

DAVID A. ASTON

BURIAL ASSEMBLAGES OF DYNASTY 21–25

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
DENKSCHRIFTEN DER GESAMTAKADEMIE, BAND LIV

Contributions to the Chronology
of the Eastern Mediterranean

Edited by Manfred Bietak
and Hermann Hunger

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GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

BC	Before Christ	4PA	Fourth Priest of Amun
GW	God's Wife	PM	Priest of Montu
HPA	High Priest of Amun	Q	Queen
K	King	TG	Tomb group
2PA	Second Priest of Amun	TT	Theban Tomb
3PA	Third Priest of Amun	V	Vizier

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Ä&L</i>	<i>Ägypten und Levante</i> . Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete, Vienna	<i>CCR</i>	G. DARESSY, <i>Cercueils de la cachette royale</i> , (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire), Cairo, 1913
<i>AAASH</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> , Budapest	<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> , Brussels
<i>ÄAT</i>	<i>Ägypten und Altes Testament</i> . Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments, Wiesbaden	<i>Cercueils</i>	H. GAUTHIER, <i>Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou</i> , (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire), Cairo, 1913
<i>AASOR</i>	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> , Cambridge Mass	<i>Chéchanq III</i>	P. MONTET, <i>La nécropole royale de Tanis III. Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III</i> , Paris, 1960
<i>ADAJ</i>	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i> , Amman	<i>CRAIBL</i>	<i>Comptes rendus à l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres</i> , Paris
<i>AJo</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> , Berlin/Graz	<i>CRIPeL</i>	<i>Cahier de recherches de l'institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille</i> , Lille
<i>ÄgFo</i>	<i>Ägyptologische Forschungen</i> , Glückstadt	<i>CASAE</i>	<i>Cahier. Supplément aux ASAE</i> , Cairo
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages</i> , Chicago	<i>DE</i>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i> , Oxford
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , Baltimore	<i>Development</i>	J.H. TAYLOR, <i>The Stylistic Development of Theban Coffins During the Third Intermediate Period</i> , unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Birmingham, 1985
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , Cairo	<i>EEFAR</i>	<i>Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Reports</i> , London
<i>AV</i>	<i>Archäologische Veröffentlichungen</i> . Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Berlin/Mainz	<i>EES</i>	<i>Egypt Exploration Society</i> , London
<i>BAOM</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum</i> , Tokyo	<i>EVO</i>	<i>Egitto e vicino oriente</i> , Pisa
<i>BAR</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i> , Oxford	<i>Excavations</i>	H.E. WINLOCK, <i>Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931</i> , New York, 1942
<i>BCEg</i>	<i>Bulletin de liaison du groupe internationale pour l'étude de la céramique égyptienne</i> , Cairo	<i>FIFAo</i>	<i>Fouilles de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire</i> , Cairo
<i>BdE</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'étude, Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> , Cairo	<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miscellen</i> , Göttingen
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i> , New York	<i>HAT</i>	<i>Handschriften des altägyptischen Totenbuchs</i> , Wiesbaden
<i>BIE</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'institut égyptienne</i> , Cairo	<i>HIC</i>	W.M.F. PETRIE, <i>Hyksos and Israelite Cities</i> , London, 1906
<i>BIFAo</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> , Cairo	<i>HKS</i>	W.M.F. PETRIE and E. MACKAY, <i>Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa</i> , London, 1915
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> , Leiden	<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> , Tel Aviv
<i>BMMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> , New York	<i>IKG</i>	W.M.F. PETRIE, <i>Illahun, Kahun and Gurob</i> , London, 1891
<i>BMOP</i>	<i>British Museum Occasional Papers</i> , London	<i>ILN</i>	<i>Illustrated London News</i> , London
<i>BMRAH</i>	<i>Bulletin des musées royaux d'art et d'histoire</i> , Brussels	<i>JACF</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum</i> , London
<i>BMSAES</i>	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i> , London	<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> , Cairo
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i> . Aktuelle Beiträge zur Exegese der Bibel und ihrer Welt, Salzburg	<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> , London
<i>BSAE</i>	<i>British School of Archaeology in Egypt</i> , London	<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht ex Oriente Lux</i> , Leiden
<i>BSAK</i>	<i>Beihefte Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> , Hamburg	<i>JMFA</i>	<i>Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts</i> , Boston
<i>BSEG</i>	<i>Bulletin de la société d'égyptologie de Genève</i> , Geneva	<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> , Chicago
<i>BSFE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la société française d'égyptologie</i> , Paris	<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> , Toronto
<i>BSFFT</i>	<i>Bulletin de la société française des fouilles de Tanis</i> , Paris	<i>JWAG</i>	<i>Journal of the Walters Art Gallery</i> , Baltimore
<i>CAA</i>	<i>Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum</i> , Mainz	<i>KGH</i>	W.M.F. PETRIE, <i>Kahun, Gurob and Hawara</i> , London, 1890
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , Cambridge	<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , Wiesbaden
<i>CASAE</i>	<i>Cahier supplément aux Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , Cairo		
<i>CCE</i>	<i>Cahier de la Céramique Égyptienne</i> , Cairo		

LAA	<i>Annals of Anthropology and Archaeology</i> , Liverpool	Psousennès	P. MONTET, <i>La nécropole royale de Tanis II. Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès</i> , Paris, 1951
Lahun II	W.M.F. PETRIE, G. BRUNTON and M.A. MURRAY <i>Lahun II</i> , London, 1923	RdE	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i> , Paris
LNK	M.L. BIERBRIER, <i>The Late New Kingdom in Egypt</i> , Warminster, 1975	RIL	<i>Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo. Classe di lettere, scienze morali e storiche</i> , Milano
MÄS	<i>Münchener Ägyptologische Studien</i> , Munich	RM	G. ELLIOT SMITH, <i>The Royal Mummies</i> (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire), Cairo, 1912
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> , Abteilung Kairo, Berlin, since 1970: Mainz	RT	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i> , Paris
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft</i> , Berlin	SAGA	<i>Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens</i> , Heidelberg
MMR	G. MASPERO, <i>Les momies royales de Deir el Bahri</i> (Mémoires publiées par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire, 1881– 1884, tome 1, troisième fascicule, 511–788, Paris 1889	SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> , Hamburg
NARCE	<i>Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> , Cairo	Sarcophages	A. MORET, <i>Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque Saïte</i> , (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire), Cairo, 1913
OBO	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i> , Fribourg-Göttingen	SAT	<i>Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch</i> , Wiesbaden
OIC	<i>Oriental Institute Communications</i> , Chicago	SÖAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> , Vienna
OIP	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i> , University of Chicago, Chicago	Tanis	J. DE CENIVAL and J. YVOTTE (eds.), <i>Tanis, l'or des pharaons</i> , Paris, 1987
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i> , Leuven	TIP	K.A. KITCHEN, <i>The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)</i> Warminster, 1972 with <i>Supplement</i> , Warminster, 1986 and additional <i>Preface</i> , 1995
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i> , Leuven	Totenstelen	P. MUNRO, <i>Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen</i> , Glückstadt, 1973
OMRO	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum te Leiden</i> , Leiden	TSBA	<i>Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i> , London
OrAnt	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i> , Rome	UMB	<i>University Museum Bulletin</i> , Philadelphia
Osorkon II	P. MONTET, <i>La nécropole royale de Tanis I. Les constructions et le tombeau d'Osorkon II</i> , Paris, 1947	VA	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i> , San Antonio
PAM	<i>Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean</i> , Warsaw	WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> , Vienna
PB	G. VITTMANN, <i>Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit</i> , Vienna, 1978	ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache</i> , Leipzig/Berlin
PM	B. PORTER and R. MOSS, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> , Oxford, 1927–51, 1960–	ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> , Leipzig/Wiesbaden
Priestertum	H. KEES, <i>Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit</i> , Leiden 1953–58		
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i> , London		

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PREFACE BY THE EDITOR

As the archaeology of the Third Intermediate Period still counts among the rather neglected fields of Egyptology it must be highly appreciated that David Aston has undertaken great efforts to present with this volume a comprehensive account of Egyptian funerary customs from c.1100–c.650 BC. It is a period which witnessed the influx of Libyan population groups into the Nile valley on an unprecedented scale as well as the replacement of the New Kingdom central administration by a number of partly independent polities dominated to a large extent by an elite of Libyan descent. Though the centuries following the Ramesside era have been characterised as a time of political chaos and economic hardships which were to blame for the apparent dearth of information on burial practices during that time, the archaeological evidence as assembled by the author shows that the issue is not as simple. While the construction of non-royal funerary monuments unquestionably came to an end at around 1100 BC the concomitant changes relating to other aspects of burial practice signify that modified attitudes towards the traditional Egyptian belief system may have played an important part in the transformation of funerary culture as well.

In the present book, which evolved out of a 1987 PhD thesis, the author does not only assemble an impressive corpus of over 1000 tomb groups but also provides in depth accounts on individual categories of grave goods. Through careful typological classification the author seeks to identify chronologically

significant differences which can be used for dating associated burials. On the basis of these findings the author finally delineates the major developments of burial practices during a period of more than 500 years. In doing so he is able to trace both continuities as well as innovations. What comes perhaps as a surprise to the reader is the fact that despite the lack of a centralised state for most parts of the Third Intermediate Period, the extent of regional differences seems to be relatively small. The major changes to be observed in Theban funerary culture at the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty may on the other hand be attributable to influences from the North.

This study surely raises a number of intriguing questions as to the impact Libyan populations had on the development of Egyptian culture during the early first millennium BC and beyond, which ties in well with the agenda of our research initiative *TiMe* (*Transition of the Mediterranean 1200–600 BC*) to be established in the near future. We are convinced that David Aston's book will not only figure as a major work of reference on the material culture of the Third Intermediate Period for years to come, but will also spawn a number of complementary studies which will help to bring this time of great political, social and cultural dynamics more into focus.

Manfred Bietak,
Vienna, June 2009

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In anticipation of the founding of "TiMe" "Transformation in the Mediterranean: 1200–500 BC", a proposed international study group on Transitions in the Mediterranean Area during the First Millennium BC; Professor Manfred Bietak suggested that I should consider contributing a manuscript on Egyptian funerary customs during the Third Intermediate Period for publication, and I am grateful to him, and to the Austrian Academy of Sciences for including this work in their series "*Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean*".

In essence this is a revised and updated version of a thesis accepted by the Faculty of Arts of the University of Birmingham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Summer of 1987. In the twenty years that have accumulated I am beholden to a number of people who have all contributed to the points expressed in this book. My greatest debts are owed, on the one hand, to my then supervisor, Dr. Antony Leahy, who first suggested I should tackle this subject; and on the other, to Dr. John Taylor, then a fellow Ph.D student, with whom I shared many pleasant hours discussing the intricacies of the Third Intermediate Period. I am also indebted to Dr. Jeffrey Spencer, who kindly agreed to examine the finished thesis and recommended a number of helpful revisions. I should also like to thank the following people and institutions, who, over the years, have all contributed, in differing ways, to the production of this book; namely, Dr. Dia Abou-Ghazi; Dr. Barbara Adams; Susan Allen; Dr. Dorothea Arnold; the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin; the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Carole Andrews; Dr. Bettina Bader; Dr. Morris Bierbrier; the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Janine Bourriau; Dr. Phillipe Brisaud; the British Museum, London; Dr. Julia Budka; Dr. J.L. de Cenival; the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery; the City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham; the County Museum, Liverpool; Dr. Jacobus van Dijk; Dr. Vivian Davis; Dr. Aidan Dodson; Dr. Edward Brovanski; Prof. Silvio Curto; Dr. C. Desroches Noblecourt; the Egypt Exploration Society; the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Peter French; Susan Giles; the Griffith Institute, Oxford; Dr. Christina Guidotti;

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