

**IDENTITY, BURIAL PRACTICE, AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN
PTOLEMAIC EGYPT**

by

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for my parents

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Chapter 1 – Greeks and Egyptians

1.1 – Introduction

P. M. Fraser, in his monumental study of Alexandria, made the following statement, which largely encapsulates post-Second World War scholarly assumptions about cultural interaction in the city and Egypt at large throughout the Ptolemaic period:

“Very little is heard of the Egyptian population until the end of the third century, and from this general silence we may infer that the gulf between Greek and Egyptian was almost complete in normal social intercourse of the middle and upper classes, though no doubt contact existed at a lower level”¹

That such a clear divide ever existed, even in earliest Alexandria, has rightfully come under scrutiny. Susan Stephens’ work “Seeing Double,” for example, explicitly argues that the “Greek” poetic and artistic achievements of Alexandria must be interpreted as being fully engaged with Egyptian culture.² Simon Goldhill, in a review of her work, believes her to be with this thesis provocatively setting out to “debunk the purity of Greek artistic achievement.”³ The notion that cultural engagement and interaction should be provocative speaks to an assumption long-held for the study of Ptolemaic Egypt: that contact zones between Greeks and Egyptians were few, understanding minimal, and that

¹ Fraser 1972: 70

² Stephens 2003. See also Selden 1998, which situates the work of Callimachus in the multi-cultural context of Alexandria.

³ Goldhill 2005: 100. Moyer (2011a: 32 n. 119) notes in particular Goldhill’s use of British India as a model of cultural incomprehensibility in Ptolemaic Egyptian society.

cultural and ethno-linguistic⁴ boundaries were vigorously maintained. This division provides the primary paradigm through which Egypt is viewed: Greeks and Egyptians were defined by respective ethnic identities, which in turn determined and limited an individual's scope of action.

The nature of the relationship between Greeks and Egyptians has been a primary concern in the study of Ptolemaic Egypt, dominating discussions of both textual and material evidence for the period.⁵ Cross-cultural interaction, indeed, is one of the most engaging aspects of Egyptian society during this period. However, the discourse on cross-cultural interaction for this period has suffered from an assumed relationship between “culture” – taken broadly to mean a mutually recognizable set of behaviors, traditions, and symbols – and “ethnicity” – an identification that relies on socially constructed ideas of common origin⁶ – that often borders on equivalency. A concern for this merged “ethno-cultural” identity of an individual or group was intertwined with concerns about race and cultural purity that were partly a projection of the concerns of a very specific, colonial present onto a very different past.⁷ This study assumes that “ethnicity” and “culture” are not equivalent terms, and that testing their relationship – and their relationship to material culture – is necessary for a more nuanced understanding of cross-cultural interaction in Ptolemaic Egypt.

⁴ Language, in particular, has always been seen as a particularly important barrier between Greeks and Egyptians. Famously, Cleopatra VII was the only Ptolemaic monarch to learn Egyptian (Plutarch *Antony* 27). That this divide looms so large is partly due to the linguistic specializations of modern scholarly disciplines.

⁵ This is explicitly stated by Bagnall, writing in 1988, to be “for more than half a century ... the central interpretive motif for studies of Hellenistic Egypt” (1988: 21).

⁶ See below section 1.3 for further discussion of the term ethnicity.

⁷ This applies both to the idea of Hellenization as a nearly missionary enterprise which bestowed the benefits of civilization onto a grateful native population (e.g. Peters 1970, going back to Droysen 1877-1878), and the application of the critiques of 19th and 20th century colonialism to the Hellenistic period (e.g. Will 1985).

This work adds an archaeological case study to a field that is often dominated by textual evidence, contributing to a trend in scholarship on Ptolemaic Egypt which has been developing over the last two decades. This paradigm denies a complete separation, and emphasis has instead been placed on *how* Greek and Egyptian populations interacted with each other; that they did so is of no question.⁸ However, this also assumes that the identities of “Greek” and “Egyptian” are not *a priori* the most important. An overwhelming emphasis on a perceived ethno-cultural “Greek” and “Egyptian” identity has masked the presence and importance of other identities, such as socioeconomic level, regional origin, and gender. For the archaeologist, this has led to biased interpretations of material culture, such that everything carries an implicit ethnic meaning.

In this study, I demonstrate through an archaeological analysis of mortuary behavior that overarching “Greek” and “Egyptian” social identities are but two of many available to individuals in Ptolemaic Egypt. Though Ptolemaic Egyptian society was indeed characterized by intense cross-cultural interaction, only in rare instances does there seem to have been an active construction of “ethnicity” in mortuary behavior if the full variety of practices are surveyed – and even then it is tenuous at best. Rather than such overarching, broad-based identities, more basic ones such as socio-economic status were of primary importance, while the manner of material expression of these identities was shaped largely by local socio-political conditions as opposed to notions of “cultural identity.”

1.2 – The “Two Societies” and the Ethnicity Problem

The tendency until quite recently has been to see “Egyptians” and “Greeks” as two monolithic blocks: this is the thesis of the existence of two separate societies, native

⁸ See e.g. Ritner 1992, La’da 2003, Manning 2003 and 2010.

Egyptian and immigrant Greek.⁹ The origins of this “separateness” were tied to an explicitly “colonial” vision of Ptolemaic Egypt, in which the Graeco-Macedonian immigrants exploited the indigenous population but did not engage with them on any substantive level.¹⁰ Each culture existed side by side, developing independently with their own “vitality” and – implicitly – maintaining a certain purity;¹¹ any meaningful interaction was primarily through intermarriage.¹² Ethnic and cultural identity were considered equivalent: persons deemed “Greek” or “Egyptian” were thought to have certain inherent cultural attributes from which deviation was abnormal.¹³ An assumed fusion of ethnic identity and cultural practice such as this ensures that the primary organizing characteristic of Ptolemaic Egyptian society is a Greek/Egyptian dichotomy.

⁹ Scholars such as Bingen (see Bingen 2007, translation of a Bingen 1981), Préaux (1978), and Samuel (1989) epitomized this school of thought (see also Bianchi 1996: 193). Samuel states explicitly that “we now understand that native culture and literature flourished alongside the Greek, and that the two had very little influence over each other” (Samuel 1989: 9). Bingen, for example, envisions two discrete cultural zones with no situation that “favoured major cultural transfers,” and in which even mixed marriages “would, probably, soon or later, insert the new domestic cell into one of the two groups rather than the other” (Bingen 2007: 246). As has been noted, it cannot be a coincidence that this theory was first put forward by scholars working in two countries, Belgium and Canada, which were experiencing large scale separatist movements and ethnic conflict at the time (La’da 2003: 163; Samuel himself states his own bias in this respect, see 1989: 10). This replaced a previous tendency to see Graeco-Egyptian society as “mixed” and “syncretic” (as originally formulated for the Hellenistic period generally, in Droysen 1877-1878).

¹⁰ The colonial vision of Ptolemaic Egypt and the Hellenistic World at large was clearly expressed by E. Will (1985), who called for an application of post-colonial anthropological theory to our understanding of the period, focusing on the role of the colonized and manifestations of resistance. Bagnall’s (1997) explicit rebuttal acknowledged the resemblance of Ptolemaic Egypt to colonial societies, but is skeptical of the usefulness of applying colonial anthropology to it (1997: 236).

¹¹ Ritner (1992: 287) is highly critical of this notion of “vitality,” and rightly sees this notion leading to ideas of cultural purity. Dunand (Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004: 267) seems to follow the “cultural purity” paradigm, when she states that “Recent studies have shown that in all areas, whether language, the arts, institutions, or law, the cultures, Egyptian and Greek, coexisted without ever producing a ‘mixed civilization.’” The importance is on the separation and the maintenance of pure cultural traditions.

¹² Fraser (1972: 71-73) discusses intermarriage in unflattering terms, but believes it to be the primary means of cultural “mixing,” particularly among the “lowest group of the Greek population” whose “frequent intercourse with Egyptians is likely to have made them tolerant of Egyptian practices and very familiar with the Egyptian spoken language” (1972:73). A model that relies primarily on intermarriage as a means of cultural exchange assumes a permanent, often gendered power differential between a powerful minority (Greeks) and subjugated minority (Egyptians), with the former masculine and the latter feminine. This only reinforces the idea of a permanent separation of two ethno-cultural blocks

¹³ For example Dunand and Lichtenberg (1995: 3219) find it remarkable that, in the Roman period, mummification had been adopted on a large scale by “Greeks” and “Romans.”

In part, this model is the result of the overwhelming impact of papyrology in the development of Ptolemaic studies. A majority of published documents from the Ptolemaic period are written in Greek, and so they are largely studied by classically trained philologists and historians; Demotic documents and literature have traditionally not received as much attention from the Egyptological community as Demotic literature. Most Greek documents tend to reflect the interests of the Ptolemaic state, such as land allotment, tax-collection, and legal matters. This can mask the importance of the variety of interactions experienced by groups and individuals in Ptolemaic society, as “it matters a great deal whether we are concerned with social relationships between the Ptolemaic kings and Egyptian priests or, on a more local level, between villagers and tax-collectors,”¹⁴ besides the more personal interactions taking place.

The emphasis on ethnicity in particular also has its roots in papyrology’s dominant position in Ptolemaic studies. With the presence of “ethnic labels” in the Greek papyri to demarcate specific categories of people, scholars became concerned with identifying who was “Greek” and who was “Egyptian” in the documentary record. The work of Goudriaan¹⁵ showed, using the documentary sources, that there were recognized categories of “Greek” and “Egyptian” in the Ptolemaic period based on these “ethnic labels,” which have more to do with language use and groups identified for purposes of tax collection than anything else, rather than corresponding to a perceived biologically or cul-

¹⁴ Manning 2010: 51

¹⁵ See Goudriaan (1988: 1-7) for a summary of the scholarship surrounding the “ethnic” labels, and the consequent attempt to identify discrete “Greeks” and “Egyptians” in the documentary record. See in particular Bickerman 1927 for an early treatment of the evidence. For an extensive index of ethnic appellations in papyri, see La’da 2002.

turally homogenous “ethnic group.”¹⁶ The ultimate linguistic origin of these designations is demonstrated further by the Ptolemaic legal system, which had separate courts based initially on the language of the litigants.¹⁷ These ethnics, then, are categorizations created by the state for the sake of legal convenience.

Because these ethnic labels are so prominent and correspond neatly to known “ethnic” groups (e.g. Greek, Egyptian, Macedonian, Cretan, etc.) it has been easy to extrapolate from these state-defined, legal categories clear indications of ethnic heritage and cultural affiliation.¹⁸ In the context of papyrology’s dominance in Ptolemaic studies, that intermarriage was seen as the primary means of cultural exchange makes sense: it is a phenomenon that may appear readily in documentary sources, as opposed to other kinds of interaction which would leave no official trace.

But the perception of an ethno-cultural divide was also a consequence of disciplinary history. Egyptologists tend to focus on earlier pharaonic periods Egyptian history and, apart from Demotists, have historically not been as concerned with the Ptolemaic period. This period has traditionally been considered “no longer a part of ‘pharaonic Egypt’ but rather of the ‘late period,’ *la basse époque*, low in terms of both date *and* cul-

¹⁶ See also Vandorpe 2008; La’da 1997, 2002; Manning 2010: 31. Ethnic groups have no biological/genetic basis, but much early scholarship assumed such a relationship. See section 1.3 below for a further discussion of “ethnicity.”

¹⁷ The *diskastêria* were courts dedicated to Greek-speakers, and the *laokritai* to Egyptian-speakers. There was also a third, royal court, the *chrêmatistai*, and a fourth, *koinodikion*, which is somewhat obscure. See Manning 2010: 179-184; Wolff 1962. By the 2nd century BCE, the *dikastêria* and *laokritai* heard cases based on the language of the documents rather than the litigants themselves.

¹⁸ E.g. Thompson 2001a: 303, in which the author moves from legal terminology to inferring an inherent cultural divide, in the context of contrasting legal systems. She emphasizes that “Greeks are defined in contrast to Egyptians, Greek culture in opposition to Egyptian culture, or Greek ways compared to Egyptian ways” (Thompson 2001a: 303), but at the same time acknowledges that life is rarely so clear cut, and the other factors such as status may have been of greater importance (Thompson 2001a: 303).

ture.”¹⁹ Ptolemaic Egypt thus falls into the purview of classical archaeology, and given the discipline’s primary focus on Graeco-Roman culture and the areas of its influence, classicists have focused on Greek sites, material culture, and language to the detriment of the study of the vast corpus of linguistically and culturally Egyptian material; for classicists, Egypt after Alexander, and particularly Alexandria, were a part of “Greece.” Ptolemaic Egypt was thus divided into two disciplinary spheres of influence, both of which were based on concepts of area studies and cultural homogeneity rather than methodology. This only served to reinforce the notion of separation: each discipline’s culture was able maintain its “vitality,” with scholars rarely reaching over the divide to deal with their counterpart’s evidence.

In the last two decades, historians, papyrologists, Egyptologists, classicists, and others have effectively challenged this thesis of cultural and social separation.²⁰ Ptolemaic Egypt was a pluralistic society, in which the appellations “Egyptian” and “Greek” were only two potential aspects of an individual’s identity, and which were not necessarily the most important or mutually exclusive. The “two societies” model inherently privileges the importance of a perceived ethno-cultural identity: it assumes that Greek and Egyptian ethnic identities were the primary organizing identities of Ptolemaic Egyptian society. However, it would be naïve to ignore the importance of ethnic identification in Ptolemaic Egypt. The existence of individuals and groups of “Egyptian” and “Greek” origin and

¹⁹ Manning 2010: 11. Ritner (1992: 284) remarks that in the traditional conception of Egyptian history, in which the New Kingdom is the metaphorical “flower” of Egyptian civilization, the Late Period is “protracted decay” and the Ptolemaic-Roman “certain death.”

²⁰ Ritner (1992) provides an early but pointed critique of the “separateness” model. Moyer (2011a: 1-41) provides a discussion of Classical scholars’ engagement with Egypt and the development and consequent response to the “separatist” model (see particularly his critique of Fraser; Moyer 2011a: 23-24). For recent work challenging this model, see e.g. Stephens 2003 (in literary studies); Manning 2003 and 2010 (relating to the Ptolemaic state); Moyer 2011b (on Egyptians and titles related to the Ptolemaic court); and Baines 2004 (on Egyptian elites’ negotiation and formulation of identity). Also see Harris and Ruffini 2004 in general for recent approaches to Alexandria.

legal status cannot be denied, nor can the existence of distinct cultural – and material culture – traditions that can be labeled “Egyptian” and “Greek.” But a full analysis of the evidence cannot support the view that a Greek/Egyptian dichotomy was the primary organizing principle of Ptolemaic society.

It is instructive to return to the use of ethnic designations to understand the complexity of the situation. In particular, there is the issue of “tax-Hellenes” – that is, individuals considered “Greek” for the purposes of taxation.²¹ Jews, Thracians, Egyptians, or Greeks, could all be considered “Hellenes.”²² Certain occupations apparently made individuals eligible for “tax-Hellene” status, with different occupational groups treated as *ethne*.²³ Changes in name and epithets of geographic origin were closely controlled, and the means by which a person could attain “Hellene” tax status are obscure, though it is speculated that those who worked for the administration could perhaps attain that status.²⁴ Clarysse and Thompson, who present one of the most recent discussions of these designations, state that “it is clear that to become a ‘Hellene,’ with a preferential tax-status, brought benefits to its holder.”²⁵ For example, as is readily apparent in several papyri, people with a “Hellene” identification used their preferential status in arguments against

²¹ Thompson 2001a: 307-310; Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 138-140. See also Vandorpe 2008 for legal ethnic designations in general and the use of the term “Persian” in particular.

²² Clarysse and Thompson (2006: 143-145) cite the cases of Pasikles, Diodorus, and Petechonsis as people of definite Egyptian background (based on names of family members) in the Arsinoite nome who have achieved the status of “tax-Hellene;” though not labeled specifically as “Hellenes,” they possess tax-exemptions which were available only to individuals of “Hellene” status. Notably, two individuals (Pasikles and Diodorus) adopted Greek names. (See P. Count. 4, 114-116 and 140-144). In a tax-register from Trikomia in the Arsinoite nome (P. Count 26), there are a number of individuals with Thracian (three examples, lines 110, 113, and 189) and Semitic/Jewish names (89 individuals, lines 109-198) in the portion of the register labeled “Hellenes (in the quarter) of Maron.” See also Thompson 200a: 310-11.

²³ Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 145-146; 203. See in particular their discussion of P. Count 26 and P. Count 2.

²⁴ Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 146-7. According to a decree of Ptolemy II (P. Hal. 1.260-264) exemptions from the salt tax seem to be broadly associated with profession we would associate with “Greek culture,” such as teachers, actors, and those associated with athletics. Exemption from the obol tax was a broader privilege (Thompson 2001a: 307).

²⁵ Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 147

those labeled “Egyptian,”²⁶ though these arguments seem to have class overtones rather than notions of ethnic superiority. The term “Hellene” was thus inclusive, serving to designate the possession of certain privileges granted to those not categorized as “Egyptian,”²⁷ and which subsumed more specific ethnic designations over time.²⁸

“Hellene,” “Egyptian,” and other ethnics are markers of specific kinds of social, occupational, or tax status deemed of interest to the state rather than indications of an assumed ethno-cultural identity as experienced by the population of Egypt.²⁹ The ethnic, in turn, was only one aspect of an individual’s official, state-designated identity.³⁰ Though the terms “Hellene” and “Egyptian” are maintained in the documentation and are defined in opposition to one another, the “real” ethnic origin of an individual was not of interest to the state, and so is not reflected in the documentary record.³¹ As the prescriptive categorizations of the state, ethnics do not reflect the day-to-day interactions and identities that exist beneath the remit of administration. In the papyri as a whole, cultural practice is often only hinted at, with the adoption of Greek names or use of the Greek language: this does not necessarily imply the adoption of other “Greek” practices and behaviors. This disjuncture is fully admitted by Clarysse and Thompson in their discussion of naming

²⁶ Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 142-143. See P. Enteaux 79.9-10 for one such complaint, as well as P. Med. I 15.14-16 and UPZ 17.21-22 (p. 648); also, P. Amherst II 40.7-8 for Egyptians complaining about Greek access to land (or, at least, “Hellenes” access).

²⁷ Veisse 2007: 290

²⁸ Fischer-Bovet, forthcoming.

²⁹ Thompson (2001a: 304) notes that these are ascriptions that “do not necessarily correspond with subjective perceptions.” See also in particular Veisse 2007 for a discussion of the ambiguities of these terms.

³⁰ Other aspects are occupation, citizenship, and social status. Fischer-Bovet (forthcoming) discusses in some detail the interplay of these aspects of official identity with ethnicity, and the apparent changes over time in the relative weight given to each.

³¹ La’da (1997: 189) notes that the Ptolemaic government was not concerned that the meaning of “ethnics” had drifted from an association with real ethnicity.

practices, noting that “it is onomastics rather than ethnicity which is primarily involved in the terms ‘Greek’ and ‘Egyptian.’”³²

The papyrological evidence presents the view of the state, for which ethnic designations bear little relationship modern scholars’ conceptions of the term. That the “ethnics” have partly been the basis for a conception of a “two societies” model for Ptolemaic Egypt is problematic on two levels. First, since the papyri which include these terms presents the prescriptive view of the state, the information in these texts mask the kinds of interactions and identities which arose out of non-state interactions, which need not be “ethnically” based. Second, since the official records in fact demonstrate fluid rather than hard boundaries in terms of these kinds of designations with respect to state-individual interactions, and do not conform to an “ethno-cultural” form of ethnicity, it is worthwhile questioning whether ethnicity as such was so important on a day-to-day level to the extent that it fostered the creation of socio-cultural boundaries. When we take into account current theories of ethnicity and cultural interaction, and solidly define what ethnicity is, the “two societies” model becomes untenable.

1.3 – Models of Identity, Ethnicity, and Cultural Interaction

Identity, at its broadest, is “the means through which social subjects are constructed into relationships of taxonomic similarity and difference in comparison with other subjects”.³³ More specifically, it is “identification with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant.”³⁴ A given individual necessarily has multiple identities, and has the potential to determine which groups they belong to, though the

³² Clarysse and Thompson 2006: 325

³³ Voss (2008: 13), in her work on archaeologically observing the genesis of ethnic identities.

³⁴ Díaz-Andreu and Lucy (2005: 1), in the introduction to their edited volume on the archaeology of identity more broadly.

choices are limited by both societal structures and the individual's own body.³⁵ An individual's identities can be defined personally, through one's own agency, though one's agency is circumscribed both by social norms and practices as one understands them, and by the beliefs and behaviors of other members of that society; or through the agency of other persons and groups, as is the case with the state-defined "ethnics" in the Ptolemaic documentary record. As such, identities are *not* inherent to a given individual; they are subjective attributes resulting from choices made by individuals within the structures of society. Identity boundaries are not hard and fast: their definitions are always up for re-negotiation. What constitutes gender, class, and ethnic identities (to name only a few) in a given society is mutable.

The equivalence between culture and ethnicity which has been implicit in many discussions of Ptolemaic Egypt falls apart when ethnicity is considered to be a social construction, the boundaries of which are open to negotiation. In 1969, Barth summarized then-current thinking on ethnicity. He identified an "ethnic group" as generally being defined as a group that:

1. is biologically self-perpetuating
2. shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt cultural forms
3. makes up a field of communication and interaction
4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.³⁶

Barth rejected the first three criteria – race, culture, and language – as ultimately defining an ethnic group, but retained the fourth.³⁷ He was responding to the notion that the first

³⁵ Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 1

³⁶ Barth 1969: 10-11

three criteria would always coincide both with each other and with the fourth definition. That a given individual or group shares a common culture and language does not necessarily indicate that they possess a recognized ethnic identity, though an ethnic identity may coincide with both those attributes.

Ethnicity is a matter of self-identification and societal definition, a social construction. But what is the basis of this identification? A recent definition of ethnicity is “that method of classifying people (both self and other) that uses origin (socially constructed) as its primary reference”.³⁸ In more detail, Emberling outlines the basic features of what can be considered an “ethnic” group:

“... an ethnic group is most essentially a group whose members view themselves as having common ancestry, therefore as being kin. As kin units larger than any others, they must include members of more than one lineage or extended family. Members of an ethnic group usually possess some common language. Ethnic groups often are unified by constructions of their past, by perception of injustice in the past or in the present, and often by hopes of a future reunification. Finally, ethnic groups are not states but exist in some relationship to them.”³⁹

Language, race, and cultural values are not necessarily part of an ethnic identification, the only criteria of an ethnic identity being a perceived (and socially constructed) shared origin and descent, and sometimes (though not necessarily) a common language. This makes ethnicity different from a “regional” identity, which is based on area of residence or origin, rather than kinship. However, the ascription of ethnic identity has to be the result of members both within the putative ethnic group, and those outside of it. This is why ethnic identity can be a “source of negotiation or struggle between an individual,

³⁷ Barth 1969

³⁸ Levine 1999: 168

³⁹ Emberling 1997: 304. See his discussion of terminology in full for a good overview.

the ethnic group, and the state.”⁴⁰ But, at the same time, ethnic identity – as a kin-based identity – usually does *not* act as a primary, organizing identity; rather, it tends to be subjugated to other statuses, such as class or profession, which are based on common-interest.⁴¹

The conception of an untethered, subjective ethnicity is not new to the study of Ptolemaic Egypt; the “mutability” of ethnicity has been acknowledged before, and has been put forward as a paradigm for studying Egypt in this period.⁴² But even so, the race-culture-language conception of ethnicity has persisted in the study of Graeco-Roman Egypt, either implicitly if not outright, and is presumed to be a primary organizing identity in Egypt during this period.⁴³ With current understandings of identity broadly and ethnicity in particular, we must reject the conception of “Greeks” and “Egyptians” as two monolithic racial-cultural-linguistic blocks, and – perhaps more importantly – the *a priori* assumption that Greek and Egyptian “ethnic” identities were a primary organizing force in society. The adoption of aspects of a particular material culture complex cannot be taken as indicative of an ethnic affiliation. It is precisely in a situation of cross-cultural interaction – as in Ptolemaic Egypt – that we would expect that culture and language would *not* align with ethnic identities.

Recasting ethnicity and, indeed, all aspects of identity as ultimately subjective brings us back to the “separate society” model of Graeco-Roman Egypt. In this model, by the end of the Graeco-Roman period it is still possible to speak of “Greeks” and “Egyp-

⁴⁰ Emberling 1997: 305

⁴¹ Emberling 1997: 305

⁴² At least since Goudriaan 1988 and 1992, which are particularly nuanced treatments of ethnicity. He explicitly states that an ethnic identity is not an objective constant (1988: 8) and that culture and ethnicity need to be disentangled for more nuanced analyses. The study of ethnicity in these terms has been a concern elsewhere in the Classical and Hellenistic Mediterranean. See e.g. Hall 1997 and, for an archaeological example, Herbert 2003.

⁴³ E.g. Venit 2002: 91

tians” as perhaps was possible in the early Ptolemaic period; it assumes a static ethno-cultural division and definition.⁴⁴ But this is not possible: interaction causes change, one way or the other. Situations of sustained cross cultural interaction are important cases for the study of cultural change versus perpetuation; that is, how behaviors, practices, symbols, and material culture, of societies and individuals change or perpetuate. Identity, both social and individual, is an important variable for the study of cross-cultural interaction and is of primary concern here. A given individual holds a number of identities; sustained interaction between different cultural groups inevitably causes individuals and groups to reassess preexisting distinctions, resulting in their reification, modification, or the creation of new ones.

The typical model of cultural interaction used in discussions of Ptolemaic Egypt, namely acculturation under the problematic and ill-defined moniker of “Hellenization” or its converse “Egyptianization,”⁴⁵ has served to reinforce the model of the “two societies.” Both Greeks and Egyptians are acknowledged to have interacted to some extent, especially since “Hellenization” has been identified as a means of social advancement on the part of Egyptians.⁴⁶ But a model of interaction based on the adoption of one society’s practices by the other implies the existence of cultural binary without any nuance. An Egyptian who has “Hellenized” has merged into “Greek” society, while an “Egyptianizing” Greek disappeared into the indigenous cultural milieu. Thus, despite intense cross-cultural inter-

⁴⁴ See Bingen 2007: 254 and n. 43 below.

⁴⁵ “Egyptianization” often has derogatory racial connotations. Fraser is most explicit in this respect, stating that “the pure Greek racial element declined, as more and more foreign, and above all Egyptian strains mingled with it” (1972: 51), and that with the “rise of Egyptian influence” the “two classes – urban Egyptian ... and the lower class Greek – merged increasingly to produce [a] hybrid mob” (1972: 81).

⁴⁶ On Egyptians in the Ptolemaic army and administration, see Clarysse 1985. The adoption of Greek names is common among these individuals.

action and the broad adoption of non-Greek and non-Egyptian behaviors and ideas, separate Greek and Egyptian ethno-cultural blocks remained.⁴⁷

The term “Hellenization” has been intensively discussed over the past twenty-five years.⁴⁸ Although still deemed a useful term in some circles, to many – including this author – it is an extremely misleading framework through which to view the Hellenistic world given its diversity and complexity. In contrast to the strict acculturation embodied in the term “Hellenization,” there are alternative models of culture contact and interaction developed in the study of the Mediterranean and elsewhere, including terms such as “the middle ground,”⁴⁹ “creolization,”⁵⁰ and “hybridity.”⁵¹ These have emphasized the messiness of culture contact – the confusion, the creation of spaces in between – but they were often used as catchall terms, blurring too much.⁵² The concept of resistance, in contrast to acculturation, often places too much emphasis on the “non-dominant” culture: every action is read as resistance, a way of emphasizing and maintaining the cohesiveness of the non-dominant group, and the possibility for the willful adoption of aspects of the dominant culture is downplayed.⁵³

Alone, these conceptions are inadequate for modeling cultural change, but taken together they effectively describe the range of possibilities, varying in relation to the in-

⁴⁷ Again, this can be seen in Bingen’s views on mixed marriages, wherein each “domestic unit” would slip into either the Greek or Egyptian cultural sphere (Bingen 2007: 246). His analysis of the Roman period is also telling. Bingen remarks that though neither the Egyptian nor the Greek cultural groups were by the Roman period part of an integrated cultural system and as such had become “more permeable,” cultural interaction in fact “slowed down” with “linguistic cleavage remain[ing] essentially a social cleavage;” the permeability of the two cultural groups came “too late” for any “model of bilateral cultural interactions” to be identified (Bingen 2007: 254). Thus, even when it is admitted that both the groups were no longer “integrated cultural systems,” meaningful interaction cannot be conceived.

⁴⁸ The literature is vast. See e.g. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993. Alcock 1994 provides a good bibliographic overview of the problem.

⁴⁹ White 1991

⁵⁰ e.g. Lightfoot and Martinez 1995

⁵¹ e.g. van Dommelen 2005

⁵² Cusick 2000

⁵³ This tendency can be seen with Will (1985), in the author’s colonial model of Ptolemaic Egypt.

tensity of the interaction and whether the nature of that interaction is symmetrical.⁵⁴ Degrees of acculturation and resistance, or the creation of creole and hybrid identities, for example, need not be uniform: changes in various identities can be conceived as the result of many of these processes, and to varying degrees. Certain distinctions may be adopted wholesale from the other culture, others may be reified, and still others can be wholly new, approximating foreign statuses or replacing existing ones. Why some identities change and others persist is of prime importance in understanding the nature of interaction between the two cultures, and also whether, at some point, there are still “two cultures” at all.

The circumstances of cultural interaction are also important. Interactions can be roughly categorized into “symmetrical” and “asymmetrical” situations.⁵⁵ Symmetrical situations occur when two polities of similar levels of sociopolitical complexity and development come into contact with one another, which may or may not lead to the incorporation of one polity into the other. Examples here include interactions between Rome and Eastern Greek polities (e.g. Seleucid Syria, Antigonid Macedonia, etc.), Chinese polities of the warring states period, and Persia (e.g. Mesopotamia, Media, Egypt). Asymmetrical interactions are between a society of greater sociopolitical complexity and a lesser one, such as between a state level polity and nomadic groups in its borderlands. Examples include colonial North America and interaction between Rome and what would become its western provinces (Gaul, Britain, parts of Spain, etc.). Though these two categories do not fit all situations exactly, the symmetric/asymmetric distinction provides a useful model, as these categories typically produce different types of cultural change.

⁵⁴ See Yao 2008: 10-14.

⁵⁵ This paradigm is taken from Yao 2008. See especially Yao 2008: 18-19.

Ptolemaic Egypt is a case of symmetrical interaction. At the time of Alexander's conquest, Egypt had been a unified state, by and large, for over 2500 years, with a highly stratified social structure, intense specialization, powerful bureaucracy, rich literary tradition, and a distinctive material culture. The Macedonians and Greeks who conquered and settled in Egypt had a tradition of many state-level societies of varying types which were never politically unified as Egypt was, and with a number of distinct regional material culture traditions which were unified by several common characteristics and symbolic repertoire. Though there was an influx of a new elite which had origins from various Greco-Macedonian societies,⁵⁶ they ultimately were the minority, and had to contend with a local elite with longstanding traditions of its own.

For the study of cultural interaction in Ptolemaic Egypt, it is important to recognize that, though there were many unifying characteristics of ancient Egyptian culture, Egypt was regionally diverse and highly structured (i.e. by class, profession, etc.); the effects of long-term cultural interaction could not be uniform across the whole of Egyptian "culture." We should expect different regions and groups within regions to variably react depending on the intensity of the interaction (e.g. establishment of new settlements, as in the Fayyum or as with Ptolemais, versus more distant state level control in areas such as the oases, the rural delta and Upper Egypt, etc.) and the local cultural-historical factors of each region (e.g. a previously important political statuses ascribed to certain sites, current importance of certain cults, presence of certain industries, etc.). Given such diversity, we cannot reduce cultural change to "Hellenization" or "Egyptianization," par-

⁵⁶ I intentionally use the plural here. "Greek society", as such, was never a unified political whole, and had hardly been so under Alexander. "Greeks" and "Greek culture" were highly regional, as must have been the settlers and new elites of Greco-Roman Egypt.

ticularly since “Greek” culture and “Egyptian” culture cover such broad territory to begin with.

It is important to emphasize that the reasons behind cultural change, like the processes themselves, are not uniform. In a situation of cultural interaction, individuals and groups have specific reasons for adopting or imposing behaviors, practices, objects, and distinctions that make up cultural change. An individual can willfully adopt aspects of another culture – in terms materials or practice – or have change imposed from the outside. This can have a rippling effect: if one culture imposes a change on another, it may very well cause what can be termed “resistance” in other, perhaps unrelated, aspects of the culture; while the willful adoption of cultural traits may lead to a broadly more hybrid and creole type objects, practices, and identities. Cultural change is not uniform in degree or extent, and nor are the mechanisms and interactions which lie behind that change. There are many reasons for changes in identity and in material culture – social, political, and religious.

1.4 – Archaeology, Identity and Ethnic Interpretation

The previous section described theories of identity, ethnicity, and cultural interaction and their relevance to Ptolemaic Egypt in order to demonstrate the weakness of the “two societies” thesis and argue for a more nuanced view of ethnicity. Given the nature of cultural interaction and ethnicity across human societies, a perpetual and static Greek/Egyptian divide is extremely improbable. Heretofore there has been little discussion of material culture and archaeology; but the place of archaeology in discussions of identity and ethnicity is an important one and in the case of Ptolemaic Egypt archaeological evidence has been instrumental in reinforcing the “two societies” paradigm.

In discussions of the archaeology of Ptolemaic Egypt, scholars have traditionally adhered to a paradigm first established in the 19th century of the “archaeological culture”.

Shennan broke down the concept into its constituent parts:

- a) as a result of the fact that people living in different places conduct their lives differently to a greater or lesser extent, the material residues (and therefore the archaeological record) of those ways of life will also differ;
- b) archaeologists have classified these patterns of spatial variation into entities called archaeological 'cultures': 'a culture must be distinguished by a plurality of well-defined diagnostic types that are repeatedly and exclusively associated with one another and, when plotted on a map, exhibit a recognizable distribution pattern ...'⁵⁷
- c) these entities which have been constructed have been regarded as actors on the historical stage, playing the role for prehistory that known individuals and groups have in documentary history;
- d) in playing this role these 'cultures' have been regarded as indicators of ethnicity - self-conscious identification with a particular social group; and
- e) in their role as indicators of ethnicity, archaeological 'cultures' have had, and continue to have, a political role as legitimators of the claims of modern groups to territory and influence.⁵⁸

Though originating in the study prehistory, where it is explicit and has been thoroughly deconstructed since the end of the Second World War,⁵⁹ the idea of the “archaeological culture” has sometimes been implicit in discussions of Mediterranean societies.⁶⁰ However, the assumption that the presence of aspects of a Greek material culture complex indicates the presence of a Greek ethnic group has largely been abandoned, and indeed the conception of an “archaeological culture” is valid as long as it applies only to a material culture complex and not *a priori* to an ethnic group. In the case of Ptolemaic

⁵⁷ Quoting Childe 1956: 123

⁵⁸ Shennan 1989: 5-6. The origin of the archaeological culture ultimately lies in the work of prehistoric archaeologists, in particular with Kossinna and his work in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. His work was explicitly tied to race and ethnicity, and was part of a campaign to create a history for the recently created German nation (see Kossinna 1902).

⁵⁹ Clarke (1978: 365) states explicitly that “there is no *a priori*” reason why archaeological cultures should equate to social, linguistic, or racial groupings, though “much archaeological literature tacitly equates such entities as culture group and language group.”

⁶⁰ See Hall 1997: 114-131 for a review of the term “archaeological culture,” and the term’s relationship to the debate over the archaeological evidence for the “Dorian invasion,” one of the more well-known ethnic-identification problems in classical archaeology.

Egypt, however, the rhetoric of the archaeological culture has loomed large due to the distinct natures of the Greek and Egyptian material culture complexes as defined by scholars, as well as the disciplinary divide between Egyptologists and Classicists.

The presence of two identifiable traditions in material culture in Ptolemaic Egypt is not in question, and the concept of the “archaeological culture” can be a useful organizing tool. Certain objects, practices, and systems of representation have clear origins in either Egypt or the Greek cultural area. Understandably, Greek material culture is largely the domain of classicists and classically trained art historians, while Egyptian material is largely left to Egyptologists.⁶¹ This division reinforces the perception of Egypt as consisting of “two societies,” with distinct Egyptian and Greek material cultures mirroring Egyptian and Greek ethnicities. This can be seen most clearly in the study of burial practices, which have traditionally been seen as indicators of ethnic affiliation,⁶² since stark contrast between Greek modes of burial and Egyptian mummification has made such equivalencies easy.⁶³ The issue is that these systems need not correspond to groups that are ethnically Greek or Egyptian, and that these systems need not have been mutually unintelligible. The conscious adoption of the symbols and iconography of Egyptian king-

⁶¹ This can be particularly seen in the case of Alexandria, the Hellenistic city *par excellence*. This site has always been the purview of classicists and classical archaeologists rather than Egyptologists. This separation is to the point that there is a museum in Alexandria specifically for Graeco-Roman period antiquities, which were not sent to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the primary purview of which is the Pharaonic period. For the history of the Graeco-Roman Museum and the uses of classicism in the colonial period, see Reid 2002: 139-171. Meanwhile, “to many Egyptologists, Ptolemaic art and its by-product Alexandrian style look foreign. ... Not knowing what to make of Alexandrian art, many Egyptologists ignore it, taking safe refuge in inscriptions of the period or those found nearby ...” (Kozloff 1996: 247).

⁶² See Hall (1997: 111-131) regarding burial practices and the so-called “Dorian invasion,” and the problems of associating ethnicity with a set of burial practices in general. See Chapter 2 in this work for more on ethnicity and burial practice.

⁶³ See again Dunand and Lichtenberg’s comments on the adoption of mummification by “Greeks” (1995: 3219). See also Lembke (2010: 246-250), who argues that mummification can be either practiced by Greeks or Egyptians, but that cremation can only be practiced by Greeks. She also states that the increasing popularity of “Greek iconography and customs” make it “more difficult to state the ethnic origins of the deceased” (2010: 247), which makes the *a priori* assumption that iconography and custom necessarily relate in some way to ethnicity.

ship by the Ptolemaic dynasty certainly suggests some level of cross-cultural comprehension from the beginning of the period.⁶⁴

Placing such an importance on discrete Egyptian and Greek material culture traditions implies that the inhabitants of Ptolemaic Egypt would have seen Greek and Egyptian material culture as ethnic *indicia*. It assumes, for example, that an individual in antiquity looking at a tomb painting would see certain aspects – such as depictions of Egyptian gods – as representative of an Egyptian identity and others – such as the depiction of the tomb owner in “Hellenizing” garb – as representative of a Greek one. Such an approach is faulty because, as anthropological research has demonstrated, any aspect of a culture can be seized on as an ethnic marker,⁶⁵ including many which may leave no trace in the archaeological record. We cannot *a priori* assume that what we perceive as diagnostic markers of “Greekness” or “Egyptianness” would have been recognized by the past society. Indeed, after generations of coexistence and use in Egypt, one should question how unintelligible “Greek” and “Egyptian” systems would have been.

The study and definition of ethnic groups is analytically different from the study of archaeological cultures.⁶⁶ This point has been made clear from the discussion of identity above: boundaries are far too fluid for the archaeologist to postulate a one-to-one correlation between a material culture complex and a self-identifying ethnic group. “Cultures” are not historical actors; they are simply a short-hand way of referring to recurring patterns in the archaeological data.⁶⁷ The problem has actually been compounded by the

⁶⁴ The use of pharaonic imagery and iconography by the Ptolemaic dynasty has been vast. See e.g. Koenen 1993; on Ptolemaic portraiture and their representations as “Greek” or “Egyptian”, see e.g. Smith 1996, Stanwick 2002.

⁶⁵ See Emberling 1997: 310-311, for references to a number of anthropological studies.

⁶⁶ Shennan 1989: 6

⁶⁷ Shennan 1989: 6

rich documentary record for this period: the textual evidence for ethnic designations and divisions in the papyri, whatever their basis, is taken to be ultimately conclusive, rather than another piece of evidence.⁶⁸ “Hellenes” in the papyri become “Greeks” in the archaeological record very easily.

This is of course not to say that it is impossible to discern the presence of a particular group of people in the past based on the material culture. The presence of a distinct material culture assemblage says much about the group that is present. But a cohesive material culture assemblage does not inherently indicate that a group conceived of themselves as a distinct *ethnic* entity. Ethnicity is most likely to be represented in the archaeological record via “a set of transient but often repeated realizations of ethnic difference in particular contexts.”⁶⁹ It is difficult to codify exactly what these “realizations of ethnic difference” are, as the meanings of objects can change at varying rates, some retaining their “ethnic” connotation longer than others. The task is to understand in a particular context what the repeated actions that represent a Greek identity versus an Egyptian one are, and that is assuming that those are viable ethnic designations.

1.5 – Testing for Ethnicity

The study of identity in Ptolemaic Egypt has largely centered on the documentary record, and hence has focused on official identities which were defined by the state.⁷⁰

These identities – ethnics among them – are true social identities, but they do not tell the entire story: individuals and groups engaged in interactions and formed identities which

⁶⁸ I paraphrase Shennan (1989: 14) here, in his remarks about the pitfalls for prehistoric archaeologists dealing with documentary evidence of early authors.

⁶⁹ Jones 1997. Jones provides a comprehensive review of the role of “ethnicity” in archaeological interpretation and the possibilities for the archaeological investigation of the topic.

⁷⁰ See again Fischer-Bovet (forthcoming) for a discussion of “official” identity.

were not defined by the state, and so do not appear in documents. Archaeological data permit an analysis of identities and interactions which do not appear in the documentary record, and so were not necessarily defined by the state. This allows us to potentially observe ethnic identity as it was enacted – if it was at all – without relying on the prescriptive designations of the Ptolemaic monarchy. The importance of ethnic identity for the structuring of Ptolemaic society can be tested.

However, the apparent strength of textual and documentary evidence can overwhelm information from other data, and in the case of Ptolemaic Egypt the ethnic designations of the documentary record have been projected onto our understanding material culture, creating the expectation for “ethnic” divisions in material practice. While material culture may be indicia of an ethnic, the identification of material culture as an ethnic marker requires detailed analysis and argumentation, rather than an appeal to implicitly understood precepts. Emberling lays out a program for identifying material markers of ethnicity, paraphrased as follows:

- 1.) Identify a potentially distinctive group, whether through a constellation of types or styles, through names in historical documents, or through modern informants.
- 2.) Establish the social and geographical boundaries of the group by comparing distinctive practices or artifacts with those of neighboring groups.
- 3.) Attempt to identify the kind of group that such a practice might mark, by careful study of contexts of production and use.
- 4.) Comparison of these results with analyses of other categories of evidence may support an identification of ethnic difference.⁷¹

In truth, this could be said of the material markers of any group or identity, ethnic or not. The material markers of identity are picked out through detecting patterns of similarity and difference in material culture; determining whether a pattern represents an “ethnic”

⁷¹ Emberling 1997: 311

difference is what is problematic. In the context of Ptolemaic Egypt, it is perhaps most problematic because we lack the benefit of distinct geographic distributions, as the different “ethnic” groups are (almost) entirely interspersed among one another.

Viewing Ptolemaic Egypt primarily through the lens of two discrete and opposed ethno-cultural groups has obscured the fact that cultural interaction in Ptolemaic Egypt, and indeed anywhere, is not necessarily tied to specific “ethnic” identities. Making such assumptions has biased our conception of cross-cultural interaction towards models of acculturation in which individuals are determined to have become “Greek” or “Egyptian” based on the presence or absence of certain material traits. Rather, ethnicity is only one category of “identity” more broadly conceived within a cultural group, and should not necessarily be primary in the interpretation of material culture. Separating ethnicity from a particular material culture complex allows for more varied readings of archaeological material which take into account the multiple possible expressions of identity.

The following study examines identity in Ptolemaic Egypt through an analysis of mortuary behavior. A study of mortuary behavior is particularly useful for a study of identity for two reasons. First is the nature of mortuary practices and their archaeological remains, which I will describe in the second chapter. Second, the study of mortuary practice has been particularly affected by the primacy of “ethnic” interpretation and the “two societies” model, and is paradigmatic of the state of research in cross-cultural relations in this period. The aim is to reassess the archaeological evidence for mortuary activity in Ptolemaic Egypt – without any presumption of ethnic identity expressed in the material culture – to determine what identities are expressed in mortuary practice and whether an ethnic identity is among them; how the material expression of identity varies across

Egypt; and how both cultural contact and local socio-political conditions shaped those expressions. Three sites are at the core of my study: Alexandria, Thebes, and Abydos.

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical basis for using mortuary behavior to reconstruct identity, and lays out the methodology applied in this study. The theoretical basis ultimately lies in the Saxe-Binford tradition of mortuary analysis, and relies on the unique nature of mortuary practices and their archaeological signatures that allow for an analysis of social identities. The variables to be used in the analysis are also described, as well as the sites to be used and the problems with the data.

Chapter 3 examines funerary practice in early Alexandria. Alexandria, as the foundation of Alexander the Great and the foremost center of learning in the Hellenistic period, is the paradigmatic Greek city in Egypt. In this chapter, I concentrate on the use of cremation and communal burial structures as identity markers, two practices which have largely been interpreted from a specifically Greek perspective. My discussion of cremation practices demonstrates how the social and cultural circumstances of the city at the time of its founding fostered the use of cremation as a particularly “non-indigenous” way of burial, which eventually declined in popularity as a “non-indigenous” identity ceased to be useful. The use of communal hypogea, on the other hand, was also fostered by the initial social circumstances of the city. Communal hypogea were likely used by voluntary associations, which became popular due to the need to build non-familial social ties among a diverse immigrant community. Unlike cremation, this represented a distinction that persisted throughout the city’s ancient history.

Chapter 4 turns to the necropolis of western Thebes. Thebes was a major political and religious center throughout the Pharaonic period (c. 3000 BCE to 332 BCE) and into

the Ptolemaic period. Burial practices during the Ptolemaic period here are usually described in terms of both conservatism and decline, linking them to a degeneration of Egyptian culture during that period. In this analysis I particularly focus on the reuse of tombs and the complex system of post-funerary activity undertaken by local priests. The assumption has long been that the reuse of earlier tombs was evidence that Thebans could no longer afford to construct new tombs. However, this is not the case: hundreds of mud-brick tombs dating to the Ptolemaic period are known from early 20th century excavations. Rather than the result of penury, the reuse of an older tomb appears to have been an elite practice made by choice. This is in part a continuation of a practice normal in the later periods of Pharaonic Thebes, as well as a means for elites to physically link themselves with their predecessors. This practice was maintained by local priesthoods who managed the tombs, and ensured that the practice continued. These are not specifically “Egyptian” practices, but rather “Theban” ones.

Chapter 5 examines Abydos. Similar to Thebes, Abydos is a site steeped in indigenous Egyptian tradition, as the burial site of the first kings of state-level Egypt, the site of multiple cemeteries in near constant use for 3500 years, and a major cult center to the god of the dead, Osiris. For this analysis, I incorporate material from my original fieldwork there, undertaken in 2011 and 2012, which focused on an elite tomb complex of two local priests. This large complex was the focus for later funerary activity in this area. The Ptolemaic funerary landscape appears to have been much like that in earlier periods: large elite complexes surrounded by later, smaller structures purposefully built in association with them. Funerary activity also was oriented with respect the extensive ritual land-

scape, and particularly focused on an important processional way. At Abydos, there is a continuation of local custom rather than an explicit Egyptian identity being expressed.

In Chapter 6, I offer some conclusions and final thoughts about these sites, and propose directions for future research. Once ethnic identity is explicitly considered to be only one of many possible identities that can be constructed through material culture and burial practice, a more nuanced view of Ptolemaic society and the results of culture contact is possible. An expansion of this line of inquiry back into the Late period and forward into the Roman will provide a diachronic perspective on change, as well as a means of investigating the social effects of the shift from indigenous to foreign rule, and the effects of being incorporated into a larger empire. Though a focus of research of nearly two centuries, the study of funerary practices of Egypt still has the potential to yield important insights into not only Egyptian society, but also broader studies of identity and social change.

Chapter 2 – Archaeological Approaches to Mortuary Analysis

2.1 The Archaeological Study of Mortuary Variability

Testing assumptions of ethnic identity's importance in Graeco-Roman Egypt requires an examination of the material expression of social and personal identity. The analysis of the material remains of mortuary behavior is the best means of archaeologically investigating these phenomena. This is due to both the nature of mortuary practices themselves, and the nature of the archaeological remains of those practices. Through a systematic analysis of the archaeological remains of mortuary behavior, it is possible to partially reconstruct the range of social identities present in a given society.

The approach to mortuary analysis which I adopt is grounded in the "Saxe-Binford" program as first developed in the 1960s and 1970s. Binford's and Saxe's original work was in reaction to two earlier contradictory paradigms: first, that laid out by Kroeber,¹ who viewed mortuary practices "of a kind with fashions of dress, luxury, and etiquette;"² and second, the alternative and widespread view of burial practices as representative of distinct cultural blocks, change within which was primarily the result of "diffusionism."³ The former viewed mortuary practices as fundamentally unstable and saw them as varying independently of behavior related to "biological or primary social neces-

¹ Kroeber 1927

² Kroeber 1927: 314

³ Binford (1971: 12) discusses in particular Perry (1914: 289-290), who argued that different grave orientations within a single group was the result of cultural "blending." This line of thinking can also be seen in early ideas about the "syncretic" nature of Ptolemaic Egyptian culture and practice, and indeed the Hellenistic period as a whole.

sities.”⁴ The latter assumed that each cultural group had a distinct set of traits used in mortuary practice, and that the presence/absence of certain traits could be used to determine affiliations between groups, by measuring the degree of “hybridization.”⁵

The work of Binford and Saxe differed from both approaches in that it looked at variations in process and systems rather than formal material variation. They argued that there was a correlation between a system of mortuary practice and the organization of a society. Both drew on Goodenough’s role theory,⁶ which stated that each individual in a society has certain social roles, which together make up an individual’s social identity. Death was an occasion when all of these roles had to be dealt with by the living in the form of mortuary practices.⁷ It was reasoned that as the complexity of a society increased the opportunity for an individual to take on more roles would increase, and the complexity of the society would thus be reflected in the complexity of the mortuary treatment.⁸ Saxe evaluated eight hypotheses concerning the relationship between social organization and mortuary practice, conducting a cross-cultural study of burial practices for three ethnographic cases. Though only four hypotheses were supported, like Binford he found a relationship between the treatment of the dead and the roles held by the individual.⁹ There was an ethnographically supported relationship between the organization of a society’s treatment of the dead and the organization of the society itself. Later cross-cultural

⁴ Kroeber 1927: 314

⁵ Binford 1971: 24 summarizes this assumption.

⁶ Goodenough 1965

⁷ Saxe 1970: 4-7

⁸ Binford’s cross-cultural analysis of ethnographic cases of mortuary ritual in four different types of society, based on methods of subsistence (hunter-gathers, pastoralists, mobile agriculturalists, and settled agriculturalists) found that this generally held to be true: settled agriculturalists exhibited more complexity in their ritual than the other societies. See Binford 1971.

⁹ Saxe 1970. See O’Shea 1984: 11-12 for a concise summary of these hypotheses and their results.

ethnographic studies largely reaffirmed this view.¹⁰ Since the initial tenets of this analytical framework were formulated, there have been several major works on the subject, each of which has served to refine the methodology and demonstrate the utility of this approach in reconstructing socioeconomic differentiation.¹¹

Mortuary behavior is particularly well-suited for the study of social differentiation and identity due to both social and archaeological factors.¹² The burial practices of a society are a set of behaviors for the treatment of the dead. A given burial is an archaeological event, either single or multi-staged, enacted by those burying the deceased within the bounds of their society's given set of behaviors. A burial is thus the result of intentional and circumscribed action: it is not the result of random behavior, but rather results from a series of choices of behavior made within particular boundaries. Because these choices are performed and largely made by the survivors of the deceased, the behaviors associated with a given burial are consistent with the relationship between the deceased and society – that is, the treatment of the deceased will be consistent with some aspect of his/her perceived social roles in life. By observing the patterning of associations between variables across a large number of graves, it is possible to identify recognized social distinctions/identities both systemic and idiosyncratic; that is, elements of a society's organiza-

¹⁰ Carr (1995) conducted an exhaustive review of the ethnographic basis for the social interpretation of funerary behavior, ultimately reaffirming the connection between social structure and funerary behavior but also emphasizing the importance of religious-philosophical beliefs in structuring the system as well. Kamp (1998) in an ethnographic study reassessed the relationship between expenditure on a grave and social status, finding that small to moderate variations in expenditure likely do not relate to serious hierarchical differences, though ostentatious display is often correlated to a hierarchical status distinction; gender, age, and religious identities were also consistently represented in a mortuary program.

¹¹ Brown 1971; Chapman, Kinnes, and Randsborg, 1981; Beck 1995; Rakita et al. 2005; O'Shea 1984 and 1996; Pollock 1983; Tainter 1975; etc.

¹² O'Shea (1984 and 1996) outlined most explicitly how the archaeological nature of mortuary of evidence must inform any social analysis of the material.

tion. If a pattern is found, it must be meaningful because the actions which created that pattern were intentional.

While the nature of burial practices and the formation processes of the archaeological record allow for the reconstruction of social identities through funerary behavior, we cannot assume isomorphism between a mortuary system and society. Any social system as represented in an archaeologically attested system of mortuary practice is necessarily incomplete, for several reasons.¹³ First, the archaeological record is always an incomplete representation of mortuary ritual: many aspects funerary behavior both material (e.g. clothing and other material unlikely to preserve) and non-material (such as funeral games or feasts) are generally not available for the archaeologist to include in analysis.¹⁴ Second, the various aspects of the deceased that a society recognizes as significant for burial can vary. Socio-economic status, for instance, may be expressed, but ethnicity, gender, and other identities are just as likely to be constructed in the burial system. In addition, the identities on display in a mortuary system are subject to contestation and renegotiation: different identities, and the material correlates of those identities, are open to appropriation and manipulation.

The nature of the archaeological evidence, however, is also a strength: since mortuary data is intentionally deposited, an analysis focusing on patterns in mortuary data can observe how groups and individuals enact and (re)construct recognized social distinctions over time, which identities were emphasized, and the overlapping of identities. So, rather than an absolute portrait of social identities and differentiation, this type of analysis “reveals a view of social and symbolic differences that collectively and repetitively was

¹³ O’Shea 1984: 27

¹⁴ O’Shea 1996: 18

constructed by the members of the past society.”¹⁵ The picture of society developed by mortuary analysis is an accurate one, though always incomplete. For example, if four levels of hierarchy are observed in a cemetery, the archaeologist can only say that this society recognized *at least* four levels of hierarchy. If patterning is based solely on gender, then it can be inferred that gender was a recognized and important social distinction, but not that it was the only one recognized, or the most important. But in all cases, patterns in mortuary behavior must be consistent in some respect with the structure of a society.

The fundamentals of this paradigm have been challenged frequently enough that it is useful to reiterate and answer some of them here. Hodder and Pearson¹⁶ have been particularly vocal in their criticism. Both attempted to demonstrate through historic and ethnographic examples that mortuary ritual was not a “passive reflection” of social organization, but an area for individual action situated in a particular cultural and historical context, where ideology could either be reified or challenged. Consequently, it was argued that there is a great possibility for archaeological misinterpretation.

Hodder’s analysis of the Nuba in Sudan sought to demonstrate how a straightforward reading of mortuary variation could be fundamentally misleading. Many Nuba practices seem to fit with the Saxe-Binford program: individuals were often buried around the grave of a chief, for example, representing the hierarchy of the community. However, Hodder emphasizes that this is not how the community actually operates. Since the initial ethnographic study was conducted in the 1940s, younger Nuba began to take part in modern Sudanese society and became divorced from the social structure of their home

¹⁵ O’Shea 1996: 13

¹⁶ Hodder 1980; Pearson 1982 and 1999.

village.¹⁷ However, burial rites were being maintained as a way of showing community solidarity, in spite of these changes.

Pearson argued for the possibility for social distortion in mortuary practice through individual action or an outright inversion of the social order. Though there is often a correlation between high social status and elaborate burial, in Victorian England, the upper classes had a particularly ascetic taste in burial, preferring cremation and simple graves, as opposed to the lower classes which were more ostentatious.¹⁸ The archaeologist, in reconstructing the social hierarchy from burial practices, would thus infer that the lower class burials represent the upper class, and vice versa. For distortion on the individual level, Pearson cites a burial in the Middle Bronze Age burial mound of Eshøj in Denmark, in which the individual was buried with what appeared to be a sword and scabbard; however, in the scabbard was not a sword, but a small bronze dagger. Whoever buried this individual appears to have been ascribing him with a status that he did not possess in life.¹⁹ Pearson takes issue with using grave goods in general as a measure of “wealth” and status, emphasizing other possible interpretations, echoing an earlier criticism that a particularly “rich” grave may represent the actions of a particularly bereaved family faced with a traumatic death.²⁰

Hodder and Pearson were at the forefront of the “post-processual critique,” and are representative of the direction of mortuary research in this vein. The emphasis has consistently been on the *meaning* behind particular burial practices, focusing on individual actions and behaviors and their motivations. This is emphasized by the fact that the ex-

¹⁷ Hodder 1980: 163-167

¹⁸ Pearson 1982

¹⁹ Pearson 1999: 85

²⁰ Pearson 1999: 77

amples cited by Hodder and Pearson are not systemic and long-term, but refer to very specific historical moments. But Hodder and Pearson were setting up a straw man; they rightly criticize analyses claiming isomorphic relationships between cemetery organization and social organization, but in doing so claim that this entire avenue of research was irrelevant. This was not ultimately the basis of archaeological mortuary analysis as put forward by Saxe and Binford.

There are four specific answers to their criticisms:

1.) Mortuary analysis should be used in conjunction with other sources of data.

Other forms of data, such as settlement patterns, bioarchaeological data, and textual/historical evidence complement mortuary analysis and reveal distortions from expected patterns in the mortuary record. For example, the “inversion” seen by Pearson in Victorian burial practices is contingent on our understanding of Victorian social structure, which is well known from historical sources and can also be observed in settlement patterns and distinct elite/non-elite patterns in material culture.

2.) Patterns in mortuary data represent oft repeated actions over the long term, not a single moment in time.

Hodder’s analysis of the Nuba concentrates on a single ethnographic moment that would be invisible in the diachronic perspective of the archaeological record. It is doubtful that traditional patterns of burial practice would be maintained in the face of such a drastically changing social organization: such a switch would be visible through an analysis of archaeological data in the long term.

3.) No single variable of mortuary behavior (e.g. effort expenditure, spatial organization) can be used in isolation with confidence. Pearson only draws upon one variable (effort expenditure) to demonstrate the inversion in Victorian mortuary practice;

other variables, such as cemetery location and spatial organization, would result in a better interpretation. The same applies to the argument about grave wealth not correlating to the status of the living. If grave “wealth” is relatively rare in a cemetery, and acts independently as a variable, without any correlation to any other aspects of the grave, then perhaps it represents the result of a particularly individual response. If, however, this aspect appears frequently and is correlated with other variables – say, size of grave – then the idea of wealth as solely an idiosyncratic response becomes less probable.²¹

- 4.) **Individual burials conducted within the bounds of given mortuary program can only be understood in the context of other burials of that same program.** Though the social order may be “distorted” by a burial, it cannot be totally overturned. For example, to return to the Eshøj burial: it is true that this burial possibly represents an attempt to subvert the social order, and the individual was made to appear as a member of class that he perhaps was not associated with. However, for that attempt at subversion to have been even useful, the inclusion of a sword and scabbard must have been recognized as a real marker of status. This deviation only emphasizes that individuals were engaging with a recognized *system* of marking.

Though there are clear problems with the post-processual critique from a theoretical standpoint, it did raise the important question as to whether the meaning behind formal variation in mortuary practice can be reliably reconstructed. This is an issue which

²¹ This is argued a potential reason for differentiation by Pearson (2000: 77): “Associations with certain and copious grave goods may have less to do with wealth and more to do with the mourners over-compensating for an untimely death with abnormal expressions of grief and loss.”

has not been settled theoretically. As Rakita and Buikstra state,²² the early critiques of Saxe-Binford that emphasized the meaning behind funerary practice were not grounded by convincing archaeological examples, except in cases of rich historical documentation, such as the examples cited by Hodder and Pearson.

Assigning to archaeologically visible mortuary treatments a specific meaning (e.g. the political, cultural, or religious motivations behind a specific treatment), as opposed to structural meaning (e.g. that a given treatment represents a recognized social distinction) is problematic and in pre-literate societies likely impossible. This is because:

- 1.) The *form* of a given mortuary treatment is largely determined by the cultural and historical context of the society, as opposed to the *structure* of the system of mortuary practice which is related to the organization of the society itself, though the structure can act as limiting factor.
- 2.) The cultural and historical factors which could greatly affect the material form of a given burial treatment – e.g. religious beliefs, short-term historical trends, fashions – are far more difficult to reconstruct in a pre-literate society.
- 3.) There are no cross-culturally viable rules which can be used to reliably derive “meaning” from differing treatments. For example, cremation may act as a marker for a certain socially recognized identity, as opposed to inhumation, but the actual reason *why* cremation was used to mark that identity cannot be reconstructed with any confidence in the absence of contemporary textual evidence.

²² Rakita and Buikstra 2005: 7.

- 4.) Changes due to shifting fashions can cause changes in practice. These shifts do not relate to a fundamental reordering of social structure, but may appear so in an uncritical archaeological analysis.

With this in mind, it is useful to conceive of archaeological variation in the mortuary system as consisting of two-types: the *structural* and *representational*. It must be emphasized that this division relates to variation in the *archaeologically* extant remains of mortuary practice rather than the mortuary system in its totality. These axes are a means towards reconstructing the mortuary system and society behind that system, and are not isomorphic with either.

Structural variation is defined as variation in the number of social distinctions present in a mortuary system, the categories of distinctions that are represented, and the relationship between number and category. Change in structural variation can represent two things: first, a real change in deeply rooted socio-economic distinctions and identities; and second, an ideological shift which affected the distinctions that were considered appropriate for display in burial. An example of the first would be a decrease in the number of hierarchical distinctions corresponding to an actual decrease in the number of recognized socio-economic levels. As for the second, a shift from a burial system which highly emphasizes hierarchic socio-economic levels to one in which such vertical distinctions are completely absent likely represents not a complete collapse of the social hierarchy, but the presence of some sort of leveling mechanism, e.g. a religious ideology that emphasizes equality in death. The majority of Saxe-Binford type analyses have dealt with structural variation.

The second type of variation, *the representational*, is that variation in the formal material and behavioral representation of these structural distinctions, rather than the distinctions themselves; that is, variation in how a certain category of distinction is materialized in a mortuary program. For example, socio-economic hierarchy may be consistently represented in a mortuary system, but the specific means of doing so may shift over time. Here it is crucial to ask why a given object or practice is used in signifying a given social distinction. Material culture may be intentionally manipulated, particularly in a context of sustained cross-cultural interaction in which one group co-opts the material culture of the other. A shift in representation, but not structure, can have a multitude of meanings, such as the cultural reorientation of elite groups, religious changes, or simply changing societal tastes.

Cannon²³ explicitly took on this problem of representation, taking a particularly radical turn away from the focus on system and pattern and instead proposing a model in which variation in mortuary practice is almost entirely related to style and cycles of emulation and display behavior, ultimately using Kroeber's²⁴ work – so criticized by Binford – as his basis. In contrast to post-processual critiques, his model was based on what he claimed as a universal human practice of emulation and display, but denied a relationship between burial practices and social structure. This assertion was overdone and rightly criticized.²⁵ But he emphasized a key point which had often been ignored up to that point: fashion and changes in style do greatly affect the materialization of mortuary variability. The analysis of relative patterns in the mortuary system and the analysis of funerary fashion are not, in fact, at odds, and can be complementary: even as fashions change, mortu-

²³ Cannon 1989

²⁴ Kroeber 1927

²⁵ Chapman's response in Cannon et al. 1989

ary practices are still being used to make social distinctions. An abrupt shift in representation may signal an important and deliberate restructuring of the funerary system, while “drift” in representation over a longer period of time may be less meaningful, such that a social distinction can remain constant while the mode of representing it slowly shifts.

Cannon’s case study,²⁶ again from Victorian England, is a perfect example of this phenomenon. Through a process of cyclical display and emulation, materially ostentatious burial practices can be observed originating among elite classes and later being adopted by those lower on the socio-economic ladder; this is followed by the progressive abandonment of ostentation among the elite, which trickles down over time to the lower classes. Cannon situates mortuary display in this period solely in the “dynamics of fashion,” regarding it as reflective of social phenomena but not a reflection of status relations.²⁷ He is in most ways correct: the changes in mortuary display are largely driven by fashion, and not a fundamental shift in class relations. But the status relations are still represented within the system: each socio-economic class is still differentiated from one another, despite an unexpected shift in the manner of materialization of elite status from ostentation to reservation and vice versa among the lower class. The fundamental nature of social relations remained the same even within the mortuary system itself, though the representation within the system shifts.

In this case, an in-depth knowledge of the cultural and historical context allows for the interpretation of meaning behind practice – here, changing societal tastes linked to idea of tasteful restraint. At the same time, the overall structure of mortuary practices reveals a society highly marked by socio-economic differentiation, and differing tastes be-

²⁶ Cannon et al. 1989

²⁷ Cannon et al. 1989: 442

tween those classes in what was appropriate for burial. The reasons and meaning behind shifts in the material culture can be traced independently of shifts in social structure via extensive use of documentary evidence, as Cannon did in his study. In essence, we can plausibly reconstruct both the structure and meaning behind mortuary practice and interweave the two.

The study of patterns in mortuary systems and analysis of meaning behind formal mortuary treatments are not at odds; they are complementary. The integration of the study of both the structural and representational aspects of mortuary variability allows for a far more detailed image of the society under examination. It is possible not only to reconstruct the identities and structure of the society, but potentially the reasons why those particular identities were emphasized in mortuary practice, and why particular formal material treatments were used or changed over time. This does, however, require extensive context-specific cultural and historical knowledge if one is not to descend into mere speculation. State-level, literate societies, are thus fertile ground for this type of analysis.

2.2 Mortuary Analysis and State-Level Societies

State-level societies have rarely been the focus of Saxe-Binford type analyses. This is in part because the focus of analysis in this vein was very often the detection of the emergence of social inequality and hierarchical social structures. The majority of those studies focusing on state-level societies have concentrated on the state's emergence, seeking to detect the emergence of a complex hierarchy rather than looking at later variation.²⁸ With respect to Egypt in particular, the focus has largely been on tracing the

²⁸ E.g. Morris 1986

emergence of a hierarchy prior to the establishment of the Egyptian state,²⁹ though there have been some notable exceptions to this³⁰ which have examined changes in hierarchy within societies already at the state-level. The general consensus seems to be that, since we already know that state-level societies possess complex hierarchical socio-economic structure, a systematic treatment of the structure of mortuary practices is not necessary.

Examining the structure of a state-level mortuary program can be quite revealing, however, as long as one asks the right questions. It can in fact be extremely useful to determine the relative number and types of distinctions represented in a mortuary program of a society whose socio-economic structure is known to be complex. The knowledge of social-structure is usually so much greater for complex societies – whether from other archaeological sources or from texts – that it provides a check against which mortuary variation can be measured, and opens the door to more complex questions and to the elusive *why* that lies behind practice. If a complex state-level society does not represent socio-economic hierarchy in its mortuary program, this is an important finding and requires further inquiry. It is possible to examine what identities are being emphasized in mortuary practice against the identities available for display, illuminating not only the existence of specific social identities but their shifting importance in the mortuary sphere. The goals of mortuary analysis in state-level societies are thus different than those focused on less complex and preliterate ones.

Mortuary analysis of state-level societies can be directed towards the understanding of both the mortuary system and of mortuary display in the context of a preexisting complex social hierarchy, focusing on the types of identities individuals deemed neces-

²⁹ Bard 1989, 1994

³⁰ e.g. Meskell 1999, Richards 2005

sary to represent in the mortuary system, and the material means of displaying those identities. Such an analysis allows for a more detailed investigation of aspects of social identity, personal identity, and social organization than would be possible in less complex societies. Analysis must take place along both the structural and representational axes of mortuary variability to maximize our insight into the nature of identity in ancient states.

Analysis of the structural variation in the mortuary program must not limit itself to the detection of social hierarchy; its primary function is to determine the categories of social distinctions represented in the mortuary system. There are four broad categories of social distinction that can be represented in a mortuary context: the vertical, the horizontal, the special status, and the idiosyncratic. These are defined and explained in **Table 2.1**, and are henceforth referred to as the distinction *type*. The type is social definition at its most basic, i.e. whether an identity serves to stratify a group, or to differentiate individuals among or across social strata. Once the types of distinctions are determined, what is represented in the mortuary system can be checked against other knowledge of social structure and identity available from other sources; but the archaeology must first be evaluated on its own terms.

The goal of analysis of structural variation is two-fold: 1.) to determine the overall structure of the mortuary system, discerning the overall number of different types of distinctions/identities present; 2.) to associate specific mortuary treatments with examples of specific types of distinctions. The first task gives an accurate but incomplete portrait of the society. The second provides the basis for a further analysis of representation.

<i>Distinction</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
Vertical	Hierarchical socio-economic levels	Identity associated socio-economic status (e.g. elite, non-elite, middle class, working class, etc.)
Horizontal	Group membership within a given socio-economic level, or cutting across socio-economic class.	Identity associated with a non-vertically defined group membership (e.g. guild, union, burial club, ethnicity, immigrant, religious ties etc.)
Special Status	Atypical but recurring distinctions; usually related to anomalous life/death circumstance	Identity that is available only under specific circumstances, or is particular only to the dead (e.g. military death, human sacrifices)
Idiosyncratic	Social distinction that is particular to an individual, or deviates significantly from the established mortuary program	Identity that is associated with a particular person, whether due to personal or community choice (e.g. association with particularly personal artifacts, role within nuclear family)

Table 2.1 – Types of Identity Distinctions³¹

Determining the type of distinction is necessary for any further analysis of mortuary treatment. It is obvious that the structure of society or its mortuary system does not wholly shape the material manifestation of an identity: the means of manifesting identity vary widely across cultures and even between societies of similar mortuary organization. Contextually specific cultural and historical factors are ultimately the main influence on identity manifestation. But the type of a given identity does to a certain extent influence the materials and behaviors used to materialize it in mortuary practice. To return to Cannon's Victorian example, for instance, it is plausible that socio-economic hierarchy was important in the system of mortuary practice due to the rigid class structure present in England at the time. The shift among the elite from ostentation in burial practice to reservation can only be understood in the context of a vertical hierarchical distinction: it only makes sense for a materially reserved burial practice to act as a marker of elite status if

³¹ See O'Shea 1996: 18-19 on vertical, horizontal, and special status distinctions.

that is in direct opposition to the actual wealth held by that hierarchical group; thus, the material manifestation is, in fact, still related to material wealth. A further analysis, linking this mortuary practice to broader trends in the society itself (e.g. changing tastes and notions of decorum among the elite) requires more contextual and historical knowledge than is available solely in the mortuary data.

We can study individual mortuary treatments once we understand their place in relation to the rest of the mortuary system, though the presence or absence of, or emphasis on different identities in a mortuary system can shift to due cultural and historical circumstance. But the type of distinction also acts as a limiting factor: even if only the type of distinction is known, without knowing its overall place within the mortuary system, it is possible to make a plausible argument as to the meaning behind the material treatment, since the distinction type of a given mortuary treatment provides reasonable boundaries as to the meaning behind the practice. However, historical and cultural information is necessary to make any sort of plausible argument behind the meaning of a given treatment, no matter how extensive the knowledge of the mortuary system itself; there is a reason that the most successful critiques of the early Saxe-Binford type analyses focused on historically attested societies, not least Victorian England.

This brings us to the issue of textual and documentary sources. For any type of treatment regarding the meaning of mortuary practice, textual sources are necessary. Despite general constraints determined by the type of distinction being made, the representation of an identity – and hence the meaning – is determined ultimately by cultural and historical context. Information from texts provides a guide to interpretation, anchoring material practice in its historical context in a way that is not possible purely with archaeo-

logical data. Textual data can aid in the interpretation of mortuary practice in seven broad ways:

- 1.) **Provide basic cultural-historical background.** The political and cultural history of state-level societies is often largely derived from textual sources, which provides the cultural and historical context for the mortuary context. Political events and changing cultural norms can often be traced through the reconstructions derived from textual data.
- 2.) **Reconstruction of the basic religious and ideological milieu.** It is extremely difficult to reconstruct the ideological underpinnings of society without access to textual data; for religious beliefs, it is impossible. Both ideology and religious beliefs play a large role in the material manifestation of specific burial practices, and must be taken into account when observing representational variation.³² For example, the adoption of Christianity across Europe resulted in a shift in burial practice largely related to an ideological and religious change rather than a socio-economic one.³³
- 3.) **Contextual Information for Specific Sites.** The historical context of a specific cemetery site can have an impact on the types of mortuary variation visible. For example, the size and composition of a site's population, or whether the site possesses some sort of special status (e.g. as a cult center, capital, etc.) can have impacts on the material manifestation of identity in the mortuary program.
- 4.) **Reconstruction of specific aspects of mortuary ritual which do not preserve archaeologically.** The archaeological remains of mortuary practice are only a small por-

³² Carr (1995, see esp. 189-192) in particular emphasized the importance of "philosophical-religious" factors in shaping the form of mortuary practice, as evidenced by ethnographic evidence.

³³ O'Shea 1984: 300.

tion of the actual ritual associated with death; other ceremonies such as feasts and post-funerary activities as well as objects often leave no archaeological trace. Texts flesh out our knowledge of mortuary ritual, giving us a sense of just how much of mortuary behavior is actually preserved in the archaeological record, and how much is not available for study.

- 5.) **The Meanings of Objects, Ritual, and Practices.** In rare cases, texts explicitly outline ideological and religious meanings that lie behind the forms of certain practices, rituals, and even objects associated with death and burial. It is also possible to infer some meaning of objects/practices in a funerary context by analogy with their use in other contexts.
- 6.) **The costs of death and burial.** Certain types of documentation provide lists and other kinds of documentation of actual costs associated with death and burial, including materials that preserve archaeologically as well as salaries for individuals, costs of transport, etc., which would otherwise be unknown. Archaeologically, it can be useful to understand the ratios of cost between what is archaeologically observable and unobservable.
- 7.) **Individual decisions regarding death and burial.** If wills are available, it is possible to reconstruct personal decisions regarding a single individual's death, or at the very least decisions constrained by social norms. We can gain an idea of how much idiosyncrasy in the burial system might be expected, i.e., examining how consistent wills are in their instructions.

Some of these deal with a society more broadly (i.e. points 1, 2, 4, 6), and others are more contextual, being site (point 3), object (point 5), or individual (point 7) specific.

When applying information derived from textual sources to mortuary analysis, it is extremely important not engage in overgeneralization: basic historical, ideological, religious, and economic facts can be established, but textual data must be as regionally contextualized as possible to ensure a plausible analysis. In dealing with a complex, urban, and literate state-level society, it is necessary to take into consideration regional difference, as it is possible to generalize too much from textual evidence.³⁴ For states, texts represent an invaluable source in the analysis of mortuary practice, but only if used carefully and systematically.

2.3 Ethnicity and Mortuary Practices

The goal of this study is to challenge conventional views of the primacy of ethnicity in Egyptian society during the Ptolemaic period through a systematic study of identity as represented in mortuary practice. As mentioned in Chapter 1, mortuary practices themselves have often been read as “ethnic” markers in post-Pharaonic Egypt. Dunand’s and Lichtenberg’s overview of Roman period burial practices in Egypt is paradigmatic in this respect, and provides an example of how conceptions of Greek and Egyptian affect archaeological interpretation.³⁵ Though this work was not focused on the Ptolemaic period, the Ptolemaic and Roman period are very often treated as one and the same with respect to mortuary practice,³⁶ and this study is representative of traditional thinking on burial practices in Egypt and their relationship to “Greeks” and “Egyptians.”

³⁴ In the case of Egypt, this can be seen in the frequent referral to Herodotus for his description of three classes of mummification (Herodotus 2.86-2.88) in relation to post-pharaonic period burial practice (e.g. Rowland 2008: 73). Herodotus cannot be used uncritically, particularly when used as evidence for burial practices several centuries after he is writing. He also generalizes, failing to take into account any potential for regional variation.

³⁵ Dunand and Lichtenberg 1995. See again, more briefly, Lembke’s comments on ethnic origin and status in Tuna el-Gebel (2010: 246-250).

³⁶ See also Bowman 1986: 186-187; Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004: 319-338.

Dunand and Lichtenberg implicitly conceive of a discrete “Graeco-Roman” system of practices which are in competition and mutually incompatible with “native” Egyptian practices. They note the “persistence” of traditional practices in the face of three centuries of a foreign presence (i.e. the Ptolemaic period).³⁷ Indigenous practices such as mummification were increasingly adopted by people who perhaps identified themselves primarily as “Romans” or “Greeks.”³⁸ However, this would not be seen by Dunand as a cultural mixing because mummification has certain attendant “Egyptian” beliefs which constitute a discrete burial and belief system that cannot be adulterated. Practices are thought of as largely static, until the “victory of Christianity” ultimately caused a change in practice.³⁹ There is a great degree of continuity in Egyptian funerary practice from the Late Period to the Graeco-Roman period, but the importance of change has been downplayed.

Within this framework, Greek markers are the only ones to carry an ethnic meaning. This is apparent in the following passage:

“It is necessary to suppose that, among the occupiers of necropoleis, there were people of very various origins, Greeks and Egyptians, of course, but also “Romans,” either native or of adoption, and members of other foreign communities; Egyptian funerary practices were apparently adopted by many foreigners settled in Egypt. On the other hand, the attestation in some necropoleis of non-Egyptian practices such as cremation (it is the case especially in Alexandria) appears to indicate that occupants were Greeks.”⁴⁰

While cremation was taken as a clear signal that an individual was ethnically “Greek”, mummification could not be used to determine the ethnicity of an individual, since the practice was adopted by so many members of non-indigenous communities. In essence,

³⁷ Dunand and Lichtenberg 1995: 3218

³⁸ Dunand and Lichtenberg 1995: 3305

³⁹ Dunand and Lichtenberg 1995: 3219

⁴⁰ Dunand and Lichtenberg 1995: 3221. Translation is the author’s.

the presence of Greek practices is considered meaningful, while that of Egyptian practices was not. This is one of the reasons why the presence of Greek practices has traditionally been given a greater weight as an “ethnic” marker than Egyptian ones.

The root of the problem with Dunand’s and Lichtenberg’s interpretation is revealed in the final sentence of the above paragraph:

“On the other hand, the anthropological study of mummies and of skeletons can lead to a differentiation of “foreign” elements in a population otherwise homogeneous.”⁴¹

Dunand and Lichtenberg here seek individuals in the archaeological record people who are biologically “Greek”, and equate this with ethnicity. Bioarchaeological analyses can be useful for determining the geographic origin of individuals and the genetic diversity of a cemetery population, but is not by itself useful for determining ethnicity since it is not inherent to any individual or group.

More recent studies⁴² have approached ethnicity as a social construction that does not necessarily coincide with biology, culture, and language, and have argued against seeing a Greek/Egyptian dichotomy in the funerary material. The work of Riggs,⁴³ focusing on funerary iconography of the Roman period, has been paradigmatic in this respect. Rather than seeing the “presence of Greek or Roman elements as indicating a commensurate change in an individual’s identity and pointing to his or her ‘Greek’ or Roman status,”⁴⁴ the author asks whether “the combination of Greek and Egyptian art .. point[s]

⁴¹ Dunand and Lichtenberg 1995: 3221. Translation is the author’s.

⁴² Cannata’s 2009 dissertation on Egyptian burial practices in the Ptolemaic period was not available for consultation until after this work was complete.

⁴³ Riggs 2005

⁴⁴ Riggs 2005: 26

more broadly at the identity of a culture, rather than an individual, thus reflecting the character of Roman Egypt as a whole.”⁴⁵

Riggs does not see competing cultural systems, but rather complementary systems of representation, Egyptian and Greek, which fulfill different functions. Generally, when depicted as living, the deceased was shown wearing “Hellenizing” clothing, while images of the deceased as a mummy were more traditionally Egyptian in style.⁴⁶ In order to be effective, the depictions of the deceased as living needed to adhere to reality, which entailed depicting him/her in contemporary clothing or the “naturalistic” Greek style. When dealing with images of the gods, or of the deceased as a mummy, traditional Egyptian imagery was used because that was considered to be most effective. Thus, both systems of representation are necessary components of a single burial system for which the expression of an ethnic identity was never the primary goal. Riggs herself remarks that “the fact that Greek identity could be framed within the traditional sphere of Egyptian mortuary practices indicates the extent to which Greekness had become a desirable model for the self...nonetheless, the funerary art of Roman Egypt relied on both Egyptian and Greek images being acknowledged and understood.”⁴⁷ The need to emphasize different aspects of the deceased dictates iconographic choice, not ethnicity.

It must, in fact, be questioned whether ethnicity would be signaled at all through mortuary practice. There are two general factors identified by O’Shea⁴⁸ which can limit the usefulness of burial practices in marking ethnicity. First, there is the nature of group boundaries, since social units may or may not emphasize specific boundaries depending

⁴⁵ Riggs 2005: 15-16

⁴⁶ Riggs 2005

⁴⁷ Riggs 2005: 252

⁴⁸ O’Shea 1984: 286-287

on a number of social and economic factors, while different levels or kinds of social units may emphasize their own boundaries. Second, there is the nature of mortuary symbolism itself, since in order for a practice to be a meaningful way of demarcating difference, it must be visible to its intended audience. Mortuary ritual is not ideally suited for this purpose since the practices are, after initial interment, largely invisible.

The first point is important. One cannot automatically assume that the presence of certain “Greek” or “Egyptian” objects indicate that person’s self-identification as such; other signals are possible. Some issue can be taken with the second point. While it is true that mortuary practices are largely invisible, this does not mean that they cannot have a function in marking out ethnicity: mortuary practices do not need to be seen to be known. In the case of Egypt, mummification was known to non-Egyptian authors as a particularly Egyptian practice.⁴⁹ The adherence of a group to a set pattern of mortuary treatment can be a means towards enforcing group solidarity, creating an opposition of “our” way of doing things to “theirs.” Still, mortuary practice given its nominal invisibility is certainly not an ideal medium for an expression of ethnicity. More likely, ethnic markers will be used in conjunction with other methods than on its own. But it is necessary to eschew the *a priori* assumption that ethnicity is a fundamental and necessary aspect of identity, and that it is necessarily expressed in mortuary practice in the archaeological record.

But if ethnicity is an identifiable distinction in the funerary system, what would it look like? What would its distinction type be, and what kind of representation would we expect? An ethnic identity is *horizontal*, in that it is available to individuals regardless of

⁴⁹ See again, Herodotus 2.86-2.90; also Diodorus Siculus 1.91-92.

socio-economic class and is not solely the prerogative of the elite.⁵⁰ An ethnic identity should not be assumed to be based solely on the presence or absence of certain artifacts or styles: material culture is often fluid across ethnic boundaries; ritual, however, is more difficult to transport.⁵¹ An ethnic identity's representation in a funerary system is expected to consist of a package of material culture and ritual behavior. In dealing with two contrasting groups, as we potentially are in Egypt, there is the possibility of only one group defining itself in relation to the other. That is, one group identifies itself as an ethnic group and advertises this in its mortuary practice, either creating "ethnic" treatments/objects themselves or recognizing a treatment/object as representing the opposing group and avoiding it, while the other group chooses not to materialize an ethnic identity. Texts in this case could help distinguish between treatments with an ideological or religious basis – which can also be horizontal – and potential ethnic markers.

2.4 Methodology

In the following analysis of mortuary behavior in Ptolemaic Egypt, I determine what identities are expressed in mortuary practice at several Ptolemaic period sites and whether an ethnic identity is among them. Further, I examine how the material expression of identity in mortuary practice varies across Egypt, and how both cultural contact and local socio-political conditions shaped those expressions. This requires an analysis of both the structural and representational axes of mortuary variation at a number of sites. If

⁵⁰ Beck (1995: 171), takes ethnicity to be a "supraordinate" identity, in that it "determines the range of identities, symbols, and their ritual expression appropriate to members of an ethnic group," seeing ethnicity to be a fundamental identity inherent to a given group. As has been made clear in Chapter 1, I do not take this to be true. I am concerned with the active assertion of identity in mortuary practice by the society in question, rather than an ascription of ethnic group status by the archaeologist.

⁵¹ Beck 1995: 170

ethnicity is being emphasized at one site, but not in another, this is significant and must be explained.

To this end I will examine social identities/distinctions as represented in mortuary behavior on three different spatial levels: 1.) Egypt-wide (systemic); 2.) site specific (local); and 3.) individual (idiosyncratic). Thus the cemeteries chosen for analysis must be representative of the different regions of Egypt, and taken together they must contain both elite and non-elite populations. Ideally, these sites will be analyzed with respect to the following criteria:

- 1.) **The distribution of and variation between sites across regions.** This is the highest spatial level, where patterns of variation in social identity and responses to cultural interaction can be identified on a macroscopic scale, and where the overall pattern of the society's burial system can be observed.
- 2.) **Spatial organization of the cemeteries.** In many cases, this may be the most important variable. Though many sites have been disturbed, the excellent level of preservation in Egypt means that at least the superstructures of many graves remain intact. Combined with other variables (e.g. effort expenditure), the organizational logic of a cemetery can be reconstructed.
- 3.) **Effort expenditure.** As developed by Binford⁵² and Tainter,⁵³ this is the premise that the greater the status of a given individual, the more energy would be expended on that person's burial, and hence different discernible levels of energy expenditure correspond to different hierarchical socio-economic levels. Archaeologically visible var-

⁵² Binford 1971

⁵³ Tainter 1975

- iables include size, material, and type of the burial facility, the complexity of treatment to the corpse, and the wealth and diversity of the burial assemblage.⁵⁴ Distinct levels of effort are more meaningful than continuous variation.
- 4.) **The burial assemblage.** In addition to the wealth and diversity of a given assemblage, there is the issue of contrasting Greek and Egyptian elements (e.g. shabtis and magical texts versus the typical Greek coin).
 - 5.) **Treatment of the body.** The method of treatment is here important: given the vastly different concepts of the afterlife of the Greeks and the Egyptians, the use of one method over another (e.g. cremation versus simple inhumation versus mummification) may be important for the significance social identity.
 - 6.) **Bioarchaeological data.** This includes age, sex, and the health status of the mortuary population.

Via an assessment of these criteria across a number of cemeteries, it is possible to identify classes of social distinctions. Presented in **Table 2.2** are definitions for the four principle types of social distinctions and their archaeological correlates based on the above criteria. An analysis of these variables can determine the overall structure of the archaeologically extant funerary system, or at the very least, it can determine the type of a given funerary treatment, given a large enough sample of graves. No site will have enough data with which to investigate all variables, nor are all potential correlates of a given distinction available for study; the table presents an ideal selection of variables.

⁵⁴ Richards 2005: 56; see also O'Shea 1984 and 1996.

Distinction (Definition)	Archaeological Correlates
Vertical Distinctions (hierarchical socio-economic levels)	<p>Distinct clusters of energy expenditure, as measured by: Tomb size Tomb material (mud-brick vs. rock-cut vs. pit), and type (single versus communal); Expense of grave goods (cost of production, distance from source, value of raw material, quantity of artifacts) Diversity of burial assemblage (quantity and presence/absence of different artifact types)</p> <p>Distinct clusters in health status measured by: Chemical analyses Stature Visible skeletal pathologies.</p> <p>Possible correlations between distinct clusters and a cemetery's spatial organization.</p>
Horizontal Distinctions (group within or across socio-economic levels)	<p>Differentiation in burial practice (but not energy expenditure) within a single socio-economic level as measured by: The type of body treatment (mummification, inhumation, cremation) Orientation of the body Distinct sets of objects/iconography Distinct clusters within a cemetery's spatial organization Presence of distinct sets of burial treatments which appear across several socio-economic levels (e.g. a consistent treatment according to sex throughout the burial system).</p>
Special Status Distinctions (atypical but recurring distinctions; usually related to anomalous life/death circumstance)	<p>Infrequent but recurring treatments related to any of the above criteria that deviate significantly from the norm (e.g. isolation from the normal area of the cemetery)</p>
Idiosyncratic Distinctions	<p>A treatment that deviates from the overall pattern with respect to any of the above criteria.</p>

Table 2.2: Social Distinctions and their Archaeological Correlates

However, these variables and distinction/correlate definitions provide a useful schematic model with which to proceed with analysis.

An analysis of representational variation will require use of textual and documentary evidence. There are three broad categories of textual evidence to be used: 1.) literary Greek sources, in particular Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, and Plutarch; 2.) sub-literary sources, in particular standard funerary texts; 3.) documentary sources, in particular epigraphic sources and the papyrological record. The first category provides some basic information regarding specific sites and their interpretation by Greek elites elsewhere in the

Mediterranean. The second category includes Egyptian funerary texts, which are particularly important for their information regarding the importance of certain sites from an indigenous Egyptian perspective.⁵⁵ The documentary record encompasses both epigraphic and papyrological sources. Epigraphic evidence is site specific, illuminating aspects of the site which are would not be known otherwise, such as through dedicatory graffiti and formal inscriptions at cult sites. The papyrological record is more general and is particularly helpful in its description of pre- and post- funerary activities, as well as in its provision of information on funerary institutions and economic transactions. Information from textual sources will be discussed and applied as appropriate in the case studies to follow. The goal is to employ information from textual sources in an appropriate manner after the archaeological material has been evaluated on its own terms. There are no universal models which can be applied to the interpretation of the materialization of identity; even in a state-level society, analysis must be as contextual and site specific as possible.

2.5 The Case Studies

Documenting the correlation between the archaeologically visible variables defined above, and applying contextually specific data from textual sources at spatially distributed sites allows me to test for the expression of ethnic identity and potential regional differences in the systems of mortuary practice in Ptolemaic Egypt. With this goal in mind, I have chosen to analyze three different sites: Alexandria, Thebes, and Abydos. These sites vary according to region, including sites in the Mediterranean littoral (Alexandria), and the Nile valley (Abydos, Thebes). Also of importance is the range in their scale, as they encompass both major centers (Thebes and Alexandria) and more provin-

⁵⁵ The primary texts of the Ptolemaic and Roman period are translated with commentary in Smith 2009. The older “Book of the Dead” (“Book of Going Forth by Day”) also maintains its importance in this period.

cial ones (Abydos). These sites also encompass the important contrast between a newly founded immigrant center and old centers of Egyptian political and religious authority. Alexandria and Thebes are considered the paradigmatic Greek and Egyptian sites of the Ptolemaic period, respectively, and were major urban centers throughout the Graeco-Roman period, though the latter's political influence was not what it once was. Abydos had long been an important religious site, though its political importance was minor. The effects of cross-cultural interaction might be expected to be clearer at such sites.

Each site has many gaps in their data given the almost universally disturbed contexts of Egyptian cemeteries; the ideal recreation of the entire mortuary system at each site is not possible. However, it is possible to at least determine the general types of distinctions present at a given site; that is, it should be possible to determine whether a distinction is vertical or horizontal based on expected archaeological correlates. It should be possible, even in an incompletely preserved mortuary system, to determine if the material manifestation of an ethnic identity is present. In each case, the incompleteness of the data will be acknowledged and described in full, and how it affects the interpretation of the mortuary system. Through a systematic approach to archaeological mortuary analysis focusing on variation both in the structure and representation of the archaeologically represented mortuary system, assumptions concerning the importance of ethnicity in the Ptolemaic Egyptian society and its mortuary system can be tested, and we can replace a binary Greek and Egyptian society with one that encompassed many often very local identities.

Chapter 3 - Alexandria: Immigrants and Identities

3.1 – Introduction

Alexandria is the paradigmatic “Greek” city of the Ptolemaic period. Excavation in Alexandria has largely been the purview of Classicists and classically trained archaeologists, a situation almost unique among sites in Egypt. The city has always been considered something apart from Egypt – *by Egypt* rather than *in Egypt*, as related in Classical sources.¹ This idea has been taken too literally, such that the city was often treated as if it were located in Greece rather than the Nile Delta. The importance which we ascribe to “Greek” identity overwhelms other potential understandings of the literature produced in Alexandria during this period. When applied to the study of material culture, such an approach masks other important distinctions which may be made, and presumes *a priori* that the most important identity for Alexandrians was their “Greekness.”²

The city’s burial practices have been studied largely from such a mindset. Funerary practices and material culture have been treated as works of Greek art and culture first and foremost, implying that the material culture itself reflects a Greek identity and thus implicitly ascribing an overt Greek ethnicity to the dead. Fraser is paradigmatic in this respect in his assessment of the early cemetery of Shatby:

¹ As in Strabo 5.1.7, «Ἀλεξανδρεία τῇ πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ».

² This view has been challenged in recent scholarship. See Savvopoulos 2010 for a perspective on “Egyptian elements” in Alexandrian archaeological material, that explicitly take a perspective of “Alexandria *in Aegyptō*” (Savvopoulos 2010: 75).

“The limestone funerary reliefs and stelae from these graves are mostly of the Classic type, representing either the deceased alone or else a scene of parting from the deceased, and they closely resemble those fashionable at Athens before the passage of Demetrius of Phaleron’s sumptuary legislation, though Alexandrian relief is far smaller than its prototype, and was subordinated to a larger whole – the grave-complex – in a way that the Attic stela was not. It is in these reliefs that we see most clearly the dependence of early Alexandrian funerary art on Attic models. At Chatby [Shatby] (and they have not occurred in closed excavations elsewhere) they form only a small proportion of the total number of stelae as compared with painted stelae, and it is natural to suppose that in general they represent the earliest form of Alexandrian funerary monument.”³

The carved funerary stelae are few in number, and are used in a manner which is not common with Attic models of funerary practice. Despite this Fraser still states that Athens is the ultimate source of Alexandrian funerary art and that these stelae must be the earliest form of that art, since that would make them chronologically closer to the art of Athens. Rather than understanding these stelae as part of a broader funerary program, Fraser interprets them as a means of linking Alexandria to Athens and normative (i.e. Athenian) Greek culture. Alexandrian funerary material culture is consistently treated in such a manner. Two other cases epitomize this approach: communal hypogea and cinerary urns.

The communal hypogea of Alexandria – large, monumental, rock-cut structures meant for multiple interments – have long been a focus of study, primarily with respect to architectural and artistic style. One of the first scholars to treat Alexandrian tomb types, Pagenstecher, made explicit parallels between the architectural forms of the hypogea and Greek houses in an attempt to reconstruct the lost domestic architecture of the city;⁴ hence the terms *oikos* type and *peristyle* type, which are still in use. The primary focus since then has been on the architectural form and the styles of painting used in these

³ Fraser 1972: 32-33

⁴ Pagenstecher 1919

structures, and the various influences that supposedly created them. Arguments have been made for Egyptian influence, postulating that these large underground tombs are a continuation of an Egyptian tradition exemplified by the monumental Late Period tombs of the Assasif of Thebes.⁵ Other scholars have examined the hypogea in the tradition of Greek art and architecture studies. Venit, for example, has argued that the monumental façades of some of these monuments derived from Greek theater architecture and “an impulse toward theatricality seen elsewhere in the Hellenistic world.”⁶ However, discerning particular Egyptian and Greek influences in the architecture of these structures is not particularly useful for understanding either symbolic systems of identity or the place of these structures within the Alexandrian funerary system.

Cremation practice has been the focus of a large degree of attention among previous scholars due to one particular class of object, the so-called “Hadra vases,” a class of cinerary urn common in Alexandria. These urns have been treated largely on an art-historical level from the perspective of connoisseurship, focusing on different painters and stylistic development. In other words, they have been treated by scholars as Greek vases – that is, as art objects only.⁷ Some attention was paid to their context and use as cinerary urns, but not much, and they were interpreted based on a hellenocentric historical framework. For instance, it was suggested that these urns were in fact originally tro-

⁵ Daszewski 1994: 51

⁶ Venit 2002: 65 ff.

⁷ Hadra vases first began being published in the late 19th century, both from museum collections, and objects that were the result of both legal and illicit excavations. The first publication was that of Merriam in 1885. Early work focused on the dates and inscriptions present on a minority of the vases. Pagenstecher attempted to construct a stylistic development, but retracted it (Pagenstecher 1913). Scholars through the 1960s attempted to construct a stylistic grouping and chronology. Cook in 1968 assumed that production started at the end of the 4th century and ended in the middle of the 2nd century. This chronology has been refined by Enklaar (1992). See Merriam 1885; Pagenstecher 1913; Cook 1966a, 1966b, and 1968; Enklaar 1992. See also Parlasca 2010 for a recent treatment of Hadra vases and their non-ceramic counterparts.

phies along the lines of Panathenaic amphorae which were then sold second hand,⁸ and that they were made by refugees from Thebes, based on stylistic similarity with Boeotian vessels.⁹ According to this view, Alexandrian practice was related to what was happening in the supposed “homeland” rather than its particular social context. As such, since the discovery of the Hadra vases they have considered to be markers of “Greekness.”

The treatment of the funerary objects of Alexandria almost solely as Classical Art objects and not as components of a funerary system has led to a continued assumption that this material culture explicitly exhibits a “Greek” identity, and creates a narrative in which an essentially “Greek” system of practice is “Egyptianized” over time. However, in earliest Alexandria such a binary construction of strict “Egyptian” and “Greek” identities would have been unlikely. Based on literary evidence specifically relating to the city and extrapolating from papyrological sources from elsewhere in Egypt,¹⁰ it is clear that Alexandria was quite heterogeneous. Immigrants both from within Egypt and from the all over the Eastern Mediterranean formed the city’s population, consisting of both Greeks and non-Greeks, including Jews, Syrians, Egyptians, Persians, Thracians, and Macedonians.¹¹ Even the Greeks themselves were highly diverse: from papyri, we know that

⁸ This was based on similarities of several scenes on the hydriae to those on Panathenaic amphorae, and the presence of an inscription on one vase (formerly Berlin 3767; see Pagenstecher 1909: 402): ΠΥΛΩΝ ΑΓΩΝΙ ΕΓΡΑΨΕ (Agon painted [it] for [the] game). Pagenstecher (1913: 33) first proposed that this vase indicated that hydriae were originally “prize vases”, a view echoed and expanded on by Guerini (1964: 11), who related the Hadra vases to the hydriae in the procession of Ptolemy II described in Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* 199), and Callaghan (1980: 25). Enklaar (1992: 80-81) has proven this interpretation incorrect, citing the lack of “sporting scenes” on the hydriae (only seven out of several hundred examples), and the fact that hydriae as a type are never attested as prize-vessels.

⁹ The similarities between Boeotian vessels and the Hadra vases was much discussed in the early literature (see Pagenstecher 1909, Rönne and Fraser 1953). Fraser (1972: 139) explicitly states the possibility that they were made by immigrant Theban craftsmen.

¹⁰ Our knowledge of the exact composition of the Alexandria’s population is incomplete, as most of our evidence for immigration during the Ptolemaic period relates to Egypt as a whole rather than Alexandria alone.

¹¹ Fraser (1972: 38-60) treats the problem of the composition of Alexandria’s population in detail. Some of the city’s constituent groups are well known from the literary sources in particular the Egyptians and Jews (e.g.

Greeks who immigrated to Egypt came from a number of cities and regions.¹² The population of Alexandria was heterogeneous, and close interaction among these groups was necessary for the newly founded city to function.

In these circumstances, a Greek ethnic identity is unlikely to be the only identity expressed in mortuary practice. But does analysis of the funerary system as a whole indicate the presence of an explicit “Greek” identity which would have been recognizable to Alexandrian society? In this chapter, I analyze the system of burial practices in the early Ptolemaic city, concentrating on two extensively excavated cemeteries, Shatby and Hadra, which date from late 4th through 2nd centuries BCE – the earliest in the city.¹³ The publications of these cemeteries present an incomplete version of the evidence, preventing a full reconstruction of the Alexandrian funerary program; but it is still possible to identify generally practices that could be used for the representation of an ethnic identity.

An ethnic identity is necessarily horizontal: since it indicates an identity associated with a “fictive” kinship that is not based on wealth or class, it must be available to all members of a group regardless of socio-economic status. The funerary system in Alexandria as presented in the Shatby and Hadra cemeteries must be surveyed in order to identify any mortuary treatments that can plausibly be considered horizontal to this end. In the course of my overview of this system, I identify two practices that stand out as horizontal and could be construed as indicating the presence of an “ethnic” identity: the use of

Strabo 17.1.12 on Egyptians, mercenaries, and Alexandrians of Greek descent; Josephus *Bell. Jud.* 2.18.8 on the Jewish Quarter). Papyrological evidence also attests to the use of Egyptian and Jewish “ethnics” elsewhere in Egypt, as well as individuals from Arabia (Mueller 2005: 77). See also Bowman 1986: 209.

¹² Mueller (2005: 77) identifies individuals from the regions of Cyrenaica, Caria, Pamphylia, Thrace, Crete, Attika, Thessaly, Ionia, and specifically from the cities of Cyrene, Athens, Heracleia, Miletos, Syracuse, Magnesia, Corinth, Chalcis, Aspendos, and Argos.

¹³ The dating of Shatby has been somewhat contentious, initially being dated earlier in the fourth century. On the dating of the cemetery, see in particular Coulson 1987. Also see Tkaczow 1993: 168-169. Hadra principally dates from the late 4th through 2nd centuries BCE. See Adriani 1966, and Venit 2002: 193-194.

communal hypogea and cremation. I will analyze these practices in more detail below; the evidence shows that the identities being expressed in these practices are grounded in the very specific socio-political context of Alexandria itself rather than a broader “Greek” identity or ethnicity.

3.2 – The Alexandrian Funerary System

In spite of the size and importance of the urban area of Alexandria, cemeteries have provided the vast majority of material from the ancient city. The history of archaeology in Alexandria coincides with the expansion and development of the modern city, so most of the material comes from salvage excavations conducted under less than ideal conditions. The necropoleis of the city constitute the vast majority of what has been excavated, and so provide ample data for analysis, even if imperfectly excavated. Since archaeological work has trailed the expansion of the modern city, the spatial layout of the cemeteries is fairly well known.¹⁴

The necropoleis of Alexandria were first explored in the mid-19th century; the results of any excavations, such as they were, were never comprehensively published, but only appeared in large treatises dealing with the ancient city more generally.¹⁵ The first serious excavation and publication of the cemeteries was undertaken by Breccia, director of the Graeco-Roman museum in the late 19th century, and his successor Adriani throughout the first half of the 20th century, focusing in particular on the Shatby and Hadra cemeteries. Their publications were somewhat intermittent, but are quite thorough

¹⁴ A particular exception to this pattern of cemetery-centered excavation is the Polish excavations at Kom el-Dikka, which yielded part of the monumental core of city dating to the late Roman period. See e.g. Rodziewicz 1984.

¹⁵ E.g. Al-Falaki 1872; Neroutsos 1888.

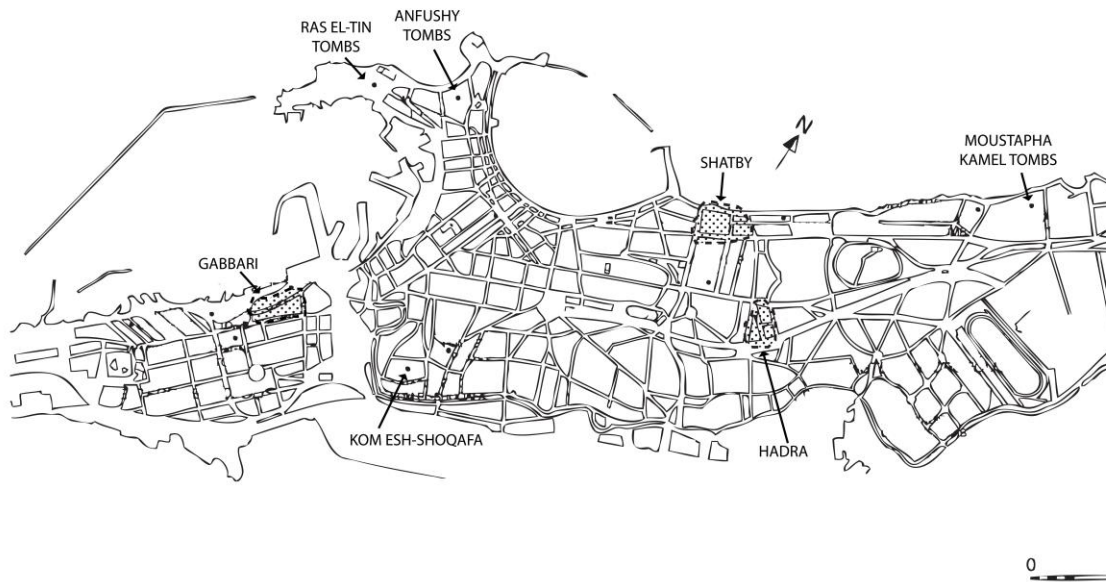


Fig. 3.1 – Map of Alexandria with locations of major cemeteries mentioned in this text. After Fig. 1 in Venit 2002.

in their reporting of burial assemblages and object types.¹⁶ Besides the work of the Graeco-Roman Museum, there were several other expeditions in the early 20th century, and other work is ongoing.¹⁷ **Fig. 3.1** is an overall map of Alexandria, showing the location of major cemeteries.

The cemeteries are on the outskirts of the ancient city, grouped in three distinct areas: the western suburbs, and eastern suburbs, and the Pharos Island.¹⁸ These sites can be categorized as: Individual tombs (e.g. “the Alabaster Tomb”); isolated large hypogea (e.g. the Wardian Tomb or Kom esh-Shoqafa); complexes of multiple hypogea (e.g. Mus-

¹⁶ See Breccia 1905, Breccia 1912, Breccia 1929, *Le Musée 1-2*, and *Annuaire 1-4*.

¹⁷ E.g. the work on the Roman period hypogea of Kom esh-Shoqafa. See in particular Schreiber 1908, Rowe 1942. The most recent necropolis excavations were at the Hellenistic site of Gabbari in the west of the city during the 1990s by the Centre d’Études Alexandrines (CEAlex), and whose publication is ongoing. See Empereur and Nenna 2001, 2003.

¹⁸ Strabo (17.1.10) provides the most comprehensive ancient description of the city, but only mentions the western necropolis and the royal necropolis (the *sema*). No indication is given that there are cemeteries to the east or on the Pharos. This is probably a simple omission since activity in the eastern necropoleis did continue through the Roman period, though the extent of this activity is unclear..

tafa Kamel and Anfushy); and fully-fledged cemeteries containing some combination of hypogea, individual graves, and surface funerary monuments (e.g. Shatby and Hadra). The wide distribution and variety of funerary sites give some sense of both the chronological and spatial distribution of mortuary activity. All areas seem to have been in use from the city's foundation, but there was a concentration of early activity east of the city, with both the Pharos island and the western suburbs a focus of activity in the later Ptolemaic and Roman periods.¹⁹ The site of the royal necropolis, unfortunately, remains obscure.²⁰ The earlier cemeteries in the east include surface graves and monuments amidst larger hypogea, while on the Pharos island and in the western suburbs hypogea dominate. However, an interpretation of a later preference for hypogea and catacomb burials must be made with caution, since the Pharos and western suburbs were not as thoroughly excavated as the eastern cemeteries.²¹

The two cemeteries at the center of this study are Shatby and Hadra, which are the earliest and among the most extensively excavated cemeteries in the city, and contain a wide variety of tomb types. A detailed analysis of these cemeteries is possible due to the large number of burial assemblages recorded by their excavators, Breccia and Adriani. Both Shatby and Hadra lie east of the ancient city. The former was excavated by Brec-

¹⁹ This is based on incomplete information: excavations have never been systematic, and so it is possible that this chronological movement of activity from East to West is illusory.

²⁰ This area, the *soma* or the *sema*, encompassed both Alexander's tomb and the tombs of the Ptolemies, and was supposedly located at the intersection of the city's two main streets and was part of the royal quarter (Strabo 17.1.8). Excavations in that area have yielded nothing. It has been suggested that the so-called "Alabaster Tomb" was part of the royal necropolis, but this was an isolated find (see in particular *Annuaire 4* and Adriani 1966). The definitive location of the royal necropolis remains unknown. Empereur 1998: 146-153 provides a concise summary of the attempts to locate Alexander's tomb in particular.

²¹ Adriani 1966 summarizes much of the archaeological work in Alexandria up to the date of publication, with many images and plans. A briefer summary of all known sites in Alexandria can be found in Tkaczow 1993.



Fig. 3.2 – View of Shatby cemetery as it exists today, focusing on Hypogeum A. Photo by the author.

cia in the early 20th century, with a final publication in 1912;²² this cemetery is still extant, though poorly preserved. **Fig. 3.2** presents a current view of the site. Hadra was excavated by Breccia and Adriani from the 1920s through 1940s, with individual sections of the necropolis being published in various volumes of the *Annuaire*.²³ There are published plans of each area, though it is only sometimes possible to associate a particular grave assemblage with those represented on the plans, and scales are sometimes lacking; a detailed analysis of spatial patterns is thus impossible, though a more general analysis of the distribution of tomb sizes is possible. The site of Shatby (site plan **Fig. 3.3**) comprises a single, small area; the cemetery is still visible today, but is very poorly preserved. Hadra consists of a number of smaller areas excavated due to various construction projects, nothing of which is preserved today. **Fig. 3.4** is a map of the Hadra area showing the different zones, their dates of excavation, and places of publication. Good plans are available for the Abukir and Ezbet el-Makhlouf sections of the cemetery, while there are

²² See Breccia 1905 and Breccia 1912.

²³ See *Le Musée 1-2*, Breccia 1930, *Annuaire 1, 2, and 4*.

plans of several parts of the Manara section of the cemetery which cannot be exactly placed in the overall geography of the cemetery.

Breccia and Adriani published a total of 124 burial assemblages from the Shatby and Hadra necropoleis. Breccia only published a selection of the tombs from Shatby, while Adriani attempted to publish all of the undisturbed assemblages for Hadra. Neither excavator mentions the total number of graves excavated, so it is not possible to determine the percentage of intact assemblages, or of intact graves without any grave goods at all.²⁴ Still, the published burial assemblages are very informative. All of these assemblages are presented in **Appendix A**. There is a wide range of burial assemblages represented, including both poor and rich graves. Combined with the tomb types present in the plans, we can construct a reasonable schema of the city's mortuary program.

Comprehensive bioarchaeological data is unfortunately unavailable for either of these sites: the age and sex of the deceased are not mentioned, with the exception of a few infant burials.²⁵ Burial assemblages can be analyzed with respect to relative grave wealth and effort expenditure. The treatment of the body is sometimes noted in terms of orientation (Shatby only), single versus multiple internment, and cremation versus inhumation; no mummification was noted by the excavators among published Ptolemaic burials.²⁶ The varieties of burial structures and their spatial distribution can also be partially reconstructed. Though monumental hypogea have been the most studied by far, there is a range in burial structures. Due to the quality of published data, it is difficult

²⁴ Breccia provided an account of only one burial found without objects at Shatby; undoubtedly there must have been many more; Adriani lists several inhumation burials without grave goods, but only those buried in hypogea. See tombs 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, and 13 in Appendix A.

²⁵ See tombs 67 and 77, Appendix A.

²⁶ There is only one reference to "mummified bodies" in Hadra, in *Le Musée I*: 26, which refer to potentially Roman period burials. The context was heavily disturbed, and overall unclear.



Fig. 3.3 – Plan of Shatby cemetery. From Breccia 1912.

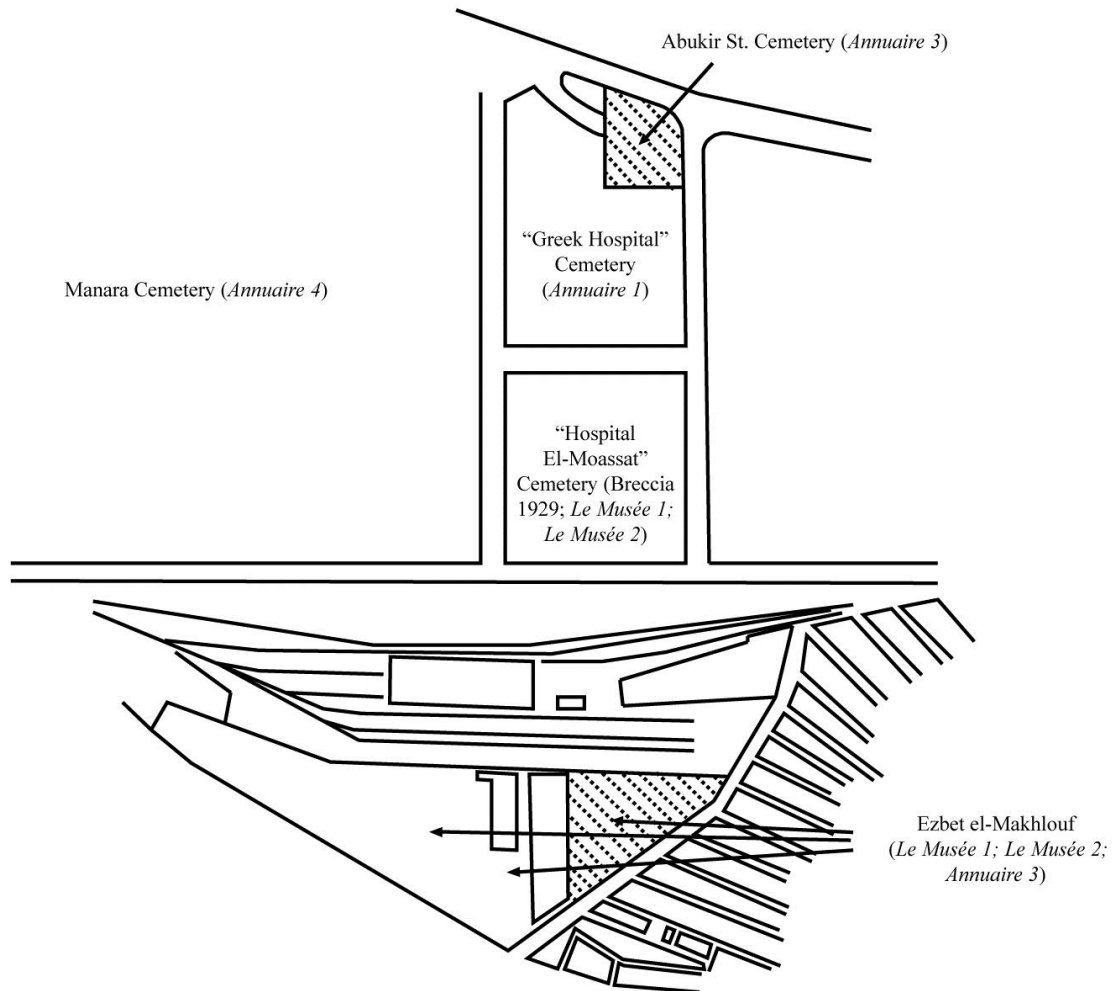


Fig. 3.4 – Schematic map of the Hadra cemetery, after *Annuaire 3* fig. 41. Bibliography for each is given. Areas with dashed-lines have associated plans.

to determine the covariance of these variables, though when possible this will be dealt with.

This section will proceed by analyzing the following: 1.) the treatment of the body; 2.) the composition of the burial assemblage; 3.) the types variation in burial structures; and 4.) the spatial organization of the cemeteries. Effort expenditure will be dealt with when appropriate in each section. I then draw conclusions about the rough schema of Alexandrian mortuary variability.

Body Treatment/Interment type

Treatment of the body is the most basic aspect of a burial. At its broadest, the main distinction is between cremation and inhumation. No mummifications from the Ptolemaic period were recorded in the Shatby and Hadra cemeteries, though several were reported by Breccia as being later, Roman period intrusions.²⁷ Cremations were always more rare than inhumations. Breccia²⁸ estimated that there were eight or ten inhumations for every cremation in Shatby, and at Hadra the proportion was also 10:1.²⁹ At the nearby site of Plinthine, 21% of tombs were cremation and another 13% were mixed cremations/inhumations.³⁰ From our sample, there are 23 single-interment cremations, 8 multiple-interment cremations, and two mixed cremation/inhumation burials, for a total of 33 graves with 44 cremation interments. There are more inhumations recorded, with 90 single interments and two in the mixed-type context.

According to Breccia's and Adriani's own observations on body treatment, this represents an overrepresentation of cremation burials. Cremation-only interments make up 31 out of 124 interments, or 25% of recorded burials, a full 15% above the reported proportion of 1:10 for both Shatby and Hadra. Adriani's absolute number for undisturbed cremations at Hadra is probably close to accurate given that Hadra vases were of particular interest as art objects and are thus more likely to have been recorded. Breccia severely underreported tomb assemblages associated with cremation burial, including full descriptions for six cremation burials at Shatby, though there are 47 cinerary urns recorded in his

²⁷ See again *Le Musée 1*: 26

²⁸ Breccia: 1912 xxiii-xxiv

²⁹ *Annuaire 1*: 18-19

³⁰ *Annuaire 4*: 140 ff.

catalogue of objects.³¹ But even with the underreporting by Breccia, cremations are overrepresented. This is possibly due to a bias against the publication of inhumations without grave goods or against inhumation in general, which was the most common body treatment. It is plausible to argue that cremation burials were considered intrinsically interesting due to the presence of numerous “Hadra vases” in these burials, and the interest in these vases as Greek *objets d’art*. Cremation burials without Hadra vases may also be underreported, particularly those burials with “crude” vessels since these would not have elicited as much art historical interest.

The study of cremation practice in Alexandria has been closely tied to the study of the cinerary urns, especially the aforementioned “Hadra vases,”³² though there are many examples of cinerary urns in non-ceramic materials.³³ Hadra vases were long assumed to have been made in Egypt, due to the sheer quantity of vessels found there. But the term “Hadra vases” actually applies to two related but distinct groups of vessels: the so called “white ground,” made of a red, friable clay of Egyptian origin and never found outside of Egypt; and the “clay ground” vessels, made of a hard, granular, pink to buff fabric, produced on Crete and which have been found across the Eastern Mediterranean, though the vast majority are from Alexandria.³⁴ Only the “clay ground” vessels have been studied properly.³⁵ Both types of vessel were present in the Shatby cemetery, generally consid-

³¹ Breccia 1912, catalogue nos. 40-86

³² See above, n. 8 and 9.

³³ See Parlasca 2010 for a good overview of these. These include glass, alabaster, bronze, and faience vessels.

³⁴ The Optical Emission Spectroscopy of P.J. Callaghan demonstrated definitively that the majority of clay ground vessels were produced on Crete around Knossos, not in Egypt, and were only imported to Alexandria (Callaghan and Jones 1985).

³⁵ According to Enklaar (1992), decoration on the “White Ground” vessels is generally not well preserved, which would explain why they have not been well studied: attempts at a chronology based on stylistic development would likely be impossible.

ered to be the earliest in the city.³⁶ Not only is cremation burial present from the foundation of the city, but an industry quickly arose focused on the local production of cinerary urns, followed by the mass importation of vessels specifically to be used for that purpose. The importation of vessels seems to increase over time and spawned local imitations, which implies a certain value attributed to the imported rather than the locally produced product.³⁷

Though it is underrepresented in the excavators' sample, inhumation was the most popular form of burial. The actual deposition of an inhumation also seems to vary little. Inhumated individuals appear to be universally supine and extended, the only variation being in orientation. Information on orientation is only available for the Shatby burials, which orientations of N-S, E-W, and NE-SW all represented.³⁸ Breccia noted that there did not seem to be any dominant orientation, and that this aspect of the burial was owed entirely to chance and topography.³⁹

No proportion is given as to multiple versus single interment, though multiple interments certainly were in the minority. But there is no reason to think that multiple interment was uncommon. Among the reported burial assemblages, there are examples of multiple cremation interments and mixed inhumation and cremation interments. There are also examples of multiple inhumation interments, but neither Breccia nor Adriani re-

³⁶ Breccia observed that both types of vessel were often found together, but this does not mean that they are contemporary (See Breccia 33 ff.).

³⁷ As stated above, their clay indicates that the white-ground vessels were made in Alexandria, and at Shatby these vases were far more numerous than clay-ground vessels, but are rare in the later parts of Hadra (Enklaar 1992; Enklaar 1985: n. 1). It thus seems very likely that white-ground vessels preceded the heyday of clay-ground ones, perhaps roughly in the 1st half of the 3rd cent BCE (Enklaar 1992). In addition, two of Enklaar's vase groupings are definite imports, the "D" and the "L". A third grouping, Enklaar's "S" group, also appears to be of Cretan origin, though they were not tested through Optical Emission Spectroscopy. Enklaar's fourth group, "BL," is of a lower quality and seem to be local imitations of the imported vessels. See Enklaar 1992: 6-13; 23-27

³⁸ It is probable that there was also a SE-NW, since one grave was marked as oriented NE-SE, undoubtedly an error.

³⁹ Breccia 1912: xxiv-xxv

ported the contents of these graves. Breccia, however, describes inhumations in the same grave buried side by side, and in one case two burials one on top of the other; he also describes mixed age burials, which probably refers to burials of adults and juveniles together.⁴⁰

The Burial Assemblage

Grave goods were categorized by type in terms that were likely to be culturally significant. This is ultimately a subjective enterprise, but attributions can be made with some confidence based on objects with a known use from textual sources and other sites. For example, ritual drinking, feasting, and libations were quite common in funerary practice in Macedonia and the Greek mainland, whence the initial immigrant population of Alexandria came,⁴¹ and so certain artifacts may be associated with those activities (hence the types “drinking vessels” and “libation vessels”). Objects were only considered for this analysis if they had six or more incidences – that is, if they occurred in six or more graves (5% of the total sample, n=124). Urns were considered to be an intrinsic part of a cremation burial and were not treated as a grave good. Each type of object is shown in **Table 3.1** with the total number of incidences and total quantity of objects. The type “vessels” includes the ceramic assemblage as well as alabaster vessels. Beneath the vessel category, in italics, are listed those specific vessel types which appear in more than six incidences: amphorae, dishes, drinking vessels, libation vessels, and unguent vessels.

⁴⁰ Breccia 1912: xviii

⁴¹ Ritual feasting and drinking is attested in both the art historical and archaeological record. For ritual drinking/feasting vessels in a Macedonian royal context, see Andronikos 1984. For a Greek context, see e.g. the excavations in the 4th century cemetery at Olynthos (see Robinson 1942) and the North Cemetery at Corinth (Shear 1930; Blegen et al. 1964). For scenes funerary reliefs, see e.g. Fabricius 1999. There is also the connection of funerary *kline* with ritual drinking. There are many examples of these types of *kline* in the monumental Alexandrian hypogea. See in particular Venit 2002 for discussions of these.

	Incidences	Quantity
Figurine	15	31+
Lamp	42	57
Mirror	6	6
Wreath	7	7
Vessels	77	321
<i>Amphora</i>	22	29
<i>Dish</i>	18	27
<i>Drinking Vessel</i>	47	85
<i>Libation Vessel</i> ⁴²	34	56
<i>Unguent Vessel</i>	26	36

Table 3.1 – Object Types

These subcategories of vessels form the core of the vessel assemblage analysis; those vessels for which a specific function could not be determined from the reports were excluded from the analysis.⁴³

These types can be categorized as either qualitative or quantitative variables. Qualitative variables will usually appear in incidences of only one or two, indicating that their significance rests largely in their presence or absence; quantitative variables will demonstrate a range of values, indicating that the number of objects is an important factor. These are presented in **Table 3.2**. Wreaths, mirrors, lamps, and figurines were considered qualitative. Wreaths and mirrors only appear singly, and so are qualitative. Figurines appear in incidences of one or two, with one outlier incidence with ten examples. Lamps largely appear in groups of one or two, with one incidence with three ex-

⁴² Here, “libation vessel” designates vessel any that pours a liquid. This includes vessels that are often specific to ritual contexts (such as *askoi*), those which are primarily used in drinking contexts (such as *oinochoai*), and those which have no specific purpose (e.g. a pitcher). Ritual libations may have been made using any of these vessels, so a grouping based solely on utilitarian function, i.e. the pouring of liquid, was chosen.

⁴³ These included graves with terms such as “small bulging vessel” or “small lenticular vessel,” or simply “vessel.”

QUALITATIVE	Graves w/ 1	Graves w/2	Graves w/3	Graves w/4	Graves w/5	Graves w/ more than 5
Figurine	8	6	0	0	0	1
Lamp	33	7	1	0	0	1
Mirror	6	0	0	0	0	0
"Wreath"	7	0	0	0	0	0
VESSELS/QUANTITATIVE						
Vessels	15	21	18	18	6	13
<i>Amphora</i>	18	3	0	0	1	0
<i>Dish</i>	10	5	1	1	0	0
<i>Drinking Vessel</i>	24	11	10	2	0	0
<i>Libation Vessel</i>	20	10	3	0	1	0
<i>Unguent Vessel</i>	19	4	3	0	0	0

Table 3.2 – Incidences of Qualitative and Quantitative Variables.

amples and one outlier with nine examples. The lone quantitative variable – vessels – requires more explanation, and was analyzed separately from the qualitative variables described. The vessel category as a whole is quantitative; variation in the number of vessels included with a given grave is immediately apparent. When “vessels are” broken down into its subcategories, each vessel category still maintains a quantitative aspect. The vessels in the site reports that were not identifiable as any particular functional type are not included as a subcategory.

The qualitative variables – figurines, lamps, mirrors, wreaths – were analyzed to determine if there were discrete groupings. All possible combinations of these variables along with their associated incidences are presented in **Table 3.3**; ten out of sixteen possible combinations are represented in the sample. Just over half of the graves in the sample (n=65) did not possess any of the qualitative types, and no grave had more than two. Graves of the largest group with an object – a representing about one-third of the sample (n=33) – were, marked only by the presence of a lamp. The number of graves associated

Combination	Incidences	Combination	Incidences
None	65	Lamp+Mirror	1
Figurine Only	10	Lamp+Wreath	4
Lamp Only	33	Mirror+Wreath	1
Mirror Only	4	Figurine+Lamp+Mirror	0
Wreath Only	1	Figurine+Lamp+Wreath	0
Figurine+Lamp	4	Figurine+Mirror+Wreath	0
Figurine+Mirror	0	Lamp+Mirror+Wreath	0
Figurine+Wreath	1	Figurine+Lamp+Mirror+Wreath	0

Table 3.3 – Incidences of Qualitative Variable Combinations

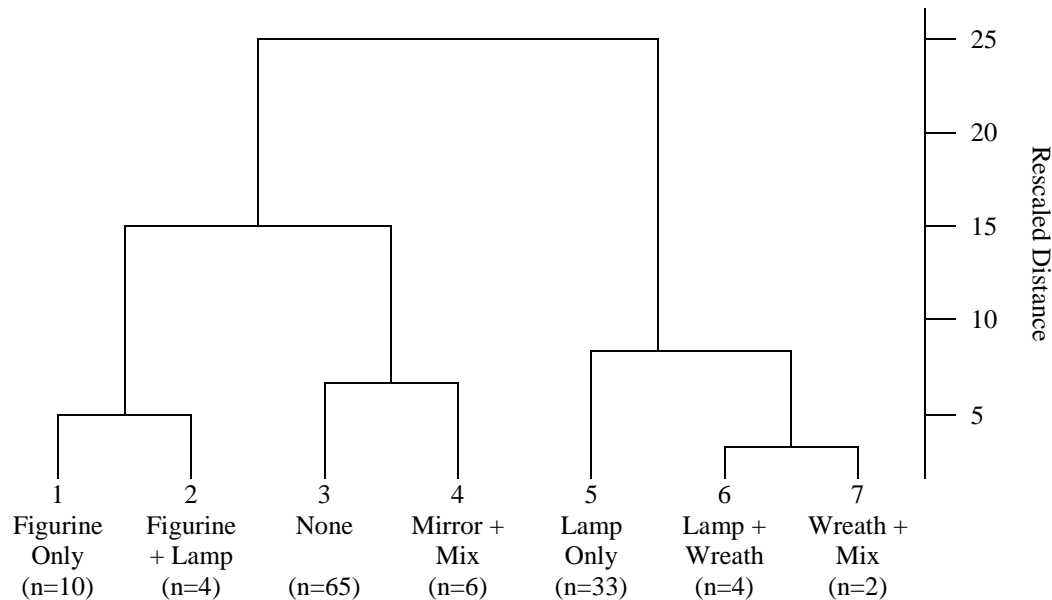


Fig. 3.5 – Dendrogram of Grave Categories based on Qualitative Variables

with each combination drops significantly after that. To refine these groupings and provide a structure, a hierarchical cluster analysis on the incidence data for these four object types was performed using Ward's method. The resulting dendrogram is presented as

Fig. 3.5.

This analysis produced seven groups. The major divisions are mostly marked by the presence or absence of a single artifact type: presence/absence of a figurine (categories 1 and 2), the presence/absence of a mirror (category 4), the presence/absence of a

lamp (category 5), and the presence/absence of a wreath (categories 6 and 7). Two groups are clearly marked by a combination of two object types, namely figurines and lamps (category 4), and lamps and wreaths (category 6). Otherwise, the clustering is based on the presence/absence of a single artifact type. The groups derived from this analysis will be referred to throughout as shorthand for the different possible qualitative object combinations.

Wreaths stand out as the only specifically funerary artifact in the assemblage. Given the small number of wreaths reported, and the expensive materials used in their manufacture, it is likely that these objects by themselves acted as very distinct, socially meaningful marker. There are clear echoes of both attested organic funerary wreaths⁴⁴ and the solid gold wreaths found in elite tombs in Macedonia,⁴⁵ though the Alexandrian examples are gilded terracotta and bronze, and appear only seven times in the graves discussed here. The six reported wreaths are likely to be the only examples found in either Shatby or Hadra; it is unlikely that either Breccia or Adriani would neglect to report these items.

Vessels, however, were by far the most common object type in Shatby and Hadra, appearing in great quantity (n=321). We can analyze the composition of the assemblages, to see if there are recurring combinations of artifact types. Again, as Breccia and Adriani

⁴⁴ In Egypt, these types of wreaths are attested by Petrie in his Hawara excavation report. See Petrie 1889: 47.

⁴⁵ The royal tombs of Vergina yielded numerous examples of this type of object, both in bronze and gold. In situ wreaths were either contained in *larnakes* (see Andronikos 1984: 171) or were draped over an urn (Andronikos 1984: 202). This kind of placement was also seen with the terracotta/bronze wreaths of Shatby.

Combination	Incidences
None	43
Amphora	2
Dish	5
Drinking Vessel	18
Libation Vessel	6
Unguent Vessel	6
Amphora+Dish	0
Amphora+Drinking Vessel	3
Amphora+Libation Vessel	3
Amphora+Unguent Vessel	1
Dish+Drinking Vessel	1
Dish+Libation Vessel	2
Dish+Unguent Vessel	2
Drinking Vessel+Libation Vessel	4
Drinking Vessel+Unguent Vessel	3
Libation Vessel+Unguent Vessel	5
Amphora+Dish+Drinking Vessel	2
Amphora+Dish+Libation Vessel	0
Amphora+Dish+Unguent Vessel	0
Amphora+Drinking Vessel+Libation Vessel	6
Amphora+Drinking Vessel+Unguent Vessel	2
Amphora+Libation Vessel+Unguent Vessel	0
Dish+Drinking Vessel+Libation Vessel	3
Dish+Drinking Vessel+Unguent Vessel	1
Dish+Libation Vessel+Unguent Vessel	1
Drinking Vessel+Libation Vessel+Unguent Vessel	2
Amphora+Dish+Drinking Vessel+Libation Vessel	0
Amphora+Dish+Drinking Vessel+Unguent Vessel	0
Amphora+Dish+Libation Vessel+Unguent Vessel	0
Amphora+Drinking Vessel+Libation Vessel+Unguent Vessel	3
Dish+Drinking Vessel+Libation Vessel+Unguent Vessel	0
Amphora+Dish+Drinking Vessel+Libation Vessel+Unguent Vessel	0

Table 3.4 – Incidences of Vessel Type Combinations

did not always describe vessels in such a way that they could be assigned a function, we are left to deal with only a subset of the entire vessel assemblage. The five categories of recognized vessel types were amphorae, dishes, drinking vessels, libation vessels, and unguent vessels. Each possible combination with the number of associated incidences is presented in **Table 3.4**.

Vessels appear in a more type-combinations than the qualitative variables: 23 out of a possible 31 vessel combinations occur. These 23 possible vessel combinations are not related in any particular way to the categories derived from the qualitative objects. **Table 3.5** presents each qualitative object group (as defined above in **Fig. 3.5**), and the vessel type combinations represented in each group. All of the groups have more than one potential vessel type combination that can be interred. Two of the smaller groups are somewhat coherent: those graves with figurines and lamps (n=4) all have at least an amphora, and five of the six graves with wreath's have at least an unguent vessel. Beyond this, however, there are no patterns evident.

Specific combinations of object types thus do not appear to be meaningful. Rather, significance is being placed on the general diversity (number of types interred) of a given burial's vessel assemblage. **Fig. 3.6** plots, on the x-axis, the number of known vessel types in an assemblage, and, on the y-axis, the total number of vessels included in an assemblage (including those of an unknown type); each tic represents a grave. Graves with multiple interments are not included, to control for the extra expenditure of a second burial. Graves without any vessels or known vessel types are also excluded. Though the quantity of vessels in an assemblage generally increases as diversity of the assemblage increases, what is more striking is the decreasing number of graves as the number

<i>Figurine Only (n=10)</i>	<i>Mirror + Mix (n=6)</i>
None	None
Dish	Drinking Vessel
Drinking Vessel	Unguent Vessel
Amphora + Drinking Vessel + Libation Vessel	Libation Vessel + Unguent Vessel
Amphora + Drinking Vessel + Unguent Vessel	Dish + Drinking Vessel + Libation Vessel
	Dish + Libation Vessel + Unguent Vessel
<i>Figurine + Lamp (n=4)</i>	<i>Lamp Only (n=33)</i>
Drinking Vessel	None
Amphora + Drinking Vessel	Drinking Vessel
	Libation Vessel
<i>None (n=65)</i>	Amphora + Drinking Vessel
None	Amphora + Libation Vessel
Amphora	Dish + Libation Vessel
Dish	Drinking Vessel + Libation Vessel
Drinking Vessel	Drinking Vessel + Unguent Vessel
Libation Vessel	Amphora + Dish + Drinking Vessel
Unguent Vessel	Amphora + Drinking Vessel + Libation Vessel
Amphora + Drinking Vessel	Dish + Drinking Vessel + Libation Vessel
Amphora + Libation Vessel	Dish + Drinking Vessel + Unguent Vessel
Dish + Libation Vessel	Drinking Vessel + Libation Vessel + Unguent Vessel
Dish + Unguent Vessel	Amphora + Drinking Vessel + Libation Vessel + Unguent Vessel
Drinking Vessel + Libation Vessel	
Libation Vessel + Unguent Vessel	<i>Lamp + Wreath (n=4)</i>
Amphora + Dish + Drinking Vessel	Unguent Vessel
Drinking Vessel + Libation Vessel + Unguent Vessel	Libation Vessel + Unguent Vessel
Amphora + Drinking Vessel + Libation Vessel + Unguent Vessel	
	<i>Wreath + Mix (n=2)</i>
	None
	Unguent Vessel

Table 3.5 – Qualitative Object Groups with Associated Vessel Type Combinations

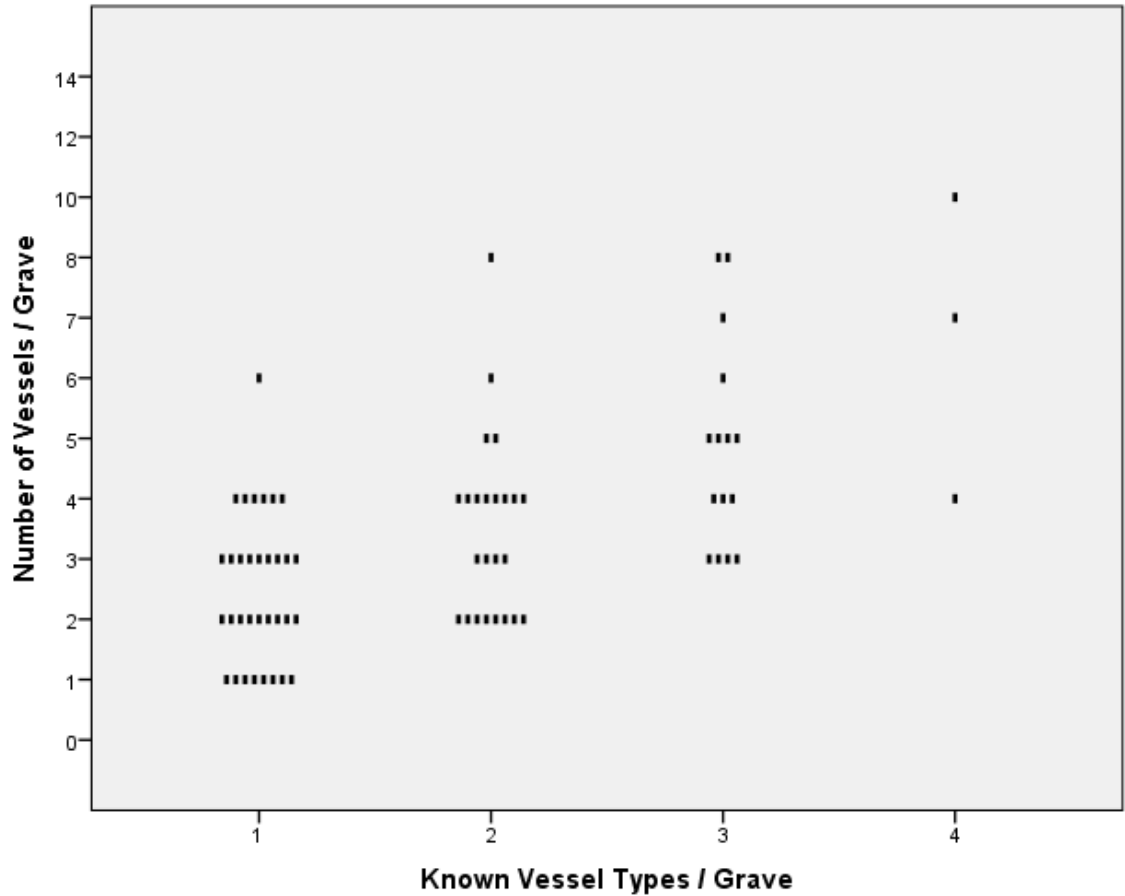


Fig. 3.6 – x-axis: known vessel types per grave; y-axis: number of vessels per grave. Each tic represents a burial. This excludes multiple interment graves.

of types increase: 33 graves have at least one vessel type; only three have four types. We can perhaps consider a highly diverse assemblage to have required more effort expended, since a large variety of objects requires many specialized purchases. Further, quantity and diversity of a vessel assemblage are not as closely linked as might be thought. Burials with one, two, three, or four types of vessel could all contain a large number of vessels overall. Diversity and quantity appear to be, at best, only partially related.

<i>Quality Type</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Drinking Vessel High (Kothos/Skyphos/Kantharos)	14
Drinking Vessel Low (Cup)	38
Libation Vessel High (Askos/Hydria/Oinochoe/Prochoe)	10
Libation Vessel Low Low (Pitcher)	26
Unguent Vessel High (Alabaster <i>Alabastron</i> / Lekythos/Aryballos)	23
Unguent Vessel Low (Terracotta <i>Alabastron</i>)	6

Table 3.6: Number of tombs in which a quality-type appeared.

Some aspects of vessel “quality” can be recovered as well from the original site reports. For example, *skyphoi* would be more desirable than objects simply described as “cups,” and alabaster unguent vessels likely had a higher value than terracotta ones. The scanty information on this subject from the site reports makes it difficult to determine the quality of an object, but some basic distinctions can be made. First, terracotta vessels given a type name – *hydria*, *skyphos*, etc. – can be assumed to be of a higher quality than their generic equivalent (e.g. pitcher, cup). Second, the type of material used for certain objects can be telling: for example, terracotta “*alabastra*” versus *alabastra* in alabaster.

Using this as a guide, a rough division between “high” and “low” quality vessels was made. The high-quality drinking vessels were *kothoi*, *skyphoi*, and *kantheroi*, while low quality drinking vessels were simply cups. High-quality libation vessels were *askoi*, *hydria*, *oinochoai*, and *prochoai*, and low quality libation vessels were pitchers. High-quality unguent vessels were alabaster *alabastra*, *lekythoi*, and *aryballoi*, while low quality unguent vessels were terracotta imitation *alabastra*.⁴⁶ **Table 3.6** presents the number of graves in which a given quality-type of object appeared.

⁴⁶ The division between high-quality *alabastra* and low-quality *alabastra* is slightly different from quality divisions among drinking and libation vessels. The latter categories consist of functional objects which may be used in ritual contexts. This means that there may be much more variation in the kinds of vessels included. Unguent vessels, which include *alabastra*, are not as functional, are more specialized, and are some-

As perhaps would be expected, incidences of low quality libation and drinking vessels outnumbered the incidences of their high-quality counterparts. Conversely, the number of high-quality unguent vessels vastly outnumbers the low quality ones. Twenty of the 23 total high-quality unguent vessels were alabaster *alabastra*, which means there were nearly four times as many reported incidents of true *alabastra* as opposed to the imitations. This may be due to underrepresentation in the reported burial assemblages. Alabaster however, was quite common in Egypt (i.e. calcite, or “Egyptian Alabaster”), and so new immigrants may have been taking advantage of an abundance of what was an import item elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. The social value ascribed to alabaster items does not seem to have shifted, despite the material’s relative abundance in Egypt.⁴⁷

As with the vessel type combinations, the “high-quality” objects are not associated with particular qualitative object groups: they appear in six out of seven of the grave groups delineated in **Fig. 3.5**. They also appear in graves without any relation to the quantity of vessels present or the diversity of the assemblage. **Fig. 3.7** is similar **Fig. 3.6** above, but also includes graves with multiple interments. Marked in green are those graves which had high-quality graves in the assemblage. High-quality vessels appear regardless of how many objects are in the vessel assemblage, or how diverse the assemblage is. Quality seems to be another avenue for the elaboration of the vessel assemblage, again independent of quantity and diversity.

what high status. The imitation terracotta *alabastra*, then, are more imitations of elite grave goods than a lower-quality functional object, like a cup.

⁴⁷ *Alabastra* of all types were common in Macedonian tombs. For example, see Derveni tomb “A” which contained 10 *alabastra* and the fragments of at least 10 more. See Θεμελής and Τουρατσογλου 1997: 31-59.

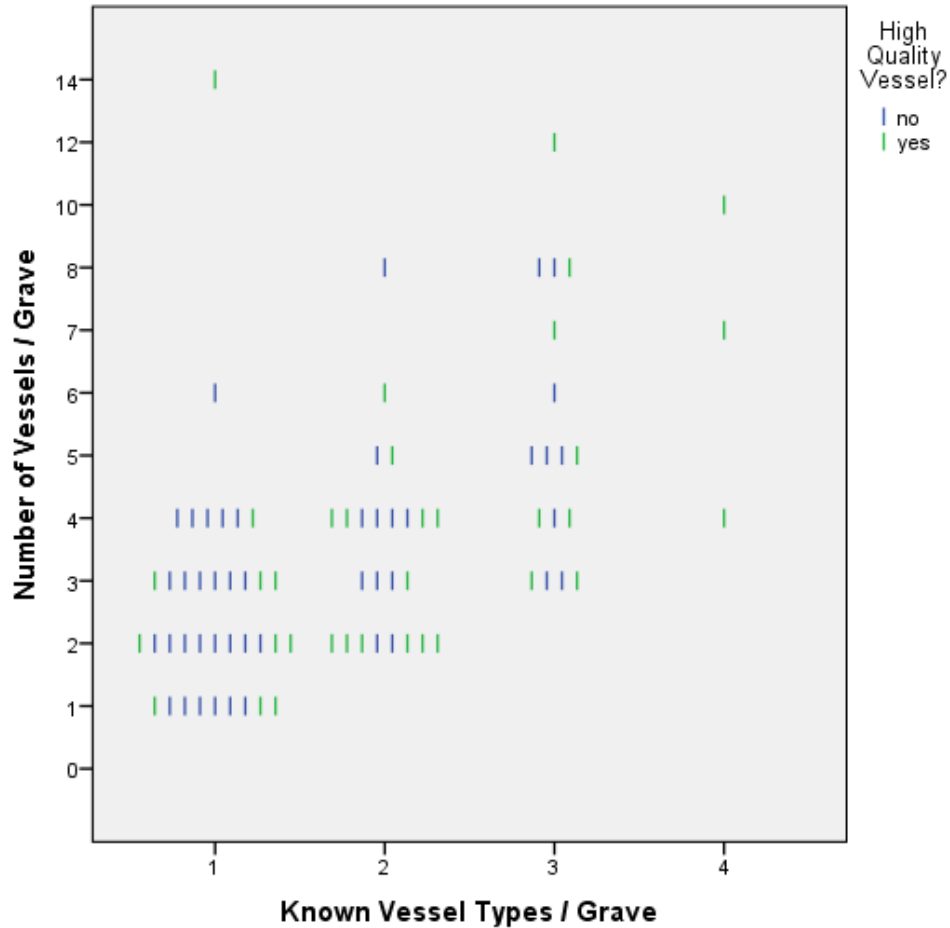


Fig. 3.7 – x-axis: known vessel types per grave; y-axis: number of vessels per grave. Each tic represents a burial. Marked in green are graves with a high-quality vessel in the assemblage.

These data suggest that distinctions are being made several ways. First, the presence or absence of a few objects – figurines, lamps, mirrors, and wreaths – may be making important social distinctions. Without any age, sex, or spatial data, however, not much more can be said. The exception is the gilded wreaths, which may indicate special status or high socio-economic distinction. Important for the vessel assemblage were not so much the specific types of objects present, but – independently - the quantity of vessels, the overall diversity of the assemblage, and the quality of those objects. But there are no clear distinctions being made with the vessel assemblage. There is no sharp break between graves with only a few vessels and those with many; rather, there is a continuum

	No. of Cremations	No. of Inhumations	No. of Mixed
Figurine Only (n=10)	2	8	0
Figurine + Lamp (n=4)	0	3	1
None (n=65)	22	42	0
Mirror + Mix (n=6)	1	4	1
Lamp Only (n=33)	5	28	0
Lamp + Wreath (n=4)	0	4	0
Wreath + Mix (n=2)	1	1	0

Table 3.7 – type of body treatment according to qualitative object group.

with respect to both diversity and quantity of a given assemblage. There were thus multiple avenues for elaboration of a burial assemblage, but without any clear socio-economic distinctions being made through that assemblage.

We can now consider the relationship between objects and body treatment: that is, between cremation and the burial assemblage. Nearly half of all cremation burials contained urns only, with no additional burial goods; only eight inhumation burials were reported without objects, though such graves must be underreported. When we examine the relationship between cremation and the other burial goods, it becomes apparent that cremation too, is independent of the other variables. Cremations appear in six of the seven qualitative object grave groups, two in a mixed cremation/inhumation context (see **Table 3.7**). In terms of the vessel assemblage, cremations appear in graves with one, two, and three vessel types, and in a range of quantities. **Fig. 3.8** echoes **Fig. 3.7**, with cremations

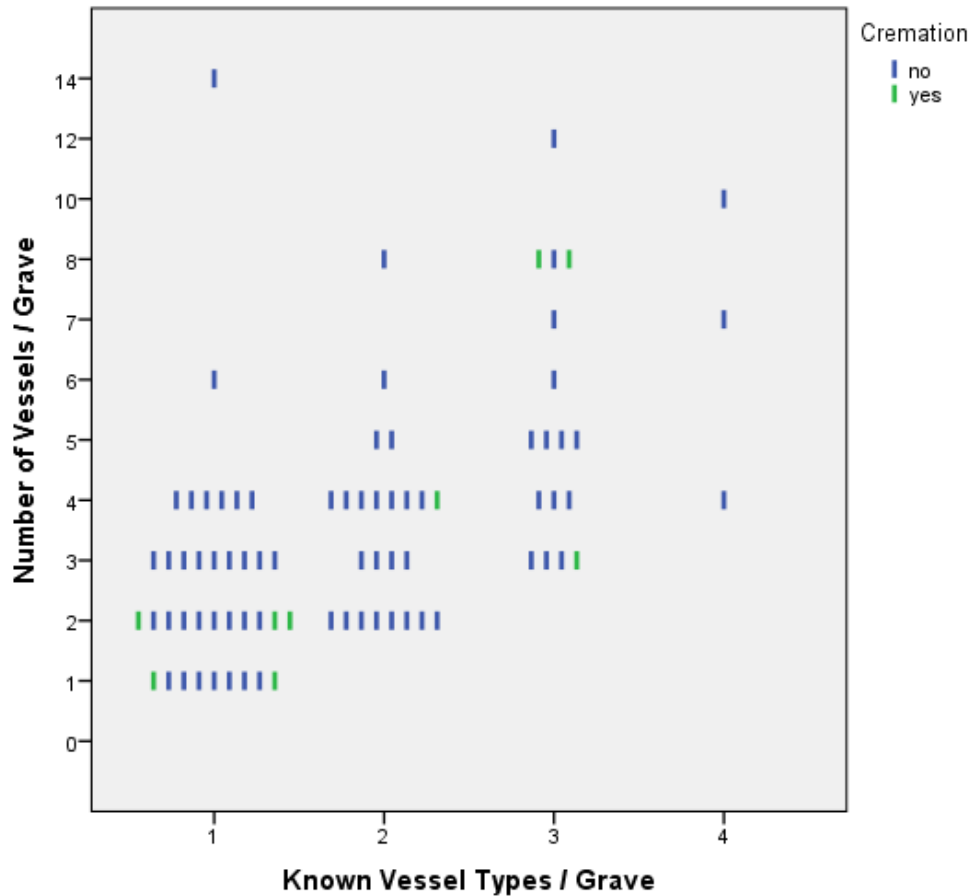


Fig. 3.8 – x-axis: known vessel types per grave; y-axis: number of vessels per grave. Each tic represents a grave. Marked in green are cremation graves.

marked in green. In addition, no type of object is unique to cremation or inhumation: figurines, lamps, mirrors, wreaths, and all varieties of vessel appear with both.

Cremation, then, appears independently of other aspects of a burial. The practice is not associated with any particular grave good, combination of grave goods, or a given diversity and quantity of vessels. The tendency overall, however, is for urns to be by themselves, which distinguishes them from the reported inhumation burials: 18 out of 33, more than half of the reported cremation burials. This makes some sense: in contrast to Greece and other areas where fuel would have been more plentiful, cremation was a par-

ticularly expensive practice in Egypt where there was a lack of wood for well-constructed funeral pyres. Effort and expenditure that would have been put into the burial assemblage would have been put into the cremation act itself, as well as the urn, which could have been no small expense. Those who were cremating their dead had a specific set of funerary priorities, it seems, which may have made a large grave assemblage unlikely. Cremation, then, was not highly restricted; however, the expense of the urn and the cremation ritual itself guaranteed a socio-economic “floor” for the practice; one needed to be at least of a certain level of wealth to be able to afford the ritual.

Burial Structures

Calculating effort expenditure for the Shatby and Hadra graves is problematic due to the instances of multiple burial, which means we often cannot associate a single burial with a single, effort-expending event. But this is still an important variable to deal with. Some aspects of effort expenditure have been dealt with in the previous section on the wealth and diversity of the burial assemblage. This is only one aspect of effort expenditure, and it is somewhat difficult to calculate given the lack of absolute values for objects. Another important aspect is the archaeologically invisible aspects of funerary practice, such as ritual feasting, ritual drinking, and a funeral pyre in the case of cremations. Aside from cremation burials, which necessitate a certain level of known pre-burial effort expenditure, it is impossible to determine the amount of effort expended on archaeologically invisible pre-burial rituals.

One important, very visible aspect of practice is the type and size of the actual burial structure. Architectural typology and development was of a particular concern to both Breccia and Adriani, and so ample information is available on the types of burial

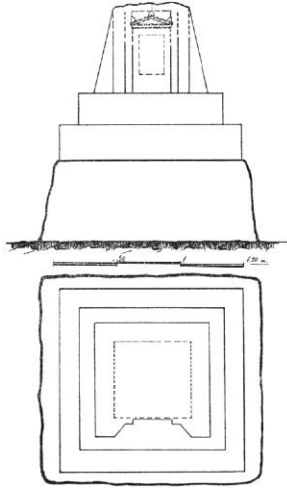


Fig. 3.9 – Stepped funerary monument. Fig. 33 in *Annuaire 3*.

structures present in both Shatby and Hadra. These can be sorted into two basic types: *fossa* (“pit”) burials, and hypogea, which are more complex underground structures primarily differentiated from the *fossae* by the presence of underground architecture in addition to the burial chamber itself. These basic types are highly variable.

Fossae burials⁴⁸ were generally rectangular or trapezoidal (i.e. wider at the head and narrower at

the feet), and ranged in depth from 0.4m to 1.5m cut into the bedrock. Generally these graves were covered with three to five rock slabs. These were by far the most common type of burial, both in Shatby and Hadra.

Fossae were often surmounted by a funerary monument, though the simpler pit graves were more common. The monuments were generally stepped, and so consisted of a large stone base usually with two or three upper levels that successively decrease in size. These structures were often surmounted by a funerary stele, set into the topmost level of the monuments. An example of such a monument can be seen in **Fig. 3.9**. Unlike the *fossae* themselves, which were fairly uniform, the funerary monuments seem to have varied widely in size.⁴⁹

There are several varieties of hypogea, used in both Shatby and Hadra. The primary distinction is between hypogea meant for single interments and those constructed for multiple interments. The most basic form of hypogeum was a *loculus* cut into the rock

⁴⁸ The *fossae* are described in some detail by Breccia and Adriani. See in particular Breccia 1912: xvii – xix, *Annuaire 3*: 67

⁴⁹ Detailed descriptions of these types are found in Breccia 1912 and *Annuaire 3*.

and open to a small vestibule approached by a rock-cut staircase.⁵⁰ An example of this can be seen in **Fig. 3.10**. The *loculus* chamber was sealed from

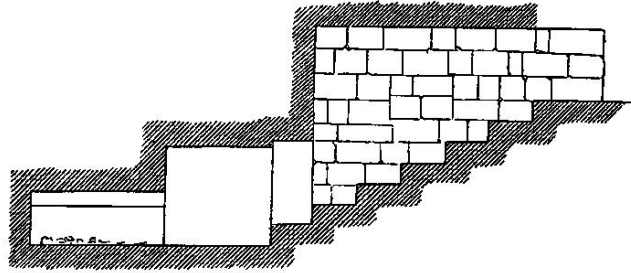


Fig. 3.10 – Single interment hypogeum. Fig. 8 in Breccia 1912.

the staircase by a slab, while the approach to the chamber was filled in with sand and soil, and so was not meant to be accessed again. The size of a *loculus* chamber itself was of a comparable size to the *fossa* graves. These types required more effort than a simple *fossa*, however, and clearly drew on the funerary vocabulary of Macedonia, where elaborate underground chamber tombs approached by staircases are known.⁵¹ These can be seen as a lower-effort version of a similar type.

The second type of hypogeum is a large, elaborate complex explicitly meant for multiple interments. There is a range in size and elaboration for individual structures. The Hadra cemetery includes a number of hypogea that are not elaborate in terms of architecture or decoration, but include multiple *loculi*, ranging from two to ten or more.⁵² Shatby has two very large, very elaborate hypogea, labeled “A” and “B”, the former being the more architecturally elaborate. A plan of Shatby Hypogeum “A” is presented in **Fig. 3.11**. There are more elaborate structures as well elsewhere in the city, at Mustafa Kamel and Anfushy. These structures were all designed from the beginning with multiple interments in mind, and so were left open for ease of access, unlike the single interment struc-

⁵⁰ The simplest form of the hypogea is included by Breccia under his description of the *fossae*, but is clearly related to the more complex architecture of the hypogea rather than the simple *fossa*.

⁵¹ The most famous of these are at the royal necropolis of Vergina. See Andronikos 1984.

⁵² These can be seen in Adriani 1940 fig. 31, labeled C and D, reproduced in this chapter as **Fig. 3.12**.

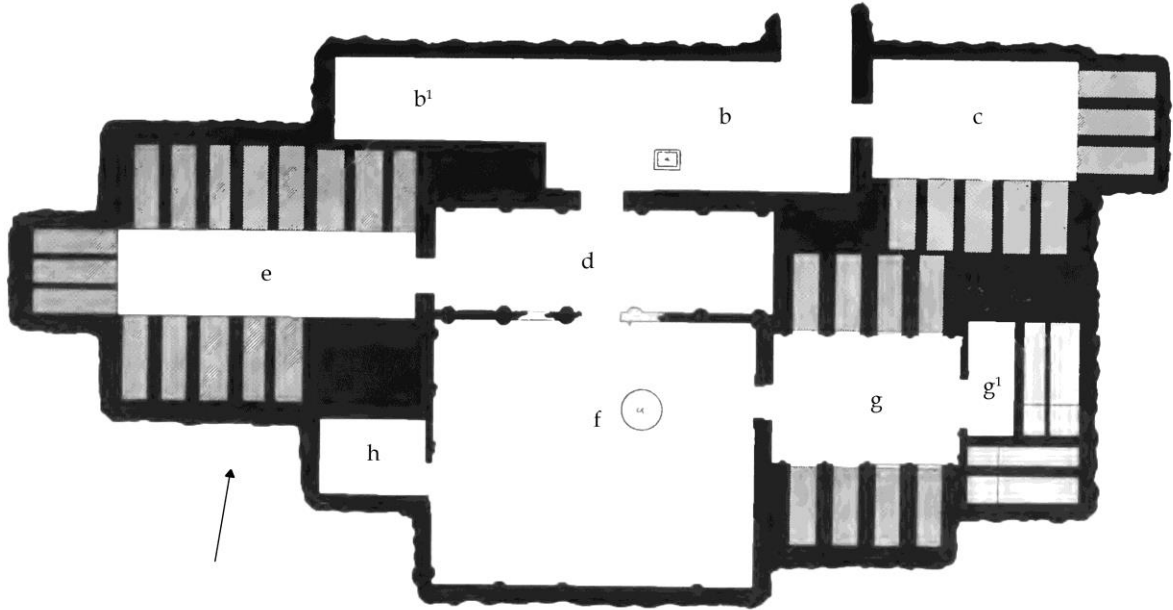


Fig. 3.11 – Plan of Shatby Hypogeum A. After Breccia 1912.

tures as above. The more elaborate structures are particularly distinguished by their decoration, and the presence of designated spaces for ritual use.

There is a single example of a hypogeum with an above ground monument, in the Abukir street section of the Hadra cemetery. This consisted of two loculi approached by a short staircase, with a large funerary monument above it.⁵³ All other hypogea have no above-ground monument to speak of, though many have subterranean courts open to the sky which would have been visible.

A simplistic ranking can be constructed for some of these tomb types. A simple *fossa* burial clearly required the least amount effort in its construction. A *fossa* with an associated monument stands above this, whatever the size of the monument: a monument necessarily requires more effort. The hypogea are more problematic. A simple, single interment hypogeum may require less effort, or be of an equivalent effort, of a *fossa* with a monument. The latter is certainly more visible, and so to the viewer would have ap-

⁵³ This is marked “A” on the Abukir map Fig. 3.12.

peared, perhaps, to project an image of someone with a higher status. Multiple interment hypogea are the most problematic, since they represent the combined effort of several individuals or groups.

Being constructed specifically for multiple burials, the large hypogea stand out from the other types of grave architecture. To understand how interments in multiple-use hypogea relate to other burial types, we must look again to the burial assemblage and body treatment. For the Hadra cemetery, there are 31 burial assemblages which can be specifically associated with hypogea meant for multiple interments. Both inhumation and cremation burials were found in hypogea. Hypogeum burials are also reported for five of the seven qualitative object groups: figurine only; no object; mirror + mix; lamp only; and wreath + mix. Interestingly, neither group defined by two object types – figurine/lamp and lamp/wreath – include hypogeum burials. In terms of vessel combinations, hypogeum burials can include no vessels or no known types, up to a maximum of three known types; in terms quantity there are up to eight vessels included. “High-quality” vessels are also recorded for hypogeum burials.

The picture is thus consistent the overall image of the system of grave goods and body treatment: there were multiple avenues for elaboration of a given burial – namely quantity, quality, and diversity – and the possibility of varying body treatment. Burials in hypogea were buried according to the same rules as those that were not. There do not seem to have been any particular restrictions on who is allowed to be buried in a hypogeum; that is, the use of hypogea was available to members of multiple socio-economic classes. The use of a communal hypogeum appears to be independent of other aspects of the funerary treatment.

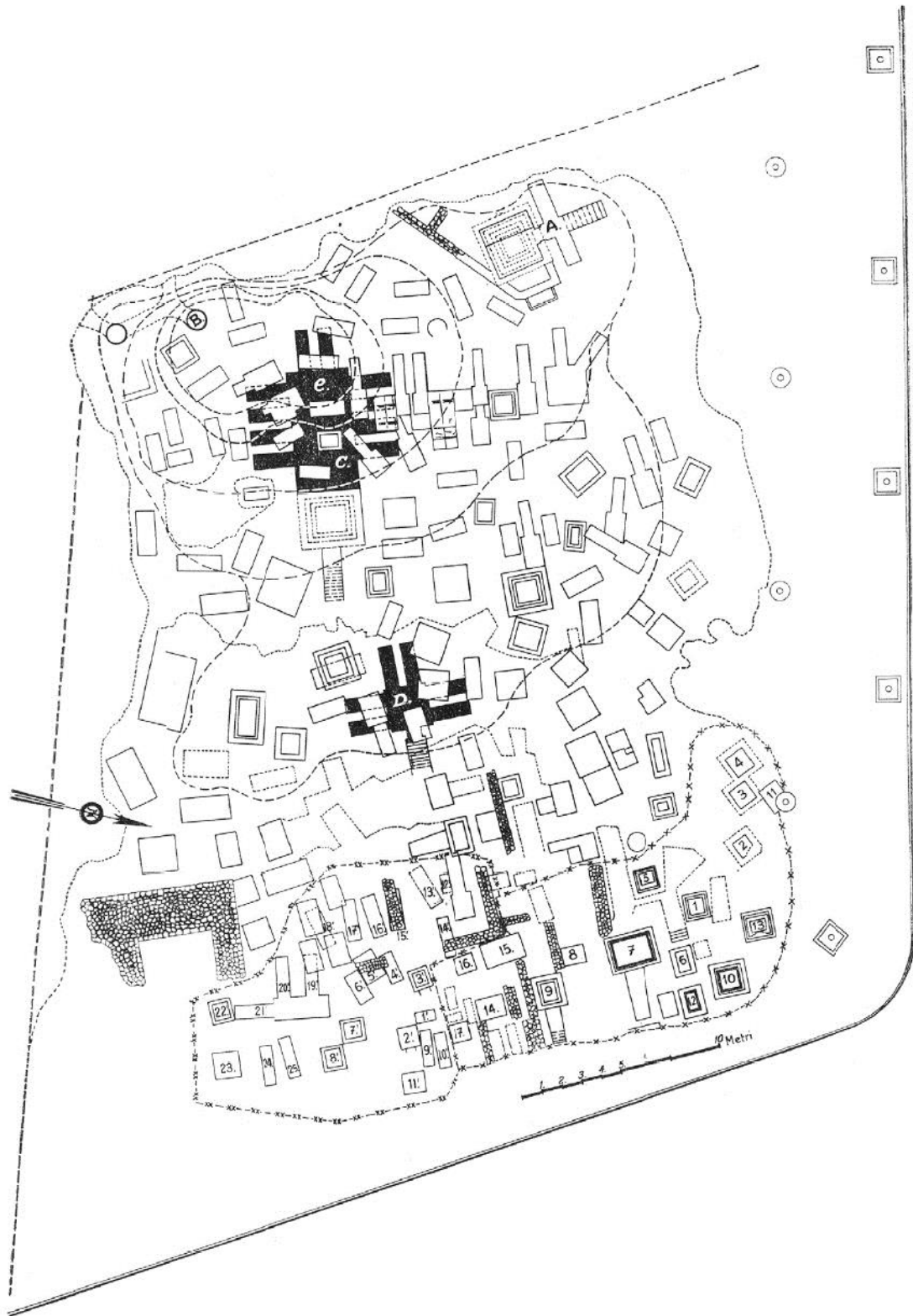


Fig. 3.12 – Map of the Abukir section of the Hadra cemetery. Fig. 31 from *Annuaire 3*.

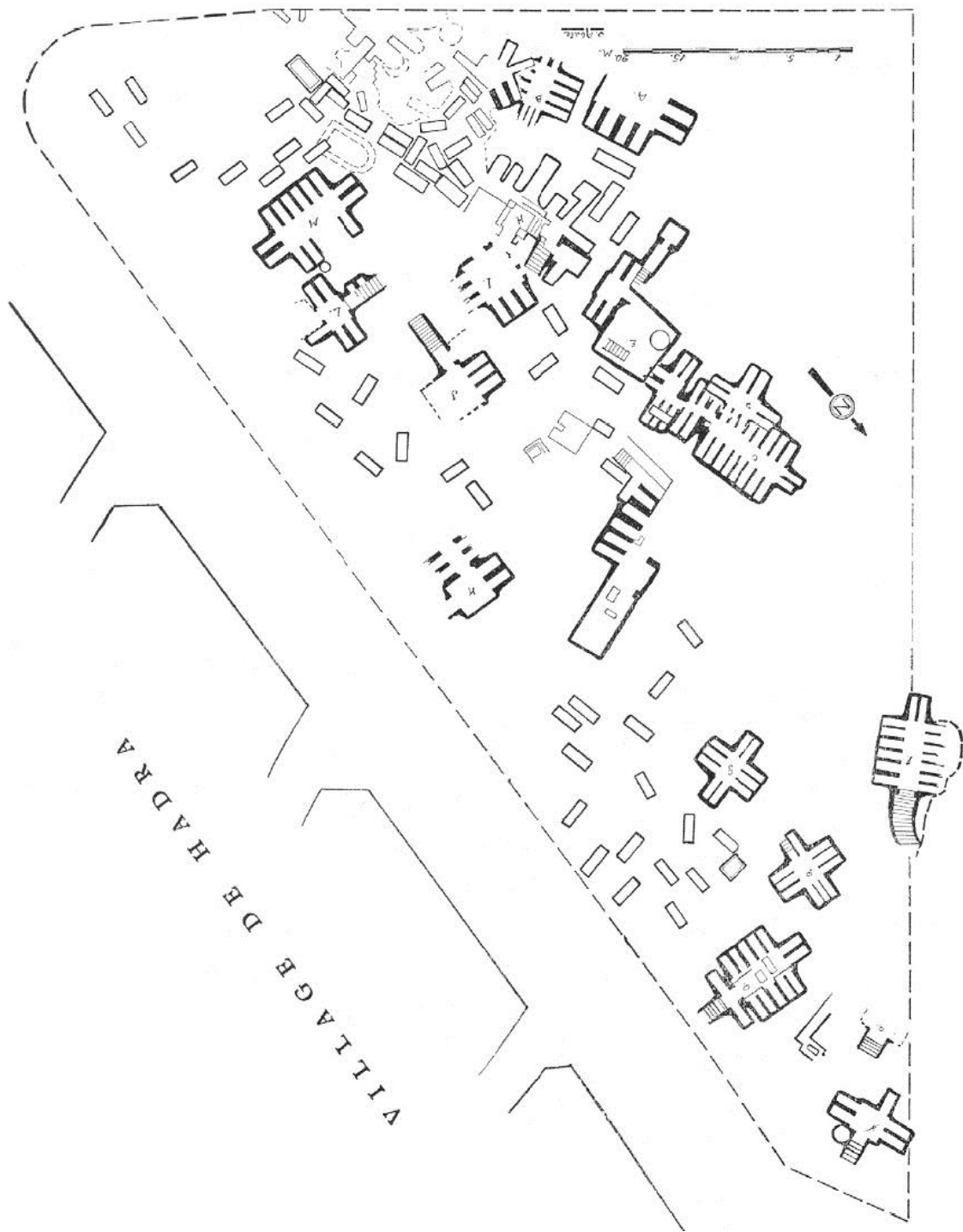


Fig. 3.13 – Map of part of the Ezbet el-Makhlouf section of the Hadra cemetery. Fig. 43 from *Annuaire 3*.

Spatial Organization

An assessment of the spatial organization of Shatby and Hadra must be limited in scope. Tombs marked on the published plans are generally unlabeled and cannot be associated with a given assemblage, and in the case of Shatby a scale is not even provided in the site plan. It is possible to pick out some tomb types, such as multiple-use hypogea and *fossae*, but it is difficult at times to tell what is being represented. Despite these drawbacks, a few cursory conclusions can be drawn. **Figures 3.3, 3.12, and 3.13** are the published plans for Shatby, the Abukir Street section of Hadra, and the Ezbet el-Makhlouf section of Hadra, respectively. From even a brief glance at the published maps, it is clear that the orientation of the graves was not a major factor. This conclusion was reached by Breccia in his initial publication of Shatby,⁵⁴ and it seems to be the case in Hadra as well. In Shatby, the major Hypogea “A” and “B” were perhaps located near one of the main roads leading to the ancient city, and so would have been particularly visible.⁵⁵ For Hadra, we have no knowledge of the cemeteries’ orientation to major roads.

The spatial relationship between different grave types is also difficult to determine. Simple *fossae* are easy to identify, as are hypogea, but beyond that it is difficult to identify the type of grave structure. All that can be said at present is that there does not appear to be any particular pattern, restricting one type of structures to a particular area, or even a clustering of smaller structures around larger ones. It is most likely that the location of specific structures was dictated by geology, particularly the larger hypogea: a suitable amount of good bedrock was necessary to create structures of that type.

⁵⁴ Breccia 1912: xxiii

⁵⁵ Schmidt 2010: 139

Conclusion

The system of mortuary variability present in early Alexandria had a socio-economic component that appears to have manifested itself in assemblages of increasing quantity, diversity, and quality of the vessel assemblage, as well as increasing tomb elaboration; however, there are not any particularly strong clusters of objects and treatments that would signal clear socio-economic classes being manifested in the mortuary system. The potential for horizontal differentiation was extensive, however, with a number of potential avenues for burial elaboration available, as well as categorization based on only one or two objects.

Two horizontal treatments stood out as sufficiently visible to be potential ethnic markers: the use of communal hypogea and cremation burial. The burial assemblages associated with burials in hypogea indicate their probable use as a tomb-type by members of multiple socio-economic classes. These structures were also large enough and – at least in the case of Shatby – placed in prominent enough locations that they would have been extremely visible, despite their largely below-ground location. Cremation burials were not treated in a substantively different manner from inhumation burials, with burial assemblages and structures similar in composition to inhumation burials,⁵⁶ while at the same time being significantly more visible: a funeral pyre would be a quite obvious though ephemeral act. Could it be possible, then, that these treatments were being used as vehicles for expressing ethnic identity, and demonstrate the presence of a distinct Greek “ethnic” identity in the Alexandrian funerary system? The potential meanings of these treatments are detailed in the next two sections.

⁵⁶ Comparisons cannot be made between cremations without grave goods and inhumations without grave goods since there is only one reported example of the latter.

3.3 – Communal Hypogea

As described in the introduction, the large monumental hypogea of Alexandria have been extensively studied with respect to their decoration and architectural development, usually within a hellenocentric framework, but also with a view towards finding Egyptian “influences” in these structures. Recent scholarship, however, has begun to contextualize these monuments and recognize that identifying discrete Greek and Egyptian influences on Alexandrian funerary monuments is unjustified.⁵⁷ To understand these funerary structures, we must look to the local social conditions Alexandria in its earliest form. Alexandria was a city of immigrants both from within Egypt and from abroad, creating a social context that was unlike any other in the Greek or Egyptian world at that time; the funerary system of the city must necessarily reflect that.

Stefan Schmidt reanalyzed Hypogeeum “A” at Shatby, and has suggested that these and other hypogea like them were, in fact, used by private religious or professional associations which, as part of their activities, helped to cover the cost of burial for their members.⁵⁸ He argues that individuals in Alexandria were forced to create new ways of

⁵⁷ Schmidt 2010: 153

⁵⁸ Schmidt 2010: 139-141; 153. While there is no direct evidence for the existence of private associations in Alexandria itself, there is ample evidence of such groups throughout the Eastern Mediterranean (e.g. Rhodes; see Fabricius 1999 and Fraser 1977), largely derived from funerary monuments, and in Egypt, where papyrological evidence is abundant. In Egypt during the Ptolemaic period for example, we have documentary evidence from Tebtunis attesting to such associations’ activities (see Muhs 2001). Involvement in members’ funerals was standard practice for private associations. A full treatment of the evidence for private associations in the Greek world, see Poland 1909. For organizations in the Roman period East, see van Nijf 1997 (for their funerary functions in particular in this period, see van Nijf 1997: 31-69).

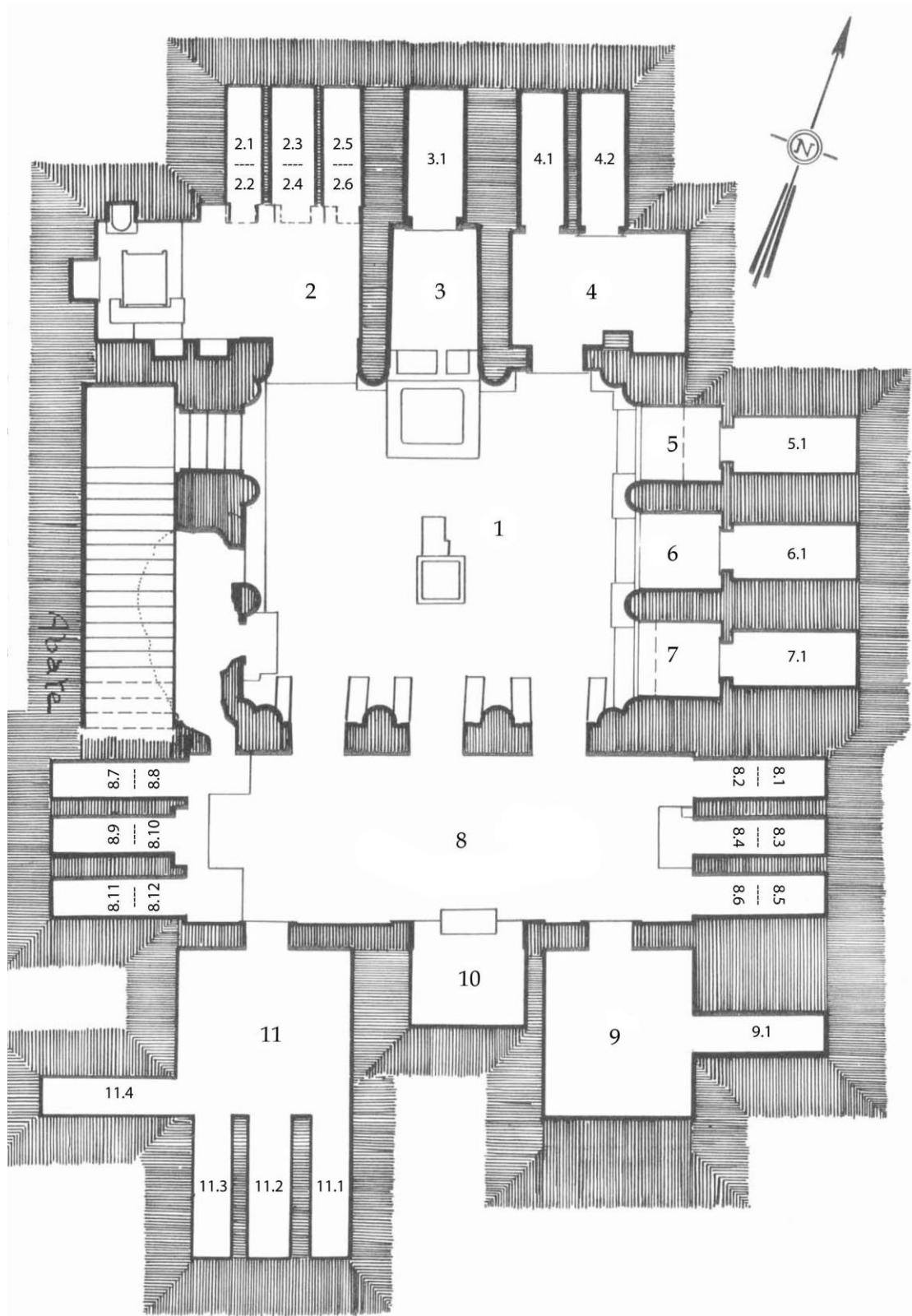


Fig. 3.14 – Mustafá Kamel, tomb 1. After Annuaire 2.

distinguishing themselves in a new urban environment in the absence of the social ties which had existed in their old cities.⁵⁹

Understanding communal hypogea as structures used by voluntary associations makes eminent sense given the archaeological analysis presented in the previous section. These voluntary associations encompassed members of various socio-economic means – or could, at least – and were an avenue of establishing a social identity outside of traditional familial ties. We would thus expect a range in the wealth of individual burial assemblages, as well as structures of varying complexity. These associations were not a means of expressing a particular socio-economic identity, but rather were a way of individuals both within and across different socio-economic classes of forming new, non-familial identities to fill necessary social roles.

The voluntary association hypothesis is bolstered by a closer analysis of the structures themselves. Monumental hypogea are present from the foundation of the city, and in fact represent the earliest large communal burial structures in any area of Greek influence in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁶⁰ The earliest of these is “Hypogeum A” in Shatby,⁶¹ depicted in **Fig. 3.11**; slightly later is the large complex of Mustafa Kamel⁶² tomb 1, depicted in **Fig 3.14**. Both these complexes are dated to the early to mid-3rd century BCE. These structures are too large to likely be family tombs, particularly at so early a point in the city’s existence when there would have been no large extended families to which we could attribute their use. A large amount of space in these structures was also dedicated to ritual activity, particularly feasting and drinking rites on the occasion of a funeral. Look-

⁵⁹ Schmidt 2010: 153

⁶⁰ Schmidt 2010: 136-137

⁶¹ The principal publication of the Shatby cemetery is Breccia 1912.

⁶² The main publication of the Mustafa Kamel tombs, then called Mustafa Pasha, is Adriani 1936.

ing at Shatby A and Mustafa Kamel, we can note the presence of large open courts and altars, clearly meant for recurring ritual activity. These structures were meant for burials beyond the initial series of interments: in Shatby's Hypogeum "A," there was an original "core" area which was expanded upon as was needed.⁶³

Compared to the smaller structures found in the Hadra cemetery, both Shatby Hypogeum A and the Mustafa Kamel complexes are incredibly elaborate. The Hadra hypogea usually consist of *loculi* radiating from a central chamber. Mustafa Kamel and Shatby Hypogeum A are more architecturally complex, including elaborate decoration and painting, as well as defined ritual spaces. There are clear socio-economic divisions between different communal hypogea, as well as socio-economic differentiation between burials within a single hypogeum. The more elaborate hypogea undoubtedly would have been restricted to higher socio-economic classes, but the use of the communal hypogeum itself is cuts across social-class – to a point – and individuals buried within a particular structure may also be of varying socio-economic classes.

A look at later monumental hypogea shed more light on the developing social environment of the city and the developing use of the communal hypogea type. The tombs of Anfushy⁶⁴ are dated to the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, later than those Shatby and Mustafa Kamel, and demonstrate a much more extensive use of Egyptian iconography. They are on the Pharos island rather than in the large necropoleis to the west and east of the city. Of these, Anfushy Tomb 2 stands out, being smaller than both the Mustafa Kamel tombs and the other Anfushy structures; it was not planned with *loculi*, like most other monumental tombs (see **Fig. 3.15**). Given its size and location, it was more likely to have

⁶³ Venit 2002: 26-30; Schmidt 2010: 143

⁶⁴ The Anfushy tombs were principally published in *Annuaire 4*.

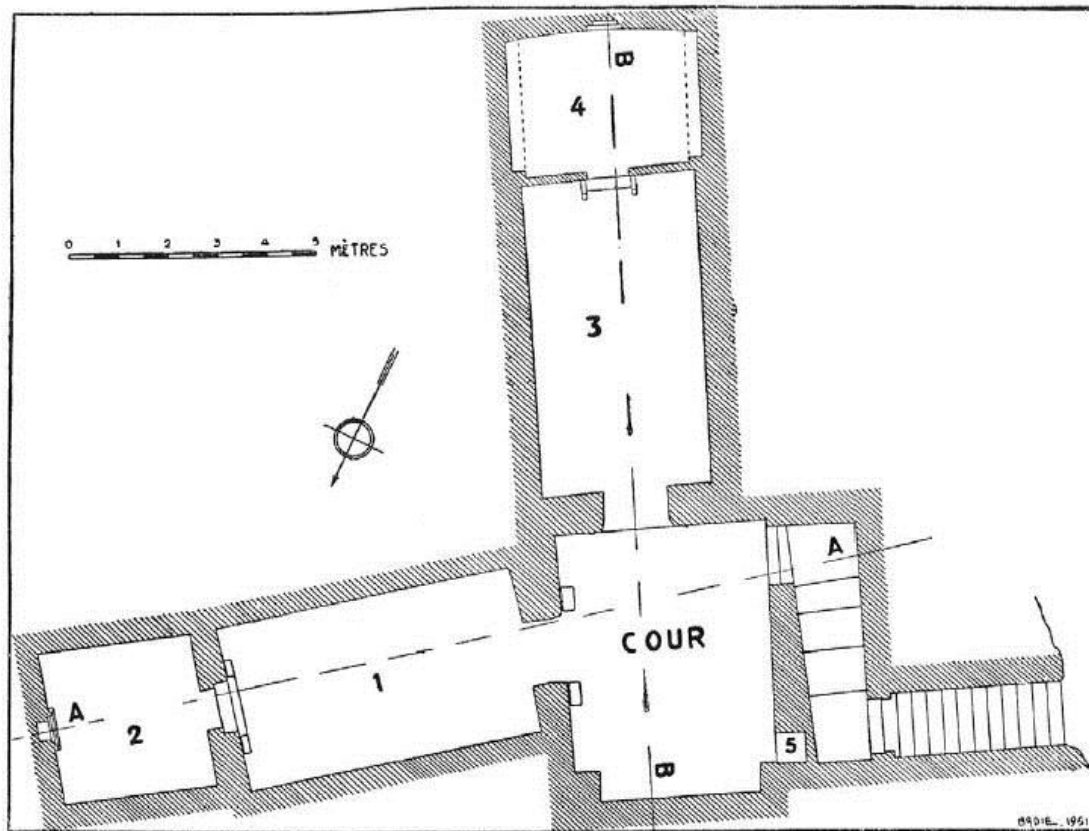


Fig. 3.15- Plan of Anfushy, tomb 2. *Annuaire 4*, fig. 32.

been used by an individual wealthy family, at least initially, rather than by a more broad-based private association. In Mustafa Kamel, Egyptian iconography is not specifically funerary: in Mustafa Kemal 1, the only Egyptian iconography present is a series of sphinxes in main courtyard precedents (see **Fig. 3.16**) – though sphinxes also have clear Greek connotations. In Anfushy Tomb 2, the Egyptian iconography is explicitly funerary and more prominent. One example of this can be seen in **Fig. 3.17**, a wall painting in the entrance stairwell: all visitors to the tomb would without fail see this painting.

That both smaller – but still monumental – tombs and Egyptian iconography appear at the same time among elite funerary practice makes sense. While in the initial period represented by Shatby and Mustafa Kamel family ties had been broken and social



Fig. 3.16 – Sphinxes in the courtyard of Mustafa Kamel, tomb 1. Photo by the author.



Fig. 3.17 –Painting in the entrance of Anfushy tomb 2. Photo by the author.



Fig. 3.18 – Relief in the main tomb of Kom esh-Shoqafa. Photo by the author.

structures were weak, by the time of Anfushy 100 years later there would have been many established families, with members who had been raised in Egypt. Individuals who had been born and raised in Alexandria, regardless of whether their families were of “Greek” or “Egyptian” extraction, would be more familiar with traditional elite Egyptian iconography. Elite taste in funerary art would likely shift in such a context, and so would result in the adoption of Egyptian iconography. By the Roman Period, the use of Egyptian iconography was a widespread elite practice, as can be seen at the massive Kom esh-Shoqafa complex in the main burial chamber (**Fig. 3.18**). Importantly, the large scale, non-family collective tombs continued alongside smaller family ones; Kom esh-Shoqafa, in fact, combines both in a single complex.

Communal hypogea are not indicative of an ethnic distinction in the funerary system in Alexandria. Rather, the initial social circumstances that necessitated collective burial (i.e. an immigrant population with no community-based social ties) resulted in the creation of a permanent new institution – the private association – that became typically Alexandrian, and which influenced funerary practice. Family tombs arose later and existed in parallel with those of associations, which persisted throughout the history of the city. We can thus tie a specific type of funerary monument to the rise of a particular social identity that arose in the social conditions of early Alexandria, and which persisted among the later and more established populace and complemented traditional family structures in the creation of meaningful social ties.

3.4 – Cremation Practices in Alexandria

The study of Hadra vases as “Greek” vases in the art historical sense has led to an implicit characterization of cremation in Alexandria as a “Greek” ethnic marker. But if we are to look for a precedent for cremation practices in Alexandria, it makes the most sense to look to Macedonia specifically rather than Greece as a whole, given the origin of the city’s founders. Macedonian cremation practice is obscure due to publication history, but recent work has made information more available.⁶⁵ During the mid- to late-4th century – immediately prior to Alexander’s campaigns – maybe 7-8% of all burials in Macedonia were cremations. Cremation was not gender specific, with attested examples of both male and female cremation graves. It was also used across the socio-economic spectrum: elaborate royal burials were cremations, but there were also simple primary pit

⁶⁵ A recent article by Guimer-Sorbets and Morizot (2005) has summarized much of this information on Macedonian cremation, and compared it to Alexandrian practices. The information presented here on Macedonian cremation is largely derived from this article.

cremations (i.e. burial on site of cremation), as well as more elaborate secondary cremations (i.e. deposit of cremations in an urn). Cremation burial assemblages were not categorically different from those of inhumations: types of objects were roughly equivalent.⁶⁶ Cremation in Macedonia appears to have been an alternative practice available to all socio-economic levels whose popularity may be related to its use as the exclusive method of body treatment by the Macedonian royal family.

To compare, we can say the following about cremation practice in Alexandria from the discussion of the funerary system:

- 1.) Cremation cannot strictly be tied to a vertical socio-hierarchical distinction. Socio-economic distinctions seem to be made, at least generally, via a combination of the quantity, diversity, and quality of vessel assemblage goods, the inclusion of a specific object (e.g. wreaths), and the elaborateness of a tomb structure, and – perhaps – location in the cemetery. Cremation itself is more expensive than a simple inhumation, but by itself it does not seem to mark a decidedly different socio-economic category.
- 2.) Cremation did not act strictly as a marker for a subset of a certain socio-economic class. Given the variety of ways in which a particular cinerary urn could be interred, cremation itself is not associated with any one specific (horizontal) group. This includes membership in any specific voluntary association or other non-kin associated group – or for, that matter, any kin-based one either. There was no requirement of either inhumation or cremation for inclusion in a communal burial

⁶⁶ Guimer-Sorbets and Morizot 2005: 139

structure, or even in the joint cremation-inhumation *fossa* tombs, which are most probably family graves.

- 3.) Most likely, cremation marks a type of horizontal distinction that cross-cuts the socio-economic spectrum, albeit one whose material manifestation was only available to those who could afford the cremation itself. But most importantly, no matter what the overall socio-economic status of the deceased, the actual cremation rite would have been equally visible across classes.

Alexandrian cremation practice, then, does bear some relation to the practices in Macedonia at the end of the 4th century: assemblages were roughly equivalent across inhumations and cremations, and the practice at least partially cross-cuts the socio-economic spectrum. But this similarity does not make it inherently an “ethnic” marker: the inhumation burials seem to be similar as well, and inhumation is not a distinct marker. That this is the case is emphasized by the fact that we know that the use of cremation was not familial-based (given the examples of mixed cremation/inhumation graves), and was not limited to Greek-speakers: one Hadra vase has a Punic inscription, while another contained the remains of a Galatian woman.⁶⁷

Cremation burial, then, represents an identity available to individuals regardless of group membership and, to a point, socio-economic status. The expense associated with the funeral pyre itself was a limiting factor, but beyond that expense there were many opportunities for elaboration and variation. We know that cremation was used by multiple groups: inscriptions on a number of vases indicate that they belonged to foreign officials

⁶⁷ Alex. 5286, number 131 and Alex. 4565, respectively. in Enklaar’s (1992) catalog. The inscription of the former (in transliteration) reads *Ihm bn ythns[d]*, “(urn) for Hima son of Yathansid” (See also Enklaar 1992: 18). The latter inscription reads Οὔδορις Γαλάτη, “Oudoris, Galatian woman.”

and dignitaries who died in Alexandria,⁶⁸ while the so-called “Soldier’s Tomb” included a number of cinerary urns containing the ashes of mercenaries.⁶⁹ This practice could not have been specific to such small groups however: there are far too many cremation burials for that, and too wide a variety in quality of cremation and quality of vessel.

Taking into account Alexandria’s social context in the late fourth and early third century, we can perhaps get to some potential conclusions about the *meaning* of cremation practice, and whether it is truly “ethnic” in nature. There are four things that must be kept in mind:

- 1.) First of all, cremation was already an available and accepted option for funerary treatment in the Greco-Macedonian tradition, though a minority one.
- 2.) Second, there was a large influx of non-indigenous individuals confronted with an alien cultural tradition, particularly related to funerary customs.
- 3.) The new ruling elite itself came from the non-indigenous tradition.
- 4.) Cremation is, in all ways, the antithesis the funerary treatment and customs from Egyptian cultural tradition, which emphasize above all else the preservation of the body.

Given that cremation seems to cross-cut socio-economic boundaries to at least a certain extent, and does not seem to mark belonging in any particular family or voluntary association, there are two potential conclusions:

⁶⁸ See Enklaar’s catalogue of all inscribed vessels (1992: Appendix A).

⁶⁹ See Enklaar 1992: 78 for a summary of some of these issues. The “Soldier’s Tomb” was first published by Neroutsos (1888).

- 1.) Cremations marks an explicit rejection – that is, *resistance* – to *Egyptian* practices, by taking what was already an accepted Greek practice and making it more prominent and more numerous. In early Alexandria, then, a declaration of difference from the surrounding indigenous milieu was a potentially important identity to broadcast. But it is more an identity of “not-Egyptian” than an identity of “Greek.” That is, “immigrant” versus “indigenous.” This is emphasized by the fact that the groups we know used the practice – mercenaries and foreign officials – are defined precisely by being *non-indigenous*.

- 2.) Cremation also acts as a marker of an allegiance to the new ruling elite. Since the elite was Greco-Macedonian in origin, it makes sense that, among the population of Alexandria, affiliation with the cultural traditions of the new rulers was an important identity to broadcast. Along these lines, there is the distinct possibility that an individual that we would perhaps consider “Egyptian” would be cremated.

The use of cremation in Alexandria was tied to very local socio-cultural circumstances: it was being used by groups to show that they are not indigenous to Egypt. But does this indicate that the practice acts as an “ethnic” marker? Not quite. Cremation seems to indicate the desire of certain groups to state that they are *not Egyptian* rather than saying that they *are Greek*. This may demonstrate the presence of an identity tied to not being a member of an ethnic group, rather a member of one. In fact, a “Greek” identity may not have even been possible in this circumstance: Alexandrians were originally from all over the Eastern Mediterranean, not just the Greek world, and it is doubtful that so heterogeneous a group would find common ground in an adopted ethnic background.

Far more likely this disparate population would find itself defining themselves in opposition to the indigenous group.

That cremation represents a “non-indigenous” identity is supported by the later history of the practice in both Alexandria and elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. By the Roman period in Alexandria, mummification had become more frequent, while cremation does not seem to have been practiced on as large a scale as in the Ptolemaic period.⁷⁰ Production of Hadra Vases seems to end by the late 3rd century BCE,⁷¹ and there does not seem to have been a single category of vessel that replaced them. A reduction in cremations may represent the fact that, by the Roman period, a “non-indigenous” identity was no longer useful because the population was by that time largely *indigenous to Egypt*. Greek immigration seems to cease in the 3rd century BCE;⁷² several generations afterwards, a non-indigenous identity expressed through cremation would have ceased to be useful. However, in Macedonia, there was an enormous spike in the popularity of cremations during the Hellenistic period, representing 40% of burials in some cases.⁷³ Alexandria and Macedonia had definitively diverged with respect to funerary practice.

3.5: Conclusions

The image of Alexandrian funerary practice as one that is essentially “Greek” which becomes progressively “Egyptianized” is an incorrect one. Cremation practice is the only aspect of the funerary system that comes close to being a true ethnic marker, but

⁷⁰ Morris (1992: 53) states that cremation had basically disappeared by the Roman period. Venit (1999: 666) indicates that cremation and inhumation were more common than mummification in Roman period Alexandria, but her reasons for stating so are obscure. Rowe (1942: 37-39) reports finding cinerary urns in Kom esh-Shoqafa, but does not give any specific numbers, though the impression one gets is that they were a distinct minority compared to inhumation graves. However, urns are definitely not as reported for the Roman period.

⁷¹ See Enklaar 1985 for an in depth discussion of the chronology.

⁷² Fisher-Bovet 2011, who also argues for a lower estimate as to the scale of Greek immigration.

⁷³ Guimer-Sorbets and Morizot 2005: 139

it is one that is based on differentiation from the indigenous group rather than commonality amongst the city's population. Such a difference was not inherent to the system: it was dependent on the very specific circumstances of Alexandria's foundation and the particular funerary beliefs of the indigenous Egyptian population, so that the burning of a corpse provided the strongest possible means of demonstrating that a given individual was *not* one of *them*.

It makes much more sense to understand the funerary system of Alexandria as expressions of particularly local identities rather than broad-based ethnic ones. The material manifestation of mortuary variability in Alexandria is grounded in the very specific socio-cultural situation of the city itself. The discussion of cremation practices has demonstrated how the social and cultural circumstances of the city at the time of its founding fostered the use of the practice as a particularly "non-Egyptian" way of burial, which eventually declined in popularity as such an identity ceased to be useful. The use of communal hypogea, on the other hand, was also fostered by the initial social circumstances of the city, but represented a distinction that persisted throughout the city's ancient history.

Chapter 4 – Thebes: Reuse and Repurposing

4.1 – Introduction

Thebes was perhaps the most important religious center in Egypt from the New Kingdom through the Late Period, and is in a sense the paradigmatic “Egyptian” site: Thebes and its necropolis on the west bank of the Nile have yielded a significant part of the corpus of Egyptian material culture, architecture, and literature, and so has shaped our understanding of Egyptian society as a whole. Though its political influence waned after the New Kingdom, as the center of the cult of Amun the site continued to have religious importance, and the city continued to receive royal patronage even in the Ptolemaic period.¹ Nor was Thebes isolated from interactions with immigrant populations: though the difficulties of associating with ethnic origin names and “ethnics” in the papyri have been discussed, there are 849 such “Greeks” attested at Thebes in the documentary record for the Ptolemaic period as a whole, indicating the likely presence in some capacity of an immigrant cultural group.² Though perhaps a backwater politically, Thebes was not an island, isolated from cross-cultural interaction.

However, Thebes’ influence continued to decrease, as the main center of administration in the Nile valley shifted to Ptolemaïs, which was founded by Ptolemy I Soter

¹From the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes, r. 246 – 221 BCE, to Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos, r. 80-51 BCE, there was almost continuous construction at Karnak barring a 16 year period (205-186 BCE) during the great Theban revolt; the majority of significant construction came during the reign of Ptolemy III. The four principal areas of patronage at this time were the temple of Montu, the temple of Khonsu and the adjacent temple of Opet, and the small temple of Ptah. See Porter and Moss 1972 and Blyth 2006.

²Clarysse 1995: 4.

120 km to the north, while shifting trading patterns favored towns like Koptos, which had better access to Red Sea trade routes.³ As the center of a major indigenous Egyptian rebellion against the Ptolemaic dynasty, its loss of power, influence, and population only continued in the latter part of the Ptolemaic period.⁴ With such a history, Thebes, an old Egyptian center of power, is an ideal contrast to newly founded “Greek” Alexandria.

The funerary monuments of the west bank of Thebes are the most intensely studied in Egypt. Egyptologists have directed the majority of their attention towards the monumental rock-cut tombs in the western desert cliffs and the New Kingdom era mortuary temples that dominate the low-desert landscape. The more modest material remains of post-New Kingdom periods have always suffered in comparison with more visually impressive earlier material. Discussions of late material, particularly of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, are usually couched in terms of decline.⁵ By the Ptolemaic period, Thebes was considered to be something of a backwater, incapable of matching its past grandeur, at least with respect to material culture; this is only reinforced by Thebes’ reputation in the Graeco-Roman period as a tourist attraction, as a sort of pharaonic museum.⁶

Despite Thebes’ decline in power and influence, the landscape of western Thebes still saw significant mortuary and ritual activity during the Ptolemaic period; archaeological remains dating to the Ptolemaic period were found in the course of almost all major excavations on the west bank of Thebes. Though recent research has brought much of

³ Riggs 2005: 175-176. See Vandorpe 1995 for an outline of the history of the city in the Ptolemaic and Roman Period.

⁴ See Pestman 1995 for an account of the rebellion.

⁵ This is most clearly seen in H.E. Winlock’s descriptions of three Roman period mummies, called “atrocities of hideousness,” that were only mentioned to provide a contrast to a “charming” mummy dating to the Third Intermediate Period (Winlock 1924: 32-33).

⁶ The most popular attractions were the Colossi of Memnon, the reinterpreted monumental statues of Amenhotep III, and the so-called tomb of Memnon, that of Ramses VI in the Valley of the Kings.

this material into focus,⁷ western Thebes has largely been studied from a textual and documentary rather than archaeological perspective.⁸ For the purposes of studying mortuary practice, the most significant documentary evidence comes from the “archive of the Theban *choachytes*,” which refers to a disparate group of documents concerning hereditary libation priests who worked on the west bank of Thebes. From these texts, the *choachytes* and their major activities can be described in some detail, including their organization, and their role in both pre- and post-funeral activities.

From the available evidence, it is possible to reconstruct with some confidence the outlines of the Ptolemaic period funerary system in Western Thebes. As with Alexandria, it is apparent that the factors which contribute the most to representational variation in the mortuary system are inherently local, and that it is difficult to establish that an overarching “ethnic” identity played a role in structuring the system. Rather than an explicit “Egyptianess,” the most important factor in the structuring of the mortuary system, particularly on the elite level, was the use and re-use of the previously existing mortuary landscape.

As with Alexandria, we are limited in the number of variables that can be comprehensively treated. The mortuary and ritual landscape of Thebes can be reconstructed adequately due to the chronological and geographic breadth of excavated material. Thanks to the *choachyte* archive, we have extensive evidence on pre- and post-funerary activity and their associated costs. Bioarchaeological data is scarce, however, as is concrete evidence on funerary structures and burial assemblages, due to the pharaonic focus

⁷ See Strudwick 2003, in particular, who gathers all available evidence for both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods from a large number of disparate publications. This is the best overview of this material, and this article will be referred to throughout.

⁸ See especially Bataille 1952. Also, recently, Łajtar 2006 on Deir el-Bahri specifically, and Monserrat and Meskell 1997 on Deir el-Medina.

of early excavations and a general neglect of Ptolemaic period material; but we can still identify general patterns. This discussion begins with background on the Ptolemaic period Theban mortuary system and a discussion of the institution of the *choachytes*, before proceeding with the archaeological evidence for specific variables of mortuary practice.

4.2 – Background: Foundations of the Funerary System and the Choachytes

The necropolis of west Thebes is extensive, incorporating a number of discrete areas that had been variously used as cemeteries, locations of mortuary ritual, or both at the same time. During the New Kingdom, the construction of royal mortuary temples and ritual processional ways highly restricted access to the west bank, with burials largely limited to the royal family and the members of the highest aristocracy. Individual monumental tombs were the norm during this period, with significant resources dedicated to elaborate burial assemblages and tomb decoration. The mortuary use of the west bank was largely restricted to the highest elite, with much focus on state-supported mortuary cults.⁹

Beginning in the Third Intermediate Period, there was a definitive shift in funerary practice at Thebes, particularly in how space was allocated and used in the west bank. It is during this period that the first instances are attested of multiple burial and the reuse of previously existing tombs.¹⁰ The mortuary temples were reinterpreted and repurposed, becoming open to large numbers of burials, as at Medinet Habu and the Ramesseum.¹¹ Funerary assemblages became simplified, and expenditure was largely focused on the

⁹ For recent work on the Theban necropolis, see Strudwick and Taylor 2003. On non-elite burials on the West Bank in the early 18th dynasty, see Polz 1995.

¹⁰ See Strudwick 2009-10 for a brief overview of tomb-reuse in the Theban Necropolis.

¹¹ For summaries of the burials in these areas from Dynasty 21-25, see Aston 2009: 237-253 (Ramesseum) and 260-268 (Medinet Habu). On the development of the Theban West Bank overall in this period, see Aston 2003.

decoration and elaboration of the coffin and the mummy itself.¹² This shift towards smaller assemblages, collective burial, and the reuse of tombs and sacred space was permanent. Though there was a brief resurgence in monumental tomb construction during the 26th dynasty, this was short-lived, and the Third Intermediate Period model of practice continued alongside it. By the Ptolemaic period, the patterns characteristic of New Kingdom elite mortuary practice had long passed; the system of practice developed during the Third Intermediate Period would have been the most recent point of reference, and the Ptolemaic system should be seen as developing out of that context.

The archaeological evidence for the Ptolemaic Theban mortuary system is complemented by the extensive documentation of the *choachyte* priests, who were responsible for the maintenance of the Theban necropolis, were heavily involved in both pre- and post-funerary activity, and who possessed legal rights to act as libation priests for mummies on the west bank. This class of funerary priest is not unique to Thebes, though they are best documented in the Theban area.¹³ There are three major groups of choachyte texts from the Theban region: 1.) Persian period papyri,¹⁴ separated by 150 years from the next group; 2.) early Ptolemaic papyri, dating from the late 4th to late 3rd centuries BCE; and 3.) a group of 2nd century papyri.¹⁵ The second group is the focus for this study.

In our documentation, the choachytes are referred to by two names: first as what we translate as *choachyte*, *w3ḥ mw*, and – as is always the case in the Ptolemaic period – “shrine opener of Amenophis in the West of Thebes” (*wn-pr n Jmn-Jpy n pr-jmny n*

¹² See in particular Aston 2009: 393-396 for the development of mortuary practice in Third Intermediate Period Thebes; also, Aston 2009: 397-400, for general developments in Third Intermediate Period burial practice overall.

¹³ *Choachyte* priests are also known from Memphis, and there is no reason to suppose that these types of priests were not active elsewhere (Bataille 1952: 261).

¹⁴ This group of early Demotic papyri has not been well-studied (Pestman 1993: 28).

¹⁵ Pestman 1993: 28

Njw.t)¹⁶, though they still act as a *choachyte* – that is, as a libation priest – when referred to by this title.

The *choachytes* were organized as an association, with their own regulations and having a specific and restricted membership. There is an extant copy of their regulations,¹⁷ set down at a meeting which took place on April 26, 109 BCE. The regulations have little to do with their activities as *choachytes*, but rather with issues of membership and group solidarity. The regulations included the following:

1. Establishing themselves as “the association of Amenophis” (*t3 sw.nt n Jmn-Jpy*)¹⁸
2. Designation of a number of “days of drinking” which the members had to attend. No more than two jars of wine per person were allowed.¹⁹
3. All members were to be present at each other’s embalmment and funeral. Part of the punishment for disobeying the regulations was the absence of other members from one’s funeral.²⁰
4. All members needed to be polite to the *lesonis* (*p3 mr-šn*), their leader; there was a penalty of 5 *deben* for an infraction.²¹
5. If the *lesonis* abused any of the members, he was fined 10 *deben*.²²
6. The son of a choachyte could be introduced into the organization when he was 10 years old.²³

¹⁶ Vleeming 1995: 243

¹⁷ P.Berl.Dem. 3115. Transcription, translation, and commentary in de Cenival 1972: 104-135.

¹⁸ P.Berl.Dem. 3115, column 1, line 1

¹⁹ P.Berl.Dem. 3115, column 2, lines 1-18; restriction to two jars, column 3, line 1

²⁰ P.Berl.Dem. 3115, column 1, line 4; column 3, line 15.

²¹ P.Berl.Dem. 3115, column 3, line 11

²² P.Berl.Dem. 3115, column 3, line 11

²³ P.Berl.Dem. 3115, column 1, line 2

7. Once a son reached 16 years of age, he was required to be a member, or he and his family would be shunned by the other members.²⁴

These rules are consistent with other extant examples of group regulations.²⁵ The rules concerning the induction of new members are of some interest, in that induction into the group was hereditary and – importantly – was enforced. If a father did not introduce his son into the organization, the father would be essentially disbarred from the group. This same document lists all male members of the organization at the time of signing (109 BCE) – only 23 in total. Women could also own rights to mummies, but they were not included in this list. All members of the organization listed in this document belonged to four families (labeled by Pestman A-D), though one family (D) is the result of a second marriage of the patriarch of family “C”.²⁶ From earlier documents, two other families can be identified (E-F), bringing the total of *choachyte* families to at least six;²⁷ all of these families heavily intermarried.

Nearly all funerary activity in the West Bank of Thebes was mediated through this highly exclusive association. Their duties can be broken into the three categories: 1.) the storage and transport of a mummy; 2.) provision of a tomb; 3.) performance of post-funerary libations in perpetuity. The first and third aspects will be dealt with in detail here; the second is treated in the discussion of tomb types in section 4.4.

Transport and storage of bodies was a major concern. Many *choachytes* had in their possession tombs used for the specific purpose of storing mummies awaiting proper

²⁴ P.Berl.Dem. 3115, column 1, lines 3-4

²⁵ Muhs 2001: 3

²⁶ Pestman 1993: 14. For full family trees and prosopographical discussion, see Pestman 1993: 18-32

²⁷ Pestman 1993: 28-32

burial.²⁸ In addition, though they were based on the west bank in Djeme (the town within the mortuary temple of Ramses III, now known as Medinet Habu), the *choachytes* as a group owned a house or “compound”²⁹ on the east bank of the Nile in Thebes proper that was expressly for the storage of mummies waiting for transport to the West Bank.³⁰

After the funeral, the *choachytes* were responsible for making libations (λειτουργία/*šms.w*) to the deceased. The remuneration for these services were called, literally, the “bread of Osiris” (*q n Wsjr*), later *šdy.w* ‘revenues’ and *jhy.w* ‘offerings’, which in Greek was termed as καρπεία, λογεία (both translated as “revenues”) or προσπίπτοντα (profits).³¹ No text actually mentions what the libation service entails; we only have the contracts for the performance of these services.

A typical contract is as follows:

“You will be able to constrain me to act in conformity with every word aforementioned without your being able to attach another *choachyte* to the tomb in question to carry out the cult service (*šms*) for the exalted one *Petenephotes*, except me. My children shall carry out cult service for the children of your children from this day onwards forever. If you yourself fail to act for me in conformity with every word aforementioned, you shall give to me 10 (*deben*) of silver, that is 50 staters, making 10 (*deben*) of silver again.”³²

The *choachyte* obtains exclusive rights in perpetuity to perform the services for a given individual, which are granted to the *choachyte* and his descendants. The person

²⁸ One such tomb is mentioned in P.Phil.Dem. 5, where one *choachyte* sells another a tomb for this specific purpose, stating “I have given to you this tomb in the necropolis of Djeme, in order to place in it your persons awaiting burial.”

²⁹ Pestman 1993: 9

³⁰ Most of our information concerning this house comes from a lawsuit filed against the *choachytes* by a military commander from Ombos named *Hermias* (see P.Tur.Gr. 2147. The documents relating to the case were published in an edition as P.Tor.Choach.), who claimed ownership of the eastern half of the house. That the house on the West Bank was also used for storage of mummies is made clear in the *Hermias* lawsuit, where there is a specific complaint “that they just recently have stored corpses there” (ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὺς ἀπηρεισμένοι τυγχάνουσι ἐνταῦθα). See UPZ 162, Col. 2, line 19.

³¹ Vleeming 1995: 247

³² P.Brit.Mus. IV 2, lines 7-8

who contracted the *choachyte* bound his family to this *choachyte* as well, meaning that his/her children were responsible for paying for these services in perpetuity. Once payment ceased, one would assume that the libations also ceased.³³ Unfortunately, we do not have any mention of how much a *choachyte* was actually paid for these services. The amount was apparently settled in a separate contract, or perhaps even by an oral agreement. The extant contracts involve the rights to perform these libations, and only make references to “the silver” rather than exact amount of remuneration; amounts are often given for the penalty if the contract is broken.

4.3 – Spatial Organization: The Funerary Landscape of Western Thebes

The principal areas Thebes are marked on the map presented in **Fig. 4.1**. Funerary activity seems to have been widely dispersed through the west bank of Thebes during the Ptolemaic period. Activity of some sort for this time has been attested in most of the major areas of western Thebes, in particular Deir el-Medina/Qurnat Marrai, Sheikh abd el-Qurna/el-Khokha, the Assasif – which leads up to Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri – and Dra abu el- Naga.³⁴ Notably these are all areas in which tombs, rather than mortuary temples, predominate. The reuse of mortuary temple space perhaps was not as extensive as in previous periods.

The most extensively used areas tend to be located towards the north of the landscape, in the Qurna/el-Khokha, Assasif, and Dra abu el-Naga area; tombs from this area will be the focus of the rest of this analysis. This does appear to be the only area in which

³³ Vleeming 1995: 246

³⁴ These patterns are not constant: in the Roman period, for instance, the Valley of the Queens becomes a booming necropolis. See Strudwick 2003: 178-180, 182-185.



Fig. 4.1 – Map of the Theban necropolis showing its principal areas. After Strudwick 2003, fig. 8.

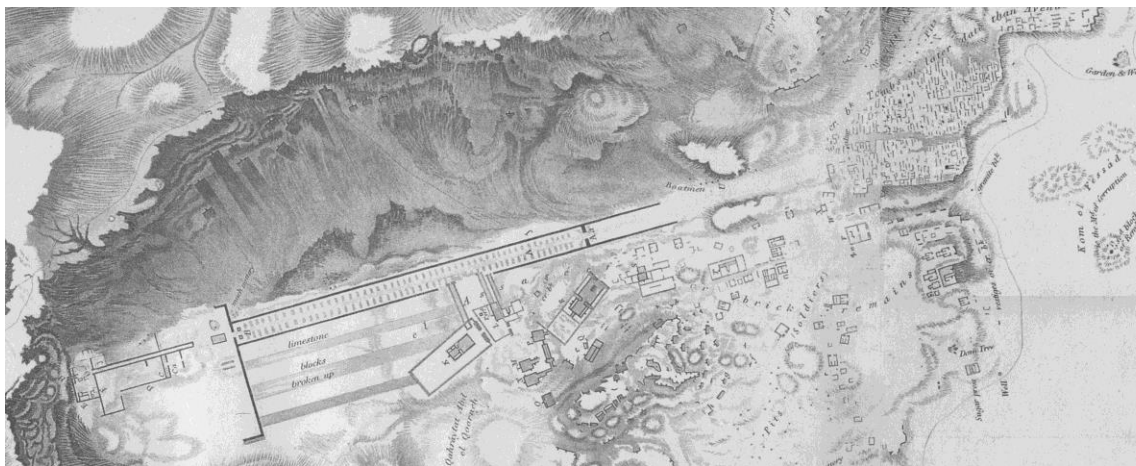


Fig. 4.2 – From Wilkinson's map of western Thebes, showing an extensive area of later period tombs near the beginning of the Assasif.

new tombs were being constructed during the Ptolemaic period, at least on a large scale. While most of these new constructions are now lost, Wilkinson's 1830 map of west Thebes shows an area of "late" tombs at the base of the processional way leading through Assasif up to Deir el-Bahri (**Fig. 4.2**). It is possible that this area was considered of particular importance since the Assasif and the route up to Deir el-Bahri was an important processional route, and since the upper terrace of Deir el-Bahri itself had been dedicated as a temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu around 300 BCE.³⁵ The late tombs on Wilkinson's map, for instance, crowd around the entrance to the processional way. Such an association with these processional routes may have been desirable,³⁶ and may have been a means to express social status.

4.4 – Funerary Structures

There are very few recorded Ptolemaic period funerary structures in western Thebes. This is in part due to the nature of funerary practice itself during the period, which entailed significant reuse of previously existing tombs, which would not necessarily leave archaeological traces; and also due to the focus of early archaeologists on Pharaonic material at the expense of later periods. The large-scale excavations of the late 19th and early 20th century cleared much of western Thebes of post-New Kingdom architecture, most of which was only cursorily documented and published.³⁷ Nevertheless, using the few published material remains and the documentary evidence, a rough schema of variation in tomb structures can be reconstructed. At a base level, Ptolemaic period fu-

³⁵ See Łajtar 2006: 13-15

³⁶ Strudwick 2009-2010: 259

³⁷ The Metropolitan Museum Expedition described clearing "nearly a hundred" Ptolemaic period tombs from the area of Deir el-Bahri and the Assasif (Winlock 1914).

nerary structures can be divided into two broad categories: new mud-brick constructions; and reused tombs, which may or may not be significantly modified.

New Constructions

New Ptolemaic period tomb construction is somewhat obscure: there are references to mud-brick structures dating to the Ptolemaic period in early archaeological reports, and indications of areas of “late tombs” on 19th century maps of the region. The latter can be seen in a section of Wilkinson’s map (again, **Fig. 4.2**). Several recent expeditions have reported mud-brick structures dating to the Ptolemaic period, but they are poorly preserved and difficult to interpret.³⁸ Our best information for Ptolemaic tomb types comes from the excavations of Carter in Dra abu el-Naga and of the Metropolitan Museum in the Assasif and Deir el-Bahri, both of which published basic descriptions and some images of these structures.

The only tomb type that can be identified archaeologically is that of a small mud-brick vault, attested by both expeditions. The Metropolitan Museum expedition reported encountering “a network of mud-brick walls which proved to extend over this entire part of the site [the base of the causeway leading to Deir el-Bahri]” which were determined to be Ptolemaic period tombs dating to about 200 BCE, numbering about 100 in total.³⁹ A “type” tomb was described, shown in **Fig. 4.3**, which consisted of a small subterranean mud-brick vault, approached by a small ramp. There is very little further description of the structure itself. The earlier Carter and Carnarvon expedition reported about forty similar structures in their work at Dra abu el-Naga, shown in **Figs. 4.4** and **4.5**, but de-

³⁸ Budka (2010) discusses all of the post New Kingdom material excavated by the Austrian mission in the 1960s and 1970s, and discusses several examples of these types of tombs.

³⁹ Winlock 1914: 13. More of these tombs were found in the 1915-1916 season (Lythgoe et al. 1917: 8).

scribed them in more detail.⁴⁰ These seem to have been small mud-brick vaults with an associated small vestibule. Potentially the superstructures of these vaults were exposed, as there were traces of painted decoration.⁴¹

These are the only full descriptions of intact Ptolemaic period burial structures on the west bank;⁴² as such, we must be careful in generalizing too much from these brief accounts. However, it might be expected that larger, more monumental mud-brick structures would have been recorded by these expeditions. With about 140 tombs reported in total, all of the vault type, the general impression is that Ptolemaic structures were small, relatively unvaried in form, and perhaps standardized. While this may be in part attributed to a general disinterest in the material, it is also possible that this reflects the situation on the ground. The documentary evidence of the *choachytes* supports this conclusion.



Fig. 4.3 – Ptolemaic period tomb from Winlock’s excavation of the Deir el-Bahri causeway (Winlock 1915: fig. 5)

⁴⁰ Carter and Carnarvon 1912: 42-45

⁴¹ Carter and Carnarvon 1912: 42

⁴² Shaft 2 of Grave 26, excavated by the Austrian mission of the 1960s and 1970s, was identified as belonging to a structure similar to that reported by Winlock and Carter. The context was highly disturbed, with little of the superstructure remaining. See Budka 2010a: 158-161.



Fig. 4.4 – Ptolemaic period structures from the Carter and Carnarvon excavations (1912, Plate 33).



Fig. 4.5 – Ptolemaic period vault from the Carter and Carnarvon excavations (1912, Plate 34.2)

There are references to what seem to be mud-brick tombs in the *choachyte* archive, usually in documents concerning the inheritance or sale of rights to tombs between *choachtyes*. Tombs in these texts are typically referred to by the name of a senior member of the family that owns it, e.g. “the tomb of *NN* and his/her mummies.”⁴³ Though some of the Demotic terms may refer to a cenotaph rather than a true tomb, these terms for “tomb” do seem to relate to corresponding individual physical structures, and not to subdivisions of a larger complex.⁴⁴ In the instances of clear collective burial discussed below, the tomb itself is given a name and the individual families within that tomb then listed. This suggests that those tombs owned by individual families were small constructions, quite different from the reused rock-cut tombs, and hence were probably made of mud-brick.

This conclusion is supported by several documents specifically relating to the provision of tombs to families, either through construction or lease. Four such cases are particularly important here, and the relevant documents need to be discussed in some detail: P.Phil.Dem. 5-6 and 30; P.Brit.Mus.Reich 10240; P.Phil.Dem. 24; P.Brit.Mus. IV, 2. A summary of each document is presented in **Table 4.1**.

From our evidence, it appears that the *choachytes*, and not the deceased’s family, were ultimately responsible not only for the post-funerary activities associated with a given burial, but also providing and even constructing tombs for the families of the deceased. The construction of a tomb is referred to in three of the four cases in the table above (P.Phil.Dem. 5-6, 30; P.Brit.Mus.Reich 10240; P.Brit.Mus. IV). The fourth is the

⁴³ As in P.Brit.Mus. IV 14, ln. 2: “the (burial)-chamber of the exalted one Horos son of Pageber and his mummies; the (burial)-chamber of Taykha, the cultivator of the lotus and her mummies ...”

⁴⁴ See Pestman 1993: 465-468

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Summary</i>
P.Phil.Dem. 5	Nov. 7, 302 BCE	Contract for the construction of two tombs. Paret son of Panofri engages the <i>choachyte</i> Teos son of Pahuris ⁴⁵ for construction; the location is defined. The first tomb is for burial, the second for storage of mummies awaiting burial. ⁴⁶ The <i>choachyte</i> technically owns the tomb, and so agrees that the tomb will be ceded to Paret following the completion of the tomb. Also details the obligations of the <i>choachyte</i> with respect to each tomb: the <i>choachyte</i> can only inter individuals which Paret and his family approves in these tomb, in perpetuity, if this rule is violated, then the <i>choachyte</i> pays a penalty, and has to remove the non-approved individual; Teos' family has exclusive rights to manage these tombs, and if Paret's family decides to hire another <i>choachyte</i> family to manage these tombs, then Paret's family owes a penalty.
P.Phil.Dem. 30 ⁴⁷	Nov. 7, 302 BCE	List of materials and labor for the construction of the tombs in P.Phil.Dem. 5. Includes: 2000 vault-bricks, costing 1 <i>kite</i> of silver in total; 6000 building-bricks, costing 4 <i>kite</i> of silver in total; the cost of labor (e.g. engravers and coppersmiths); cost of chaff for clay; food costs for the laborers.
P.Phil.Dem. 6	Oct. 2, 301 BCE	Formal cession of the tombs from P.Phil.Dem. 5 and 30 to Paret son of Panofri by Taminis, wife of Teos; ⁴⁸ the boundaries are defined. The right of Teo's family to manage these tombs in perpetuity is reaffirmed.

Table 4.1 – Summary of important *choachyte* documents

interesting case of a tomb lease, indicating perhaps that the *choachytes* had extensive property holdings in the Necropolis which could be drawn upon in this type of situation. The actual plots of land sold do vary in size, in our cases 500 versus 200 cubits,⁴⁹ though all plots of land were assessed for tax purposes at a uniform rate (2.5 *kite* = 5 drachmas).⁵⁰ Where construction is referred to in these documents, it seems that *choachytes* were responsible for acquiring building materials and overseeing construction, though

⁴⁵ A family tree of this *choachyte* family is presented by Pestman (1993: 29)

⁴⁶ See Pestman 1993: 439. This is a correction of the original reading in El-Amir 1959.

⁴⁷ This text has never been fully published. El-Amir (1974) describes some of the contents, and den Brinker et al. 2005 published a large number of corrections and readings for this text (pp. 319-320). However, the full contents of the text cannot be discerned at this time.

⁴⁸ She describes herself specifically as his wife in this document. See also Pestman's family tree (1993: 29) for this relationship.

⁴⁹ The sale of land is quite common in *choachyte* documents, though their explicit funerary purpose is not always referred to. See Vleeming 1995: 250.

⁵⁰ Vleeming 1995: 250, 252

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Summary</i>
P.Brit.Mus.Reich 10240	Sept. ?, 227 BCE	Contract for <i>choachyte</i> services. The priest of Amun Pemaus son of Petubast contracts with the <i>choachyte</i> Panofre, son of Esnachomneu, to act as <i>choachyte</i> for a tomb for 99 years. The <i>choachyte</i> had constructed this tomb, and had ceded it to Pemaus. The <i>choachytes</i> family will serve Pemaus' as <i>choachyte</i> for the designated period. If the terms of the contract are violated, then a penalty is paid.
P.Phil.Dem. 24	Oct. 19, 227 BCE	Formal lease of a tomb. Senusy son of Heriew leases a tomb from Teos (grandson of Teos in P.Phil.Dem. 5-6, 30). The boundaries and size of the tomb plot are defined (5 land cubits = 500 square cubits). This plot had been leased by Teos from the priests of Amun. The exclusive rights to management of the tomb are given to Teos in perpetuity.
P.Brit.Mus. IV 2	Feb. 15, 223 BCE	Sale of land, on which a tomb is to be constructed. The <i>choachyte</i> Espmethis son of Panas sells a piece of land to the "Greek" (<i>Wynn</i>) Dionyios, alias Petosiris, son of Ptolemaios. The <i>choachyte</i> declares the sale for a certain amount of silver, and defines the boundaries and size of the plot (2 land cubits = 200 square cubits). The land was purchased originally from "Amun" (i.e. the priesthood of Amun). The <i>choachyte</i> declares that he will build a burial chamber on the land for Petenephotos son of Pais; also agrees explicitly to provide two doors for the tomb. The <i>choachyte</i> is given exclusive rights to manage the tomb, and Dionysios is given ownership and exclusive right of burial; if either of these provisions are violated, there is a penalty.

Table 4.1 (cont.) – Summary of important *choachyte* documents

the family contracting with them was involved and responsible for payment.

The documents P.Phil.Dem. 5, 6, and 30 are the most complete record we have of the process of tomb acquisition in the Theban West Bank. An individual contracted with the *choachyte* for the construction of one or more tombs – in this case, two, though one seems to be for the storage of mummies awaiting final burial. At this time, it is stated that the family will have exclusive rights of burial in the tomb, while the *choachyte* will have exclusive rights of management. The costs of labor and construction were drawn up, presumably with the contracting family shouldering the costs, while the *choachyte* managed

the actual construction.⁵¹ Following the completion of the tombs, they were formally ceded by the *choachyte* to the contracting family, and the rights of access to the tomb were reaffirmed. In the case of P.Phil.Dem. 5 and 6, the total construction time seems to have been just under a year. All aspects of the funerary process seem to be mediated through the *choachytes*, from the purchase of the tomb plot, the construction of the tomb, and the performance of post-funerary rituals. The *choachytes* possessed a monopoly on access to the west bank of Thebes.

These cases, all dating to the early Ptolemaic period, have important archaeological implications. First, these constructions are clearly being conceived of as family vaults: in every contract there is the provision that the individual contracting with the *choachyte* and his descendants held right of burial for that tomb in perpetuity. There is little evidence for the existence of single interment vaults. Second, the monopoly the *choachyte* priesthood held over access and construction in the Theban necropolis can perhaps explain the apparent little variation among archaeologically attested newly constructed tombs for this period. Though there was some variation in plot size in the contracts (which must certainly be reflected on the ground), plots were still generally small.⁵² This restriction in size was partly due to the crowded nature of the necropolis, and partly due to the *choachytes*' need to provide a large number of plots in order to supply a steady income. Since the *choachytes* were sole mediators of access to the necropolis, and had an interest in having a large number of tombs under their control, this placed constraints on the actual level of variation possible for individual families wanting to construct a new

⁵¹ Cf. the case of P.Brit.Mus. IV 2, where the *choachyte* explicitly says that he will provide the doors.

⁵² The 500 square cubits seems to be largest attested plot. One-hundred square cubits are attested in Pap.Lugd.Bat. 26 doc. 53; 200 in O. 'Carnarvon' (n. 32); 200 in O. Louvre 92; 250 in P.Brit.Mus. IV 13; 300 in O. Louvre 314; 366 in O. Louvre 93.

tomb. If the Ptolemaic period mud-brick tombs of western Thebes are all the product of *choachyte*-mediated construction, it is logical that the tombs would be largely standardized, as reported by Carter and Carnarvon. Once one reached the economic status necessary to be buried on the west bank, the *choachytes*' control of activity there limited the possibilities for further elaboration. The lack of monumental tombs of the period may have little to do with the economic means of individuals, but rather with the restrictive nature of the system itself, which acted as a sort of leveling mechanism.

Reuse and Remodeling of Existing Structures

As stated above, extensive re-use of rock-cut tombs began in the Third Intermediate Period and became standard practice. The 26th dynasty saw a brief renaissance in the construction of rock-cut tombs in western Thebes, but this was a short-lived trend. There are no newly constructed, monumental rock-cut tombs dating to the Ptolemaic period or later at Thebes. The reuse and remodeling of existing structures, however, was extensive. Evidence for reuse was encountered by nearly every archaeological expedition, though it often only received a brief mention. At least 75 tombs have some remnant of Graeco-Roman period reuse in the necropolis of Deir el-Medina,⁵³ though only three tombs have definite Ptolemaic period burials.⁵⁴ In the broader Theban necropolis, over 20 tombs have evidence of at least some Ptolemaic period reuse,⁵⁵ and many more into the Roman period. A listing of tombs in west Thebes which exhibit evidence of reuse in the Ptolemaic period are presented in **Appendix B**, with references listed for each tomb. The majority of tombs with extensive Ptolemaic remains are in the Assasif along the processional way

⁵³ Montserrat and Meskell 1997: 84

⁵⁴ Tomb 1126, 1233, and 1346. Montserrat and Meskell 1997: 187.

⁵⁵ Strudwick 2003



Fig. 4.6 – Ptolemaic period inscription and scene in TT 190. Photo by the author.

up to Deir el-Bahri, the adjacent area of Sheikh abd el-Qurna/el-Khokha, and Dra abu el-Naga. Tombs in these areas are the focus of the discussion here.

There are three general categories of re-use or modification: large-scale modification, resulting in an expansion of the usable space of the structure for funerary purposes; small-scale architectural additions, which serve to delineate rather than expand the tomb's space; and non-architectural additions, which have no effect on the spatial nature of the

tomb. The latter category encompasses the addition of new inscriptions or scenes (see **Fig. 4.6** from TT 190 for an example).⁵⁶ The first two are of more concern here. Several of the more well-attested and recorded tombs and the nature of their reuse/remodeling are presented and summarized in **Table 4.2**.

Large-scale modification can be seen in the addition of shafts and secondary chambers, as was the case with nearly all of the examples in **Table 4.2**. TT 32 is a particularly interesting case: the entire lower section of the tomb (Rooms VIII-XV) was occupied and expanded, with four additional chambers being cut (Rooms XI-XIV). Such an

⁵⁶ E.g. TT 190, TT 195, TT 367, TT 380, TT 389. See Strudwick 2003.

<i>Tomb Name/No.</i>	<i>Original Use</i>	<i>Summary of Evidence for Ptolemaic Period</i>
Grave I (Assasif)	Dynasty 11 tomb, altered in Dynasty 17/18 due to the construction of the Tuthmosis III causeway. ⁵⁷	<p>General: Evidence for tomb re-use, construction, and funerary cult.⁵⁸</p> <p>Specific: <i>Cross-hall:</i> A section walled off to create a forecourt with a new mud-plaster surface, with two burials. Burial 1 is a heavily disturbed, gracile, adult individual, with only the pelvis and legs <i>in situ</i>; probably mummified when buried. Burial 2 has only the right foot bones preserved <i>in situ</i>; this was protected by a low mud-brick wall. The burial goods associated with this were not very significant.⁵⁹ See Budka 2010a Abb. 21.</p> <p><i>Burial chamber 2:</i> A newly-cut, small secondary chamber. Dating to the Ptolemaic period is not secure; more generally “Graeco-Roman”. There were the remains of at least four individuals, one of them male. A loculus was also carved in the west wall of the room, used for burial at least by the Roman period.⁶⁰ See Budka 2010a Abb. 18.</p>
Grave V (Assasif)	Dynasty 25 or period immediately before.	See Budka Abb. 25. Passage leading from Grave V to Grave VII was constructed. ⁶¹
Grave VII (Assasif)	Dynasty 25, for <i>Jrw</i> and <i>Hryrw</i> .	Three newly-cut burial chambers (nos. 4-6) ⁶² branching off from a secondary chamber (no. 1) above the original burial chamber (no. 2). Burial chamber four contained five male skulls. These secondary chambers were bricked off, a brick bench built in the cult chamber, and stairs leading out from the secondary chamber (no. 1). Also, cult utensils, basin, ceramic/mud-brick installations, and the bricking up of the shaft in the cult-chamber. ⁶³

Table 4.2 – Summary of tombs with well-recorded evidence for Ptolemaic period reuse.

⁵⁷ Budka 2010a: 85

⁵⁸ Budka 2010a: 96, Tab. 4

⁵⁹ Budka 2010a: 93-94

⁶⁰ Budka 2010a: 95

⁶¹ Budka 2010a: 106

⁶² Only one of these chambers, no. 4, was excavated. The other two were too unstable, and were in danger of collapse. Chamber 4 was described as heavily disturbed (Budka 2010a: 113).

⁶³ Budka 2010a: 111-134

<i>Tomb Name/No.</i>	<i>Original Use</i>	<i>Summary of Evidence for Ptolemaic Period</i>
“Grave IX” (Assasif)	Saite period non-funerary structure, probably an embalming workshop. ⁶⁴	Excavation of two shafts, each with secondary chambers, used for human burial. ⁶⁵ See Budka 2010a, Abb. 35-37.
TT32 (Sheikh abd el-Qurna/el-Khokha)	Dynasty 19 tomb of Djhutymose, steward of Amun.	Four newly-cut side chambers opening from the original burial shaft. These were to accommodate members of the family of Nesmin, dating to the early Ptolemaic period. Also, restoration and alteration of parts of the forecourt to accommodate large numbers of burials, including the remains of extensive mud-brick additions to accommodate individual burials. ⁶⁶
TT37 (Assasif)	Dynasty 25 tomb of Harwa, chief steward of the divine wife of Amun.	Use as offering and burial place. ⁶⁷
TT41 (Sheikh abd el-Qurna/el-Khokha) ⁶⁸	Dyansty 19 tomb of Amenemope	Two newly-cut shafts.
TT157 (Dra abu el-Naga)	Dynasty 19 tomb of Nebwenenef, high priest of Amun.	Newly-cut burial chamber for Ankhefenkhonsu, third prophet of Amun. Potential other burials as well. ⁶⁹

Table 4.2 (cont.) – Summary of tombs with well-recorded evidence for Ptolemaic period reuse.

expansion of a tomb further into the bedrock was no small task, and would have required a significant expenditure of effort. This type of behavior was not unique to the Ptolemaic period: the elite 30th dynasty burial of Wahibre, for example, was in a newly-cut shaft in the Saite period tomb of Ankh-Hor (TT 414).⁷⁰ Most of these structures are reused tombs, though “Grave IX” stands out as an example of a non-funerary structure being converted

⁶⁴ Budka 2010a: 142

⁶⁵ Budka 2010a: 135-142

⁶⁶ Schreiber 2011: 111

⁶⁷ Strudwick 2003: 174. This tomb is currently being excavated by the Italian mission in Luxor, under the direction of F. Tiradritti. There is a forthcoming volume which deals with this tomb in more detail, including physical anthropology reports.

⁶⁸ Assmann 1991.

⁶⁹ Bell 1973: 24

⁷⁰ See Bietak 1982: 159-220.

to a tomb in the Ptolemaic period. This was undoubtedly due to its prime location in the Assasif along the processional route up to Deir el-Bahri.

Smaller-scale construction can be seen in the example of Grave I, where a small mud-plaster floor and mud-brick installation were added for two burials. This type of construction served to delineate the space within the reused tomb, marking off certain areas for discrete burials. Grave I is an early example of this phenomenon. In TT32, there is evidence that by the mid-3rd century BCE the inter-columnar spaces of the forecourt hall (“Room I”) were walled up and small individual graves marked out, some even with vaulted roofs similar to those of the newly constructed mud-brick tombs.⁷¹ This forecourt, characterized as a place for “mass burial”,⁷² was thus not simply a location for the deposit of bodies, but required an extensive outlay of resources to repurpose.

As with newly-built tombs, there is a fair amount of documentary evidence relating to the *choachytes*’ use of existing structures, specifically rock-cut tombs. The reuse of rock-cut tombs can be connected with the “collective” tombs⁷³ described in the *choachyte* documents, called *h.t* (“tomb”) or sometimes *s.t* (“seat”) in Demotic, and which are used by multiple families; other terminology is used to describe mud-brick tombs (e.g. ‘*wj n htp*, “resting place”; *m3* “place”).⁷⁴ At least five tombs are designated as *h.t* in the *choachyte* documents: 1.) *t3 h.t n 3bw-nfr*; 2.) *t3 h.t (n) 3bw-nnf*; 3.) *t3 h.t n Nb-wnn*; 4.) *t3 h.t n Hl3w*; and 5.) *t3 h.t n Hrw3/Hlw3*. Two of these tombs can be identified archaeologically: *t3-h.t-Nb-wnn* is the tomb of the Rameside official Nebwenenef (TT157), called in the Greek papyri Θουαβουνούν; and *t3 h.t n Hrw3/Hlw3* may be the tomb of Harwa (TT37).

⁷¹ Kákosy and Schreiber 2003: 207-208; Schreiber 2011: 124

⁷² Kákosy and Schreiber 2003: 208

⁷³ The term is Pestman’s (1993: 467)

⁷⁴ Pestman has an excursus on this terminology (1993: 465-468)

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Tombs</i>	<i>Summary</i>
P.Brit.Mus. IV 14	Jan. 28, 270 BCE	<i>t3 h.t n Hrw3</i> ⁷⁵	Donation of tombs as a share of an inheritance from the <i>choachyte</i> Snakhomenues son of Parates to his niece, Thabis.
P.Marseille 298+299 ⁷⁶	Dec. 20, 253 BCE	<i>t3 s.t n Hrw3</i>	Sale of liturgies from the <i>choachyte</i> Amenotheres son of Psenamunis to the woman Taminis.
P.Louvre Dem. 3440 Ia+b (P.Choach.Survey 81A) ⁷⁷	Feb. 22, 175 BCE	<i>t3 s.t n Hlw3</i>	Sale and cession of two houses and a number of liturgies from the <i>choachyte</i> Amenotheres son of Psenenteris to his daughter Senchonsis.
P.Berl.Dem. II, 3112 (P.Choach.Survey 81B)	Feb. 22, 175 BCE	<i>t3 s.t n Hlw3</i>	An official copy of P.Louvre Dem. 3440 Ia+b.
P.Bru.x.Dem. 5 (P.Choach.Survey 3)	Jan., 153 BCE	<i>t3 h.t n 3bw-nfr</i>	A list of mummies/liturgical obligations.
Amherst Dem. 60B (P.Choach.Survey 6)	Jan., 153 BCE	<i>t3 h.t n Nb-wnn</i>	A list of mummies/liturgical obligations.
P.Berl.Dem. II, 3119 (P.Choach.Survey 12A)	Dec. 15, 146 BCE	<i>t3 h.t n Nb-wnn</i>	Sale of liturgies (i.e. rights to service mummies) <i>mortis causa</i> by Onnophris the <i>choachyte</i> . One-half of his liturgies are sold to his brother Horos.
P.Lond. I, 3 (P.Choach.Survey 12B = UPZ 2.175a)	Jan. 5, 145 BCE	<i>t3 h.t n Nb-wnn</i>	Greek translation of P.Berl.Dem. 3119.
P.Choach.Survey 13 (Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, 218; tax- payment is UPZ 2.175c)	Dec. 15, 146 BCE/ Jan. 5, 145 BCE	<i>t3 h.t n Nb-wnn</i>	The sale of liturgies <i>mortis causa</i> by Onnophris the <i>choachyte</i> . One-half of his liturgies are sold to his brother Hasos. The agreement is in demotic, but the tax-payment is in Greek.

Table 4.3 – Documents relating to collective tombs

The documents relating to these tombs are presented in **Table 4.3**. These documents also provide lists of families interred in these tombs; these are presented in **Table 4.4**.

Since the documents relating to these tombs have not always been fully published, it is difficult to gain a full sense of how many individuals and families were buried in these tombs, so the number of reconstructed families within a tomb (e.g. for *t3 h.t n 3bw-nfr*) is likely underrepresenting the total. Despite the problems with the data, it does not

⁷⁵ The original reading was *t3 h.t n T3-rw3* (P.Brit.Mus. IV 14, l. 4); see Pestman 1993: 468 for the correction (also *BL* p. 69).

⁷⁶ See Vittmann 1980 for transliteration and translation.

⁷⁷ See Vittmann 1987 for transliteration and translation

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Tombs</i>	<i>Summary</i>
P.Choach.Survey 30 (Amherst Dem. 57) ⁷⁸	December 18, 125 BCE	<i>t3 ḥ.t n 3bw-nnf</i>	Division of liturgies inherited from the <i>choachytes</i> Harsiesis and Teianteus.
P.Berl.Dem. II, 3099 (P.Choach.Survey 34; archival note is UPZ 2.178)	July 9, 124 BCE	<i>t3 ḥ.t n Nb-wnn; t3 ḥ.t n 3bw-nfr; t3 ḥ.t n Ḥl3w</i>	Gift of liturgies from Horos the <i>choachyte</i> and his wife to their son Osoroeris.
P.Berl.Dem. II, 3100 (P.Choach.Survey 35)	July 9, 124 BCE	<i>t3 ḥ.t n Nb-wnn; t3 ḥ.t n 3bw-nfr; t3 ḥ.t n Ḥl3w</i>	Gift of liturgies Horos the <i>choachyte</i> and his wife to their son Nechtmonthes.
P.Choach.Survey 36 (P.Berl.Dem. 5508)	July 9, 124 BCE	<i>t t3 ḥ.t n Nb-wnn; 3 ḥ.t n 3bw-nfr; t3 ḥ.t n Ḥl3w</i>	Gift of liturgies Horos the <i>choachyte</i> and his wife to their son Petemestous.
P.Choach.Survey 49	Feb. 6, 116 BCE	<i>t3 ḥ.t n Nb-wnn; t3 ḥ.t n 3bw-nfr</i>	Agreement regarding the inheritance of the <i>choachyte</i> Horos' sons, due to the early death of his son Petemestous. The liturgies donated to him were divided among the surviving sons.

Table 4.3 (cont.) – Documents relating to collective tombs

appear that single families were appropriating entire tombs. Each of these tombs served for the interment of multiple families, or in the case of *t3 ḥ.t n Ḥrw3*, perhaps also members of associations of craftsmen. Such evidence for the interment of multiple and different kinds of groups accords well with the archaeological data. Tombs were modified with the construction of new chambers, shafts, and sub-divisions within existing structures to accommodate large numbers of people while still maintaining a certain level of spatial differentiation. Unfortunately, the archaeological data on the two physically identified tombs, *t3 ḥ.t n Ḥrw3* and *t3 ḥ.t n Nb-wnn*, are not well published, so a specific investigation of the intersection of the *choachyte* archive and the archaeological data is at present not useful.

⁷⁸ Unpublished except for Pestman's (1993: 118-119) summary.

<i>Tomb</i>	<i>Number of Mummies/Families</i>
<i>t3 h.t n Hr w3/ Hlw3</i>	Indeterminate number of mummies present, but definitely multiple families. There are references to “the burial chamber of Petemestous, son of Esminis, called the tomb of Harwa” ⁷⁹ (P. Andrews 14 l. 4); the burials of “the craftsmen and their people” and “Petenephotos, the priest of Mont” (P. Marseille 298+298, l. 7-8); and simply the “people buried in it” (P.Choach.Survey 81a l. 3, 81b l. 6).
<i>t3 h.t n Hl3w</i>	At least 3 mummies are present in the tomb. No families are reconstructed.
<i>t3 h.t n 3bw-nfr</i> ⁸⁰	At least 17 mummies present in the tomb (see P.Choach.Survey 34-36). One family can be reconstructed: 1.) The descendants of Osoroeris (2)
<i>t3 h.t n Nb-wnn</i> ⁸¹	At least 14 mummies present in the tomb. Several families can be reconstructed: 1.) The descendants of Chapochonsis (2) 2.) The descendants of Spotous (3) 3.) The descendants of Nechtmonthes (6) 4.) The descendants of Horos (3)
<i>t3 h.t n 3bw-nnf</i>	Indeterminate number of mummies present in tomb. Two families can be reconstructed (see P.Choach.Survey 30): 1.) The descendants of Pinuris 2.) The descendants of Osoroeris

Table 4.4 – Summary of the occupants of collective tombs.

4.5 – Burial Assemblages

Due to the near-universally disturbed context of Ptolemaic period burials our evidence for Ptolemaic burial goods can only yield a schematic for what constituted an appropriate burial assemblage. There are three primary reasons for this. The nature of burial in this period is partly at fault: the continuous reuse of tombs from the Third Intermediate Period onward ensured that burial contexts were disturbed with each new interment. In addition, like nearly all tombs in the necropolis, those of the Ptolemaic period were heavily robbed in antiquity. More damaging were the actions of modern looters and early excavators: many tomb contexts were either dispersed to museums (e.g. the Roman period burials of

⁷⁹ The reading in P.Brit.Mus. IV is *Tl3w*; this was corrected in the *Berichtigungsliste* (Den Brinker et al. 2005: 69).

⁸⁰ See Pestman 1993: 449-450

⁸¹ See Pestman 1993: 452-454 for the reconstruction of these families.

the “Soter” family in TT32), or simply cleared away in order to access the older pharaonic remains.

Since it is impossible to compare the contents of intact tombs, our conception of the Ptolemaic burial assemblage in Thebes is based around an assumed ideal “type” derived largely from decontextualized remains. This type of course only applies to elites and must mask much variation. Nothing can be said about non-elite burial practices. The elite type assemblage for the early Ptolemaic period is as follows: 1.) stone sarcophagus; 2.) painted/inscribed set of two wooden outer coffins 3.) a cartonnage mummy casing, with cartonnage mask; 4.) shrouds; 5.) shabtis; 6.) a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette; 7.) a copy of the Book of the Dead; 8.) amulets and jewelry inside the mummy-wrappings, including *hypocephali*.⁸² Ceramic vessels are ubiquitous as well. Bead nets are also common, but are thought to be “middle-class” rather than elite.⁸³ There are definite commonalities between this material and that of the best preserved elite burial of the 30th dynasty (Wahibre in TT 414) and other Late and Persian Period material; this type of assemblage is clearly a development from these earlier periods. The focus, as it had been since the Third Intermediate Period, was on the mummified body itself rather than large, external funerary equipment and non-mortuary specific “daily life” items. The chronological development of burial assemblages is schematic at best, again due to the lack of contextualized burials. There does seem to be a change in coffin types during the 3rd century BCE, shifting from a multiple coffin set to a single cartonnage casing around the wrapped

⁸² See Riggs 2005: 29; and Schreiber 2011, who draws largely on the material found in TT 32.

⁸³ Schreiber 2011: 122

mummy,⁸⁴ and by the end of the Ptolemaic period shabtis and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues fell out of use, and the Book of the Dead had been replaced by other funerary texts.⁸⁵

A reliance solely on this descriptive “type” prevents an investigation of covariance between the burial assemblage and other variables. An assessment of the relationship between tomb structure and burial assemblage, however, is necessary. Though there are no intact burials dating to the Ptolemaic period, we can attempt at least a qualitative assessment of the two variables through an interrogation of several specific contexts that, though disturbed, can provide some insight. The presence of commonalities between assemblages associated with mud-brick tombs and those associated with reused tombs may be meaningful; however, due to mass tomb robbing, the absence of a given object from any of these contexts cannot mean anything.

Table 4.5 summarizes several contexts. Information regarding mud-brick tombs is limited to reports of the Metropolitan Museum and Carter/Carnarvon excavations, which only treat their material in a general sense rather than on a tomb-by-tomb basis. The contexts from reused tombs are more thoroughly recorded. **Table 4.6** records the presence/absence of object types in these contexts by tomb type.

From the available information, there is no definitive difference in the composition of the remains of tomb assemblages from reused tombs and from mud-brick tombs. The presence of so many commonalities, even in such highly fragmentary and disturbed contexts, is a sign that the grammar of the burial assemblage was common to users of both tomb types. This, however, can only be taken so far, as most of the overtly valuable material was certainly removed during various robbing episodes; the absence of an object

⁸⁴ Schreiber 2011: 128-130

⁸⁵ Riggs 2005: 29

<i>Context</i>	<i>Contents</i>
Metropolitan Museum mud-brick vault tombs	<i>Flanking the entrances</i> : two ceramic vessels, in bins; in one example a complete set of “pots, water jugs, and lamps” and nearby a faience cup. <i>In the tombs</i> : large painted ceramic vessels; limestone Canopic jars; painted marble stela. ⁸⁶
Carter/Carnarvon mud-brick vault tombs	Rectangular or anthropoid coffins; elaborate, painted and inscribed mummy cartonnage; faience bowls; small shabti figurines; deity figurines and amulets; painted wood Ba-bird figurines; faience “erotic figures”; beads; ceramic vessels; two examples of copper gilt bowls; lead vessels. ⁸⁷
Grave I (Assasif)	<i>Burial 1, cross-hall installation</i> : ceramic grave goods, and remains of collar, figurines, and faience beads. ⁸⁸ <i>Burial chamber 2</i> : Remains of painted wood sarcophagus fragments, cartonnage fragments, clay shabtis, and ceramics (including Roman-Byzantine amphora fragment). ⁸⁹
Grave V (Assasif)	Two deposits of Ptolemaic-period material in the forecourt, consisting mostly of ceramics, with an amulet and <i>ba</i> -bird statue; also, cartonnage, wood coffin fragments, and scattered parts of mummies. ⁹⁰
Grave VII (Assasif)	<i>Deposit in burial chamber 4</i> : Falcon statuettes (2: Reg. 360, 360a); bowl (Reg. 361a); crown of a Ptah-Sokar Osiris statuette (Reg. 361); Ba-bird statuette (Reg. 367); sarcophagus and shrine fragments, cartonnage, ceramics, wood headrest fragments (K124); sarcophagus fragments and mummy cartonnage, ceramics (1 bowl, 1 cup, 1 painted storage vessel) (K126); ceramics, cartonnage, sarcophagus fragments (K02/31); sarcophagus fragments, fragment of rope, ceramics (K02/71); clay horse figurine (K02/71.1). ⁹¹
“Grave IX” (Assasif)	<i>Room “e” (superstructure)</i> : sandals (reg. 208-209A); falcon statuette (reg. 210); vessel (reg. 207c); ceramics, cartonnage, wing of a scarab, shabtis, vessel lid (K147). <i>Shaft 1</i> : offering table (Stone reg. 563); ceramics, shabtis, faience vessels (K148); <i>Shaft 2</i> : offering tables (Stone reg. 549; 554); ceramics (K144); <i>North room</i> : offering tables (Stone reg. 547-551, 553); stele (Stone reg. 552); relief fragment (Stone reg. 561); door fragment (Stone reg. 562c); ceramics (K143). <i>South room</i> : inscribed stone (Stone reg. 560); offering tables (Stone reg. 555-556); false door fragment (Stone reg. 557); relief fragments (Stone reg. 558-559); door fragments (Stone reg. 562a-b); ceramics (K142-K147C). ⁹²
TT32 “Djehutymose” (Sheikh abd el-Qurna/el-Khokha)	<i>Burial equipment of the Nesmin family</i> : coffin fragments, cartonnage, shrouds, linen amulets, <i>hypocephali</i> , amulets (e.g. <i>djed</i> pillar), Ptah-Sokar Osiris statue fragments, ceramics. ⁹³ <i>From the columned hall</i> : painted cartonnage fragments, papyri fragments of the book of the dead. ⁹⁴
TT157 “Nebwenenef” (Dra abu el-Naga)	<i>Burial of Ankhefenkhonsu</i> : coffin fragments, cartonnage fragments, inscribed mummy wrappings, shabtis and shabti box, beaten electrum. ⁹⁵

Table 4.5: Summary of evidence for Ptolemaic burial assemblages, new and repurposed structures.

⁸⁶ Winlock 1914: 14

⁸⁷ Carter and Carnarvon 1912: 43

⁸⁸ Budka 2010a: 93-94

⁸⁹ Budka 2010a: 95

⁹⁰ Budka 2010a: 103; 105; Tab. 7

⁹¹ Budka 2010a: 123, table 12. The deposit in chamber 4 is the only deposit in a definite Ptolemaic period burial chamber in Grave VII. Other deposits are more decontextualized, though they are similar in material composition. The registry numbers are those given by Budka, and are referred to in her catalog.

⁹² Budka 2010a: 141, table 16. Deposits are presented for the underground, purpose-built funerary structures, and a Ptolemaic period deposit of material from room “e” which is funerary in character.

⁹³ Schreiber 2011

⁹⁴ Kákósy and Schreiber 2003: 208

⁹⁵ Bell 1973: 24

<i>Object Type</i>	<i>Mud-brick Tombs</i>	<i>Reused Tombs</i>
Amulets	No	Yes
Ba-bird figurines	Yes	Yes
Canopic Jars	Yes	No
Cartonnage	Yes	Yes
Ceramics	Yes	Yes
Coffins	Yes	Yes
Figurines	Yes	Yes
Hypocephali	No	Yes
Non-Ceramic Vessel	Yes	No
Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statue	No	Yes
Shabtis	Yes	Yes
Stele	Yes	Yes

Table 4.6: Presence of object types by tomb type among contexts in **Table 4.6**.

cannot be taken as meaningful. And while it seems that the types of objects were standardized, it is impossible to assess differences in quality: there are very few images of the material recovered in the course of the excavation of the mud-brick tombs, and so common types (e.g. coffins) cannot be compared. It would be expected that there would be a range in quality of burial goods. However, given our currently available evidence, we cannot propose that a higher quality assemblage would be associated with a particular tomb type.

4.6 – Body Treatment and Bioarchaeological Data

Proper bioarchaeological data on Ptolemaic western Thebes is scarce,⁹⁶ though there is a schematic body-treatment typology. Bruyère described two categories of mummy in his excavations at Deir el-Medina, termed “black” and “white” mummies,⁹⁷ and the terminology has persisted in the literature. The term “white mummy” refers to elaborately prepared and wrapped mummies. “Black mummy” refers to a body treatment type characterized by extensive use of bitumen and resin, and which has been associated

⁹⁶ For the Roman period, extensive bioarchaeological work has been done on remains from the Valley of the Queens. See in particular Macke et.al. 2002.

⁹⁷ Bruyère 1925: 27.

with Ptolemaic and Roman period-type burials. These two types are in addition to the large number of skeletonized remains attested throughout the necropolis.

The human remains of TT32 (see **Table 4.5** above) have had the fullest physical anthropological treatment of any Ptolemaic context in west Thebes, and so it deserves some in depth treatment here. There were at least 312 adult individuals interred in this tomb complex as a whole; this covers all periods, from New Kingdom through Roman.⁹⁸ The heavily disturbed nature of the tomb made it impossible to confidently assert that any human remains were *in situ*. All burials were placed in three categories: Type 1, “quasi-mummified” bodies, which were wrapped but were not embalmed and so were skeletonized; Type 2, the above-mentioned “white mummies”; and Type 3, “the black mummies.”⁹⁹ In the above sections regarding tomb structures and burial assemblage, it was established that two parts of the tomb were in use during the Ptolemaic period: the large forecourt hall (Room I) and the lower section of the tomb (Rooms VIII-XIV). These were also the sections of the tomb in which the highest concentrations of Type 3 “black mummies” were found, though this does not mean that the “black mummies” are universally Ptolemaic, nor can they be assumed to be the original occupants of the chamber. Despite these issues, it is useful to look at the remains in the four newly-cut, Ptolemaic period chambers in the lower part of the tomb, Rooms XI-XIV. Since these rooms are so deep in the tomb, it is unlikely that tomb robbers would have purposely *added* any material other than that what was originally there; material would have been extracted and

⁹⁸ Fóthi et al. 2010: 87

⁹⁹ Fóthi et al. 2010: 52-54; 88

<i>Room</i>	<i>Age Group</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Room XI</i>	Infans I. (0-6)			3	
	Infans II. (7-14)			1	
	Juvenile (15-19)				
	Adult (20-39)	2	1		3
	Mature (40-59)	3			3
	Senile (60-)				
	Adult (20-x)	4	5	1	9
<i>Room XII</i>	Infans I. (0-6)				
	Infans II. (7-14)				
	Juvenile (15-19)				
	Adult (20-39)		1		1
	Mature (40-59)				
	Senile (60-)				
	Adult (20-x)				
<i>Room XIII</i>	Infans I. (0-6)			2	2
	Infans II. (7-14)				
	Juvenile (15-19)				
	Adult (20-39)		1		1
	Mature (40-59)				
	Senile (60-)				
	Adult (20-x)	1	2	4	7
<i>Total</i>		10	10	11	31

Table 4.7: Age, sex and MNI for Ptolemaic period chambers Rooms XI-XIII. After Fóthi et al. 2010.

brought further up the shaft. Room I, though extensively remodeled in the Ptolemaic period, is almost certainly the most disturbed, as it is nearest to the surface, and the likely area of deposit of human remains removed from the lower parts of the tomb. In essence, we can assume that robbers would tend to bring material up, not down, and thus the human remains in the lowest chambers mostly relate to their original occupants. **Table 4.7** presents the data on the human remains from three of the newly-cut chamber contexts, Rooms XI-XIII, and which have been assigned to the Ptolemaic period.¹⁰⁰ The remains in Room XIV, at the base of the shaft, were mixed together with remains from Room XV, the adjacent and original burial chamber of the tomb, and so both rooms were treated as a single deposit by the excavators. As such, this deposit likely had substantial pre-Ptolemaic remains, and is not included here.

¹⁰⁰ Fóthi 2010: 56

This data yields several conclusions. First, tombs were not gender-specific, with male and female individuals being interred in Rooms XI and XIII. Children seem to be rare, with six individuals attested for Rooms XI and XIII, out of 31 individuals total. The tomb as a whole also seems to have a low number of juveniles present, which may indicate that child-burial was usually dealt with differently, though preservation-bias is also possible.¹⁰¹ Room XI also had at least six Type 3 (“black”) mummies.¹⁰² We can also gain some sense of the crowded nature of these tombs: Room XI held at least 20 different individuals, and probably several more. This, though, is consistent with other nearby collective shaft tombs of the Third Intermediate Period, which seemed to have accommodated 30 individuals each.¹⁰³ Each individual chamber likely had a similar capacity.

4.7 – Synthesis and Conclusion: the Purpose of Repurposing

The evidence for burial practice in Ptolemaic Thebes is at the same time plentiful and scarce: though there is a large amount of material dating to the Ptolemaic period, there are so few intact contexts that it is difficult to speak about it in anything but generalities. The important variables outlined in chapter two cannot really be compared, with the partial exception of funerary structure/effort expenditure and the burial assemblage, though this must also be a roughly qualitative assessment. The *choachyte* archive is a particularly important supplement to the archaeological material, and as a result we have a far better understanding of pre-funerary activity than at any other site in Egypt.

From the above discussion, it was possible to create a rough schema of the funerary system of the Ptolemaic period. Funerary behavior was concentrated in the northern

¹⁰¹ Fóthi et al. 2010: 88

¹⁰² Fóthi et al. 2010: 31-2

¹⁰³ Fóthi et al. 2010: 88

parts of the site, centered in particular on the area around the causeway leading up to Deir el-Bahri. Funerary structures could either be newly-constructed mud-brick tombs or repurposed existing structures, usually rock-cut tombs; the latter seems to have often involved significant modification of the existing structure. There do not seem to be structures built expressly for a single individual. Newly-built tombs were meant as family vaults, while repurposed tombs were subdivided to accommodate different family groups. Smaller structures built within these tombs accommodated single burials, though in the context of a large structure dedicated to collective burial. Bodies were largely mummified, with males and females being buried together in the same structures; space was not gendered, though juveniles may have been treated differently. Burial assemblages, such as they can be determined, contained common elements regardless of the location of burial; it is unclear whether assemblages differed on the basis of gender, or how the “quality” of an assemblage may have varied. There was much continuity with modes of funerary practice established by the Third Intermediate Period.

The available evidence is too fragmentary to determine whether there was any explicitly ethnic component to the mortuary system. Identities that cross-cut the social hierarchy are hard to identify without discrete, contextualized burials to refer to. The absence of such an “ethnic” component is not a given: Greeks were living in the area of Thebes, and though names cannot be taken by themselves to indicate ethnicity, *choachyte* documents contain multiple Greek names,¹⁰⁴ sometimes with the appellation “the Greek” (*Wynn*),¹⁰⁵ suggesting that individuals considered to be of Greek legal status by the Ptolemaic state were participating in the funerary system. There was thus opportunity for

¹⁰⁴ E.g. Dionysios, in P.Brit.Mus. IV 2, and Dionysodoros in P. Berlin Dem. 3112.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. P.Brit.Mus. IV 2

ethnic differentiation in practice. But with the problems of the data in mind, there is certainly nothing in the archaeological record that suggests locally situate, discrete, and obvious “Egyptian” ways of burial at the site in opposition to “Greek” practices.

In fact, what is striking is the *lack* of variation in the funerary system. Assemblages were standardized, mummification near-universal, and even the design of tomb-structures appears to be uniform. The reason for such extensive commonalities can be placed, partly, with the *choachytes*. The libation priests seem to have been the sole intermediary for funerary behavior on the west bank of Thebes, from the preparation of individual bodies, to transport and interment, to the construction of the tomb itself. A monopoly on access to the necropolis like this would act as a leveling mechanism, limiting the possibilities for variation in funerary behavior, and would also encourage the practice of collective, family burial. The only substantive differences appear to be in the choice of burial structure, namely whether to repurpose an existing tomb or construct a new one. In such a restrictive system, mediated by the *choachytes*, individuals would not have had the opportunity to express ethnic identity: Greeks and other non-Egyptians wishing to be buried in the Theban necropolis would have needed to participate in the existing funerary system.

The phenomenon of tomb-reuse has sometimes been presented as the result of economic circumstance: Theban elites simply did not have the resources to construct new rock-cut tombs in the mode of New Kingdom nobles.¹⁰⁶ This hypothesis assumes that Theban elites would have constructed new rock-cut tombs had they the means to do so. Though it is true that royal patronage for individual tombs was likely no longer pre-

¹⁰⁶ See e.g. Vleeming 1995: 259 .

sent,¹⁰⁷ this hypothesis overall echoes the narrative of “decline” applied to the later periods of ancient Egyptian history. By the Ptolemaic period, the construction of new rock-cut tombs would have been unheard of: the last monumental tombs of this type were constructed several hundred years prior during the 26th dynasty. And those tombs were an anomaly: reuse of ritual and mortuary space on the west bank of Thebes had begun by the Third Intermediate Period, and thus the reuse of tombs would have been normative practice by the Ptolemaic period. If elites did possess resources to construct new rock-cut tombs, it is not necessary that they would have done so.

This can be seen through a closer look at the well-recorded reused tomb TT32, which has been discussed extensively above. A group of burials in the newly-cut chambers in the lower part of the tomb have been identified as those of the family of Nesmin, which include a number of known individuals who acted in an official capacity in the Theban area. Nesmin and his brother Hornofer were scribes, the latter advancing to the rank of Royal Scribe in addition to acting as Prophet as Khonsu.¹⁰⁸ These individuals were clearly involved in at least the local administration and, judging by their burial equipment (see **Table 4.5** above), were quite wealthy. It can plausibly be argued that the construction of the four new chambers in the lower part of TT32 is associated with the occupation of the tomb by this family.

That new chambers were cut in TT32, and elsewhere for that matter, is significant. The Nesmin family was not simply occupying an already existing space, but expanding it and demonstrating a certain respect to the burials already present.¹⁰⁹ Either the

¹⁰⁷ Strudwick 2009-2010: 258. Strudwick notes, however, that the role of royal patronage in earlier periods is not that well understood.

¹⁰⁸ Schreiber 2011: 109-110.

¹⁰⁹ Schreiber 2011: 111

Nesmin family or other early Ptolemaic period users of TT 32 also took control of the upper parts of the tomb, altering and restoring certain parts of the cult chambers and inner forecourts.¹¹⁰ This indicates not only that the families in control of the tomb respected the physical integrity of the original structure of TT 32, but understood the original function of the upper cult areas and intended to use them accordingly.¹¹¹

Rather than a cost-cutting measure, the reuse of a tomb can be seen as an active choice to associate oneself with the sacred space of the existing Theban funerary landscape. Resources may not have been at issue. The Nesmin family had the means to pay for the excavation of four new chambers in TT32, and very possibly other additions and restorations to the more public upper regions of the tomb. This was not a trivial outlay, and must have been at least equivalent in effort expended on a newly constructed mud-brick tomb. The nature of reuse also suggests a knowledge of and respect for earlier tomb occupants. This can also be seen in the *choachyte* documents, where reused tombs are still identified as a whole by the name of their original occupants, rather than solely by the names of the more recent interments. The Ptolemaic Theban elite were actively engaging with and respecting the landscape, rather than violating it out of economic penury.

The reuse of earlier rock-cut tombs makes sense without assuming economic poverty on the part of local elites. In part, the tombs themselves were sacred space in their capacity as tombs, and would have been considered useful tools for the deceased to get to the afterlife, whoever the original owner.¹¹² However, reuse also makes sense in the context of the socio-political climate of Thebes in the Third Intermediate, Late, and early Ptolemaic periods. Thebes' formerly expansive political and cultural influence waned

¹¹⁰ Schreiber 2011: 111

¹¹¹ Schreiber (2011: 111) convincingly argues this case.

¹¹² Strudwick 2009-2010: 259-260

throughout the first millennium BCE, culminating in the foundation of Ptolemaïs to the north as a new center of power in the region. Local elites would have been keen to associate themselves with the visible monuments of the Thebes' period of political and cultural ascendancy. Particularly in the Ptolemaic period, then, it may have been considered to be more prestigious to be buried in an already existing tomb, rather than construct a new one, as this associated one's family directly with Thebes' more illustrious past. The reuse and repurposing of rock-cut tombs was a prestigious act, given meaning by the specific circumstances of the Theban cultural milieu.

The funerary system in Thebes appears to have been structured, first, by the institution of the *choachytes* in their role as sole intermediary for funerary behavior on the west bank; and second, by the Theban elite's interaction with the existing funerary landscape of west Thebes. The *choachytes* monopoly acted as a leveling mechanism, limiting the range of funerary behavior to those who had the means to access the necropolis. The existing landscape presented opportunities for local elites to associate themselves with a highly visible past, asserting their continued relevance in response to lost political and cultural influence. The reuse of rock-cut tombs is the most obvious manifestation of this, though the location of new mud-brick tombs along an important processional route also demonstrates this need to be associated the older parts of the funerary landscape. In contrast to Alexandria, where funerary practices were developing and changing due to the formation of new social ties, Theban elites were asserting that their own status was deeply rooted in Thebes' past.

Chapter 5 – Abydos: Landscape and Identity

5.1: Introduction

Abydos is one of the most important cemetery sites in Egypt, steeped in indigenous Egyptian tradition as the burial site of the first kings of state-level Egypt, as the site of multiple cemeteries in near constant use for 3500 years, and as a major cult center to the god of the dead, Osiris. In the previous chapter, I argued that mortuary variability in Thebes was primarily grounded in the local social and historical circumstances of the site. Abydos presents an opportunity for comparison: at a site that is similar to Thebes with respect to its ritual and religious importance, we can observe if the mortuary variability at Abydos in the Ptolemaic period demonstrates a similar level of localism and interaction with the existing mortuary landscape, and whether an ethnic identity would be explicitly expressed.

Similar to the status of scholarship on the west bank of Thebes, there has been comparatively little research focused specifically on the later use of the site of Abydos. The importance of this site for the study of early Egyptian history and state-formation led early research to be skewed towards the earlier periods, particularly the Early Dynastic, while more recent research expanded this focus to the Old through New Kingdoms as well.¹ This intense focus on early periods at Abydos has led to an understanding of Aby-

¹ For recent work on the Early Dynastic period, see e.g. the work of the Dreyer (1998) and O'Connor (1989). On the Old Kingdom cemeteries, see Richards 2002 and 2007; for the Middle Kingdom, see e.g. Richards 2005, Wegner 2007. For New Kingdom material, see Harvey 1998, Pouls Wegner 2002.

dos as primarily an important pharaonic site. The post-New Kingdom periods of Abydos, especially the Ptolemaic and Roman, remain obscure in contrast, though together these periods constitute nearly one half of Abydos' period of use as an active cemetery.

However, both textual evidence and recent archaeological work at the site provide some sense of Abydos' importance during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, and by all accounts Abydos was still an important site. By the Ptolemaic period, Abydos had long considered one of the supposed burial places of Osiris himself: in the Middle Kingdom, the tomb of the first dynasty pharaoh Djer had taken on the role of the god's tomb, embedded in a vast ritual and processional landscape focused on this structure.² Recent excavations by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) around the tomb of Djer have demonstrated a continuation of votive activity at the site through the Roman period,³ and Graeco-Roman period material was noted by earlier excavators as well.⁴ Recent finds of Ptolemaic period votive offerings indicate continued veneration of pharaonic structures in addition to the tomb of Osiris itself.⁵ At some point, the primary processional way was opened to funerary activity, and by the Roman period,⁶ the *wadi* was filled in with tombs, indicating a drastic reorientation of the ritual landscape.

² This equivalency began by the Middle Kingdom, with the "tomb" of Osiris referred to as *pqr*. Schäfer (1904: 26-29) first identified *pqr* as Umm el-Qa'ab. This is demonstrated archaeologically by the numerous Middle Kingdom and later votive artifacts and structures found in and around Djer's tomb (see Dreyer et al. 2000: 118; also, Effland 2006a for a summary of the Middle Kingdom and later finds of the DAI excavations at Umm el-Qaab, which have been ongoing since 1977), as well as epigraphic evidence attesting to elaborate processions and rituals which eventually encompassed a large part of the Abydos funerary landscape. For the latter, see in particular the Middle Kingdom stele of Ikhernofret (Berlin Museum 1204, translation in Lichtheim 2006:123-125) dating to the reign of Senwosret III, which describes some aspects of the ritual procession. For aspects of the procession in the New Kingdom, see Eaton 2006. For an overview of Abydos in general, see Kemp 1975, and O'Connor 2009.

³ U. Effland 2006; Budka 2010b: 58; U. Effland et al. 2010

⁴ See e.g. Petrie 1902 and 1903; Peet and Loat 1913; Peet 1914; Naville 1914; Abdalla 1992

⁵ Pouls-Wegner 2011.

⁶ See the discussion of Garstang's cemetery below.

Multiple classical authors refer to Abydos' importance to the cult of Osiris.⁷ Plutarch named it as one of the claimed burial places of the god, and noted that:

the wealthiest and most powerful of the Egyptians aspire very much to be buried in Abydos, to be buried together with the body of Osiris.⁸

It is not certain whether Plutarch's comments about the desires of the Egyptian elite can be taken literally, but it is unlikely that Abydos was a burial place of Egypt-wide importance for the elite in this period. More likely is that Plutarch was echoing a consistent theme in Egyptian funerary art and literature, the metaphorical "journey to Abydos," which continues throughout the Graeco-Roman period.⁹

The continued importance of Osiris at Abydos during this period is exemplified by a contemporary interest in the Osiris Temple of Seti I, known to some Greeks as the "Memnonion."¹⁰ Graffiti in Greek, Aramaic, Phoenician, and the Cypriot attest to the importance of the temple as a pilgrimage site since the 6th century BCE; and as an oracle, first associated with Serapis and then Bes, in use from at least the Hellenistic period

⁷ See Strabo 17.42-44, who describes the temple of Seti I as a "Memnonion". However, he does attest to the importance of the site to Osiris, and who remarks that the city was once nearly as great as Thebes, but is now only a small settlement. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 5.11) also notes both associations, describing Abydos as "the royal residence of Memnon (*Memnonis regia*) where there is a famous temple of Osiris.

⁸ "ἔν τ' Ἀβύδῳ τοῦς εὐδαίμονας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ δυνατοὺς μάλιστα θάπτεσθαι φιλοτιμουμένους ὁμοτάφους εἶναι τοῦ σώματος Ὀσίριδος. (Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride* 359A8-B2)

⁹ This journey was a common trope in tomb reliefs and texts from the Middle Kingdom onwards. See Altenmüller 1975 for an overview of this phenomenon and references to individual tombs. For the Graeco-Roman period the importance of Abydos is apparent in contemporary funerary texts, including the still-popular Book of the Dead (see Allen 1974: 5-6, Spell 1), and in later texts such as the Embalming Ritual (Smith 2009: 215-244, Text 11), and the Liturgy of the Opening of the Mouth for Breathing (Smith 2009: 349-366, Text 16). The former referred to the equipping of an individual with a tomb in the necropolis of Abydos (Smith 2009, Text 11, 5/1), and the latter to the journey "upstream to Abydos." Both these texts date to the first century CE (Smith 2009: 215; 349), but they had earlier precedents. Inscriptions on funerary equipment also contained this reference, as on the mummy mask of Hierax son of Sarapion from Meir in Middle Egypt, now in the Cairo Museum: "Hail, Osiris ... justified, son of Hor, Anubis comes, who cries out the victory call against his brother, whom he came for on the day of your burial. He brings to you two vessels with unguents, from the hands of the god Shesemu, ... , to anoint your body. May you sail downstream to Busiris, and may you sail upstream to the nome of Abydos, when its resident (i.e. Osiris) celebrates the festival of Sokar." (Quoted in Riggs 2005: 273, object no. 56). The reference to Busiris and Abydos is similar to that in the Liturgy of the Opening of the Mouth.

¹⁰ Much of the Greek graffiti is published in Perdrizet and Lefebvre 1919. See also Rutherford 2003 for an analysis of this epigraphic evidence. See also, again, Strabo 14.42 and Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 5.11.

through Late Antiquity.¹¹ The visitors appear to be largely from Upper Egypt: when indicated in a graffito, the geographical origin of the visitors tended to be from areas relatively nearby, such as the Thebaid.¹² Egyptian language graffiti, in contrast, is concentrated in the so-called “Osireion”, the cenotaph that is part of the Seti I complex behind the temple proper, towards the cliffs.¹³

The prominence of the Greek language among the Seti I temple graffiti is notable. Greek inscriptions from this period also appear on thirty-two grave stelae excavated by John Garstang in the early 20th century that are now spread among museums in Cairo, Dublin, England, and the United States; these are in addition to stelae with hieroglyphic and demotic inscriptions.¹⁴ This is not conclusive evidence that those of Greek ethnic identity found the site important; there is, again, no direct equivalence between language-use and ethnic identity. As both language and mortuary practice are potential avenues for the expression of an ethnic identity, the use of Greek language needs to be understood in the context of the Abydos funerary landscape.

Ptolemaic mortuary behavior at Abydos has never been the intended focus of a controlled archaeological excavation, though material has inevitably been found in the

¹¹ See Rutherford 2003 for an overview of the various oracles. The Bes oracle continued into the 4th century CE, and is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (19.12.3): “There is a town, Abydos, located in the remotest part of the Thebaid. Here once an oracle of a local god called Besa laid out the future, being accustomed to be worshipped with the ancient ceremonies of the surrounding regions” [*Oppidum est Abydum in Thebaidis partis situm extreme. His Besae dei localiter appellati, oraculum quondam future pandebat, priscis circumiacentium regionum caerimoniis solitum coli.*]. See also Frankfurter 1998: 128-131.

¹² Rutherford 2003: 181-182. But the appeal was not solely local, given that a number of graffiti are of visitors originating quite some distance from Abydos, including in the Roman period victorious athletes who had participated in the Olympic and Pythian games. See Rutherford 2003: 180. A. Effland 2012 provides a comprehensive look at the phenomenon the visitation of athletes to the temple.

¹³ Rutherford 2003: 186; Frankfort 1933.

¹⁴ Published by Abdalla (1992). For overall analysis of Greek inscriptions, see pp. 119-121. Among the 144 stelae excavated by Garstang, 28 have only a Greek inscription, four have a Greek and Demotic or Greek and Hieroglyphic inscription, 34 have a Demotic inscription only, and three have a hieroglyphic inscription only; 75 stelae are un-inscribed. For another recent treatment of a Roman period stele with a Greek inscription, possibly from Abydos, see Koemoth 2001.

course of previous excavations. To help rectify this situation, in 2011 and 2012 the Abydos Middle Cemetery (AMC) project focused its attentions on a portion of the Abydos landscape that was primarily Ptolemaic. By integrating these results with the chance findings of earlier excavations as well as some other, more recent focused work, we can begin to understand the nature of mortuary variability at later Abydos.

Due to the often highly disturbed nature of the burials at Abydos, analysis must be more qualitative than quantitative. Bioarchaeological data are minimal, due to the almost universal use of mummification as a body treatment and the difficulties mummification poses for osteological analysis. Remains of grave goods are extensive, but intact contextualized burial assemblages are extremely rare. Evidence for effort expenditure is largely restricted to the size and type of burial structure, along with some aspects of the burial assemblage when one can be identified. The evidence for spatial organization and development at Ptolemaic Abydos is by far the most extensive category of relevant data.

This analysis primarily draws on evidence from the recent AMC excavations, though some material from earlier excavations can be incorporated. I will first address the overall funerary landscape, identifying major areas of Ptolemaic funerary activity. I then proceed to the other variables, starting with bioarchaeological information, moving to effort expenditure and burial assemblage, and concluding with the spatial organization of the excavated portions of the cemetery. A synthesis and analysis follows.

5.2: The Ptolemaic Funerary Landscape

Abydos can be conceived of as consisting of three separate zones: North Abydos, South Abydos, and Umm el-Qa'ab. North Abydos is further subdivided into the North and Middle Cemeteries. Dividing the North cemetery from the Middle and running up to

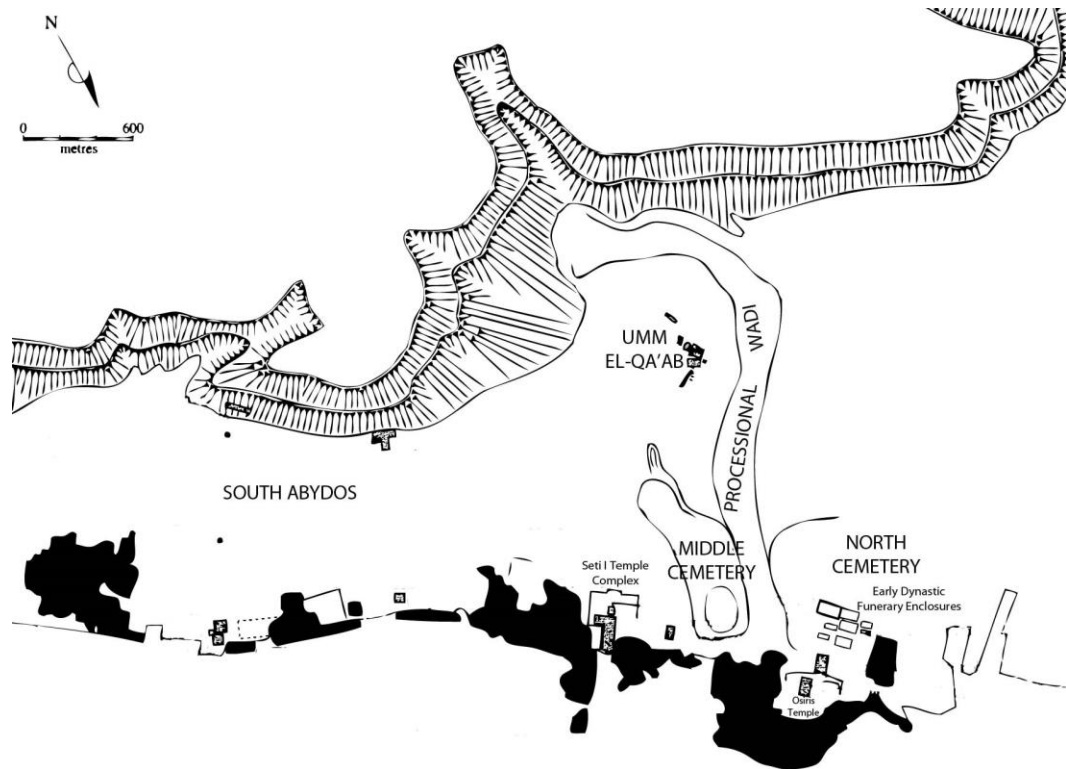


Fig. 5.1 – Labeled map of the Abydos area. After O'Connor 2009, fig. 3.

Umm el-Qa'ab is “the processional *wadi*” (see **Fig. 5.1**, an overall map of the Abydos area). The Middle Cemetery served as a burial ground for the residents of the town during the Predynastic period, with activity falling off during the Early Dynastic,¹⁵ only to resume in the Late Old Kingdom as a center of burial for the elite. Umm el-Qa'ab is the location of the tombs of the pharaohs of the Early Dynastic period (currently under excavation by the DAI); as stated above, this area was later a focus of religious and votive activity, since the tomb of Djer had been reinterpreted as the cenotaph of Osiris by the Middle Kingdom.¹⁶ The desert plateau of the North Cemetery includes the funerary enclosures associated with the Early Dynastic burials at Umm el-Qa'ab, and also served as a burial ground for the local population during the Predynastic period, as well as the Middle Kingdom and after. The principal burials of the New Kingdom were in an areas

¹⁵ Richards 2005: 130.

¹⁶ Richards 2005: 131. See again n. 2 above.

south of the major New Kingdom temples, the Osiris Temple and Osireion of Seti I and the smaller temple of Ramses II. Reuse and recycling of older tombs began in earnest during the New Kingdom, while the Third Intermediate Period marks the beginning of serious intrusive burials throughout the site.¹⁷ Mortuary activity continued through the Graeco-Roman period, entailing both tomb reuse and new constructions.¹⁸

Data on Post-New Kingdom-period human mortuary material is spread across numerous excavation reports.¹⁹ The ongoing mission of the IFA and Brown University in North Abydos has recently discovered important Ptolemaic period remains, including a large family tomb, settlement site, and a monumental hypogeum dedicated to mummified ibises.²⁰ However, nearly all excavations prior to the current American and German missions were inadequately published. These include the initial excavations by Mariette and his successor at the site Amélineau (excavations beginning in 1858, to the final publication of Amélineau's work in 1905), which are mostly responsible for the ravaged state of the site today.²¹ Petrie began working at Abydos in 1899,²² and brought more systematic archaeological techniques and recording to the site; he was followed by Garstang²³, Mace and Randall MacIver²⁴, Naville²⁵, Peet²⁶, and Frankfort.²⁷ A full reconstruction of the his-

¹⁷ See e.g. Pouls Wegner 2007 for intrusive Third Intermediate Period burials. The practice was common throughout Egypt from this period onward. See Chapter 4 for an analysis of the phenomenon at Thebes. See also Aston 2009: 141-152 for the published Third Intermediate Period burial assemblages from Abydos.

¹⁸ Richards 2005: 131

¹⁹ Some synthesized work has been done on the Late and Ptolemaic-Roman period animal burials at the site. See Ikram 2007. For the Third Intermediate Period, see again Aston 2009: 141-152.

²⁰ The final results of these excavations are as of yet unpublished (M. Adams and L. Bestock, personal communication). For a summary of the 2008-2009 season of Brown University's expedition, during which the Ptolemaic family tomb was excavated, see <http://proteus.brown.edu/abydos/8787>.

²¹ Mariette 1869, 1880a, 1880b. Amélineau 1899-1905.

²² Petrie 1902, 1903.

²³ Garstang 1900, 1909. Also see Abdalla 1992.

²⁴ Radall MacIver and Mace 1902.

²⁵ Naville 1914

²⁶ Peet and Loat 1913, Peet 1914.

²⁷ Frankfort 1930.

tory of these early Abydos excavations is not needed here, as it has been done adequately elsewhere.²⁸ Nearly all of the early excavations recorded Ptolemaic material, though it was never described in any great detail.

Three “cemeteries” (i.e. excavation areas) seem to have been particularly rich in Ptolemaic material, all in the general area of the Middle Cemetery, and which are the focus of discussion in this work: Petrie’s cemetery “G”; Peet’s cemetery “E”; and the cemetery excavated by Garstang in the first half of his 1907 season, in which the above mentioned funerary stelae were found. The approximate location of Cemetery G is known from Petrie’s brief description:

The cemetery G was only worked as proved desirable in intervals of other work and to give employment to workmen between other enterprises. Lying close behind our huts, and with scarcely any small objects of value casually found in it, such a place was an ideal resort whenever men could not be kept on elsewhere. I should hardly have worked it for its own sake alone; but as a stop-gap it proved very convenient, and fairly desirable.²⁹

Petrie places cemetery G behind “our huts”, referring to the dig house. This structure was identified in a magnetometric survey of the Middle Cemetery (see **Fig. 5.2**), which places cemetery G where the *Wadi* meets the edge of the Middle Cemetery.³⁰

²⁸ Kemp and Merrilees 1980; Snape 1986; Richards 2005. None of these early missions included a map locating their work within the wider Abydos landscape. The locations of their work have been reconstructed by Kemp and Merrilees (1980) and Snape (1986), neither of whom covers the same ground completely. See also Porter and Moss 1960.

²⁹ Petrie 1902: 1

³⁰ This work was carried out by Tomasz Herbich and a team from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences for the University of Michigan’s Abydos Middle Cemetery Project.

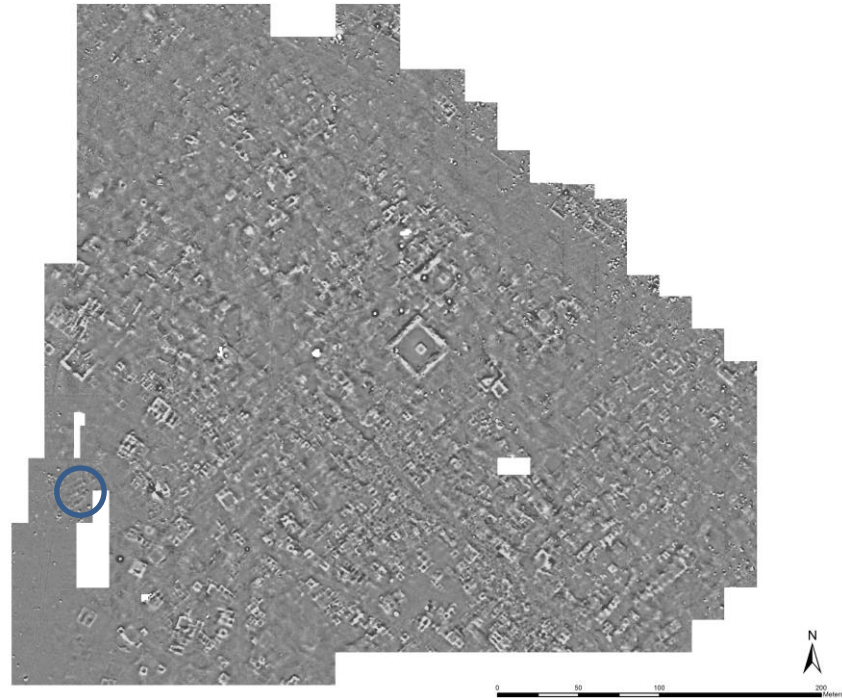


Fig. 5.2 – Magnetometric survey of the Abydos Middle Cemetery. Credit to Tomasz Herbich for the AMC project. Location of Petrie’s dig house is circled.

Though apparently in use for nearly the entirety of the cemetery’s history, Petrie thought that the “principal use of this region [cemetery G] was from the XXVIth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic age.”³¹ However, in his full descriptions of the tombs he is often unclear as to the date. Petrie mentions some Ptolemaic material in his introduction, but does not elaborate. In the main part of his description, he states that most of the tombs are dated to “about the XXXth dynasty.”³² It is unclear what Petrie’s basis was for this attribution, saying only that “attribution of them to earlier ages is impossible.”³³

Peet’s Cemetery “E”³⁴ lies “on the low mounds immediately to the south of the dry watercourse which divides the site into two halves,”³⁵ i.e. the processional *wadi* on

³¹ Petrie 1902: 34

³² Petrie 1902: 37

³³ Petrie 1902: 37. The chronology of finds from later period Abydos is a difficult issue. The reasons for attribution to particular periods by the early excavators are obscure, and many undoubtedly incorrect. See Aston 2009: 141-152 for issues with the excavators’ original dating of Third Intermediate Period objects.

³⁴ Significant finds of the Ptolemaic period were reported in both *Cemeteries of Abydos I* and *II*, but the publication is infuriating: for work of 1909-10 in Cemetery “E”, volume II refers the reader to the “forth-

the edge of the Middle Cemetery, or “Mixed” cemetery in Peet’s terminology. There is a plan for Cemetery “E,” showing the results of the excavations of 1911-1912 (see **Fig. 5.3**); the large blank area in the middle is the region cleared from the excavations in 1909-1910, for which there is no plan. The exact location of this is more questionable than that of cemetery G, but possibly lies to the south and east of Petrie’s



Fig. 5.3 – Peet’s Cemetery “E.”

dig house. One intact grave was dated to the Ptolemaic period, E422, which contained seven adults and five children, all in coffins and all with cartonnage mummy decoration; only one contained any associated grave goods.³⁶

No formal reports were ever published for Garstang’s excavations of 1907, and the majority of his notes have been lost. Particularly damaging has been the loss of the “tomb cards” for the Ptolemaic-Roman portion of this cemetery, which recorded the contents of some 280 excavated tombs. Thankfully, some records have survived, and some reconstruction has been possible.³⁷ Garstang worked in two separate areas during the 1907 season, and these are by far the areas with the most definitive and extensive Ptolemaic and Roman period mortuary activity at Abydos, with use continuing at least until

coming volume” *Cemeteries of Abydos I* (Peet 1914: 17): volume I however, at least in reference to the Ptolemaic vaults, simply states that “better preserved vaults have since been found at Abydos, and will be fully described in another memoir,” (Neville 1914: 26) *viz.* *Cemeteries of Abydos II*.

³⁵ Peet 1914: 17

³⁶ Peet 1914: 92

³⁷ This is largely due to the work of Snape (1986) and in particular Abdalla (1992). I also visited the Garstang Museum of Archaeology at the University of Liverpool in August 2010, and was able to look at relevant notes and photographs first-hand. I would like to thank Professor Steven Snape, keeper of the museum, and Patricia Winker, the museum registrar, for enabling this visit.

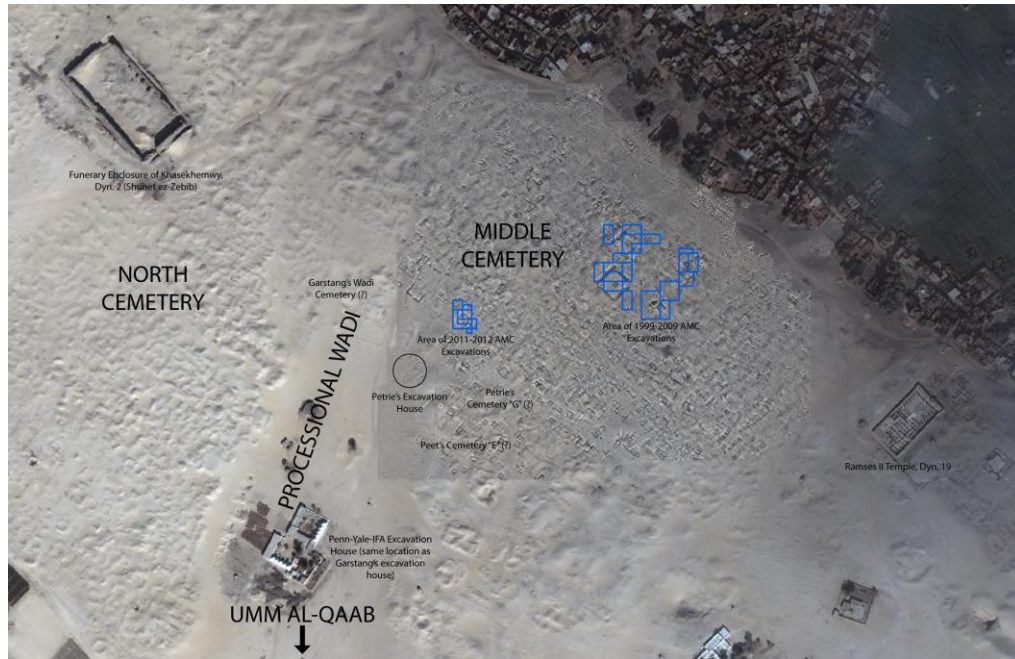


Fig. 5.4 – Labeled satellite image of the Abydos Middle Cemetery area, with magnetometry overlay.

the first century CE.³⁸ The location is only known due to letters of H. Jones, who was working on the project, and due to Garstang's brief monthly report to his backers in Liverpool. In one of Jones' letters, he describes digging,

practically at Petrie's doorstep – at least 10 yards from the house he lived in when he worked at Abydos.³⁹

This house was used by Garstang's workmen, while Garstang and his team stayed in a house that was on the site of the current Penn-Yale-IFA house. Garstang himself describes the area in his monthly report dated 8th February 1907 thus:

The month's excavation was devoted almost exclusively to a Ptolemaic site found in the clean sand of the valley in which we are camped, and about 50 yards from where the workers now live. It proved to be absolutely intact and has provided us with some much wanted archaeological material upon the period which has hardly been scientifically treated heretofore.⁴⁰

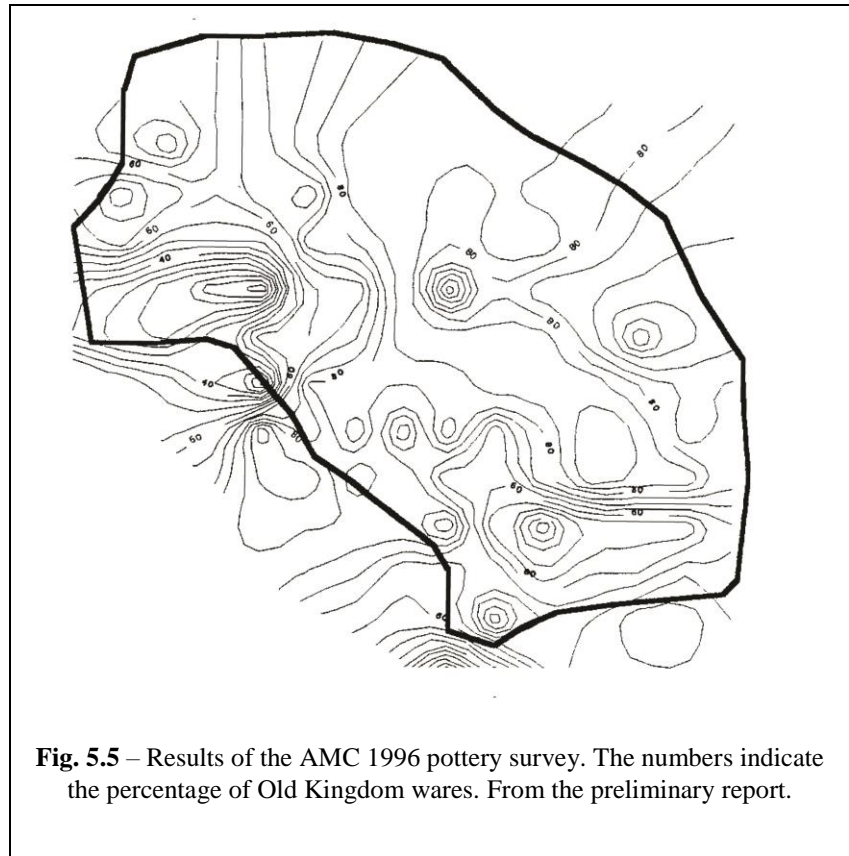
³⁸ The only dated stele found in the course of Garstang's excavations has a date of August, 75 CE, which provides something of a *terminus ante quem* for the area (Abdalla 1992: 68, cat. no. 163).

³⁹ Quoted in Abdalla 1992: 2

⁴⁰ Quoted in Abdalla 1992: 3

Surviving photos have helped to more specifically place this cemetery in processional *wadi* itself, opposite the Shunet ez-Zebib, the funerary enclosure of the second dynasty pharaoh Khasekhemwy.

While Ptolemaic activity was



recorded elsewhere, Petrie's G, Naville's E, and Garstang's *wadi* cemetery appear to have the most activity.⁴¹ **Fig. 5.4** shows the approximate locations of cemeteries "G" and "E", and Garstang's 1907 *wadi* cemetery. We can at least generally place these cemeteries on the magnetometric survey (See **Fig. 5.2**), thanks to our knowledge of the location of Petrie's dig house, which is a common reference point in the early reports; the house is marked in **fig. 5.2** and **fig. 5.4**. "G" and "E" fall within the AMC concession, while Garstang's work is just outside of it. If these attributions are correct, all three of these

⁴¹ Tombs in other areas were dated to the Ptolemaic-Roman period. Two tombs in Peet's cemetery "D" – D221 and D225, excavated during the 1912-1913, were dated to the Ptolemaic-Roman period (Peet and Loat 1913: 33-34), as well as tomb D66 from the 1911-1912 season (Peet 1914: 93). Peet also describes mud-brick vault tombs from four other cemeteries (Peet 1914: 93-94); five vaults from Cemetery "S" (S61, S201, S499, S620, S621); one from Cemetery "X" (X7); three from cemetery Z (fig. 2, no. 15) (Z2, Z14, Z18); and seven from Cemetery "R" (fig. 2, no. 9) (R 4, R11, R20, R80, R83, R93, R109). As with the other late vaults, no precise date was assigned to them.

cemeteries either abut (cemeteries “G” and “E”) or are located in (Garstang’s cemetery) the *wadi*.

The results of a surface ceramic survey have further indicated that the area adjacent to the *wadi* was a major focus of Ptolemaic period activity. In 1996, the Michigan Abydos Middle Cemetery Project conducted an intensive surface collection of ceramic materials in an area of the Abydos Middle Cemetery previously excavated by Mariette and Amélineau in the 19th century (**Fig. 5.5**). This area has since been excavated (1999-2009), with a focus on the development of the cemetery landscape during the 3rd millennium BCE. However, activity was not limited to one period, as the initial ceramic survey revealed diachronic patterns. There was a sharp chronological break of nearly 1500 years in the ceramic types, as nearly all could be grouped into either Late Old Kingdom (c. 2500-2160 BCE) or Late period (664-332BCE) and Ptolemaic-Roman wares (332 BCE-c. 300 CE). Spatially, the material recovered in the survey revealed an increase in Late Period and Ptolemaic-Roman wares in opposition to Late Old Kingdom wares as one proceeded outward from the central core of the survey area. This suggested that the core area of the survey was in heavy use during the Late Old Kingdom – which excavations later bore out – followed by a break in activity until Late Period and continuing through the Graeco-Roman. While the second conclusion has not quite held true in excavation – both First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom activity have been identified – the general pattern has been confirmed.

As one proceeds away from the core Old Kingdom area and moves towards the *wadi*, the percentage of Ptolemaic-Roman wares increases dramatically, composing up to

60 percent of the assemblage in places (see **Fig. 5.5**).⁴² This pattern in the ceramics correlates with the apparent focus on the areas surrounding the *wadi* during the Ptolemaic period seen in the early modern excavated material. By the Roman period, the restrictions on burial in the *wadi* had definitively fallen away, with the establishment the cemetery excavated by Garstang. The creation of this cemetery represents a definitive shift in practice, and signaled the end of nearly 1800 years of ritual procession up the *wadi*.

This clustering of Ptolemaic activity around the *wadi* makes sense. The *wadi* had been used as the main processional route for festivals surrounding the cult of Osiris, as it led up to the god's cenotaph in Umm el-Qa'ab. Restrictions on burial and access in the *wadi* had been put in place by the Late Middle Kingdom or Early Second Intermediate period. There may have been a desire to be associated with the processional route. Such a focus is not unique: a similar phenomenon has been observed for the Graeco-Roman period at Deir el-Bahri.⁴³ However, at some point any restrictions on construction in the *wadi* or sense of sacred space accorded to it fell away; the area within the *wadi* must have been one of the few underdeveloped areas of the Abydos landscape and an ideal location of tomb construction. The exact chronology of this shift in the landscape is unclear, but it must have begun at some point in the Ptolemaic period.

In sum, the results of previous excavations and both the ceramic and magnetometric surveys provide us with a reasonable sketch of activity in the Ptolemaic period. The typical tomb type was a vaulted mud-brick chamber (or chambers) with a shallow shaft. Garstang's cemetery also revealed burials in brick lined pits; shallow pits with a small superstructure; and surface burials with small superstructures. Common to all types were

⁴² This information is derived from an unpublished ceramics report by P. Lacovara for the AMC project.

⁴³ Strudwick 2003. See Chapter 4 of this work.

rough-hewn limestone sarcophagi. Due to robbing and inadequate recording, Ptolemaic period burial assemblages are obscure. Spatially, Ptolemaic and Roman activity is more or less attested across the entire site. However, it appears that the major focus of Ptolemaic (and Roman) was the area immediately adjacent to the *wadi*, an eventually the area within it as well. Building on these data, I field directed a targeted excavation sub-project under the aegis of the University of Michigan's Abydos Middle Cemetery project in 2011 and 2012.⁴⁴ Having identified this Ptolemaic-Roman period spatial trend from the early excavation reports and ceramic survey, I concentrated on magnetometric anomalies in an area near the *wadi* and Cemetery "G" that suggested a range in funerary structures. This area lies approximately 200m to the west of the 6th dynasty Weni-Iuu complex, the focus of previous excavations of the project (See **Figs 5.4** and **5.6**). During these two excavation seasons, we opened six contiguous Operations, numbered 19 through 24. This material appears to be Ptolemaic in date, reaffirming the trend seen in the ceramic and early excavation data. A map of 2011-2012 area appears in **Fig. 5.7**. The AMC excavations provided a contextualized corpus of Ptolemaic material to complement some of the more general data derived from the earlier work on the site. The excavations yielded a number of human burials; the remains of a monumental subterranean tomb originally occupied by

⁴⁴ I thank the Ministry of State of Antiquities (MSA) of Egypt and the University of Michigan's Abydos Middle Cemetery project, under the direction of Professor Janet Richards, for allowing me to conduct this research under the AMC project's aegis. This fieldwork was supported by a National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant (BCS Proposal 1038765), an International Research Award from the International Institute at the University of Michigan, and a Graduate Student Research Award from the Rackham Graduate School at the University of Michigan. I would thank again Professor Richards, as well as Seth Button; Claudia Chemello; Henry Colburn; Geoff Compton; Suzanne Davis; Christian Knoblauch; Peter Lacovara; Beth Platte; Heather Tunmore; and Korri Turner, who all participated in the project. I would also like to thank the MSA inspectors assigned to the AMC project for the 2011 and 2012 seasons, Mr. Sayyed Mohammed Abd el-Rahim and Mr. Mahmoud Mohammed Amer.

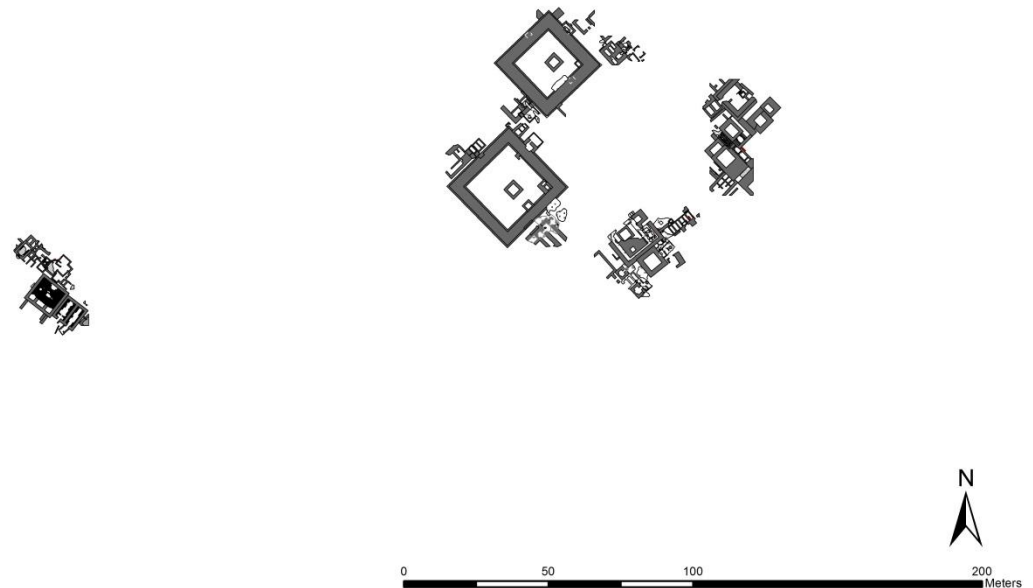


Fig. 5.6 – Relationship between AMC excavated area 1999-2009 (right) and 2011-2012 (left)

a family of priests; smaller structures surrounding this hypogeum; and the remains of an elite burial assemblage. The following discussion integrates data from both the earlier excavations and from the AMC excavations in 2011 and 2012, dealing with each variable of the mortuary system in more detail.

5.3: Effort Expenditure: Structures, Assemblages, and Post-Funerary Activity

Effort expenditure cannot be calculated in any quantitative manner for the Abydos material. The information from the earliest excavations is too scanty for any rigorous analysis, and the material from the recent excavations are too disturbed: full burial assemblages and intact burial structures are rare. Effort expenditure can, however, be approached

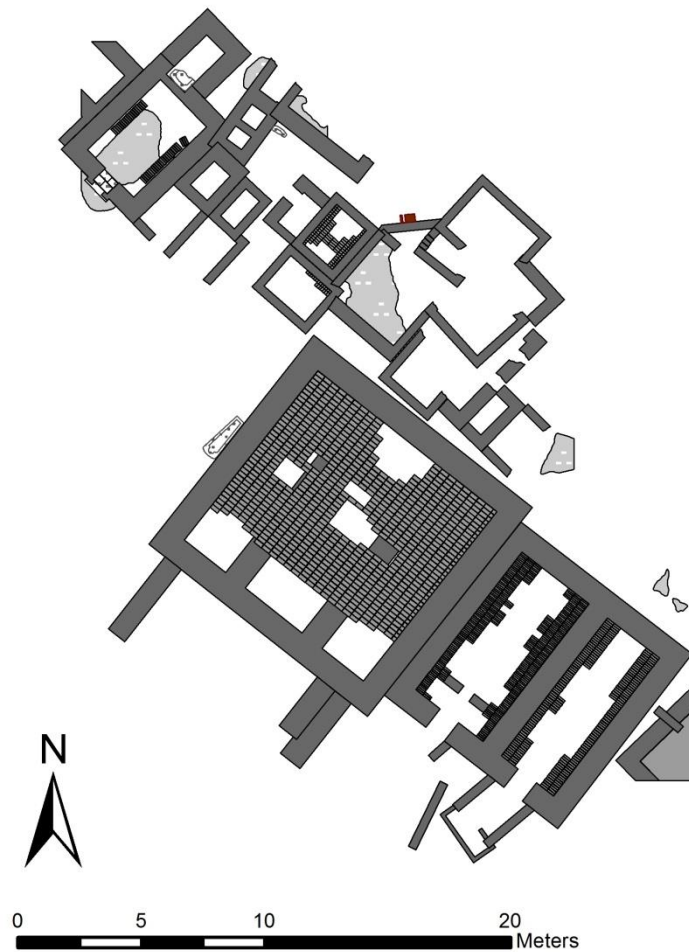


Fig. 5.7 – Map of 2011-2012 AMC excavated area.

in a qualitative manner with respect to funerary structures, burial assemblages, and post-funerary activity. The material from the 2011 and 2012 excavations form the core of the analysis, particularly for post-funerary activity and burial assemblages. While the early excavations did yield significant evidence for funerary structures which can be integrated with the material from the AMC project, there are few examples of definitively Ptolemaic burial assemblage from the excavations of Petrie, Garstang, and Peet.⁴⁵ In contrast, the

⁴⁵ Peet states for most tombs that “the only objects of any importance found were a set of shabtis of a good bright and dark blue glaze, and a very fine series of four bronze vessels” (Neville 1914: 25-27), though

excavations of 2011 and 2012 yielded the contextualized remains of significant burial assemblages, all from what was termed “Hypogeum 1,” a monumental, subterranean burial mud-brick facility. This structure is extremely significant for our understanding of the Abydos funerary landscape, and will be discussed in detail.

Funerary Structures

It is possible to identify different categories of burial structure by combining the results of early excavations with the findings from the recent AMC seasons. Burials and burial structures can roughly be divided into two categories: *surface burials* and more substantial *burial facilities*.

Surface burials are graves that consist of the deposition of a body by itself or with a minimal of architectural elaboration either on or just beneath the surface. Several burials consisting only of the deposition of a body were found during the course of the 2011-2012 AMC seasons, but it is unclear whether these were the result of later disturbance or they were intentionally surface burials. Using Garstang’s excavation archive, Abdalla also identified surface graves either single or multiple (see **Fig. 5.8**).⁴⁶ Besides simple surface interments, pottery burials were found both by the Garstang excavation (see **Fig. 5.9**) and by the recent AMC excavations (see again **Fig. 5.10**). These consisted of single burial contained in a pottery vessel with a lid, without attendant superstructure. The AMC burial was of a juvenile; the sex and age of the burials from the Garstang excavations are

there is no indication of the specific tombs in which they were found. In the 1911-12 season, Peet found several Ptolemaic tombs, including the aforementioned tomb E422 (Peet 1914: 92). During Garstang’s excavations, about 280 tombs were found and numbered. This number has been reconstructed not by field notes (which are missing), but by the numbering system used on the grave stelae recovered from that season’s work. Despite the large number of tombs excavated, there are no contextualized assemblages. Letters in the Garstang archive only describe a “beautiful Osiris figure in bronze” and “other objects of the period” (Abdalla 1992: 6).

⁴⁶ Abdalla 1992: 5

not known. Surface burials could also take the form of isolated coffins. There is one example of a limestone coffin which had no superstructure: F21.4, which was placed against the northwest wall of Hypogeum 1 (**Fig. 5.11**). Abdalla identified a variant of this type, which did not appear in the course of the AMC excavations: Garstang found limestone coffins covered by a small mud-brick “mastaba” cap (**Fig. 5.12**).⁴⁷ F21.4 showed no evidence of having a superstructure. Garstang’s excavations also yielded isolated ceramic coffins (**Fig. 5.13**).

Burial facilities are more architecturally elaborate, entailed the expenditure of more effort in their construction, and were founded deeper beneath the surface. As with surface burials, this broad category includes several sub-categories. The simplest forms of burial facility were brick-lined pits or shafts, most of which incorporated some surface architecture for post-funerary ritual. These were identified by Abdalla⁴⁸ in his analysis of the Garstang archive, though the exact nature of these examples is unclear. However, the AMC excavations found several examples of this type, which seem to be for both single and multiple interment. The examples which seem to be for single interment are F19.2, F19.3, and possibly F19.9. These seem to be simple shafts without any other structures, though the former two also have attached forecourts.

⁴⁷ Abdalla 1992: 5

⁴⁸ Abdalla 1992: 5. The example he cites is possibly a vault.



Fig. 5.8 – Surface graves from Garstang’s excavations (Abdalla 1992 fig. 71 a).



Fig. 5.12 – Coffins with mud-brick “cap” (Abdalla 1992, fig. 73)



Fig. 5.9 – Pottery burial from Garstang’s excavations (Abdalla 1992 fig. 82a)



Fig. 5.10 – Pottery burial from AMC 2012. Photo by Korri Turner.



Fig. 5.11 – Limestone coffin abutting Hypogeum 1. Photo by the author.



Fig. 5.13 – Pottery coffin from Garstang's excavation (Abdalla 1992 fig. 80).



Fig. 5.14 – F20.12/F20.2, pit with multiple burials. Photo by the author.

There is one definite example of a multiple interment mud-brick pit/shaft, features F20.12/F20.2, excavated during the 2011 season. These two structures combine to form a shallow brick lined pit in which were found the remains of at least two levels of limestone coffins, as well as one (probable) in situ mummy (Burial 7). The architecture itself is quite modest, with walls only three brick-layers thick that are founded on sand, though there is evidence of second level architecture beneath (see **Fig. 5.14**). There are probably several layers of burials, all highly disturbed.⁴⁹ It seems that there were successive burial events, with only a single shallow wall which was founded well-above the lowest burial to delineate the space. This type of structure perhaps indicates a simple form of collective tomb: it had only an ephemeral superstructure, but it was still an area designated for use by a single corporate group with at least a modest architectural element.

⁴⁹ A full study and measurement and study of this structure was not possible due to the Egyptian Revolution of 2011. The AMC crew was extracted before full documentation could be completed.



Fig. 5.15 – Unexcavated vault F19.4 (at center). Photo K. Turner.

More elaborate forms of burial facilities are mud-brick vaults, which usually possessed some sort of visible surface architecture, again likely associated with post-funerary ritual. Small mud-brick vault structures are ubiquitous at Abydos: Garstang⁵⁰ and Peet⁵¹ reported such structures. Peet described them:

of the usual late dynastic and Ptolemaic type, in which a shaft of no great depth gives access through an arched doorway to a large barrel-vaulted chamber, whose roof, flat as seen from outside, originally supported a superstructure, probably of hollow mastaba form.⁵²

The remains of several of this type of burial structure were found during the 2011-2012 AMC seasons. Two definite examples are F21.3, which was almost entirely collapsed, and F19.4, which was left unexcavated (see **Fig. 5.15**).⁵³ There was no evidence

⁵⁰ See Abdalla 1992.

⁵¹ See Naville 1914.

⁵² Naville 1914: 26-27. Six of the vaults are described in the section on Cemetery “E” in Peet’s report – E403, E421, E422, E437, E457, and E460 (Peet 1914: 91).

⁵³ This structure was not investigated due to the sudden evacuation of the AMC team in 2011 during the Egyptian Revolution.

of associated shafts, though F19.4 has an extant forecourt area. F19.6 is also a possible example of this type.

Feature F19.1 is a particularly elaborate version of this type (see **Fig. 5.16**), excavated in 2011. This consists of a small vaulted burial chamber with a limestone coffin and a far larger post-funerary ritual area



Fig. 5.16 – F19.1, burial chamber in foreground, chapel at center. Photo by K. Turner.

in front. Unlike the forecourts associated with F19.4 and the shaft graves, this area of F19.1 was roofed over, and could be termed a “chapel.”⁵⁴

The most elaborate forms of burial facilities were monumental hypogea. Petrie⁵⁵ and the AMC project both identified large, monumental hypogea. By “monumental” hypogea I mean those structures which contain more than one burial vault. Petrie published drawings of several of these types (see **Figs. 5.17** and **5.18**), as did Peet. The AMC project excavated in 2011 and 2012 two such structures, designated Hypogeum 1 and Hypogeum 2. Both of these structures are far larger than any other structures in that excavated area and appear to be closely related to forms described by Petrie and Peet in their

⁵⁴ At some point, the entrance to F19.1 was remodeled. Several stelae – one inscribed – were used to pave the threshold, covering an earlier mud plaster surface. It is possible that this is also associated with the installation of benches along the east and west walls. A small niche was also carved in the north wall of the chamber, to the immediate right of the entrance to the actual burial chamber. Though the chronology is difficult, this may represent a potential Coptic reuse of this structure as a monastic cell or meeting place, which was common practice at Abydos.

⁵⁵ Petrie 1902: 34. Petrie describes finding a tomb with “two arched chambers side by side, beneath a low mastaba of brickwork.” These also contained “stone sarcophagi, sometimes square, sometimes shaped like the body”, with “other less usual types of this age”. He places this type as the first in a rather dubious sequence of tomb development; the other tombs as described are somewhat vague, and are difficult to compare with other descriptions of tombs.

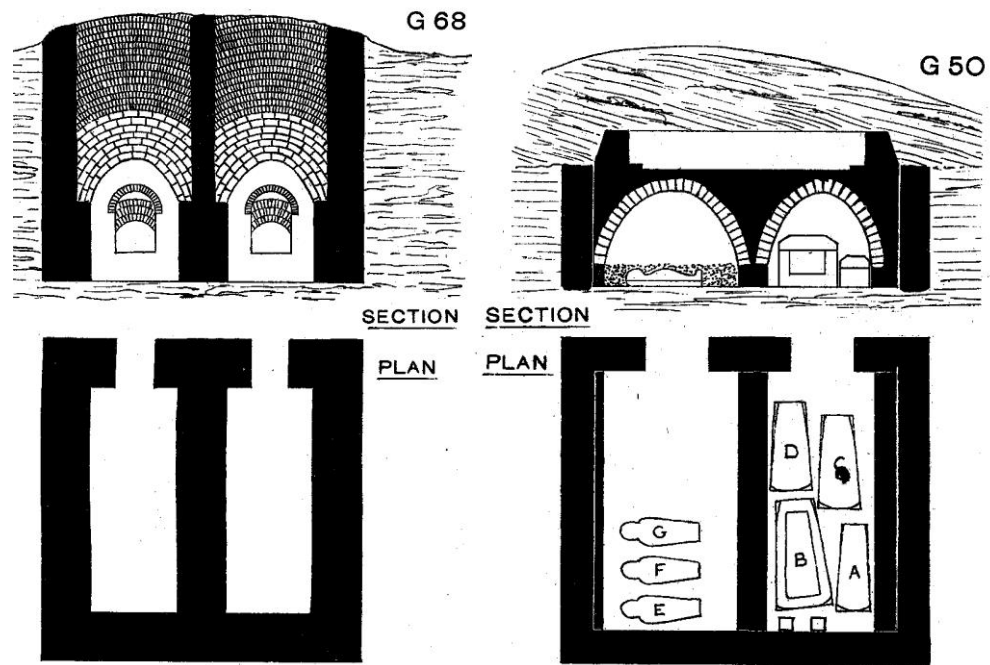


Fig. 5.17 (left) and **Fig. 5.18** (right) – Petrie’s plans of monumental hypogea from his excavations in cemetery G (Petrie 1902, plate 80).

publications.⁵⁶ These structures are clearly purpose-built for multiple interment and required a far greater effort and expenditure than the other types of structures.

Post-Funerary Activity

There was ample evidence for post-funerary activity in the area excavated in 2011 and 2012. Significant post-funerary activity was attested for Hypogaeum 1; this will be discussed below. There was evidence for post-funerary activity in other sections of the AMC excavated area as well. Feature F20.7 (see **Fig. 5.19**) is a large mud-plaster surface associated with several surrounding vaults (F19.4 and F21.3) and mud-brick lined pits (F20.2/F20.12). The presence of a mud-plaster floor and the absence of human remains

⁵⁶ See in particular Peet 1914: 84-97 for a discussion of these late vaults.



Fig. 5.19 – Feature F20.7 at center, mud-plaster surface. Photo K. Turner.



Fig. 5.20 – Feature F20.11 at center, small ritual installation. Photo K. Turner.



Fig. 5.21 – Small shabti figurine found at F20.11. Photo H. Colburn.

sets this structure apart from the definite burial areas around it. It most likely served to ensure open access to the pre-existing surrounding tombs, enabling post-funerary ritual activity for one or all of them. We can draw similar conclusions about the “forecourt” areas associated with shaft and vault tombs, and the large chapel area associated with F19.1. Feature 20.11 (**Fig. 5.20**), however, presents the most direct evidence for post-funerary ritual activity. This is a small installation built up against the wall F20.10, on which were the remains of an offering as well as a re-used, broken shabti which likely dates to the 25th dynasty⁵⁷ (see **Fig. 5.21**).

Hypogeum 1

Hypogeum 1 (see **Fig. 5.22**) is the best preserved structure in the excavated area, and yielded the most evidence concerning elite funerary practice at Abydos. The excavation of Hypogeum 2, the other monumental structure excavated in 2011-2012, revealed very little material, and was too badly damaged to fully excavate; it was possible to establish its full extent (see **Fig. 5.23**). Like other structures in this area, Hypogeum 1 was heavily disturbed. The number and variety of objects recovered from the burial vaults, though, suggests that the structure had been largely ignored by modern excavators; rather, it had been robbed in antiquity, resulting in a large amount of material that as undesirable to the looters being dispersed throughout the structure or piled outside of it. This material would have been of interest to early excavators, so its presence indicates that it is unlikely that this structure was excavated previously. A full listing and description of the small finds and human burials from this structure appears in **Appendix C**.

⁵⁷ P. Lacovara, personal communication.



Fig. 5.22 – Hypogeum 1. Photo by the author.



Fig. 5. 23 – Hypogeum 2. Photo by the author.

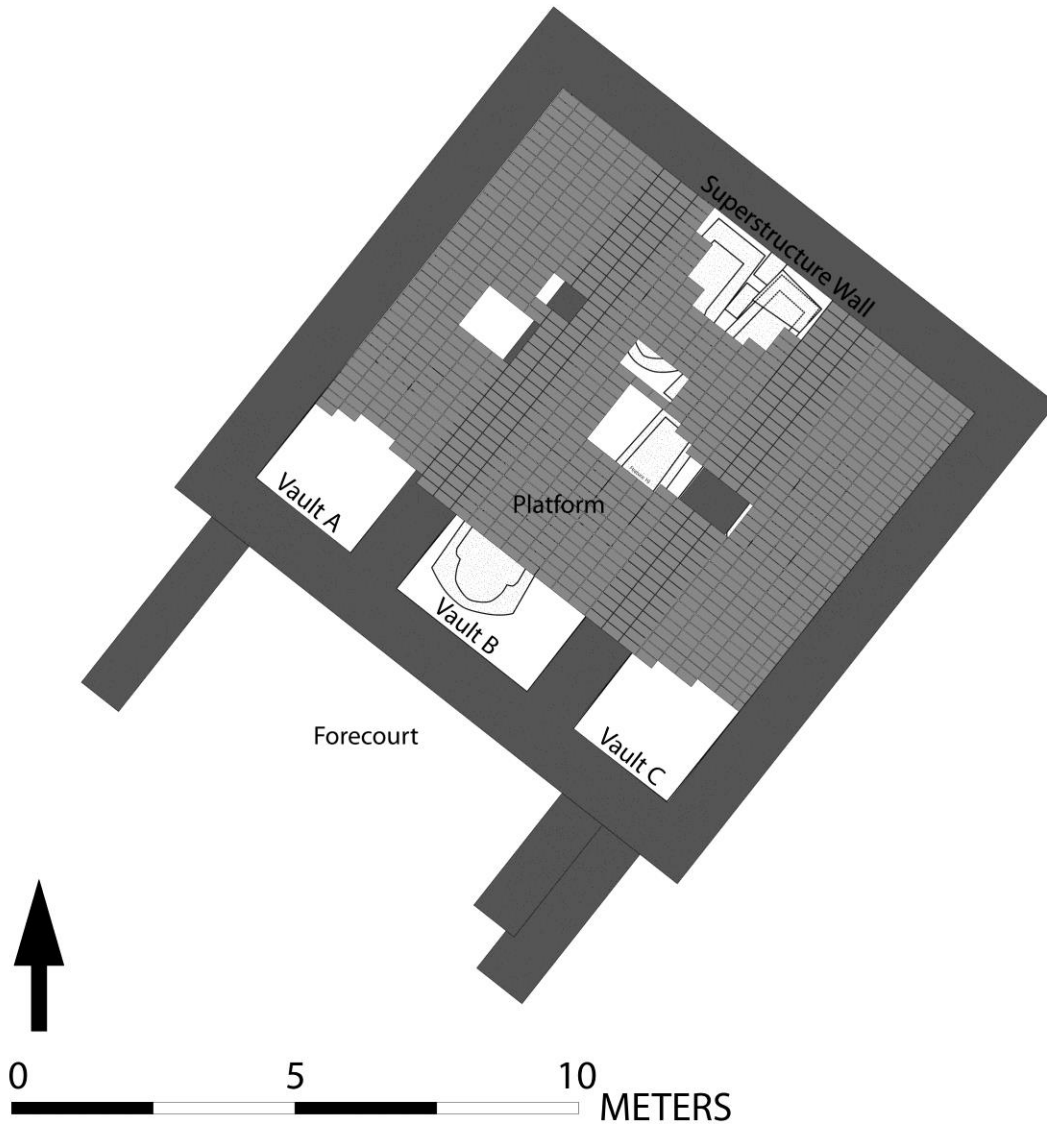
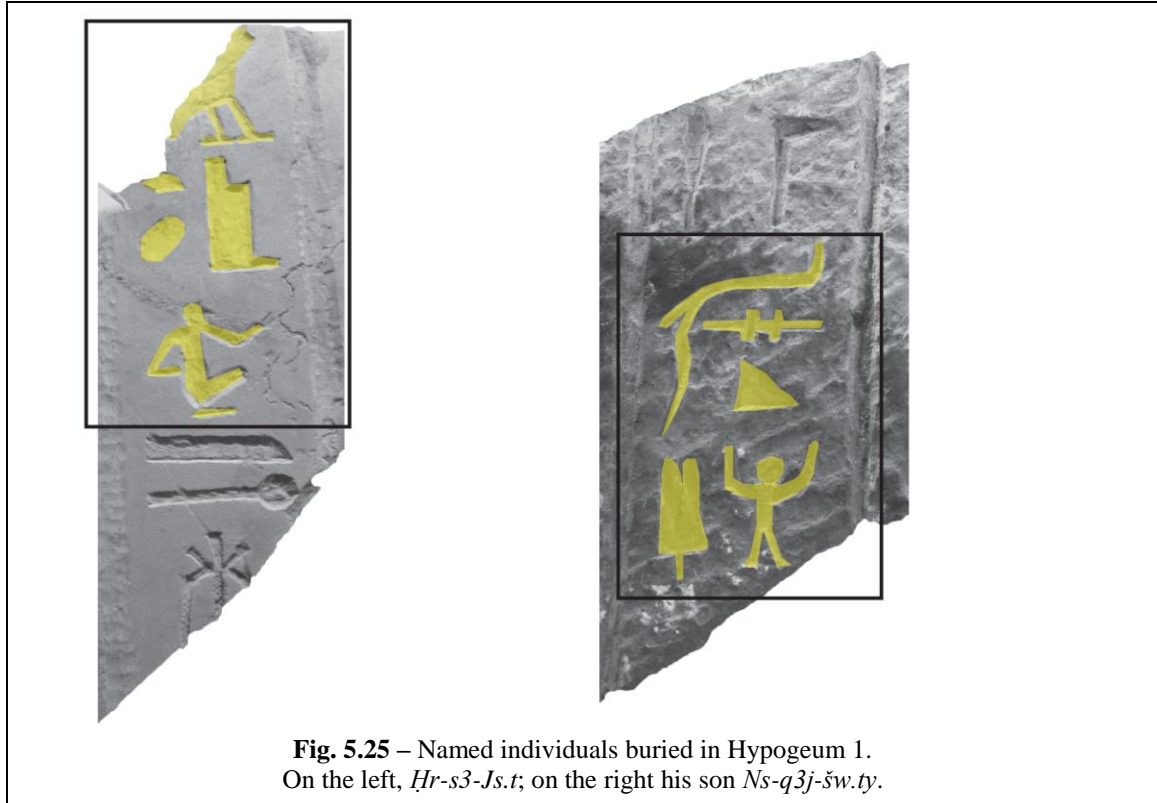


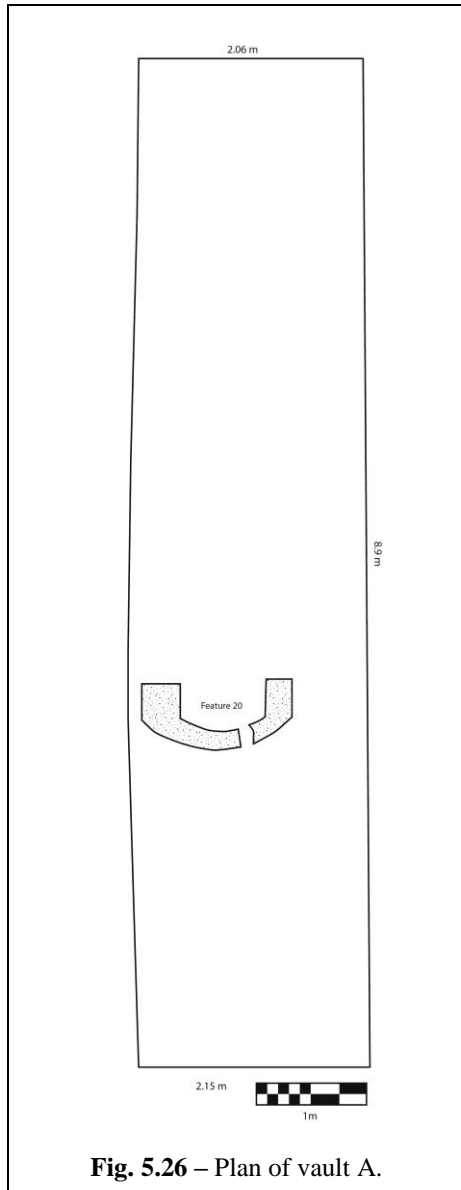
Fig. 5.24- Labeled plan of Hypogeum 1.

Based on both the ceramic finds and the contents of the tomb, this structure likely dates to the 3rd or 2nd centuries BCE, placing it solidly in the Ptolemaic period. Though we cannot discuss grave assemblages associated with specific burials because of the disturbed nature of the structure, the large amount of material allows for at least a general understanding of the use of the structure and its place in the Abydos funerary system, with respect to both funerary and post-funerary activity.



Hypogaeum 1 (an overall plan is presented as **Fig. 5.24**) contained four elements: 1.) the hypogaeum itself, measuring 10.8m running NE-SW and 11.3m running NW-SE, and incorporating three vaults; 2.) above the vaults, a platform approximately 100m² in area, likely used as ritual space, 3.) a superstructure wall averaging approximately 1m thick which potentially was the base for a dome or mastaba-like structure over the platform, evidenced by the presence of squinches in the north and east corners of the wall;⁵⁸ and 4.) a forecourt of indeterminate size, delineated by several mud-brick walls which abut the hypogaeum itself (F20/21.15, F20/21.24, F21.5). This is in contrast to the adjacent Hypogaeum 2, which had only two vaults, and did not have a discernible platform or superstructure.

⁵⁸ This is similar to structures identified by earlier excavators. See Peet 1914: 84-97.



Hypogeum 1 was, at least initially, a large family tomb meant for multiple interments. The three burial vaults had evidence for both human and votive animal mummy mortuary activity. Two inscribed sarcophagus lids from the central vault (B) name the likely initial occupants of tomb (**Fig. 5.25**). These were two priests: *Hr-s3-Js.t*, whose mother *Js.t-wr.t* is also named; and his son *Ns-q3j-šw.ty*. These are the only two named individuals,⁵⁹ though there were more than 25 burials in the structure overall. Even though we were not able to complete the excavation of vault A (see **Fig. 5.26** for plan), it was apparent that little remained of its original contents. At the entrance, we found a large deposit of several hundred cat mummies, which led to initial speculation that the entirety of Hypogeum 1 was dedicated to cat burials. However, this depos-

it did not continue into the vault, and the remains of a limestone sarcophagus and fragments of human mummies occupied the rest of the vault. The fill in this vault was quite barren, and therefore did not yield nearly as much material as either vault B or C.

Vault B was the main burial chamber of the structure (see **Fig. 5.27** for plan of the vault; see **Fig. 5.28** for overview). We discovered the remains of four monumental lime-

⁵⁹ The present fragmentary state of the inscriptions prevents a full reconstruction. Further study of the fragments themselves (currently in Egypt) is necessary to reconstruct the text.

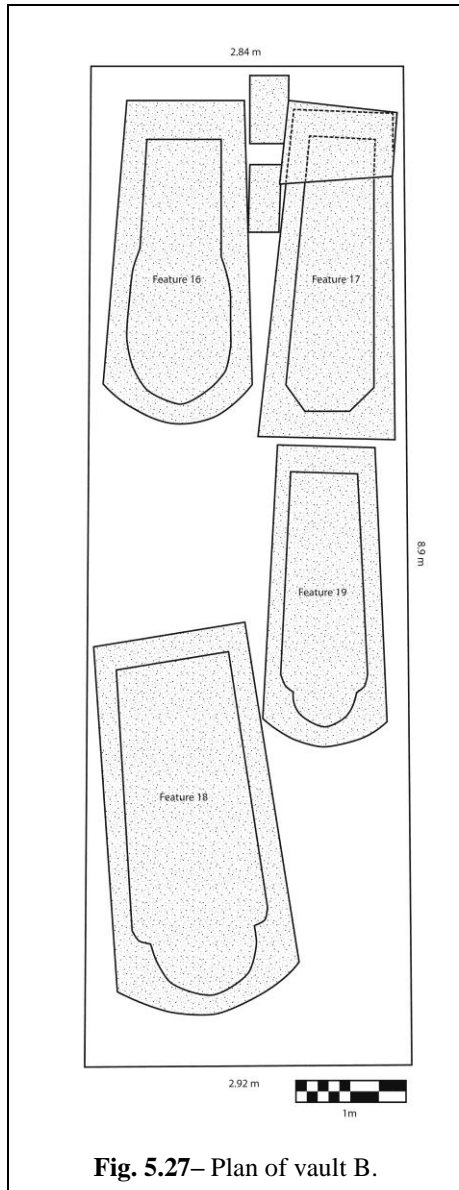


Fig. 5.27– Plan of vault B.

stone sarcophagi (features F16, 17, 18, and 19), the largest of which (F18) was 3.4m long and which contained an intact amphora dating to the 3rd-2nd century BCE.⁶⁰ Though heavily damaged, the coffins were still in their original positions. Though there were four sarcophagi, this vault contained the remains of at least five human interments.

The lids of the rearmost sarcophagi (F16 and F17) were inscribed, but had been broken into 130 fragments during a robbing episode in antiquity.⁶¹ From these fragments, we could determine that F17 belonged to *Hr-s3-Js.t*, and F16 to *Ns-q3j-šw.ty*. We also found one animal mummy, a snake, in this vault; a small limestone coffin may be associated with it. Based on the remains of the burial assemblage, the titles of the individuals interred, and their central position in the hypogeum, we can

conclude that the individuals interred in this vault were of a very high socio-economic status.

⁶⁰ The coffin in which this amphora was found (F18) was heavily disturbed, so it is possible that the amphora was not, in fact *in situ*. The amphora was determined to be Egyptian Amphora type 1 (H. Colburn, personal communication).

⁶¹ Vault B was badly robbed. There was a large robbers' hole above the rearmost sarcophagi, and all sarcophagi in the vault were damaged in some way. There was also evidence of a burning in several areas of the vault, including charred parts of an inscribed interior coffin, and charred human remains. This was likely the result of a fire lit by robbers to provide light.



Fig. 5.28 – Overview of vault B. Photo by the author.



Fig. 5.29 – Shabti box in situ. Outlined area shown in close-up on right. Photo by the author.



Fig. 5.30 – Shabtis from vault B. Photo by E. Platte.



Fig. 5.31 – Fragment of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statue from vault B. Photo by E. Platte.



Fig. 5.32 – painted and plastered linen with text (left); gilded plaster (right). Photo by E. Platte.

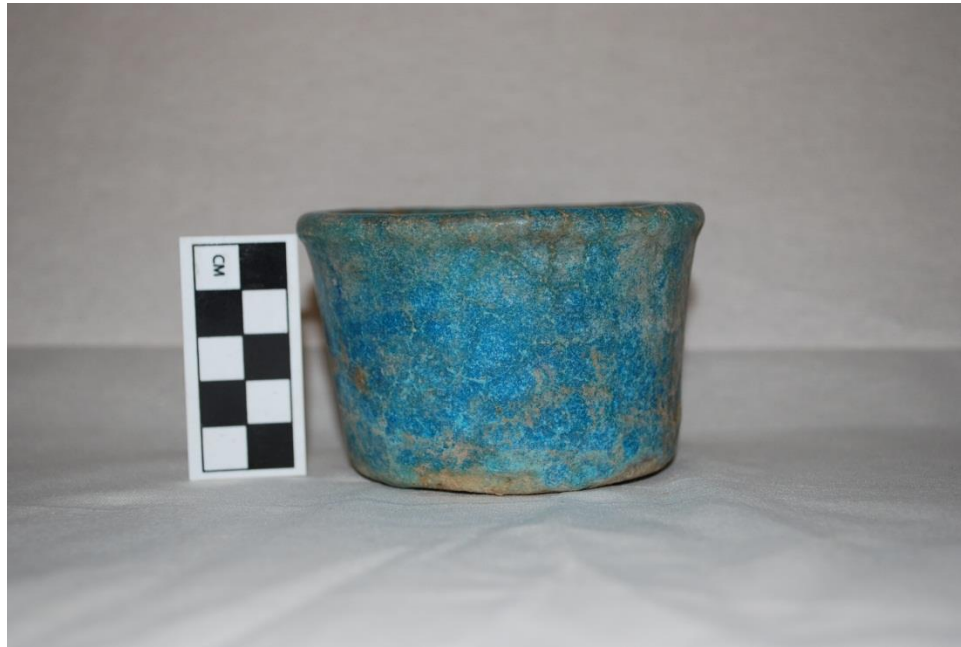


Fig. 5.33 – Faience vessel from vault B. Photo by E. Platte.



Fig. 5.34 – Small painted wood *ankh* and *djed* pillar stelae from vault B. Photo by E. Platte.



Fig. 5.35 – Fragments of an interior wood coffin, from vault B. Photo by E. Platte.

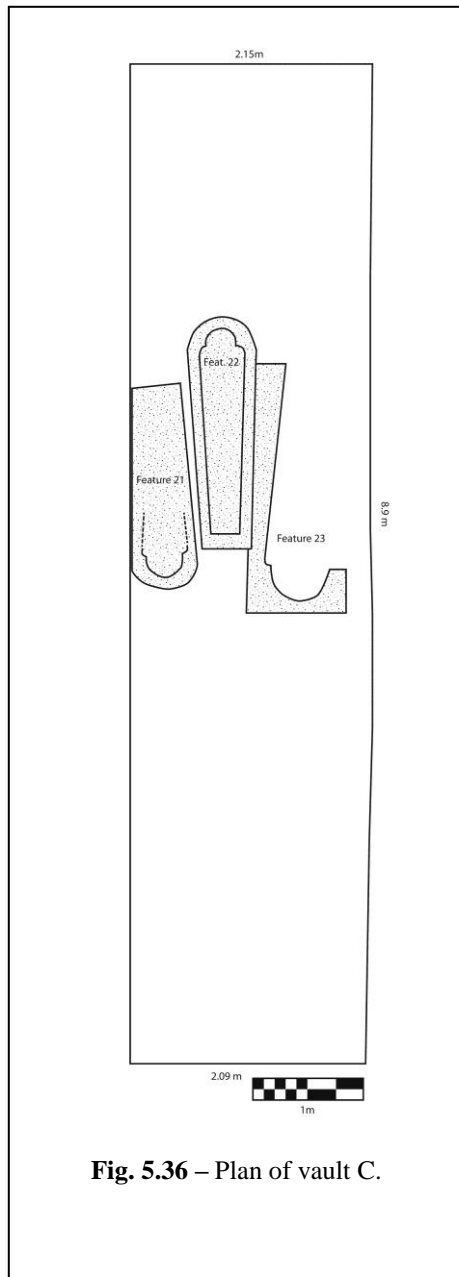


Fig. 5.36 – Plan of vault C.

In addition to the sarcophagi, we found the remains of what was clearly an elite Ptolemaic period burial assemblage. This assemblage included the deteriorated remains of at least two shabti boxes (**Fig 5.29**); 260 small terracotta shabtis (**Fig 5.30**); the fragmentary remains of at least two Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues (**Fig 5.31**); both gilded and painted mummy cartonnage and plaster decoration (**Fig 5.32**); one complete faience vessel (**Fig 5.33**); and wooden *ankh* and *djed*-pillar stelae (**Fig 5.34**). There were also the charred remains of at least one wooden interior coffin (**Fig. 5.35**). At present, this assemblage can only be described in general terms, as a more detailed on-site study is needed to determine specific types of artifacts. But based on this fragmentary material alone we can see parallels with

the Ptolemaic period assemblages of Thebes: shabtis, shabti boxes, elaborate cartonnage, and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues.⁶² One piece of cartonnage (see **Fig. 5.32**, left) contains a cryptic, typically Ptolemaic writing for the word *prj*, to go forth.⁶³

⁶² See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the Theban material.

⁶³ See Fairman 1945.

Like the others, Vault C (**Fig. 5.36** for plan; **Fig. 5.37** for overview) was heavily disturbed in antiquity: 19 burials were found in this vault, of which only two were nominally *in situ*, and with many fragments of limestone sarcophagi. The vault was far better preserved than A, however. Three sarcophagi were laid side by side across the center of the vault (F21, 22, and 23); two still contained *in situ* burials (F21, F22), even though their lids had been overturned. One mummified individual (burial 19) had evidence of directly applied gilded decoration, in the form of wristbands, armbands, and nipple covers (**Fig 5.38**).

High status individuals were interred in vault C: though the sarcophagi were of a less monumental character, there were ample finds indicating an elite burial assemblage. Of particular note were over 1300 faience beads, some still strung (see **Fig. 5.39**). The strung examples indicate that these must be the remains of bead nets which were commonly used to cloak the mummy in this period.⁶⁴ There were also fragments of at least three small falcon statues (**Fig. 5.40**), ample gilded and painted cartonnage, fragments of faience vessels, and glass and stone eye fragments which must have belonged to some sort of mask or headpiece (**Fig. 5.41**). Shabtis were only fragmentary, and were high in the fill. Though a full set of shabtis was standard for elite burials in the Ptolemaic period, if we are to take Thebes as paradigmatic for elite burial assemblages, the absence of shabtis in this vault could also indicate that the burials from vault C are later in date, since shabtis do seem to fall out of fashion over time.⁶⁵

As with vault B, none of this material can be linked with a single burial, and more specific study is necessary on-site. Again, like in vault B, we get the sense of a very elite

⁶⁴ These were common funerary equipment from the Third Intermediate Period onward. These also were mimicked in painted cartonnage. See in particular Aston 2009: 290-293 for a discussion of these objects.

⁶⁵ Riggs 2005: 29

group of burials, though there are some marked differences. The quality of certain categories of funerary equipment is somewhat lower than that in vault B. The limestone coffins of vault C are the clearest example of this, being much smaller and more roughly carved than those in B. The larger number of burials in this vault may indicate that this part of the hypogeum was less restricted in who had access to burial compared to vault B. The most exciting find related to vault C, however, was the deposit immediately in front of vault C's entrance, termed Feature 14 (see **Fig. 5.42**). This was a large, discrete pile of ceramic sherds, natron balls, mummy wrappings, and limestone sarcophagi fragments which seems to be the ejected contents of at least one if not all three vaults. Far more pottery was found in this feature than in any individual vault; all of the sherds were relatively large and unworn, and are consistently 3rd to 2nd century BCE in date. The formation of this deposit seems clear: during a robbing episode, a significant proportion of the contents of one (vault C) or all of the vaults was ejected into this discrete pile.⁶⁶

Overall, it seems clear that vault B was reserved for the highest status individuals to be interred in Hypogeum 1. Given that the structure was originally a family tomb, this status was likely based on close-kinship with the original occupants of the tomb, *Hr-s3-Js.t* and his son *Ns-q3j-šw.ty*. The relationship of the occupants of vault C to those of vault B is unclear; they may have been more distant relations, or may have been unrelated

⁶⁶ Only a cursory analysis was possible during the 2012 season. The deposit represents the largest contextualized deposit of Ptolemaic period pottery in Abydos and was retained in its entirety for future study.



Fig. 5.37 – Overview of vault C. Photo by the author.



Fig. 5.38 – Burial 19, showing gilded armbands, bracelets, and nipple covers. Photo by K. Turner.



Fig. 5.39 – Remains of a bead mummy net, still strung, from vault C. Photo by E. Platte.



Fig. 5.40 – Fragments of wooden falcon statuettes, from vault C. Photo by E. Platte.



Fig. 5.41 – Stone and glass fragments of an eye inset for a mummy mask, from vault C. Photo by E. Platte.



Fig. 5.42 – Feature 14, the ejected contents of vault C. Photo by the author.

individuals who usurped the structure. The character of the assemblage in vault C is different than that of vault B; this could be the result of socio-economic differences, or a significant lapse in time between the interment of individuals in B and C.

There was evidence of ritual activity on the platform. A level (20.12/21.8) consisting of a sand and deteriorated wood matrix was present in the in northwest corner of the superstructure of Hypogeum 1, with many large wood fragments. At the bottom of this level was a shabti, lying in situ in the northwest corner of the hypogeum superstructure, suggesting some sort of offering. There was also a large number of amphorae fragments found in level 20.15/21.9 in the northeast corner of the hypogeum superstructure, suggesting offerings of wine and oil.

Summary

Of what was found during the AMC excavations, evidence for burial assemblages only comes from Hypogeum 1, and even then in an extremely disturbed context. The small mud-brick vaults had been destroyed or robbed completely, or were left unexcavated due to time constraints. The only evidence from these structures were fragmentary limestone coffins and cartonnage. It is thus difficult to say whether individuals tended to favor one aspect of the burial over the other in terms of effort expended (i.e. funerary structures or elaborate burial assemblages), or if they tended to expend resources on both aspects.

The choice of a communal versus a single interment burial structure was clearly an important one. Communal burial was clearly not restricted to monumental, elite structures. In the AMC area, there are two monumental (Hypogeums 1 and 2) and one non-



Fig. 5.43 – Burial 7 from F20.7/F20.12. Photo by the author.

monumental example (the pit F20.7/F20.12) of communal burial structures. Hypogaeum 1 is certainly an elite structure: the original occupants of the tomb were two priests, and the fragments of the burial assemblage are clearly high status given the quantity, quality, and variety of funerary equipment present. Little can be said about Hypogaeum 2 other than that it is a monumental structure intended for multiple interments, due to the presence of two vaults; there is no evidence for the burial assemblage, or even the number of burials within.

The mud-brick-lined pit (F20.7/F20.12) was also clearly intended for multiple interment, but is not as elaborate with respect to architecture. There was still a significant amount of expenditure on the burials, as evidenced by the presence of limestone coffins and fragments of elaborate cartonnage in the fill. In addition, the burial in this structure that was probably *in situ* (Burial 7) was well mummified, and had traces of a cartonnage

mask (**Fig. 5.43**). But due to the disturbed nature of both contexts, no comparison can be made between the traces found in this severely disturbed structure and the material from Hypogeum 1. We thus cannot state whether the quality and variety of a burial assemblage was associated with the size of a burial facility in any way.

Identifying single interments is somewhat difficult. Surface burials can confidently be considered single interments, since the nature of their deposition and the size of any attendant architecture (e.g. an isolated coffin or small mud-brick cap) precluded any future depositions. The smaller burial facilities, including simple shaft graves as well as two classes of vaults, are somewhat ambiguous. Since most of these structures were either robbed or unexcavated, it is unclear how many individuals were interred in them.

Despite this, it is likely that these types of burial facilities were meant for single interments. Shaft graves are best suited to a single interment, given problems of access once a shaft was filled in. Vaults like F19.4 and F21.3, which may or may not have a small attached forecourt area, as well as the more monumental F19.1, with a similar size burial chamber but a far larger “chapel” area for post-funerary ritual activity, also seem likely to have been meant for single interments. Though F19.4 was left unexcavated and F21.3 had been completely robbed out, these vaults’ overall size is enough for only the deposition of a single coffin and corpse, little more. In F19.1, there is evidence for only one limestone coffin. It seems likely then that all of these types of structures were meant for single interment. As with communal burial structures, we cannot compare burial assemblages from single interment structures due to the extent of disturbance; almost no traces of burial assemblages from these structures were recovered.

The possibilities for variation in effort were similar for both communal and single interment structures. The primary axes were the size and elaboration of the burial structure itself and the size and elaboration of the post-funerary ritual area. Communal structures seem to be slightly more fluid in their variation: Hypogeum 1 has three chambers, Hypogeum 2 only two (in a much smaller overall area), and F20.7/F20.12 has little structure to speak of. The scale of areas for post-funerary ritual also varied, with Hypogeum 1 having the most elaborate structures and F20.7/F20.12 a mud-plaster surface shared with other structures; Hypogeum 2 has no extant structure that can be associated with post-funerary activity. Variation in single interment structures with respect to burial chambers was more binary: it was either a shaft or a vault. The more elaborate variation could be in the post-funerary ritual space, with the addition of small forecourts or large funerary chapels.

There is not, then, a clear-cut socio-economic division between communal burial and single interment, with one inherently favored over the other; both provided avenues for elaboration and expenditure. This can be seen through a comparison of the vault/chapel complex F19.1 and the mud-brick pit F20.7/F20.12. The former likely required a greater outlay of resources, though it is only for a single interment. However, only communal burial structures are monumental. Hypogeum 1 dwarfs the other structures in scale, and clearly required the greatest overall expenditure. That it at least was intended as a family tomb for priests makes sense: priests were relatively high on the socio-economic scale, and had many resources at their disposal. It also further indicates a preference among the elite for burial in elaborate communal tombs, rather than for signif-

icant resources to be used for an individual structure. This was also seen in Thebes, with the phenomenon of multiple interments in elite reused tombs.

5.4: Spatial Organization and Development

The excavation areas of Petrie, Peet, and Garstang can only be analyzed with respect to spatial organization via the magnetometry. The probable areas of cemeteries “G” and “E” are densely packed with constructions which resemble the vaults described by Petrie and Peet (see again **Fig. 5.2**, the magnetometric survey map). The orientation of tombs in the probable area of Petrie’s “G” is generally local East-West, while in Peet’s “E” the orientation seems to be less rigid. Activity here does not appear to spill out into the *wadi* and is constrained to the Middle Cemetery Proper. As one progresses north, construction continues into the *wadi* itself with the presence of several large complexes.

We are on much firmer ground with the more recently excavated material. The 2011-2012 AMC seasons revealed a complex of buildings that can be roughly divided into three distinct though interrelated areas, termed “A”, “B”, and “C.” The features in each area have internally consistent, definite stratigraphic relationships. The stratigraphies of each area are interrelated, but there are no *definite* stratigraphic relationships between these areas – that is, features in a given area do not physically abut features in another area. The architectural development of each area can be confidently reconstructed, encompassing a period of architectural agglomeration, a period of abandonment and collapse, and a period of later robbing and 19th and early 20th century excavation.

Area “A” consists of five structures, the center of which is Hypogaeum 1, which has been described in detail above. **Fig. 5.44** is a close-up of the area with a Harris Matrix

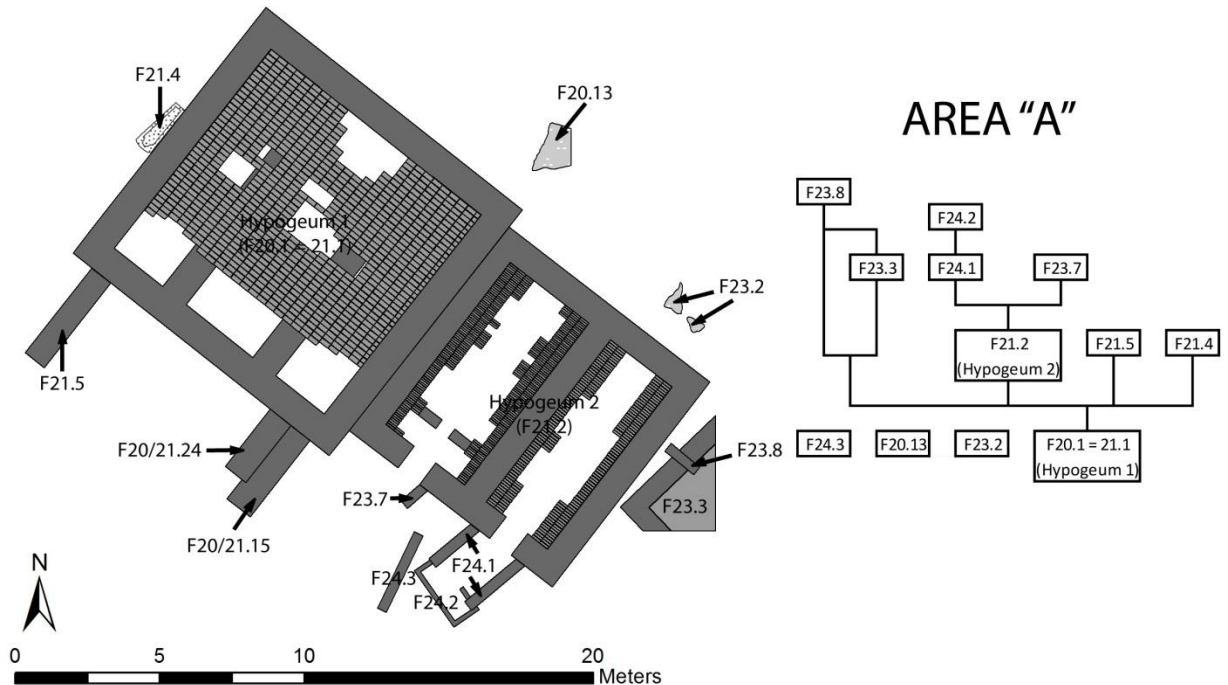


Fig. 5.44 – Close-up of area “A.” with labeled features and Harris matrix of architectural stratigraphy. showing the architectural stratigraphy. Three structures postdate Hypogeum 1. F21.4 is a limestone coffin abutting the hypogeum and running parallel along its NW wall (see again **Fig. 5.11**). F20.13 is a mud-plaster surface which does not abut any architecture; since its elevation is more consistent with the hypogeum than with other subsidiary architecture, it is included here in Area “A.” The largest structure that abuts Hypogeum 1 is Hypogeum 2, to the SE. Hypogeum 2 was clearly constructed in reference to Hypogeum 1: the upper courses of the NW wall of Hypogeum 2 overlap part of the platform of Hypogeum 1.

Several structures whose exact purposes are unknown abut and post-date Hypogeum 2, as well as one structure which has no relation to any other structure – the small

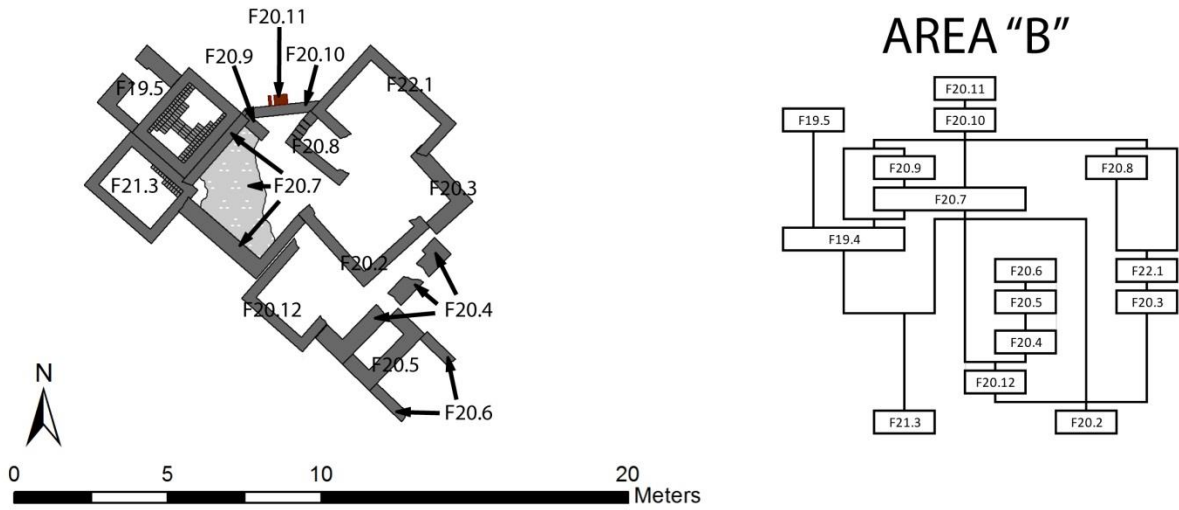


Fig. 5.45 - Close-up of area “B.” with labeled features and Harris matrix showing architectural stratigraphy. unaffiliated F24.3. Feature F24.2 is a small collapsed vault structure which was left unexcavated. This feature is partly covered by F24.1, two walls abutting Hypogeum 2 which may have formed a sort of forecourt, though they are not perpendicular to the hypogeum. Feature F23.7, a short wall abutting Hypogeum 2 at a similar angle to F24.1, may have had a similar purpose. To the east of Hypogeum 2, and post-dating it, is the vault F23.3, which remains unexcavated. This is attached to Hypogeum 2 by F23.8, a poorly preserved dry-laid wall.

Area “B” is a dense agglomeration of architecture immediately to the northeast of Area “A”. **Fig. 5.46** is a close-up of the area with a Harris Matrix showing the architectural stratigraphy. Based on elevation and proximity, all of this architecture must post-date Hypogeum 1: Hypogeum 1 is founded at a much greater depth than anything in Area

B, and could not have been built had there been preexisting architecture in the area. All structures in Area “B” are more moderate in construction, and are founded quite high.⁶⁷

The development of this area is somewhat complex. The structures F21.3 and F20.2 represent the two earliest structures in this area. F21.3 is a collapsed vault.⁶⁸ F20.2 is the roughly “L” shaped remains of a vaulted tomb, plastered on both the interior and exterior. Though they do not physically touch, F20.12 must postdate F20.2 due to the former’s high foundation level. F20.12 is a poorly preserved, “U”-shaped structure associated with a number of burials between F20.12 and F20.2. F19.4 is a rectangular vaulted structure, left unexcavated. The foundation of this structure is at a rather high level, and cut into and compromised the integrity of F21.3. F19.5, a simple enclosed burial space, postdates this structure, abutting it to the NW.

A major reorientation of the area occurred with the construction of F20.7 and F20.9. The former, the above-mentioned post-funerary ritual space, consists of three parts: F20.7a, b, and c. F20.7a and b are two walls preserved to a low height, the former an “L” shape forming the SE and SW boundary of the structure, and the latter forming the NW wall. These were originally one continuous wall; the W corner of the wall is now gone, having been destroyed during the robbing of F21.3. F20.7c is a mud-plaster surface, abutting both F20.7a and F20.7b. F20.9 is a spur wall, forming what would have been NE wall of the complex. This structure most likely would have been a full square in its original form; the east corner is now missing due to later robbing and construction.

⁶⁷ The founding levels of much of the architecture could not be determined due to the evacuation of the AMC team. However, all architecture was founded higher than F13 in Area “A”, which had a level of 105.682 masl. The foundation level of Hypogeum 1 is approximately 101.995 masl.

⁶⁸ The contents of the vault and the collapse itself is represented by level L21.10, the most important find from which was a limestone ostrakon with a demotic inscription. A preliminary reading of the ostrakon has indicated that it is funerary in nature (L. Prada, *personal communication*).

The presence of this unifying ritual structure suggests that most of these tombs were built in rapid succession following an overall plan rather than a series of *ad hoc* constructions. The ritual complex likely was not associated with F20.2, as the two are off axis from one another.

At some point, a series of smaller architectural elements of uncertain function were founded at a high level against 20.12 and 20.2. F20.3 is a badly damaged, small structure – potentially a vault – built abutting F20.2, now only existing as a corner. F20.4, F20.5, F20.6 – constructed in that order – are a series of low lying walls which may have served to wall off the SE edge of 20.12 (F20.4), as well as serve as a small burial area (F20.5) and forecourt. All of this architecture is founded quite high, is poorly preserved, and is difficult to interpret.

There is another cluster of structures to the north. F22.1 is a high founded, surface chamber which was not fully excavated due to the presence of a large number of disturbed human remains (Burials B9 and B11, and human remains cluster “C”). It was, however, likely at one point a discrete burial area, and postdates the badly disturbed chamber of F20.3. F20.8, which postdates F22.1, had two phases. The first consisted of two structures: a long wall running NW-SE (F20.8a), and a short one (F20.8b) running NE-SW that abuts F22.1. The interior was plastered and then the resulting chamber blocked off with two courses of bricks, three across (F20.8c). This is perhaps the sealing wall of a small burial chamber.

The final structures constructed in Area “B” are 20.10 and 20.11, which together form a post-funerary ritual area. F20.10 is a mud-brick wall running roughly W-E between F19.4, F.20.7, and F20.8, and F22.1, creating a small triangular space to the south.

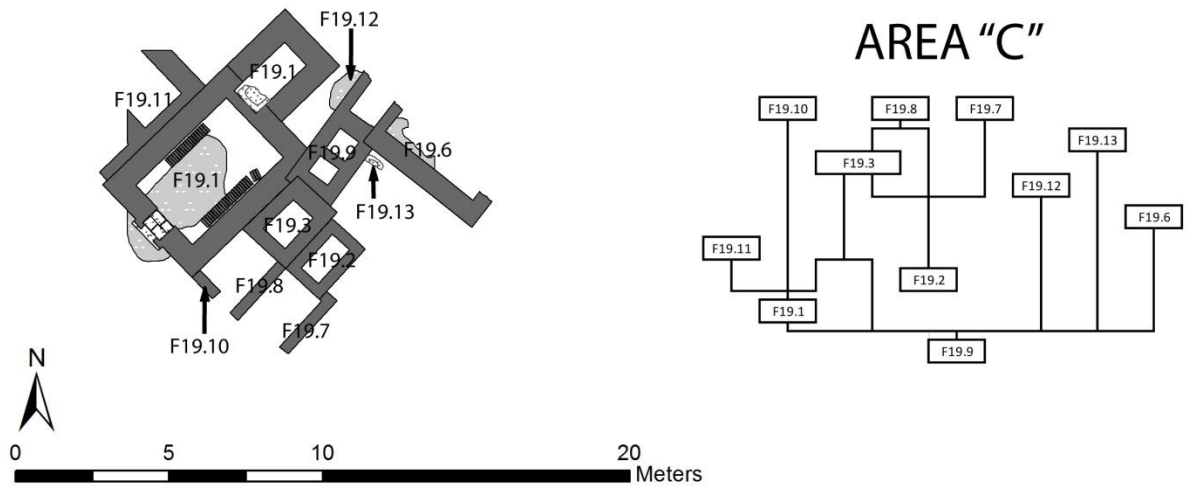


Fig. 5.46 - Close-up of area “C.” with labeled features and harris matrix showing architectural stratigraphy. Against the north face of F20.10 is F20.11, a small mud plaster installation. We found evidence of burning in this area, and an in situ shabti with a gilded face, though missing its lower half. The shabti likely dates to the 25th dynasty (see again **Fig. 5.21**).⁶⁹ The construction of this installation marks a shift in orientation from the river/cliffs (roughly NE-SW) to one based on cardinal directions. It is possible that burials B1 and B2 are contemporaneous with this structure, as they are the highest burials stratigraphically and the only burials found oriented north-south.

Area C is NW of Area B. **Fig. 5.46** is a close-up of the area with a Harris Matrix showing the architectural stratigraphy. This is the smallest and least architecturally complex area to be excavated. The exact relationship between this area and Area A is unclear. Though the area is dominated by Feature F19.1, the above mentioned single interment vault with large chapel area, the earliest construction in Area C is Feature 19.9, a narrow structure consisting of two square interior spaces of indeterminate purpose. The chronol-

⁶⁹ P. Lacovara, personal communication.

ogy of the remaining structures in the area is relatively straightforward. Following the construction of F19.1, there followed Feature 19.2, a burial-shaft, and 19.6, and 19.11, probable burials vaults – though both continued into the balk and out of the excavation area, were quite damaged, and were not excavated. Following this construction, a poorly built burial shaft, Feature F19.3, was constructed in the space between F19.1 and F19.2. The equally poorly built F19.7, F19.8 and F19.10 were then built abutting burial shafts F19.2 and F19.3, forming forecourts for these earlier constructions.

The overall pattern in the AMC area is that of a few large structures around which activity is focused. Hypogeum 1 is the prime example of this: it is the largest and earliest structure in the excavated area, and all others are built in reference to it. This is repeated on a smaller scale in area C, where feature F19.1 is the focus of activity, though it is admittedly not the first construction in the area.

It is important to note that while the structures in Areas B and C are characterized by intense agglomeration and incorporation of parts of earlier structures by later ones, Hypogeum 1 is largely respected by later activity. Hypogeum 2 is built against Hypogeum 1, but does not incorporate any of Hypogeum 1's architecture into its own. In contrast, Area B is an agglomeration of architecture, with smaller constructions incorporating existing architecture to create new spaces. Importantly, no structures in Area B physically abut or incorporate a part of Hypogeum 1, despite its proximity.

5.5: Body Treatment and Bioarchaeological Data

The study of human remains is difficult at Abydos for several reasons. First, the large scale robbing and excavation of the site caused considerable disturbance of human

remains, not only moving bodies out of context but also disarticulating or destroying them entirely. There is also little to no information on human remains recorded in the early excavation reports.⁷⁰ In addition, determining the age, sex, and pathologies of mummified individuals is difficult without resorting to destructive techniques or specialized equipment.

The excavations in 2011 and 2012 identified 38 discrete human burials, as well as three defined secondary deposits of human remains (designated A, B, and C).⁷¹ Burials were numbered 1 to 39, with one burial (5) later revealed to be that of a fetal cat. Thirty-five of the 38 burials were fully mummified, two were originally mummified and are now largely skeletonized, and one was fully skeletonized. This latter burial, the only one without any evidence of mummification, was of a child aged 9-10, buried in a sitting position and covered with a large ceramic vessel (**Fig. 5.10**). Age and sex determination for fully mummified burials was not possible at present.⁷² Though the sample of human remains from these seasons is relatively large, most were disturbed and therefore could not be securely dated, though they must be from the Ptolemaic period and after. Of those burials outside of Hypogeum 1, only four were determined to be definitively *in situ*. Within the hypogeum, two were determined to be *in situ*.

Some general patterns emerged even from such a small and disturbed sample. First, the dominant orientation was with reference to the Nile and desert cliffs, based on the orientation of both *in situ* burials and limestone sarcophagi. At some point, this switched: two stratigraphically late, abutting burials from outside Hypogeum 1 are ori-

⁷⁰ Peet mentions that burials were “fully mummified”, but with little more detail (Neville 1914: 26-27).

⁷¹ This count does not include the large number of disarticulated, isolated human remains dispersed throughout the area.

⁷² The further study of these remains is a topic for future research, requiring specialized equipment (e.g. a portable x-ray machine).

ented almost due north and south, one facing north and the other south (**Fig. 5.47**). Second, there were two dominant hand/arm positions among burials: 1.) arms crossed at the chest, hands on shoulders; 2.) arms extended, with hand covering the pubic area. There are some exceptions and variations to this; one individual was buried with the left arm across the chest and right arm extended, while in several crossed-arm burials the left hand was also clenched with the thumb extended. This was true for both mummified and skeletonized burials.

No definitive conclusions can be drawn based on the available bioarchaeological data. The most striking pattern at present, however, is the overall prevalence of mummified material. Admittedly, this could be due to a preservation bias: skeletonized remains are more likely to have been dispersed during robbing and excavation episodes. An analysis of the isolated human remains with a view towards determining the proportion of fully skeletonized remains against those with some evidence of mummification could aid in determining the extent of this bias. But, this prevalence may also be indicative of the overall status of this part of the cemetery, in that we can surmise that mummification cost more than a simple inhumation burial. This also makes sense given the scale and complexity of the architecture in the area: higher-effort body treatment could be expected to associated with higher-effort structures.



Fig. 5.47 – Burials 1 (background) and 2 (foreground). Photo by the author.

5.6 – Synthesis and Conclusions

The importance of Abydos as a religious and oracular center can be seen in the textual references and numerous graffiti of pilgrims and oracle seekers in the Seti I temple complex. The ideological importance of Abydos still loomed large in the Graeco-Roman period, with references in both Egyptian⁷³ and Greek⁷⁴ language sources to the desire to be buried at Abydos. But the regional ideological or rhetorical importance of a site does not necessarily equate to the investment of material resources in that site by individuals from disparate locales.

⁷³ Again, see the Book of the Dead, spell 1 (Allen 1974: 5-6) and the Embalming Ritual, in particular section 5/1: “Your tomb will be sought for. Your sepulchre will be equipped in the necropolis of Abydos.” (Smith 2009: 232, Text 11)

⁷⁴ See again Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 359A8-B2.

Determining whether the catchment area of the Abydos cemetery went beyond the immediate vicinity would provide some answers. One of Garstang's grave stelae⁷⁵ indicates an individual whose origin was Lykopolis (modern Asyut), which is approximately 150km north of Abydos (**Fig. 5.48**). Like all of the other stelae, however, this cannot be associated with a particular grave, and may have been attached to a cenotaph rather than an actual burial. A full reconstruction of the inscriptions of sarcophagi F16 and F17 could provide more information on this problem. In its current state, only the names and generic titles (*ḥm ntr* – “priest”) can be reconstructed; there are no clear toponyms as of yet which might reveal the place of origin of the deceased, or at least where they held their position as priests. If elite individuals from diverse regions were being buried at the site in the Ptolemaic period, this would indicate that Abydos' significance in funerary ideology is not strictly rhetorical.

However, the spatial organization of the recent AMC excavation area does bear some relationship to older areas of the cemetery. In the Middle Cemetery, the large Dynasty 6 mastaba complexes of Weni and Iuu are the focus of mortuary activity in their vicinity, with later structures are arrayed around them. Some of these are of the same period (that is, late Old Kingdom), but others are of Dynasty 26 but are built at the Old Kingdom level.⁷⁶ Graves were being intentionally organized around these early structures. In the Ptolemaic area excavated in 2011-2012, the pattern is broadly similar, with large

⁷⁵ Abdalla 1992, cat. no. 20. There is unfortunately no date associated with the stele, and so it could be from either the Ptolemaic or Roman period.

⁷⁶ The Saite period is notable for a reverence for earlier structures. In this case, the area around the mastabas was cleared down to the Old Kingdom surface level, and tombs were then constructed. A direct association with the older structures was desirable. See Richards 2002, 2005, and 2007 for an overview of this area of the cemetery; see Richards 2002: 94 for the Saite period reuse of the area.



Fig. 5.48 – Stele of Hierax (Abdalla 1992, cat. 20).

complexes surrounded by later, smaller funerary architecture. However, in the Ptolemaic area the chronological distance is undoubtedly shorter between the initial construction of the hypogeum and the later structures. These similarities in spatial patterning suggest continuity in practice.

The Abydos cemetery landscape has been characterized by restricted access that is gradually relaxed: a previously restricted area was opened up, elites moved in, and then others follow. Originally, Umm el-Qa'ab was the only area open to burial, and only to the pharaohs. Access to certain areas was eventually opened to regional elites in the late Old Kingdom, of which Weni and Iuu are examples, followed by a lower elite⁷⁷ and those being buried in smaller structures who wanted to be associated with the larger structure.⁷⁸ We know that control of the landscape continued to be of importance through at least the Middle Kingdom.⁷⁹ These restrictions, of course, fell away at some point: the processional *wadi* was filled in.

In the AMC 2011-2012 area, the two monumental hypogea occupy an area at the point where the low desert descends into the *wadi*. The family of *Hr-s3-Js.t* took advantage of a highly visible location that was in close proximity to the processional *wadi* with the construction of Hypogeum 1. Hypogeum 2 likely soon followed, and eventually the areas around Hypogeum 1 eventually became open to other human burials. At this point, the initial structure became the focus of mortuary activity. This can either be understood simply as making use of a limited amount of space for tomb construction, or as due to an active desire to be associated with this structure. Since no structures in the area incorporate Hypogeum 1 into their architecture, as is the case in Area "B", and since

⁷⁷ For example to tomb of Idi. See Richards 2002, 2005.

⁷⁸ E.g. the later Saite period chapels. See Richards 2002.

⁷⁹ Again, outlined in the Neferhotep stele. See n. 40 above.

aside from Hypogeum 2 and coffin F21.4 no structure abuts it, I am inclined towards the latter.⁸⁰

An association with the processional *wadi* was of paramount importance for the family of *Hr-s3-Js.t*: prominence was accorded to those more closely associated, in a spatial sense, with rituals surrounding the cenotaph of Osiris. Crucially, there does not seem to have been any structure that blocked the sightline between the *wadi* and Hypogeum 1: based on the magnetometry and excavations, the areas to the W and SW of the structure were left largely clear. This is tenuously supported by an overview of the magnetometry: the *wadi* is lined by a number of larger structures, with smaller ones falling to their immediate east. Elite status is expressed not only through grave architecture and the tomb assemblage – as could be seen with the material in Hypogeum 1 – but also through association with the ritual landscape. Elites constructed their tombs near the *wadi*, associating themselves with the rites of the Osiris cult.

However, at some point during the Ptolemaic period, the ritual landscape shifted. This is most evident in the blocking of the processional the *wadi* by cemetery which was excavated by Garstang in 1907. In Hypogeum 1, nothing seems datable after the 2nd century BCE at the latest. It is possible that this tomb and others in the area ceased to be a focal point of elite activity once the processional *wadi* was closed. This being the case, it seems as if once the ritual landscape shifted, the means by which individuals and groups constructed their identity shifted as well. Indeed, the change in ritual practice at Abydos

⁸⁰ Notably, at some point Hypogeum 1 ceased to be the focal point of mortuary activity. Two excavated burials were oriented roughly north-south, rather than oriented towards the river as with almost all previous burials. It is tenuous to see a shift in burial practice based solely on two burials, but all other burials in the area were oriented towards the Nile – as is the hypogeum. These later burials were also very high stratigraphically, though they were *in situ*; by the time these individuals were buried, the hypogeum would have largely been obscured by sand.

as indicated by the blocked processional route may itself indicate a shift in the understanding of the religious meaning of the site. Determining exactly when this shift occurred is a focus for future research.

The identities expressed at Abydos, like elsewhere, are primarily socio-economic. Here, monumental communal burial structures, probably belonging to priestly families, are the most prominent in the landscape. The status of these families was further reinforced by a close spatial association with the ritual routes of the local Osiris cult. These individuals thus tied themselves to a very local ritual landscape. At the same time, however, these elites were participating in an elite *koine* of burial assemblages: the remnants of the burial assemblage found in Hypogeum 1 have explicit parallels in Thebes. There is both trans-regional commonality and local elaboration, here through the use of the ritual landscape. The spatial organization of smaller tombs is also a continuation long established patterns.

From the available mortuary evidence, there is no indication that a distinct ethnic identity was purposefully expressed. Like Thebes, non-Egyptian populations were clearly visiting this site; unlike Thebes, we do not know if they participated in the funerary system. This is true in the case even of the Greek grave stelae. The principal scenes on these stelae, regardless of language used, are alike: they depict the presentation of the deceased before Osiris – the deceased making libations/pouring incense before the god, being led into the presence of the god, raising hands in adoration before the god, and so forth.⁸¹ The only substantive difference between these stelae was the language used. Language in and of itself, and particularly a written one, does not allow us to postulate the presence of an

⁸¹ Abdalla 1992: 101

ethnic identity. Here, the most important association to broadcast was with Osiris and his cult. Similarly, the overall spatial organization of the limited number of Ptolemaic areas which currently have been excavated indicates that mortuary practice was primarily focused on an association with the ritual landscape of Abydos rather than ethnic identity.

Chapter 6 – Conclusions and Future Directions

6.1 – Summary of Results

This study has examined three Ptolemaic-period cemeteries in order to determine what identities are expressed in mortuary practice and whether this included an archaeologically visible ethnic identity; to observe the variation in material expression of identity across Egypt; and to determine how both cultural contact and local socio-political conditions shaped those expressions. All three of these goals have been addressed.

From the available evidence, we cannot definitively determine an active construction of an ethnic identity in the mortuary system at any of the three sites, though certain practices are suggestive. An ethnic identity in a mortuary system should appear as a horizontal distinction that is socio-economically cross-cutting and have a highly visible set of distinctive rituals and practices. At Abydos and Thebes, mummification could perhaps be taken as marking the presence of an “ethnic” identity, given the visibility of ritual events surrounding the practice and its general pervasiveness at these sites. Mummification was also a focus of deep fascination outside of Egypt¹ and was seized upon as something particularly Egyptian. To some extent, the practice does seem to cut across the socio-economic spectrum, being associated with burials of various elaboration (see e.g. the discussion of the Abydos burials and their tomb assemblages) and structures of various expenditure (e.g. mummification present in both new mud-brick tombs and reused rock-cut

¹ See again Herodotus 2.85-90 and Diodorus Siculus 1.91-92.

tombs); mummification itself also varied in quality (again, see the Abydos burials). A consideration of mummification, however, requires a distinction between what outsiders (i.e. Herodotus, Diodorus, and modern scholars) see as “Egyptian” and the active construction or recognition of an Egyptian ethnicity in a mortuary system by members of Ptolemaic Egyptian society. There are several problems with taking a pattern of widespread mummification as referring to a recognized ethnic identity, particularly at Thebes and Abydos. At both Abydos and Thebes, the practice was still restricted, as the associated costs of mummification excluded many that would not be able to afford the practice, marking it out as elite in many respects rather than ethnic. In addition, an ethnic identity may be represented in a mortuary system if either the group participating in the mortuary behavior actively constructs it, or if an outside group viewing the system recognizes something in the mortuary system as “ethnic.” Mummification had been typical elite practice at both Abydos and Thebes for several millennia by the Ptolemaic period. Though there is evidence for the presence of outside groups (i.e. Greeks) at both sites in some capacity, their numbers were not large. In such a context, the purposeful broadcasting of an ethnic identity via mummification would not make sense, since this represented only a continuation of local patterns, while the likelihood that the practice would be seized on as ethnic by an outside group for any period of time seems minimal. Familiarization with mummification over time would mean the practice would lose any potential ethnic connotations; the adoption of mummification by individuals of a known non-Egyptian origin clearly indicates that the practice was not limited to use by “Egyptians.” At Thebes and Abydos, then, it seems unlikely that mummification would act as funerary treatment marking ethnicity.

In Alexandria, the situation was somewhat different. Here, cremation practices were identified as a potential candidate for an ethnic marker. This practice was associated with a variety of burial assemblages and funerary architecture, and cross-cut the socio-economic spectrum to a certain point. The necessary rituals associated with cremation practice meant that it must have been highly visible. Cremation was also quite frequent, as far as we can tell, and so was not a special-status or idiosyncratic distinction. This seems to fit the criteria for an “ethnic” marker quite well. The social conditions of Alexandria are also such that an ethnic identity expressed in burial practice may be useful. In contrast to Thebes and Abydos, the population of Alexandria was far more diverse in terms of geographic origin, with indigenous Egyptians coexisting with immigrants from across the eastern Mediterranean. Group identities would be more useful in this situation than at Thebes. That cremation is inherently opposed to Egyptian traditions of burial practice in terms of concern for the body suggests that the use of cremation was intentionally chosen to broadcast a non-Egyptian identity. If this is the case, then it is plausible that among the inhabitants of Alexandria mummification and other practices in the Egyptian tradition were in fact viewed as ethnic markers for at least some period after the foundation of the city.

One must be careful in assigning an ethnic meaning to cremation practice, however. No single “ethnic” group used the practice, as evidenced by a Punic inscription on one example of a Hadra vase, and the use of cremation by a Galatian woman. The use of cremation by foreign diplomats and mercenaries implies an association with foreigners. The identity being expressed seems to be one that is “non-indigenous” rather than “Greek” or “Macedonian.” This is somewhat different than an “ethnic” identity, since while a non-

indigenous identity is based on geographic origin, for a “non-indigenous identity” thks origin is simply “not from Egypt” rather than a specific place, and has no connotations of common descent – fictive or otherwise. This “non-indigenous” identity appears to lose its usefulness over time, since cremation becomes much rarer by the late Ptolemaic and early Roman periods. As immigration tapered off and non-indigenous families had been settled for several generations, indigenous practices grew familiar and lost their “otherness.” A non-indigenous identity displayed through cremation would have lost its usefulness.

Though ethnic identities undoubtedly were recognized in Ptolemaic society, a definitive ethnic identity cannot be identified in burial practice at any of these sites; in the context of mortuary display, other identities may have taken precedence. In Alexandria, absolute vertical distinctions are difficult to detect, since the variables associated with this type of distinction seem to continuously vary, rather than cluster together – particularly in the case of the burial assemblage. Differences in effort are clearly present in the system in the form grave structures, and particularly with monumental hypogea – though these are problematic in this respect since as collective burial structures they represent the effort of multiple individuals. These structures, however, are the clearest expression of social identity in the entire mortuary program, through their potential signaling of a horizontal distinction in the form of a non-kin based identity. Horizontal distinctions are the most prominent in Alexandria, including both the “non-indigenous” identity signaled in cremation, and the non-kin group membership associated with communal hypogea.

At both Abydos and Thebes, vertical socio-economic distinctions in some form seem to be the most prominent in the funerary system; definable cross-cutting horizontal distinctions are obscure, partly due to the quality of the data. Ostentatious expenditure on

burial equipment was clearly a priority for many (elite) individuals at both sites. However, the extensive robbing of graves prevents any solid conclusions from being drawn solely from this variable; we cannot know how poor seemingly “poor” graves actually were, and so cannot see if there are clear hierarchical levels, or a range in variation. Grave architecture is a more reliable signal for social distinctions in this case. At Abydos it was through monumental mud-brick funerary architecture (i.e. Hypogeum 1); the contrast between the large, well-built hypogea with smaller surrounding vaults is great enough to indicate by itself a large socio-economic distinction. The high-elite distinction represented by this is confirmed by the inscriptions marking the original occupants as priests. The hypogeum also marked out collective rather than individual burial as a component of elite practice.

We can determine the structural variation at a given site from examination of our six broad categories of variables; determining the nature of representational variation, however, requires knowledge of local context, as does assigning specific meaning to mortuary treatments. In all three of our case studies, it is clear that the local socio-political situation exerted the most influence on representational variation. For instance, long standing patterns in funerary behavior, as well as existing ritual and funerary landscapes clearly factored into the construction of a mortuary program at both Abydos and Thebes. At the former site, Hypogeum 1 may have been constructed near the processional *wadi* to associate the tomb’s occupants with rituals of the Osiris festival; status was being emphasized by the location of a funerary structure within a landscape. At Thebes, Like Abydos, major processional routes were a focus of mortuary activity, with the majority of new mud-brick constructions of the later periods being concentrated in the Assasif leading up

to Deir el-Bahri. Reuse of the existing mortuary landscape was intentional, and may have been a deliberate claim of legitimacy by local elites through direct association with past Theban elites. The reuse of tombs in this case may mark a higher social status than that associated with new mud-brick constructions. This status may not be socio-economic – the (admittedly fragmentary) burial assemblages in both reused and mud-brick tombs are comparable – but rather seem to reflect a distinction among the local elite. This reuse, then, may be a horizontal distinction.

Besides the existing landscape, social institutions directly related to mortuary activity shaped funerary practice at Thebes. Behavior was mediated by a hereditary class of priests (the *choachytes*) which had the effect of limiting the scope of mortuary variation, limiting the size and types of new funerary architecture and controlling rights of reuse of existing rock-cut tombs. This institution ensured the continuation of certain traditions while having the effect of standardizing mortuary practice in the area. Similar such institutions cannot be ruled out for Alexandria or Abydos; that would be an argument from silence. But practice does seem more varied in some respects at both these sites compared to Thebes; Alexandria is far more diverse in its practice, and even Abydos seems to have more variety at least in the size and types of newly built funerary structures.

At Alexandria, the lack of an existing funerary paradigm and the lack of long-standing social institutions among an immigrant population were the most important factors which shaped the funerary program. This can be seen in the immediate appearance of communal, rock-cut hypogea. Following on the arguments of Schmidt,² these have plausibly been argued to represent a non-kin based identity: the existence of voluntary organizations. This argument can be made because we know the circumstances of the city's

² See again Schmidt 2010.

population. Early immigrants to Alexandria would have severed most of their important social relationships – particularly familial ones – when they left their home cities, and so would have needed to build relationships in order for the traditional rites surrounding a funeral to be carried out. That immigrants pooled their resources together should come as no surprise. The existence of an important non-kin based horizontal distinction can be argued because of this contextualized knowledge.

The idiosyncratic features of each site should not be emphasized too much.

Though the local social and political context of each site had an intense influence on their respective mortuary systems, there are several points of meaningful commonality. At Abydos and Thebes, there is enough similarity between elite burial assemblages to suggest that there is a common symbolic repertoire in Ptolemaic period elite practice; other aspects, such as funerary architecture and spatial organization, are much more local, and reflect the influence of the local socio-political situation. Alexandria of course exhibits some similarity to practices in Greece and Macedonia; the local character of the mortuary practice there is perhaps the most obvious, however, with the prominence of cremation and the development of new types of funerary architecture to meet the community's social needs.

In sum, we can see that the mortuary systems of all three sites demonstrate some degree of relationship with other areas of Egypt and the Mediterranean. However, both the structural variation (which broad types of distinction are represented in a burial system) and the representation variation (how those distinctions are represented) are largely constructed in relation to the local social, political, and cultural landscape. In Alexandria, non-kin based relationships and non-indigenous identities are most prominent precisely

because of the city's status as a new foundation. At Thebes, status is communicated largely through a relationship with an existing funerary landscape, with an important distinction made between reused rock-cut tombs and newly built mud-brick architecture. In Abydos, the ritual landscape proved to be the most important, with status indicated by proximity to the processional *wadi* as well as through tomb size. The variation between the mortuary systems of these sites is quite remarkable, given that these sites are all part of a single state-level society. An overarching "ethnic" identity does not seem to have been represented in the mortuary systems of these sites; identities were locally situated rather than broad-based, other than general "elite" identities. Burial practice in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period cannot be stereotyped into "Greek" and "Egyptian" practices so easily.

This analysis should also not be taken as a "static" view of Ptolemaic Egyptian society. A combined analysis of both the structural and representational variation has provided insights into the social history and social change of this period. Though the more provincial sites of Thebes and Abydos were more difficult to analyze diachronically due to the nature of the data, in Alexandria the "non-indigenous" identity described above ceased to be useful after several generations, as the immigrant population settled and became indigenous themselves. The decline in cremation practices and the introduction of more overt Egyptian iconography in tombs (as at Anfushy) demonstrate this. At the same time, the persistence of collective hypogea indicates that continued utility of a non-kin based group identity in the social fabric of the city. The social circumstances of the early city fostered the creation of social distinctions that persisted once those initial circumstances (i.e. a large immigrant population with no social ties) had passed. Alexandria on

the one hand moves from being a city of immigrants to an “indigenous” city, and on the other hand developed a social fabric that was uniquely “Alexandrian.”

We can also begin to ask what this analysis tells us about cultural interaction, mortuary practices, and social change more generally in a case of cross-cultural interaction involving state-level societies. From a methodological standpoint, it is clear that when dealing with a state-level, literate society that a detailed knowledge of the site-specific social, political, and cultural situation allows for more nuanced interpretations. This information was key not only for understanding the nature of the distinctions represented and their manner of representation in the mortuary systems of Alexandria, Thebes, and Abydos, but also for the identification of the broad categories of structural distinctions as well.

More generally, this work demonstrates the role that regionalism plays in the construction of identity in a case of cross-cultural interaction. Ptolemaic Egypt is a situation of unusually intense cross-cultural interaction in an ancient context, with the influx of such a large number of immigrants and the quick establishment of a non-indigenous ruling elite. Through mortuary practice, we can observe the diversity of identities on display. Interestingly, the mortuary program of the old Egyptian centers at Abydos and Thebes do not seem very different from what had come before. This is not necessarily a conscious “conservatism” in the mortuary practice, but rather simply a continuation of practices and means of identity expression that were already well-established. There is no conscious statement of ethnic identity or otherwise that would suggest a purposeful reaction to the new foreign presence. The most change is seen in Alexandria, the newly built city and home of many immigrants, with the establishment of new horizontal non-kin

based distinctions and the creation and subsequent loss of a particular “non-indigenous” identity. As far as the mortuary system goes, the effects of cross-cultural interaction were largely felt by the immigrant groups, rather than the indigenous populations.

We should perhaps expect this to be the case among other state-level societies in this situation. The large, established centers of the indigenous population demonstrate little change with respect to the form of the mortuary system and the social distinctions expressed therefrom. Since the identities being constructed in the system are locally situated, there would be little reason for them to change barring a substantial disruption of the local community – more than anything we can see in the evidence from our examples of Thebes and Abydos. New centers established by immigrant groups should demonstrate the most change and instability in the mortuary program, since for at least a generation and as long as the immigration continues the social structure of that site will be in a state of flux. When a foreign elite respects the indigenous population’s traditions and comes to a rapprochement with the local elites – as was the case in Ptolemaic Egypt – a lack of change in the mortuary system at major indigenous sites, at least structurally and to some extent representationally, should be expected. Symbols and forms are more likely to shift gradually, as groups of indigenous and non-indigenous origin become accustomed to new forms of material culture and different conceptions of what is “elite.” The situation is more complicated than dichotomy of indigenous and non-indigenous modes of burial.

6.2 – Future Directions

The study presented here had a narrow focus, concentrating on only three sites and only on the Ptolemaic period. The scope of this study can be widened, along both regional and diachronic dimensions. Sites from the Nile Delta and the western desert oases

(i.e. Bahariya, Dakhleh, and Khargeh) need to be analyzed in order to gain a perspective on the full range of regional variation in burial practice. These areas are traditionally marginal in the study of Egypt, overshadowed by the importance of sites in the Nile Valley and, in the case of Ptolemaic Egypt, the site of Alexandria. Sites from these regions are smaller and more rural, and can help break the monopolistic elite perspective that we derive from major Nile Valley centers. Memphis, still a politically important indigenous city in the Ptolemaic period, is also an important contrast to the newly-founded political center of Alexandria.

The diachronic dimension to mortuary variability also requires a fuller treatment, since the social situation of the Roman period provides a fascinating contrast. When Egypt was incorporated into the Roman Empire in 30 BCE, the situation was substantively different from that of the Ptolemaic period. During the Ptolemaic period, the Macedonian-Greek elite had placed themselves at the head of an already existing state, inserting themselves at the top of an already complex hierarchy; by the end of the dynasty the Ptolemies cannot be considered anything other than indigenous rulers, residing in Egypt itself and ruling it as an independent polity. When Rome conquered Egypt, it was incorporated into highly complex empire: the elites and ultimate rulers of Egypt no longer resided there, and Egypt became integrated into a much wider system than had been previously possible. One polity was absorbed by the other; as such, the effects on processes of cross-cultural interaction can be expected to differ from the Ptolemaic period.

This effects of incorporation into the Roman empire should be reflected in the mortuary system: incorporation into a pan-Mediterranean empire would be more disruptive than the establishment of the Ptolemaic dynasty, and the social systems in the old

ritual centers such as Thebes and Abydos may have been altered to such an extent as to produce an identifiable change in the mortuary program. More provincial sites – such as Terenouthis in the Delta and Douch in the Khargeh oasis – would need to be analyzed to determine the differential effects of incorporation into the empire between small provincial sites and major centers. When mortuary sites are examined from such a diachronic perspective, we can gain a sense of different types of social changes that took place in the shift from indigenous to Ptolemaic and eventually to Roman rule.

At present, however, there is much more basic work to be done as well. Later period Abydos is still inadequately understood, and requires further excavation for a proper understanding of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods of the site. Much material and documentation have yet to be analyzed and published from early excavations of Alexandria and later period Thebes; these archives could shed more light on the character of both the Roman and Ptolemaic periods of these sites. At all sites, more proper bioarchaeological work needs to be done; key variables such as the sex and age of individual burials must be included for a full analysis. In general, more controlled excavation and publication of Ptolemaic and Roman graves is necessary, both to provide data for further analyses and in order to refine our sometimes hazy chronology for these periods.

This project has demonstrated the utility of the analysis of mortuary systems in Ptolemaic Egypt. Through the observation of intense regionalism in funerary practice and identity construction, as well as groups' differential responses to culture contact, I have shown that a society characterized mainly by the "separateness" of two ethnic groups is too simplistic a model. Ethnic identities did not predominate in the funerary realm. Once *a priori* conceptions of the importance of "Greek" and "Egyptian" identities are removed,

it becomes apparent just how diverse in population and tradition Ptolemaic Egypt was; the mortuary systems of the period reflect this. The study of Ptolemaic Egyptian society is best-served by moving beyond ethnic dichotomies to a more nuanced conception of identity and social change.

Appendix A – Grave Assemblages from Alexandria

The following are the 124 reported grave assemblages from Shatby and Hadra.

The number assigned to each tomb is arbitrary. Each entry presents: the cemetery in which this tomb was located; its place of publication and its numbering therein; the type of interment (inhumation, cremation, or mixed); the number of burials; and the type of burial facility. This is followed by the contents of the tomb, presented in a brief description of the object, its type, and its material. Types listed here include those that occur less than six times in the sample. Fuller descriptions of the objects can be found in the original publications.

Tomb 1: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb number 13, hypogeum 1, loculus 1. *Type:* Inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cup on a low ring foot	drinking vessel	clay
2.)	small stand	stand	clay
3.)	small deep cup	drinking vessel	clay
4.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 2: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb number 14, hypogeum 1, loculus 2. *Type:* Inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	hermaphrodite figurine	figurine	clay
2.) – 4.)	two-handled cups (3)	drinking vessel	clay

Tomb 3: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, hypogeum A, loculus 2. *Type:* Inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents: 0 objects

Tomb 4: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, hypogeum A, loculus 4.
Type: Inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small vessel (black slip)	vessel	clay
2.)	nail	nail	bronze

Tomb 5: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as hypogeum A, loculus 5.
Type: Inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	alabastron	unguent vessel	alabaster
2.)	“spindle” vessel	vessel	clay
3.)	“bulging” vessel	vessel	clay

Tomb 6: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as hypogeum A, loculus 6.
Type: Inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents: 0 objects

Tomb 7: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as hypogeum A, loculus 7.
Type: Inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents: 0 objects

Tomb 8: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as hypogeum A, loculus 8.
Type: Inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents: 0 objects

Tomb 9: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as hypogeum A, loculus 9.
Type: Inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	alabastron	unguent vessel	alabaster

Tomb 10: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as hypogeum A, loculus 10.
Type: Inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents: 0 objects

Tomb 11: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as hypogeum A, loculus 11.
Type: Inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents: 0 objects

Tomb 12: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as hypogeum A, loculus 12.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (fragmentary)	urn	clay
2.)	small bulging pitcher	libation vessel	clay

Tomb 13: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as hypogeum A, loculus 13.
Type: Inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

Tomb 14: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as hypogeum B, loculus 2.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents: 2 objects, 2 types

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay
2.)	Lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 15: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 16, “circular” hypogeum, loculus 1. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	lamp	lamp	clay
2.)	cinerary urn	urn	clay

Tomb 16: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 17, “circular” hypogeum, loculus 3. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	lamp	lamp	clay
2.)	small globular vase	vessel	clay

Tomb 17: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 18, “circular” hypogeum, loculus 4. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	remains of a gilded crown	wreath	gold and ?

Tomb 18: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 19, “circular” hypogeum, loculus 6. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	large deep cup	drinking vessel	clay
2.)	small ovoid vase	vessel	clay

Tomb 19: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 20, “circular” hypogeum, loculus 6a. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn	urn	alabaster

Tomb 20: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 12, hypogeum G, loculus 2. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	vessel with flattened body	vessel	clay
2.)	support for a circular vessel	stand	clay
3.)	broken bronze mirror	mirror	bronze
4.)-5.)	tiny vessels on wide feet	vessel	clay

Tomb 21: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 15, hypogeum A, loculus 22. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-2.)	Two small ovoid vessels	vessel	clay
3.)	small two-handled dish w/o a foot	dish	clay

Tomb 22: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 1, fossa 28. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small truncated cup	drinking vessel	clay
2.)	aryballos	unguent vessel	clay
3.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 23: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 1. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	amphora (small)	amphora	clay
2.)-3.)	cups w/o a foot (2)	drinking vessel	clay
4.)	cup (small)	drinking vessel	clay
5.)	bowl (small)	drinking vessel	clay
6.)-7.)	lamps (2)	lamp	clay

Tomb 24: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Hospital. *Published:* *Annuaire 1*, as tomb 1. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	female figurine	figurine	clay
2.)	head of a female figurine	figurine	clay

Tomb 25: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 2, loculus 30. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	kantharos	drinking vessel	clay
2.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 26: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 2. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa .

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-5.)	amphora (small) (5)	amphora	clay
6.)	cup (small)	drinking vessel	clay
7.)	pitcher	libation vessel	clay
8.)	kantharos	drinking vessel	clay
9.)	alabaster vessel (small)	unguent vessel	alabaster
10.)	alabastron (lower part)	unguent vessel	alabaster

Tomb 27: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Hospital. *Published:* *Annuaire 1*, as tomb 2. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	lamp	lamp	clay
2.)-3.)	small pot-bellied vessels	vessel	clay
4.)	crude pot-bellied pitcher	libation vessel	clay

Tomb 28: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 7. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa..

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	dish on ring foot	dish	clay
2.)	circular pyxis with a cover	pyxis	bronze

Tomb 29: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 3, fossa 33. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-3.)	tiny vessels, goblet-shaped	drinking vessel	clay
4.)	small truncated cup	drinking vessel	clay

Tomb 30: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 3. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small bulging vessel	vessel	clay
2.)	small pitcher w/ bulging base	libation vessel	clay
3.)	small bulging pitcher	libation vessel	clay
4.)	small amphora	amphora	clay
5.)	lamp	lamp	clay
6.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 31: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Hospital. *Published:* *Annuaire 1*, as tomb 3. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 2; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-2.)	cinerary urns (2)	urn	clay
3.)-4.)	bowls	vessel	clay
5.)	female figurine	figurine	clay
6.)	head of a female figurine	figurine	clay

Tomb 32: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 4, fossa 45. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-2.)	alabastra (2)	unguent vessel	alabaster
3.)	alabaster dish	dish	alabaster
4.)	alabastron	unguent vessel	clay
5.)	small disk	disk	bone
6.)-7.)	two bone objects (pins)	pin	bone

Tomb 33: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3* as tomb 4. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-2.)	small elongated pitchers	libation vessel	clay
3.)	prochoe	libation vessel	clay

Tomb 34: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 5, fossa 61. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small vessel w/o handles	vessel	clay
2.)	strigil	strigil	iron
3.)	small dish	dish	clay

Tomb 35: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 5. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	kantharos	drinking vessel	clay
2.)	small ovoid vessel	vessel	clay
3.)-4.)	small globular vessels (2)	vessel	clay
5.)	lamp	lamp	clay
6.)	figurine (fragments)	figurine	clay
7.)-8.)	coins (2)	coin	bronze

Tomb 36: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 6, fossa 63. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small one-handed pitcher	libation vessel	clay
2.)	aryballos	unguent vessel	clay

Tomb 37: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 6. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-2.)	small pitchers (2)	libation vessel	clay
3.)	small cup with a low ring foot	drinking vessel	clay
4.)	lamp	lamp	clay
5.)	alabastron	unguent vessel	alabaster

Tomb 38: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 7, fossa 64. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small amphora	amphora	clay
2.)	small vessel w/o handles	vessel	clay

Tomb 39: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 8, fossa 66. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small bulging vessel	vessel	clay
2.)	dolphin figurine	figurine	clay

Tomb 40: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 8. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	plate on a ring foot	dish	clay

Tomb 41: *Cemetery:* Hadra. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 9, fossa 69. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 2.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-2.)	cinerary urns (2)	urn	clay

Tomb 42: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 9. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small cup on a low ring foot	drinking vessel	clay
2.)	small truncated vessel	vessel	clay
3.)	lamp	lamp	clay
4.)	female figurine	figurine	clay

Tomb 43: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 10, fossa 89. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	large pitcher	libation vessel	clay
2.)	small pitcher	libation vessel	clay
3.)	small bulging vessel	libation vessel	clay
4.)-5.)	alabastra (2)	unguent vessel	alabaster
6.)	mirror	mirror	bronze

Tomb 44: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 10. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	kantharos	drinking vessel	clay
2.)	small wheel-made thing (stand?)	stand	clay

Tomb 45: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 11, loculus 38. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small bulging vessel	vessel	clay
2.)	small vessel in alabaster	vessel	alabaster
3.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 46: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 11, fossa 90. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-3.)	small cups w/ two handles (3)	drinking vessel	clay
4.)	lamp	lamp	clay
5.)	ovoid vessel	vessel	clay

Tomb 47: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 11. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	deep cup on a low ring foot	drinking vessel	clay
2.)-3.)	small deep cups on a low ring foot (2)	drinking vessel	clay
4.)	strigil (fragmentary)	strigil	iron

Tomb 48: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 12, loculus 9. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	bulging pitcher	libation vessel	clay
2.)	small slender pitcher	libation vessel	clay
3.)	dish on a ring foot	dish	clay
4.)-5.)	lamps (2)	lamp	clay

Tomb 49: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 12. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	pitcher with one handle	libation vessel	clay
2.)	small alabastron in terracotta	unguent vessel	clay
3.)	lamp	lamp	clay
4.)	remains of a crown/wreath, gilded	wreath	plaster/gold

Tomb 50: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 13, loculus 94. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 2; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (undecorated)	urn	clay
2.)	cinerary urn	urn	clay
3.)-4.)	small pitchers (2)	libation vessel	clay

Tomb 51: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 13. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	bulging amphora on a large ring foot	amphora	clay
2.)	small bulging vessel on a disco-form foot	vessel –general	clay
3.)	kantharos	drinking vessel	clay

Tomb 52: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 14, loculus 98.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 2; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-2.)	cinerary urns (2)	urn	clay
3.)-4.)	small cups with truncated body	drinking vessel	clay

Tomb 53: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 13. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-2.)	small amphorae (2)	amphora	clay
3.)	cylindrical support for a small vessel	stand	clay
4.)-6.)	fragments of three alabastera	unguent vessel	clay

Tomb 54: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 15, loculus 100.
Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-2.)	female figurines (2)	figurine	clay
2.)	small amphora	amphora	clay
4.)	small kantharos	drinking vessel	clay
5.)	cup with truncated body	drinking vessel	clay
6.)	small vessel	vessel	clay
7.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 55: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St.. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 15. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small vessel on a disco-form foot	vessel	lamp
2.)-3.)	lamps on a disco-form foot (2)	lamp	clay

Tomb 56: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 16, fossa 101.
Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	kantharos	drinking vessel	clay
2.)	prochoe	libation vessel	clay

Tomb 57: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 16. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	Pitcher on a small ring foot with one handle	libation vessel	clay
2.)	lekythos	unguent vessel	clay

Tomb 58: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 17, loculus 102. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-3)	small cups w/ truncated bodies	drinking vessel	clay

Tomb 59: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 17. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay
2.)	small amphora	amphora	clay
3.)-5.)	small truncated cups (3)	drinking vessel	clay
6.)	small ovoid vessel	vessel	clay
7.)	small globular pitcher on a disco-form foot	vessel	clay
8.)	tiny vessel on a large disco-form foot	vessel	clay
9.)	tiny lenticular vessel on a comparatively high disco-form foot	vessel	clay
10.)-11.)	lamps (2)	lamp	clay

Tomb 60: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 18, fossa 103. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	kantharos	drinking vessel	clay
2.)	prochoe	libation vessel	clay
3.)	deep cup on ring foot	drinking vessel	clay
4.)	small amphora	amphora	clay

Tomb 61: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 18. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small bulging vessel	vessel	clay
2.)	small bulging vessel w/ one handle	vessel	clay
3.)	small lenticular vessel w/ one handle	vessel	clay
4.)	small bulging amphora	amphora	clay
5.)	prochoe	libation vessel	clay
6.)	kantharos	drinking vessel	clay
7.)	alabastron	unguent vessel	alabaster
8.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 62: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 19, loculus 107. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-3.)	small cups w/ truncated bodies	vessel-drinking	clay

Tomb X: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 19. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small bulging ovoid vessel	vessel	clay
2.)	small bulging pitcher	libation vessel	clay
3.)	small elongated pitcher	libation vessel	clay
4.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 64: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 20, loculus 108. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-8.)	lamps ('punic' type)	lamp	clay
9.)	lamp	lamp	clay
10.)	dish w/ ring foot	dish	clay
11.)-12.)	small, truncated cups w/ handles (2)	drinking vessel	clay
13.)-14.)	small amphorae (2)	amphora	clay

Tomb 65: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 20. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small amphora bulging towards the shoulders	amphora	clay
2.)-3.)	small pitchers (2)	libation vessel	clay
4.)	small lenticular vessel w/ one handle	vessel	clay

Tomb 66: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 21, loculus 40. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	kantharos	drinking vessel	clay
2.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 67: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 21, loculus 127a. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cylindrical vessel (containing infant)	vessel	clay
2.)	female figurine	figurine	clay

Tomb 68: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 22, loculus 3. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	askos	libation vessel	clay
2.)	deep cup on ring-foot	drinking vessel	clay
3.)	small one-handled pitcher	libation vessel	clay
4.)	small deep two-handled cup	drinking vessel	clay

Tomb 69: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 21. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cover of a small vessel with a truncated body, surmounted by a sort of disk. Knob broken.	cover	clay
2.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 70: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 22, loculus 127.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 3; *Structure:* hypogeum(?)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-3.)	truncated cups w/ handles (3)	drinking vessel	clay
4.)	small pitcher with globular body	libation vessel	clay
5.)	small amphora	amphora	clay
6.)-7.)	small pitchers (2)	libation vessel	clay
8.)	small ovoid vessel	vessel	clay
9.)-10.)	lamps (2)	lamp	clay
11.)-13.)	cinerary urns	urn	clay

Tomb 71: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 22. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-3.)	cups w/ ring handles (3)	drinking vessel	clay
4.)	alabastron	drinking vessel	clay
5.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 72: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 22a. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small dish on a disco-form foot	dish	clay
2.)	prochoe	libation vessel	clay
3.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 73: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 23, loculus 132,1.
Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small bulging vessel	vessel	clay
2.)	small pitcher with elongat- ed body	libation vessel	clay
3.)	small cup w/o handles	drinking vessel	clay
4.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 74: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 23. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-4.)	small bulging vessels (4)	vessel	clay
5.)	small deep plate	dish	clay
6.)	small plate	dish	clay

Tomb 75: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 24, loculus 132,2. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 3; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-3.)	cinerary urns	urn	clay

Tomb 76: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 24. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	large deep vessel on a ring foot, w/ fake handles under the rim	urn	clay
2.)	small amphora	amphora	clay
3.)	cup on a ring foot	drinking vessel	clay
4.)	plate on a ring foot	dish	clay

Tomb 77: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 25, fossa 135. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	amphora (containing infant)	amphora - vessel	clay
2.)	alabastron	unguent vessel	alabaster
3.)	small prochoe	libation vessel	clay
4.)	truncated cup w/ handles	drinking vessel	clay
5.)	small shell	shell	shell
6.)-8.)	astragaloi (3)	astragaloi	bone

Tomb 78: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 25. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa (?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	large pitcher w/ one handle	libation vessel	clay
2.)	small pyxis w/ a cover	pyxis	clay
3.)	tiny vessel on a relatively high disco-form foot	vessel	clay

Tomb 79: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuiare 4*, as tomb 26, loculus 137.
Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	figurine of an infant	figurine	clay
2.)	small amphora	amphora	clay
3.)-4.)	small pitchers (2)	libation vessel	clay
5.)-7.)	small cups w/ handles (2)	drinking vessel	clay

Tomb 80: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 26. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small cup on a low foot	drinking vessel	clay
2.)	alabastron	unguent vessel	alabaster
3.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 81: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 27, loculus 149.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay
2.)	alabastron	unguent vessel	alabaster
3.)	mirror/disk	mirror	bronze

Tomb 82: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 27. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small bulging vessel	vessel	clay
2.)	small bulging vessel w/ two false handles	vessel	clay
3.)	alabastron	unguent vessel	alabaster

Tomb 83: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 28, loculus 150.
Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small alabaster vessel	unguent vessel	alabaster
2.)	small deep cup	drinking vessel	clay
3.)-4.)	two small bulging vessels	vessel	clay
5.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 84: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Abukir St. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 28. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa(?)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small glass amphora	amphora	glass

Tomb 85: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 29, loculus 150a. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum(?)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	alabastron	unguent vessel	alabaster
2.)	truncated cup w/ handles	drinking vessel	clay
3.)	small amphora	amphora	clay
4.)	female figurine	figurine	clay
5.)	male figurine	figurine	clay

Tomb 86: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 30, loculus 151. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn	urn	clay

Tomb 87: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 31, loculus 152. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 88: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 32, loculus 153. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 89: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 33, loculus 154. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 90: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 34, loculus 155.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 91: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 35 loculus 156.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 92: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 36 loculus 157.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 93: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 37 loculus 158.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 94: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 38 loculus 159.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 95: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 39 loculus 160.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 96: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 40 loculus 161.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 97: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 41 loculus 162. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 98: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Manara. *Published:* *Annuaire 4*, as tomb 42 loculus 163. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1. *Structure:* hypogeum(?).

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase)	urn	clay

Tomb 99: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 1, Hypogeum O, loculus 115. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-2.)	hydriae (2)	libation vessel	clay
3.)	kantharos (small)	drinking vessel	clay
4.)-6.)	small pitchers (3)	libation vessel	clay
7.)	small cup with two handles	drinking vessel	clay
8.)	small dish on a low ring foot	dish	clay
9.)	lamp	lamp	clay
10.)	cover of a bronze cylindrical pyxis	pyxis	bronze
11.)	bronze circular mirror	mirror	bronze
12.)	pyxis cover	pyxis	clay

Tomb 100: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 2, Hypogeum O, loculus 116. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-2.)	alabastra (2)	unguent vessel	alabaster
3.)-4.)	small "spindle" vessels (2)	vessel	clay
5.)-6.)	dishes on a ring foot. (2)	dish	clay
7.)	two handled cup	drinking vessel	clay
8.)-9.)	lamps (2)	lamp	clay

Tomb 101: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 3, Hypogeum O, loculus 117. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	amphora w/ foot	amphora	clay
2.)	small globular pitcher	libation vessel	clay
3.)	small amphora w/ foot	amphora	clay
4.)	small cup w/o a foot	drinking vessel	clay
5.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 102: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 4, Hypogeum O, loculus 121. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small pitcher	libation vessel	clay
2.)	alabastron in terracotta	unguent vessel	clay
3.)	cup in grayish terracotta	drinking vessel	clay

Tomb 103: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 5, Hypogeum O, loculus 122. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small amphora	amphora	clay
2.)	small kantharos	drinking vessel	clay
3.)	small vessel with a large foot	vessel	clay
4.)	small pitcher	libation vessel	clay
5.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 104: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 6, Hypogeum O, loculus 123. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	pyxis w/ cover	pyxis	clay
2.)-3.)	small dish on ring foot (2)	dish	clay
4.)-5.)	small cup w/handles (2)	drinking vessel	clay
6.)	dish on a ring foot	dish	clay
7.)	small dish, w/o a foot	dish	clay
8.)	small elongated vessel	vessel	clay
9.)	small alabaster vessel	vessel	clay
10.)-12.)	three nails	nail	bronze

Tomb 105: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 7, Hypogeum O, loculus 124. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	vessel w/ flattened body	vessel	clay
2.)	small stand	stand	clay
3.)	small cup on a ring foot	drinking vessel	clay
4.)	fragments of a small vessel	vessel	clay
5.)	goblet on a ring foot	drinking vessel	clay
6.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 106: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 8, Hypogeum O, loculus 125. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small amphora	amphora	clay
2.)	small pitcher	libation vessel	clay
3.)	small ovoid vessel	vessel	clay
4.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 107: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 9, Hypogeum O, loculus 127. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	pitcher w/ one handle	libation vessel	clay
2.)	small cup w/ two handles	drinking vessel	clay
3.)-4.)	dishes (2)	dish	clay
5.)	small vessel w/ a pointed foot	vessel	clay
6.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 108: *Cemetery:* Hadra, Ezbet el-Makhlouf. *Published:* *Annuaire 3*, as tomb 10, Hypogeum O, loculus 128. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* hypogeum.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	small pitcher w/ narrow neck	libation vessel	clay
2.)	small pitcher w/ broad neck	libation vessel	clay
3.)	small ovoid vessel	vessel	clay
4.)	two-handed cup	drinking vessel	clay
5.)	dish on a low ring foot	dish	clay
6.)-7.)	lamp	lamp	clay

Tomb 109: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912, as tomb 5, section B.
Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: N-S)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	jar (crude)	vessel	clay

Tomb 110: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912, as tomb 8, section B.
Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: E-W)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	mirror	mirror	bronze
2.)	pin	pin	bronze
3.)-4.)	knife	knife	iron
5.)	conical disks	disk	bone

Tomb 111: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912, as tomb 12, section C.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 2; *Structure:* fossa with 3.10m high monument

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	calpiform cinerary urn, top	urn	clay
2.)	cinerary urn (Hadra vase), bottom	urn	clay

Tomb 112: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912, as tomb 14, section B.
Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: NE-SW)
Contents: 0 objects

Tomb 113: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912, as tomb 15, section B.
Type: unknown; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: NE-SW)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	“nails and bronze coins” (indeterminate number)	coin, nail	bronze
2.)	kantharos (small)	drinking vessel	clay
3.)	skyphos/kothon	drinking vessel	clay

Tomb 114: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 as tomb 15a, section B. *Type:*
 inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: N-S)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-2.)	bronze coins	coin	bronze
3.)	figurine	figurine	clay

Tomb 115: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912 as tomb 16, section B.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (amphora-form)	urn	clay
2.)-126.)	small brass nails, arranged around the urn	nail	bronze

Tomb 116: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912, as tomb 23, section A.
Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-3.)	oinochoe (small, painted black, w/ ribbed belly, towards the middle)	libation vessel	clay
4.)	kantharos (small, painted black)	drinking vessel	clay
5.)-6.)	paterae (rough)	drinking vessel	clay

Tomb 117: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912, as tomb 25, section C.
Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure :* fossa w/ monument (direction: N-S)

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	half-wreath of gilded bronze leaves/gilded terracotta berries	wreath	clay/bronze/gold
2.)	jar (dark gray, in the NW corner at the head)	vessel	clay
3.)-5.)	saucers (black, at right forearm) (3)	dish	clay
6.)	alabastron (on chest b/w spine and L femur)	unguent vessel	alabaster
7.)	lamp (black, in SE corner, at the foot)	lamp	clay

Tomb 118: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912 as tomb 26, section C.
Type: cremation and inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 2; *Structure:* fossa (NE-SW) in relation to a monument.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-12.)	pots (12)	vessel	clay
13.)-14.)	cups (black) (2)	drinking vessel	clay
15.)-16.)	lamps (black, on the right side) (2)	lamp	clay
17.)	lamp (Phoenician/Cypriot type, on the right side)	lamp	clay
18.)-19.)	two figurines (by the feet)	figurine	clay
20.)	cinerary (Hadra type?, SE corner)	urn	clay

Tomb 119: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912, as tomb 32, section A.
Type: cremation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa, w/o monument

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)-5.)	female figurines(5)	figurine	clay
6.)	fragmentary statue	figurine	clay?
7.)-9.)	female figurines (3)	figurine	clay
10.)	semi-recumbent figure	figurine	clay?
11.)-18.)	pots (black) (8)	vessel	clay
19.)	cinerary urn	urn	clay

Tomb 120: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912, as tomb 39, section B.
Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: E-W), up against a monument.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	half-wreath of gilded leaves w/ gilded terracotta berries (next to the right hand)	wreath	clay/bronze/gold
2.)	amphora (in SW corner)	amphora	clay
3.)-4.)	pots (crude, toward the feet) (2)	vessel	clay
5.)	cup (toward the feet)	drinking vessel	clay
6.)	alabastron (toward the feet)	unguent vessel	alabster?
7.)	lamp (black, toward the feet)	lamp	clay

Tomb 121: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912, as tomb 40, section C. *Type:* cremation and inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 2; *Structure:* fossa (direction, N-S), up against a monument.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn (w/ remains of gilding, by the head)	urn	clay/gold
2.)	alabastron (large, high quality)	unguent vessel	alabaster
3.)-6.)	alabaster vessels (4)	vessel	alabaster
7.)	alabaster vessel (fragmentary)	vessel	alabaster
8.)-9.)	terracotta alabastra/lacrimoi	unguent vessel	clay
10.)	alabaster vase	vessel	alabaster
11.)	bronze mirror	mirror	bronze
12.)	plate (black)	dish	clay
13.)	plate (red)	dish	clay
14.)	hydria (small, black)	libation vessel	clay
15.)	garland of gilded bronze leaves w/ gilded terracotta berries, by the head)	wreath	terracotta/bronze/gold
16.)	tongs	tongs	iron
17.)	black bucchero pot, unpainted	vessel	clay

Tomb 122: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912 as tomb 46, section B. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: E-W) with a high monument.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	grains of gilded terracotta and gilded bronze leaves, over face	wreath	clay/bronze/gold
2.)	bronze nail through piece of wood (coffin remnant?)	nail	bronze
3.)	mouth of terracotta alabastron (in place of heart)	unguent vessel	clay
4.)	alabastron w/ intact foot (in SW corner)	unguent vessel	alabaster
5.)	lamp (black, in SW corner)	lamp	clay

Tomb 123: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912 as tomb 50, section C. *Type:* inhumation; *Number of Burials:* 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: NE-SW), w/o monument.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	saucer (yellow)	dish	clay
2.)	male figurine (to the right of the head)	figurine	clay
3.)	dish, w/ remains of colored paste (to the right of the head)	dish	clay
4.)	female figurine	figurine	clay

Tomb 124: *Cemetery:* Shatby. *Published:* Breccia 1905 and 1912 as tombs 35-37, section B. *Type:* cremation; *Number of Burials:* 3; *Structure:* fossa with a high monument.

Contents:

	<i>Object</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Material</i>
1.)	cinerary urn	urn	clay
2.)	cinerary urn, fragmentary	urn	clay
3.)	cinerary urn	urn	clay
4.)	terracotta and bronze wreaths (gilded)	wreath	bronze/clay/gold
5.)	alabastron fragments	unguent vessel	clay
6.)	terracotta heads	figurine	clay

Appendix B – Reused Tombs in Western Thebes

This appendix provides bibliography on the archaeology of Theban tombs that were reused in the Ptolemaic period. The majority of this bibliography is drawn from Strudwick 2003, who has provided the most comprehensive overview of the Theban necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The table below is organized in alphabetical order by the different areas of the Theban necropolis; tombs are listed in ascending numerical order. Each tomb has a brief description regarding the nature of its reuse, followed by bibliography.

Tomb number/name	Description of Ptolemaic use	Bibliography
Assasif		
TT 36 (Ibi)	Intrusive (Roman?) burials and Demotic texts.	Graefe 1990
TT 37 (Harwa)	Ptolemaic reuse, associated with the <i>choachytes</i> .	Pestman 1993
TT 188	Ptolemaic remains	Redford 1996
TT 190	Modified in the Ptolemaic period.	Kampp 1996 Quaegebeur 1995
TT 195	Possible late Modifications	Kampp 1996
TT 196 (Padihorresnet)	Objects, stelae, and Demotic texts.	Anonymous 1975
TT 389 (Basa)	Ptolemaic reuse of Saite tomb.	Assman in Arnold and Settgast, 1968

TT 410 (Mutirdis)	30 th Dynasty to Roman papyrus fragments and inscribed mummy bandages. ¹	Burkard 1986
TT 411 (Psamtekdieneheh)	Converted into Ptolemaic offering-place by priest of Imhotep Aapehty. ¹	Arnold and Settgest 1966
TT 414 (Ankhhor)	Extensive Ptolemaic reuse and remains.	Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978-1982 Quaegebeur in Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978-1982

Deir el-Medina

Tomb 2001	Saite-period tomb with Graeco-Roman reuse.	Bruyère 1934
Tomb 2003	Earlier coffins moved into tomb during Ptolemaic period.	Nagel 1929 Porter and Moss 1960- Spiegelberg 1904
Tomb 2005	Earlier coffins moved into tomb during Ptolemaic period.	Nagel 1929 Porter and Moss 1960- Spiegelberg 1904

Dra Abu el-Naga

TT 11 (Djehuty)	Ptolemaic graffiti.	Kessler 1989 Mustafa el-Amir 1959 Spiegelberg and Northampton et al. 1908
TT 12 (Heray)	Ptolemaic graffiti.	Kessler 1989 El-Amir 1959 Spiegelberg and Northampton et al. 1908
TT 156	Only <i>in situ choachyte</i> archives found outside the pylon. ¹	Fisher 1924
TT 157 (Nebwenenef)	Extensive Ptolemaic reuse and remains.	Bell 1973 Kampp 1996 Pestman 1993 Vleeming 1995

Qurnet Murrai

TT 380	Ptolemaic doorjambs of Ankhiefrehorackty added to an older tomb. ¹	Bruyère 1934
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Sheikh Abdel Qurna/Khokha

TT 32 (Djehutymose)	Extensive Ptolemaic reuse and remains.	Kákosy 1995 Kákosy and Schreiber 2003 Schreiber 2011
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¹ Description from Strudwick 2003.

		Quaegebeur 1995 Vleeming 1994
TT 41	Ptolemaic modifications dated by stela?	Assman 1991
TT 253 (Khnummose)	Ptolemaic mummies?	Mond 1905 Strudwick 1996
Theban Hills		
Bab el-Muallaq	Burial of Ptolemaic mummies in wooden coffins in an earlier tomb.	Gabolde et al. 1994

**Appendix C –
The Small Finds and Burials of Hypogeum 1 at Abydos**

Section I: the Small Finds from Hypogeum 1

Small finds were processed, in the 2012 season, by E. Platte. Hypogeum 1 possessed the most interesting assemblage of artifacts and the most contextualized deposits of the areas excavated in 2011 and 2012. The small finds are presented in table format, listing: the tracking number; the Op number; the level or feature number; a brief description of the find; and a “special designation” that further describes the material or its context.

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000242	20/21	21	/	Ostraca drawing- -19th century?	Area of Hypogeum 1
T000254	20/21	21	/	worked alabaster fragment	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, over Feat. 14
T000255	20/21	21	/	beads	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, over Feat. 14
T000256	20/21	21	/	lithics	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, over Feat. 14
T000257	20/21	21	/	lamp	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, over Feat. 14
T000258	20/21	21	/	burned material	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, over Feat. 14
T000259	20/21	21	/	textile	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, over Feat. 14
T000260	20/21	21	/	wood	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, over Feat. 14
T000261	20/21	21	/	human bone, including dental	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, over Feat. 14
T000262	20/21	22	/	beads	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, vault A
T000263	20/21	22	/	wood	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, vault A
T000264	20/21	23	/	wood	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, vault B
T000265	20/21	23	/	textile	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, vault B
T000266	20/21	23	/	beads	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, vault B

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000267	20/21	23	/	Painted Cream Slip (PCS) Diags	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, vault B
T000268	20/21	21/23	/	Bricky Cook Ware (BCW) Diags	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, vaults B and C
T000269	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000270	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000271	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000272	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000273	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000274	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000275	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000276	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000277	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000278	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000279	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000280	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000281	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000282	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000283	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000284	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000285	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000286	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000287	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000288	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000289	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000290	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000291	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000292	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000293	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000294	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000295	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000296	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000297	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000298	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000299	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000300	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000301	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000302	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000303	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000304	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000305	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000306	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000307	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000308	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000309	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000310	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000311	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000312	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000313	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000314	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000315	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000316	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000317	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000318	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000319	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000320	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000321	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000322	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000323	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000324	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000325	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000326	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000327	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000328	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000329	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000330	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000331	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000332	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000333	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000334	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000335	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000336	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000337	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000338	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000339	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000340	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000341	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000342	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000343	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000344	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000345	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000346	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000347	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000348	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000349	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000350	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000351	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000352	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000353	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000354	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000355	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000356	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000357	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000358	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000359	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000360	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000361	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000362	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000363	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000364	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000365	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000366	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000367	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000368	20/21	/	14	pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000369	20/21	24	/	Wooden Horus/ba bird	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000370	20/21	24	/	Worked stone eye	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000371	20/21	24	/	Horus head--material uncertain	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000372	20/21	24	/	Faience shabti feet	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000373	20/21	24	/	Faience vessel fragments	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000374	20/21	24	/	large painted wood fragments	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000375	20/21	24	/	beads	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000376	20/21	24	/	fragments of leather sandals	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000377	20/21	24	/	cartonnage	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000378	20/21	24	/	glass	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000379	20/21	24	/	modern glass	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000380	20/21	24	/	shell	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000381	20/21	24	/	wood and plaster bird tail	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000382	20/21	24	/	textile wrapping	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000383	20/21	24	/	floral remains	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000384	20/21	24	/	painted glass	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000385	20/21	24	/	beads still strung into net	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000386	20/21	24	/	painted wood fragments	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000387	20/21	24	/	gilded cloth	Hypogeum 1, Vault C

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000388	20/21	24	/	burned faunal bone	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000389	20/21	24	/	wood feather crown	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000390	20/21	24	/	textile?	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000391	20/21	24	/	human skin	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000392	20/21	24	/	wood	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000393	20/21	24	/	mud plug for pottery	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000394	20/21	24	/	terracotta bead	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000395	20/21	24	/	charcoal	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000396	20/21	24	/	terracotta appendage	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000397	20/21	24	/	semi-intact jug	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000398	20/21	21	/	cartonnage	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, over Feat. 14
T000399	20/21	21	/	shell	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, over Feat. 14
T000401	20/21	25	/	marked and worked limestone	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000402	20/21	25	/	painted terracotta shabti	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000403	20/21	25	/	Demotic ostrakon (rock)	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000404	20/21	25	/	Greek papyrus	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000405	20/21	/	14	cartonnage with reused papyrus (Greek?)	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000406	20/21	/	16	inscribed sarcophagus fragment (hieroglyphs)	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000407	20/21	/	17	inscribed sarcophagus fragment (hieroglyphs)	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000408	20/21	/	17	inscribed sarcophagus fragment (hieroglyphs)	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000409	20/21	25	/	worked stone--coffin lid	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000410	20/21	/	14	98 natron balls	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000411	20/21	/	14	poly-shaped natron stuffing	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000412	20/21	/	14	string	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000413	20/21	24		unknown material	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000414	20/21	/	14	linen wrapping	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000415	20/21	/	14	bone	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000416	20/21	/	14	wood	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000417	20/21	/	14	mud plugs for pottery	Feature 14, ejected contents of Vault C
T000418	20/21	24	/	human hair	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000419	20/21	25	/	beads and faience fragment	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000420	20/21	25	/	tiny shabti	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000421	20/21	25	/	bitumen	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000430	20/21	25	/	human hair (braided)	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000431	20/21	25	/	cartonnage	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000432	20/21	25	/	painted wood	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000433	20/21	22	/	mummified cats	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, Vault A
T000434	20/21	26	/	mummified cats	Hypogeum 1, Vault A
T000444	20/21	25	/	PCS jug	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000445	20/21	25	/	mortarium?	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000446	20/21	21	/	faunal bone	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, over Feat. 14
T000447	20/21	22	/	human bone	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, Vault A
T000448	20/21	22	/	faunal bone	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, Vault A
T000449	20/21	22	/	textile wrapping	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, Vault A
T000450	20/21	25	/	bone: human and possible human	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000451	20/21	25	/	faunal bone	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000452	20/21	25	/	textile wrapping	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000453	20/21	25	/	burned human bone	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000454	20/21	27	/	mummified remains (bitumen, two hands, infant remains and child remains)	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000455	20/21	27	/	textile wrapping	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000456	20/21	27	/	human bone (and remains)	Hypogeum 1, Vault C

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000457	20/21	27	/	faunal bone	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000458	20/21	27	/	burned human bone and coffin parts	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000461	20/21	25	/	wood	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000462	20/21	27	/	beads	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000463	20/21	27	/	beads still strung into net	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000464	20/21	27	/	Wooden Horus	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000465	20/21	27	/	Wood feather crown	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000466	20/21	27	/	cartonnage	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000467	20/21	27	/	gilded carton- nage	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000468	20/21	27	/	cartonnage with reused papyrus (Greek?)	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000469	20/21	27	/	cartonnage feet	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000470	20/21	27	/	gilded wood	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000471	20/21	27	/	painted wood fragments	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000472	20/21	27	/	Faience vessel fragments	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000473	20/21	27	/	glass	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000474	20/21	27	/	shell	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000476	20/21	27	/	complete bowl	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000477	20/21	27	/	complete pot	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000478	20/21	27	/	BCW pot	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000479	20/21	28	/	inscribed painted wooden coffin fragment (hierog- lyphs)	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000480	20/21	28	/	painted wooden coffin fragment	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000481	20/21	28	/	wood	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000482	20/21	28	/	painted wooden and gesso box	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000483	20/21	28	/	wa scepter frag- ment	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000484	20/21	28	/	Gessoed and inscribed wood	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000485	20/21	28	/	Gessoed wood box fragments	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000486	20/21	28	/	burnt wood	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000487	20/21	28	/	burnt wood with image	Hypogeum 1, Vault B

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000488	20/21	28	/	cartonnage with inscription (hieroglyphs)	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000489	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000490	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000491	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000492	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000493	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000494	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000495	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000496	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000497	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000498	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000499	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000500	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000501	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000502	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000503	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000504	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000505	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000506	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000507	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000508	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000509	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000510	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000511	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000512	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000513	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000514	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000515	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000516	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000517	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000518	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000519	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000520	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000521	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000522	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000523	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000524	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000525	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000526	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000527	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000528	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000529	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000530	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000531	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000532	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000533	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000534	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000535	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ḥr-s3-Js.t</i>

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000536	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000537	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000538	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000539	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000540	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000541	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000542	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000543	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000544	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000545	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000546	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000547	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000548	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000549	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000550	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000551	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000552	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000553	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000554	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000555	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000556	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000557	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000558	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000559	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000560	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000561	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000562	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000563	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000564	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000565	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000566	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000567	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000568	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000569	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000570	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000571	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000572	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000573	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000574	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000575	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000576	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000577	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000578	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000579	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000580	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000581	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000582	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000583	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000584	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000585	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000586	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000587	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000588	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000589	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000590	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000591	20/21	28	/	wooden ankh	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000592	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000593	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000594	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000595	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000596	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000597	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000598	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000599	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000600	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000601	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000602	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000603	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000604	20/21	/	16	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000605	20/21	/	?	inscribed coffin frag	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000606	20/21	/	?	inscribed coffin frag	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000607	20/21	/	?	inscribed coffin frag	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000608	20/21	/	?	inscribed coffin frag	Hypogeum 1, Vault B

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000609	20/21	28	/	wood and gesso ankh image	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000610	20/21	28	/	wood and gesso box fragment?	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000611	20/21	/	17	inscribed coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000612	20/21	28	/	wood and gesso box fragment	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000613	20/21	28	/	gilded Re- Horakhty head	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000614	20/21	28	/	gilded plaster	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000615	20/21	28	/	inscribed painted gessoed wood (hieroglyphs)	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000616	20/21	28	/	gilded wood	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000617	20/21	28	/	Djed pillar statue	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000618	20/21	28	/	hieroglyph- inscribed wood	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000619	20/21	28	/	hieroglyph- inscribed plaster	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000620	20/21	28	/	burnt wooden joins	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000621	20/21	28	/	tiny shabti	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000622	20/21	28	/	unknown wood- en and gessoed object	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000623	20/21	28	/	painted plaster and plastered wood	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000624	20/21	28	/	seed	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000625	20/21	28	/	coffin lid frag?	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000626	20/21	23	/	human bone	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000627	20/21	23	/	faunal bone	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000641	20/21	21	/	painted wood	Area in front of Hypogeum 1, over Feat. 14
T000642	20/21	26	/	beads	Hypogeum 1, Vault A
T000646	20/21	/	17	coffin lid frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000647	20/21	/	17	coffin lid frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000648	20/21	/	17	coffin lid frag	Coffin lid for <i>Hr-s3-Js.t</i>
T000649	20/21	/	16	coffin lid frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000650	20/21	/	16	coffin lid frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000651	20/21	/	16	coffin lid frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000652	20/21	/	16	coffin lid frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000653	20/21	/	16	coffin lid frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000654	20/21	28	/	small coffin	Hypogeum 1, Vault B

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000655	20/21	28	/	mud objects (plugs)	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000656	20/21	28	/	rock or vitrified plaster?	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000657	20/21	28	/	vitrified material	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000658	20/21	28	/	plaster or metal object	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000659	20/21	28	/	metal needle	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000660	20/21	28	/	glass (some gild- ing)	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000661	20/21	28	/	cartonnage	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000662	20/21	28	/	beads	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000663	20/21	28	/	beads still strung into net	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000664	20/21	28	/	painted wooden maat feather fragment	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000665	20/21	28	/	painted wooden horn fragments (yellow)	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000666	20/21	28	/	painted wooden horn fragments (black)	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000667	20/21	28	/	faience shabti feet	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000668	20/21	28	/	plaster painted with hieroglyphsh (box 2)	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000669	20/21	28	/	stone maat feather fragment	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000670	20/21	28	/	worked wood (cylindrical)	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000671	20/21	28	/	burned gessoed wood	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000672	20/21	28	/	possible snake mummy	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000673	20/21	24	/	faunal bone	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000674	20/21	24	/	mummified hu- man remains	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000675	20/21	24	/	unknown mum- mified subject	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000676	20/21	24	/	Human bone (including burned and den- tal)	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000677	20/21	25	/	faunal bone	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000678	20/21	25	/	mummified hu- man remains	Hypogeum 1, Vault B

TRACK. #	OP	LEV.	FEAT.	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL DESIGNATION
T000679	20/21	25	/	human bone including dental	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000680	20/21	26	/	mummified human remains	Hypogeum 1, Vault A
T000681	20/21	26	/	human bone	Hypogeum 1, Vault A
T000682	20/21	26	/	faunal bone	Hypogeum 1, Vault A
T000683	20/21	26	/	faunal mummy	Hypogeum 1, Vault A
T000684	20/21	27	/	human bone including burned	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000685	20/21	27	/	mummified human remains	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000686	20/21	27	/	faunal bone	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000687	20/21	28	/	burned human bone	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000688	20/21	28	/	mummified human remains	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000689	20/21	28	/	faunal bone	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000690	20/21	28	/	cat mummy pieces	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000691	20/21	28	/	human bone (some burnt)	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000692	20/21	28	/	Human head	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000693	20/21	28	/	Human head	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000694	20/21	25	/	Human head	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000695	20/21	/	16	coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000696	20/21	28	/	string	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000697	20/21	26	/	textile wrapping	Hypogeum 1, Vault A
T000698	20/21	27	/	wood	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000701	20/21	24	/	mummified human remains	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000702	20/21	24	/	human spinal column with stick	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000703	20/21	24	/	faunal bone	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000704	20/21	24	/	human head	Hypogeum 1, Vault C
T000705	20/21	28	/	wooden statue base	Hypogeum 1, Vault B
T000706	20/21	/	16	coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000707	20/21	/	16	coffin frag	Coffin lid for <i>Ns-q3j-šw.ty</i>
T000708	20/21	28	/	wood painted with hieroglyphs	Hypogeum 1, Vault B

Section II: the Burials from Hypogeum 1

K. Turner conducted the bioarchaeological work in both seasons, and the descriptions of the Hypogeum 1 burials below are largely her own, with only a few of my edits. The burials of Hypogeum 1 are the most contextualized, and so are presented here even though the work on these burials is at present preliminary. Since with mummified individuals even some basic information – such as sex – is inaccessible without expensive equipment such as a portable x-ray machine, I hope to return to Abydos to do more work on these and other burials excavated in the 2011 and 2012 seasons in the future.

Each entry contains information about the burial's context, orientation, age/sex, and a general description. If the burial was not removed, it is noted as such.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 15

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (Upper portion of fill with human remains, removed)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Disturbed; extended and supine, arms crossed on chest, right over left; oriented with cranial end of body to local south. Head removed and located nearby.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; based on size, likely adolescent to adult (not child).

Description: Burial 15 is a disturbed mummy, final position supine with cranial end of body to the local south. Head was previously removed and located approximately 50 cm southeast of body. No portion of cranium visible under disturbed wrapping; however, no morphological features to suggest sex. No associated artifacts were found with these remains. This burial and others removed within same fill level of Vault C are in a disturbed context with many human remains and also what appears to be more recent faunal skeletal material (including portions of at least one large bovid).

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 16

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (Upper portion of fill with human remains, removed)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Extended and supine, arms crossed on chest, right over left, with head to local south.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; based on size, likely adolescent to adult (not child).

Description: Burial 16 is a more lightly wrapped mummy, with skeletal elements identifiable underneath wrapping. The lower right leg has been disturbed and is missing. The burial was located flush against the local east wall of Vault C, on top of limestone shatter from previous or associated disturbance. No associated artifacts were found with these remains.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 17

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (Upper portion of fill with human remains, removed)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Extended and supine, disturbed; head nearby. Situated with feet to local south.

Age / Sex: Child, sex indeterminate.

Description: Burial 17 is a child mummy, lightly wrapped and since disturbed. The body was discovered supine, feet to the local south, with the head removed. A child's head was located approx. 30 cm west and partially below a limestone coffin piece, and likely belongs to this body (and labeled as such). No associated artifacts were found with these remains.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 18

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (Upper portion of fill with human remains, removed)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Extended and supine, arms crossed on chest, right over left; left hand is clenched, with thumb extended. Head to the northeast, body slightly tilted, feet down towards southwest.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; based on size, likely adolescent to adult (not child).

Description: Burial 18 is a heavily wrapped mummy resting on a broken limestone coffin fragment. No skeletal elements exposed, although left hand position is evident (see above). No associated artifacts were found with these remains.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 19

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (Upper portion of fill with human remains, removed)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Disturbed, head removed. Legs extended, arms crossed over chest, right over left. Body situated with cranial end to local north; body tilted to nearly prone position, with the left side higher than the right. Head found nearby may be associated and labeled as such (Tracking No. 000704).

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; based on size, likely adolescent to adult (not child).

Description: Solidly wrapped mummy with head removed (and possibly rediscovered). Disturbance also to body position, discovered tilted on right side, nearly prone, and against the local east wall of Vault C. Upon removal and situating body for transport, it was noted that some gilding was present. As can be seen in its current condition, Burial 19 displays gilded bracelets on both wrists, and arm band on the upper right arm, and two gilded nipples. No other treatment or artifacts are present or observable.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 20

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (Upper portion of fill with human remains, removed)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Extended and supine, with arms crossed, right over left. Body is situated with the head to local west.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; based on size, likely adolescent to adult (not child).

Description: Burial 20 is a heavily wrapped mummy situated perpendicular to Vault C's axis, with the top of the head against the local west wall. No skeletal material visible other than aspects of the toes of both feet (as a result of disturbance/preservation). This mummy (as well as Burials 21 and 24) is located near the back (north) of the vault, in an area dense with disarticulated mummy parts and also dry bone of a large bovid (not articulated). No associated artifacts were found with these remains.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 21

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (Upper portion of fill with human remains, removed)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Body extended with right arm crossed over left; supine and tilted, with feet towards local north.

Age / Sex: Child, sex indeterminate.

Description: Burial 21 is that of a child mummy situated in a tilted position, against Vault C's local west wall. The head is against the head of Burial 20, with the feet tilted downward to the north end of Vault C. The abdomen area of this mummy has been disturbed. No associated artifacts were found with these remains.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 22

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault B (Upper portion of fill with human remains, removed)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Body is extended, supine and tilted down at feet end. Left arm flexed with arm crossed across chest; right arm appears to have been positioned as extended, with right hand across right pelvis (lower right arm and hand missing at time of work).

Age / Sex: Adult (based on fused metatarsal heads of exposed foot elements); sex indeterminate.

Description: Burial 22 is a heavily wrapped mummy situated in the northwest corner of Vault B. It is above Feature 16, a large broken-into limestone coffin, and assorted broken limestone pieces. The body is situated with the head near the northeast corner of the vault, and the feet tilted downward slightly to the southeast. The remains are missing the lower right arm elements, and the toes are exposed (per preservation/discovery activity). No other skeletal elements visible. No associated artifacts were found with these remains.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 23

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault B (Upper portion of fill with human remains, removed)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Body position upon discovery is on the right side, extended. The left arm is crossed over the chest, right arm position not visible prior to removal. Head not visible prior to removal; however, it is present and attached.

Age / Sex: Adolescent to adult (not child), and male (based on linen-wrapped genitalia)

Description: Burial 23 is a more lightly-wrapped mummy, with skeletal elements recognizable. The final position suggests some post-depositional disturbance or slumping. The feet are at the highest elevation, and are resting on the edge of Feature 17, a disturbed limestone coffin (with inscriptions on lid fragments). The head is tilted down, to the local south. The shoulders are torqued in such a way to suggest slumping while not completely solidified. No associated artifacts were found with these remains. Burial 37 is located below, on the base of the coffin.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 24

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (Upper portion of fill with human remains, removed)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Partial remains, torso and head aligned local east-west.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; not child.

Description: Burial 24 was originally identified as a “torso” of a heavily wrapped disturbed mummy in the local northeast corner of Vault C, amongst a variety of disarticulated mummy parts. Upon removal, it was noted that a head was present, and thus a burial number was assigned. Additional documentation in the future may yield sex and age determination; none was made at this time. No associated artifacts were found with these remains.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 25

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (Upper portion of fill with human remains, removed)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Body axis was local north-south.

Age / Sex: Infant, sex indeterminate. Additional future work may yield a finer developmental age.

Description: Burial 25 was situated in fill below the leg area of Burial 16, along the local east wall of Vault C. Identified at the time of removing Burial 16 as an infant mummy. This was removed without further observations; more documentation of remains could be done in the future. No associated artifacts were found with these remains.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 27

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Supine, with head to local south. Based on coffin and context, body position is most likely extended. Arms and legs not visible.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; based on size: not child.

Description: Burial 27 is a heavily wrapped mummy in a lidded limestone coffin (Feature 21). The cranial and upper torso aspects are visible, all else is not. There is the likelihood that Burial 27 may represent an in situ burial, given the lack of disturbance to the coffin base and lid. The burial was not removed.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 28

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Extended and supine, head to local north.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; based on size, likely adolescent to adult (not child).

Description: Burial 28 is a heavily wrapped mummy in a lidded limestone coffin (Feature 22). No skeletal elements were exposed. The lid of this coffin was moved, and the head end was broken. Despite this, Burial 28 may represent an in situ. The burial was not removed.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 29

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Body position upon discovery is extended and supine with cranial end towards local north (head, lower legs, and portions of both arms are missing).

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; not child.

Description: Burial 29 is a disturbed mummy situated against the local west wall of Vault C. The head has been removed, the lower legs are missing, as is the lower right arm. The left arm and upper right arm are extended. No associated artifacts were found with these remains. The burial was not removed.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 30

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: The partial remains of this mummy are in a supine position, with arms crossed on chest, right over left.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; not child

Description: Burial 30 is the partial remains of a heavily wrapped mummy torso; the head and lower body (pelvis and legs) are missing. The torso and arms are present, and situated against the local west wall of Vault C, with cranial end towards local north. No associated artifacts were found with these incomplete remains. The burial was not removed.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 31

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Body position appears to be extended, with head towards local west.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; not child

Description: Burial 31 is a heavily wrapped mummy with no visible skeletal elements. The body is partially under an inverted large coffin lid to the southeast and the disturbed body of Burial 32 to the east. No associated artifacts were found with these remains. The burial was not removed.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 32

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Incomplete remains; legs supine and extended with feet tilted downward towards the east.

Age / Sex: Adult (based on fused iliac crest); sex indeterminate.

Description: Burial 32 represents the disturbed remains of a heavily wrapped mummy. The pelvis and extended legs with feet are present, with the feet tilted down. Burial 32 is partially over Burials 31 and 34. No associated artifacts were found with these remains. The burial was not removed.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 33

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Extended, and tilted on right side, with head to local east. Lower legs missing, arm position not visible upon exposure.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; based on size, likely adolescent to adult (not child).

Description: Burial 33 is the mostly complete remains of a disturbed, heavily wrapped mummy, with the lower legs missing. The body is tilted and facing the back wall (local north), with the head in the local northeast corner. No associated artifacts were found with these remains. The burial was not removed.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 34

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Extended, with head to local east.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; not child.

Description: Burial 34 is a heavily wrapped mummy, apparently extended, with the head towards local east. The arms are not visible, hand positions in unknown. Burial 34 is under tilted Burial 32, and adjacent to Burial 36. No associated artifacts were found with these remains. The burial was not removed. Burials 31, 32, 34, 35, and 35 are more or less adjacent to the local north end of an inverted large coffin lid.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 35

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Disturbed, head missing. Body is tilted on left side and is nearly prone. The cranial end is south.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; not child.

Description: Burial 35 is a disturbed and heavily wrapped mummy, the head has been removed. No associated artifacts were found with these remains. The burial was not removed.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 36

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault C (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Disturbed and incomplete remains, torso is supine, with cranial end towards local northwest. Arms are crossed over the chest, right over left. Left hand clenched with thumb extended.

Age / Sex: Indeterminate age and sex; not child.

Description: Burial 36 represents the disturbed and partial remains of a mummy. It consists of a torso with crossed arms and left hand clenched with thumb extended (note: this hand position was also noted on an isolated mummy hand from fill). No associated artifacts were found with these remains. The burial was not removed.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 37

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault B (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Extended, supine, with arms crossed over chest (likely right over left, although hands were disturbed and found nearby); head to the local south.

Age / Sex: Adult (based on fusion of distal ulna from associated hand, and cranial development); sex is likely male, based on well-developed mental eminence (score 4-5, per *Standards*: Buikstra and Ubelaker).

Description: Burial 37 is an intermediately wrapped mummy, situated at the base of a large limestone coffin (Feature 17) in the local northeast end of Vault B. The hands had been removed, and were recovered nearby. The upper chest region and anterior neck area had been disturbed as well. Secondary use of coffin is reflected by Burial 39 (see below), and likely 37. Burial 37 may possibly be in situ, but more likely placed in coffin Feature 17 as secondary use of this feature (after it had been disturbed, based on the amount of damage to lid, and huge crack that has broken the base of coffin. No artifacts were noted in direct association with these remains. The burial was not removed.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 38

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault B (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: Unknown.

Age / Sex: Age and sex indeterminate; not child.

Description: Burial 38 represents the incompletely exposed remains of a cranium and body. The burial is located near the base of Vault B, squeezed between the local

west wall and a disturbed limestone coffin (Feature 16). Access to the burial was difficult, no additional observations were made. The burial was not removed.

AMC 2012 Field Designation: Burial 39

Op Unit / Level: Op. 20/21: Hypogeum 1, Vault B (lower portion of fill/level with human remains, NOT REMOVED)

Body Position / Head Orientation: The body is extended and supine, slightly tilted on the left side. The head is towards local south. The lower arms are missing; however, a portion of the lower right arm wrapping and proximal radius are present, and exhibit a semi-flexed position, suggesting that the arms were crossed across the chest.

Age / Sex: Adult (based on fused proximal right radius); sex indeterminate.

Description: Burial 39 is a heavily wrapped mummy in a very large, disturbed limestone coffin (Feature 18, which is 3.4 m long). Secondary use of coffin is reflected by Burial 39, and likely 37 (see above). Burial 39 body is resting on approximately 10-15 cm of fill that includes broken limestone shatter. A mass of mummy matter is located just over and adjacent to the right pelvic region of Burial 39. In fill below this mummy material are an articulated skeletal lower leg and a cranium (not excavated, visible from the side). A mummy limb of indeterminate anatomy is located adjacent to Burial 39's right shoulder and head. The burial was not removed.

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