storage following the initial excavation season in 2015, the primary source for this catalogue was the unpublished archaeological report about the chamber prepared by the South Asasif Conservation Project³⁸ as well as photographs. The sequence of tomb use was established using evidence gathered both from the author’s first-hand examination of the tomb in September 2018 as well as from the unpublished archaeological report from the 2015 excavation season. This was supplemented with information gleaned from photographs of the 2015 excavation in progress³⁹.

A summary of the intrusive burial assemblages from the proto-Kushite tombs of the South and North Asasif areas of the Theban Necropolis was compiled using archaeological reports of individual tombs. Details about the architecture, contents and location of the intrusive burial

³⁸ I am very grateful to Dr Elena Pischikova and John Billman for providing me with this information.

³⁹ Thanks to Taylor Woodcock for sharing these photos with me.

within the tomb were all collated. This summary was then used to compare and contrast different aspects of the burial assemblage from Side Chamber 1A.

Prior Scholarship

An account about the discovery of the chamber and a brief summary of the major finds discovered was published by Dr. Elena Pischikova in 2017⁴⁰. This account discusses the circumstances surrounding the discovery of Side Chamber 1A at the end of the 2014 season and its subsequent excavation during the 2015 season. It offers an overview of the contents of the chamber including descriptions of their condition and date.

Following the 2015 excavation of Side Chamber 1A, a report was collated which included details about the coffins, human remains, pottery and other objects found within the chamber. The pottery and the coffins found within the chamber were described and dated by Dr. Julia Budka and Dr. John Taylor respectively. This report, however, has not been published, but I was kindly granted access to it by Dr. Pischikova.

In 2020 a selection of artefacts discovered by the South Asasif Conservation Project during their tenure on site were placed on display at the Luxor Museum. These included several items found within Side Chamber 1A including the coffin lid bearing the name of Ankhnesneferibre, a conserved canopic box, several shabtis, amulets and faience beads. A catalogue of this exhibition⁴¹ awaits publication and is, until now, the most complete summary of the contents of Side Chamber 1A. The account and reports detailed above were invaluable when cataloguing and dating the contents of the chamber.

⁴⁰ Elena Pischikova, *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: New Discoveries and Research 2012-14* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2017a).

⁴¹ Pischikova et al, Unpublished Exhibition Catalogue, 2020.

Several publications were utilised when searching for parallels to the objects found in Side Chamber 1A. One such source was the very comprehensive catalogue of burial assemblages of the Twenty-first to Twenty-fifth Dynasties by Dr. David Aston⁴². This was of particular use when searching for parallels for the canopic box, furniture legs, beaded nets and amulets. Also consulted were publications which each focused on a particular object type including the mummies⁴³, coffins⁴⁴, shabtis⁴⁵, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures⁴⁶ and pottery⁴⁷.

The publication, *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future* includes two chapters by Dr. Aston and Dr. Nigel Strudwick which are of significance for this study. Aston's chapter focuses on typical funerary assemblages from Late and Ptolemaic Period burials, rather than the architecture and decorative schema of tombs, which is in contrast to previous studies⁴⁸. Strudwick's chapter offers a review of the scholarship regarding the archaeology of the Late and Ptolemaic Period in the Theban Necropolis. Significantly for the current study, this includes references to the reuse of the Kushite and Saite Period tombs in the North Asasif during the Thirtieth Dynasty and Ptolemaic Period⁴⁹. These chapters were of assistance when

⁴² David A. Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25: Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009).

⁴³ Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1998).

⁴⁴ John H. Taylor and Marie Vandenberg. *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Craft Traditions and Functionality. Vol. 4* (Leuven: Peeters, 2018).

⁴⁵ Agnieszka Makowska, "Ushebtis of the Third Intermediate Period from the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the Queen's Temple at Deir el-Bahari," in *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 24/2, Special Studies: Deir el-Bahari Studies*, ed. Z. E. Szafranski (Warsaw: Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, 2015), 137-160.

⁴⁶ Grzegorz First, "The Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statuettes in the Cracow Collections," *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 13 (2009): 119-140.

⁴⁷ Julia Budka, "The use of pottery in funerary contexts during the Libyan and Late Period: A view from Thebes and Abydos," in *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE: Proceedings of an International Conference, Prague, September 1-4, 2009*, ed. Ladislav Bareš, Filip Coppens and Květa Smoláriková (Prague: Charles University in Prague, 2010b), 22-72.

⁴⁸ D. A. Aston, "The Theban West Bank from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period," in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, eds. Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: British Museum Press, 2003), 138.

⁴⁹ Nigel Strudwick, "Some aspects of the archaeology of the Theban necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods," in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, eds. Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor (London: British Museum Press, 2003), 173.

dating the contents of the chamber and when collating information about other examples of tomb reuse from South and North Asasif.

The reuse of the proto-Kushite tombs of North and South Asasif has been discussed in a number of publications, many of which focus on the reuse of an individual tomb. One such example is the reuse of the tomb of Ankhhor (TT 414) in North Asasif. Publications about the reuse of the tomb's burial chamber⁵⁰ by the Mutmin and Wahibre family groups that were installed in different areas of the tomb⁵¹. Other examples of tomb reuse of the tombs of Nisemro (TT 209)⁵², Karakhamun (TT 223)⁵³ and Harwa (TT 37)⁵⁴ have also been detailed. These reports were the primary source used when collating details about the contents and context of intrusive burials from tombs that are Karabasken's (TT391) contemporaries.

The most recent research on tomb reuse has been conducted by Marta Kaczanowicz whose PhD research concerns the late dynastic reuse of the Theban Necropolis⁵⁵. In her study, Kaczanowicz utilizes several case studies of tombs reused during the Late Period and beyond and identifies two different methods of reuse depending upon which area of the tomb was reused and whether this reuse involved altering the original architecture of the tomb.

⁵⁰ Julia Budka, "Ankh-Hor Revisited: Study, Documentation and Publication of Forgotten Finds from the Asasif," in *Fifth Central European Conference of Egyptologists. Egypt 2009. Perspectives of Research*, ed. J. Popielska and J. Iwaszczuk (Pułusk: Acta Archaeologica Pułuskiensia, 2009), 23-31.

⁵¹ Julia Budka, Tamás Mekis and Marie-Cécile Bruwier, "Reuse of Saite Temple tombs in the Asasif during the early Ptolemaic time – the tomb group of *Mw.t-mnw* from TT 414," *Ägypten und Levante* 22/23 (2012): 209-251.

⁵² Carballo Pérez et al, "Mummies under the Wadi".

⁵³ Elena Pischikova, *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: Thebes, Karakhamun (TT223), and Karabasken (TT391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014a), 239, 250, and 254-255.

⁵⁴ Strudwick, "Archaeology of the Theban Necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods", 174.

⁵⁵ Marta Kaczanowicz, "Late Dynastic reuse of Theban Tombs," in *Current Research in Egyptology 2018: Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Symposium, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, 25-28 June 2018*, eds. Marie Peterková Hlouchová, Dana Bêlohoubková, Jirí Honzl and Vêra Nováková (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2019), 81-94.

The first type consists of burials which have been “deposited inside already existing structures, without any new architectural elements”⁵⁶, whilst the second involves burials in newly created features such as niches, shafts or side chambers that were not part of the original architecture of the tomb,⁵⁷ as is the case for Side Chamber 1A. This study was useful when contextualizing the different examples of reuse observed in Karabasken’s tomb and comparing it to that found in other proto-Kushite tombs in the South and North Asasif.

The subsequent chapters of this work will present the architecture, archaeological context, and contents, both in terms of human remains and burial goods, of Side Chamber 1A, and will provide possible scenarios for the history of deposition, the possible relationship between the individuals buried in the chamber, and the reasons for using Karabasken’s sun-court for these burials.

⁵⁶ Kaczanowicz, “Late Dynastic reuse of Theban Tombs”, 83.

⁵⁷ Kaczanowicz, “Late Dynastic reuse of Theban Tombs”, 83.

Chapter Two

Findings

Catalogue of the Contents of Side Chamber 1A

The following section presents a catalogue of the items found within Side Chamber 1A. Each item or group of items is described using the information in the unpublished report compiled at the end of the 2015 excavation season, the item records for the 2015 excavation season, and the author's personal experience during the 2018 excavation season, as well as photographs of the objects. Dating of the materials is also provided here, though this is sometimes challenging due to the poor state of preservation of many items. As the tomb of Karabasken dates to the early Twenty-fifth Dynasty, this obviously means that the assemblage is of this date or later as there was no evidence noted of re-use of materials from an earlier period. The characteristics of each type of object from the assemblage will be compared and contrasted to parallels of known date in order to establish the date of each object or object type.

Human Remains

Three sets of human remains were found within Side Chamber 1A. From west to east, based on the order in which they were found, these burials were designated as Burial 001, Burial 003 and Burial 002. They have been examined twice, first by Dr. Salima Ikram⁵⁸ during the initial excavation in 2015 and again in 2018 by the author and Afaf Wahba⁵⁹. During each assessment notes about the mummies were recorded including details about their condition, body position, style of mummification, age, and sex were recorded. These notes are now summarized below:

⁵⁸ Distinguished Professor of Egyptology at the American University in Cairo who specializes in mummification.

⁵⁹ Osteologist of the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, chief osteologist for the South Asasif Mission, and to whom I am indebted for her help and encouragement.

Burial 001

Burial 001 is located at the western side of the room and is a most unusual inhumation which consists of the upper half of a mummified body, truncated at the level of the L1 vertebra (see Figure 5). As the torso of the mummy has been carefully placed within a wooden box, it is clear that the missing body parts are not the result of damage *post mortem*⁶⁰.

The mummy is almost entirely skeletonized. It is supine and the head is slightly turned to the right. The arms are crossed at his chest, with the left overlying the right, and the hands are laid with fingers extended over the clavicles. The body is truncated at mid-thorax, with the lowest extant vertebra being L1, and a transverse piece of wood, perhaps designed to support the body, bisects the wooden case at its midpoint. Underneath this transverse piece of wood, the remaining depth of the box is filled with tightly compacted mud with no trace of any skeletal material within. Three vertebrae, T11, T12 and L1, that clearly belong to this mummy were discovered next to the decaying box. No bones originating from parts of the body inferior to L1 have been identified, and the mummy is missing its pelvis, sacrum, and legs.

Examination of the mummy concluded that it is of a young man aged between 25 to 35 years based on the assessment of the degree of tooth wear⁶¹ and cranial suture closure⁶².

⁶⁰ Pischikova et al, "Tombs of Karakhamun and Karabasken", 25-50.

⁶¹ Don R. Brothwell, *Digging up Bones: The Excavation, Treatment, and Study of Human Skeletal Remains*. (Cornell University Press, 1981), 69.

⁶² Richard S. Meindl, and C. Owen Lovejoy, "Ectocranial suture closure: A revised method for the determination of skeletal age at death based on the lateral-anterior sutures," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 68/1 (1985): 57-66.



Figure 5: The mummy of Burial 001. It illustrates the extent of the truncation and the position of the body; photograph is courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

The mummy is supported by a thick pad made up of many layers of linen mixed with mud (probably washed in due to flood activity), very little resin, plaster fragments, and wooden pieces (see Figure 6). The thickest part of the pad lies beneath the mummy's head. Linen wrappings are still *in situ* on the skull although enough has broken away that the sutures are visible. A fragment of linen still in place over the left frontal bone bears a raised longitudinal structure created out of a fold of linen that could represent an attempt to model an eyebrow, although this is not a feature of mummification of this era⁶³. Examination of the nasal and ethmoid bones reveals that this mummy had not been excerebrated via the nose. The foramen

⁶³ Salima Ikram, *Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015), 68-69.

magnum has not been assessed to see if that could have been the conduit for excerebration, as it is completely covered by the remaining wrappings, and official permission to x-ray the body was not obtainable. Such a route for excerebration is known, but uncommon⁶⁴. From what evidence is available it is probable that the body was not excerebrated.



Figure 6: Cranial view of Burial 001 showing the skull above the pad of multiple layers of linen and mud; photograph courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

Almost all of the wrappings that once covered the anterior surface of the mummy have disintegrated. However, traces of these wrappings still remain in the form of blackened linen fragments which were found beneath the proximal radius and ulna of the right arm. A fragment of mud from underneath the mid-shaft of the right humerus displays a thin layer of white plaster bearing the impression of linen.

⁶⁴ Ikram and Dodson, “The Mummy in Ancient Egypt”, 118.

The wooden box that the mummy was placed in appears to have been closely fitted to the body. The relative position of the right and left glenoid fossae suggest that the shoulders of the body had been raised and pushed in towards the midline. This was presumably done to streamline the body and facilitate a better fit within the wooden box, and significantly suggests that this was done during the initial stage of the embalming process when the body was still able to be manipulated. The box still bears traces of white plaster (see Figure 7).



Figure 7: Detail of the right side and base of the wooden box placed around Burial 001. Traces of white plaster can be observed on the outer surface of the box. Also visible is the tightly compacted mud which fills the lower portion of the box; photograph courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

The most significant feature observed on this mummy are the bilateral septal apertures present in the olecranon fossae. This is a developmental abnormality and can be classified as a non-metric trait. The mummy also displays mild-moderate tooth wear and the left maxillary M1 and M2 have been lost *ante mortem* with resorption of the sockets. No traces of osteophytes were observed on the exposed vertebrae and the orbits bore no sign of *cribia orbitalia*. No other signs of trauma or disease were noted.

Burial 002

Burial 002 was found against the eastern wall of the room and consists of the mummified body that is now fairly skeletonized, of a woman aged 45 to 50 years based on an assessment of the morphology of the pubic symphysis and auricular surface of her right os coxae (see Figure 8). She is in an extended position, anterior up.



Figure 8: The mummy from Burial 002 showing the position of the body and its condition; photograph courtesy of Markus Wallas.

The torso of this mummy has been badly damaged, perhaps due to the actions of tomb robbers, and the bones had been disrupted. For example, the thoracic vertebrae have been shifted out of place and now occupy the space where the right lung once was. This disruption has made it difficult to assess the woman's original burial position. However, the presence of bones from her right hand in the region of her upper left chest has revealed that at least one of her arms had been crossed over her chest with the hand extended flat.

The mummy's head still retains much of its original linen wrappings although the torso and legs are largely skeletonized. Some concentric wrappings still remain *in situ* on the lower left leg. At the mummy's right shoulder, a thick layer of linen wrappings is still in position and it has been noted that very little resin has been soaked into them. Evidence of resins and embalming materials is however found in areas where liquid resinous oil had been poured directly onto the skin. Well-preserved fragments of linen are also found underneath the mid-shaft region of the right humerus. The linen used to wrap this mummy varies in quality, with some being very fine and others coarser. A large number of tubular and circular faience beads were excavated from the debris next to the right knee and left flank of the mummy, suggesting that she had been covered by a beaded mummy net, a feature commonly found on burials from the end of the Third Intermediate Period and the Saite Period⁶⁵.

Interestingly, examination of the right humerus of Burial 002 revealed the presence of a septal aperture in the olecranon fossa, the same non-metric trait that was observed on the mummy from Burial 001. As some non-metric traits are heritable, this could suggest a genetic link between these two mummies. Also of note is the ossification of the anterior longitudinal

⁶⁵ Ikram and Dodson, "The Mummy in Ancient Egypt", 186.

ligament observed on the bodies of several of her vertebrae. This distinctive pathology suggests that this woman was affected by diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis (DISH).

As Burial 002 was being cleaned, the right ischium of a child aged around six years was discovered just west of the mummy's right femur. As no other bones belonging to this child were found in the chamber, the best explanation for its presence is for it to have been washed inside during one of the flood events. This discovery means that the minimum number of individuals (MNI) represented within the chamber is four.

Burial 003

Burial 003 was found between those of Burial 001 and Burial 002. The mummy is that of a man aged around 40 to 50 years based on the degree of tooth wear displayed, and the degenerative osteophytes observed on his lumbar vertebrae (see Figure 9). He is in an extended position, anterior up. While no trace of the bones from his lower arms and hands were identified, the position of his humeri indicated that his arms are extended along the sides of his body. The mummy's linen wrappings had deteriorated, particularly on the anterior aspect of the body that was largely skeletonized.

A mud 'pad' reinforced with layers of linen supports the mummy's head and the mouth has been stuffed with resin-soaked linen. Packing material consisting of a mixture of resin⁶⁶ and sawdust is apparent within the body cavity, particularly in the area of the lungs and lower abdomen. This material is composed of resin-soaked linen. Concentric linen wrappings are still *in situ* around the left lower leg of the mummy. A fragment of linen found next to the right

⁶⁶ None of the materials were tested by Gas Chromatography-Mass Spectrometry, but the impressions of Ikram (personal communication) based on her field testing indicates that all the mummies had some type of resin (not gum Arabic) used in their fabrication.

knee reveals that at least two different qualities of linen had been used to wrap the mummy – this fragment was composed of two layers of linen, one of which was coarse and another that was of a much finer weave. Several tubular faience beads were found around the legs while circular faience beads were found over the mouth area. This suggests that the mummy could have been equipped with a beaded net although as the number of beads still *in situ* on the mummy may indicate that they formed parts of a necklace and bracelets/leglets.



Figure 9: The mummy from Burial 003 showing the position of the body and its condition; photograph courtesy of Markus Wallas.

Significantly, in addition to the missing forearms and hands, no trace of any of the bones from the mummy's feet were found. Whilst it is possible that these bones could have simply been washed away when the chamber flooded, the complete and bilateral absence of the forearms, hands and feet suggest that their removal was intentional. The reason why this was done is unknown, but one possibility is that they were removed in order to fit the body into a coffin that was too small.

The mummy displays several pathologies including a healed fracture of the distal right humerus. Both distal humeri reveal areas of porosity and eburnation characteristic of osteoarthritis. Due to the fact that the facial bones of the skull had been crushed, only the teeth in the mandible could be assessed and evidence of several carious lesions and apical abscesses were found. Finally, the lumbar vertebrae reveal moderate osteophytic lipping.

Possible Dates for the Burials based on Mummification and Body Positions

The Egyptian embalming process displays a great degree of temporal development over its long history⁶⁷. The presence or absence of evisceration and/or excerebration, the position of the body, the quality of mummification, and the style of wrappings can all be useful in establishing the date of a mummy.

Establishing the date of the mummies from Side Chamber 1A proved to be quite challenging. Due to the effects of flooding, all three mummies had been very poorly preserved, meaning that features such as the position of the evisceration incision could not be assessed and used as a dating criterion. Furthermore, it was not possible to ascertain whether any of the mummies had undergone excerebration. The skulls of Burials 002 and 003 were fragmented, and it was

⁶⁷ Ikram and Dodson, "The Mummy in Ancient Egypt", 103-136.

not possible to identify any signs of excerebration on their nasal and ethmoid bones. Examination of the skull of Burial 001 concluded that they had not been excerebrated via the nose, but as was the case for all three mummies, it was not possible to examine the foramen magnum to discern whether this could have been the conduit for excerebration.

The position of the body, and particularly the placement of the arms, is another criterion that can be used to date mummies. Despite the fact that Burial 001 consists only of the upper half of the body, the embalmers were not limited in terms of the position they could place the arms in. Whilst they chose to cross the arms over the chest with the hands resting on the shoulders, another option would have been to arrange the upper arms along the sides of the torso, with the forearms folded over what remains of the abdomen just above where the body is truncated. The mummy's crossed arms could therefore be indicative of a period.

The placement of the arms of Burial 002 was difficult to reconstruct as the bones had been dislodged from their original position and are quite disrupted (see Figure 8). However, the presence of bones from the right hand in the region of the upper left chest indicates that the right arm had been crossed over the chest, with the hand extended flat. Due to the disruption of the bones, it was not possible to reconstruct the original position of the left arm. The arm position of Burial 003 was not obvious as all of the bones from the forearms and hands were absent. However, the position of humeri suggest that the arms had been extended along his sides.

Arm position in mummies dating to the Late Period is variable, as they could be crossed over the chest, extended along the sides of the body, or could have one arm crossed and the other

arm extended⁶⁸. Mummies from the Ptolemaic Period are more consistent in their arm positioning, with the majority having their arms crossed over their chest⁶⁹. The position of the arms of the three mummies are consistent with both a Late Period and a Ptolemaic Period date. Therefore, assessment of the quality of the mummification and the style of the wrappings might allow for a more precise date estimate to be made.

Unfortunately, the mummies are very poorly preserved and are almost completely skeletonized, and most of the wrappings have disintegrated, especially on the anterior surface of the mummies. Nevertheless, it has been possible to draw some conclusions about how the three mummies were embalmed and wrapped.

Very little resin is apparent amongst the wrappings of Burial 001 and Burial 002, although in the latter, there is evidence that resin had been poured directly onto the skin. This is contrast to the remaining wrappings on the legs of Burial 003 which are blackened with resin. Burial 003 also has resin-soaked bandages stuffed into the mouth and the thoracic and abdominal cavity. No traces of packing material of any description were found in Burial 001, but Burial 002 had packing consisting of a mixture of resin and sawdust in the thoracic and abdominal cavity. Each of the three mummies have been wrapped with at least two different qualities of linen – one fine and one coarse.

It is evident that the three mummies have each received different embalming treatment. This may suggest that they are of differing dates, although it is possible that they might differ due to variation in ranks, status, or the embalming house/embalmer used⁷⁰. The wrappings that

⁶⁸ Maarten J. Raven and Wybren K. Taconis, *Egyptian Mummies: Radiological Atlas of the Collections in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2005), 39.

⁶⁹ Raven and Taconis, "Egyptian Mummies", 157.

⁷⁰ Ikram, "Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt", 53-56.

remain on both Burial 001 and Burial 002 show that significantly less resin was used than on the wrappings of Burial 003. Such heavy use of resin as seen on Burial 003 is a characteristic commonly seen in mummies dating to the Ptolemaic Period⁷¹, suggesting that this mummy may be of a later date than the other two.

Wooden Coffins

Three wooden coffins were found within Side Chamber 1A, with each being associated with one of the three burials. The lids of the coffins from Burial 001 and Burial 003 had been displaced during one of the flood events and had floated to the top of the debris layer within the chamber. The lid of the coffin from Burial 002 had remained *in situ*; although, the lid had heavily fragmented and collapsed onto the mummy inside.

All the coffins and coffin fragments found in the chamber have suffered the effects of the floodwater, with most elements being in a very fragile state and the majority of the plaster and painted decoration lost. Much of the wood has fragmented and it is difficult to tell which piece belonged to which coffin, save for a few fragments found at the head of Burial 002 that seem to belong to it. Therefore, any diagnostic features found on these fragments of wood, whilst useful for dating the assemblage as a whole, can unfortunately not be used to assign a date to a particular burial.

The coffin associated with Burial 001 consists of an anthropoid wooden coffin base measuring 220cm in length which is still *in situ* on the chamber floor. There is evidence that this coffin had been reused to house Burial 001 as the dimensions of the coffin indicate that it was

⁷¹ Raven and Taconis, "Egyptian Mummies", 157.

originally the outer coffin from a set of two⁷². The size of the coffin meant that it could only fit inside the chamber after being inserted at angle – while the head of the coffin is pushed into the north-west corner of the chamber; the feet of the coffin lie to the south-east. The lid of this coffin had been displaced during one of the flood events and was found atop the layer of debris within the chamber. Both the coffin lid and base have been heavily fragmented but the mask from the lid of the coffin has survived intact (see Figure 10). The face, which measures 39cm in height and 44.5cm in width, is made of dark wood and has a prominent nose with outlined eyes and lips. A socket for a beard attachment can be seen underneath the mask’s chin, identifying that this coffin was intended for the burial of a man. The rear surface of the mask is flat and traces of the dowels, which once attached it to the coffin lid, still remain in place. Traces of linen can be observed on the surface of the mask suggesting that it had once been painted and decorated.



Figure 10: Mask from the coffin associated with Burial 001; photograph courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

⁷² Parallels for contemporary outer coffins with similar dimensions to those of the coffin from Burial 001 include the outer coffin of the Lady of the House Takhebkhennem (British Museum, EA6690) which measures 224cm in length, and the outer coffin of Isettayefnakhte (Royal Cornwall Museum, 1837.23.3) which measures 216.5cm in length.

The coffin associated with Burial 002 is the only one in the chamber which had its lid *in situ* (see Figure 11). The coffin is oriented north-south and flanks the east wall of the chamber. It is anthropoid and the mummy inside closely fits the dimensions of the coffin base, which measures 170cm in length. The upper portion of the coffin lid is almost intact, preserving the face mask and wig. The face is well-modelled and has a long, broad nose. The wig has long lappets that are characteristic of a tripartite wig, and this feature together with the absence of a beard shows that this coffin was intended to house a female burial⁷³. The lower portion of the coffin lid is heavily fragmented and had partially collapsed onto the legs of the mummy within. The coffin is made of a light coloured wood with traces of black decoration still apparent. No traces of inscriptions have survived to allow us to identify the owner of the coffin.



Figure 11: Lid of the coffin associated with Burial 002 post-excavation; photograph courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

⁷³ Pavel Onderka, Gabriela Jungová, Jiří Bučil, Lubica Oktábcová, and Jakub Pečený, “Egyptian Mummies and Coffins in the Collections of the Náprstek Museum: Adult Human Mummies,” *Annals of the Náprstek Museum* 36/2 (2015): 23-48.

Burial 003 is associated with a coffin composed of two mismatched elements: the coffin base is rectangular and made of plain wood and measures 190cm, whilst the coffin lid is anthropoid in shape (see Figure 12). This lid had been displaced during one of the flood events and was found atop the layer of debris, and was determined as belonging to Burial 003 during the 2015 excavation.

Whilst the front panel of the coffin lid including the face mask and wig is almost complete, the side panels have been broken away in several large fragments. The wig is tripartite and the mask does not have a socket where a beard attachment could be attached. These features indicate that this coffin lid was designed for a woman. No traces of hands can be observed on the coffin lid.



Figure 12: Lid of the coffin associated with Burial 003; photograph courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

Although the majority of the decoration from the coffin lid has been lost as a result of flood damage, panels from the side of the coffin lid, that is, the right shoulder and flank, retain sections of painted plaster bearing polychrome hieroglyphs on a yellow ground. A section from the right shoulder of the coffin lid has an inscription that includes the name

‘Ankhnesneferibre’, a name shared by the final God’s Wife of Amun at the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. This coffin lid might therefore once have housed the burial of a person who had been associated with Ankhnesneferibre, perhaps working on the large estates of land controlled by the actual God’s Wife of Amun. However, with so little of the text preserved, any association with the eponymous God’s Wife of Amun must remain speculative.

Before attempting to date the coffins from Side Chamber 1A it is important to note that two of the three coffins show clear signs of reuse. The coffin from Burial 003 is mismatched, with a plain rectangular base and a highly decorated anthropoid lid, which has clearly been reused from an earlier burial. The coffin base also appears to have been too small to accommodate the complete mummy. The feet of the mummy are completely absent, perhaps indicating that they had been removed in order to fit the body within the coffin base. There is also the obvious discrepancy between the anthropoid lid being designed for a female and the male burial housed within. Coffin reuse was a widespread practice as the both scarcity of raw materials, namely wood, and the expense of commissioning a coffin set led to the coffins from older burials being procured and used to accommodate new tenants⁷⁴.

Burial 001 is in a very large coffin, the dimensions of which suggest that it was once the outer coffin of a set of two and therefore demonstrates an instance of reuse. In contrast, the coffin from Burial 002 shows several signs that it has been commissioned for the person it housed and had not been reused. The base and lid match, and the coffin’s dimensions fit those of the mummy. Furthermore, the female features of the coffin, which are the tripartite wig and absence of a beard, are consistent with the sex of the mummy within.

⁷⁴ Kathlyn M. Cooney, *Coffin Commerce: How a Funerary Materiality formed Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 11.

The date of coffins can be estimated by examining their characteristics including their style of decoration; their shape; and the style of the wig and mask⁷⁵. The coffins from Side Chamber 1A have been fragmented as a result of flooding, and almost all traces of their original paint has been lost. This has made dating them based on the layout of their decoration⁷⁶ quite difficult.

The exceptions are the panels from the right side of the coffin lid from Burial 003 which still bear sections of painted plaster with polychrome hieroglyphs on a yellow ground. The hieroglyphs are written using red, green and blue paint and are arranged in horizontal registers that are separated by alternating blue and red lines. One fragment also retains a section of a decorative border in the form of a block frieze consisting of red, blue, green and yellow rectangles (see Figure 13).

The style of the decorative border conforms to Taylor's type A and is most commonly seen on coffins dating to Taylor's Theban Phase IV⁷⁷ which correlates to a date of c. 720 BC to c. 590 BC⁷⁸. The inscriptions are more difficult to date accurately as only a small proportion of them remain and the overall decorative scheme of the coffin cannot be reconstructed. Nevertheless, the colour scheme of polychrome hieroglyphs on a ground of one colour; in this case, yellow; is seen on coffins dating to Taylor's Theban Phase III (c. 750-720 BC) and Theban Phase IV (c. 720-590 BC)⁷⁹.

⁷⁵ Ikram and Dodson, "The Mummy in Ancient Egypt", 193-243.

⁷⁶ John Hilton Taylor, "The Development of Theban Coffins during the Third Intermediate Period: A Typological Study, Volume 1" (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1985), 17.

⁷⁷ Taylor, "The Development of Theban Coffins", 344.

⁷⁸ Taylor, "The Development of Theban Coffins", 136.

⁷⁹ Taylor, "The Development of Theban Coffins", 336.



Figure 13: Detail from the lid of the coffin associated with Burial 003 displaying the polychrome inscriptions on a yellow ground (top) and the block frieze decorative border (bottom); photograph courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

The poor state of preservation of the coffins meant that assessment of their date based on their shape was not possible as pertinent details such as body contours and the shape of the foot pedestal had not survived. Furthermore, whilst tripartite wigs could be identified on the coffins associated with Burial 002 and Burial 003, all details of their decoration had been lost so the author could not determine where these wigs fit into Taylor’s typology of wigs from Theban coffins⁸⁰. However, Taylor’s personal examination of the coffins as recorded in the unpublished report of the 2014-2015 excavation season concludes that the style of the wig lappets was consistent with those found on coffins dating to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty⁸¹. Similarly, the decoration on all three face masks had been lost and therefore the author was unable to estimate their date using Taylor’s typology of face masks from Theban coffins⁸².

⁸⁰ Taylor, “The Development of Theban Coffins”, 282-296.

⁸¹ Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

⁸² Taylor, “The Development of Theban Coffins”, 296.

However, as in the case of the wigs, Taylor’s personal assessment of the iconography of the facial features of the masks concluded that they were consistent with a Twenty-sixth Dynasty date⁸³.

Mud “Outer Coffins”

One interesting feature discovered during the excavation of Side Chamber 1A was the presence of what appeared to be rectangular outer coffins made of compacted mud which surrounded the wooden coffins of Burial 001 and Burial 002 (see Figure 14). These mud “coffins” are built directly up from the chamber floor to a height of approximately 10 to 15cm.



Figure 14: The structure in the upper left corner is a section of the mud “coffin” surrounding Burial 002; photograph courtesy of Markus Wallas.

⁸³ Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

However, closer examination of these structures indicated that they were not man-made, and had instead been formed when mud deposited in the chamber during one of the flood events became impacted against the wooden coffins of Burials 001 and 002⁸⁴.

Unlike Burial 001 and Burial 002, Burial 003 is not surrounded by impacted mud. Instead, the wooden coffin associated with this burial has been placed upon a carefully prepared layer of mud and plaster, which covers the chamber floor to a depth of around 5cm. This plaster layer abuts the impacted mud surrounding Burials 001 and 002 indicating that it was deposited later (see Figure 15). Furthermore, a section from the north-west corner of the impacted mud surrounding Burial 002 has been deliberately broken away in order to accommodate the coffin associated with Burial 003, once again indicating that Burial 003 was deposited at a later date than its counterparts.



Figure 15: The space between Burial 003 (top) and Burial 002 (bottom) reveals the layer of mud and plaster that the coffin of Burial 003 lies atop; photograph courtesy of Markus Wallas.

⁸⁴ Dr Pischikova, personal communication.

Cartonnage

A small group of cartonnage fragments were identified when the lid of the coffin from Burial 001 was cleaned, which suggest that this burial was equipped with an inner coffin made of cartonnage. Although two of the fragments bore traces of red and light brown pigment, no inscriptions or details of decoration have survived.

Cartonnage inner coffins were a common feature of Third Intermediate Period burials – the mummy was covered with a layer of moulded cartonnage that could be sewn up at the back⁸⁵. However, cartonnage was also widely utilized during the Ptolemaic Period⁸⁶ so the presence of cartonnage within the chamber establishes that the assemblage dates from between the Third Intermediate Period and the Ptolemaic Period. More accurate dating of the cartonnage fragments based on assessment of their iconography⁸⁷ was impossible because their poor state of preservation meant that any significant details of decoration could not be discerned.

Faience Beads and Amulets

Thousands of faience beads were found in clusters throughout Side Chamber 1A. These included tubular, spherical, seed and ring/disc beads⁸⁸. A variety of colours were represented including blue, green, yellow, red, black and white. Approximately 22,000 faience beads were found during the 2015 excavation, and further beads were found *in situ* when the mummies were being excavated in 2018. Several ring beads were found on the face of Burial 003, and round and tubular beads were found when the legs of Burial 002 were being cleared.

⁸⁵ Suzanne Onstine, “A Preliminary Report on the Clearance of Theban Tomb 16 in Dra Abu el-Naga in Thebes,” in *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings and Ancient Thebes: Papers Presented in Honor of Richard H. Wilkinson*, ed. Pearce Paul Creaseman (Arizona: University of Arizona Egyptian Exhibition, 2013), 230.

⁸⁶ Ikram and Dodson, “The Mummy in Ancient Egypt”, 187.

⁸⁷ Aston, “Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25”, 275-284.

⁸⁸ One cluster (2015:628) contained 19,990 faience beads.

In addition, several faience amulets were found within Side Chamber 1A. These included three oval scarabs (see Figure 16). These scarabs are uninscribed but have incised decoration which gives detail to the scarab's body and head. The legs are not indicated. Also found was the left wing from a winged scarab amulet. Each scarab is pierced with six holes, indicating that they had been woven into a beaded net⁸⁹.

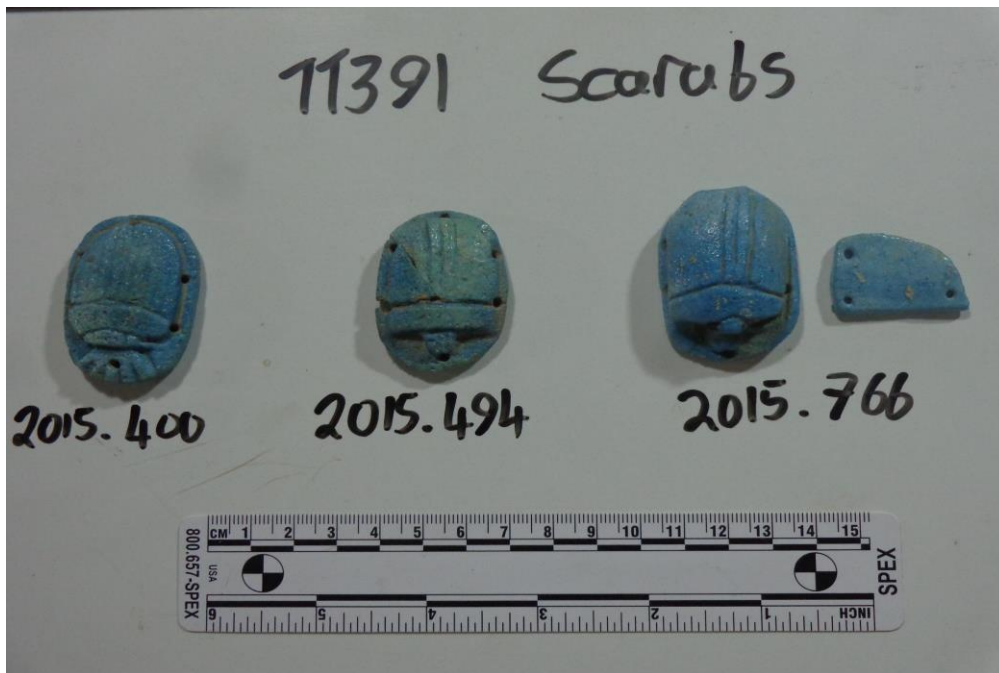


Figure 16: The three scarabs and one scarab wing found in the side chamber. Note the perforations to facilitate attachment to a beaded net; photograph courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

Several fragments from faience amulets representing the Four Sons of Horus were also recovered. Of these, the amulet depicting the baboon headed deity Hapy is the most complete (see Figure 17)⁹⁰. Each amulet is crafted from a flat piece of faience and depict the deity as mummiform. Incised decoration provides details, showing each deity with a tripartite wig and a broad collar indicated by horizontal stripes. Like the scarabs, the amulets of the Four Sons

⁸⁹ Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

⁹⁰ Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

of Horus have perforations at the head and foot which indicate that they could have been attached to a beaded net.



Figure 17: Fragments of amulets representing the Four Sons of Horus; photograph courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

The style of the amulets correspond to those found on Aston's Type A beaded nets⁹¹. These nets feature a single winged scarab⁹² and four amulets, each representing one of the Four Sons of Horus. Type A beaded nets cover the mummy from the height of the shoulder to the base of the torso, or in some cases, the ankle. Aston dates the development of this type of beaded net to c. 750-700 BC and notes that they represent the earliest examples of beaded nets⁹³. Aston

⁹¹ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 290.

⁹² According to Aston ("Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 290-292), Type A nets only have one winged scarab, which is made of faience. In Type B and Type C nets, the scarabs are made of cartonnage, not faience.

⁹³ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 292.

collates eight dated examples of Type A beaded nets from the Theban region which range in date from c. 750-525 BC⁹⁴.

The thousands of faience beads, fragments of amulets of the Four Sons of Horus and the three examples of winged scarabs confirm that at least one of the burials deposited in the side chamber was equipped with a beaded net of Type A. All of the fragments of the Four Sons of Horus amulets are of the same design, suggesting that they could have originated from the same net. However, the presence of three winged scarabs with perforations for attachment to a beaded net indicates that all three mummies could have been equipped with a Type A beaded net as these feature a single winged scarab located at the mid-chest region.

Canopic Box

A group of wooden panels that made up a canopic box⁹⁵ were found behind the head of Burial 002. The box was rectangular, and its panels were joined together with wooden dowels. Traces of white plaster and a blue and black inscription remain although this is sadly illegible, but an incised image of a *wadjet* eye is still discernable (see Figure 18).

⁹⁴ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 292.

⁹⁵ Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.



Figure 18: Detail of the wadjet eye incised on the canopic box; photograph courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

Although the dimensions of the box cannot be measured due to the incompleteness of the remains, the length of one intact panel reveals that it was 36cm long along one axis. No identifiable fragments of the lid have been recovered.

Both the shape and the material of the canopic box conform to Aston's Type A which describes rectangular boxes made of wood and plaster with convex lids⁹⁶. Boxes of these type were widely used in the Theban region during the seventh century BC⁹⁷. The presence of such a box in the side chamber is an important dating criterion because the use of canopic boxes of began to die out at the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664-525 BC), and had all but disappeared by the Twenty-seventh Dynasty (525-404 BC)⁹⁸.

⁹⁶ David A. Aston, "Canopic Chests from the Twenty-First Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period," *Ägypten und Levante* 10 (2000): 159-178.

⁹⁷ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 301.

⁹⁸ Aston, "Canopic Chests", 159-178.

Shabtis

Numerous complete and fragmented shabtis were found within Side Chamber 1A. There are three different types of shabtis: those made of mud, painted clay, and faience (see Figure 19). None of the shabtis or fragments thereof are inscribed. The 2015 excavation found groups of shabtis (material not specified) in the north-east corner of the chamber, as well as in the space between the coffins of Burial 002 and Burial 003. A further group of mud shabtis were found within two shabti boxes which were placed at the foot of one of the coffins⁹⁹. Thus, it is difficult to associate any one group with a particular burial. Although the author has not been able to examine these shabti boxes first hand as they had been moved into the storage magazine, the excavation report from 2015 states that they conform to Type VII in Aston's chronology of shabti boxes¹⁰⁰. Boxes of this type originated during the late Tenth-early Ninth centuries BC, and continued to be used into the early Saite Period (Twenty-sixth Dynasty)¹⁰¹.

During the 2018 excavation, several examples of painted clay and faience shabtis were found in the space between the right side of the coffin from Burial 002 and the east wall of the chamber. A further group of mud shabtis were found next to the left side of the head of the coffin associated with Burial 001.

The mud shabtis are formed from mud-clay that has been pressed into a mould and left to dry. 38 complete examples and 402 fragments of mud shabtis were recorded during the 2015 excavation. The complete mud shabtis measure between 5.2-7cm in length. They are mummiform and have tripartite wigs and beards, although the facial features are not detailed.

⁹⁹ Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

¹⁰⁰ Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

¹⁰¹ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 372.



Figure 19: Examples of mud (left), painted clay (centre) and faience (right) shabtis from Side Chamber 1A; photographs courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

They have no back pillar or base and several examples bear traces of the fingerprints of the worker who made them¹⁰². The mud shabtis conform to Aston's Type K: small, uninscribed mud shabtis with a "clumsy representation of a mummiform shape"¹⁰³.

Like the mud shabtis, the painted clay shabtis were made by being pressed into a mould. They are formed of clay which has been painted with a blue pigment, presumably as a skeuomorph for blue faience. 23 complete examples and 208 fragments of painted clay shabtis were found during the 2015 excavation. The complete examples measure 4.4cm in length. The shabtis are mummiform and have tripartite wigs and beards. Several examples of the painted clay shabtis which appear to have been pressed harder into the mould have facial features and traces of crossed hands holding two hoes¹⁰⁴. The painted clay shabtis also conform to Aston's Type K as examples of this type of shabti can be coloured with a blue, green or white wash¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰² Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

¹⁰³ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 358-359.

¹⁰⁴ Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

¹⁰⁵ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 361.

The faience shabtis come in two sizes, one measuring between 5.7-7.1cm in length, and the other 4-4.5cm in length. Several shabti fragments were recovered: 33 fragments of the larger ones were found during the 2015 excavation, of which five complete figures could be reconstructed. The smaller shabti type yielded five complete examples, along with seven fragments from which two complete shabtis could be reconstructed. The larger shabtis are a light blue-green colour whilst the smaller shabtis are deep blue. Both sizes of shabtis have the same features: they are mummiform and have tripartite wigs and beards. As in the case with the painted clay shabtis, those faience shabtis that have been pressed harder into the mould have traces of facial features and hands, although the arms are not depicted. The faience shabtis conform to Aston's Type G: faience shabtis that have smooth uncounted bodies, do not have arms, and are always bearded¹⁰⁶.

Aston's Type K shabtis first appear at the end of the tenth or beginning of the ninth century BC and are used, unchanged, until at least the end of the Third Intermediate Period¹⁰⁷. The earliest examples of Type G shabtis date to the beginning of the seventh century BC and are later replaced by other styles of shabti 'during the later seventh century'¹⁰⁸.

Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Figures

Two Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures were found within the chamber, along with a small wooden Sokar bird, which would have stood at the opposite end of the base plinth from the figure. The bodies of the figures were made of wood and were mummiform, with both having a tripartite wig and a beard (see Figure 20). Although greatly degraded due to the effects of flooding, the bodies of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures retain traces of their original decoration which was

¹⁰⁶ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 357.

¹⁰⁷ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 364.

¹⁰⁸ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 364.

composed of painted plaster. One figure retains traces of blue pigment, whilst the other has traces of red. The bodies measure 32.2cm and 37.4cm in length respectively.



Figure 20: Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure; photograph courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

Two sets of plumes that were once attached to the heads of the two Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures were present in the assemblage. These plumes are made of wood and are approximately 10cm in length. Both sets of plumes are designed to resemble a pair of šw feathers. Also found were two sets of wooden ‘ram’s horns’ which also adorned the heads of the two figures. These items

make it possible to conclude that both of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures were equipped with a *šwty* crown.

The Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures can be confidently dated, as the modelling of the figures and their *šwty* crowns match those in Aston's Typology Type III, which dates to 700-625 B.C.,¹⁰⁹ which corresponds to the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

Furniture

Several fragments of wood thought to be from an item of furniture were found in the chamber (see Figure 21). One of the fragments is almost certainly the remains of a chair or funerary bed leg. The upper part of the fragment is square in cross section, but then tapers into a rounded foot. It is not possible to date these fragments as no diagnostic features are apparent.



Figure 21: Fragments of furniture including a furniture leg; photograph courtesy of Katherine Blakeney.

¹⁰⁹ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 305.

Pottery

A report assessing the pottery from Side Chamber 1A was compiled by Dr. Julia Budka¹¹⁰. A total of 65 complete vessels were found in the chamber. Of these, most consist of open pottery forms such as goldfish bowls, conical beakers and dishes. Also attested are 10 small two-handled jars and jugs, two oil jars and one Oasis keg¹¹¹. Budka concluded that the majority of vessels in the chamber date from the early to the mid-Ptolemaic Period, although for some of the pottery a date of the late Saite and Persian Period, corresponding to the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Dynasties “cannot be excluded”¹¹².

Animal Bones

The animal bones include those from the foreleg of a cow, possibly 18 to 24 months of age¹¹³. This foreleg was found just above the head of the coffin associated with Burial 003. It is presumably a funerary offering that might relate to a funerary meal or the Opening of the Mouth Ritual that in images often involves severing the foreleg of a cow/calf¹¹⁴. Cattle forelegs are often parts of funerary offerings, so it is difficult to establish the exact nature of this faunal deposit, and it should be noted that the courtyard into which the chamber was cut contained many parts of cattle¹¹⁵.

Intrusive Items

The assemblage from Side Chamber 1A included three items that were intrusive and were not part of the burial accoutrements of any of the interments in the chamber. One such item is the

¹¹⁰ Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

¹¹¹ Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

¹¹² Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

¹¹³ Dr. Salima Ikram, personal communication.

¹¹⁴ Alan R. Schulman, “The Iconographic Theme: “Opening of the Mouth” on Stelae,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 21 (1984): 169-196; Dr Salima Ikram, personal communication.

¹¹⁵ Dr. Salima Ikram, personal communication.

right ischium of a child aged 6 years old which was found when clearing debris from Burial 002. As only one bone belonging to this child was found within the tomb it seems reasonable to conclude that it was washed into the chamber during one of the flood events. Another such item is a fragment of an Eighteenth Dynasty beer jar. This is clearly intrusive as it predates the construction of the tomb of Karabasken by some 700 years. The final item is the bottom half of a large pale-blue faience shabti of probable Ptolemaic date¹¹⁶. Although there are items of the burial accoutrements which are of Ptolemaic date, this fragment of shabti is the only example of its type found in the chamber, again suggesting that it has been washed into the chamber from outside.

Items NOT found within the Assemblage

Interestingly, there were several objects that are typically noted in Third Intermediate Period through Ptolemaic Period burial assemblages that were not found amongst the corpus from Side Chamber 1A. These include examples of small, round topped wooden stelae that depict the deceased before a deity¹¹⁷, as well as canopic equipment. The only evidence of canopic equipment was the wooden canopic box associated with Burial 002. However, by the Third Intermediate Period, the embalmers wrapped the viscera and placed them back within the body cavity, or later placed them between the thighs and legs¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁶ Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

¹¹⁷ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 348-349.

¹¹⁸ Ikram and Dodson, "The Mummy in Ancient Egypt", 128.

Summary Table of the Contents of Side Chamber 1A

This table summarises the dates estimated for each object type described above.

Object Type	Estimated Date
Mummies	Late Period to Ptolemaic Period.
Wooden Coffins	c. Twenty-sixth Dynasty.
Mud “Outer Coffins”	No discernable dating features.
Cartonnage	Third Intermediate Period to Ptolemaic Period.
Faience beads and Amulets	750-525 BC.
Canopic Box	Seventh century BC.
Shabtis	Seventh century BC.
Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Figures	700-625 BC.
Furniture	No discernable dating features.
Pottery	Twenty-sixth to Twenty-seventh Dynasty; early to mid-Ptolemaic Period.
Animal Bones	No discernable dating features.

The contents of Side Chamber 1A have been badly degraded as a result of a series of flood events in antiquity. Despite this, it has been possible to estimate the date of many of the objects by comparing their characteristics with those of parallels of a known date. These estimations range from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the mid-Ptolemaic Period – covering a time period of some five hundred years. This indicates that the side chamber was not a case of a single interment of three people and their corresponding burial equipment, but rather had been used and reused over a long period of time. The mummies from the chamber also

reflect this, as Burial 003 is of a later date than Burial 001 and 002. Thus, the area must have been accessible and the door to this chamber visible for quite some time.

There were some items amongst the assemblage which had no discernable features that would allow their date to be estimated. Nevertheless, these items are valuable in terms of reconstructing the contents of the chamber at the time that it was last used. A proposed sequence of events from the cutting of the chamber to the interment of its final occupant will be detailed in the following chapter.

Chapter Three

Proposed Sequence of Events

This section proposes a reconstruction of the sequence of events from the first interment within Side Chamber 1A to the burial of its final occupant. The reconstruction is supported by the estimated dates of the different objects within the burial assemblage as detailed above. It is apparent that the chamber had been reused at least twice since the interment of its primary occupant and that each instance of reuse had changed the layout of the tomb.

Side Chamber 1A was hewn out of the north face of the sun-court of the tomb of Karabasken to accommodate the interment of Burial 002. Evidence that Burial 002 was the original occupant of the chamber comes from the fact that the dimensions of her coffin fit perfectly within the tomb and the coffin has been deposited against the wall which is furthest away from the entrance to the chamber. However, it should be noted that the coffin containing Burial 002 could have been pushed up against the wall when the chamber was reopened, presumably to make space to accommodate a later burial. Burial 002 was equipped with a wooden coffin, a canopic box which was placed behind her head, a beaded mummy net and a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure.

Next to be buried in the chamber was Burial 001. Unlike the coffin associated with Burial 002, the coffin associated with Burial 001 had to be placed into the chamber at an oblique angle as it was too long to be placed alongside the wall. This indicates that the interment of Burial 001 succeeded that of Burial 002 because had he been the primary occupant of the chamber, the dimensions of the chamber would be sufficient to contain the dimensions of his coffin. Burial 001's funerary equipment includes a wooden coffin, a beaded mummy net and a Ptah-Sokar-

Osiris figure. Because the burial assemblage of Burial 001 is so similar in style and date to that of Burial 002 it can be concluded that these burials were interred within a short period of time of each other. Further evidence to support this hypothesis is the fact that the coffins associated with Burials 001 and 002 are placed straight onto the floor of the chamber, not atop of any debris. This indicates that their interments predated the first flood event.

Interestingly, when the skeletons of Burial 001 and Burial 002 were examined, it was noted that both had bilateral olecranon foramina, a heritable non-metric trait where there is a hole through the olecranon fossa of the distal humerus¹¹⁹. A study into the prevalence of this trait amongst the modern Egyptian population found a frequency of 7.9%¹²⁰. The presence of two individuals with the same non-metric trait in the same chamber indicates that there may be a genetic link between the pair. Burial 002's burial place could therefore have been reused by Burial 001 as a desire to inter the deceased man alongside his female relative who had recently died.

Examination of the funerary assemblage of Burial 001 and Burial 002 suggests that they were interred during the seventh century BC (Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty). The two Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, one for each burial, can be confidently dated to 700-625 BC. The date of the coffins, shabtis, canopic box and a number of items of pottery also correspond with this estimate.

¹¹⁹ C. Shivaleela, Khizer Hussain Afroze and S. Lakshmi Praba, "An Osteological Study of Supratrochlear Foramen of Humerus of South Indian Population with reference to anatomical and clinical implications." *Anatomy & Cell Biology* 49 (December 2016): 249-253.

¹²⁰ A. Öztürk, C. Kutlu, B. Bayraktar, Z. Ari, and K. Sahinoglu, "The supratrochlear foramen in the humerus (anatomical study)." *Istanbul Tıp Fakültesi Mecmuası* 63/1 (2000): 72-76.

The final interment was that of Burial 003 which was deposited in the space between Burials 001 and 002. Burial 003 lies atop a prepared layer made of mud and plaster built up from the floor of the chamber. This layer abuts the impacted mud surrounding Burials 001 and 002, confirming that it was deposited later. The interment of Burial 003 evidently took place during the early to mid-Ptolemaic Period as the majority of the pottery found in the tomb dates from this era¹²¹. In addition to the pottery and a wooden coffin, Burial 003 was equipped with a beaded mummy net and the foreleg of a cow which was placed just above the head of his coffin.

Whilst every effort has been made to determine which objects in the assemblage accompanied each of the burials, the disruption caused by a series of flood events have meant that some of the items could not be confidently attributed to a particular burial and the original position of the item could not be ascertained. This is most apparent in the case of the shabtis. Whilst the chamber yielded a corpus of mud, painted clay and faience shabtis, the relative positions of clusters of shabtis within the tomb made it impossible to determine which burial they had accompanied. Similarly, as the cartonnage fragments and furniture elements were too degraded to be dated, they could not be attributed to a particular burial.

The layout of Side Chamber 1A and the dates of the assemblage found within has allowed the sequence of events to be reconstructed. This can be summarised as follows:

1. The chamber was hewn during the seventh century BC to accommodate Burial 002. Burial 002 was equipped with a wooden coffin, a canopic box, a beaded mummy net, and a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure.

¹²¹ Unpublished report from the 2014-2015 excavation season by the SACP.

2. A short time later, Burial 001, who may have been a relation of Burial 002, was interred in the chamber. Burial 001 was equipped with a reused wooden coffin, a beaded mummy net, and a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure.
3. In the years after the chamber was sealed following the interment of Burial 002, flood events caused damage and disruption to the contents of the chamber, and introduced debris and intrusive objects. However, the entrance to the chamber remained visible until at least the early-mid Ptolemaic Period, where it was reused for the interment of Burial 003.
4. During the early-mid Ptolemaic Period, the chamber was reused for the interment of Burial 003. The space between Burials 001 and 002 was cleared to accommodate Burial 003, and a layer of mud and plaster was built up on the chamber floor which the coffin of Burial 003 was placed atop. Burial 003 was equipped with a reused wooden coffin, pottery, a beaded mummy net, and an offering in the form of the foreleg of a cow.
5. Further flood events accumulated debris in the sun-court which obscured the entrance to the chamber.
6. The chamber was rediscovered in 2014 by the South Asasif Conservation Project.
7. The chamber was excavated during the 2015 and 2018 seasons.

Chapter Four

Side Chamber 1A in Context: Intrusive Activity from the Proto-Kushite tombs of South and North Asasif

The tombs of Karabasken (TT391) and Karakhamun (TT223) were the holotypes for a new style of monumental tomb architecture which was utilised in the Theban Necropolis during the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties¹²². These tombs are characterized by a large open-air courtyard, or *lichthof*, which is cut into the bedrock¹²³. There are fourteen tombs of this type in the Theban Necropolis which are clustered in two areas: the South and North Asasifs. The South Asasif is located in the southern section of the Theban Necropolis and is bordered by Sheikh Abd el-Qurna to the north, the Ramesseum to the west, Qurnet Murai to the south and Deir el-Medina to the east. The North Asasif is located on the northern side of the bay of Deir el-Bahari and is bordered by Dra Abu el-Naga to the north and Khokha to the south.

The four proto-Kushite tombs of the South Asasif are TT209 (Nisemro), TT223 (Karakhamun), TT390 (Irtieru), and TT391 (Karabasken)¹²⁴. The ten proto-Kushite tombs of the North Asasif are TT27 (Sheshonq), TT33 (Padiamunopet), TT34 (Montuemhat), TT36 (Ibi), TT37 (Harwa), TT196 (Padihorresnet), TT197 (Padineith), TT279 (Pabasa), TT410 (Mutiridis), and TT414 (Ankh-hor)¹²⁵.

This chapter will catalogue and evaluate evidence of intrusive burials from this group in order to examine how the assemblage from Side Chamber 1A in the tomb of Karabasken (TT391) compares and contrasts to those found in other tombs with comparable architecture. For the

¹²² Einaudi, "Between North and South Asasif", 323-342.

¹²³ Coppens, "The so-called "Lichthof"", 343-356.

¹²⁴ Porter and Moss, "Topographical Bibliography".

¹²⁵ Porter and Moss, "Topographical Bibliography".

purposes of this chapter, all evidence of intrusive activity within the tomb will be considered including details of architectural changes, for example, rooms or shafts which were not part of the tomb's original design; intrusive elements such as stelae or inscriptions added by those who usurped the tomb; and the types and quantity of any remaining components from intrusive burial assemblages. Where possible, excavation reports from each tomb will be consulted. However, not all of the tombs in this group have been published, and in two cases, excavations are still ongoing.

Catalogue of Intrusive Activity from the Proto-Kushite tombs of South and North Asasif

TT27 (Sheshonq)

The tomb of Sheshonq is located in the North Asasif and dates to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty¹²⁶. Since 1970, the tomb has been excavated by a mission from the University of Rome, 'La Sapienza'¹²⁷. During the course of the 1996 season, human remains were discovered when clearing debris from a compartment of two rooms (Room G and H) which was cut into the southwest corner of the Second Pillared Hall. As Contardi states, these remains are 'witnesses to the reuse of the tomb'¹²⁸.

Further evidence of reuse from TT 27 comes in the form of a stela which was found in four fragments in the tomb's 'hypostyle hall'. The stela gives the name and titles of Seshem-Nefertem and can be dated to the Thirtieth Dynasty-Early Ptolemaic Period based on examination of its iconography and palaeography¹²⁹.

¹²⁶ Porter and Moss, "Topographical Bibliography", 43.

¹²⁷ Federico Contardi, "La Tomba di Sheshonq (TT 27) All'Asasif. Missione Archaeologica dell'Universita di Roma 'La Sapienza'. Campagne di Scavo 2005-2008," *Ricerche Italiane e Scavi in Egitto* IV (2010), 105-110.

¹²⁸ Contardi, "La Tomba di Sheshonq (TT 27)" 105-110.

¹²⁹ Federico Contardi, "The Stela of Seshem-Nefertem from the Tomb of Sheshonq (TT 27)." *Orientalia*, NOVA Series, 75/2 (2006): 141-55.

TT 33 (Padiamunopet)

The tomb of Padiamunopet is located in the North Asasif and dates to the Twenty-fifth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty¹³⁰. The tomb has two open-air courtyards: the larger First Court and the smaller Portico Court. The Portico Court has two subsidiary tombs cut into the south and north walls. The southern tomb, TT 242, consists of a 27 metre long corridor, which has a shaft at its western end which terminates in a small burial chamber¹³¹. An inscription on the tomb's doorjamb reveals that the tomb belongs to Wahibre, who held the title of Chamberlain of the God's Wife of Amun, Ankhnesneferibre¹³². This dates the tomb to the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The northern tomb, TT 388, includes a large main hall which measures 13 metres by 4 metres. The hall includes images of the deceased before an offering list but these images are not accompanied by inscriptions so the identity of the tomb owner is unknown¹³³. The quality of the carving and the size of TT 388 reflect that of the tomb of Padiamunopet, suggesting that they are of a similar date¹³⁴. The presence of these two subsidiary tombs cut into the boundaries of TT 33 reveals that the tomb of Padiamunopet was reused as a burial place very soon after the interment of the original tomb owner.

TT 34 (Montuemhat)

The tomb of Montuemhat is located in the North Asasif and dates to the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty¹³⁵. The tomb has two open air courts, designated as Grande Cour Est and Grande Cour Ouest. The north and south walls of the eastern court each have five rock-

¹³⁰ Claude Traunecker, "The 'Funeral Palace' of Padiamunope: Tomb, Place of Pilgrimage, and Library. Current Research." in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, ed. Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 323-342.

¹³¹ Traunecker, "The 'Funeral Palace' of Padiamunope", 323-342.

¹³² Porter and Moss, "Topographical Bibliography", 332.

¹³³ Traunecker, "The 'Funeral Palace' of Padiamunope", 323-342.

¹³⁴ Traunecker, "The 'Funeral Palace' of Padiamunope", 323-342.

¹³⁵ Porter and Moss, "Topographical Bibliography", 56.

cut chapels carved into them¹³⁶. These chapels are equal in size and laid out in a regular pattern, indicating that they were included within the tomb's original design, ostensibly intended to house the burials of Montuemhat's family. Conclusive evidence that Montuemhat's tomb was used for the burials of Montuemhat's immediate family was found in 1988 when excavations in the southern portico of the pillared forecourt uncovered a previously unknown burial shaft. At the bottom of the nine-metre deep shaft was a sealed doorway leading to a burial chamber containing a schist sarcophagus inscribed for Nesptah, son of Montuemhat¹³⁷. Furthermore, the presence of a stela dedicated to a daughter of Montuemhat indicates that she also could have been interred in her father's tomb¹³⁸.

TT 36 (Ibi)

The tomb of Ibi is located in the North Asasif and dates to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty¹³⁹. Evidence that the tomb was reused comes from the burial compartment of Psametik which was found in a room within the tomb designated as Room R5. The shaft cut into the floor of the room terminates in a vividly decorated sarcophagus chamber. Fragments of cartonnage, mummy wrappings and pottery were recovered from the fill of the shaft¹⁴⁰. Psametik was already attested by inscriptions around the door to Room R5¹⁴¹. In these texts, Psametik refers to himself as the son of Ibi¹⁴² but elsewhere in the text he names a father called Padimaihesa and a mother called Tachaaubenbastet¹⁴³. As Wagner points out, Psametik may have been part

¹³⁶ Jean Leclant, *Montouemhat: Quatrième prophète d'Amon, Prince de la Ville* (La Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1961).

¹³⁷ Mohammed Nasr, "A New 26th Dynasty Sarcophagus from Thebes," *ISIS Egyptology Bulletin 1, JACF 2* (1988): 87-90.

¹³⁸ Mohammed Nasr, "The Excavations of the Tomb of Montuemhat at Thebes," *Memnonia 8* (1997): 211-223.

¹³⁹ Porter and Moss, "Topographical Bibliography", 63.

¹⁴⁰ Marieke Wagner, "New Research in the Tomb of Ibi (TT 36)," in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, eds. Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka and Kenneth Griffin (London: Golden House Publications, 2018), 177.

¹⁴¹ Wagner, "New Research in the Tomb of Ibi (TT 36)", 181.

¹⁴² Klaus Peter Kuhlmann and Wolfgang Schenkel. *Das Grab des Ibi: Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36)* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983), 230.

¹⁴³ Wagner, "New Research in the Tomb of Ibi (TT 36)", 182.

of Ibi's family, albeit not in a direct lineage, or could even have held an 'ideological connection' to Ibi via their mutual connections to serving the office of the God's Wife of Amun¹⁴⁴.

Finds made during the course of excavations in the Tomb of Ibi include two faience shabtis, one inscribed for Neith, dating to the Thirtieth Dynasty¹⁴⁵ and Ptolemaic pottery revealing that the tomb had been reused in the late Dynastic to the Ptolemaic Period. Also found were shabtis, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, and faience beads and amulets¹⁴⁶. Whilst these items could be from the burial assemblage of the tomb's original occupants, they could also be the remnants of intrusive burials. Without inscriptions, it is impossible to conclusively determine the origin of this material.

TT 37 (Harwa)

The tomb of Harwa is located in the North Asasif and dates to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty¹⁴⁷.

Excavations have revealed a wealth of evidence that several areas of the tomb were reused extensively, from the Late Period up into the Roman Period.

TT 37 has a complex plan which includes a long corridor which can be accessed from both the north and the south sides of the sun-court and which surrounds the tomb's subterranean structure. A subsidiary tomb, designated as TT 404, is cut into the northern section of the corridor surrounding the subterranean structure of the tomb of Harwa¹⁴⁸. The southern section

¹⁴⁴ Wagner, "New Research in the Tomb of Ibi (TT 36)", 182.

¹⁴⁵ E. Graefe, "*Das Grab des Ibi, Obervermögenverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36): Beschreibung und Rekonstruktionsversuche des Oberbaus. Funde aus dem Oberbau* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1990), 62-63.

¹⁴⁶ Graefe, "Das Grab des Ibi", 55-67.

¹⁴⁷ Porter and Moss, "Topographical Bibliography", 68.

¹⁴⁸ Francesco Tiradritti, "Archaeological Activities of the Museum of Milan in the Tomb of Harwa (TT 37) 1999-2000," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 78 (2004b): 181-190.

of the corridor includes a shaft designated as Shaft YJ in which the remains of a looted burial were discovered. The assemblage included fragments of a cartonnage mummy case, one bearing the name of Peftjauauykhonsu, and fragments of, and one lid from, four mud-plastered canopic jars¹⁴⁹. The material from the tomb has been dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, with the orthography of the Osiris name which remains on one of the fragments of cartonnage suggesting a date post 740BC¹⁵⁰.

In addition to the corridor, a wealth of material relating to the reuse of TT 37 has been found in several other areas of the tomb including the portico, the sun-court and in the First and Second Pillared Halls. Excavations in the portico uncovered the remains of several mummies and wooden coffins, with a mask from one of the coffins being of particular interest. The mask featured an unusual headdress that resembles those worn in Phoenicia, suggesting that it could have been made for a person of Phoenician origin¹⁵¹. A parallel for this mask is seen on a coffin from the University of Tübingen museum which dates to the second century AD¹⁵².

Excavations in the sun-court uncovered a commingled layer of mummy bandages, shabtis, cartonnage fragments and human remains that are thought to be the remains of looted burials. The shabtis were of Late Period and Ptolemaic Period date, and three fragments of a fine mummy portrait confirmed that this assemblage also contained Roman Period material¹⁵³. A sandstone offering table of Ptolemaic Period date was also found in the sun-court. The dimensions of this offering table match those of a sandstone plinth which is still *in situ* in the

¹⁴⁹ Tiradritti, "Tomb of Harwa (TT 37) 1999-2000", 181-190.

¹⁵⁰ Kaczanowicz, "Old Tombs, New Tenants", 318.

¹⁵¹ Francesco Tiradritti, "Italian Archaeological Mission to Luxor: Researches in the Tombs of Harwa (TT 37) and Akhimenru (TT 404)," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 80 (2006): 563-569.

¹⁵² Coffin 1714 in the collection of the University of Tübingen Museum (Tiradritti, 2006).

¹⁵³ Francesco Tiradritti, "Archaeological Activities of the Museum of Milan in the Tomb of Harwa (TT 37) 2000," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 78 (2004c): 191-197.

centre of the First Pillared Hall, indicating that this was where the offering table had been erected¹⁵⁴.

The First Pillared Hall has a number of subsidiary chambers cut into its north and south walls, and evidence that these chambers were used to house intrusive burials has emerged over the course of excavation. Subsidiary Chamber N3 contained ‘many’ coarse clay shabtis, faience beads from a mummy net and five fragments from a limestone canopic jar with a lid featuring the baboon-headed Hapy. An unfinished alcove cut into the north wall of the chamber could be where the canopic equipment was originally placed¹⁵⁵. Subsidiary Chamber S3 contained two small vessels, a cup with the remains of bread within it, and a rough limestone scarab, whilst three human femurs and ‘the remains of what seems to be furniture from a double burial’ were found inside Subsidiary Chamber S4¹⁵⁶. Further human remains were found in the northern section of the First Pillared Hall in the form of a skeleton that was discovered alongside four vessels dating to the Roman Period, and two glass alabaster¹⁵⁷. Also found were three commingled skeletons covered with ‘plaster of Paris’. Unfortunately, these skeletons did not have any associated artefacts and therefore could not be dated¹⁵⁸.

In November 2001, a suite of rooms that was accessed via a shaft cut into the north-west corner of the Second Pillared Hall was excavated. This suite of rooms culminates in Room YM.A2 which is thought to have been Harwa’s burial chamber¹⁵⁹. In addition to the more than 200 fragments of Harwa’s faience and serpentine shabtis, around thirty coarse clay shabtis which

¹⁵⁴ Francesco Tiradritti, “Archaeological Activities of the Museum of Milan in the Tomb of Harwa (TT 37) and Akhimenru (TT 404) October-December 2001,” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 79 (2005): 169-178.

¹⁵⁵ Francesco Tiradritti, “Archaeological Activities of the Museum of Milan in the Tomb of Harwa (TT 37) October-November 1997,” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 78 (2004a): 167-173.

¹⁵⁶ Tiradritti, “Tomb of Harwa (TT 37) October-November 1997”, 167-173.

¹⁵⁷ Tiradritti, “Tomb of Harwa (TT 37) October-November 1997”, 167-173.

¹⁵⁸ Tiradritti, “Tomb of Harwa (TT 37) October-November 1997”, 167-173.

¹⁵⁹ Tiradritti, “Tomb of Harwa (TT 37) and Akhimenru (TT 404) October-December 2001”, 169-178.

could have accompanied either the original burial or a that of a later usurper were unearthed. The corridor of the suite contained two wooden *ba* birds which had once adorned a wooden sarcophagus but that had fallen into the debris when this burial had been looted¹⁶⁰.

A large corpus of pottery has been found in TT 37, with the great majority dating to the late dynastic and early Ptolemaic Period¹⁶¹. Three main categories of pottery were identified. The first were those items that had been intended to accompany burials. This category includes storage jars, cooking pots and pot stands¹⁶². Only a small proportion of the assemblage from TT 37 can be categorized as funerary pottery, which may indicate that either there were relatively few intrusive burials installed in the tomb, or that such burials were poorly equipped or had been heavily looted¹⁶³. The second category of pottery are the lamps, goblets, dishes and flat-based cups which are associated with funerary cult activity which involved making offerings to the dead and to the funerary deities¹⁶⁴. The final category of pottery relates to mummification activity and consists of ovoid jars, sausage jars and hemi-spherical bowls, some of which retain traces of resin. A concentration of this type of pottery was found in the First Pillared Hall and it has been proposed that this served as a place to discard material from nearby embalming houses¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶⁰ Tiradritti, "Tomb of Harwa (TT 37) and Akhimenru (TT 404) October-December 2001", 169-178.

¹⁶¹ Sabine Laemmel, "A Pottery Assemblage from the Tomb of Harwa (Western Thebes): Mortuary and Cultic Reuse of a 25th Dynasty Funerary Structure," in *Functional Aspects of Egyptian Ceramics in their Archaeological Context: Proceedings of a Conference held at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge, July 24th-25th, 2009*, eds. Bettina Bader and Mary F. Ownby (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 217-248.

¹⁶² Laemmel, "A Pottery Assemblage from the Tomb of Harwa", 217-248.

¹⁶³ Laemmel, "A Pottery Assemblage from the Tomb of Harwa", 217-248.

¹⁶⁴ Laemmel, "A Pottery Assemblage from the Tomb of Harwa", 217-248.

¹⁶⁵ Laemmel, "A Pottery Assemblage from the Tomb of Harwa", 217-248.

TT 196 (Padihorresnet)

The tomb of Padihorresnet is located in the North Asasif and dates to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty¹⁶⁶. A wooden stela¹⁶⁷ of Aston's Type VII¹⁶⁸ dating to c. 660-600 BC¹⁶⁹ was found during the course of excavations in the tomb, indicating that the tomb had been reused soon after the interment of the original tomb owner. Other finds indicative of reuse include shabtis made of faience and clay, pottery, and fragments of mummy wrappings¹⁷⁰.

TT 197 (Padineith)

The tomb of Padineith is located in the North Asasif and dates to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty¹⁷¹. Excavations conducted by Farouk Gomaà have found evidence of secondary burials in the tomb's corridor where finds include amulets, vessels, shabtis and mummy bandages, some inscribed¹⁷². A side chamber cut into the eastern side wall, just next to the doorway leading to the corridor, contained two baskets made of organic material, scraps of fabric and a wooden statuette inscribed for the "Lady of the House, Wedjat"¹⁷³. Fragments of Ptolemaic Period cartonnage and wooden mummy masks dating to the Roman Period¹⁷⁴ reveal that Padineith's tomb was reused over a significant period of time.

¹⁶⁶ Porter and Moss, "Topographical Bibliography", 302.

¹⁶⁷ E. Graefe, *Das Grab Des Padihorresnet, Obvermögensverwalter Der Gottesgemahlin Des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 196)*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 9 (Bruxelles: Turnhout, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 2003), 139-140.

¹⁶⁸ Kaczanowicz, "Old Tombs, New Tenants", 34.

¹⁶⁹ Aston, "Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25", 354.

¹⁷⁰ Graefe, "Das Grab Des Padihorresnet", 139-140.

¹⁷¹ Porter and Moss, "Topographical Bibliography", 302.

¹⁷² Farouk Gomaà, "Bericht über die Freilegung des Grabes TT 197 des Padineith," *Memnonia* 15 (2004): 183-196.

¹⁷³ Gomaà, "TT 197 des Padineith", 184.

¹⁷⁴ Gomaà, "TT 197 des Padineith", 193.

TT 209 (Nisemro)

The tomb of Nisemro is located in the South Asasif and dates to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty¹⁷⁵. The tomb is under the concession of the Proyecto dos cero nueve which is run by the Archaeological Mission of the University of La Laguna¹⁷⁶. Excavations at the tomb are ongoing, but to date, there has been evidence found of ‘ritual use of both the inner and outer structures of the tomb – at least since the Persian Dynasty until late Ptolemaic Period’¹⁷⁷.

During the 2018 season an *in situ* burial deposit, the first of its type to be documented within the tomb, was found during the clearance of a side chamber¹⁷⁸. The deposit was found in the south-eastern corner of Side Chamber 3 and consisted of three mummies which were accompanied by around fifty fragments of clay shabtis, fragments of animal bones, charcoal and several pottery offering vessels that have been dated to the Ptolemaic Period¹⁷⁹. The burials have been interred into a depression cut into the layer of flood debris which fills the chamber¹⁸⁰. As is the case of the mummies from Side Chamber 1A in TT 391, the mummies found in TT 209 have been much degraded by the effects of flood water. No traces of coffins were found, but the mummies, which were placed near to the southern and eastern walls of the chamber, were surrounded by an ‘accumulation of limestone blocks’ on the other two sides¹⁸¹.

¹⁷⁵ Miguel Angel Molinero Polo, “TT 209: Objectives of the Proyecto dos Cero Nueve and Name of the Tomb Owner,” *Trabajos de Egiptología* 7 (2016): 111-130.

¹⁷⁶ Molinero Polo, “Objectives of the Proyecto dos Cero Nueve”, 111-130.

¹⁷⁷ Molinero Polo, “Objectives of the Proyecto dos Cero Nueve”, 120.

¹⁷⁸ Carballo Pérez et al, “Mummies under the Wadi”.

¹⁷⁹ Carballo Pérez et al, “Mummies under the Wadi”.

¹⁸⁰ TT 209 is located adjacent to the Wadi Hatasun, a short distance away from the Tomb of Karabasken (TT 391). The flood deposits found in both tombs therefore originate from the same flood events.

¹⁸¹ Carballo Pérez et al, “Mummies under the Wadi”.

TT 223 (Karakhamun)

The tomb of Karakhamun is located in the South Asasif and dates to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty¹⁸². Like the Tomb of Karabasken (TT391), TT 223 is part of the concession belonging to the South Asasif Conservation Project (SACP). During the course of excavation, evidence of several instances of intrusive activity has been found. The burial compartments of Karakhamun show signs of reuse, with a rock cut chamber cut into the eastern wall of the shaft leading to the original burial chamber¹⁸³. Further evidence comes in the form of a chamber cut into the wall of the shaft room. This chamber has roughly hewn walls and an irregular plan, in contrast with the regular dimensions and smooth walls of the shaft room, indicating that it was cut to house an intrusive burial¹⁸⁴.

Evidence of reuse has also been identified in the tomb's First Pillared Hall where an intrusive chapel with a limestone entrance is built into the south-east corner of the tomb's First Pillared Hall¹⁸⁵. An inscription on the doorjamb flanking the entrance to this chapel bears the name Padihor. A fragment of a title confirming his association with the office of the God's Wife of Amun indicates that this usurper lived during the late Twenty-fifth to early Twenty-sixth Dynasty¹⁸⁶. Inside the chapel, a five-metre deep shaft ends in an undecorated burial chamber¹⁸⁷.

The Second Pillared Hall has three side chambers leading off it – one cut into the north wall, and two cut into the south wall. All three chambers include a burial shaft cut into their floors.

¹⁸² Pischikova, "Early Kushite Tombs of South Asasif", 11-30.

¹⁸³ Dieter Eigner, "Karakhamun Revisited: Some Remarks on the Architecture of TT223," in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: Thebes, Karakhamun (TT223), and Karabasken (TT391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty*, ed. Elena Pischikova (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014), 109-117.

¹⁸⁴ Eigner, "Karakhamun Revisited", 112.

¹⁸⁵ Pischikova, "The History of the South Asasif Necropolis", 31-72.

¹⁸⁶ Pischikova, "The History of the South Asasif Necropolis", 31-72.

¹⁸⁷ Kaczanowicz, "Old Tombs, New Tenants", 487.

Whilst the westernmost chamber cut into the south wall is clearly part of the tomb's original design, the other two side chambers are roughly hewn, suggesting that they were cut at a later date to house intrusive burials¹⁸⁸.

In addition to the architectural evidence of intrusive burials found in TT223, remains of the burial accoutrements also attest to the tomb's reuse. The burial compartment of Karakhamun yielded pottery dating to the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-seventh and the Thirtieth Dynasties¹⁸⁹. Further evidence comes from a group of early to mid-Ptolemaic vessels found during excavation of the First Pillared Hall, thought to be pottery associated with later burials and their associated mortuary cult¹⁹⁰. Finally, fragments of coffins and a piece of wood from a canopic chest have been found during the course of excavation. These have been dated to two different phases, the first being the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and the second being the Thirtieth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic period¹⁹¹.

TT 279 (Pabasa)

The tomb of Pabasa is located in the North Asasif and dates to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty¹⁹². The tomb was excavated and cleared of debris between 1916-1919 by a team from the Metropolitan Museum of Art¹⁹³. Whilst their activities at the tomb were published in 1920, no mention of any finds relating to the reuse of the tomb were mentioned¹⁹⁴.

¹⁸⁸ Eigner, "Karakhamun Revisited", 113.

¹⁸⁹ Julia Budka, "Pottery from the Tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223)," in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: Thebes, Karakhamun (TT223), and Karabasken (TT391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty*, ed. Elena Pischikova, 247-262. (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014), 247-262: 250.

¹⁹⁰ Budka, "Pottery from the Tomb of Karakhamun", 254-255.

¹⁹¹ John H. Taylor, "Preliminary Notes on Coffin Fragments Discovered in TT223," in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: Thebes, Karakhamun (TT223), and Karabasken (TT391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty*, edited by Elena Pischikova (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014), 239-245: 239.

¹⁹² Porter and Moss, "Topographical Bibliography", 357.

¹⁹³ Ambrose Lansing, "The Egyptian Expedition 1916-1919: II. Excavations in the Asasif at Thebes. Season of 1918-19," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 15/7 (1920): 11-24.

¹⁹⁴ Lansing, "Excavations in the Asasif at Thebes, 1918-19", 11-24.

The plan of the tomb¹⁹⁵ shows that in addition to Pabasa's own burial shaft that is cut into the floor of a chamber off the southern wall of the Pillared Hall, there are four further shafts in TT 279. Two of these shafts are accessed from two rooms cut into the eastern wall of the Pillared Hall, whilst the other two are cut into the floor of a five chambered annexe which is accessed from the south-west corner of the Pillared Hall. Whilst it is possible that these subsidiary burial shafts were dug to house the burials of Pabasa's immediate family, they could also represent instances of reuse, where chambers and shafts that were not part of the tomb's original plan were cut to accommodate later interments.

TT 390 (Irtieru)

The tomb of Irtieru is located in the South Asasif and dates to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty¹⁹⁶. As of 2021, excavations of the tomb under the auspices of the South Asasif Conservation Project are ongoing. Pottery discovered during the course of excavation, and the graffiti on the walls of the two Pillared Halls indicate that the tomb was "extensively reused during the Ptolemaic, Roman and Coptic periods"¹⁹⁷.

Interestingly, the architecture of TT 390 suggests that Irtieru herself had reused an earlier monument. Proto-Kushite tombs dating to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty have entrance staircases which enter into a vestibule at the north-east corner of the sun-court, at 90 degrees to the main axis of the tomb¹⁹⁸. Recent excavations in the sun-court of TT 390 have confirmed that the tomb's entrance staircase is aligned along the main axis of the tomb, and that the ten steps found in the eastern part of the sun-court may have been the remains of a small vestibule similar

¹⁹⁵ Porter and Moss, "Topographical Bibliography", 356.

¹⁹⁶ Porter and Moss, "Topographical Bibliography", 440.

¹⁹⁷ Elena Pischikova, "Fieldwork in the Tomb of Irtieru (TT 390), 2006-2019," in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: Art and Archaeology 2015-18*, edited by Elena Pischikova (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2021), 263-270: 263.

¹⁹⁸ Pischikova, "Fieldwork in the Tomb of Irtieru", 267.

to the one in the tomb of Karabasken (TT 391)¹⁹⁹. Furthermore, both the plan and the proportions of TT 390 are very close to those of the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223)²⁰⁰. These factors both indicate that Irtieru reused an earlier Twenty-fifth Dynasty tomb.

TT 391 (Karabasken)

In addition to the assemblage from Side Chamber 1A which is the focus of this thesis, further evidence of reuse has been identified inside the tomb chapel of Karabasken. Clearance of the tomb's vestibule revealed an inscribed doorjamb bearing the name and titles of the High Steward of the God's Wife, Padibastet, a high official who lived during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty²⁰¹. Padibastet's reuse of TT 391 is also attested from the stela dedicated to him which abuts the west wall of the sun-court²⁰².

Also indicative of reuse is the shaft cut into the floor of a side chamber cut into the south wall of the Pillared Hall²⁰³. The shaft is three-metres deep and terminates in two chambers, one to the east and one to the west. During clearance of this shaft a large quantity of fragmented and comingled human remains²⁰⁴ were found within the fill, along with fragments of animal bones and pottery sherds. It had been proposed that this material had been introduced to the shaft and chambers during one of the flood events which had affected the tomb²⁰⁵, although some may feasibly belong to the individual(s) who were buried originally in the chambers at the bottom of the shaft. Significantly, a set of four alabaster canopic jars were found in a square shaped

¹⁹⁹ Pischikova, "Fieldwork in the Tomb of Irtieru", 267-268.

²⁰⁰ Pischikova, "Fieldwork in the Tomb of Irtieru", 267.

²⁰¹ <https://southasif.wordpress.com/2015/08/31/discovery-of-padibastet/> (South Asasif Conservation Project: The Discovery of Padibastet).

²⁰² Graefe, "A New High Steward of the God's Wife Nitocris", 241-249.

²⁰³ <https://southasif.wordpress.com/2018/07/03/finding-canopic-jars/> (South Asasif Conservation Project: Finding Canopic Jars).

²⁰⁴ These remains were examined by the author. A total of twelve individuals were represented: ten adults and two sub-adults aged one year and five years.

²⁰⁵ Dr Pischikova, personal communication.

depression cut into the floor of the east chamber. The jars had stoppers in the form of the heads of the Four Sons of Horus. The jar with the Duamutef stopper bore an inscription which identified it as belonging to “the Lady of the House, Ameniridis”²⁰⁶. The canopic jars are thought to date to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty²⁰⁷ and may belong to one of the original occupants of this intrusive burial shaft.

Karabasken’s burial chamber was excavated during the 2016 season. The chamber, which was accessed via a ramp cut into the floor of the cult chamber at the west end of the Pillared Hall, contained a red granite sarcophagus²⁰⁸. The base and the lid of the sarcophagus are damaged at the head area and the lid is offset to the north, indicating that it had been disturbed²⁰⁹. Tangible evidence that the burial chamber was reused was revealed when the fragmented and comingled remains of a total of eighteen people²¹⁰ were found not only within the sarcophagus, but also on the two ‘mastabas’ that flanked the sarcophagus along its north and south sides.

In addition to the human remains, numerous complete and fragmented faience shabtis were found when the debris around the sarcophagus was cleared, as well as inside the sarcophagus itself. Aside from two fragments from “large” faience shabtis²¹¹, these shabtis were identical in size, shape, details, and material to those found in Side Chamber 1A, suggesting that they

²⁰⁶ <https://southasif.wordpress.com/2018/07/03/finding-canopic-jars/> (South Asasif Conservation Project: Finding Canopic Jars).

²⁰⁷ Dr Pischikova, personal communication.

²⁰⁸ <https://southasif.wordpress.com/2016/08/25/the-discovery-of-the-burial-chamber-and-sarcophagus-of-the-mayor-of-thebes-and-forth-priest-of-amun-karabasken-tt-391-25th-dynasty/> (South Asasif Conservation Project: The Discovery of the Burial Chamber and Sarcophagus of the Mayor of Thebes and the Fourth Priest of Amun, Karabasken (TT 391) (25th Dynasty)).

²⁰⁹ <https://southasif.wordpress.com/2016/08/25/the-discovery-of-the-burial-chamber-and-sarcophagus-of-the-mayor-of-thebes-and-forth-priest-of-amun-karabasken-tt-391-25th-dynasty/> (South Asasif Conservation Project: The Discovery of the Burial Chamber and Sarcophagus of the Mayor of Thebes and the Fourth Priest of Amun, Karabasken (TT 391) (25th Dynasty)).

²¹⁰ The author has examined the human remains from the burial chamber. The minimum number of individuals (MNI) represented in the assemblage is eighteen.

²¹¹ Unpublished report from the 2016 excavation of the burial chamber of TT 391 by the SACP.

too date to the seventh century BC. Other finds from the burial chamber included pottery sherds, fragments of animal bones, and faience beads and ‘amulets’²¹², indicating that at least one of the burials had been equipped with a beaded net.

TT 410 (Mutiridis)

The tomb of Mutiridis is located in the North Asasif and dates to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty²¹³. Excavations by the German Archaeological Institute have revealed evidence that the tomb was reused. During the 1963/1964 excavation season, fragments of papyrus bearing inscriptions in hieratic were found in the tomb’s sun-court²¹⁴. These fragments were later identified as the remains of a Book of the Dead belonging to a man named Nesmin, and the palaeography of the text and vignettes indicate that they date to the early Ptolemaic Period²¹⁵. Later excavations found other funerary papyri including fragments bearing the name of a God’s Father named Iri in an inscription written in late hieratic²¹⁶, as well as those belonging to a papyrus bearing an inscription identifying a woman named Tasheritmin, who is thought was most likely the mother of Nesmin and Iri²¹⁷. Other items found during the clearance of the tomb of Mutiridis were fragments of wooden coffins and cartonnage²¹⁸ which may be the remains of intrusive burials.

²¹² Unpublished report from the 2016 excavation of the burial chamber of TT 391 by the SACP.

²¹³ Dieter Arnold, Jürgen Settgast and Dino Bidoli, “Fünfter Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo in Qurna unternommenen Arbeiten (7. Kampagne)” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 26 (1970): 1-9.

²¹⁴ Arnold et al, “Fünfter Vorbericht”, 1-9.

²¹⁵ Arnold et al, “Fünfter Vorbericht”, 1-9.

²¹⁶ Günter Burkard, *Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970. Band II: Die Papyrusfunde* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1986), 25-35.

²¹⁷ Burkard, “*Grabung im Asasif*”, 74-75.

²¹⁸ Arnold et al, “Fünfter Vorbericht”, 1-9.

TT 414 (Ankh-hor)

The tomb of Ankh-hor is located in the North Asasif and dates to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty²¹⁹. Since the 1970s, TT 414 has been part of the concession of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Cairo²²⁰. During the course of excavations, a wealth of evidence pertaining to the reuse of the tomb has been identified. The tomb of Ankh-hor is significant as being the location of the only known intact burial dating to the Thirtieth Dynasty in the Theban Necropolis²²¹. Clearance of a chamber cut into the north wall of the Pillared Hall revealed a shaft cut into the floor that terminated in two chambers, one to the east, and one to the west, where the intact assemblage of Wahibre was found²²². Wahibre's burial assemblage included two coffins, a wooden stela, a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, a wooden statuette of Isis, canopic jars, a hypocephalus, faience shabtis and amulets, a Book of the Dead, pottery, and the mummies of an ibis, a cat and a falcon²²³.

The burial chamber of Ankh-hor was also reused to house later burials. One example is the assemblage dating to the Thirtieth Dynasty to early Ptolemaic Period belonging to the family of a priest named Padiamunnebnestawwy and his family. Padiamunnebnestawwy himself is attested on a coffin set consisting of an inner and an outer wooden anthropoid coffin. One of the other coffins found in the chamber belongs to a woman named Asetemakhbit, whilst another of the coffins still contained fragments of papyrus from a Book of Dead²²⁴. Another coffin found in Ankh-hor's burial chamber belongs to a woman named Taremetjbastet who

²¹⁹ Manfred Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer. *Das Grab Des 'Anch-Hor I* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978).

²²⁰ Budka, "TT 414 Revisited", 171–88.

²²¹ Julia Budka, Tamás Mekis and Marie-Cécile Bruwier. "Reuse of Saite Temple tombs in the Asasif during the early Ptolemaic time – the tomb group of *Mw.t-mnw* from TT 414," *Ägypten und Levante* 22/23 (2012): 209–251.

²²² Julia Budka, and Tamás Mekis, "The Family of Wah-Ib-Re I (TT 414) from Thebes," *Ägypten Und Levante / Egypt and the Levant* 27 (2017): 219–240.

²²³ Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, "*Das Grab Des 'Anch-Hor II*", 183–220.

²²⁴ Budka, "TT 414 Revisited", 171–88.

was a Chantress of Amun-Re who is thought to have died c. 320-300BC²²⁵. The burial chamber of Ankhhor was also reused during the Roman period, including by three men, all of whom shared the name Nesbanebdjedt and a woman named Ta-Khonsu²²⁶.

As of 2019, the database of coffins found in TT414 comprises of 212 coffins which range in date from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to the Roman Period²²⁷. These coffins belong to ‘both primary burials of the family of Ankh-hor and secondary burials of Amun priests, mostly dating to the fourth and third centuries BC, who appear relatively wealthy’²²⁸. Other finds discovered during the course of excavations include eight wooden fragments with demotic inscriptions found during the 1972/1973 season which consist of coffin fragments and mummy labels belonging to later burials. The orthography of the inscriptions suggest that they date to the Ptolemaic Period²²⁹. These labels, found in the Pillared Hall, probably represent a “time horizon i.e., a series of successive burials”²³⁰. Other traces of these burials from the Pillared Hall includes human remains²³¹, a large blue faience scarab with holes to attach it to a beaded net²³², mummy bandages, and fragments of cartonnage and shabtis²³³.

The majority of pottery from TT414 dates to the Ptolemaic Period, with the corpus including a large number of votive cups, incense burners, goblets and libation jars. This is testament to the use of TT414 as a place for ritual acts associated with burial such as burning incense and other

²²⁵ Budka, “TT 414 Revisited”, 171–88.

²²⁶ Budka, “TT 414 Revisited”, 171–88.

²²⁷ Budka, “TT 414 Revisited”, 171–88.

²²⁸ Budka, “TT 414 Revisited”, 171–88.

²²⁹ Jan Quaegebeur, “VIII: Demotic Inscriptions on Wood from the Tomb of ‘Anch-Hor,” in *Das Grab Des ‘Anch-Hor II* by Manfred Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978), 259-266.

²³⁰ Budka, “TT 414 Revisited”, 171–88.

²³¹ Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, “*Das Grab Des ‘Anch-Hor II*”, 155.

²³² Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, “*Das Grab Des ‘Anch-Hor II*”, 155-157.

²³³ Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, “*Das Grab Des ‘Anch-Hor II*”, 159.

offerings. In addition, there are pottery vessels found here that suggest acts connected with the cult of Osiris and the Beautiful Festival of the Valley²³⁴.

Through careful excavation, the reuse of the tomb of Ankh-hor can be clearly understood. It appears that the tomb was unfinished at the time of its owner's death (c. 585 BC), and was then extensively reused both for intrusive burials and as a cult centre right through to the late Roman Period²³⁵.

Summary of Findings

It is evident that virtually all of the proto-Kushite tombs in the North and South Asasifs have been reused to house later burials. The only exceptions are the tomb of Irtieru (TT 390), which is still being excavated, and the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34) where the only conclusive evidence of 'reuse' comes from the immediate family of the tomb owner. However, in the case of TT 34, both the monumental size of the tomb and its prime location in the North Asasif makes it likely that it was also reused for later burials as were all of its immediate neighbours were.

A review of the literature has demonstrated that there is a discrepancy in the amount of information published about each tomb. Whilst some have been well published, for example the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) and the tomb of Ankh-hor (TT 414), others are far less thoroughly recorded. One such example is the tomb of Pabasa (TT 279) which was excavated over a century ago and has only been published in a short bulletin post that documents the clearance of the tomb but does not include any information about whether any material attesting

²³⁴ Budka and Mekis, "The Family of Wah-Ib-Re I", 219–240.

²³⁵ Budka, "TT 414 Revisited", 171–88.

to the reuse of the tomb was discovered²³⁶. This scant publication record reiterates the importance of documenting the assemblage from Side Chamber 1A.

Evidence of reuse in the proto-Kushite tombs in the South and North Asasif falls into four categories. The first are the rare cases of intact intrusive burial assemblages. The second category of evidence consists fragmentary or uncontextualized (not found in undisturbed burial contexts) finds that indicate that the tomb has been reused for burials such as mummies, mummy bandages, coffin fragments, cartonnage and shabtis. In many cases, this material has been removed from its original context as a result of looting. Third, there are the additions and alterations to the tomb's original architecture to accommodate later burials. These include additional tombs, rooms or shafts, or the erection of stone stelae or doorjambs which are inscribed with the usurper's name and titles. The final category of evidence is the material relating to the tomb's reuse as a focus for activity related to the funerary cult. This includes offering tables and pottery types such as votive cups and libation jars.

The wider context of reuse in proto-Kushite tombs shows that the intact assemblage from the tomb of Karabasken (TT 391) is of particular significance. It has not been looted and retains the original burial equipment associated with the three interments. It is only the second intact burial assemblage found to date, the other being the Wahibre assemblage found in the tomb of Ankh-hor (TT 414). The assemblage from Side Chamber 1A is the fortunate result of flood debris concealing the entrance to the chamber following its last phase of reuse.

²³⁶ Ambrose Lansing, "The Egyptian Expedition 1916-1919: II. Excavations in the Asasif at Thebes. Season of 1918-19," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 15/7 (1920): 11–24.

The corpus of material found in Side Chamber 1A is typical of that found in other examples of reuse from the proto-Kushite tombs: wooden coffins, cartonnage, small faience, clay and mud shabtis, mummies, mummy bandages, faience beads and amulets. It is distinguished only by the fact that this assemblage has been retained intact and in its original context and, of course, by the presence of the very unusual ‘half-man’ mummy.

The location of Side Chamber 1A off the north wall of the sun-court has parallels from other proto-Kushite tombs where chambers or suites of rooms intended to house burials have been cut into the walls of the sun-court. The largest of these have even been given their own Theban Tomb number, as in the case of TT 242 and TT 388 in the tomb of Padiamunopet (TT 33). Chambers cut into the walls of the sun-court are also seen in the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), although these appear to have been part of the tomb’s original design and were intended to house the burials of the tomb-owner’s immediate family.

Interestingly, in addition to housing the burials of the tomb owner’s immediate family, there is a case where the tomb may have been reused by a member of the extended family of the tomb owner. The burial chamber of Psametik in the tomb of Ibi (TT 36) includes an inscription that identifies him as a relative of the tomb owner which may explain why he chose to reuse this particular tomb. However, it has also been suggested that Psametik’s choice to reuse TT 36 was made because of an ideological link with Ibi as both men had served the office of the God’s Wife of Amun. It is therefore important to consider the possibility that Side Chamber 1A was cut to accommodate members of Karabasken’s extended family, or to house the burials of people who had links to him via their profession.

The reuse of the Proto-Kushite tombs of the South and North Asasif was not limited to accommodating later burials. During the Ptolemaic Period, a group called the *choachytes* could be hired to maintain the mortuary cult of the deceased. They were employed to make libations and bring offerings to the tombs in their care²³⁷. Several of the Proto-Kushite tombs are attested as places where the *choachytes* performed their funerary activities. This is evidenced by the presence of offering tables and, particularly, quantities of pottery associated with the funerary cult as has been found in the tomb of Harwa (TT 37), the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) and the tomb of Ankh-hor (TT 414). The assemblage from Side Chamber 1A includes pottery types that are seen in such assemblages, suggesting that activities relating to the funerary cult had taken place within the chamber.

²³⁷ Dominic Monserrat and Lynn Meskell, "Mortuary Archaeology and Religious Landscape at Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 83 (1997): 182-183.

Chapter Five

Discussion

The assemblage found in Side Chamber 1A in the tomb of Karabasken (TT 391) is a rare example of an intact intrusive burial. It therefore offers an opportunity to examine both the contents and context of such a deposit. This section will first consider the pattern of material culture within the chamber and what, if anything, it can infer about the date and relative status of the occupants. Next, the unusual half-man mummy, Burial 001, will be discussed in detail, and a suggestion about how he came to be severed in half will be made. Finally, the wider context of the assemblage from Side Chamber 1A will be examined by evaluating the evidence of intrusive activity from the other proto-Kushite tombs in the South and North Asasifs. It will conclude with a discussion of the reasons why these tombs were so widely reused during the Late Period and beyond.

The assemblage found within Side Chamber 1A is rich and varied, including coffins, a canopic box, two Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, faience beads, amulets, shabtis of faience, painted clay and mud, pottery and the remains of an unidentified item of furniture. Interestingly, some of the items have clearly been reused from a previous burial, namely the coffins enclosing Burials 001 and 003. Burial 001 is installed in what was originally the outer coffin of a set of two, and the lid of Burial 003's coffin was designed for a woman, at odds with the male mummy it contains. Only the coffin associated with Burial 002, the original occupant of the side chamber, is consistent in size and gender with that of the mummy inside.

Analysis of the burial assemblage found in Side Chamber 1A suggests that the first two occupants, i.e., Burial 002 and Burial 001, were afforded well equipped burials. Both had a

Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue, a beaded mummy net with faience amulets, and a collection of shabtis made of faience, painted clay and mud. These items are consistent with those found in contemporary burial assemblages from the other proto-Kushite tombs in the South and North Asasifs. The third occupant of the tomb, Burial 003, seems to have had a more modest set of burial goods. Whilst he was interred in a coffin, it was too short to contain his body meaning that his feet and lower arms had to be truncated, and the coffin base and lid were mismatched. Although Burial 003 had been provided with a beaded net, his only other accompaniments were a number of pottery vessels and the foreleg of a cow.

One possible explanation for the discrepancy in the richness of the burial goods accompanying the different occupants of Side Chamber 1A could be that Burial 003 was of a lower social status than Burials 001 and 002, and that his family could only afford to offer him a modest assemblage. However, it may be indicative of a shift in the relative importance of the body versus its accoutrements, as the Twenty-fifth Dynasty burials have a larger number and variety of goods than those of the burial of early-mid Ptolemaic Period date. This is a continuation of a trend which began in the late New Kingdom and saw a gradual reduction in both the breadth and quantity of funerary equipment²³⁸ as time progressed.

Significantly, the burial goods pertaining to the interment of Burial 002, the original occupant of SC1A, and Burial 001 are very similar in style and date. This indicates that Burial 001 was buried in the chamber not long after it was first used for Burial 002. This fact, combined with the observation that the mummies of Burials 001 and 002 both have the same non-metric trait, a septal aperture in the olecranon fossa, suggest that these two people may have shared a genetic relationship, which is why they might share the same physical burial space.

²³⁸ Strudwick, "Archaeology of the Theban Necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods", 185.

Any discussion about the assemblage from Side Chamber 1A would be incomplete without exploring the fascinating case of Burial 001, the ‘half-man’. This mummy, which is almost entirely skeletonized, consists of the upper half of the body of a young man which is truncated at the level of the L1 vertebra. The pelvis, sacrum and legs are entirely absent. The severed end of the torso is enclosed in a wooden box which extends up to the mid-thorax.

When this mummy was first excavated, the initial impression was that this mummy had been badly damaged during a tomb robbery and had subsequently been restored and had the broken end of the torso placed within the wooden box. However, ransacked mummies display characteristic patterns of damage including being ripped apart at the joints and breakage of the skin where robbers have cut away the wrappings to get to the amulets inside²³⁹. None of these characteristics are apparent on Burial 001 which, aside from the absence of the lower half of the body, is otherwise intact. Furthermore, closer examination of the bones and observation of the relative positions of the left and right glenoid fossae indicated that the shoulders of the body had been raised and pushed in towards the midline, presumably to streamline the body to ensure that it could fit within the wooden box. This finding means that the body was still somewhat malleable when it was placed within the box, and this could only have been done during the initial stage of the embalming process. The young man had therefore been severed in half before he had been embalmed, indicating that this trauma was a *perimortem* event.

This has provoked much speculation about what kind of event could have resulted in the complete loss of the body below the mid-thorax. The importance of the completeness of the body for the afterlife²⁴⁰ meant that if what remained of the lower half of the body could be

²³⁹ Onstine, “A Preliminary Report on the Clearance of Theban Tomb 16”, 235.

²⁴⁰ Alessandra Colazilli, “Reproducing human limbs. Prosthesis, amulets and votive objects in Ancient Egypt,” *Res Antiquitatis. Journal of Ancient History* 3 (2012): 147-174.

retrieved, it would have been. The event which killed this young man would therefore presumably have been a traumatic event that occurred in such a way that it was not possible for the lower section of the body to be recovered, and for some reason, no false limbs created so that he would be complete in the hereafter.

One idea proposed by the author is that there was an accident where the young man was killed by a rock-fall which crushed and buried the lower half of his body, leaving only the top half exposed and able to be recovered. The geology and topography of the Theban hills means that this area is prone to rock-falls²⁴¹ so this scenario is not implausible.

Another theory is that this unfortunate young man fell victim to a crocodile attack. The Nile crocodile (*Crocodilus niloticus*) is native to the Nile River and has been found throughout the Nile Valley and Delta since prehistory²⁴². They can grow very large, with a length of up to six metres and a weight of up to 920 kilograms²⁴³. Nile crocodiles have a diet composed of reptiles, fish, and mammals, including, on occasion, humans²⁴⁴. The mechanics of a crocodile attack also offer a credible explanation for the trauma seen in the case of the half-man. When crocodiles attack, they use their powerful bite to clamp onto their prey to try to tear off a chunk of their flesh, and often spins around rapidly with their prey in their jaws to assist this process²⁴⁵. It is not difficult to imagine that this is a fate that befell the half-man. He could have been hunting in the marshes that bordered the Nile when he was attacked by a crocodile and bitten around the waist. However, observation of crocodile behaviour has revealed that

²⁴¹ Marija Lukovic, Martin Ziegler, Jordan Aaron and Matthew Perras, "Rockfall susceptibility and runout in the Valley of the Kings," *Natural Hazards* (2021): 1-35.

²⁴² Salima Ikram, "Crocodiles: Guardians of the Gateways," in *Thebes and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Kent R. Weeks* ed. Zahi Hawass and Salima Ikram (Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Cahier no.41, Cairo, 2010), 86.

²⁴³ Ikram, "Crocodiles", 86.

²⁴⁴ Ikram, "Crocodiles", 88.

²⁴⁵ Ikram, "Crocodiles", 88.

they often keep their prey in underwater ‘larders’ and periodically snack on the meat²⁴⁶, suggesting that had this been the fate of the young man, his body would have been consumed and so damaged that it would be impossible to recover and embalm.

Another possibility is that the half-man was attacked by a different animal, for example, a lion, leaving what remains of his body to be recovered. It is also possible that he could have died of an unknown cause and that the severing of his body was the result of scavenging by animals such as hyenas. However, due to the fact that all of the small bones from the hands and wrists are present, the scavenging and subsequent recovery of the body by the embalmers would have had to have occurred shortly after the time of death, before decomposition really set in.

One final theory is that the half-man was not the victim of a traumatic *perimortem* event, but had instead been born without legs as a consequence of a congenital condition such as caudal recession syndrome²⁴⁷ or limb deficiency amelia²⁴⁸. If this could be confirmed, the case of the half-man would be a valuable addition to the palaeopathology of ancient Egypt.

Ultimately, the reconstruction of the events surrounding the death of the half-man are based only on the fact that his body has been severed at the waist and that the lower half of the body is entirely absent. The area where the torso has been severed is contained within the wooden box and encased within a hard layer of impacted mud that had filled the box when the chamber flooded. It has therefore not been possible to examine the junction at which the body was severed to see if there is any evidence of anatomical abnormalities, cut marks, bite marks or

²⁴⁶ Dr. Salima Ikram, personal communication.

²⁴⁷ Mehmet Bülent Balioglu, Akif Albayrak, Yunus Atici, Temel Tacal, Deniz Kargin, Mehmet Akif Kaygusuz, Can Hakan Yildirim, Hakan Erdogan, Aysegul Bursali and Erol Tasdemiroglu, “Caudal Regression Syndrome (Sacral Agenesis) with Associated Abnormalities,” *The Journal of Turkish Spinal Surgery* (2013): 191-198.

²⁴⁸ <https://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/birthdefects/surveillancemanual/chapters/chapter-4/chapter4.9c.html> (CDC: Limb Deficiency Amelia)

other trauma. If the mummy is x-rayed or scanned, the results may shed more light on the life and death of the half-man.

The case of half-man is also interesting as it displays the creativity and ingenuity of the embalmers who conducted his mummification of what remained of his body. They utilised a wooden box to stabilize what remained of the torso, presumably right at the beginning of the mummification process where the body was still malleable enough to be manipulated.

The review of the evidence of intrusive activity in the proto-Kushite tombs of the South and North Asasifs has demonstrated that they were extensively reused. The timeline of this activity indicates that the reuse began shortly after the tombs were used by their original occupants and continued through into the Roman Period. The pattern of reuse observed in the tomb of Karabasken (TT 391) is no exception.

There are three main theories to explain why the tomb of Karabasken has been reused several times over the course of its existence. The first relates to Karabasken's Kushite origins. As Pischikova has noted in the case of Karakhamun, his Kushite origins meant that he did not have strong family ties to Egypt, so there was no-one to maintain his funerary cult following his death. This left his tomb unprotected and ripe for plunder and reuse²⁴⁹. This could therefore also be the fate that befell Karabasken and his tomb.

The second theory relates to the position of esteem that Karabasken held within his community. He held the titles of Mayor of Thebes and Fourth Prophet of Amun, and would have been a prominent figure in the Theban region. The tomb of Karabasken could therefore have been

²⁴⁹ Pischikova, "The History of the South Asasif Necropolis", 66.

reused because of a desire to be associated with such a well renowned figure. Evidence from other proto-Kushite tombs have demonstrated that the tombs could be reused by the extended family of the tomb owner, or by those who shared a professional link with them. One such example is the burial of Psametik from the tomb of Ibi (TT 36) where there is evidence that he could have been a member of Ibi's extended family or otherwise linked to him via their mutual service of the God's Wife of Amun. The first two occupants of Side Chamber 1A, Burial 002 and Burial 001, were interred during the seventh century BC, indicating that the tomb was being reused soon after Karabasken's death. This raises the intriguing possibility that these individuals could have had a professional or even familial link with Karabasken himself.

A third theory relates to the location of the tomb itself within the wider Theban Necropolis. During the Ptolemaic Period, the Theban region had two main settlements: Diospolis Magna on the east bank, and Djeme on the west bank; a village founded within the walls of the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu²⁵⁰. The proximity of the South Asasif to Medinet Habu could therefore be why tombs this area of the necropolis were extensively reused for later burials.

Furthermore, the proximity of the South and North Asasifs to the cult centres of Hathor and Amenhotep son of Hapu may also explain why these areas of the necropolis were so widely reused. By the Ptolemaic Period, Hathor was regarded as the female counterpart to Osiris²⁵¹ and therefore was a potent symbol of rebirth and resurrection. In addition to the chapel dedicated to Hathor at Deir el-Bahari, further links with Hathor can be seen at Deir el-Medina in the form of the Temple of Hathor which was founded by Ptolemy IV on the footprint of a

²⁵⁰ Christina Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 176-177.

²⁵¹ Riggs, "The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt", 43.

much older structure²⁵². The tomb of Karabasken, which is in view of this temple, would therefore be a desirable place to be buried. Similarly, the ancestral cult of Amenhotep son of Hapu was flourishing during the Ptolemaic Period²⁵³, and shrines dedicated to this man existed at both Deir el-Bahari and Deir el-Medina²⁵⁴.

²⁵² Strudwick, "Archaeology of the Theban Necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods", 176.

²⁵³ Strudwick, "Archaeology of the Theban Necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods", 176.

²⁵⁴ Richard Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*. (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 191.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The burial assemblage found in Side Chamber 1A is a rare example of an intrusive burial group where the mummies and their accoutrements have survived undisturbed. It is clear that such reuse was a common practice, as evidenced by similar activities in the proto-Kushite tombs of the South and North Asasifs, including the tomb of Karabasken (TT 391).

This study has catalogued the contents of the chamber and, where possible, has dated them by comparing them to parallels of known date. This catalogue, in conjunction with observations made during the 2015 and 2018 excavations, has facilitated the reconstruction of events from the time when the side chamber was first cut to when it was sealed for the last time following the final interment. The chamber was cut during the seventh century BC to accommodate its original occupant, Burial 002. A short time later, Burial 001 was interred in the chamber, and there is evidence to suggest a familial relationship between these two people. During the early-mid Ptolemaic Period, the chamber was reopened and Burial 003 was installed there.

The unusual case of the half-man, Burial 001, has been of particular interest. Initially thought to be a mummy that had suffered damage when being looted by tomb robbers, closer examination of the position of the mummy and its condition have revealed that the severance of the body was a *perimortem* event. Although there are no solid conclusions as to the events which resulted in him being severed in half, it has been theorised that Burial 001 could have been crushed in a rock-fall or have been the victim of a crocodile attack, or possibly that of some other animal.

Although this work has offered a comprehensive analysis of the assemblage from Side Chamber 1A, there is nevertheless scope for further study. Most pertinent is taking an X-ray or CT scan of Burial 001 to establish which bones are left in the hardened mud block that is still adhered to the lower torso of the mummy. This would allow us to see whether there are any traces of bone left from the point at which he had been severed, and to ascertain whether there were any marks on the bones which could support or disprove the theories about his fate.

Another interesting angle for future study would be to explore why the chamber was reused after it had been flooded. At first, it seems counterproductive to go to the effort of installing a burial and its accompaniments in a chamber that is demonstrated to have been flooded and would put any mummy placed within at risk of being damaged or even destroyed. The fact that this did not deter subsequent usage of the chamber suggests that there may have been a deeper reason behind why the flooding of a tomb wasn't the disaster it may first appear to be.

It has been noted that the tombs of the South Asasif, including that of Karabasken, were built along the course of the Wadi Hatasun which even in modern times is very apparent within the local topography. Wadis are prone to flood during the rare but heavy periods of rainfall over the Theban hills. By cutting a tomb into the wadi, the architects must have known that it would be susceptible to flooding, suggesting that this propensity was possibly seen as an advantage rather than a deterrent. Further research into the religious beliefs of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty onwards may yet offer an explanation for why the tombs of the South Asasif were cut into such a flood prone area of the necropolis. In the interim, Side Chamber 1A remains an interesting case study, and offers a rare chance to examine an intact burial assemblage in its original context.

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