

The Tomb of the Priests of Amun

Burial Assemblages at the National Museum of Denmark

GATE OF THE PRIESTS SERIES VOLUME 2

By
Rogério Sousa and Anne Haslund Hansen

CULTURE & HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

The Tomb of the Priests of Amun

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Foreword

The Danish interest in—and interactions with—the ancient cultures of the Middle East can be traced back to pioneers such as Frederik Ludvig Norden, who visited Egypt in 1737–1738 and Carsten Niebuhr's Arabian Voyage 1761–1767. The first lecturer in Egyptology at the University of Copenhagen was Valdemar Schmidt, formally appointed in 1883. Schmidt is considered a pioneering researcher of coffins from Ancient Egypt—befittingly the subject of the present volume as well.

The field of Egyptology is international and collaborative in nature. And perhaps most explicitly so in the exceptional case of Bab el-Gasus, the largest undisturbed tomb ever found in Egypt. The burial site, discovered in 1891, contained 153 individuals, resting in decorated wooden coffins. The Egyptian government divided some of the finds into lots, which were subsequently donated to 17 different countries, including Denmark.

In recent years—and thanks to the efforts of a number of institutions and scholars—important steps have been taken to re-contextualize the vast and important funerary assemblage of Bab el-Gasus, while also ensuring the application of state-of-the-art methods and analyses. This volume is the first complete study and presentation of the Danish Lot.

It has been an honor and pleasure for the National Museum of Denmark to collaborate with Rogério Sousa, Professor of Egyptology from the University of Lisbon. The result of Sousa's documentation and analysis is indeed impressive, even more so as it builds upon his publications of the Bab el-Gasus lots in Lisbon (2017) and Florence (2018). In the present volume, the combined efforts of Professor Sousa and Senior Researcher at the National Museum, Anne Haslund Hansen, has resulted in a publication where curatorial and archival research go hand in hand with an innovative and timely approach to the study of funerary customs and visual culture of Ancient Egypt. Egyptian coffins are large and complex objects—in every sense of the word. We remain indebted to Rogério Sousa for his never-wavering determination to navigate around any challenges and keep the project on track.

Since its beginnings in the 17th century, the collections of the National Museum of Denmark have been global in scope, encompassing world cultures, past and present. The museum engages in numerous collaborations at the national and international level, aiming at creating new knowledge about the objects and further conversations about material culture and heritage at

large. This is why we strive to ensure that the collections are made available to both local and international communities. This volume is exemplary also in that respect.

Lars Højer
Head of Research, Collections and Conservation
Copenhagen

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This publication has only been made possible due to the support provided by the National Museum of Denmark. I would like to express my personal gratitude to Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen, former Head of Department, and to Lasse Sørensen, Head of Research of Ancient Cultures of Denmark and the Mediterranean, both of whom have enthusiastically supported me throughout the project, and especially to Anne Haslund Hansen, Senior Researcher and curator at the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities, National Museum of Denmark, for the support she provided to my work at the museum and for the scientific input she granted as co-author of this volume.

My gratitude also goes to museum assistant Søren Greve for facilitating my access to objects in storage and to student assistant Lasse Sommer Schütt. Instrumental for my documentation work was also the support provided by Ny Carlsbergfonden during my stay in Copenhagen, by lodging me in its wonderful premisses. I am also indebted to the Aarhus University Research Foundation which sponsored my journey to Denmark in 2016, allowing me to document the objects of the Lot XVI. A special mention is also due to Vinnie Nørskov, the Director of the Antikmuseet of the University of Aarhus for the encouragement she gave me during the documentation work of the Lot XVI.

I also would like to extend my gratitude to my colleagues of the Gate of the Priests Project, especially to René Van Walsem, for his revision of the inscriptions, and to Alessia Amenta, for her endless encouragement.

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Lisbon, September 2022
Rogério Sousa

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Introduction

Rogério Sousa

The Tomb of the Priests of Amun (also called Gate of the Priests or Bab el-Gasus[1]) was discovered in 1891 by the French archaeologists Eugène Grébaut and Georges Daressy. This collective tomb, located in Deir el-Bahari, stands out as the largest undisturbed tomb ever found in Egypt, revealing 153 burial assemblages dating from the 21st Dynasty. The site was hastily emptied, and the enormous collection of objects was shipped downstream to the newly arranged Giza Museum.

In 1892, on the coronation of the last Khedive of Egypt, Abbas II Hilmi (1874–1944) decision was made to offer selected assemblages of antiquities found in the Gate of the Priests to the representatives of the diplomatic missions present in Cairo for the festivities. As a result, a selection of the materials found in the tomb was retained for the Giza Museum and the rest of the objects were divided into groups each containing 4 or 5 coffins, nearly 90 *shabtis* and one or two *shabti*-boxes. The ambassadors then drew lots to determine who would be awarded which group of objects.

In 1893, Denmark received the Sixteenth Lot of antiquities from the Tomb of the Priests of Amun, a process which is thoroughly documented and explained in this volume by Anne Haslund Hansen, who carried out archival research to reconstruct the diplomatic process behind the shipment of these antiquities to Denmark. This research brought forth previously unnoticed details which are important to understand how the objects from the Gate of the Priests were distributed and subsequently shipped to Europe. The results of this work are published in the last chapter of this book.

The Lot XVI from the Gate of the Priests included one outer coffin, four inner coffins and four mummy-boards. These materials belonged to four different burial assemblages (A.12, A.19, A.33 and A.41) all of them found in the longitudinal gallery of Gate of the Priests (Figure 1). The mummies associated with

1 Bab el-Gasus is the corrupted version of the expression Bab el-Gasawsa, meaning "Gate of the Priests", which was commonly used by the villagers of Gurnah to refer to the Tomb of the Priests of Amun. With little understanding of this local idiom, it is possible that archaeologists misinterpreted it when they started to adopt the "Arabic" name of the tomb. Bab el-Kusus, the expression that would be commonly used in Cairo, has been also frequently rendered as Bab el-Gusus in Egyptological literature. As an example of the later use of the expression see Niwiński 1988, 25.

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these burial assemblages remained in Cairo. Only two of them (A.12 and A.33) were examined by Georges Daressy and their equipment was briefly described and published.[2] Regrettably, like most of the human remains from the Gate of the Priests, these mummies are now given as lost, and it is likely that they were simply discarded sometime after the medical examination.[3]

Together with the coffin sets, a collection of 92 shabtis was included in the lot of antiquities expedited to Denmark. These *shabtis* were collected from nearly 45 different burial sets. Moreover, two shabti-boxes had been assigned to this lot.

Unlike other collections shipped out of Egypt on that occasion, the lot of antiquities given to the National Museum in Copenhagen was not further dispersed upon its arrival at the museum.

The present publication follows the goals proposed by the Gate of the Priest Series coordinated by myself and Alessia Amenta. With this series, we aim to produce an integrated, consistent study of the antiquities found in the Gate of the Priests. Certainly, the approach required for the study and publication of each collection must be adapted to its own specific context, but we try as much as possible to undertake a coherent methodology of record and study in order to foster comparative studies on the materials found in the Gate of the Priests.

In Denmark, the larger part the coffins from the Lot XVI is currently kept in the storerooms of the National Museum. The examination and documentation of this material had to be carried out in one single event. On the other hand, the objects on permanent display at the museum cannot be easily removed, and therefore they have been documented *in situ*.

These restrictions determined the approach I followed in the present volume. In the catalogue of coffin sets I used the method of description adopted in the publications of the Gate of the Priests Project. In this volume, coffin terminology[4] was updated with inputs put forward by the Vatican Coffin Project and by the Fitzwilliam Museum research project which focused on the

2 Daressy 1907, 3–38.

3 Salima Ikram has reported me that she was able to spot a few boxes filled in with human remains in the basements of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. These boxes contain skulls and a variety of loose fragments of mummies from Bab el-Gasus that were unwrapped at the museum. In a personal communication, Andrzej Niwiński shared the idea that remains of the mummies observed in El-Eini must have been stored there.

4 I would like to point out that since my focus relies on coffin decoration, the terminology that I use was specially designed to describe the iconographic compositions displayed on the coffin's components and therefore should not be confused with a morphologic terminology, which is more focused on the structural features of the objects.

"yellow" coffins.[5] Moreover, I use in this book the typology of coffin decoration I developed and discussed elsewhere.[6] For greater commodity of the reader, the main ideas underlying to this typology are briefly presented and updated in the final part of this Introduction.

Regarding the description of coffins, the discussion of iconography is dealt with separately from the presentation of texts, except when the inscriptions are displayed within the vignettes. On these exceptional circumstances, the texts are presented in direct relation to their iconographic context. Several drawings are included in the documentation of the objects, particularly when the photographs cannot provide the full view of the composition. This is usually the case when the lids are described: their concave shape prevents the full vision of the compositions as a whole and for this reason we include drawings to make them perceptible for the viewer. For similar reasons, we present drawings showing the interior decoration of the boxes, to enhance the holistic perception of the composition. In this volume we include considerations regarding the construction of coffins, which are based in our direct examination of the objects.

The coffin sets are presented in the catalogue following the order of the so-called "A.numbers", i.e., the numbers that Georges Daressy attributed to each coffin set while he was removing them from the tomb. This methodology enhances the easiest perception of the coffin set in relation to its original context in the tomb (Figure 1).

The catalogues of shabtis and shabti-boxes follow, with minor adaptations, the same layout adopted in the first volume of the Gate of the Priest Series, which was prepared by Marianna Zarli under the supervision of M. Cristina Guidotti and myself. In the catalogue of the shabtis, the statuettes from the same group are distinguished with the letters "a" and "b" associated with the respective inventory number (N. Inv.). In this catalogue, the objects are listed following the alphabetical order of their owners' names, according to the sign-list provided by Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*.[7] Not surprisingly, the composition of the collection of shabtis of the Lot XVI is much similar to other lots, although a few singularities can be detected.[8] The catalogue includes photos of the vegetal elements and textiles that were shipped with the Lot XVI. Although still unstudied, the importance and exceptional character of these items demanded a provisional presentation.

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5 Strudwick and Dawson 2016. Strudwick and Dawson 2019b.

6 Sousa 2018a. Sousa 2020a, 11–26.

7 Gardiner 1957, p. 27.

8 In the Lot XVI, the shabtis of Pakharu (nº 14 in Florence) and Djedmut (nº 46 in Florence) are missing.

In the end of this volume, a critical overview of each coffin set is presented with a view to understand the dating of the objects and the dynamics of their use. During the 21st Dynasty, coffins became a cutting-edge industry in Thebes. The examination of the pictorial compositions allows us to study questions regarding iconography and symbolism, as well as aspects related to the organization of labour in the Theban workshops, and, on occasions, to obtain clues regarding the commission of these objects.

1 Definition and Typology of the "Yellow" Coffins: A Brief Introduction

The "yellow" anthropoid coffins were used in Thebes from the end of the 20th Dynasty to the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty. During this period, the layout of "yellow" coffins only increased in complexity. In our analysis of the "yellow" corpus we have proposed three fundamental stages in the evolution of coffin decoration:

1. **Basic scheme**. This stage is noticed from the late Ramesside period to the first half of the 21st Dynasty. The style is naturalistic, recalling the Ramesside pictorial tradition, with large figures clad in white folded garments. The density of the decorative elements is low, with the space between the figures left empty or inscribed with short label-inscriptions.[9]
2. **Classical scheme**. It is typically found in coffins dating from the mid-21st Dynasty. The style is schematic. As the density of decorative elements increases, the main figures became smaller and more standardized. Gradually, the depiction of the deceased also changes: instead of the white garments, he/she wears dark and tight clothes. With the classical scheme, the use of liminal elements begins to be witnessed.[10]
3. **Complex scheme**. It is detected in coffins dating from the late 21st Dynasty. The density of decoration is high, and the bold role performed by the liminal elements is further increased, pervading all the compositions. Occasionally, the size of the liminal elements almost equals the main figures. In the latest forms of the "yellow" type, the liminal elements eventually became the ruling elements of the compositions.

9 Sousa 2018a, 201.

10 Liminal elements are symbols originally displayed in the interior of the box. They include a vast repertoire of images comprising *shetyt*-shrines, vultures, cobras, falcons, mummiform gods, and hieroglyphs. Their goal is to intensify the sacredness of the coffin (Sousa 2018a, 108).

These stages evolved from a genealogical line of evolution and resulted from continuous and ongoing developments. The typological approach we use in the examination of the "yellow" coffins is based on the evolving view of the "yellow" type and it has been built upon the theoretical views proposed by Andrzej Niwiński and René Van Walsem. We share with Niwiński the fundamental agreement on the evolving nature of the "yellow" coffins that underlies to his typology.[11] His types II, III, and V fully relate with the stages of evolution of the "yellow" coffins that we propose under the designations of "basic scheme", "classical scheme" and "complex scheme". In our typological system, types I, II and III correspond to these stages, respectively.

Despite this common ground with Andrzej Niwiński, our approach develops from a different definition of the "yellow" type. In his seminal work, Niwiński lists the four fundamental characteristics of "yellow" coffins:

– Multicoloured decoration on yellow ground on the exterior walls;
– Multicoloured inner decoration painted against a yellow or reddish background;
– Coating of yellowish varnish;
– Sculptured representation of the hands.[12]

Although we certainly recognize the importance of all these features, we think that they remain nevertheless unspecific to the coffins from the 21st Dynasty.[13] Since the perceived colour of the coffin greatly results from the degradation of the pigments and varnish over time,[14] the use of colours as typological criterion can be very subjective.

In our perspective, there are two fundamental criteria for the definition of the "yellow" type:

1. The "yellow" coffin set includes a **mummy board**, i.e. a full-length board featuring the deceased as a resurrected god;
2. As a rule, the iconographic program of the coffin integrates the depiction of the deceased, both on the lid (especially in the lower section) and on the box. The deceased is normally figured in cult scenes, performing rituals before the deities of the underworld. In addition, the deceased may also figure as a *ba*-bird, and exceptionally as a mummiform god.

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11 Niwiński 1988, 65–70.

12 Niwiński 1988, 7.

13 These features are also detected in Ramesside coffins, which in our view cannot be confused with the "yellow" coffins. We label Ramesside coffins as belonging to the "proto-yellow" type since the box is still designed after the "black" type and the lid still shows a very experimental design. See Sousa 2020a, 11.

14 Geldhof 2018, 50.

3. The "yellow" type displays a well-defined **scheme of decoration**:
   – On the lid/mummy-cover, the large-scale depiction of the deceased is juxtaposed with three different tableaux: the central section, the lower section and the footboard.[15] Each one of these three tableaux cannot be confused with body parts (such as "abdomen", "legs" or "feet"), being designed with an architectonic layout to recreate a sacred space (Table 1). These compositions can only be found in the "yellow" type.
   – On the box, the repertoire of the exterior walls is no longer limited to the Sons of Horus, Thoth or Anubis, and includes a variety of other deities and subjects. The interior of the box is usually—but not always—decorated with a large depiction of a deity of the netherworld.

Our most fundamental difference from Niwiński's typological approach lies precisely in the recognition of the scheme of decoration itself. Niwiński's typology is built upon the assumption that the coffin is decorated as a whole unit, which is in fact the usual practice in coffin decoration before the Ramesside period. However, in the "yellow" coffins a unique phenomenon took form, where distinct and independent compositions were designed to form different symbolic spaces (Table 1). René Van Walsem labelled this phenomenon "architectonization".[16] We found Van Walsem's framework exceedingly useful to acknowledge the importance of the independent compositions displayed along the walls of the "yellow" coffins, an aspect that is overlooked in Niwiński's typology.

Hence, using a typology based on the holistic layout of the objects prevents us from grasping the character and specificity of the coffins' different pictorial compositions.[17] And so, to be consistent with this view, we developed a typology for each section of the coffin's topography.[18]

Once defined in this way, our work progressed through the seriation of the compositions according to their level of complexity. The seriation of compositions reveals objective key-features that rule each section, providing criteria to building up the types and sub-types of our typology (Table 2).

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15 On coffins of a later dating, one of these sections can be omitted.

16 Van Walsem 1997, 359.

17 Based on a different standpoint, Kathlyn Cooney expressed a similar viewpoint on typology, showing that re-use was often selective, focusing on particular sections of the coffin. The practical result is the impossibility of producing a typology based on the holistic design of the object. See Cooney 2018, 74.

18 Sousa 2018a, 171–174.

1.1 *Upper Section*

The size of the large collar rules the composition.

Type I The large collar only covers the chest, leaving the forearms fully visible. The collar is provided with clasps (basic scheme).

Type II The collar covers most of the forearms, showing the elbows. The collar is provided with clasps (classical scheme).

Type III The collar fully covers the forearms, and sometimes also the elbows are not visible. The collar is not provided with clasps (complex scheme).

Sub-types are formed after the central marker featured on the chest:

a. (Winged) scarab.[19]
b. Heart amulet.[20]
c. No central marker.[21]
d. Mummy braces crossed over the chest.[22]

1.2 *Central Section*

The number of registers rules the classification of this composition.

Type I Two registers (basic scheme).

Type II Three registers (classical scheme).

Type III More than three registers (complex scheme).

Sub-types are formed after the nuclear block of the first register:

a. Solar barque.[23]
b. Naophoric pectoral.[24]
c. Scarab.[25]
d. Winged sun-disk.[26]
e. Raptor.[27]
f. Vulture.[28]
g. Liminal elements or hieroglyphs.[29]

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19 More frequent in the basic scheme.
20 Normally associated with the complex scheme.
21 Associated with the classical or the complex scheme.
22 Always associated with the complex scheme.
23 Associated with the basic scheme.
24 Associated with the basic scheme.
25 Associated with the classical and complex scheme.
26 Always in association with the complex scheme.
27 Always in association with the complex scheme.
28 Always in association with the complex scheme.
29 Always in association with the complex scheme.

1.3 *Lower Section: Central Partition*

The use (or not) of liminal elements rules the classification.

Type I No central partition (basic scheme).

Type II The nuclear blocks are not flanked by liminal elements (classical scheme).

Type III Liminal elements flank the nuclear blocks (complex scheme).

Sub-types are formed after the composition of the nuclear blocks, which may include:

a. *Ta-wer* totems or/and *sekhem*-sceptres.[30]

b. Scarabs.[31]

c. Liminal elements.[32]

1.4 *Lower Section: Lateral Partition*

The sequence of vignettes provides the criteria for the classification.

Type I Osiris/Ptah-Sokaris; Sons of Horus; Anubis or Thoth (basic scheme).

Type II The avian form of Ptah-Sokaris is shown (classical scheme).

Type III Mummiform gods are prevalent (complex scheme).

1.5 *Footboard*

The Osirian motifs rule the classification.

Type I Mourning goddesses without Osirian symbols (basic scheme).

Type II Mourning goddesses with Ta-wer totem (classical scheme).

Type III Mourning goddesses with Osiris (complex scheme).

The key-features used in this classification can be very useful as dating criteria.[33] Given the difficulties in finding clues for the absolute dating of "yellow" coffins, we use a relative dating system, which results from basically dividing the 21st Dynasty in four quarters. This typology can be instrumental to provide a more precise picture of how coffins were designed. By approaching each section separately, not only do we get a better understanding of the underlying workshop practices, as we can build a more dynamic view of how the overall decoration of the object was formed. This typology is thus particularly adapted for studies focused on art historical aspects of coffin decoration.

30 Associated with the classical scheme.

31 Associated with the complex scheme.

32 Associated with the last stages of the complex scheme.

33 Sousa 2020, 20–25.

When we examine the evolution of coffin decoration during the 21st Dynasty the growth in complexity stands out as its most distinctive feature, an aspect that both Andrzej Niwiński and René Van Walsem agree. This growth is largely intensified by the increasing use of what we call "liminal elements". These motifs, which Niwiński and Van Walsem label as "space fillers", performed a fundamental role in shaping the "yellow" type from the mid-21st Dynasty onwards. In our approach we have related the appearance of liminal elements in coffin decoration with a shift in meaning of the symbolic role of the "yellow" coffins.

In the basic scheme, the lid shows the deceased as an agent of the cult and the coffin is conceived as a ritual place designed for his/her use. In the classical scheme, and even more so in the complex scheme, the coffin becomes a sacred space where the deceased is held within as a passive underworld deity. The liminization of coffin decoration is thus related to the increasing sacredness associated with the coffin, which is basically conceived as a *shetyt*-shrine.[34]

This shift is accompanied by major changes in the layout of the compositions. In the basic scheme, the lower section plays a bolder role, being the longest section of the lid, while in the classical scheme the central section becomes the most elaborated composition. This role is maintained in the complex scheme, but the upper section is greatly extended. As a result of this redefinition, the lower section becomes much reduced or even disappears completely in the complex scheme.[35] These fluctuations in the design of the lid are explained due to the inherent symbolism of each composition. Thus, the lower section is designed as a ritual interface: its importance is justified in the basic scheme due to the definition of the deceased as an agent of the cult.

The central section is seen as the heavenly realm itself, where cosmic regeneration takes place. Its extension is related to the definition of the deceased as a god of the underworld, which becomes increasingly clear in the later developments of the upper section. In this later context, the deceased is completely identified with a passive, one could even say dormant, deity of the underworld.[36]

In this process, the role of the "yellow" coffin changed from providing a cultic place for the deceased, which is seen as an active agent of the cult in the basic scheme, to becoming, in the complex scheme, a *shetyt*-shrine keeping within the dormant deceased (Table 3).

34 Sousa 2018a, 203.

35 See mummy board of A.41 (Figure 191).

36 Sousa 2018a, 197–207.

TABLE 1 Topography of the "yellow" type (lid)

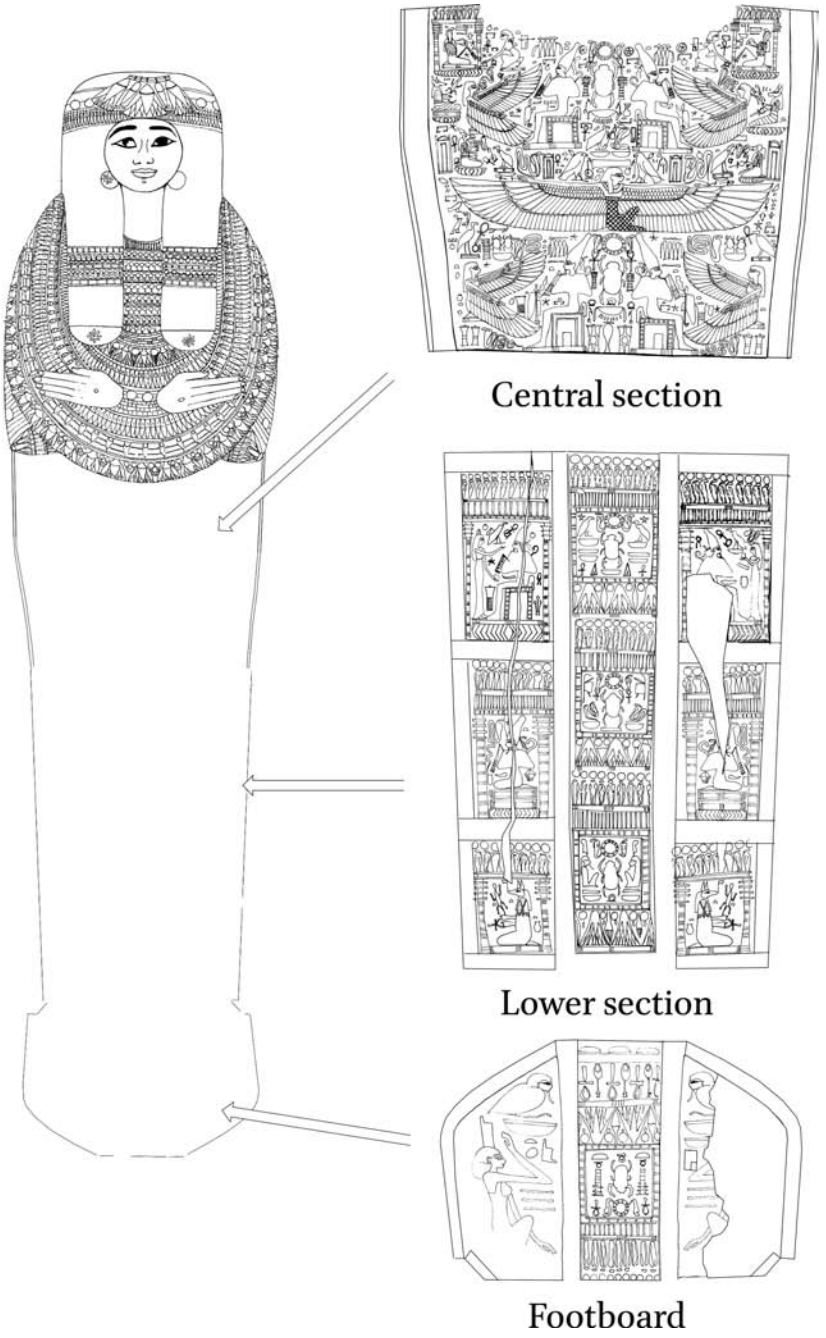


TABLE 2 Typology of the "yellow" type (lid)

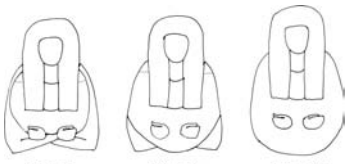
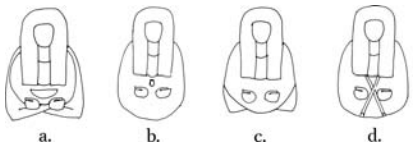
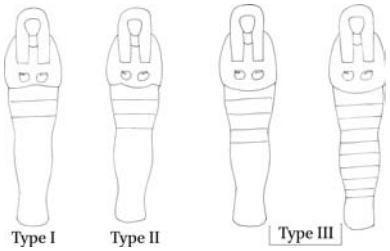
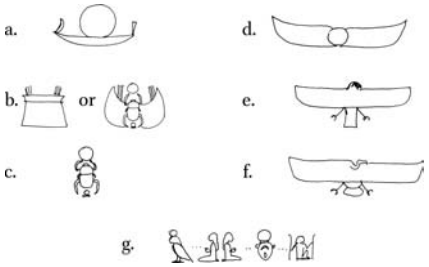
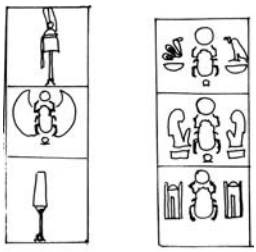
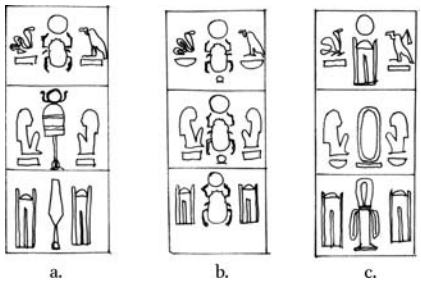
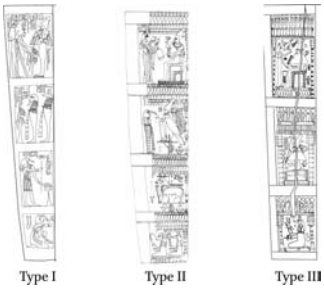
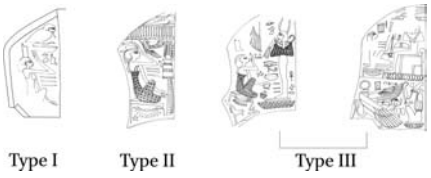
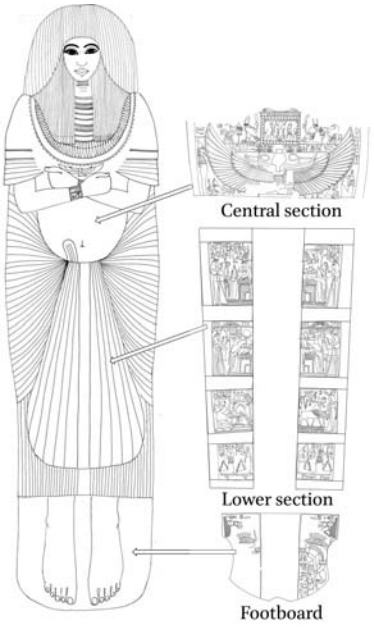
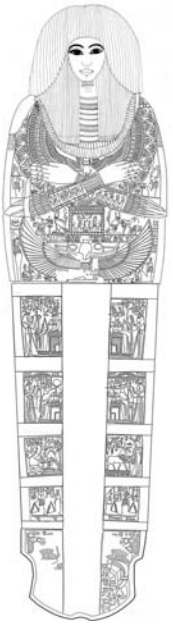
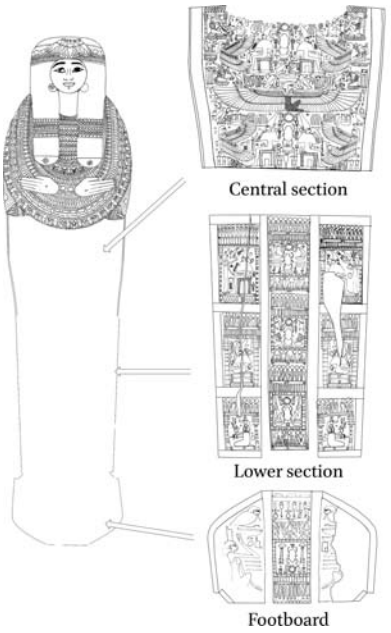
Section	Types	Sub-types
Upper section		
Central section		
Lower section: Central partition		
Lower section: Lateral partitions		
Footboard		

TABLE 3 Composition and meaning of the lid

Stage	Composition of the lid	Symbolism
Basic scheme	 	The deceased is figured as in priestly garments. The addition of compositions forms a composite image showing the deceased as a priest rising from a sacred gate.
Classical and Complex scheme	 	The deceased is figured as a mummiform god. The addition of compositions depicts the deceased as a god of the underworld rising from the territory of the duat.

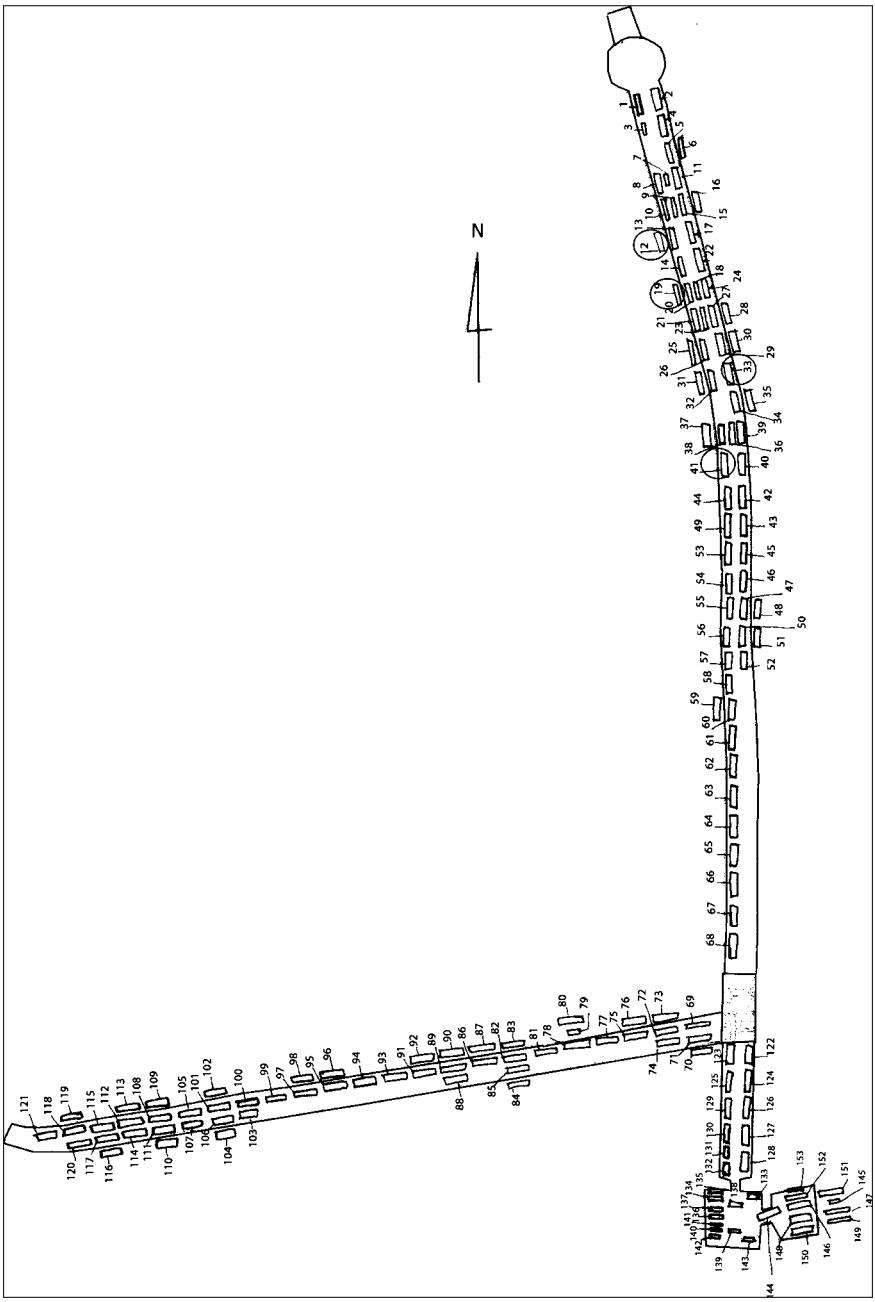


FIGURE 1 Original position in the Gate of the Priests of the assemblages kept in the National Museum of Denmark

PART 1

Catalogue

∵

Coffin Sets

Rogério Sousa



Coffin Set of Nesipanebimakh (A.12)

Rogério Sousa

Inner anthropoid coffin (1–2) and mummy board (3).

Archaeological Context and Dating

The coffin set was found in the longitudinal gallery of Bab el-Gasus, next to the western wall (Figure 1). It was laid over the coffin set A.13 (now in the Museo Nacional Arqueológico in Madrid).[1] The scheme of decoration detected on the lid and mummy board dates from the mid-21st Dynasty. The layout of the box suggests a slightly later dating.[2]

The mummy was equipped with long braces inscribed with the name of Pinedjem II. Within the body cavity four funerary deities made of wax were found. A red wax plate decorated with an *udjat*-eye was positioned over the abdomen. Two badly preserved shawls with inscriptions were found inside the box.[3]

Name and Titles of the Owner

The lid and the mummy board are inscribed with the name of the deceased, Nesipanebimakh, who holds the title of "*wab*-priest of Amun-Re, the king of the gods". Vestiges of another name, Maatemsaef, probably the original owner of the coffin, are found on the vignettes of the lid. The box remained anonymous.

Bibliography

Daressy 1907, 5. Lieblein 1892, 993. Niwiński 1988, 135. Schmidt 1919, 148, figs. 754–757. Stadler 2001, Tafel XVIII.

1 Coffin of Ruru (Inv. no. 18254). Pérez-Die 2021, Fig. 8.

2 Cf. Niwinski 1988, 135.

3 Daressy 1907, 22.

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FIGURE 2 Coffin set of Nesipanebimakh

1 Lid (Figures 3–17)

Inventory number: 3909.
Length: 192 cm.
Wood, paste, paint, and varnish.
Some of the motifs of the central panel and the lower section are rendered in *pastiglia*,[4] to suggest relief.
The reverse side is undecorated.
The fists and ears are carved in wood and attached to the lid.
The object is well preserved, despite a few losses of material, namely around the nose and the proper left side of the footboard. A longitudinal crack affects both sides of the lid, from the crown of the head to the footboard. The paintwork is well preserved.

Iconography

Headboard

The face is well carved, with the anatomical volumes efficiently rendered (Figures 5–6). The face is yellow, with the thick cosmetic lines of the eyes and eyebrows outlined in dark blue. The eyelids are suggested with a red line. The black iris is painted over a white background. The long nose is well proportioned, showing carved nostrils. The sculptural work of the face is effective but inexpressive.

The lips are outlined in red. The ears are delicately carved and profusely decorated with red lines to suggest the different anatomical elements. The neck shows two red lines.

The divine wig shows a striped pattern (dark blue stripes over a yellow background). The headband shows a geometrical pattern consisting of small squares painted in red and dark blue forming the "crown of justification".[5] This pattern is flanked by floral bands decorated with mandrake flowers.

The lappets of the wig are decorated with yellow terminals.

Upper Section

The fists are painted yellow, crossed over the chest. The nails of the thumbs are outlined in red (Figures 5–6).

The forearms are almost completely hidden under the broad collar, showing a striped bracelet[6] and a lotus flower over the elbows. A squatted feather-

4 *Pastiglia* is a low relief decoration in a white paste, which is normally painted over. See Geldhof 2018, 61.

5 "Crown of justification" or "fillet". For its meaning see Van Walsem 1997: 110.

6 Typically, these bracelets are decorated with multicoloured stripes. They are used in high elite

headed mummiform god protects the arm. He is depicted against a striped pattern outlined in red, suggesting the pleated sleeves of a festive garment.

The large collar covers the shoulders and upper torso displaying 18 floral bands composed of a reduced number of patterns: the first band is decorated with lotus flowers intertwined with buds, and all the others display the same pattern showing mandrake flowers. The flowers are reproduced with a slight change of the colour pattern (the bands are alternately shown with red or black flowers). It is noteworthy that not even the small collar has been included between the lappets of the wig. The neckband shows geometrical decoration.

The clasps of the collar bear a falcon head, a lotus flower, and a cornflower.

This heavy and monotonous composition is even strengthened by the fact that any central marker is featured over the chest of the deceased.[7]

Central Section

This composition displays three registers (Figures 7–8).

The first register presents a symmetrical composition with a sacred scarab at the centre. The scarab is moulded in *pastiglia* and details were added to reproduce the anatomical features of the animal: the thorax shows small dots, while the elytra are striped. The scarab holds up the solar disk (also moulded in *pastiglia*) and shows the *shen*-ring between the hind legs. The scarab rises from the *nebu*-sign and it is flanked by columns of hieroglyphic signs (*ankh*, *djed*, *tjet*, *djed*, and the *shen*-ring[8]) pending from cobras encircling the sun-disk.

This composition forms the nuclear block of the symmetrical register. It is flanked by centrifugal blocks featuring Osiris (red-skinned): he is enthroned, in mummiform guise, wearing the *hedjet*-crown (*pastiglia*) adorned with long red streamers, and the *nekhakha*-sceptre. The torso (*pastiglia*) is decorated with small dots. The cubic throne (*pastiglia*) is decorated with a striped pattern and the *sema*-sign (meaning "union"). The *imi-wt* totem stands at his feet. A goddess stands behind Osiris, embracing him and grasping the *ankh*-sign. She is clad in a tight dress (*pastiglia*), wearing a modius and a red headband. On the proper left side, the monogram of Nephthys figures over her modius. She is flanked by the *was*-sign, the *shetyt*-shrine and a bush of lilies. Hieroglyphs alluding to Osirian titles fill-in the area above these figures.

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burials from the Middle Kingdom onwards (Grajetzki 2014, 124), perhaps with Osirian significance.

7 A similar design of the upper section is detected in the outer coffin of Henuttaui (A.136) in Sousa 2017, Pl. 73. See also the outer coffin of Tabakmut (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.10a, b).

8 Only on the proper right side.

The symmetrical register is completed with a centripetal block featuring a squatted winged goddess stretching her wings towards Osiris. Nested between her wings, the *ba*-bird rests over a reed mat and a *nebu*-sign. He wears a short wig, square beard and raises his hands in adoration towards Osiris. Behind the winged deity, stands an unidentified goddess with offerings at her feet. On the proper left side, this deity is differently arranged: she is facing outwards and pours water from a libation vessel while standing on the *heb*-bowl. Moreover, liminal elements featuring the *shetyt*-shrine and a star are added to this composition.

In the area above, several columns of inscriptions are found: "Neith. Words spoken by Isis, the great one, mother of the gods, the Eye of Re, the mistress of the House of Life, so that she may give offerings and provisions" (proper right side); "Neith. Words spoken by Nephthys, the divine sister, the Eye of Re, the mistress of the House of Life, so that she may give offerings" (proper left side).

The second register displays a winged goddess squatted on a reed mat outstretching her wings towards both sides of the panel. The goddess is green-skinned. The head, wig, and arms are moulded in *pastiglia*. She wears a modius, and a red headband, with an *iaret*-cobra rising from the forehead wearing a hathoric headdress. The goddess is clad in a tight beaded dress. Over the wings, a long *serekh*-frieze is displayed.

The third register displays a structure similar to the first one, with exception of the centrifugal block which has a completely different composition.[9] In the nuclear block, the scarab (*pastiglia*) holds up the solar disk (*pastiglia*) carrying the *shen*-ring with the hind legs. It is flanked by columns of hieroglyphic signs (*ankh, djed, tjet*) pending from cobras encircling the sun-disk. This nuclear composition is flanked by centrifugal blocks featuring two squatted mummiform gods. On the proper right side, these gods are falcon and snake-headed, while on the proper left side they are cobra and human-headed. The falcon-headed god grasps an *ankh* and *was*-signs, while the ophidian deities hold feathers on their heads and knives on their fists. The area above is filled-in with short label-inscriptions: "Osiris, lord of eternity, sovereign of everlastingness", "Neith", "duat", "Khepri".

The symmetrical register is completed with a centripetal block featuring a squatted winged goddess stretching her wings towards Osiris. The *ba*-bird of the deceased rests between the goddess' wings, on a *nebu*-sign. He wears a short wig, square beard and presents an offering towards Osiris: burning

9 A similar process is detected in the inner coffin of Pinedjem II (TT 320), and in the coffin of Amenhotep (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, Inv. no. AMM 2-a, b), in Boeser 1917, Pl. I–X.

incense (proper right) or a lamp (proper left). Several label inscriptions fill-in the area above: "Neith", "West" and "Isis" (proper right); "Neith", "duat", "Nephthys", "duat", "great" (proper left).

An additional block figures behind the winged goddess, showing a lotus-sceptre with tall feathers and a pending *menat*-necklace. Additionally, on the proper right side figures a long, coiled cobra holding an *ankh* and a *was*-sign.

Lower Section

This composition displays three longitudinal partitions bounded by columns of inscriptions (Inscriptions 1–4; Figure 13).

The central partition displays three vignettes, showing the sacred scarab or the *sekhem*-sceptre (Figures 9–10).[10] Each vignette is headed by an elaborate set of friezes: a symmetrical frieze of *iaret*-cobras facing inwards on top, followed by a geometrical frieze and a block-frieze. Below each vignette, figures a block-frieze and a large band featuring *djed*, *was* and *tjet*-signs alternately displayed over a reed mat. On the last register, a large frieze featuring lotus flowers and buds closes this composition.

The first register shows a sacred scarab (*pastiglia*) holding a solar disk (*pastiglia*) and rising from a *nebu*-sign. It is flanked by columns of hieroglyphic signs (*ankh*, *djed*, *tjet*) pending from cobras encircling the sun-disk. Centripetal blocks flank this composition featuring mummiform gods squatted on reed mats and *heb*-bowls, while grasping a feather. Sun disks (*pastiglia*) are figured over their heads.

The second register shows a *sekhem*-sceptre with a pending *menat*-necklace. Mourning goddesses squatted over *nebu*-signs flank the object. The goddesses are shown with the monogram of Neith (proper right) and Nephthys (proper left) but the adjoining label inscriptions refer to Nephthys and Isis, respectively. The word "water" is displayed on both sides of the sceptre.

The third register shows a sacred scarab (*pastiglia*) holding a solar disk (*pastiglia*) rising from a *nebu*-sign. It is flanked by the mourning goddesses Isis (proper right) and Nephthys (proper left) standing before lettuce vases. The word "water" is displayed on both sides of the scarab.

The lateral partitions are symmetrically arranged, displaying four registers (Figures 9–10). The first three registers show the enthroned Osiris, the avian form of Ptah-Sokar and the sacred ram, respectively, a common sequence in coffins dat-

10 This type of sequence is not common: see the outer coffin of A.77, and the mummy board of A.95, both dating from the mid-21st Dynasty.

ing from the mid-21st Dynasty.[11] These vignettes are bounded by the network of longitudinal (Inscriptions 1–4) and transversal inscriptions (Inscriptions 5–13) (Figure 13). The arrangement of the scenes is symmetrical on both sides, with minor details introducing subtle differences. The size of the vignettes decreases significantly as we approach the footboard.

Each vignette depicts the interior of a shrine. In the two upper registers, the ceiling of the shrine is heavily decorated with *iaret*-cobras, a block-frieze, and a geometrical band. In the two lower registers, the shrine shows a vaulted ceiling flanked by *iaret*-cobras. In all these registers the ceilings are supported by double columns (*djed*-pillars and lotus-shaped columns).

In the first register the deceased presents offerings before Osiris (red-skinned), showing the *djed*-sign pending from his arm. The deceased (red-skinned) is bald, wearing a white festive garment and a collar. On the proper left partition, he presents a bunch of onions to Osiris, while on the right he offers a bowl with burning incense. The enthroned god wears the *hedjet*-crown with long red streamers and a tight striped shirt adorned with small dots and a large collar. The forearms of the god are crossed over the chest holding the royal sceptres *heka* and *nekhakha*. The cubic throne shows dark and red stripes and the *sema*-sign. A few offerings are displayed over the lap of Osiris. Behind him stands a redheaded goddess (green-skinned) supporting the god with her arm. She wears a large collar and is clad in a tight beaded garment. The goddess grasps the *ankh*-sign and is flanked by the *was*-sign, the *shetyt*-shrine and a bush of lilies. Label inscriptions figure in the area above these figures. Proper left vignette: "Osiris, lord of eternity, foremost of the West", "*wab*-priest of Amun Nesipanebimakh". Proper right vignette: "Osiris, foremost of the West", "*wab*-priest of Amun, (...) Maatemsa(ef), the justified".[12] On the right side the *shetyt*-shrine and the West-sign figure behind the deceased. The scene is depicted over a reed mat and a *heb*-bowl.

In the second register, the deceased (red-skinned) stands before the avian form of Ptah-Sokar. On the proper right side, he is featured as a living man, wearing a festive garment. He is bald and wears a large collar, presenting a bowl with burning incense and a pending *ankh*-sign. On the proper left, he is shown as a mummiform god, wearing a long wig, divine beard, a funerary collar and a long belt. The raptor wears the *atef*-crown (on the left side, ram's horns were

11 Outer coffin of A.77, outer coffin of A.105. Coffin of Amenhotep (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, Inv. no. AMM 2-a, b), in Boeser 1917, Pl. I–X. Coffin of Khonsumose (Museo Egizio in Turin, 10106.a) in Niwiński 2004, Tav. XI. Mummy board of Khonsumose (Museo Egizio in Turin, 10107) in Niwiński 2004, Tav. XIII.

12 This name clearly indicates a situation of re-use.

added to the crown) and rests over a reed mat and a *heb*-bowl, with the mummiform goddess Maat (red-skinned) squatted at its feet. The avian god is protected by a winged cobra, who rests over a reed mat (proper left) or a bush of lilies (proper right). Above these figures the following label inscriptions are found: "Osiris and Nephthys", (left side), "*wab*-priest of Amun, Maatemsaef, justified" (right side), and "Uadjet".

The third register features the sacred ram. It wears a double-feathered headdress with a solar disk. *Iaret*-cobras wearing hathoric headdresses rise from its horns. The ram stands over a reed mat and a *heb*-bowl, with a large feather at its feet. It is protected by a winged cobra.

The fourth register shows the resurrection of Osiris, who is lying over an encircled serpent, with his mummiform body painted in dark blue.[13] He wears a double-feathered solar headdress over ram's horns and grasps the royal sceptres *heka* and *nekhakha*. The deity is protected by a winged cobra. A short label inscription refers: "Osiris".

Footboard

This area is decorated with two lateral partitions showing vignettes featured in reversed direction (Figures 11–12). The central partition is inscribed with five columns of text (Inscriptions 1–2, Inscription 5) (Figure 13). The left partition is almost entirely destroyed.

The right partition shows a mourning goddess (green-skinned) before the Ta-wer totem. She is clad in a striped dress adorned with small dots. She is squatted over a reed mat and a *heb*-bowl. The totem is adorned with a double-feather solar headdress, three transversal stripes, and a floating belt. A winged cobra heads the scene. The word "water" figures between these images. This scene is depicted under a ceiling decorated with a geometrical band and a block-frieze. A *ba*-bird rests over the ceiling.

Inscriptions

Two longitudinal bands of text bound the central partition (Inscriptions 1–2), while two others run down the sides of the lid from the elbows to the footboard (Inscriptions 3–4). Transversal inscriptions (Inscriptions 6–13) bound the vignettes of the lateral partitions. In the footboard, three columns of text are written between Inscriptions 1–2 (Inscription 5). The edges of the footboard

13 The depiction of a laying Osiris is not a common feature. It can be found in a similar position in the outer coffin of Sutimes (Louvre Museum, N 2610) in Andreu, Rutschowscya, Ziegler 1997, 167. Outer coffin of Nesipernub (Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Äs 6270) in Egner, Haslauer 2009, Pl. 1–9.

are inscribed (Inscriptions 14–15, Figure 13). Except for these, all the others are aligned with the longitudinal axis of the object.

The calligraphy is good. The signs were outlined in red and finished off with dark paint. Over the footboard, the inscriptions seem to have been erased and written over.

Inscription 1 (Figure 14)
ḏd mdw ỉn Wsỉr ḫnty ỉmntyw wn-nfr ḥkꜣ ꜥnḫw nb ỉꜣt ḥtp(w) dỉ.f ḥtpw ḏfꜣw ḫt-nbt nfrt wꜥbt ḫt-nbt nfrt nḏmt mnḫt šs snṯr mrḥt n Wsỉr wꜥb n ỉmn-Rꜥ nsw-nṯr Nsypꜣnb(ỉmꜣḫ, mꜣꜥ-ḫrw)

Words spoken by Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, Unnefer, sovereign of the living ones, lord of the burial mound, and offerings, (so) that he may give offerings and provisions, and all things good and pure, and all things (good and sweet), alabaster and cloths, incense and oil for the Osiris, the *wab*-priest of Amun-Re, the king of the gods, Nesipaneb(imakh).

Inscription 2 (Figure 14)
ḏd mdw ỉn Wsỉr nb nḥḥ n ỉr.n ḏt nṯr ꜥꜣ ḥr(y) st wrt ỉr ḥ(y)r-ỉb šṯyt ḫnty ꜣbḏw dỉ.f ḥtp ḏfꜣw ḫt-nbt nfrt wꜥbt ḫt-nbt nfrt nḏmt mnḫt šs snṯr mrḥt n Wsỉr wꜥb n ỉmn-Rꜥ (nsw-nṯr Nsypꜣnbỉmꜣḫ mꜣꜥ-ḫrw)

Words to be spoken by Osiris, lord of eternity, who made the everlasting time, the great god who is over the great throne, the eye who is in the *shetyt*-shrine, the foremost of Abydos, so that he may give offerings and provisions, and all things good and pure, and all things good and sweet, alabaster and cloths, incense and unguents for the Osiris, the *wab*-priest of Amun-Re, the (king of the gods, Nesipanebimakh).

Inscription 3 (Figure 15)
ḏd mdw ỉn Wsỉr ḫnty ỉmntt nb nḥḥ ỉr.n ḏt wn-nfr ḥkꜣ ꜥnḫw
ỉmsty dỉ.sn ḥtp ḏfꜣw ḫt-nbt nfrt wꜥbt ḫt-nbt nfrt wꜥbt (sic) *mnḫt šs n Wsỉr wꜥb n ỉmn-Rꜥ nsw-nṯrw Nsypꜣnbỉmꜣḫ mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*

Words to be spoken by Osiris, the foremost of the West, lord of eternity, who made the everlasting time, Unnefer, sovereign of the living ones. Imsety: "That they may give offerings and provisions, and all things good and pure, and all things good and pure (sic), clothing and alabaster, for the Osiris, *wab*-priest of Amun-Re, the king of the gods, Nesipanebimakh".

Inscription 4 (Figure 15)
ḏd mdw ỉn Nbt-ḥwt sn(t)-nṯr ỉrt Rᶜ ḥnwt pr-ᶜnḫ dỉ.s ḥtp ḏfȝw ḫt-nbt nfrt wᶜbt ḫt-nbt nfrt nḏmt mnḫt šs mrḥt n Wsỉr wᶜb n ỉmn-Rᶜ nsw-nṯrw Nsypȝnbỉmȝḫ mȝᶜ-ḫrw nty m ỉmntt m ỉȝt

Words to be spoken by Nephthys, the divine sister, the Eye of Re, mistress of the House of Life, so that she may give offerings and provisions, and all things good and pure, and all things good and sweet, alabaster and cloths, incense and unguents for the Osiris, the *wab*-priest of Amun-Re, the king of the gods, Nesipanebimakh, the justified one who is (in) the West, in the (funerary) mound.

Inscription 5 (Figure 16)
(col. 1) *Wsỉr nb nḥḥ nty (m) ỉmntt wᶜb n ỉmn-Rᶜ nsw-nṯrw Nsypȝnbỉmȝḫ*
(col. 2) *Nbt-ḥwt sn(t)-nṯr wᶜb n ỉmn-Rᶜ nsw-nṯrw Nsypȝnbỉmȝḫ*
(col. 3) *ȝst Nt wᶜb n ỉmn-Rᶜ nsw-nṯrw Nsypȝnbỉmȝḫ*

(col. 1) Osiris, lord of eternity, who dwells in the West: *wab*-priest of Amun-Re, the king of the gods, Nesipanebimakh.
(col. 2) Nephthys, divine sister: *wab*-priest of Amun-Re, the king of the gods, Nesipanebimakh.
(col. 3) Isis and Neith: *wab*-priest of Amun-Re, the king of the gods, Nesipanebimakh.

Inscription 6 (Figure 17)
ḏd mdw (ỉn) ỉmȝḫy ḫr ỉmsty dỉ.f ḫt-nbt

Words to be spoken (by) the venerable one before Imsety, (so) that he may give all things.

Inscription 7 (Figure 17)
ḏd mdw (ỉn) ỉmȝḫy ḫr nb šṯyt ḫnty ỉmntt nṯr-ᶜȝ

Words to be spoken (by) the venerable one before the lord of the *shetyt*-shrine, the foremost of the West, the great god.

Inscription 8 (Figure 17)
ḏd mdw (ỉn) ỉmȝḫy ḫr ḥpy dwȝ-mwt.f dỉ(.sn) ḥtp(w)

Words to be spoken by the venerable one before Hapy and Duamutef, (so) that (they) may give offerings.

Inscription 9 (Figure 17)
ḏd mdw (*ỉn*) *ỉmȝḫy ḥr Nbt-ḥwt diỉ.s ḥtp ḏfȝw*

Words to be spoken by the venerable one before Nephthys, (so) that she may give offerings and provisions.

Inscription 10 (Figure 17)
ḏd mdw ỉ(*n*) *ỉmȝḫy ḥr Nbt-ḥwt sn*(*t*)*-nṯr ỉrt Rʿ*

Words to be spoken b(y) the venerable one before Nephthys, the divine sister, the Eye of Re.

Inscription 11 (Figure 17)
ḏd mdw ỉ(*n*) *ỉmȝḫy ḥr ꜣst* ()*-nṯr*

Words to be spoken b(y) the venerable one before Isis, the divine.

Inscription 12 (Figure 17)
(*ḏd mdw*) (*ỉn*) *ỉmȝḫy ḫ*(*r*) *ꜣšt*

(Words to be spoken) (by) the venerable one before Isis.

Inscription 13 (Figure 17)
ḏd mdw ỉ(*n*) *ỉmȝḫy ḥr ỉmsty*

Words to be spoken b(y) the venerable one before Imsety.

Inscription 14 (Figure 17)
ḏd mdw ỉn Wsỉr nb nḥḥ ḥḳꜣ[14] (…) *diỉ.f ḥtp ḏfȝw*

Words to be spoken by Osiris, lord of eternity, sovereign (…), so that he may give offerings and provisions.

Inscription 15
Lost.

14 Note the transposition of *ḥ* and *ḳ* and the reversal display of the *ḳ*.

Figures



FIGURE 3 Lid of Nesipanebimakh

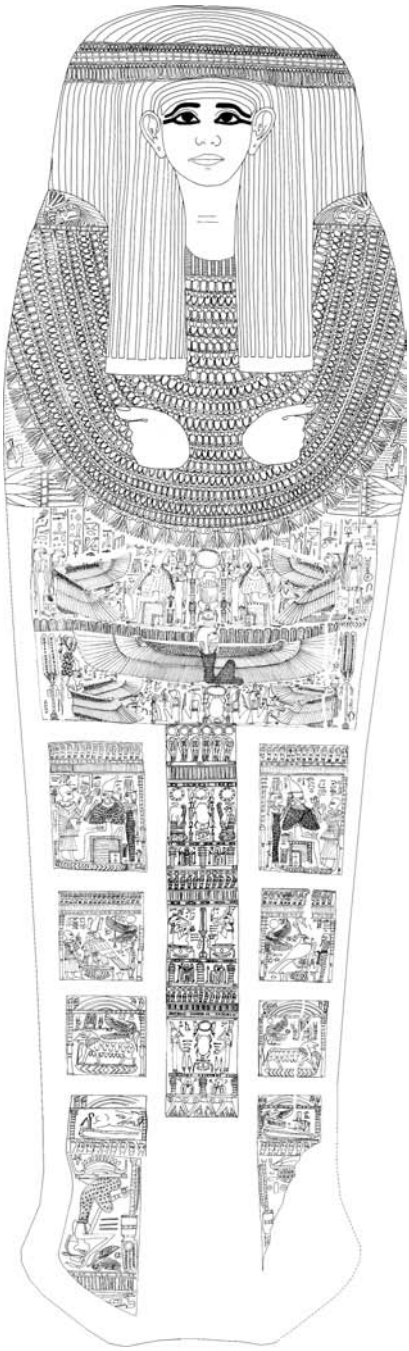


FIGURE 4 Lid of Nesipanebimakh



FIGURE 5 Lid of Nesipanebimakh. Headboard and upper section

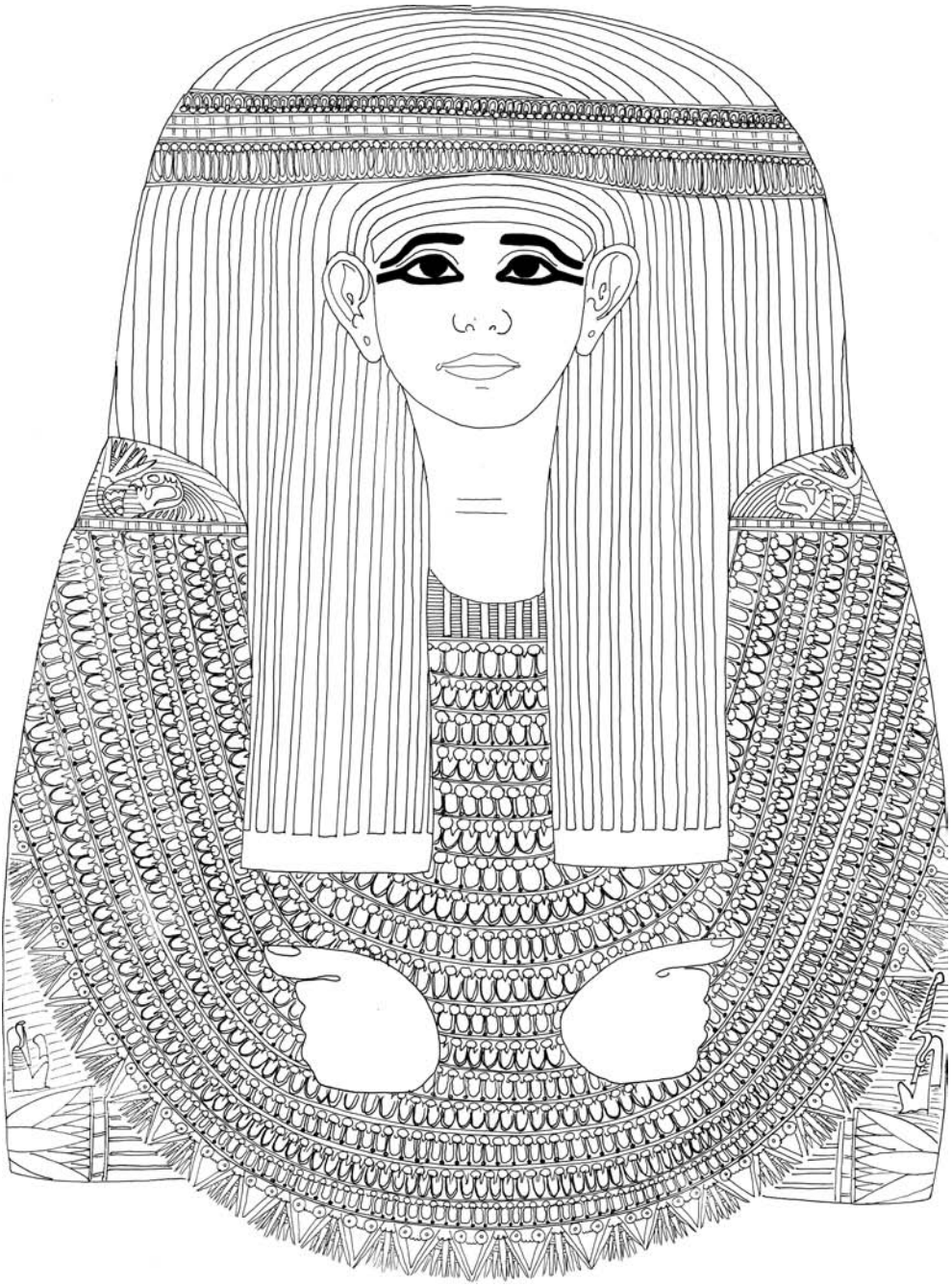


FIGURE 6 Lid of Nesipanebimakh. Headboard and upper section



FIGURE 7 Lid of Nesipanebimakh. Central section

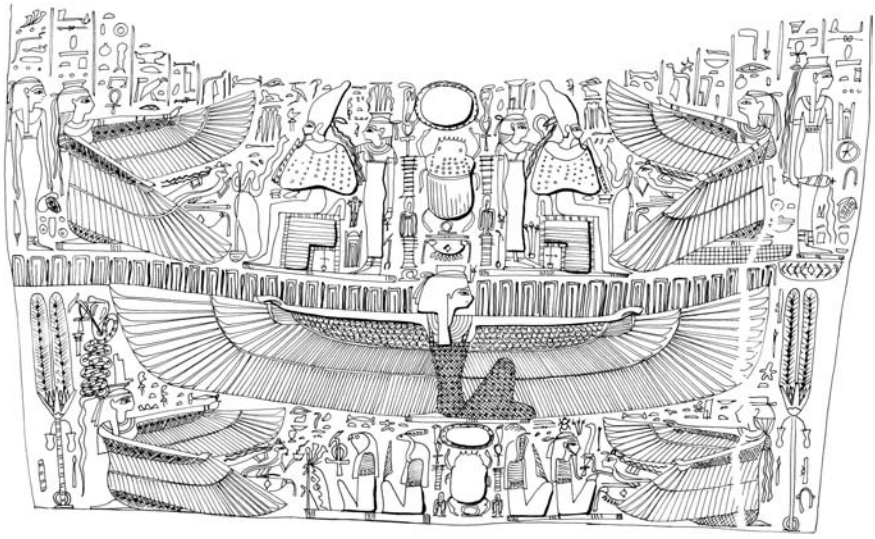


FIGURE 8 Lid of Nesipanebimakh. Central section



FIGURE 9 Lid of Nesipanebimakh. Lower section

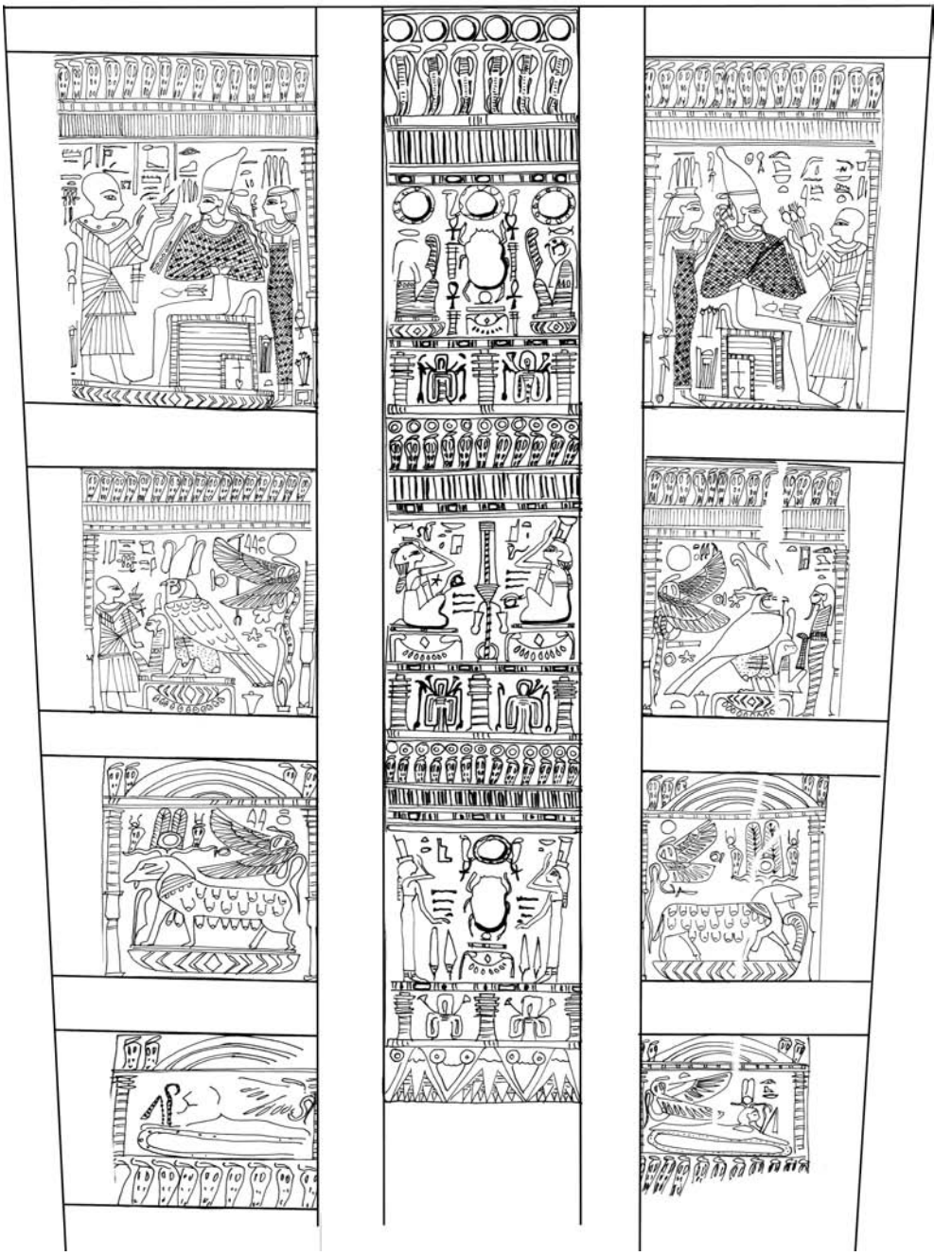


FIGURE 10 Lid of Nesipanebimakh. Lower section



FIGURE 11 Lid of Nesipanebimakh. Footboard

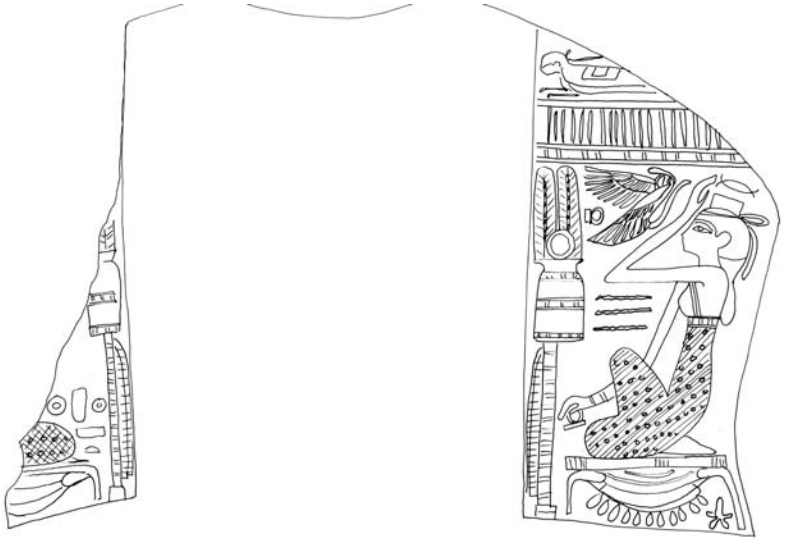


FIGURE 12 Lid of Nesipanebimakh. Footboard

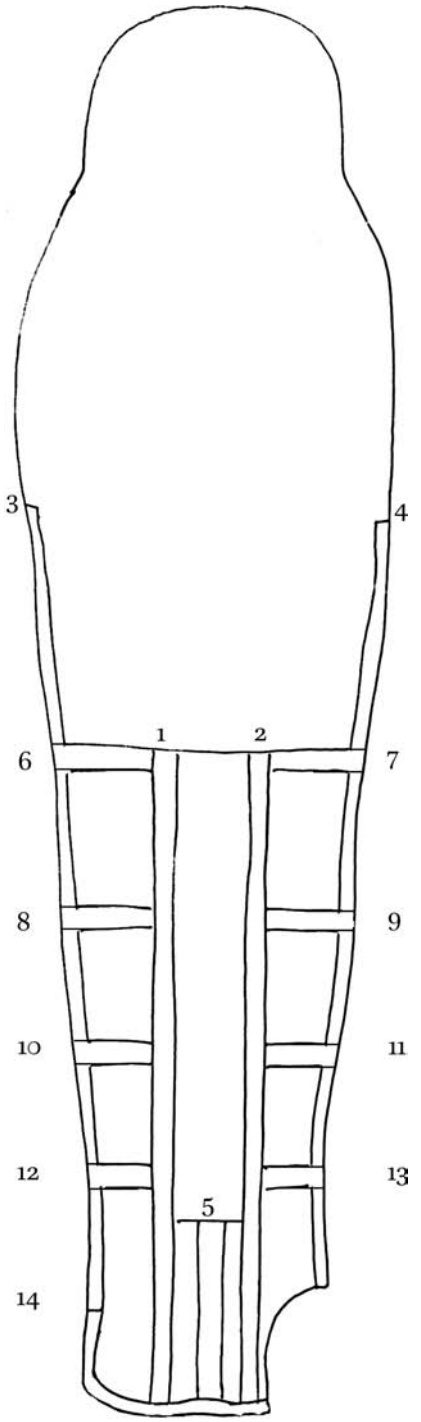


FIGURE 13
Lid of Nesipanebimakh. Inscriptions

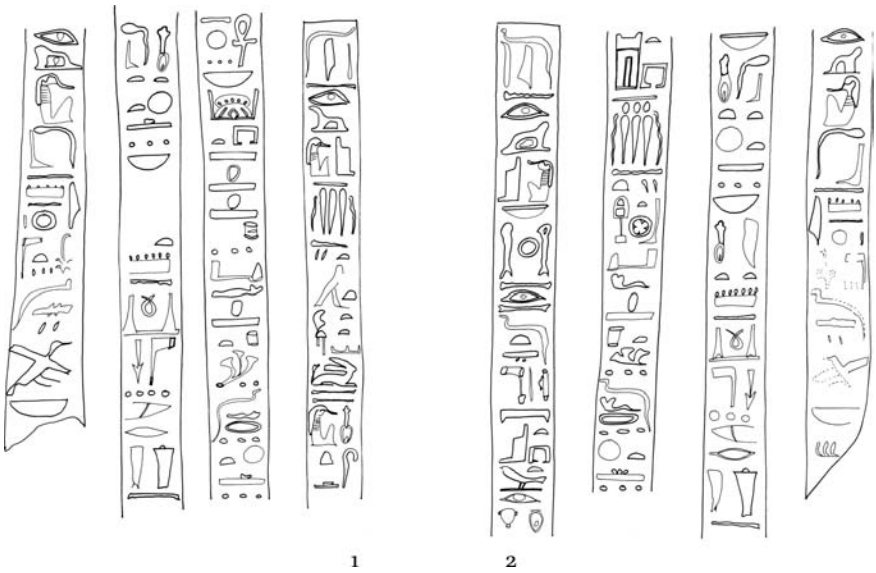


FIGURE 14 Lid of Nesipanebimakh. Inscriptions 1–2



FIGURE 15 Lid of Nesipanebimakh. Inscriptions 3–4

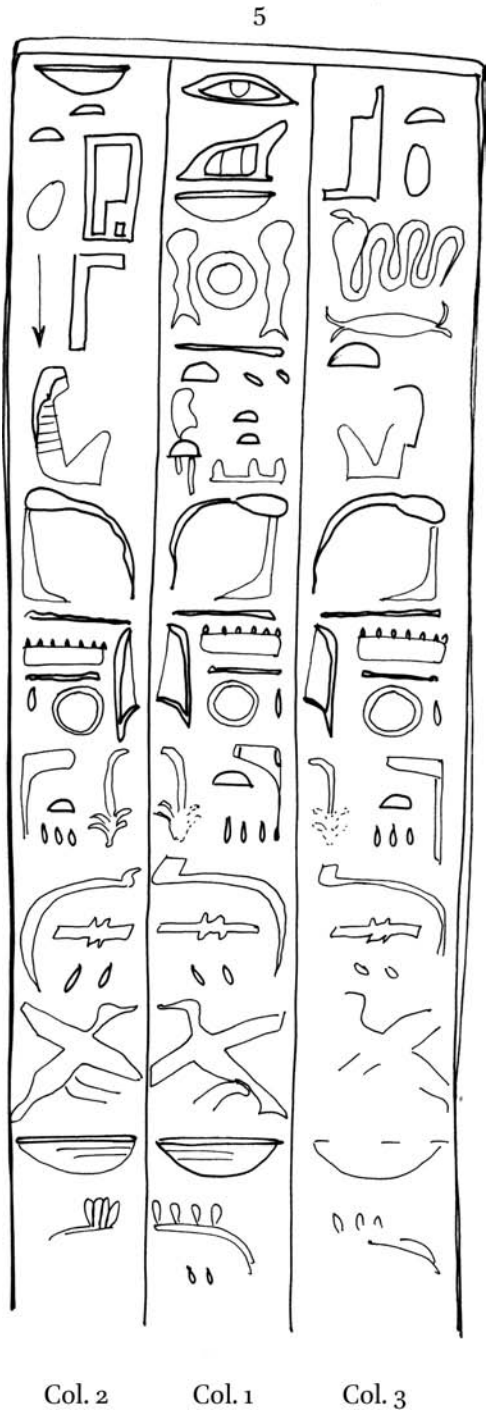


FIGURE 16
Lid of Nesipanebimakh.
Inscription 5

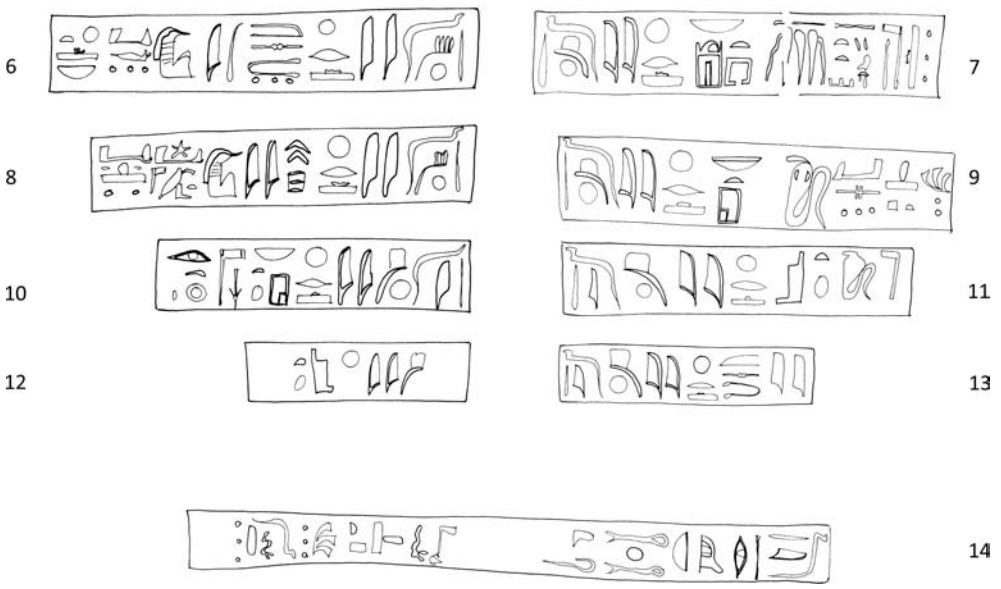


FIGURE 17 Lid of Nesipanebimakh. Inscriptions 6–14

2 Box (Figures 18–31)

Inventory number: 3909.
Length: 192 cm.
Wood, paste, paint, and varnish.
The exterior decoration is preserved in relatively good condition. In the headboard, the pictorial decoration is faded away. Two severe cracks affect the headboard exposing the joints between the planks. A longitudinal crack is detected in the upper section of the right side.
The interior decoration is well preserved, but a longitudinal crack runs along the centre of the floorboard. The thicknesses are stepped and painted in yellow. Eight mortises had been carved along the edge to hold the wooden tenons.
The footboard is modern.

Iconography (*Exterior*)

A frieze of alternating cobras and feathers runs along the upper edge of the sides, together with a block frieze. These features are absent in the headboard.

The vignettes are bounded within two longitudinal bands (black on top and red below) and columns of inscriptions (Inscriptions 1–8) (Figure 31). The lower edge is painted with a thick black band.

Headboard

The headboard is composed of a tripartite panel (Figure 19).

The **Vignette 1** (centre) shows the vestiges of a large *tjet*-sign flanked by the signs of the West. Unlike the others, this vignette occupies the full height of the wall.

The **Vignette 2** (left side) shows two enthroned mummiform gods. They are featured under a vaulted ceiling supported by *djed*-pillars. The deities are centripetally oriented. The first one is headless showing a green sun-disk rising from his body. The second is baboon-headed. The thrones rest over a reed mat and a large *heb*-bowl. Before each god figure liminal elements (cobras and written allusions to the duat).

The **Vignette 3** (right side) displays two enthroned baboon-headed mummiform gods. Each one grasps a feather, while using another one on his head. Both thrones rest over a reed mat and baskets. An offering table stands before them. Above, an inscription runs along the upper edge of the vignette: "Going forth from the duat, the great (god?)".

Left Side

The upper section is decorated with the **Vignette 4** (Figure 20), showing a symmetrical scene featuring the deceased in adoration before a falcon-headed

mummiform god. The deceased is clad in festive garments, with upraised arms. He has a goatee and wears an unguent cone and a lotus bud over the wig. At his feet stands an offering table with vessels, fruits, and lotus flower(s). The falcon-headed gods are displayed symmetrically resting over *neb*-baskets. They wear long wigs and grasp a *heka*-sceptre. A sun disk rises from their heads. Above them, a cobra goddess floats with an *ankh*-sign hanging from its neck and holding the *was*-sceptre and the *shen*-ring. The scene is slightly asymmetrical: on the right side, a vulture was added in the area above while, on the left side, a falcon resting over a totem was added behind the deceased.

The lower section is decorated with the **Vignette 5** (Figure 20), a single tableau showing three distinct scenes.

The first scene shows the solar barque carrying the sun disk flanked by a baboon and a vulture. The sacred scarab figures within the disk, and rays of light spring down from it. Around the disk, loose hieroglyphs allude to the "mystery of the duat". The barque navigates the heavenly waters while is greeted by a flock of eight of *ba*-birds.[15] On the right, a jackal-headed mummiform god stands under a vaulted ceiling. On the left, an ogdoad of enthroned deities is depicted in two registers, showing baboon-headed and feather-headed gods alternately displayed. They all grasp feathers. The scene is painted with a subtle colour code: the body of the feather-headed gods is dark green, with the cubic throne and the feathers painted in light green. Reversely, the body of the baboon-headed gods is painted in light green, with the throne and the feather in light green.

The second scene shows the deceased before the goddess Neith. The deceased wears a festive garment and an unguent cone with a lotus bud over the head. An offering table stands at his feet equipped with loaves of bread, vessels, and a lotus bud. The table is flanked by lettuce vases. The deceased presents to the goddess an offering board provided with vessels, courgettes and meat. The goddess is green-skinned, wearing a long wig adorned with a headband and a modius with her monogram. She is clad in a beaded dress.

The third scene shows the deceased in adoration before the goddess Hathor (Figure 21). A large offering table stands at the feet of the deceased, provided with a basket, vessels, a bunch of onions, and lotus flowers. Lettuce vases and baskets flank the offering table. The goddess is featured as a cow going forth from the Theban Mountain. The goddess stands on a reed mat, wearing the

15 The flocks of *ba*-birds might have been borrowed from the compositions of the Book of Earth (Part A). Hornung 1999, 104. Association with the Book of Gates is also possible (Ninth Hour). See Hornung 1999, 74.

hathoric headdress and a sistrum (?) pending from its neck. The body has a maculated hide. A jackal is crouched below. In the desert hills a small pyramid is depicted over a corniced gate, alluding to the deceased's funerary chapel. The area above is decorated with liminal elements: a winged cobra with an *ankh*-sign pending from its neck, and a vulture goddess.

Right Side

The upper section is decorated with the **Vignette 6** (Figures 22/23), showing the solar barque carrying the sun disk flanked by two baboons in adoration, alluding to the Baw of the East. The sacred scarab figures within the disk, and rays of light spring down from it. The barque navigates the heavenly waters while is greeted by a flock of six *ba*-birds. Two fishes jump out from the water. The scene is flanked by the deceased in adoration. On the left side, lettuce vases and an offering table stands at the feet of the deceased, equipped with loaves and a vessel. Above the deceased, figure short inscriptions with the same text: "Osiris, the foremost who is in the West, in the shrine of the duat".[16]

The lower section is decorated with the **Vignette 7** (Figures 22/24–25), a single tableau showing three distinct scenes.

The first scene shows the deceased before a group of four gods pulling out the solar barque from the Theban Mountain. The deceased wears festive garments (note that the short beard is here merely outlined and was not painted). An offering table stands at his feet, equipped with vessels, courgettes and a lotus flower. It is flanked by lettuce vases.

Only one goddess is figured in the gang of deities. The red-skinned male gods wear kilts and shirts, while the goddess is green-skinned, and she is clad in a beaded dress. The first deity is a mouse-headed god, the second deity is a double-crocodile-headed goddess, the third deity is a two-cobra-headed god and the fourth is a mouse-headed god. The rope that is used to pull the barque is outlined in red. However, the second and the third deities also hold long cobras respectively painted in black and green. The twisted body of the serpents is fused with the rope itself, and they intertwine their heads. The sacred boat is partially hidden under the mountain, showing the prow only. The barque carries a cobra and the solar disk showing the scarab within. The barque navigates the heavenly waters, with a fish jumping out from the water at the prow. Below, figures the *ba*-bird with upraised arms. Fruits and vessels are shown before him.

16 The scene shows some similarities with that featured in the coffin of Tanatnektahat (left side). See Lacovara, Trope 2001, 50.

The second scene shows the solar barque, but this time it carries the winged scarab holding up the solar disk. Two cobras wearing the *hedjet*-crown flank the sun god. The barque navigates the heavenly waters. Below, four *ba*-birds raise their arms in adoration, with a vessel at their feet.[17]

The third scene shows the deceased in adoration before six enthroned mummiform gods. The deceased wears a white garment (the beard is not depicted) and an unguent cone with a lotus bud. An offering table provided with vessels and a lotus flower stands at his feet, flanked by lettuce vases and baskets. The gods are displayed in two registers. They are baboon-headed or feather-headed. In the first register a baboon-headed god is flanked by two feather-headed gods, while in the second register a feather-headed god is flanked by baboon-headed deities.

Footboard

Lost

***Iconography* (*Interior*)**

The interior of the box is profusely decorated, with the background painted in red (Figures 26–30).

Headboard

The headboard is decorated with a large image of the *ba*-bird, with outstretched wings. The avian manifestation of the deceased wears a goatee. Above the wings figure the words "going forth from the duat", while the area below shows the pole of the East (Figure 30).

Sides

The sides are arranged in three registers (centrifugally oriented), each one of them displaying two standing mummiform gods wearing roughly outlined mummy-braces. The registers are bounded by a blue starry band shaped as a *pet*-sign. On both sides, the composition is symmetrical (Figure 27).

17 Depictions of the winged scarab rising from the solar barque are common in the repertoire of the boxes. However, the barque is normally associated with the triumph over Apopis [anonymous coffin (A.2, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, E.5883, in Delvaux, Therasse 2016, 86–91); inner coffin of Gatseshen (A.139, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, Inv. no. F 93/10.1b in Mann, Greco, Weiss 2018, 41)] or with the mummy of Osiris [outer coffin of Djedmutiuesankh (A.15, Museo Egizio in Florence, 8524 in Zarli, Sousa 2018, 60); anonymous inner coffin of A.60 (Museo Egizio in Florence, 8526 in Zarli, Sousa 2018, 303)].

In the first register, there is a baboon-headed and a falcon-headed god, both provided with a libation stand at their feet. They wear long wigs.

In the second register, there is a cat-headed god and a fully human-shaped god. The latter wears a curled long wig reminding the hathoric coiffure. Moreover, the face is frontally depicted, including a short goatee. A libation stand is featured at their feet.

In the third register, there is a headless god surmounted by a fallen serpent and a falcon-headed deity.

Floorboard

The floorboard is arranged in two main registers bounded by large *pet*-signs sprinkled with yellow starts (Figures 26, 28–30).

The first register is the largest one, showing the goddess of the Theban necropolis standing on a *nebu*-sign and opening her arms to cradle the mummy. She wears a long divine wig decorated with a white headband and her own monogram, the falcon resting on a pole. An *iaret*-cobra covers the crown of the head and rises over the forehead (Figure 28).

Above the goddess, figures a coiled cobra with a *shen*-ring pending from its neck. The twisted body of the cobra covers the head and upper torso of the goddess, protecting her and the deceased. A starry band shaped as an inverted U evokes the heavenly dome.

The goddess wears a large collar painted in different shades of green. Her long tight dress is beautifully decorated with a very unusual pattern reminding the twisted body of a serpent decorated with a profusion of red dots arranged in circles. The dress is bounded by block friezes in the upper and lower edges.[18]

The goddess is flanked, on the proper left side, by a falcon resting on a *nebu*-sign and a cluster of hieroglyphic signs reading "May she give regeneration, life, and stability". Below, figures the name of the goddess Nut, as well as a cobra resting on a *nebu*-sign and the *shetyt*-shrine. On the proper right side, figures the pole of the East, and a cobra resting on a *nebu*-sign and a *shetyt*-shrine.

In the second register two *ba*-birds are centripetally oriented, with their faces depicted frontally (Figure 29). Two feathers figure at their feet and hieroglyphic signs mention the going forth to the duat.

Footboard

Lost.

18 A similar design of the divine dress is detected in the outer coffin of Tabakmut (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.10a, b).

Inscriptions

Columns of inscriptions bound the vignettes displayed on the sides (Figure 31). The calligraphy is sketchy. The signs are outlined in red and finished off with green and black.

Left Side

Inscription 1 (Figure 32)

ỉmꜣḫy (*ḫr*), *nb nḥḥ, nb snḏ nrw* (*m*) *dwꜣt, pr-nfr*

The venerable one, lord of eternity, lord of fear and terror, (in the) duat and the Embalming House.

Inscription 2 (Figure 32)

(1) *ỉmꜣḫy ḫr Wsỉr, ḫnty ỉmntt*
(2) *nṯr ꜥꜣ, nb snḏ nrw* (*m*) *dwꜣt sštꜣ, nb štyt*

(1) The venerable one before Osiris, the foremost of the West.
(2) great god, lord of fear and terror, in the mysterious duat, lord of the *shetyt*-shrine.

Inscription 3 (Figure 32)

(1) *ỉmꜣḫy ḫr Wsỉr, ḫnty ỉmntt*
(2) *nṯr ꜥꜣ, nb nḥḥ, nb snḏ nrw, dwꜣt.*

(1) The venerable one before Osiris, the foremost of the West.
(2) great god, lord of eternity, lord of fear and terror (in) the duat.

Inscription 4 (Figure 32)

(1) *ỉmꜣḫy ḫr Wsỉr, ḫnty ỉmntt*
(2) *nṯr ꜥꜣ, nb nḥḥ, nb* (*nrw*) (...).

(1) The venerable one before Osiris, the foremost of the West.
(2) Great god, lord of eternity, lord of fear, lord of (terror) (...).

Right Side

Inscription 5 (Figure 32)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr Wsỉr, ḫnty ỉmntt

The venerable one before Osiris, the foremost of the West.

Inscription 6 (Figure 32)
nṯr ʿɜ, nb nḥḥ, nb snḏ nrw ḥr(y)-ỉb st.ỉ (m?), pr-nfr

Great god, lord of eternity, lord of fear and terror, who is in my place, (in) the Embalming House.

Inscription 7 (Figure 32)
(1) *ỉmɜḫy ḫr Wsỉr, ḫnty ỉmntt*
(2) *nṯr ʿɜ, nb nḥḥ, nb snḏ nrw, dwɜt sšt*

(1) The venerable one before Osiris, the foremost of the West.
(2) great god, lord of eternity, lord of fear and terror, in the mysterious duat.

Inscription 8 (Figure 32)
(1) *ỉmɜḫy ḫr Wsỉr, ḫnty ỉmntt*
(2) *nṯr ʿɜ nb nḥḥ, nb snḏ nrw, dwɜt*

(1) The venerable one before Osiris, the foremost of the West.
(2) great god, lord of eternity, lord of fear (in) the duat.

Figures



FIGURE 18 Box of Nesipanebimakh

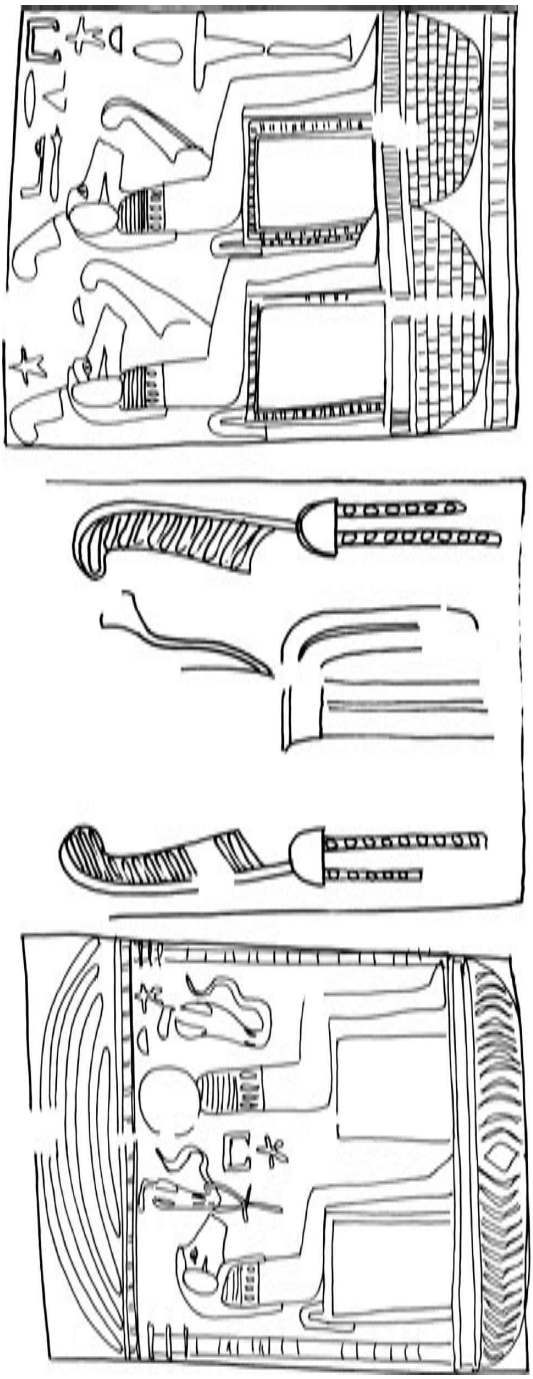
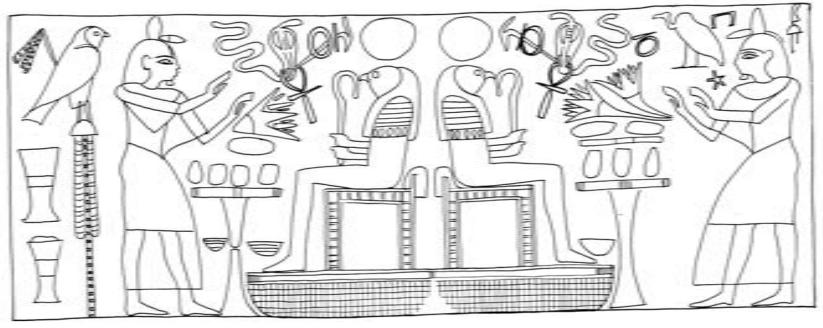


FIGURE 19 Box of Nesipanebimakh. Headboard



Vignette 4

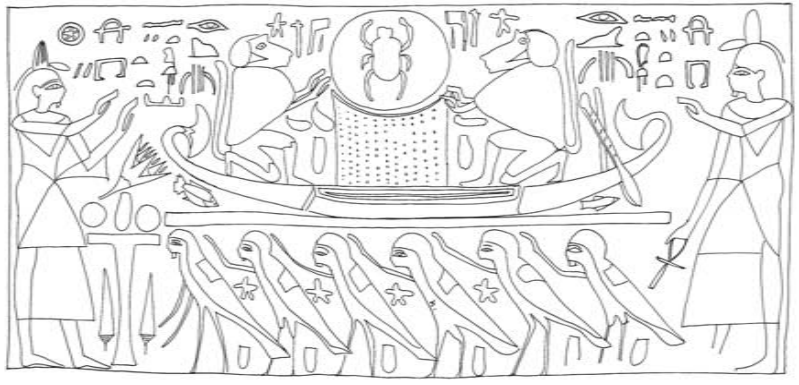


Vignette 5

FIGURE 20 Box of Nesipanebimakh. Left side



FIGURE 21 Box of Nesipanebimakh. Left side. Lower section



Vignette 6



Vignette 7

FIGURE 22 Box of Nesipanebimakh. Right side



FIGURE 23 Box of Nesipanebimakh. Right side. Upper section

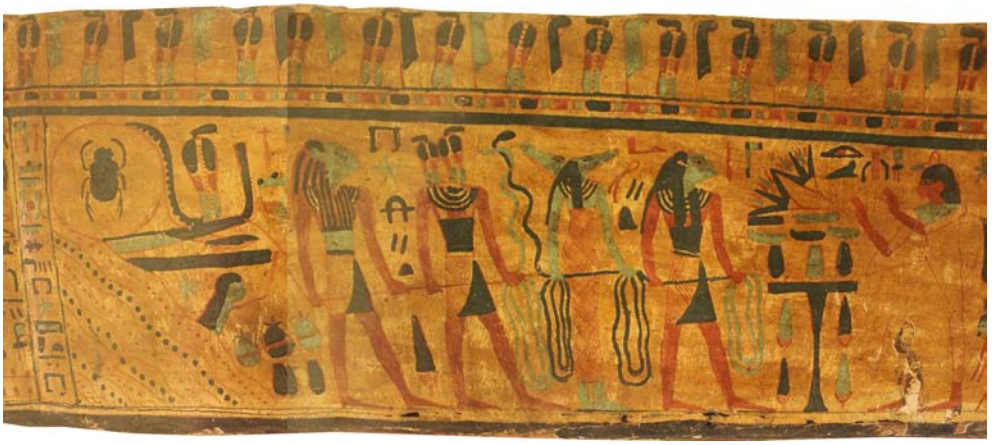


FIGURE 24 Box of Nesipanebimakh. Right side. Lower section



FIGURE 25 Box of Nesipanebimakh. Right side. Lower section



FIGURE 26
Box of Nesipanebimakh. Floorboard



FIGURE 27 Box of Nesipanebimakh. Interior. Left and right sides



FIGURE 28
Box of Nesipanebimakh.
Floorboard (1st register)



FIGURE 29 Box of Nesipanebimakh. Floorboard (2nd register)

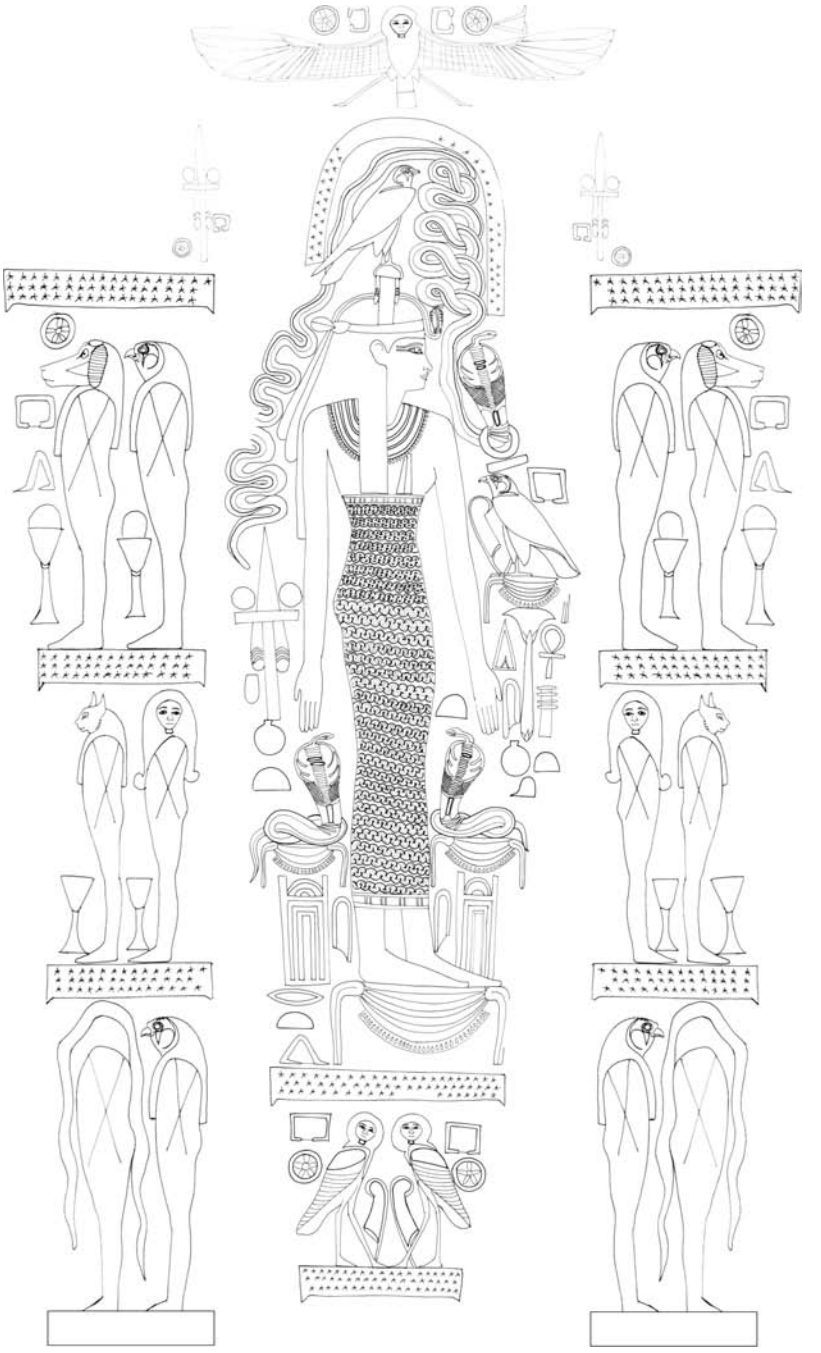


FIGURE 30 Box of Nesipanebimakh. Interior

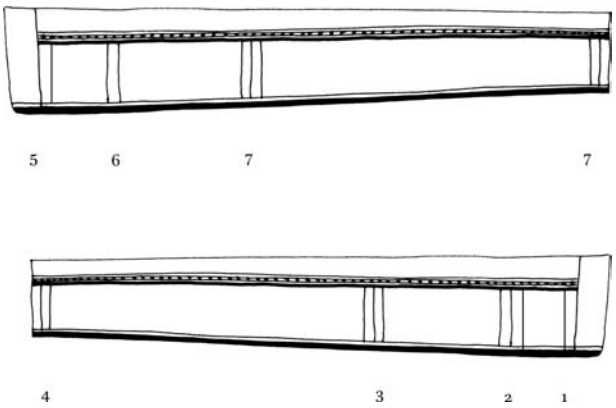


FIGURE 31 Box of Nesipanebimakh. Inscriptions

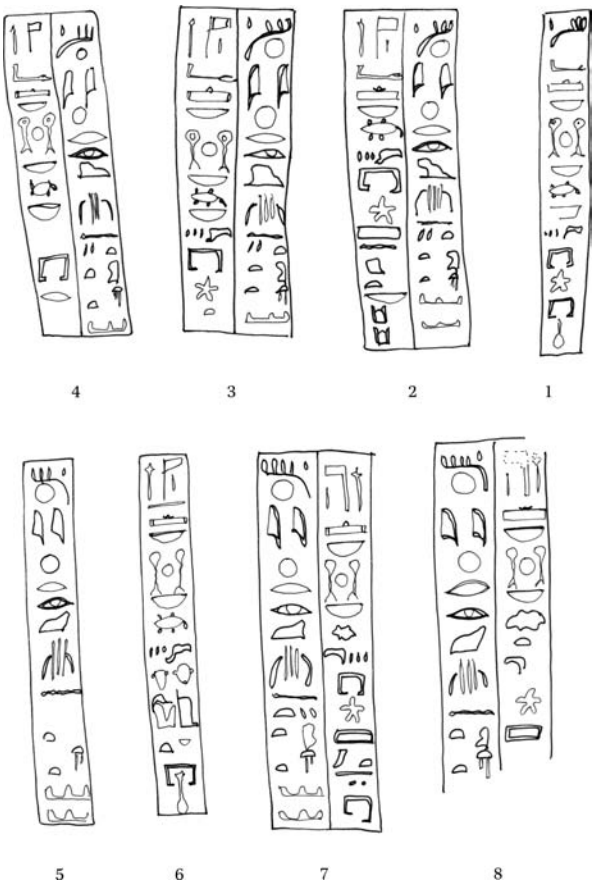


FIGURE 32 Box of Nesipanebimakh. Inscriptions 1–8

3 Mummy Board (Figures 33–39)

Inventory number: 3909
Length: 174 cm.
Wood, paste, and paint.
Some of the motifs of the central panel and the lower section are rendered in *pastiglia*, to suggest relief.
The reverse side is undecorated.
The fists and ears are carved in wood and attached to the lid.
Next to the footend, a small portion of wood is broken. Otherwise, the object is very well preserved.

Iconography

Headboard

The face is well carved and painted yellow, with the thick cosmetic lines of the eyes and eyebrows outlined in dark blue (Figure 34). The eyelids are suggested with a red line. The black iris is painted over a white background. The nose presents carved nostrils. The face is well proportioned and despite the slight asymmetry of the eyes the impact is good.

The lips are outlined in red. The ears are very well carved with red lines to suggest the anatomical details. The circles suggest pierced earlobes.

The neck shows two transversal red lines.

The divine wig shows a striped pattern (dark blue stripes over a yellow background). The headband displays a geometrical pattern consisting of small squares painted in red and dark blue forming the so-called "crown of justification". Floral bands decorated with mandrake flowers flank this geometrical pattern.

The lappets of the wig are decorated with yellow terminals.

Upper Section

The fists are painted yellow, crossed over the chest (Figure 34). The fingers and the nails of the thumbs are outlined in red.

The forearms are completely hidden under the broad collar. Only a small part of the elbows is visible, partially revealing a lotus flower.

The large collar covers the shoulders and upper torso displaying 20 floral bands showing only two different patterns: lotus flowers intertwined with buds (1st band), and mandrake flowers. The latter is reproduced with a slightly different colour pattern (the bands are alternately figured with red or blue flowers). The neckband shows geometrical decoration. The clasps of the collar bear a falcon head and a lotus flower depicted against a striped pattern.

Central Section

This composition displays three registers (Figure 35).

The first register presents a symmetrical composition with a sacred scarab at the centre. The scarab (*pastiglia*) holds up the solar disk (*pastiglia*) showing the *shen*-ring between the hind legs. The scarab rises from the *nebu*-sign (*pastiglia*) and it is flanked by columns of hieroglyphic signs (*ankh*, *djed*, *tjet*, *djed*) pending from cobras encircling the sun-disk.

This composition forms the nuclear block of the symmetrical register. It is flanked by centrifugal blocks featuring Osiris (red-skinned): he is enthroned, in mummiform guise, wearing the *hedjet*-crown (*pastiglia*) adorned with long red streamers and grasping the royal sceptres, *heka* and *nekhakha*. The torso (*pastiglia*) is decorated with small dots. The cubic throne (*pastiglia*) shows a striped pattern and the *sema*-sign. A goddess stands behind Osiris, embracing him and holding the *ankh*-sign. She is clad in a tight robe (*pastiglia*), wearing a modius. She is flanked by *shetyt*-shrines and a bush of lilies. Hieroglyphs alluding to Osirian titles fill-in the area above these figures ("Osiris, great god, the foremost").

This register is completed with a centripetal block featuring a squatted winged goddess (green-skinned) stretching her wings towards Osiris. She is squatted over a reed mat.[19] Between her wings, the *ba*-bird rests over a reed mat and a *nebu*-sign. He is red-skinned and wears a square beard, presenting a cup with burning incense to Osiris.

In the area above, several columns of inscriptions are found: "Words spoken by Isis, the great one, the mother of the gods, the Eye of Re, the mistress of the House of Life" (proper right side); "Words spoken by Nephthys, the divine sister, the Eye of Re, the mistress" (proper left side).

The second register displays a large, winged goddess squatted on a reed mat outstretching her wings towards both sides of the panel. The goddess is green-skinned. The head, wig, and arms are moulded in *pastiglia*. She wears a modius, and a red headband. The goddess is clad in a tight beaded dress. Above her wings, a long *serekh*-frieze is displayed, together with a cobra, which faces the goddess.

The third register displays a symmetrical composition much like the first one.[20] In the nuclear block, the scarab (*pastiglia*) holds up the solar disk (*pas-*

19 On the proper right side, a *neb*-basket is also featured.

20 Unlike the lid, where there is an asymmetric arrangement between the first and the third register, on the mummy board this symmetry is almost perfect. The only difference lies in the position of Osiris in the centrifugal block. In the first register, he is enthroned, while in the third register he is in standing position. These asymmetries seem to be created on

tiglia) carrying the *shen*-ring with the hind legs. The scarab rises from the *nebu*-sign (*pastiglia*) and below, a bush of lilies is flanked by *shetyt*-shrines. These motifs are flanked by columns of hieroglyphic signs (*ankh*, *djed*, *tjet*, *djed, tjet*) pending from cobras encircling the sun-disk.

This nuclear composition is flanked by centrifugal blocks featuring the mummiform god Osiris (red-skinned) in standing position, wearing the *hedjet*-crown (*pastiglia*) adorned with long red streamers, and grasping the royal sceptres, *heka* and *nekhakha*. The torso (*pastiglia*) is decorated with small dots. A long belt is attached to the waist. A goddess embraces Osiris. She is clad in a tight robe (*pastiglia*), wearing a modius. She holds the *ankh*-sign and is flanked by the *shetyt*-shrine, the *was*-sign and a bush of lilies. Hieroglyphs alluding to Osirian titles fill-in the area above these figures ("Osiris, great god, the foremost").

The symmetrical register is completed with a centripetal block featuring a squatted winged goddess (green-skinned) stretching out her wings towards Osiris. Nested between her wings, the *ba*-bird rests over a reed mat and a *nebu*-sign in adoration. All these elements are shown over a long *neb*-basket. The area above is filled-in with short label inscriptions: "Isis", "great god", "things", "Uadjet".

Lower Section

This composition displays two longitudinal partitions bounded by columns of inscriptions (Inscriptions 1–2) and block-friezes (Figure 36).

As the lid, these partitions are symmetrically arranged displaying four registers, showing the enthroned Osiris, the avian form of Ptah-Sokar and the sacred ram. These registers are bounded by transversal inscriptions (Inscriptions 3–10). The arrangement of the scenes is symmetrical on both sides, with minor details introducing subtle differences. The size of the vignettes decreases as we approach the footboard. Each vignette depicts a scene inside a shrine. In the upper register, the ceiling of the shrine is heavily decorated with *iaret*-cobras, a block-frieze and a geometrical band. In the remaining registers, the shrine shows a vaulted ceiling flanked by *iaret*-cobras. In all the registers the ceilings are supported by double columns (*djed*-pillars and lotus-shaped columns).

In the first register the deceased presents offerings before Osiris (red-skinned). The deceased (red-skinned) is bald, wearing a white festive garment and a collar. On the proper left partition, he presents a bunch of onions to

purpose to introduce variability within the composition. On this subject see Sousa 2018b, 20–23.

Osiris, while on the right side he offers a vase with outflowing ointment. The enthroned god wears the *hedjet*-crown with long red streamers and a tight striped shirt adorned with small dots and a large collar. The forearms of the god are crossed over the chest holding the royal sceptres, *heka* and *nekhakha*. The cubic throne shows the *sema*-sign. A few offerings are displayed over the lap of Osiris. A goddess (green-skinned) stands behind him, supporting Osiris with her arm and holding the *ankh*-sign. She wears a large collar and is clad in a tight beaded garment. At her feet figures the *shetyt*-shrine and a bush of lilies.[21] Above these figure label inscriptions. Proper left vignette: "The foremost of the West, Osiris, lord of the duat", "(...) of the temple of Amun". Proper right vignette: "Osiris, the foremost", "*wab*-priest of Amun". The scene is depicted over a large *neb*-basket.

In the second register, figures the avian form of Ptah-Sokar. The raptor wears the *atef*-crown and rests over a reed mat and a *heb*-bowl, with a cobra wearing the *hedjet*-crown at its feet. The avian god is protected by a winged cobra, who rests over a reed mat and a *nebu*-sign. The *udjat*-eye figures between its wings. The words "duat", "Uadjet" and "Osiris, lord of eternity" fill-in the area above.

The third register features the sacred ram wearing a double-feathered headdress with a solar disk. *Iaret*-cobras wearing hathoric headdresses rise from its horns. The ram stands over a reed mat and a *nebu*-sign, with a large feather at its feet. It is protected by a winged cobra.

The fourth register shows the mourning goddesses, squatted on a *heb*-bowl. They are green-skinned and wear long striped dresses. Short label inscriptions refer: "Osiris, lord, great god" and "Nephthys" (proper right) and "words spoken by Isis" (proper left).

21 The lilies are featured only on the proper left side. On the proper right side a lettuce vase is depicted instead.

Inscriptions

Two longitudinal inscriptions (Inscriptions 1–2) run down the centre of the object. Transversal inscriptions (Inscriptions 3–10, Figure 39) bound the vignettes of the lateral partitions. The calligraphy is good. The signs were outlined in red and finished off with green and dark paint.

Inscription 1 (Figure 38)
ḏd mdw ỉn Wsỉr ḥnty ỉmntyw, wn-nfr, ỉr.n ḏt, nṯr ʿ3 ḥr(y) st wrt, nb ỉ3t ḥr(y)-ỉb, dỉ.f ḥtp, ḏf3w, ḫt-nbt nfrt wʿbt n Wsỉr wʿb n ỉmn-Rʿ Nsyp3nbỉm3ḥ.

Words spoken by Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, Unnefer, who made the everlasting time, the great god who is over the great throne, the lord of the burial mound, so that he may give offerings and provisions, and all things good and pure, for the Osiris, the *wab*-priest of Amun-Re, Nesipanebimakh.

Inscription 2 (Figure 38)
ḏd mdw ỉn Wsỉr, nb nḥḥ, ḥk3 ḏt, nṯr ʿ3, ḥnty ỉmntyw. ỉmsty: dỉ.s(n) ḥtp, ḏf3w, ḫt-nbt nfrt wʿbt, mnḫt, šs, snṯr, n Wsỉr wʿb n ỉmn-Rʿ Nsyp3nbỉm3ḥ.

Words spoken by Osiris, lord of eternity, sovereign of everlastingness, the great god, the foremost of the Westerners. Imsety: so that she may give offerings and provisions, and all things good and pure, alabaster and cloths, and incense for the Osiris, the *wab*-priest of Amun-Re, Nesipanebimakh.

Inscription 3 (Figure 39)
ḏd mdw ỉ(n) ỉm3ḫy ḥr ỉmsty

Words to be spoken b(y) the venerable one before Imsety.

Inscription 4 (Figure 39)
ḏd mdw ỉ(n) ỉm3ḫy ḥr Nbt-ḥwt, nṯr(t) ʿ3(t)

Words to be spoken b(y) the venerable one before Nephthys, the great goddess.

Inscription 5 (Figure 39)
ḏd mdw ỉ(n) ỉm3ḫy ḥr Nbt-ḥwt, nṯr(t) (ʿ3t)

Words to be spoken by the venerable one before Nephthys, the great goddess.

Inscription 6 (Figure 39)
ḏd mdw i(n) ỉmȝḫy ḫr ȝst, nṯr(t) (ꜥȝt)

Words to be spoken by the venerable one before Isis, the great goddess.

Inscription 7 (Figure 39)
(*ḏd mdw ỉn*) *ỉmȝḫy ḫr Nbt-ḥwt, nṯr(t)* (ꜥȝ(t))

(Words to be spoken by) the venerable one before Nephthys, the great goddess.

Inscription 8 (Figure 39)
(*ḏd mdw ỉn*) *ỉmȝḫy ḫr ỉmsty, nṯr* (ꜥȝ)

Words to be spoken by the venerable one before Imsety, the great god.

Inscription 9 (Figure 39)
ḏd mdw i(n) ỉmȝḫy

Words to be spoken b(y) the venerable one.

Inscription 10 (Figure 39)
ḏd mdw i(n) ỉmȝḫy ḫr.

Words to be spoken by the venerable one before.

Figures



FIGURE 33
Mummy board of Nesipanebimakh



FIGURE 34 Mummy board of Nesipanebimakh. Headboard and upper section



FIGURE 35 Mummy board of Nesipanebimakh. Central section



FIGURE 36
Mummy board of Nesipanebimakh. Lower section

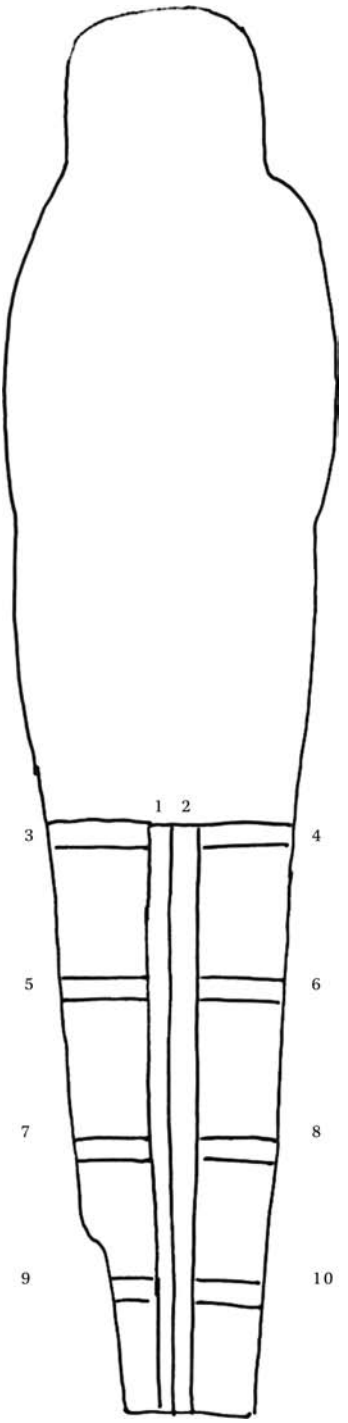


FIGURE 37
Mummy board of Nesipanebimakh. Inscriptions



FIGURE 38 Mummy board of Nesipanebimakh. Inscriptions 1–2



FIGURE 39 Mummy board of Nesipanebimakh. Inscriptions 3–10

Coffin Set of Taiuheret (A.19)

Rogério Sousa

Inner anthropoid coffin (4–5) and mummy board (6).

Archaeological Context and Dating

The coffin set was found in the longitudinal gallery of Bab el-Gasus, next to the western wall. It was laid over the coffin set A.20 (now in the Muzeo Egizio in Florence).[1] The decoration scheme of the set suggests an early dating, perhaps the end of the Ramesside period, but heavy traces of recycling can be detected. The mummy was not examined by Georges Daressy.

Name and Titles of the Owner

The lid is inscribed with the name Taiuheret, who holds the titles of "lady of the House" and "chantress of Amun". The box remained anonymous.

Bibliography

Daressy 1907, 5, 21. Lieblein 1892, 994. Niwiński 1988, 136. Schmidt 1919, 149, figs. 760.

1 Zarli, Sousa 2018, 114–151.

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FIGURE 40 Coffin set of Taiuheret

4 Lid (Figures 40–52)

Inventory number: 3912.
Length: 176 cm.
Wood, paste, paint, and varnish.
The reverse side is undecorated.
The hands are carved in wood and attached to the lid. The proper right hand is lost.
The upper section is severely affected by cracks that seem to originate from the wooden joints of the planks. The central and lower sections are relatively better preserved showing a longitudinal crack running along the proper right side. On the proper left side of the footboard, the paste collapsed revealing a human foot carved in the wooden structure.

Iconography

Headboard

The face is roughly shaped (Figures 43–44). The sculptor carved the eyes too high regarding the position of the nose and mouth. Hence, the painter outlined the eyes in a much lower position.[2] The contour of the cosmetic lines is dark blue. The black iris is painted over a white background and the eyelids are suggested with a red line. The nose shows carved nostrils. The lips are very well carved and outlined in red. The neck shows three almost imperceptible red lines. The face is graceless and very roughly shaped.

The divine wig is painted in dark blue. The headband shows a floral band decorated with persea tree buds, and a geometrical band displaying a pattern resembling the "crown of justification". A lotus flower bunched together with buds and leaves lays down from the crown of the head.

Rounded earrings once adorned the wig, but they collapsed. On the proper right side, the earring's rounded shape is still visible on the wig. Two large tresses frame the face, but the pigments with which they were painted degraded into such an extent that they are now difficult to perceive. The lappets of the wig are bound together by transversal bands showing a beaded pattern painted against a yellow background.

2 The misplacement of the eyes is not uncommon among "yellow" coffins, especially in those crafted in poorly skilled workshops. Also from Bab el-Gasus, see anonymous coffin (A.4, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, SGL-AC-514) in Sousa 2010, 201.

Upper Section

The proper left hand is painted yellow (Figures 43–44). The fingers and the nails are outlined in red. With exception to the thumb, each finger wears five rings alternately painted in green and dark blue.

The forearms are fully visible, showing a profuse use of bracelets, most of them with geometrical decoration, except two featuring a solar-falcon before a winged cobra,[3] and the winged *udjat*-eye lingering above.

Large lotus flowers cover the elbows. A small area of the arms is visible under the floral collar showing the striped pattern of a festive garment.

The large collar covers the shoulders and upper torso, displaying 6 floral bands decorated with three different patterns: lotus flowers interspersed with cornflowers and buds (1st band), persea tree buds (2nd, 4th, 6th), and geometrical motifs (3rd, 5th).

The clasps of the collar bear a falcon head, a lotus flower, and cornflowers.

Between the lappets of the wig figures a small collar with eight bands.

The chest of the deceased shows a pectoral hanging down from a necklace hidden under the short collar, consisting of a large, winged scarab holding the *shen*-ring with the hind legs.

Central Section

This composition displays two registers (Figures 45–46).

The first register presents a symmetrical composition with a sacred scarab at the centre. The scarab holds up the solar disk showing a bunch of a lotus flower and buds between the hind legs.[4] *Iaret*-cobras encircle the sun-disk. This composition forms the nuclear block of the composition. It is flanked by small figures of the squatted goddess Maat, which are displayed centrifugally.[5] Centripetal blocks complete the composition featuring the god Ptah-Sokar in avian form wearing the *atef*-crown and the *menat*-necklace. The raptor is protected by a winged cobra, who rests over a basket. Additional motifs are featured on the edges of the tableau: a winged *udjat*-eye (proper right side), an *udjat*-eye with two *nefer*-signs (proper left side). Label inscriptions clarify the identity of the deities: "Ptah" and "Wadjet".

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3 Subtle differences are detected in the depiction of the cobra. On the proper right forearm, it wears the *atef*-crown, while on the opposite side it wears the sun disk.

4 This floral motif is typically associated with a pectoral, which is often depicted in coffins dating from the early 21st Dynasty (Sousa 2018a, 101). This motif thus seems to be used as a reminiscence of a scarab-shaped pectoral.

5 The motif of Maat is not a common feature in this scheme. Centrifugal blocks tend to be larger, often including the enthroned god Osiris. See Sousa 2018a, 102.

The first register is bounded by a large *pet*-sign representing the sky.

The second register displays a squatted goddess (green-skinned) outstretching her wings towards both sides of the panel. She wears a red headband, a modius, and the monogram of Neith. The goddess is clad in a tight red dress tied up with a long dark belt. Over the wings, *iaret*-cobras pending from the *pet*-sign flank a short inscription referring to "Nut, who gave birth to all the gods". These motifs are flanked by a winged cobra (proper left) and a winged *udjat*-eye (proper right). Small offerings are featured below the goddess' wings.

Lower Section

This composition displays two longitudinal partitions displaying a sequence of vignettes showing enthroned mummiform gods, the avian form of the god Sokar and groups of standing mummiform gods (Figures 47–48).[6] These partitions are bounded by a band of inscriptions running down the centre of the lid (Inscriptions 1–3). These partitions display three registers bounded by transversal inscriptions (Inscriptions 4–11). The arrangement of the scenes is slightly asymmetrical on both sides.

Right Partition

In the first register the deceased plays the sistrum before the enthroned god Osiris (green-skinned). The deceased wears a white festive dress tied up with a long dark belt. Her divine wig is adorned with a lotus bud. She wears a large collar and bracelets. The enthroned god wears a sun disk over his head and his long wig is adorned with a red headband. He grasps the royal sceptres, *heka* and *nekhakha*. His torso is wrapped within a striped collar and mummy braces. The cubic throne shows black and green stripes, resting over a large *neb*-basket. The imi-wt-totem stands at the feet of the god. Nephthys (green-skinned) stands behind Osiris, protecting him with her outstretched wings. She is clad in a tight beaded dress.

In the second register, figures the avian form of Ptah-Sokar. The raptor rests over a pedestal adorned with a floral frieze (persea tree buds) wearing the *atef*-crown with the solar disk. The *iaret*-cobra rises at its feet wearing the *hedjet*-crown (green). At the back, the avian god is protected by a winged cobra with papyrus stalks pending from its body. Next to the pedestal, an offering stand is provided with a basket. Above figures a large *udjat*-sign on a *neb*-basket. Next to the winged goddess one reads the label "Wadjet".

The third register features standing mummiform gods. They are wrapped in collars and long red belts decorated with small dots. Their bodies are striped.

6 This is the simplest form of the classical scheme (Sousa 2018a, 135).

One of them is human-headed, and the other is falcon-headed. Label inscriptions identify these gods as Hapy (the human-headed god) and Imsety (the falcon-headed god).

Left Partition

In the first register, a goddess presents libations before the enthroned falcon-headed god Ptah-Sokar (green-skinned). The goddess wears a modium and a red headband. She is clad in a tight green dress tied up with a long red belt. The enthroned god wears a sun disk over his head. He grasps the royal sceptres, *heka* and *nekhakha*. His torso is wrapped within a striped collar and mummy braces. The cubic throne shows black and green stripes, resting over a large *neb*-basket. Two lettuce vases stand at the god's feet. Nephthys (green-skinned) stands behind Osiris, protecting him with her outstretched wings. She is clad in a tight beaded dress.

In the second register, figures the avian form of Ptah-Sokar. The raptor rests over a pedestal adorned with a floral frieze (persea tree buds) wearing the *atef*-crown with the solar disk. The *iaret*-cobra rises at its feet wearing the *hedjet*-crown (green). The avian god is protected by a winged cobra which rests over a bush of lily-flowers. An offering stand is provided with food. Above figure an *udjat*-sign on a *neb*-basket and two *nefer*-signs.

The third register features three standing mummiform gods, two of them are human-headed, and the innermost is falcon-headed. They are wrapped in collars and long red belts decorated with small dots. Their bodies are striped. A label inscribed before the first deity reads "Imsety" and, barely visible, "Hapy".

Footboard

This area is decorated with two vignettes, which are not featured in reversed direction (Figures 49–50).[7] The central partition is inscribed with three columns of text (Inscriptions 1–3, Figures 51–52). The composition of the left partition is almost entirely destroyed, but it still preserves the upper part of a standing mourning goddess.

In the right partition stands a mourning goddess.[8] She is clad in a white dress tied up with a long red belt. A lettuce vase stands at her feet. Above, figures an *udjat*-eye and a *neb*-basket.

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7 This is rather unusual in the "yellow" corpus. For the usual display see Sousa 2018a, 157–158.

8 In this context the mourning goddesses are normally depicted in squatted position. Standing goddesses are more likely to be found in the proto-yellow corpus: outer coffin of Henutmehyt (EA 48001, British Museum) in Taylor 2010, 277. Coffin set of Takayt (1651a–f, Städtische Galerie Liebieghaus) in Cooney 2007, fig. 25. Coffin set of Tamutneferet (N 2631, N2571, N 2623, N 2620, Louvre Museum) in Cooney 2007, fig. 42.

On the proper left side, the paste collapsed revealing a foot carved in the wood.

Inscriptions

Three longitudinal inscriptions run down the centre of the lid (Inscriptions 1–3). Transversal inscriptions (Inscriptions 4–11) divide the lateral partitions of the lower section into registers. All these inscriptions are aligned with the longitudinal axis of the object.

In the longitudinal inscriptions, the calligraphy is sketchy and roughly outlined. The transversal bands of text are even more summarily drawn, and they are centrifugally displayed, which is a very exceptional layout in these texts.

Inscription 1 (Figure 52)

Wsỉr nbt pr šmʿyt n ỉmn-Rʿ nsw-nṯrw tꜣywḥrt mꜣʿ-ḫrw ḏd.s hꜣy, mwt.(*ỉ*) *Nwt, psš.t ḏnḥwy.t ḥr* [sic] *ḥr.ỉ, dỉ wnn*(*.ỉ*) *mỉ ỉḫmw-wrḏ*

The Osiris, the Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun-Re, the king of the gods, Taiuheret, the justified one. She says: "Oh, (my) mother Nut, may you spread (your) wings over me, and let me be as the Unweary Stars".

Inscription 2 (Figure 52)

ḏd mdw ỉn ꜣst wrt mwt-nṯr ỉrt Rʿ ḥr(*yt*)*-tp ỉtn.s ḥnwt pr-nfr nbt m ỉmntt st ḏsrw dỉ.s t ḥnkt kꜣ ꜣpd ỉrp* (…) *mnḫt šs ḫt-nbt*

Words spoken by Isis, the great one, the divine mother, the Eye of Re who is in her sun disk, the mistress of the House of the Embalming House, the Lady of the West, the Sacred Place, so that she may give bread, beer, fowl, wine, (…) alabaster and cloth, and all things.

Inscription 3 (Figure 52)

ḏd mdw ỉn sḳrt wrt mwt-nṯr sꜣt Rʿ ḥr-ỉb pr-ʿnḫ ḥnwt smyt m ỉmntt n pt. dỉ.s t n ḫt.s ṯꜣw n ḫnty.s mnḫt (*šs … ḫt-nbt*) *nfrt wʿbt ʿnḫ-nṯr ỉmsy*

Words spoken by Serket, the great one, the divine mother, the daughter of Re, who is in the House of Life, the Lady of the desert/necropolis in the West, of the sky, so that she may give bread to her body, breeze to her face, alabaster (alabaster, … and all things) pure and good through which the gods live.

Inscription 4 (Figure 52)
Wsỉr (*nb*) *ȝbḏw ḫnty ỉmntt ḫt-nbt nfrt wʿbt*

Osiris, (Lord) of Abydos, the foremost of the West, all things good and pure.

Inscription 5 (Figure 52)
dwȝt ȝst wrt mwt nṯrw ỉrt Rʿ ḥnwt ỉmntt

Duat, Isis, the great one, the divine mother, the Eye of Re, the mistress of the West.

Inscription 6 (Figure 52)
ḏd mdw ỉn Ptḥ-skr-Wsỉr ḥr-ỉb štyt

Words spoken by Ptah-Sokar-Osiris which is in the *shetyt* -shrine.

Inscription 7 (Figure 52)
Ptḥ-skr-Wsỉr ḥr-ỉb štyt dỉ.f

Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, which is in the *shetyt*-shrine, so that he may give.

Inscription 8 (Figure 52)
ỉmntyw ḫt

The westerners, things.

Inscription 9 (Figure 52)
Ptḥ-skr-Wsỉr nbt ḏdw ḫnty ỉmntt

Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Lady (*sic*) of Djedu, the foremost of the West.

Inscription 10 (Figure 52)
Nb nṯrw (*n*) *dwȝt ỉrt Rʿ ỉmntt*

All gods of the duat, the eye of Re, in the West.

Inscription 11
Lost.

Figures



FIGURE 41
Lid of Taiuheret

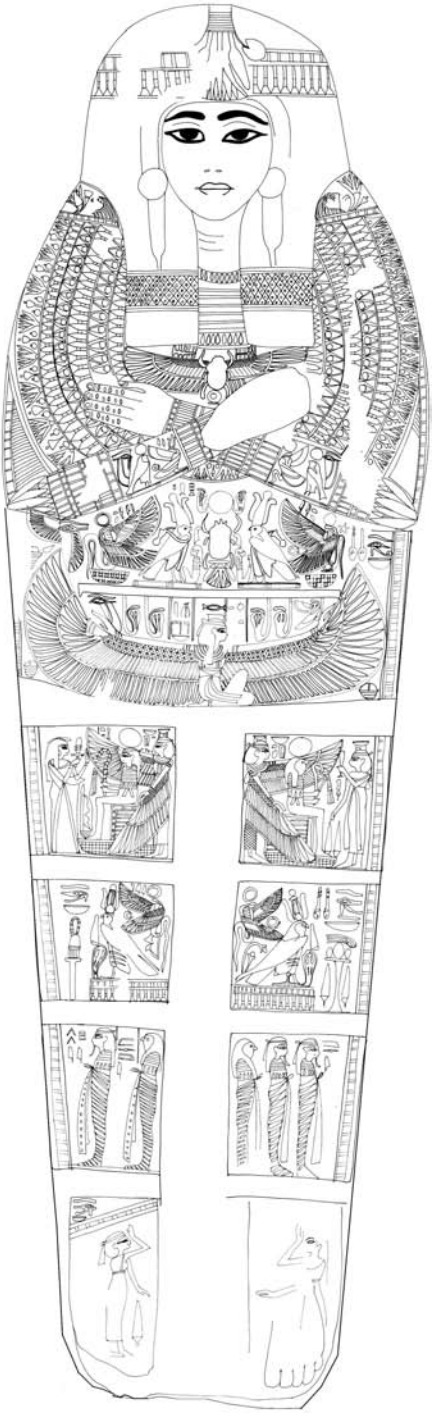


FIGURE 42
Lid of Taiuheret



FIGURE 43 Lid of Taiuheret. Headboard and upper section

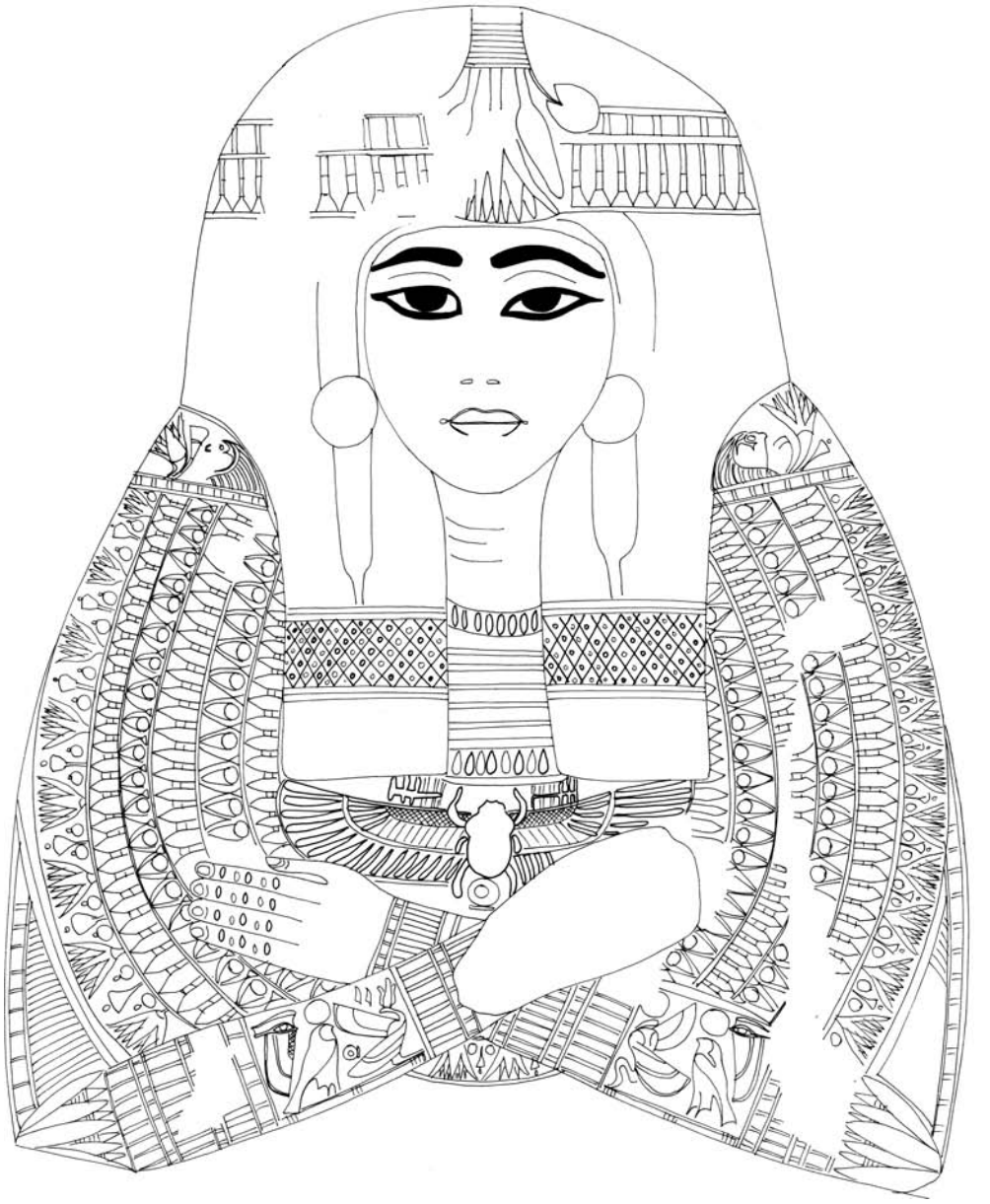


FIGURE 44 Lid of Taiuheret. Headboard and upper section



FIGURE 45 Lid of Taiuheret. Central section

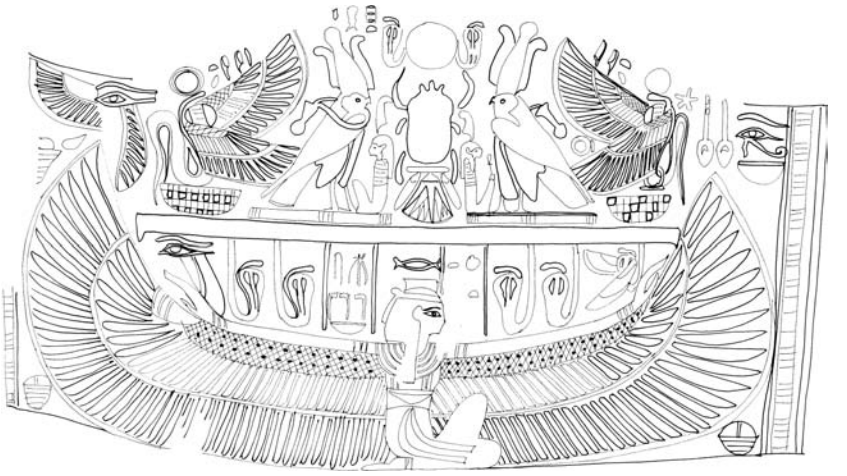


FIGURE 46 Lid of Taiuheret. Central section



FIGURE 47 Lid of Taiuheret. Lower section

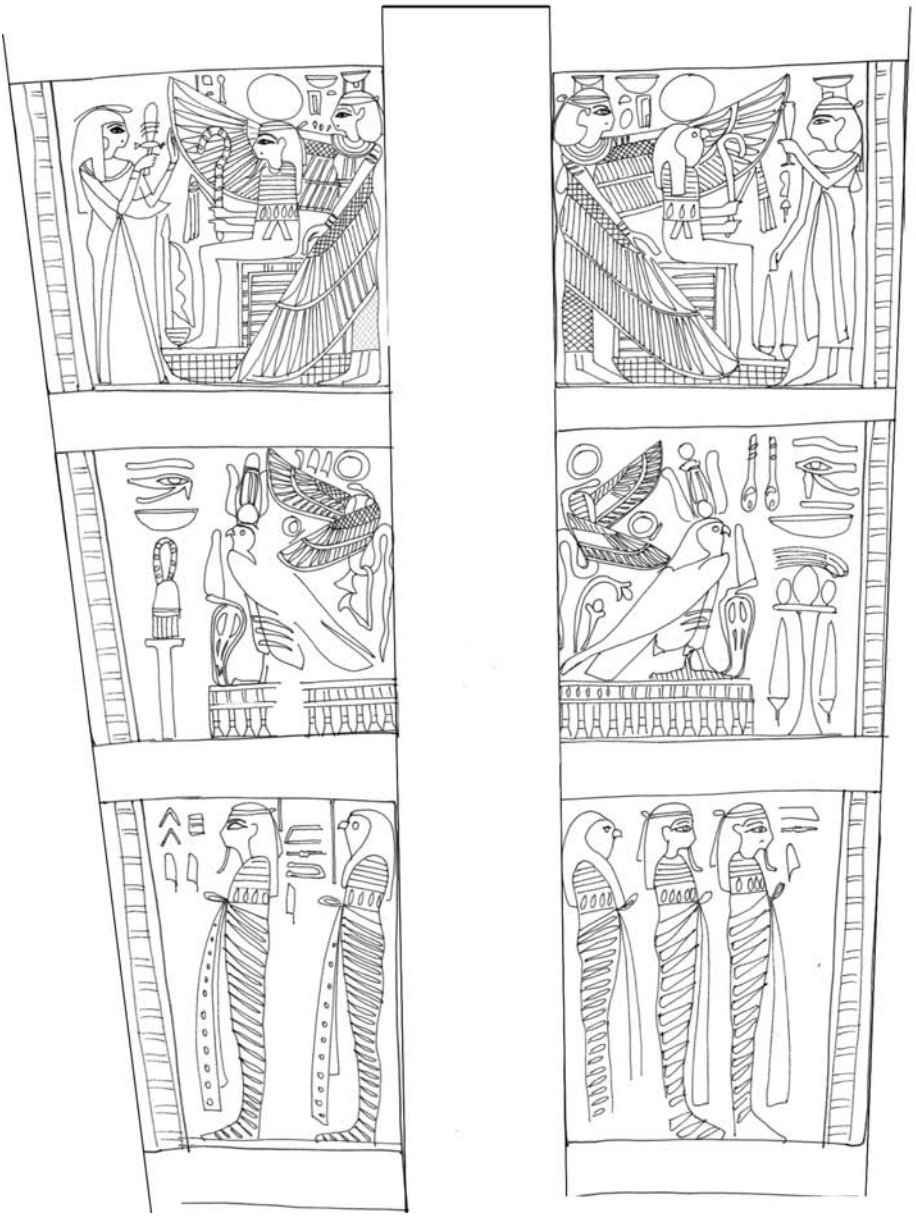


FIGURE 48 Lid of Taiuheret. Lower section



FIGURE 49 Lid of Taiuheret. Footboard

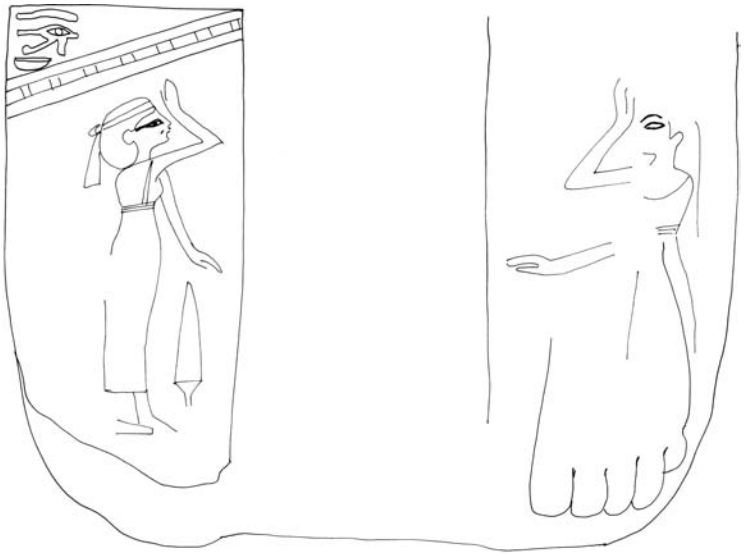


FIGURE 50 Lid of Taiuheret. Footboard

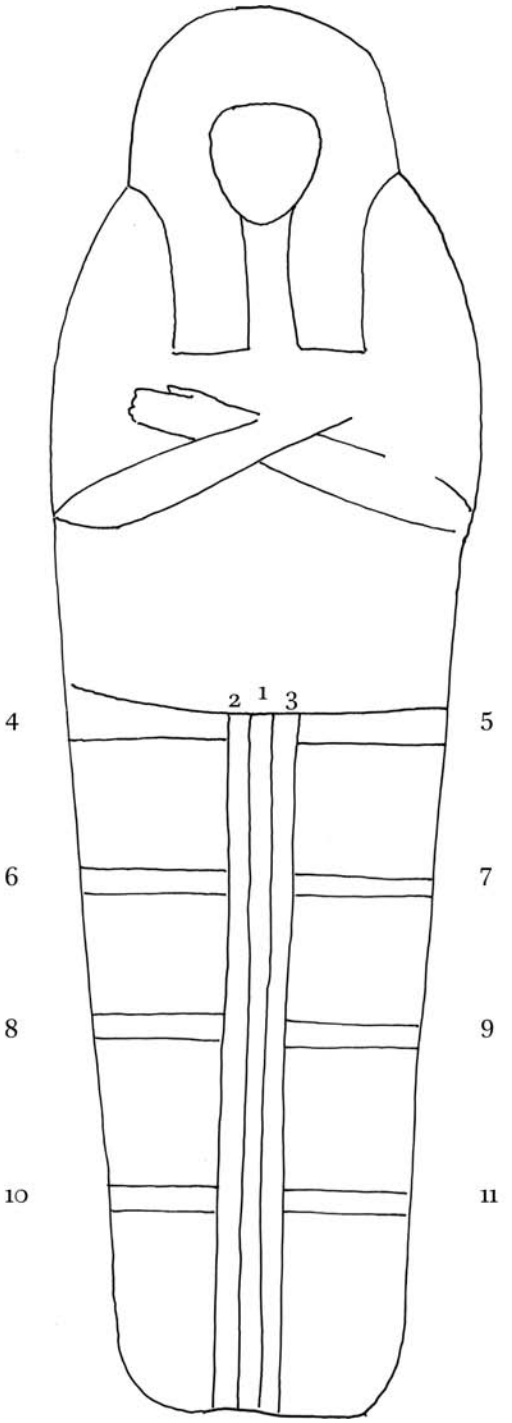


FIGURE 51
Lid of Taiuheret. Inscriptions

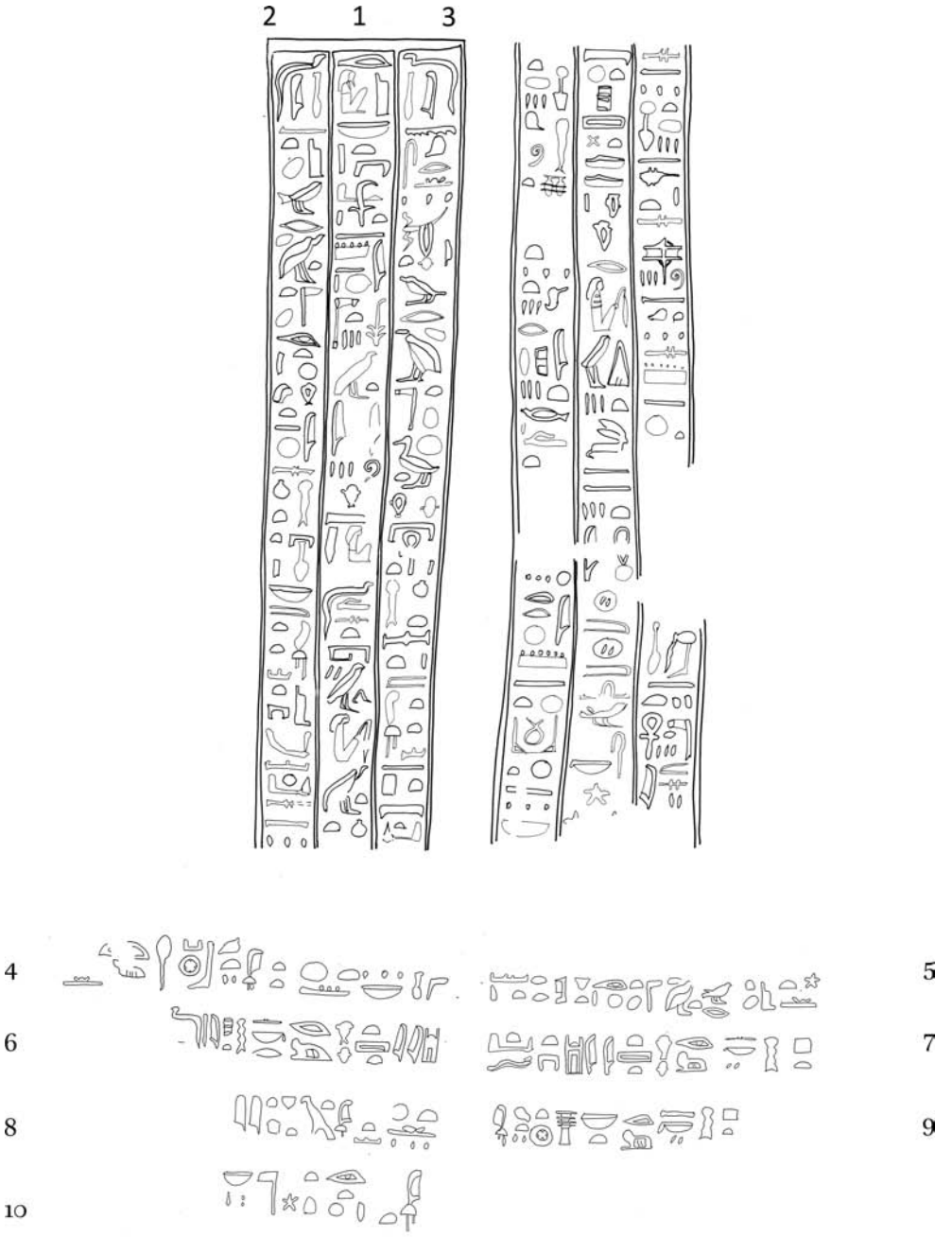


FIGURE 52 Lid of Taiuheret. Inscriptions 1–10

5 Box (Figures 53–62)

Inventory number: 3912.
Length: 176 cm.
Wood, paste, paint, and varnish.
On the exterior walls the paint was applied over a thin layer of plaster. Severe cracks affect most of the joints between the planks causing the collapse of the pictorial decoration. The carpentry work involved the assemblage of many wooden planks of small size.
The interior was painted uniformly in red, with the paint directly applied on the wood.
The thicknesses are stepped and painted in yellow. Eight mortises had been carved along the edge to hold the wooden tenons.
The floorboard shows remnants of a thick paste that seems to result from the wrappings of the mummy.

Iconography

The upper edge does not present any frieze (Figure 53).

The vignettes are bounded within a framework simply outlined in black. Most of the inscriptions are flanked by block friezes. The lower edge is painted with a thick black band.

Headboard

The headboard is composed of a tripartite panel (Figure 54).

The **Vignette 1** (centre) shows a large *tjet*-sign with two poppies. This vignette is flanked on both sides by side panels showing black stripes painted against a yellow background.[9]

Left Side

The upper section is decorated with the **Vignette 2**, showing the Ta-wer-totem and mourning goddesses (Figure 56).[10] The totem is decorated with two tall

9 The striped motif is typically observed during in coffins of early dating. See coffin of Tabasety: Sousa 2020c, 63. Sousa, Nørskov 2018.

10 The absence of the deceased in the iconographic program of the box points out to early dating, particularly in the upper section. A similar association between individualized vignettes showing mummiform gods and the Ta-wer depicted with mourning goddesses is detected in late Ramesside coffins: coffin of Heramenpenaf (Carnegie Museum, Inv. nº ACC. 22266–3d). A similar vignette is detected in the coffin of Ankhefenmut (A.68) in the Institute of History and Art in Albany (Lacovara, D'Auria 2018, 56). However, it is interesting to point out that the depiction of the Ta-wer totem protected by a winged goddess, will

feathers. It is protected by a winged goddess, who stands behind it, grasping the *ankh*-sign and a feather. She is clad in a tight green dress. At her feet figures an unguent vase. The label inscription next to her is lost.

On the opposite side figures the goddess Isis (green-skinned), squatted on a *nebu*-sign and in mourning position. She is clad in a red dress. Above, label inscriptions refer to "Osiris" and "Isis".

The lower section is decorated with five vignettes, each one of them featuring a deity or a divine symbol (Figure 57).[11]

The **Vignette 3** shows a standing mummiform god (green-skinned). He wears a sun disk (green) encircled within an *iaret*-cobra over his head. He has a curled beard, and his torso is tied up with a funerary collar. The god grasps the sceptre *nekhakha* and a long *heka*-staff. The imi-wt-totem figures at his feet, together with two lettuce vases. Above, the label inscription refers to "Ptah" (Figure 58).

The **Vignette 4** shows a standing mummiform god (green-skinned) with an offering stand at his feet provided with a basket. The god has a long wig, and his torso is tied up with a large collar and a long belt painted in red and black. His body is covered with black stripes. Above, figures the *udjat*-eye and the *nefer*-sign (Figure 58).

The **Vignette 5** shows a standing mummiform god (red-skinned) with an offering stand at his feet provided with loaves and a reed mat with two baskets. The god has curled beard and a long wig. His torso is tied up with a large collar and a long red belt decorated with small dots. His body is covered with green stripes. Above, figures the *udjat*-eye and two *nefer*-signs (Figure 58).

The **Vignette 6** shows the winged *udjat*-eye with a pending *iaret*-cobra lingering over baskets of food and two bunches of onions. A large basket figures nearby (Figure 58).

The **Vignette 7** depicts a large *tjet*-sign with poppies (Figure 58, Cf. Vignette 1).[12]

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become associated with later coffins too: outer coffin of Ankhesenmut (A.7), (Medelhavsmuseet, NME 892) in Dodson 2015, 20.

11 This layout seems to be borrowed from the Litany of Re. A far more sophisticated composition of this kind can be seen in the inner coffin of Butehamun (Museo Egizio in Turin, Inv. nº 10102.b) in Niwiński 2004, Tav. IV. Interesting parallels can be found on the box of Yutefamun (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.3.1a,b) and Anresennes (26.3.4a,b).

12 The sequence of vignettes showing standing mummiform gods and an Osirian symbol such as a *djed*-pillar or a *tjet*-sign can be observed in coffins of a slightly later date. See coffin E 5883 in the Musées royaux d'Art et de Histoire in Brussels (Delvaux, Isabelle Therasse 2016, 95).

Right Side

The upper section is decorated with the **Vignette 8**, showing the Ta-wer-totem flanked by mourning goddesses (Figure 59). The totem is decorated with two tall feathers, and it has the imi-wt-totem at its feet. It is protected by the goddess Nephthys, who stands behind it, with her wings outstretched. She is clad in a tight green dress. An offering table provided with loaves and a bunch of onions stands at her feet, together with a lettuce vase.

The opposite side figures the goddess Isis, squatted on a reed mat and in mourning position. Label inscriptions positioned next to the goddesses present their names. The scene presents extensive damage in the upper area.

The lower section is decorated with five vignettes, each one of them featuring a deity or a symbol (Figure 60).

The **Vignette 9** shows a standing mummiform god (red-skinned) with an offering stand at his feet. He is tied up with a long red belt decorated with small dots. He wears a modium and his body is covered with green stripes. The offering stand is provided with a basket and a lettuce vase. Above, figures a fragmentary composition with the *nefer*-sign and the *udjat*-eye over a *neb*-basket (Figure 61).

The **Vignette 10** shows a standing mummiform god (green-skinned) with an offering stand at his feet provided with a basket. The god has a long wig, and his torso is tied up with a large collar and a long red belt decorated with small dots. His body is covered with black stripes. Above, figures a composition with the *nefer*-sign and the *udjat*-eye over a *neb*-basket (Figure 61).

The **Vignette 11** shows a standing mummiform god (red-skinned) with an offering stand at his feet provided with a basket. The god has a long wig and his torso is tied up with a large collar and a long red belt decorated with small dots. His body is covered with green stripes. Above, figures a composition with the *udjat*-eye. The upper part of the vignette is damaged (Figure 61).

The **Vignette 12** shows a large *tjet*-sign with poppies (Figure 61, Cf. Vignettes 1 and 7).

The **Vignette 13** depicts the sign of the West (with poppies ?) (Figure 61).

Footboard

The Vignette 14 is merely outlined. It consists of a composition showing a *tjet*-sign flanked by *djed*-signs (Figure 55).

Inscriptions

Columns of inscriptions bound the vignettes displayed on the sides. The calligraphy is very sketchy. The signs were outlined in red and finished off with green and black.

Left Side

Inscription 1 (Figure 63)
Nbt-ḥwt snt-nṯr ỉrt Rᶜ ḥnwt m ỉmntt

Nephthys, divine sister, the Eye of Re, mistress of the desert/necropolis the West.

Inscription 2 (Figure 63)
ḏḥwty nb mdw-nṯr sš mɜᶜ Psḏt ᶜɜ(t)

Thoth, lord of divine words, truthful scribe of the great Ennead.

Inscription 3 (Figure 63)
(col. 1) (...) *ɜbḏw ḫnty R-stɜw dỉ.sn ḫt-nbt*
(col. 2) (...) *nty ᶜnḫ nṯrw ỉmsy ỉnk sɜ(.k) mr. Mk*
(col. 3) (...) *ḥtp ḏfɜw ḫt-nbt nfrt wᶜbt nty ᶜnḫ nṯrw*

(col. 1) (...) Abydos, the foremost of Ro-Setau, so that they may give all things.
(col. 2) (...) from which the gods live. I am (your) beloved son. Behold!
(col. 3) (...) offerings and provisions, and all things good and pure from which the gods live.

Inscription 4 (Figure 63)
(col. 1) (...) *Ptḥ-(sk)ry-Wsỉr ḥr-ỉb šṯyt*
(col. 2) (...) *ḫt-nbt nfrt wᶜbt nty ᶜnḫ nṯrw*

(col. 1) (...) Ptah-Sokar-Osiris which is in the *shetyt*-shrine.
(col. 2) (...) and all things good and pure, from which the gods live.

Inscription 5 (Figure 63)
(col. 1) *srḳt wrt mwt nṯrw ỉrt Rᶜ*
(col. 2) *ḥnwt m ỉmntt n pt ḫt-nbt.*

(col. 1) Serket, the great one, the divine mother, the Eye of Re.
(col. 2) Mistress of the desert/necropolis in the West of heaven, and all things.

Inscription 6 (Figure 63)
(col. 1) *ꜣst mwt nṯr ỉrt Rʿ*
(col. 2) (...) *ỉmntt n pt ḫt-nbt*

(col. 1) Isis, the great one, the divine mother, the Eye of Re.
(col. 2) (...) West of heaven, and all things.

Inscription 7 (Figure 63)
(col. 1) *Nbt-ḥwt snt-nṯr ỉrt Rʿ ḥnwt smyt m* (*ỉmntt*)
(col. 2) *ḫt-nbt nfrt wʿbt nty ʿnḫ nṯrw ỉmsy*

(col. 1) (...) Nephthys, the divine sister, the Eye of Re, the mistress (of the West).
(col. 2) (...) all things good and pure from which the gods live.

Right Side

Inscription 8 (Figure 64)
(...) *snt-nṯr ỉrt Rʿ* (*ḥnwt*) *smyt m* (*ỉmn*)*tt*

(...) divine sister, the Eye of Re, mistress of the West.

Inscription 9 (Figure 64)
(col. 1) *ḏḥwty nb mdw-nṯr sš mꜣʿ*
(col. 2) *ʿꜣ*(*?*) *Psḏt Rʿ*

(col. 1) Thoth, lord of divine words, truthful scribe (...).
(col. 2) of the great (Ennead) (...) Re.

Inscription 10 (Figure 64)
(col. 1) *ḏd mdw ỉn Ptḥ-skr-Wsỉr nb nḥḥ ḥnty*
(col. 2) *R-stꜣw ḫt-nbt nfrt wʿbt nty ʿnḫ nṯrw ỉmsy ỉnk*

(col. 1) Words spoken by Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, lord of eternity, the foremost.
(col. 2) Ro-setau, and all things good and pure, from which the gods live. I am.

Inscription 11 (Figure 64)
(col. 1) *Nbt-ḥwt snt-nṯr ỉrt Rᶜ ḥnwt smyt m ỉmntt*
(col. 2) *ḫt-nbt nfrt wᶜbt nty ᶜnḫ nṯrw ỉmsy ỉnk*

(col. 1) Nephthys, divine sister, the Eye of Re, mistress of the West.
(col. 2) All things good and pure from which the gods live. I am.

Inscription 12 (Figure 64)
(col. 1) *srḳt wrt mwt nṯrw*
(col. 2) *ḫt-nbt nfrt wᶜbt nty ᶜnḫ nṯrw ỉmsy ỉn*(*k*)

(col. 1) Serket, the great one, the divine mother.
(col. 2) All things good and pure, from which the gods live. I.

Inscription 13 (Figure 64)
(col. 1) (*ỉst*) *wrt mwt nṯr nṯr ỉrt Rᶜ*
(col. 2) *ḥnwt smyt m ỉmntt n pt ḫt*(*-nbt*).

(col. 1) (Isis) the great one, the divine mother, divine (*sic*), the eye of Re.
(col. 2) the mistress of the desert/necropolis in the West of heaven, all things.

Inscription 14 (Figure 64)
(col. 1) *Nbt-ḥwt snt-nṯr ỉrt Rᶜ ḥnwt smyt*
(col. 2) *ḫt-nbt nfrt wᶜbt nty ᶜnḫ nṯrw ỉmsy*

(col. 1) Nephthys, the divine sister, the Eye of Re, the mistress of the desert/necropolis.
(col. 2) all things good and pure, from which the gods live.

Figures



FIGURE 53
Box of Taiuheret



FIGURE 54 Box of Taiuheret. Headboard



FIGURE 55 Box of Taiuheret. Footboard



FIGURE 56 Box of Taiuheret. Left side. Upper section



FIGURE 57 Box of Taiuheret. Left side. Lower section



FIGURE 58 Box of Taiuheret. Left side. Lower section (Vignettes 3–7)



FIGURE 59 Box of Taiuheret. Right side. Upper section



FIGURE 60 Box of Taiuheret. Right side. Lower section



FIGURE 61 Box of Taiuheret. Right side. Lower section (Vignettes 9–13)



FIGURE 62
Box of Taiuheret. Interior

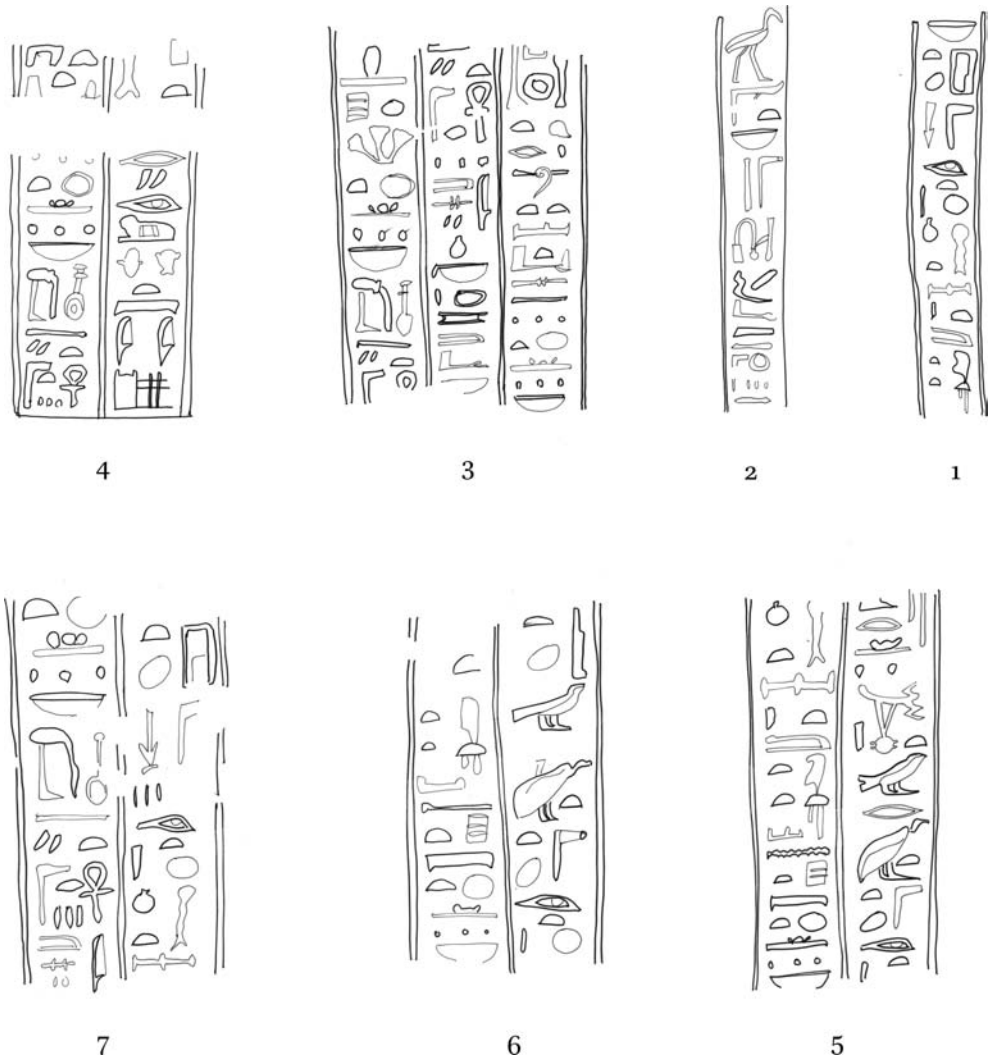


FIGURE 63 Box of Taiuheret. Inscriptions 1–7

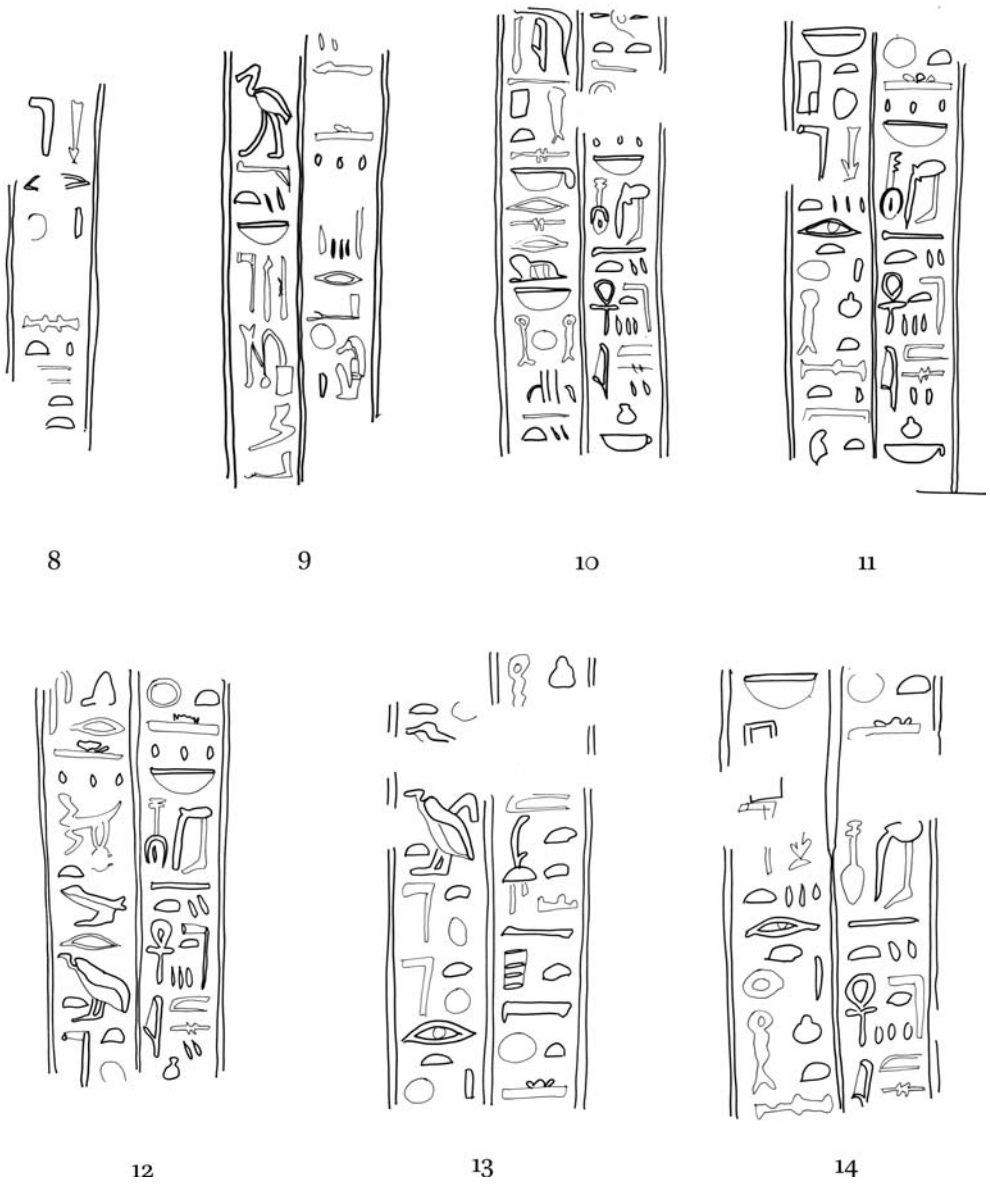


FIGURE 64 Box of Taiuheret. Inscriptions 8–14

6 Mummy Board (Figures 65–70)

Inventory number: 3912.
Length: 157 cm.
Wood, paste, paint, and varnish.
The reverse side is undecorated.
The hands are carved in wood and attached to the lid.
The edge of the proper right side of the upper section is lost. Otherwise, the object is very well preserved.

Iconography

Headboard

The face is well carved and painted yellow, with the cosmetic lines of the eyes and eyebrows outlined in dark blue (Figure 66). The eyelids are suggested with a red line. The black iris is painted over a white background. The nose is delicately carved with well-designed nostrils, outlined in red. The lips are outlined in red. The round earrings were moulded and attached to the object. They are roughly painted over with a rosette. The neck shows three transversal red lines suggesting creases. The proportions of the face are better than those observed on the lid and the impact is fairly good.

The divine wig is uniformly painted in dark blue. Two tresses frame the face, painted in a lighter shade of blue. The floral headband shows two bands: one is decorated with persea tree buds and the other with mandrake flowers. A lotus flower flanked by blossoms falls over the forehead.

The lappets of the wig are bounded by transversal bands decorated with a beaded pattern.

Upper Section

The hands are painted yellow, crossed over the chest (Figure 66). The anatomical details of the fingers are outlined in red, while the rings are painted in blue. The nails are painted in white.

The forearms are fully visible, each one showing two geometrical bracelets decorated with a striped pattern. Between them figures a beaded pattern, suggesting the sleeves of a funerary shirt.

Large lotus flowers cover the elbows. A small area of the arms is visible under the floral collar showing the striped pattern of a festive garment.

The large collar covers the shoulders and upper torso displaying four floral bands with two different patterns: persea tree buds (1st and 3rd band) and mandrake flowers (2nd and 4th band). Two poppies are featured on each clasp of the collar. A thick red band bounds the exterior of the collar, alluding to the shape of the actual funerary collars.

Between the lappets of the wig figures a small collar with twelve monochromatic bands (red or black) flanked by floral friezes and geometrical patterns.

Over the chest rests a pectoral hanging down from a necklace hidden under the short collar, consisting of a winged scarab.

Central Section

This composition displays two registers (Figure 67).

The first register presents a symmetrical composition with a sacred scarab at the centre. The scarab rises from a small *djed*-sign holding up the solar disk (dark blue) with the forelegs and the *shen*-ring with the hind legs. This composition forms the nuclear block of the symmetrical register. It is flanked by centripetal blocks featuring winged cobras protecting the *udjat*-eye resting on a *neb*-basket. The ophidian deity wears the solar disk and holds the *was*-sceptre. Label inscriptions refer to "Wadjet".

The first register is bounded by a large *pet*-sign representing the sky.

The second register displays a squatted goddess (green-skinned) outstretching her wings towards both sides of the panel. On her head, she wears a red headband and a modius, holding a feather on each hand. The goddess is clad in a beaded red dress tied up with a long dark belt. Over the wings, columns of inscriptions read: "Nut, (...), great mother, the Eye of Re, the mistress of the West."

Lower Section

This area displays two longitudinal partitions uniformly painted in white (Figure 68). They are bounded by columns of inscriptions (Inscriptions 1–2) running down the centre of the object and block-friezes displayed along the edges. Transversal bands of text (Inscriptions 3–10) create four different registers.

Inscriptions

Two longitudinal inscriptions run down the centre of the mummy board (Inscriptions 1–2). Transversal inscriptions (Inscriptions 3–10) are spaced at regular intervals of roughly the same size. The texts are aligned with the longitudinal axis of the object.

The calligraphy is good. The signs are sketchy but easily legible. They are outlined in red and finished off in green and black.

Inscription 1 (Figure 70)
ḏd mdw ỉn ȝst wrt mwt-nṯr ỉrt Rᶜ ḥnwt smyt ỉmntt n pt dỉ.sn ḫt-nbt nfrt wᶜbt nty ᶜnḫ nṯrw ỉmsy ỉnk sȝ(.k) mr mk ỉy(.ỉ)

Words spoken by Isis, the great one, the divine mother, the Eye of Re, mistress of the desert/necropolis in the West of heaven, (so) that she may give all things good and pure, of which the gods live. I am your beloved son. Behold, I have come.

Inscription 2 (Figure 70)
ḏd mdw ỉn sḳrt wrt mwt-nṯr sȝt Rᶜ ḥr-ỉb pr-ᶜnḫ ḥnwt m pr-nfrw dỉ.s t n ḫt.s tȝw n ḫnty.s mnḫt, šs n sᶜḥ

Words spoken by Serket, the great one, the divine mother, the daughter of Re, who is in the House of Life, mistress of the Embalming House, (so) that she may give bread to her body, breeze for her face, cloths and alabaster for the mummy.

Inscription 3 (Figure 70)
ỉmȝḫ ḥr ȝst

The venerable one before Isis.

Inscription 4 (Figure 70)
ỉmȝḫ ḥr Nbt-ḥwt, snt-nṯr.

The venerable one before Nephthys, divine sister.

Inscription 5 (Figure 70)
ỉmȝḫ ḥr Nbt-ḥwt, snt-(nṯr)

The venerable one before Nephthys, (divine) sister.

Inscription 6 (Figure 70)
ỉmȝḫ ḥr srḳt

The venerable one before Serket.

Inscription 7 (Figure 70)
Nwt wrt

Nut, the great one.

Inscription 8 (Figure 70)
Nwt wrt

Nut, the great one.

Inscription 9 (Figure 70)
Nbt-ḥwt (*snt-*)*nṯr*

Nephthys, divine (sister).

Inscription 10 (Figure 70)
Nbt-ḥwt (*snt-*)*nṯr*

Nephthys, divine (sister).

Figures



FIGURE 65
Mummy board of Taiuheret



FIGURE 66 Mummy board of Taiuheret. Headboard and upper section

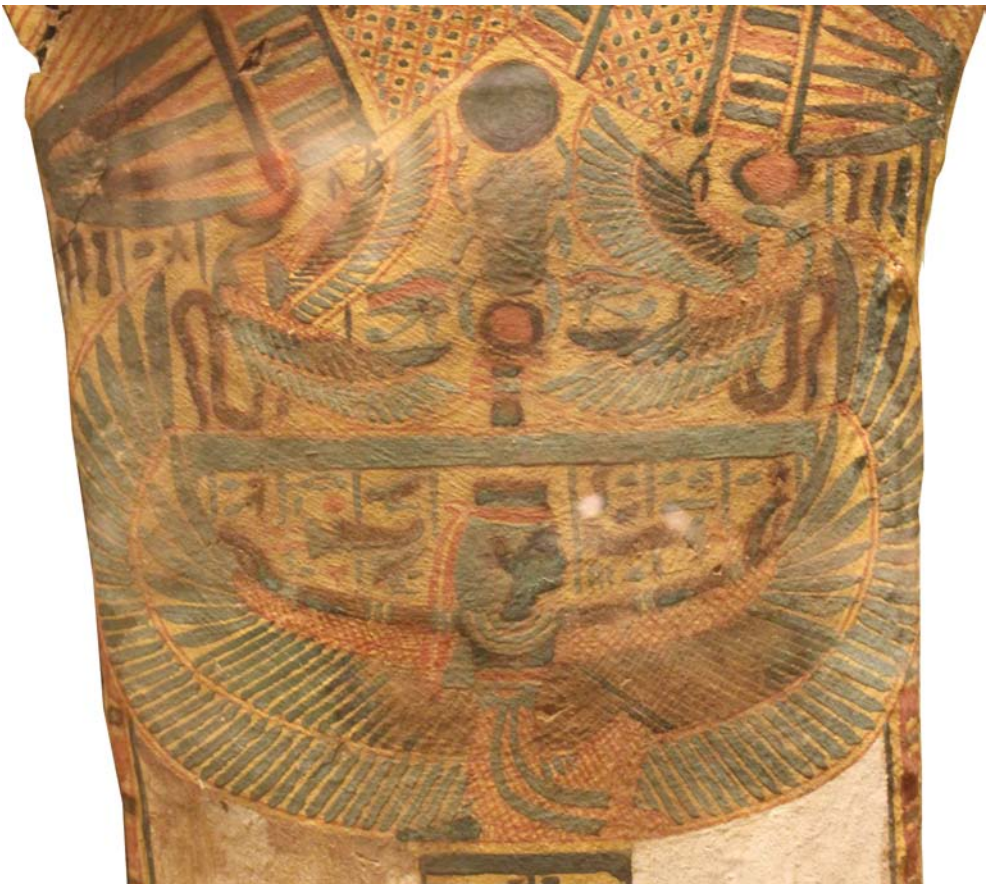


FIGURE 67 Mummy board of Taiuheret. Central section



FIGURE 68
Mummy board of Taiuheret.
Lower section

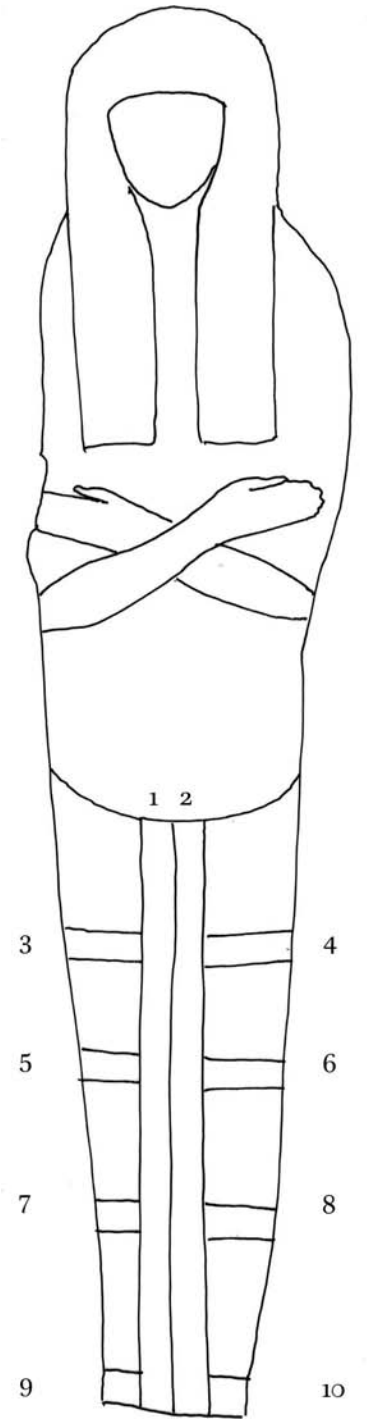


FIGURE 69
Mummy board of Taiuheret. Inscriptions

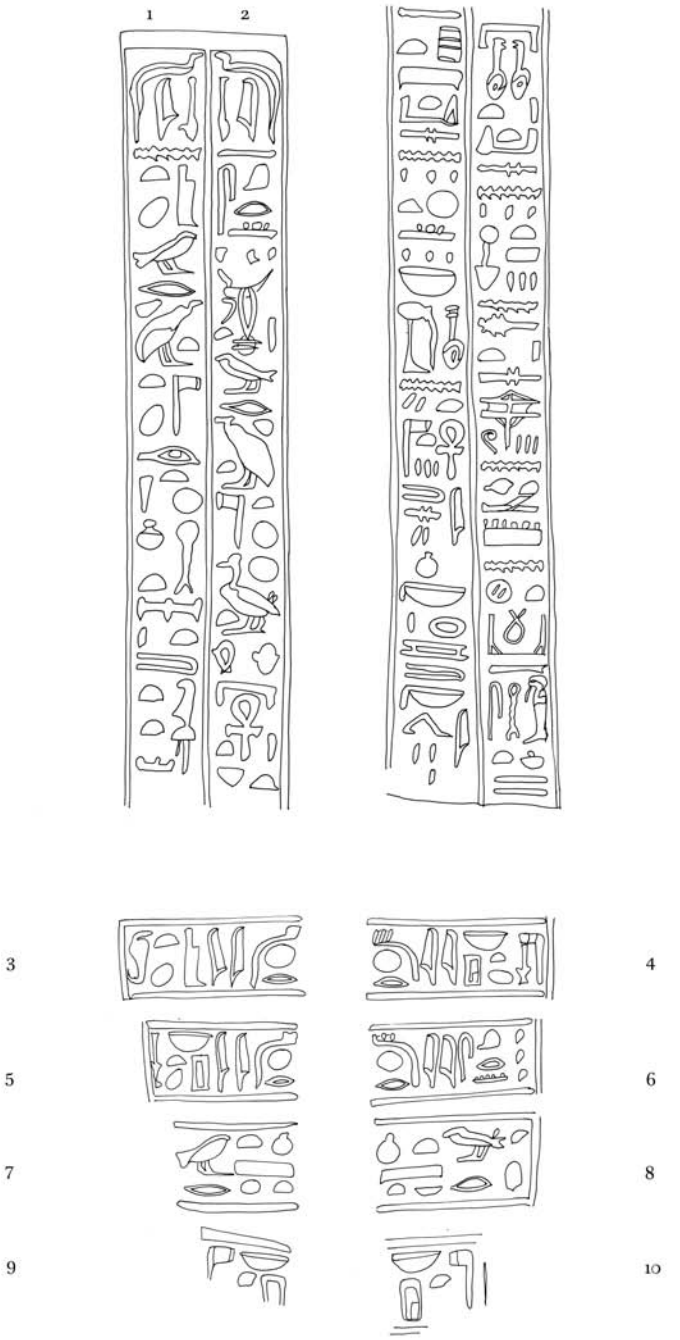


FIGURE 70 Mummy board of Taiuheret. Inscriptions 1–10

Coffin Set of Ankhefenkhonsu (A.33)

Rogério Sousa

Outer anthropoid coffin (7–8), inner anthropoid coffin (9–10) and mummy board (11).

Archaeological Context and Dating

The coffin set was found in the longitudinal gallery of Bab el-Gasus, next to the eastern wall. The scheme of decoration of the inner coffin and the mummy board dates from the third quarter of the 21st Dynasty, while the decoration of the outer coffin dates from the last quarter of the dynasty.

The mummy was examined by Georges Daressy. It was wrapped in a shroud outlined with the enthroned figure of Osiris and inscribed with the name and titles of the deceased: "the divine father of the king of the gods, Ankhefenkhonsu."[1] Inside, three linen shawls stamped with the seal of the Temple of Amun were found. The mummy was adorned with inscribed braces refering to "Mut, the great one, lady of Asheru, mistress of all gods", but the name of the deceased is not mentioned. A green glazed heart scarab was found on the chest with an inscription, but the space for the deceased's name was left blank. A papyrus scroll was found between the legs.[2] Over the forehead was found a plaque with an incised uraeus. A *djed* amulet (green glazed) was found over the left arm. Over the chest was found a bronze falcon and two *udjat*-eyes (one was made of gold and the other was green glazed). A third *udjat*-eye in copper was placed over the abdomen. An Osiris figure containing an abbreviated version of the Book of the Dead was associated with this burial,[3] as well as a *shabti*-box equipped with dozens of *shabti*-figures (see N° 7 of the catalogue of *shabtis* in this volume).

1 Daressy 1907, 22.

2 Niwiński 1989, pp. 271–2 n. 52—S.R.IV.1003 (Book of the Amduat, type A.II.2a).

3 Aston 2009, p. 170 TG. 706.

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Name and Titles of the Owner

The name of Ankhefenkhonsu is found in the inscriptions of the inner lid, the inner box and the mummy board. The burial assemblage, which includes two funerary papyri, makes reference to the following titles: "*wab*-priest", "he who has free entrance to Amun in Ipet-Sut", "he who is at the head of the Temple of Amun", "chief of the sculptors of the Temple of Amun", "chief of the carpenters of the Temple of Amun", "knower of the secrets of Amun", "knower of the secrets of heaven, earth, and the underworld" "divine father", "beloved of god".

Bibliography

Daressy 1907, 6. Lieblein 1892, 995. Niwiński 1988, 135. Schmidt 1919, 146–147, figs. 738–753.



FIGURE 71 Coffin set of Ankhefenkhonsu

7 Outer Lid (Figures 71–86)

Inventory number: 3910 (AE 110).
Length: 204 cm.
Wood, paste, paint, and varnish. Some of the motifs of the central panel and the lower section were rendered in *pastiglia*.
The reverse side is undecorated.
The fists are carved in wood and attached to the lid.
The object is relatively well preserved, despite a few losses of paste. In the headboard the paste cracked in some points producing loss of material. The crown of the head is severely eroded. A longitudinal crack is detected along the proper left side. In the footboard, the left partition collapsed entirely. A severe crack affects the joints between the footboard and the lower section. These joints have been reinforced with modern L-shaped iron brackets attached to the wood with iron screws.
The number 3910, the inventory number of the object in the museum, is outlined in white paint on the edge of the footboard.

Iconography

Headboard

The face is yellow, with the thick cosmetic lines outlined in dark blue (Figures 74–75). The black iris is painted over a white background. The nose is roughly carved presenting carved nostrils. The lips are summarily moulded and outlined in red. A hole in the chin shows that a curled beard was once attached to it. The proportions of the face are good but the sculptural work is not detailed. The ears are moulded in paste and positioned quite asymmetrically (the proper left ear is at a higher position than the right one).

A small label is glued to the neck showing the numbers 33 and 26, outlined in black and red respectively.[4]

The divine wig shows a striped pattern (dark blue stripes over a yellow background). A bunch of lotus flowers hangs down from the crown of the head.

The lappets of the wig are decorated with yellow terminals.

Upper Section

The fists are painted in yellow, crossed over the chest (Figures 74–75). The forearms are completely hidden under the broad collar, and only the elbows are visible, showing a lotus flower. The arms, on the other hand, are decorated with a feathered pattern.

4 This label was glued by Georges Daressy himself, while he was recording the objects within the tomb, before their removal. See Daressy 1907, 3.

The large collar covers the shoulders and upper torso displaying 18 floral bands. Four different patterns are detected: lotus flowers intertwined with acacia flowers and persea tree flowers (1st band), checkered patterns (2nd, 4th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 12th, 14th, 16th, 18th bands), lotus petals (3rd, 7th, 11th, 15th bands), and persea tree buds (5th, 9th, 13th, 17th bands). The use of colour in these floral bands is good. The clasps of the collar are not depicted. The large collar extends itself into the area between the lappets, which is otherwise normally adorned with an independent smaller collar.

A yellow pectoral is shown pending from a necklace, imitating gold. The pectoral is trapezoidal in shape, showing a scarab (*pastiglia*) flanked by bees resting on a *neb*-basket.[5] Each one of these figures is surmounted by a sun-disk (*pastiglia*). The sun-disk held by the scarab is red, while the other ones are green.

Central Section

This composition displays three registers (Figures 76–77).

The first register presents a large vulture with its wings fully outstretched towards both sides of the lid.[6] The vulture is depicted as if flying over the deceased and if seen from above, showing the back of the wings. The claws of the bird grasp *shen*-rings. The avian deity is flanked by two mummiform gods on each side, one above the other (above: a snake-headed god wearing a sun-disk; below: baboon-headed deity). They are squatted on *nebu*-signs and hold sceptres and/or maces, with offerings before them.

The second register features a symmetrical composition with a sacred scarab at the centre. The scarab is moulded in *pastiglia*. It holds up a red solar disk (*pastiglia*) and shows the *shen*-ring between the hind legs. Two *iaret*-cobras encircle the sun-disk. Columns of *djed* and *tjet*-signs flank the nuclear block.

Centrifugal blocks feature the enthroned Osiris (red-skinned) in mummiform guise, wearing the *hedjet*-crown adorned with long red streamers. The torso (*pastiglia*) and the cubic throne (*pastiglia*) are black. Before Osiris figures a large pile of offerings provided with four offering stands (*pastiglia*), wine jars, lettuce vases, and an offering board provided with loaves, vessels, vegetables, grapes, courgettes, and a large bunch of lotus flowers and buds.

5 This is an exceptional motif. Normally, the central marker is featured as a winged scarab or as a heart amulet. See Sousa 2018a, 67–71.

6 For compositions similarly headed by vultures see anonymous coffin set (A.74) (Historishes Museum in Bern, Inv. nº AE10) in Küffer, Renfer 1996. Coffin set of Hori (A.143) in Mostafa 2020.

This register is completed with centripetal blocks featuring the deceased presenting an offering to the enthroned god. The deceased wears a corslet and kilt (green). A basket provided with a lotus flower figures at his feet. Behind the deceased, stands a mummiform god (snake-headed on the proper right side, while on the left side he is fully human shaped). Above, figure several liminal elements (vulture, vessels and loose words such as "offering"). On the proper left side, the register is completed with a large totem of the West.[7]

The third register features a winged, green-skinned goddess outstretching her wings towards both sides of the panel. The squatted goddess is clad in a tight dark dress (*pastiglia*). She wears a modium and a red headband on her head. Above her wings is displayed a frieze composed of liminal elements (the cobra, the scarab and the vulture with a lamp at its feet) and an inscription addressed to the divine mother: "Nut, the great one, who gave birth to all gods". The goddess is flanked on both sides by a large *sekhem*-sceptre and the inscription: "Anubis, lord of the necropolis".

Lower Section

A block frieze bounds the central section from the lower section (Figures 78–79). This composition displays three longitudinal partitions bounded by black bands of inscriptions (Inscriptions 1–2/6–13).

The central partition displays four registers, all of them showing sacred scarabs in the nuclear block.[8] The registers are transversally bounded by friezes (Figures 78–79).

The first register shows a sacred scarab (*pastiglia*) holding a green solar disk (*pastiglia*). It is flanked by liminal elements centripetally displayed: a vulture goddess (*pastiglia*) rests on a *neb*-basket with a lamp at its feet. A red solar disk (*pastiglia*) figures above each vulture. The scene is entirely bounded by block-friezes. The vignette is headed by a frieze of *iaret*-cobras in frontal view. Below, the vignette is bounded by a frieze showing counterpoises interspersed with bunches of grapes.

The second register shows a sacred scarab holding a red solar disk (*pastiglia*). It is flanked by squatted mummiform gods facing outwards (*pastiglia*). They grasp a feather on their knees and wear a divine beard. A green sun disk (*pastiglia*) rises over their heads. All these figures rest on a large reed mat. The scene is headed by a *pet*-sign.

7 This composition of the centripetal block is very exceptional. In the usual scheme of decoration, a squatted winged goddess would be involved (see in this volume, A.12: Fig.8).

8 Parallels can be found in the anonymous inner coffin (A.18, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire

The third register shows a sacred scarab (*pastiglia*) holding a red solar disk (*pastiglia*). It is flanked by liminal elements centripetally displayed: a cobra with a green sun disk (*pastiglia*) and a *nefer*-sign. The scene is entirely bounded by block-friezes. Above, it is headed by a frieze of *iaret*-cobras in frontal view. Below, the vignette is bounded by a frieze showing counterpoises interspersed with bunches of grapes.

The fourth register shows a sacred scarab holding a green solar disk. It is flanked by squatted mummiform gods facing outwards. They grasp a feather on their knees and wear a divine beard. A red sun disk rises over their heads. These figures rest on a large reed mat. The scene is headed by a *pet*-sign (Cf. 2nd register).

The lateral partitions are arranged symmetrically in three registers, all of them depicting an enthroned god wearing a corslet and a short kilt and holding the *ankh*-sign, the *heka*-sceptre, and a papyrus stalk (Figures 78–79).[9]

The first register depicts an enthroned god (green-skinned) with long hair and a sun disk (*pastiglia*) on his head. A pile of offerings rests at his feet. Three libation stands are interspersed with lettuce vases and wine jars. Above, an offering board is provided with a wealth of food offerings including loaves, vessels, courgettes, grapes, and ducks.

The second register features an enthroned god (red-skinned) with long hair. A mourning goddess is squatted at his feet before a pile of offerings. The area above is inscribed with label inscriptions: "Imsety, great god, son of Osiris, behold, (I) come" (right side), "Imsety, the great god, son of Osiris (…) offerings and provisions" (left side).

The third register features a baboon-headed god holding an *heka*-staff and the symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt (papyrus and lily flower). Three libation stands are interspersed with lettuce vases and wine jars. Above, an offering board is provided with a wealth of food offerings including loaves, vessels, vegetables, grapes, meat and onions.

Footboard

The decoration is much damaged in this area: on the proper left side the paste collapsed and on the right side the painting has faded away (Figures 80–81). However, it is still possible to identify a standing mummiform god and a

in Brussels, Inv. nº E 5884) in Delvaux, Therasse 2016, 92–97. See also the inner coffin of Tabakmut (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 25.3.10 a, b).

9 This layout is also exceptional. The rule is featuring mummiform deities. Sousa 2018a, 137–138.

squatted mourning goddess. They are featured over a large *nebu*-sign. A winged *udjat*-eye flies over the scene.

The edges of the footboard are decorated with a block-frieze.

Inscriptions

Two longitudinal inscriptions bound the central partition (Figure 82). These texts are outlined in yellow over a black background (Inscriptions 1–2). The calligraphy is excellent. Two other longitudinal bands run along the edges of the lid, from the elbows down to the footboard (Inscriptions 3–4). These texts are outlined in red over a yellow background. The calligraphy is less formal, but it is elegantly designed.

Inscription 5 is displayed in three columns of text in the central partition of the footboard. It is outlined in red over a yellow background.

Small transversal bands (Inscriptions 6–13) divide the lateral partitions into registers. These bands are outlined in yellow over a black background.

All the inscriptions are aligned with the longitudinal axis of the object.

Inscription 1 (Figure 83)
ḥtp dỉ nsw Wsỉr nb nḥḥ ḫnty ỉmntt m ꜣbḏw nb nrw m R-stꜣw nb ḥtp ḏfꜣw m sḫt ỉꜣrw (*… dỉ.f*) *pr*(*t*)*-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜣpdw ḫt-nbt nfrt wʿbt ḫt-nbt nfrt nḏmt nty ʿnḫ-nṯrw ỉm*

Offering that the king gives to Osiris, lord of eternity, the foremost of the West, which is in Abydos, lord of dread in Ro-setau, lord of offerings in the Fields of Iaru (so that he may give) invocation-offerings in bread and beer, beef, fowl, all things good and pure, and all things good and sweet from which the gods live.

Inscription 2 (Figure 83)
ḥtp dỉ nsw Wsỉr nb nḥḥ ḫnty ỉmntt m ꜣbḏw nb nrw m R-stꜣw nb ḥtp (*…*) *dỉ.f pr*(*t*)*-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜣpdw* (*ḫt*)*-nbt nfrt wʿbt ḫt-nbt nfrt nḏmt* (*nty ʿnḫ-nṯrw ỉm*)

Offering that the king gives to Osiris, lord of eternity, the foremost of the West, in Abydos, lord of dread in Ro-setau, lord of offerings and provisions (in the Fields of Iaru so that he may give) invocation-offerings in bread, beer, beef, fowl, all things good and pure, and all things good and sweet (from which the gods live).

Inscription 3 (Figure 84)
ḏd mdw ỉn Gb (ỉry-pꜣt) nṯr(w) ꜣḫ (n) sꜣ.f ḥr pwy ms-n ꜣst ỉwʿ pwy wr mnḫ n wn-nfr dỉ.sn pr(t)-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜣpdw ḫt nbt nfrt wʿbt ḫt-nbt nfrt nḏmt nty ʿnḫ-nṯrw ỉm(.s)

Words to be spoken by Geb (hereditay noble of) the gods, *akh* of his son, this Horus that was born from Isis, this great and beneficent heir of Unnefer, (so) that they may give an invocation offering consisting of bread and beer, beef and fowl, everything good and pure and everything good and sweet from which the gods live.

Inscription 4 (Figure 84)
ḏd mdw ỉn Nwt wrt mst nṯrw nbw ỉrt Rʿ ḥḳꜣt šmʿw tꜣ-mḥw ꜣḫ sꜣ.s ḥr pwy ms-n ꜣst ỉwʿ pwy wr mnḫ(t) n wn-nfr dỉ.sn pr(t)-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜣpdw ḫt-nbt nfrt wʿbt ḫt-nbt nfrt nḏmt nty ʿnḫ-(nṯrw ỉm.s)

Words to be spoken by Nut, the great one, who gave birth to all the gods, the Eye of Re, the sovereign of Upper and Lower Egypt, *akh* of her son, this Horus that was born from Isis, this great and beneficent heir of Unnefer, (so) that they may give an invocation offering (consisting of) bread and beer, beef and fowl, everything good and pure and everything good and sweet (from which the gods) live.

Inscription 5 (Figure 85)
ḏd mdw ỉn Wsỉr (ỉt-nṯr) ḏd.f hꜣy (ḏnḥ)wy.t ḥr.ỉ dỉ wnn.(ỉ) mỉ (ỉ)ḫm(w)-sk (m)ỉ (ỉ)ḫmw-wrḏ nn mwt[ỉ] m wḥm m (ḫrt-nṯr)

Words to be spoken by Osiris [*space left blank and written over with charcoal:* the divine father (*name erased*)]. *He says:* "Oh, (my mother Nut stretch) (*col. 2*) your wings over me and let me be as the (Imperishable Stars, as the) (*col. 3*) Unweary Stars, so that I may not die again in the necropolis".

Inscription 6 (Figure 86)
ỉmꜣḫy ḫr Wsỉr nb nḥḥ ḫnty ỉmntt

The venerable one before Osiris, the lord of eternity, the foremost of the West.

Inscription 7 (Figure 86)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr Wsỉr nb nḥḥ (…)

The venerable one before Osiris, the lord of eternity (…).

Inscription 8 (Figure 86)
ỉmɜḫ ḫr nṯrw nbw (*dwɜt*)

The venerable one before the gods, the lords of (the duat).

Inscription 9 (Figure 86)
ỉmɜḫ ḫr nṯrw nbw dwɜt

The venerable one before the gods, the lords of the duat.

Inscription 10 (Figure 86)
ỉmɜḫ ḫr nṯrw nbw dwɜt

The venerable one before the gods, the lords of the duat.

Inscription 11 (Figure 86)
ỉmɜḫ ḫr nṯrw nbw (*dwɜt*)

The venerable one before the gods, the lords of (the duat).

Inscription 12 (Figure 86)
ỉmɜḫ ḫr nṯrw nbw dwɜt

The venerable one before the gods, the lords of the duat.

Inscription 13
Lost.

3.4.3 *Figures*



FIGURE 72
Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu

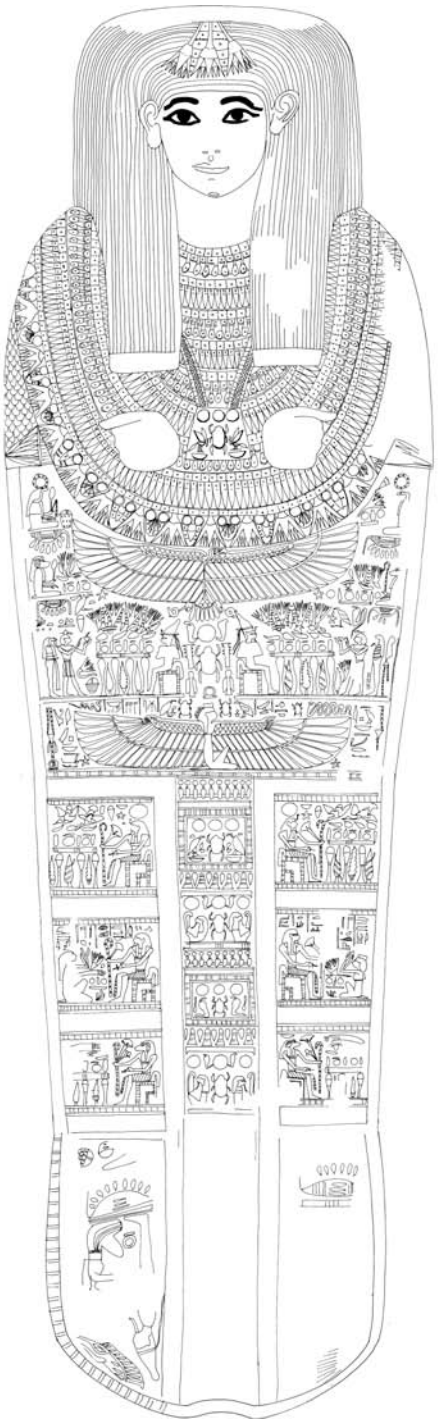


FIGURE 73
Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu



FIGURE 74 Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Headboard and upper section

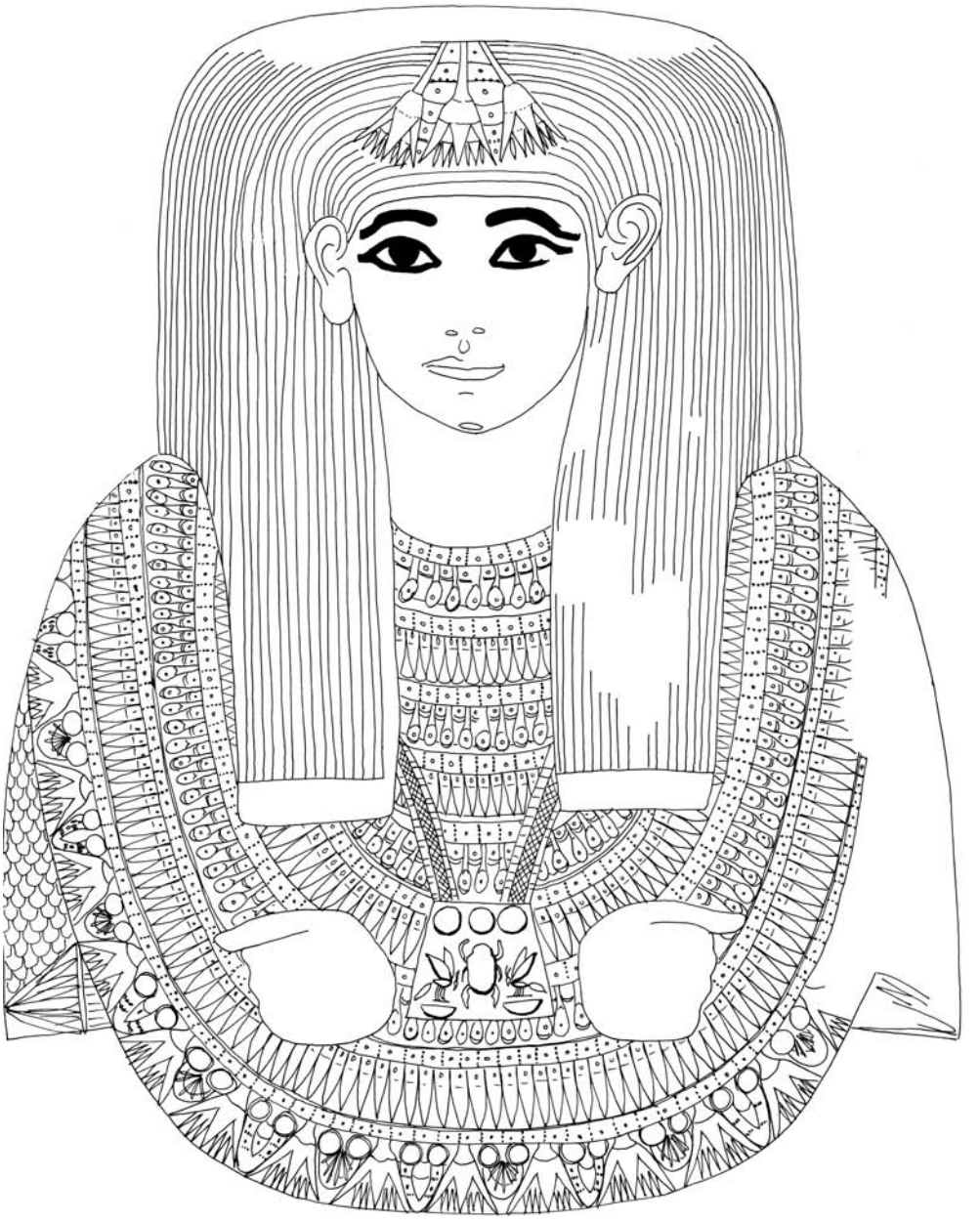


FIGURE 75 Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Headboard and upper section



FIGURE 76 Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Central section

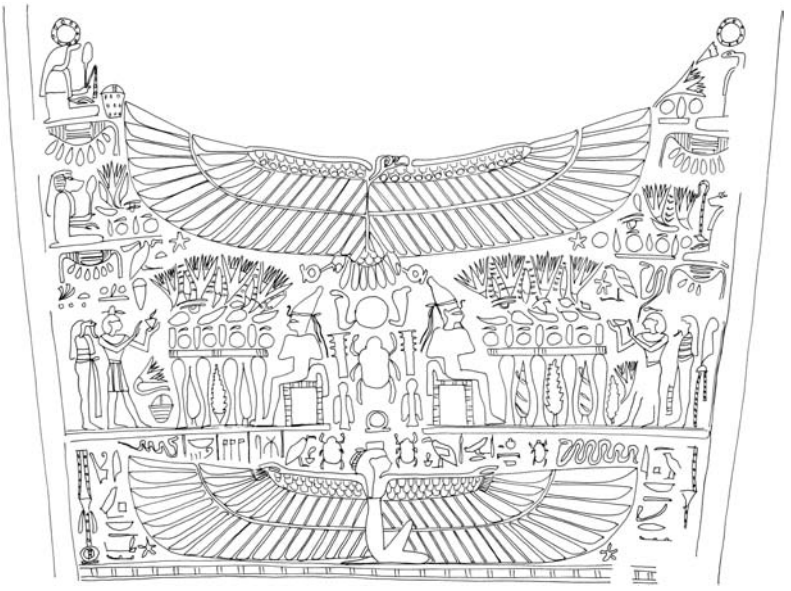


FIGURE 77 Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Central section



FIGURE 78 Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Lower section

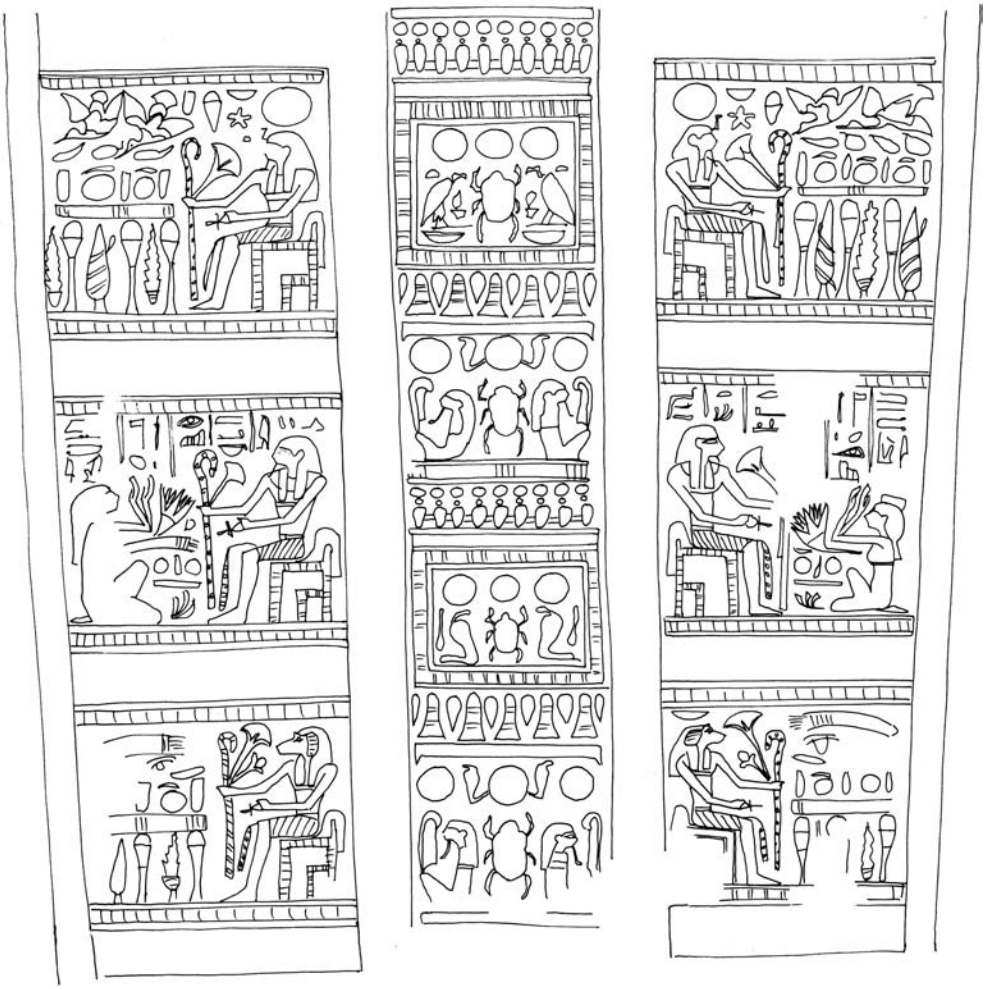


FIGURE 79 Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Lower section



FIGURE 80 Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Footboard

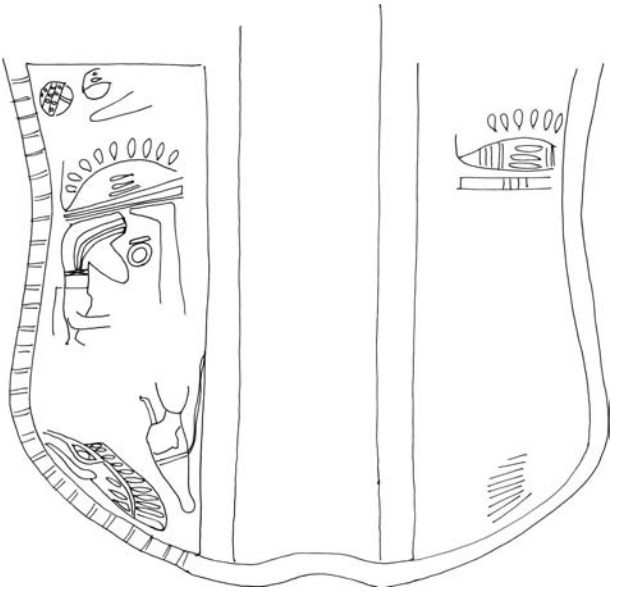


FIGURE 81 Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Footboard

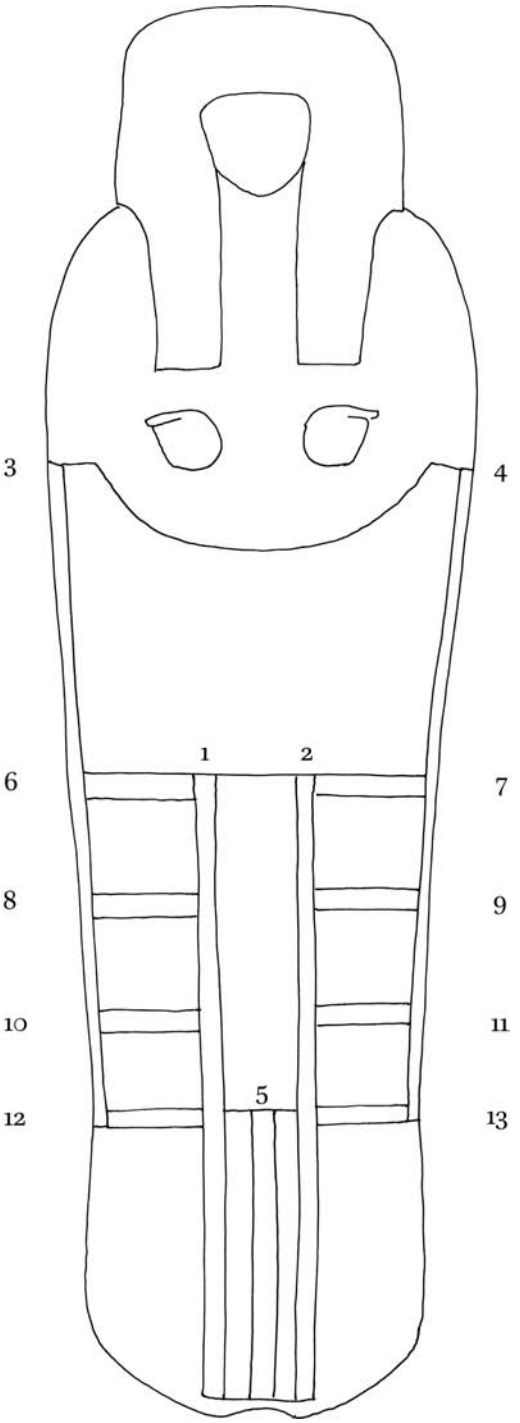


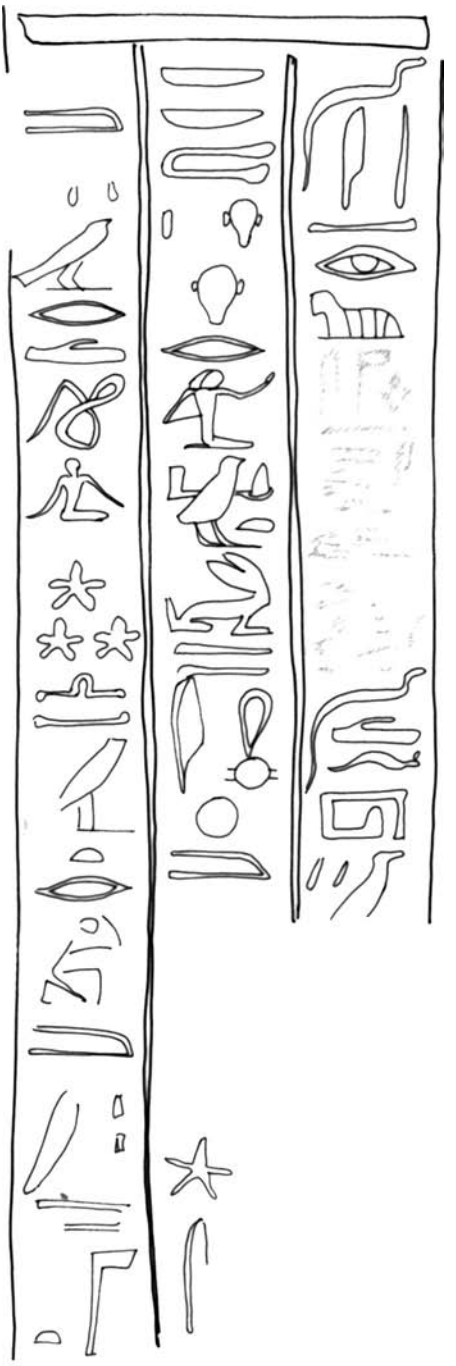
FIGURE 82
Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu.
Inscriptions



FIGURE 83 Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions 1–2



FIGURE 84 Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions 3–4



5

FIGURE 85
Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu.
Inscriptions 5

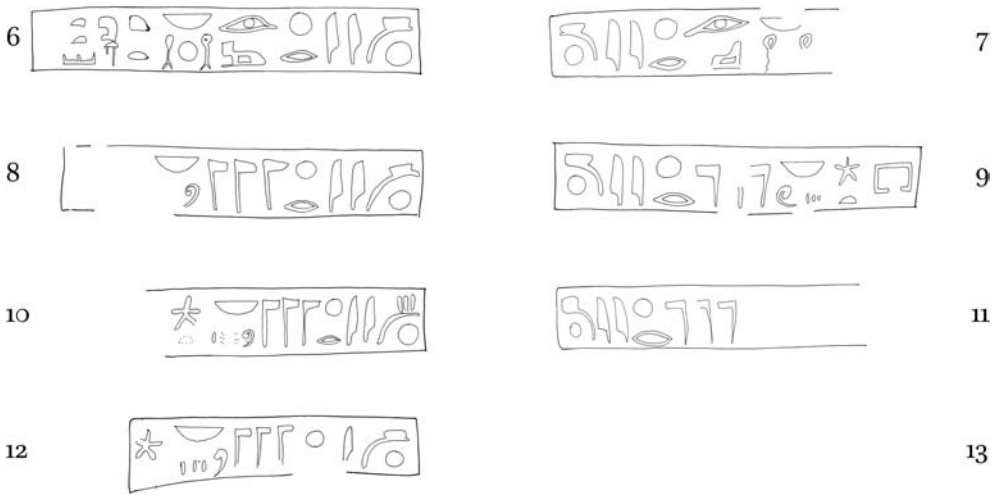


FIGURE 86 Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions 6–13

8 Outer Box (Figures 87–104)

Inventory number: 3910 (AE 110).
Length: 204 cm.
Wood, paste, paint and varnish.
The painted decoration is well preserved, with exception of the headboard, where the exterior wall is severely eroded. The exterior face of the footboard remained undecorated, as well as the underside of the floorboard.
The craftsmanship of the object is good. The tensions in the joints between the planks originated thin cracks, making perfectly visible the original contour of the planks. The long sides are composed of two planks, and the floorboard is assembled by two large planks, to which three smaller pieces of wood were attached. The good quality of the carpentry work assured the structural stability required for the good preservation of the painted decoration.
The thicknesses are stepped and painted in yellow. Eight mortises were carved along the edge to hold the wooden tenons. The number 3910 is outlined in black on the thickness (proper right side).

Iconography (*Exterior*)

The upper edge of the box is decorated with a frieze of alternating cobras and feathers, a block frieze, and a thick black band (Figure 87).

The vignettes are bounded within columns of inscriptions (Inscriptions 1–8). Along the lower edge there is a block-frieze (missing on the left side) and a thick black band (Figure 102).

Headboard

The headboard is composed of a tripartite panel (Figure 88). At the centre, the **Vignette 1** shows a much-damaged composition (perhaps a *djed*-pillar?) flanked on both sides by the totem of the West.

On the left side, **Vignette 2** features a standing mummiform god holding the *heka*-staff and wearing the *hedjet*-crown (green) adorned with two long streamers. He is red-skinned and wears a long-curled beard. A mourning goddess is squatted at his feet. She raises her arms and wears a dark dress revealing her breasts. Over her head figures a vulture holding an *ankh*-sign. Label inscriptions are inserted between both figures reading "Osiris, lord of eternity", and "Isis, lady of the duat".

On the opposite side, **Vignette 3** shows a similar depiction of Osiris. A mourning goddess stands before him. She raises her arms and wears a dark dress revealing her breasts. At her feet figures a libation stand flanked by lettuce vases.

The upper part of the vignette is inscribed with four columns of text: "Osiris, lord of eternity, (foremost) of the West, who is in Abydos, lord of dread".

Left Side

The left side displays two vignettes (Vignette 4 and 5), each one occupying the upper and lower section, respectively.

The **Vignette 4** consists in a symmetrical composition showing the *Ta-wer* totem flanked by the enthroned Osiris (Figure 89).[10] The scene is surmounted by the winged solar disk. The sacred totem stands on the sign of the horizon (*ḏw*). It is crowned with a solar double-feathered headdress, and it is adorned with a headband and long belts. The mummiform gods (red-skinned) wear the *hedjet*-crown adorned with long red streamers.

Two libation stands figure at their feet, with a wine jar and a lettuce vase. Above, an offering board is provided with loaves, vessels, vegetables, and lotus flowers. Both the throne and the offering table rest on a reed mat and a checkered *neb*-basket.

Below the wings of the sun disk the following inscription is symmetrically displayed on both sides of the vignette: "Osiris, lord of eternity, the foremost of the West".

The **Vignette 5** features the deceased presenting burning incense to the bovine form of Hathor coming forth from the tomb (Figure 90). Behind the deceased figures the god Anubis standing before an offering table. The god (green-skinned) holds the *ankh*-sign and the *heka*-staff. He wears a corslet, a short kilt and a bull's tail pending from his waist. A lettuce vase stands at his feet. A label inscription refers to his name, Anubis. Offerings are piled up before him, including loaves, grapes, vegetables, meat, lotus flowers, libation stands and a wine jar. A winged cobra surmounts the offerings, protecting the *shen*-ring with its wings.

The deceased is clad in a pleated white garment. He is red-skinned and wears a short wig. The goddess stands on a high pedestal, facing the headboard. It has a maculated hide and wears the hathoric headdress. The sistrum pends from its neck, and a ritual vessel with lotus flowers figures at its feet. The pedestal is adorned with alternating *djed* and *tjet*-signs. A falcon outstretches its wings towards the back of Hathor, with the *shen*-ring between them.

Behind, figures the tomb with a pyramidal superstructure. The tomb's façade is decorated with multicoloured block-friezes and cavetto cornice.

10 This scheme is sometimes adopted with the *sekhem*-sceptre at the centre: Outer box of Tabakenkhonsu (Museo Egizio in Turin, Inv. nº 10115) in Niwiński 2004, Tav. XXV; Inner

Over the pyramid a few liminal elements were depicted: a vulture, a basket, and the words "offerings and provisions".

Between the pedestal and the deceased, figures a large pile of offerings with four libation stands, a wine jar, lettuce vases, loaves, vessels, courgettes, meat and large bunches of lotus flowers and buds. A much smaller pile of offerings is set at the feet of the deceased.

Above the scene figures the following inscription written in eleven columns:

(col. 1) *ḥwt-ḥr, nbt tꜣ-ḏsr* (col. 2), *ỉrt Rʿ, ḥnwt* (col. 3) *ỉmntt, nfrt: "M*(col. 4)*k, ỉỉ.n*(*ỉ*) *r dỉ*(*t*) (col. 5) *ḥtp,* (col. 6) *ḏfꜣw,* (col. 7) *ḫt-*(col. 8) *nbt nfrt wʿbt,* (col. 9) *ḫt-nbt* (col. 10) *nfrt nḏmt,* (*nty*) *ʿnḫ* (col. 11) *nṯrw ỉm.s* (...)".

Hathor, Lady of the necropolis, the Eye of Re, Mistress of the West, the Beautiful one:
"Behold, (I) have come to give offerings and provisions, all things good and pure, and all things good and sweet from which the gods live".

Right Side

The right side displays two vignettes (Vignette 6 and 7), each one occupying the upper and lower section, respectively. These scenes mirror almost exactly those displayed on the opposite side.

The **Vignette 6** consists in a symmetrical composition showing the *Ta-wer* totem flanked by the enthroned Osiris (Figure 91). The scene is surmounted by the winged solar disk. It is noteworthy the resemblance between the Vignettes 4 and 6. The major difference is detected on the pedestal used to uphold the throne.[11] Even the composition of the pile of offerings follows the same arrangement on both sides.

The **Vignette 7** features the deceased presenting a cup with burning incense to the bovine form of Hathor coming forth from the tomb (Figure 92).[12] Behind

box of Hori (Museo Egizio in Turin, Inv. nº 10114) in Niwiński 2004, Tav. XXIII; Inner box of Takhybiat (Vatican Museum, Inv. nº 25015.2.2) in Gasse 1996, Pl. XX. Coffin of Djedmutiuesankh (A.110, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, AC-517) in Sousa 2017, Pl. 54.

11 In Vignette 6 the pedestal is shaped as a *heb*-bowl, while in Vignette 4 figures a checkered *neb*-basket.

12 This is one of the most common subjects featured on the sides of the boxes of the "yellow" type. It is often associated with the Theban Mountain: Coffin of Tabakenkhonsu (Museo Egizio in Turin, Inv. nº 10106.b) in Niwiński 2004, Tav. XII; Coffin of Khonsumose (Museo Egizio in Turin, Inv. nº 10104.b) Niwiński 2004, Tav. IX. The vignette is related to the

the deceased figures the god Anubis standing before an offering table. The scene follows the same scheme as in Vignette 5, showing minor differences, the most significant of which being the winged deity flying over Anubis. Instead of a winged cobra, in Vignette 7 there is a snake-headed vulture grasping the *shen*-ring in its claws. The inscription, written in ten columns of text, presents slight differences:

> (col. 1) *ỉnpw, nb tȝ-ḏsr, dỉ.sn* (col. 2) *ḫt-nbt nfrt wʿbt, ḫt*(col. 3) *nbt nfrt nḏmt, nty ʿnḫ* (col. 4) *nṯrw ỉm.s* (col. 5) *ḥtp dỉ nsw* (col. 6) *ḥwt-ḥr, nb*(*t*) *tȝ-ḏsr,* (col. 7) *ỉrt Rʿ, hnwt* (col. 8) *ỉmntt. Mk:* (col. 9) *ỉỉ.n*(*.ỉ*) *r dỉ*(*t*) *ḥtp,* (col. 10) *ḏfȝw*.
>
> Anubis, Lord of the necropolis, (so) that she may give all things good and pure, and all things good and sweet from which the gods live. Offering that the king gives to Hathor, Lady of the necropolis, the Eye of Re, Mistress of the West. "Behold, I have come to give (you) offerings and provisions".

Footboard

Undecorated

***Iconography* (*Interior*)**

The interior of the box is profusely decorated, with the motifs depicted against a reddish background (Figure 93). The background seems to have been painted after the figures have been outlined. The original colour of the background seems to have been white.[13] Some elements were selectively coated with varnish.

Headboard

The panel is fully decorated with a large falcon outstretching its wings towards both sides (Figure 94). The avian god grasps *shen*-rings in its claws and wears a solar disk over its head. The bird is depicted as flying and seen from above. The painting technique is crude and hasty, but the drawing is precise. Above the wings the words "go forth from the duat" are detected, while below a squatted mummiform goddess is shown holding a feather on her knees.

---

symbolism of passage symbolizing the moment "when the deceased is received by the goddess at the gate of the realm of the dead" (Liptay 2014, 73–74). In this scene, however the Theban Mountain is not featured, which is very exceptional.

13 We thank Anne Haslund Hansen for this observation.

Sides

The sides are arranged in four registers bounded by transversal bands alternately painted in yellow and blue. On both sides, the composition is symmetrical.

In the first register, there is a cult scene showing the deceased presenting an offering cup to the enthroned Osiris (Figures 95/96). The deceased wears a pleated kilt, while Osiris (green-skinned) wears the *atef*-crown and holds the *heka*-staff. He is clad in a corslet and kilt, as a living god.[14] At his feet figures a libation stand with lotus flowers. The area above is inscribed with columns of text.

On the proper left side (Figure 97):

> (col. 1) *ḏd mdw i*(col. 2)*n Wsi̯r* (col. 3) *nb nḥḥ ḥnty* (col. 4) *i̯mntt m* (col. 5) *ꜣbḏw nb tꜣ*-(col. 6) *ḏsr m R-stꜣw* (col. 7) *nb ḥtp*
>
> (col. 1) Words to be spoken (col. 2) by Osiris, (col. 3) lord of eternity, the foremost (col. 4) of the West, in (col. 5) Abydos, lord of the (col. 6) necropolis which is in Ro-setau, (col. 7) lord of offerings.

On the proper right side (Figure 97):

> (col. 1) *ḏd mdw i̯n Wsi̯r* (col. 2) *nb nḥḥ ḥnty* (col. 3) *i̯mntt m* (col. 4) *ꜣbḏw* (col. 5) *nb nrw m* (col. 6) *R-stꜣw*
>
> (col. 1) Words to be spoken by Osiris, (col. 2) lord of eternity, the foremost (col. 3) of the West, in (col. 4) Abydos, lord of (col. 5) dread in (col. 6) Rosetau.

The second register shows an enthroned god, wearing a long wig and curled beard (Figures 95/96). He is clad in a feathered corslet and a pleated kilt, with a bull's tail pending from his waist. He holds the *ankh*-sign and the *heka*-staff. At his feet figure two libation stands, a wine jar (?) and an offering board with loaves and lotus flowers. The upper area is inscribed with columns of text.

On the left side (Figure 97):

> (col. 1) *ỉnk ỉmsty* (col. 2) *nṯr ꜥꜣ* (col. 3) *sꜣ Wsi̯r M*(col. 4)*k, i̯ỉ.n*(*i*) (col. 5) *r di*(*t*) *ḥtp* (col. 6) *ḏfꜣw ḫt*-(col. 7)*nbt* (col. 8) *nfrt wꜥbt* (col. 9) *ḫt-nbt*

14 On the proper left side he is unbearded.

(col. 1) I am Imsety, (col. 2) the great god, (col. 3) the son of Osiris. (col. 4) Behold, I come (col. 5) to give offerings (col. 6) and provisions, (col. 7) and all things (col. 8) pure and good, (col. 9) and all things.

On the right side (Figure 97):

(col. 1) *ỉnk ỉmsty* (col. 2) *nṯr ʿ3* (col. 3) *s3 Wsỉr mr.k* (col. 4) *ỉỉ.n(.ỉ) r d(t)ỉ* (col. 5) *ḥtp df3w* (col. 6) *ḫt-(nbt) nfrt (wʿbt)* (col. 7) *ḫt-*(col. 8)*nbt nfrt nḏmt* (col. 9) *nty ʿnḫ*

(col. 1) I am Imsety, (col. 2) the great god, (col. 3) the son of Osiris, whom you love. (col. 4) I have come to give (col. 5) offerings and provisions, (col. 6) and all things good and (pure), (col. 7) and all things (col. 8) good and sweet (col. 9) (from which) the (gods) live.

The third register features a baboon-headed enthroned god (green-skinned body), wearing a long wig (Figures 95/96). He is clad in a corslet and a pleated kilt, while holding the *ankh*-sign and the *heka*-staff. At his feet figure libation stands and an offering board with loaves and lotus flowers.

The upper area is inscribed with columns of text.

On the proper left side (Figure 97):

(col. 1) *ỉnk ḥpy* (col. 2) *s3.k mr.k* (col. 3) *ỉnk mk* (col. 4) *ỉỉ.n(.ỉ) r dỉ(t)* (col. 5) *ḥtp df3w* (col. 6) *ḫt-nbt*

(col. 1) I am Happy, (col. 2) your beloved son. (col. 3) Behold, (col. 4) I have come to give (col. 5) offerings and provisions, (col. 6) and all things.

On the proper right side (Figure 97):

(col. 1) *ỉnk* (col. 2) *ḥpy* (col. 3) *s3.k mr.k.* (col. 4) *Mk ỉỉ.n(ỉ)* (col. 5) *r dỉ(t) ḥtp*

I am Hapy, your beloved son. Behold, I have come to give offerings.

The fourth register shows a crouching figure of Anubis featured as a jackal, wearing a divine staff at its back, while holding a *sekhem*-sceptre with its forelegs (Figures 95/96). This figure is painted in yellow and outlined in red.

Floorboard

The floorboard displays three main registers without any formal division between them (Figures 93/101).

The first register shows a vulture goddess flying under the heavenly vault (Figure 98). The avian deity grasps the *shen*-ring with its claws, from where irradiates the *ankh*-sign. A sacred cobra is pending from the vulture's neck.

The second register shows a large depiction of a *djed*-headed mummiform god standing on a *nebu*-sign (Figure 99). He wears a *hem-hem* crown composed of three *atef*-crowns and six solar disks set on ram's horns from where four solar cobras rise.

The *djed*-motif is painted in green and shows human eyes. It is flanked by two serpents painted in blue and twisting their bodies along the edges of the pillar. The god grasps the royal sceptres *heka* and *nekhakha*. He wears an *usekh*-collar and his body is painted in white. The torso is decorated with a feathered pattern, while the legs are covered with a beaded pattern.

Above this figure a line of loose inscriptions reads: "Lord of eternity, the foremost of the West". The deity is flanked by symmetrically arranged motifs.

From top to bottom, first there is a winged cobra with an *ankh*-sign pending from its body. Follows an enthroned double-serpent headed mummiform god holding a mace and the *nekhakha*-sceptre. The throne rests on a *nebu*-sign. The third motif consists in the vulture and the cobra resting on the *nebu*-sign. A coiled cobra encloses this composition.

The third register shows the first-born son of the deceased acting as a funerary priest before the mummy of his father (Figure 100). The lad is painted in yellow and was abundantly varnished. He wears the typical sidelock of youth, and a panther skin wrapped around his torso. The mummy shows a curled beard and a long divine wig adorned with a headband and an unguent cone with a lotus bud. At his feet there is a libation stand provided with lotus flowers. Above the lad, there is a text box painted in white. There are faded signs of hieroglyphs suggesting that it was inscribed, but they are now illegible.

Footboard

It is uniformly painted in red but the colour has faded away.

Inscriptions

On the exterior walls, a small number of columns of text bound the vignettes (Figure 102). The calligraphy is informal, and the texts are similar to the offering formulae inscribed on the lid. The signs were outlined in red and finished off with black paint. Each column of text is bounded by single black lines. All the

inscriptions face the headboard, with exception of Inscription 6, which faces the footboard.

Left Side

Inscription 1 (Figure 103)
(col. 1) *dỉ.sn pr-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜣpdw ḫt-nbt nfrt wʿbt ḫt-nbt* (col. 2) *nfrt nḏmt nty ʿnḫ nṯrw ỉms n Wsỉr m pt* (*n*) *Wsỉr*

(col. 1) They give invocation-offerings in bread and beer, beef and fowl, all things good and pure (col. 2) from which the gods live, to the Osiris, in heaven, and to the Osiris.

Inscription 2 (Figure 103)
(col. 1) *dỉ.sn pr-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜣpdw ḫt-nbt nfrt wʿbt ḫt-nbt nfrt nḏmt* (col. 2) *nty ʿnḫ nṯrw ỉms dỉ m pt ḳmꜣ m tꜣ*

(col. 1) They give invocation-offerings in bread and beer, beef and fowl, all things good and pure, and all things good and sweet (col. 2) from which the gods live, so may be given in heaven, and creation on earth.

Inscription 3 (Figure 103)
(col. 1) *dỉ.sn pr-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜣpdw ḫt-nbt nfrt wʿbt ḫt-nbt nfrt nḏmt* (col. 2) *nty ʿnḫ nṯrw ỉms dỉ m pt, ḳmꜣ m tꜣ*

(col. 1) They give invocation-offerings in bread and beer, beef and fowl, all things good and pure, and all things good and sweet (col. 2) from which the gods live, so may be given in heaven, and creation on earth.

Inscription 4 (Figure 103)
(col. 1) *dỉ.sn pr-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜣpdw ḫt-nbt nfrt wʿbt ḫt-nbt* (col. 2) *nfrt nḏmt nty ʿnḫ nṯrw ỉms dỉ m* (col. 3) *dỉ m pt ḳmꜣ m tꜣ ỉn n ḥpy* (col. 4) *ḥtp.f* (*?*) *n Wsỉr m pt Wsỉr m tꜣ*

(col. 1) They give invocation-offerings in bread and beer, beef and fowl, all things good and pure, and all things (col. 2) good and sweet from which the gods live, so may be given (col. 3) in heaven, creation on earth, and reach the Nile when he rests as Osiris in heaven, and as Osiris on earth.

Right Side

Inscription 5 (Figure 104)
(col. 1) *dỉ.sn ḫt-nbt nfrt wꜥbt ḫt-nbt nfrt nḏmt* (col. 2) (*nty*) *ꜥnḫ nṯrw ỉms n Wsỉr*

(col. 1) They give invocation-offerings in bread and beer, beef and fowl, all things good and pure, and all things good and sweet (col. 2) from which the gods live, to the Osiris.

Inscription 6 (Figure 104)
(col. 1) *dỉ.sn pr-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜣpdw ḫt-nbt nfrt wꜥbt ḫt-nbt* (col. 2) *nfrt nḏmt nty ꜥnḫ nṯrw ỉms n Wsỉr*

(col. 1) They give invocation-offerings in bread and beer, beef and fowl, all things good and pure, and all things (col. 2) good and sweet from which the gods live, to the Osiris.

Inscription 7 (Figure 104)
(col. 1) *dỉ.sn pr-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜣpdw ḫt-nbt nfrt wꜥbt ḫt-nbt nfrt nḏmt* (col. 2) *nty ꜥnḫ nṯrw ỉms dỉ m pt ḳmꜣ m tꜣ*

(col. 1) They give invocation-offerings in bread and beer, beef and fowl, all things good and pure, and all things good and sweet (col. 2) from which the gods live, so may be given in heaven, and creation on earth.

Inscription 8 (Figure 104)
(col. 1) *dỉ.sn pr-ḫrw t ḥnḳt kꜣw ꜣpdw ḫt-nbt nfrt wꜥbt ḫt-nbt nfrt nḏmt* (col. 2) *nty ꜥnḫ nṯrw ỉms dỉ m pt ḳmꜣ* (col. 2) *m tꜣ ỉnn ḥpy tpḥ.f n Wsỉr m pt Wsỉr m* (*Wsỉr m tꜣ*)

(col. 1) They give invocation-offerings in bread and beer, beef and fowl, all things good and pure, and all things good and sweet (col. 2) from which the gods live. So it may be given in heaven, and creation (col. 3) on earth, and reach the Nile when he rests to as Osiris in heaven, and as (Osiris on earth).

Figures



FIGURE 87
Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Right side



FIGURE 88 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Headboard



FIGURE 89 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Left side. Upper section



FIGURE 90 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Left side. Lower section



FIGURE 91 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Right side. Upper section



FIGURE 92 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Right side. Lower section



FIGURE 93
Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior



FIGURE 94 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Headboard



FIGURE 95 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Left side



FIGURE 96 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Right side



Right side

Left side

FIGURE 97 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Inscriptions



FIGURE 98 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Floorboard. First register



FIGURE 99 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Floorboard. Second register

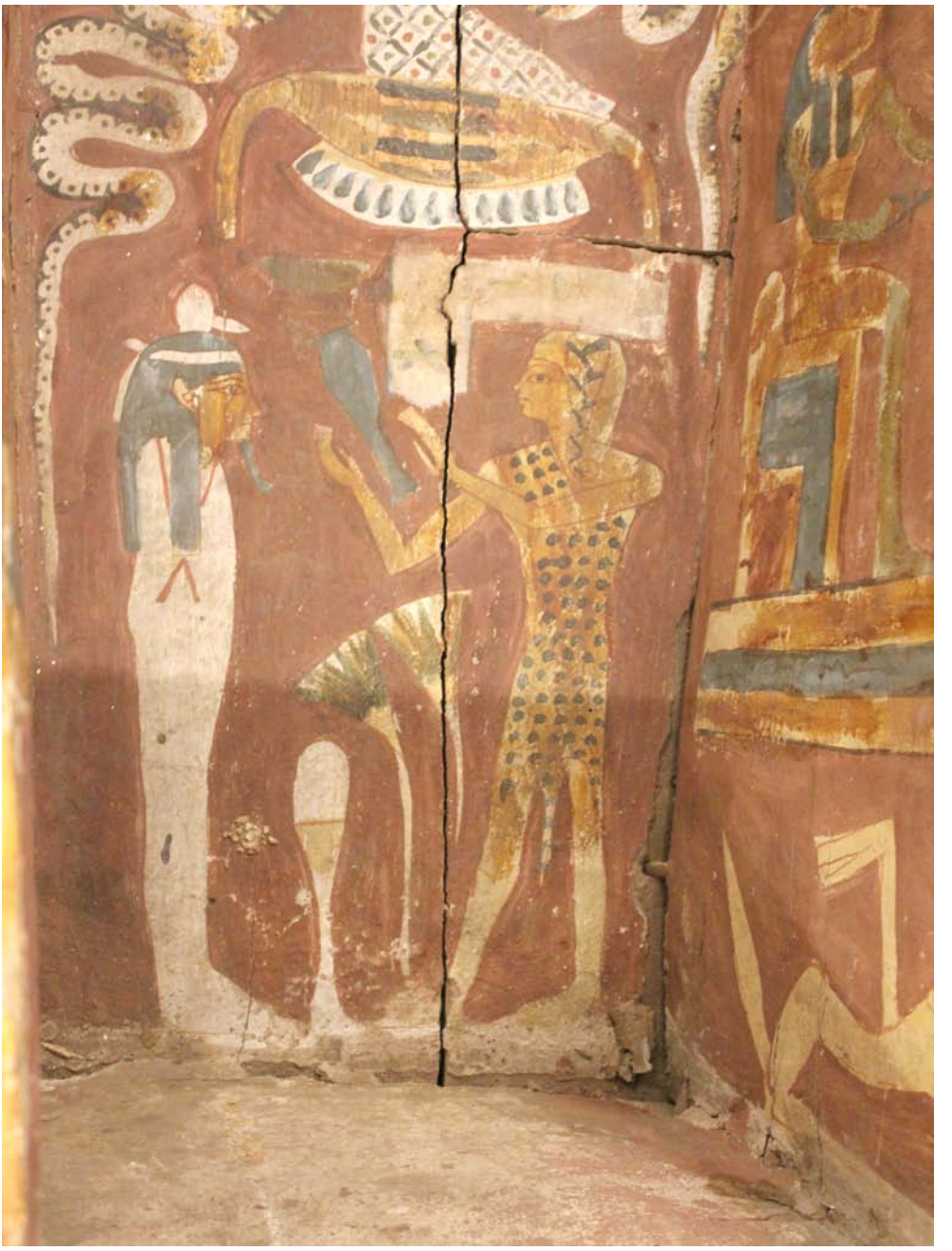


FIGURE 100 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Floorboard. Third register

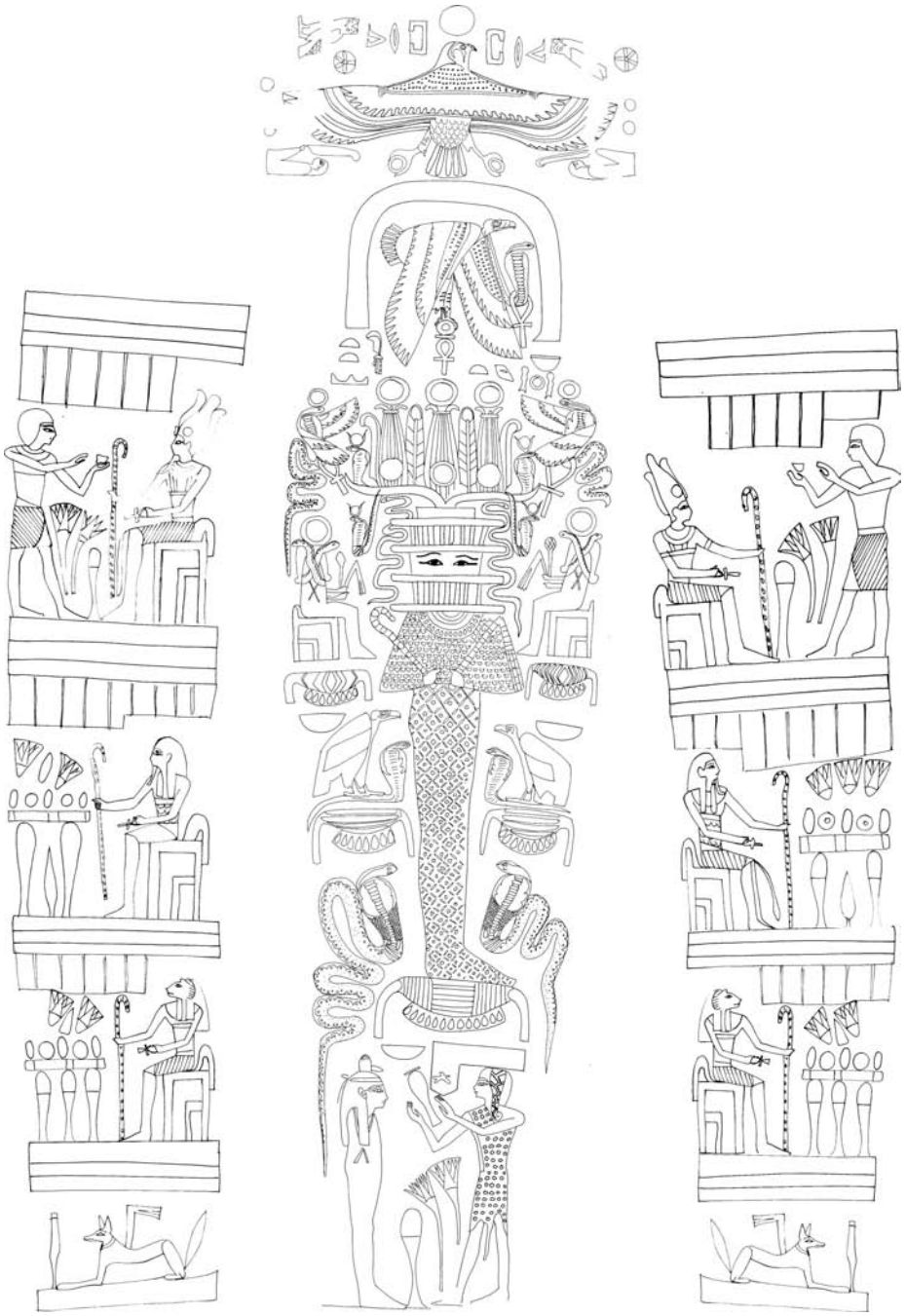


FIGURE 101 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior

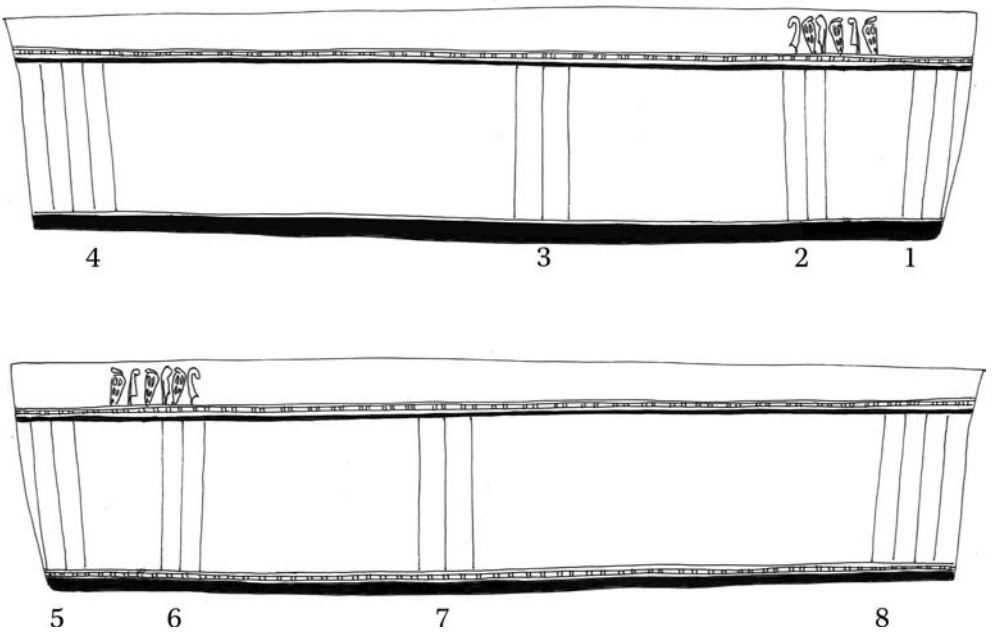


FIGURE 102 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions

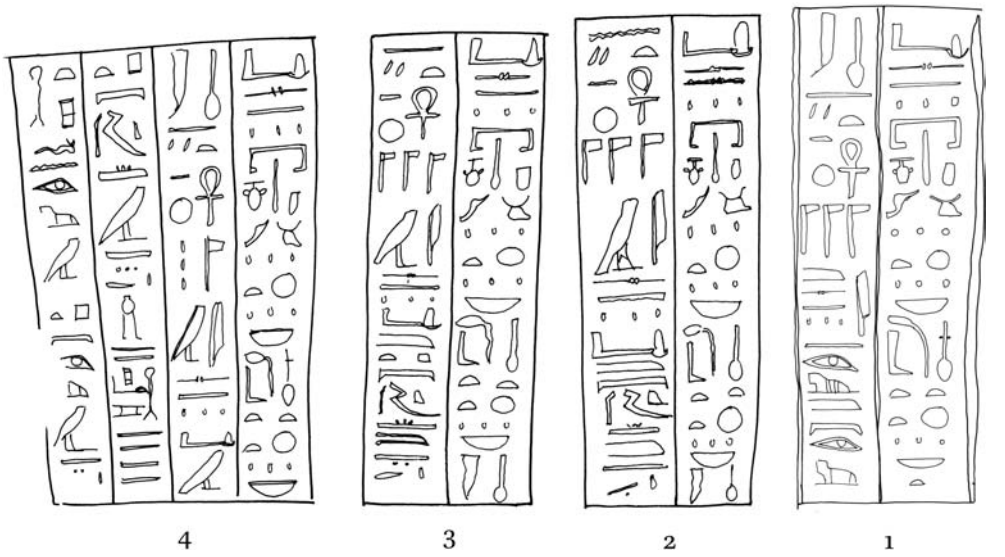
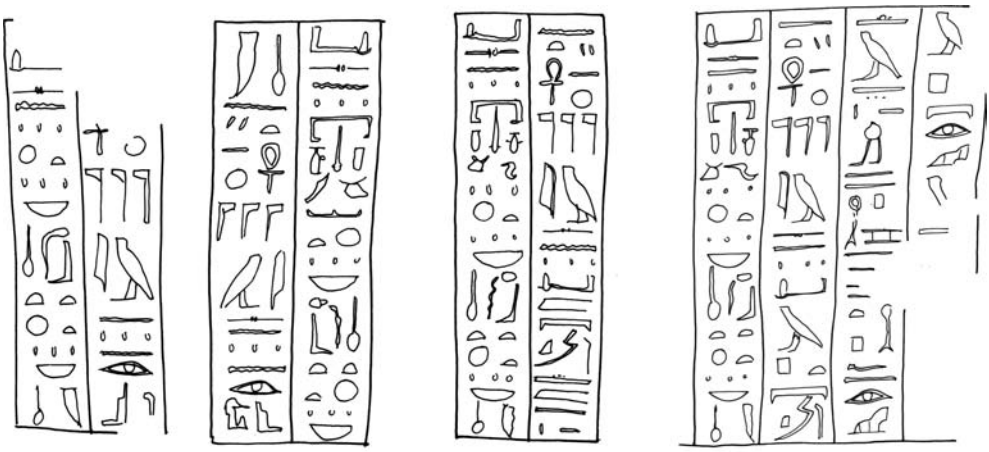


FIGURE 103 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions 1–4



5 6 7 8

FIGURE 104 Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions 5–8

9 Inner Lid (Figures 105–119)

Inventory number: 3910 (AE 110)
Length: 185 cm.
Wood, paste, paint, and varnish. Most of the motifs of the central panel and the lower section are rendered in *pastiglia*.
The reverse side is undecorated.
The fists, beard and ears are carved in wood and attached to the lid.
The object is well preserved, despite a few cracks, most of them detected in the headboard. The face is covered with a thick layer of paste which collapsed on the chin, exposing the wooden structure.
Another crack is detected along the joints between the footboard and the lower section. The wooden *ankh*-signs grasped by the deceased are partially broken.

Iconography

Headboard

The face presents a good sculptural work, showing balanced proportions and volumes (Figures 107–108). It is yellow, with thick cosmetic lines outlined in dark blue. The black iris is painted over a white background. A thin red line is traced above the eyes. The nose is well-proportioned and shows carved nostrils. The lips are smoothly moulded in paste. The result is an austere face conveying an impression of strength and serenity.

A wooden curled beard is attached to the chin. It is dark blue with the braided motifs outlined in yellow. A thick band (dark blue) runs along the jaws from the chin to the ears.

The ears are carved in wood and attached to the wig. The divine wig shows a plain striped pattern (dark blue stripes over a yellow background) without any headband or floral adornment. The lappets of the wig present yellow terminals.

Upper Section

The fists were crafted separately and attached to the lid, crossed over the chest (Figures 107–108). They are painted in yellow, grasping large *ankh*-signs crafted in wood and painted in dark blue. The details of the *ankh*-signs are outlined in yellow.

The forearms are completely hidden under the broad collar, and only the elbows are visible, showing a large lotus flower and a small portion of a bracelet.

The arms show a small squatted mummiform deity featured against a striped pattern outlined in red. On the proper right side this deity is vulture-headed, while on the opposite side he is fully human.

The large collar covers the shoulders and upper torso displaying 8 floral bands. A variety of patterns are detected: lotus flowers intertwined with per-

sea tree flowers, rosettes, and lotus buds (1st band), buds on reeds (2nd, 5th, 7th bands), persea tree buds (3th and 6th bands) and lotus petals intertwined with berries (4th and 8th bands), a very rare pattern. The clasps of the collar are not depicted.

In the area between the lappets, a smaller collar is figured, showing five bands decorated with floral patterns. From below to above: lotus flowers intertwined with persea tree flowers and rosettes, buds on reeds, persea tree buds, lotus petals intertwined with berries.

Central Section

This composition displays three registers (Figures 109–110). Most of the motifs are moulded in *pastiglia*.

The first register features a symmetrical composition with a sacred scarab at the centre. It holds up a solar disk (green) and rises from the *nebu*-sign. On the proper left side, this composition is flanked by a column of large hieroglyphic signs: *ankh*, *djed* and *tjet*.[15]

The centrifugal blocks feature the enthroned Osiris (red-skinned) in mummiform guise, wearing a long wig. The torso (*pastiglia*) and the cubic throne (*pastiglia*) are dark coloured, both decorated with small dots. A panel with the *sema*-motif is featured on the throne. The deity is protected by a goddess, who stands behind him clad in a green tight dress (*pastiglia*). The *imi-wt* totem (*pastiglia*) stands at the feet of Osiris. Several hieroglyphs fill-in the area above these figures reading "This *akh*, the foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine".

The symmetrical register includes a centripetal block featuring a winged goddess stretching out her wings towards the enthroned god. She is squatted on a *nebu*-sign and, on her head, figures the monogram of the Theban goddess (a falcon resting on the West-totem). Between her wings, figures a squatted snake-headed mummiform god (*pastiglia*) and the *shetyt*-shrine. Above, liminal elements were displayed: a squatted mummiform god (*pastiglia*), the *imi-wt* totem, the sacred scarab, a squatted snake-headed mummiform god (*pastiglia*), and the *shetyt*-shrine.[16]

The symmetrical register is completed with additional blocks. On the proper right side, the deceased (red-skinned) stands behind the goddess, clad in a green shirt and a tight kilt. Loose hieroglyphs are displayed around him, such as "Westerners", "*shetyt*", and "offering".

15 Note that on the proper right side there was no space left and so, against the usual practice, these motifs were omitted (compare with the third register).

16 Note that on the proper left side, the lack of space led the decorators to use hieroglyphs instead of the image of the *shetyt*-shrine.

On the opposite side, two sub-registers are detected. Above, figures an enthroned mummiform god wearing a red beaded shirt. The god faces outwards. Below, figures a kneeling goddess facing inwards. Apparently loose hieroglyphs are displayed around these figures, forming small sentences such as "This *akh* which is in the *shetyt*-shrine", "Westerners", "*shetyt*", or "Giving life".

The second register features an imposing, green-skinned goddess outstretching her wings towards both sides of the panel. The squatted goddess is clad in a tight dark dress decorated with small dots (*pastiglia*). The same pattern is found in the divine wig (*pastiglia*).

Above her head figures the *ba*-bird resting on the totem of the West. On both sides, a wide array of liminal elements is displayed along her arms, all of them moulded in *pastiglia*: an enthroned vulture-headed mummiform god with the imi-wt-totem, a squatted snake-headed mummiform god with the imi-wt-totem, a squatted vulture-headed mummiform god with the imi-wt-totem, a scarab, and the *shetyt*-shrine.[17]

On the proper left side, the composition is enclosed by the deceased himself who faces the goddess.

The third register follows roughly the same layout observed in the first register, showing a sacred scarab at the centre holding up a solar disk (green) and rising from the *nebu*-sign. This composition is flanked by columns of large hieroglyphic signs: *ankh*, *djed* and *tjet*.

The centrifugal blocks feature the enthroned Osiris (red-skinned) in mummiform guise, wearing a long wig. The torso (*pastiglia*) and the cubic throne (*pastiglia*) are black, both decorated with small dots. A panel with the *sema*-motif is featured on the throne. This deity is protected by a goddess, who stands behind him clad in a green tight dress. The *imi-wt* totem (*pastiglia*) stands at the feet of Osiris. In the area above one reads "This *akh*, the foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine".

The centripetal block features a winged goddess stretching out her wings towards the enthroned god. She is squatted on a *nebu*-sign and, on her head, figures the monogram of the Theban goddess (a falcon resting on the West-totem). Between her wings, figures a squatted mummiform god (*pastiglia*).[18] Above, liminal elements were displayed: a squatted snake-headed mummiform god (*pastiglia*) with the *imi-wt* totem, *shetyt*-shrines, and the sacred scarab.

On the right edge, apparently loose hieroglyphs arranged vertically are displayed forming a small sentence: "Giving life, stability and dominion in the West".

17 Note that on the proper left side, all the mummiform gods are enthroned.

18 On the proper right side this is a snake-headed god, while on the opposite side he is vulture-headed.

Lower Section

This composition displays three longitudinal partitions bounded by columns of inscriptions (Inscriptions 1–4).

The central partition displays four registers transversally bounded by friezes (Figures 111–112). The vignettes display a similar structure, showing the sacred scarab (*pastiglia*) holding a green solar disk (*pastiglia*). It is flanked by liminal elements centripetally displayed, here shaped as enthroned mummiform gods (*pastiglia*) wearing divine wigs (*pastiglia*). Each vignette is entirely bounded by block-friezes, complemented on the upper edge by a multi-coloured geometrical frieze.

Despite this common layout, each register displays its own peculiar arrangement. In the first register, the enthroned gods wear green solar disks (*pastiglia*). The upper edge displays a *khekher*-frieze, while the lower one is decorated with counterpoises and almond-shaped motifs (*pastiglia*).

In the second register, hieroglyphs are featured above the heads of the gods, instead of the solar disks. They allude to the *shetyt*-shrine and to "this *akh*". The upper edge is adorned with a *khekher*-frieze.

In the third register, the deities are squatted on *shetyt*-shrines (*pastiglia*) and the upper edge is adorned with rectangles (*pastiglia*). The lower edge is decorated with counterpoises and almond-shaped motifs (*pastiglia*).

The fourth register is the simplest, showing the inscription "Giving life and dominion" above the enthroned gods, which are here surmounted by *shetyt*-shrines (*pastiglia*).

The lateral partitions display three registers entirely bounded by the network of longitudinal (Inscriptions 1–4) and transversal inscriptions (Inscriptions 7–14). The arrangement of the scenes is almost symmetrical (Figures 111–112), showing only minor differences. The six vignettes show a cult scene performed by the deceased before a red-skinned mummiform enthroned god, wearing long hair. The divine torso is decorated with small dots (*pastiglia*). The throne (*pastiglia*) displays a panel with the *sema*-motif. Behind the god stands a goddess clad in a green dress (*pastiglia*). The deceased is red-skinned, wears short wig and he is clad in a dark shirt and kilt. All these scenes take place inside a shrine decorated with a *khekher*-frieze and a geometrical band, supported by a double column. Despite this common layout subtle differences are detected in each register.

In the first register, the deceased grasps the *imi-wt* totem (*pastiglia*). The area above presents loose hieroglyphs, perhaps forming the sentence "This *akh*, the foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine".

In the second register, the deceased presents an offering to the enthroned god. The area above shows a squatted mummiform god and the sentence "This *akh*, the foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine".

In the third register, the deceased presents an offering to the enthroned god (right partition). The area above simply shows the sentence "The foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine". In the proper left partition, the deceased is missing.

Footboard

This area is decorated with two lateral partitions showing vignettes featured in reversed direction (Figures 113–114). The central partition is inscribed with six columns of text (Inscriptions 1–2, Inscriptions 5–6).

The composition of the lateral partitions is similar but slightly asymmetrical. They represent a red-skinned enthroned god, wearing long wig and a red shirt with small black dots. The *imi-wt* totem stands at his feet. Below the throne a few liminal elements were included, such as *shetyt*-shrines, and a squatted vulture-headed mummiform god (on the right side only). In the area above, liminal elements were displayed so to form short sentences "May live (this) *akh*, the foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine". This scene is placed under a roof decorated with a *khekher*-frieze.

The main difference between these scenes lies in the depiction of a *ba*-bird resting on the *khekher*-frieze on the proper left partition. The absence of this feature on the opposite side allowed for a bigger scene to be depicted in the main vignette.

The edges of the footboard were inscribed but the inscriptions are now very difficult to perceive.

Inscriptions

Two longitudinal inscriptions (Inscriptions 1–2) bound the central partition (Figure 115). Two other longitudinal bands run along the edges of the lid, from the elbows down to the footboard (Inscriptions 3–4).

The Inscriptions 5–6 are displayed in the central partition of the footboard.

Small transversal bands (Inscriptions 7–14) bound the vignettes of the lateral partitions.

All the inscriptions are aligned with the longitudinal axis of the object. The calligraphy is good. The signs are outlined in red against a yellow background.

Inscription 1 (Figure 116)

ḥtp dỉ nsw (n) Wsỉr ḫnty ỉmntyw nb ȝbḏw nb dwȝt ḫnty dwȝtyw nb ḫʿw m (?) ʿ(n)ḏ. ḥḳȝ ʿnḏ[19] *wr ỉrw m ỉwnw nb ỉgrt dỉ.f wn n wʿb ʿȝ ʿḳ n ỉmn m ỉpt-swt ḫry ṯȝyw mḏȝt pr-ỉmn, ʿnḫ(.f)-n-ḫnsw mȝʿ-ḫrw*

19 Gardiner, V 26: 13th nome of Lower Egypt.

Offering that the king gives (to) Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, lord of the duat, the foremost of the inhabitants of the duat, lord of appearances in the 13th nome of Lower Egypt, great one of forms in Heliopolis, the lord of Igeret, (so) that he may give that exists the great *wab*-priest who has free entrance to Amun in Ipet-Sut, he who is chief of the sculptors of the Temple of Amun, Ankh(ef)enkhonsu, the justified one.

Inscription 2 (Figure 116)
ḥtp dỉ nsw (*n*) *Wsỉr ḫnty ỉmntyw nb dwꜣt ḥr*(*y*)*-ỉb ꜣbḏw ḫnty ỉmntyw nsw ỉgrt nb nḥḥ nb ỉꜣ*(*ṯfw*) *ḫnty ḏdt dỉ.f wnn Wsỉr wʿb ʿꜣ ʿḳ n ỉmn m ỉpt-swt ḥry ṯꜣw mḏꜣt n pr-ỉmn ʿnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw mꜣʿ-ḫrw*

Offering that the king gives to Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, lord of the duat, in Abydos, the foremost of the Westerners, king of Igeret, lord of eternity, lord of the *atef*-crown, foremost of Buto, (so) that he may give that exists to the Osiris, *the great wab*-priest who has free entrance to Amun in Ipet-Sut, the chief of the sculptors of the Temple of Amun, Ankhefenkhonsu, the justified one.

Inscription 3 (Figure 117)
ỉmy ỉꜣty ḏdw dỉ.k snṯr mnḫt šs n m prwy-nfr dỉ.k mḥtt ʿt tm

He who is in the two mounds of Busiris. May you give incense, clothing and alabaster from the embalming workshop, may you give (…) (and) a complete limb (?) (…).

Inscription 4 (Figure 117)
(…) *ḏỉdỉ ḫt*(*?*)*n ḥr n mw* (*?*) *ḫ*(*?*)*t mnḫt šs ḥr n m nb.s ḏt*

(…) who gives offerings to Horus, water, offerings (?), clothing and alabaster, on (?) as (?) her lord, eternally.

Inscription 5 (Figure 118)
(col. 1) [*hrw?*] *pw*(*y*) … *nb tꜣ dỉdỉ n nb n wr* (col. 2) *ḫpt* (*?*) *pr*(*t*) *ḥr wꜣwt* (*?*) … *nr*(*w*(*?*)) *m ỉwnw*

(col. 1) [On that day, the lord of bread who gives to the lord of […?] the one great of embrace (?) (col. 2) who goes forth on the (roads)(?) of fear in Heliopolis

Inscription 6 (Figure 118)
(col. 1) *-stꜣw n ḥtp ḫnty ꜣḫw* (col. 2) *m-ḫnw ỉgrt hrw pwy stꜣw* (…)

(col. 1) Drawing of offerings (to) the foremost of the *akhu* (col. 2) in Igeret, (on) this day of drawing (…).

Inscription 7 (Figure 119)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr ʿɜ ḫnty Ym

The venerable one before the great god, the foremost of Ym.

Inscription 8 (Figure 119)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr ʿɜ ḫnty Y(m)

The venerable one before the great god, the foremost of Y(m).

Inscription 9 (Figure 119)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr ʿɜ ḫnty ỉgrt

The venerable one before the great god, the foremost of Igeret.

Inscription 10 (Figure 119)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr ʿɜ ḫnty dwɜt

The venerable one before the great god, the foremost of the duat.

Inscription 11 (Figure 119)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr ʿɜ ḫnty ỉmntyw

The venerable one before the great god, the foremost of the Westerners.

Inscription 12
Lost.

Inscription 13
Lost.

Inscription 14 (Figure 119)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr ỉnpw ḫnty ỉgrt

The venerable one before Anubis, the foremost of Igeret.

Figures



FIGURE 105
Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu

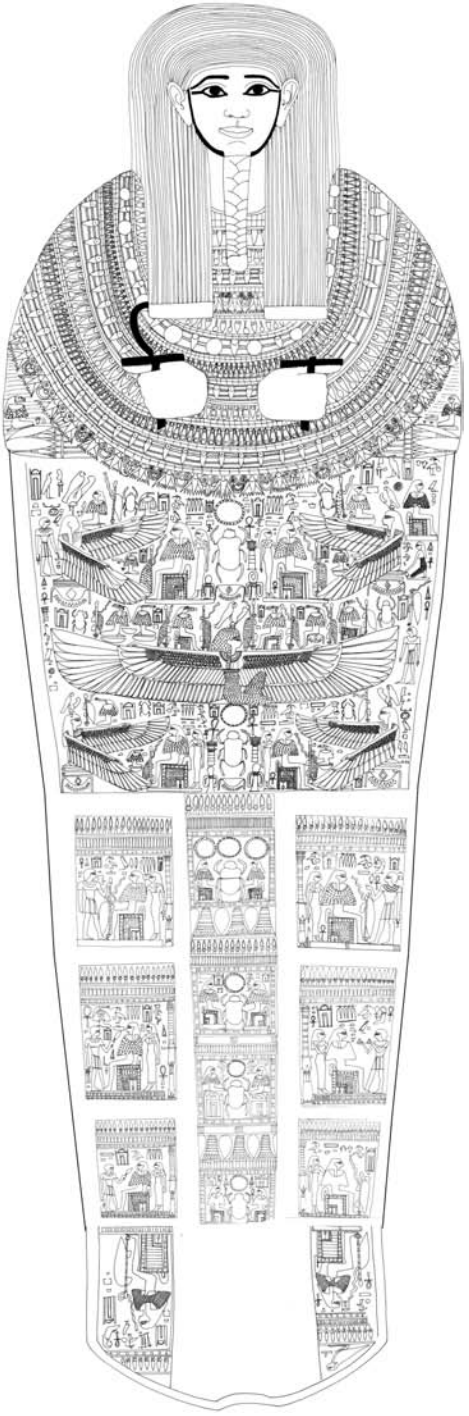


FIGURE 106
Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu



FIGURE 107 Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Headboard and upper section

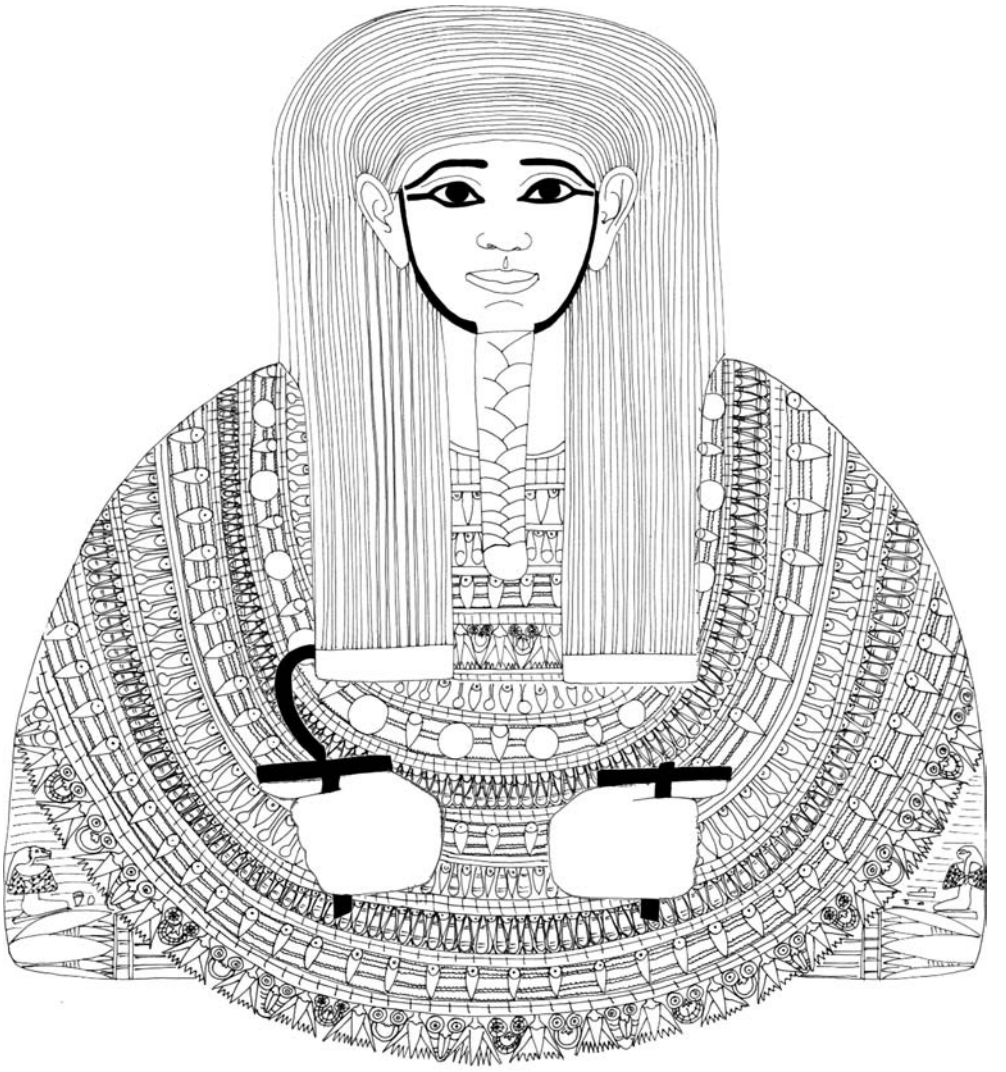


FIGURE 108 Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Headboard and upper section



FIGURE 109 Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Central section

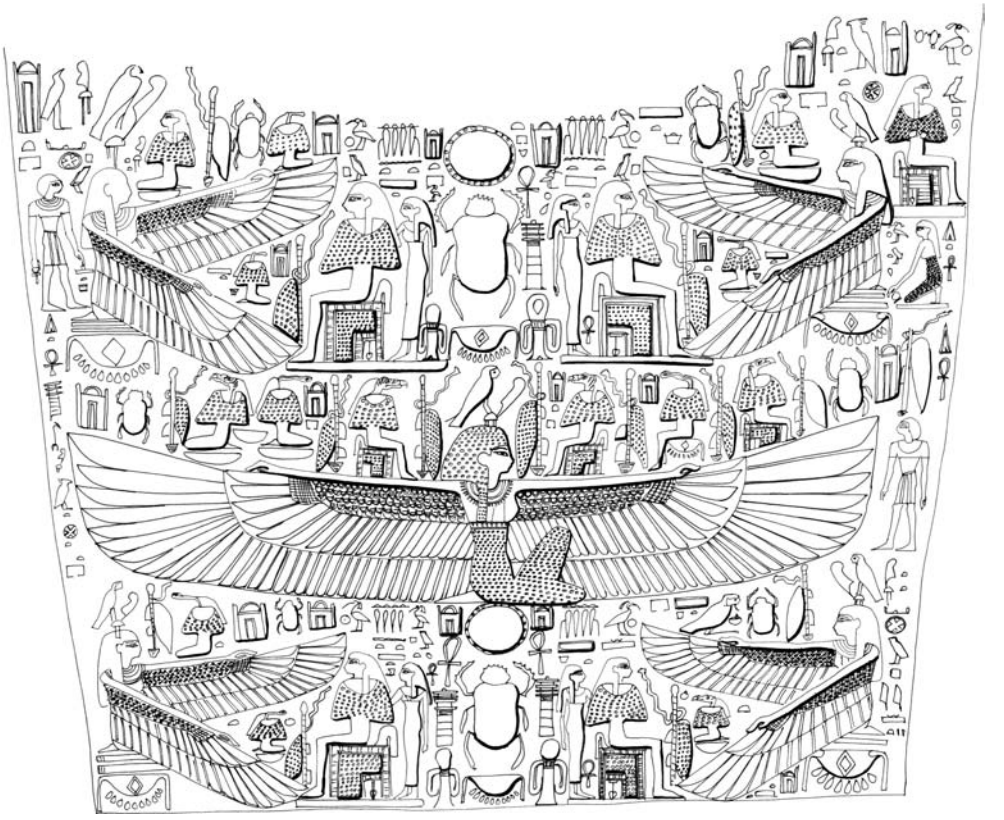


FIGURE 110 Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Central section



FIGURE 111 Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Lower section

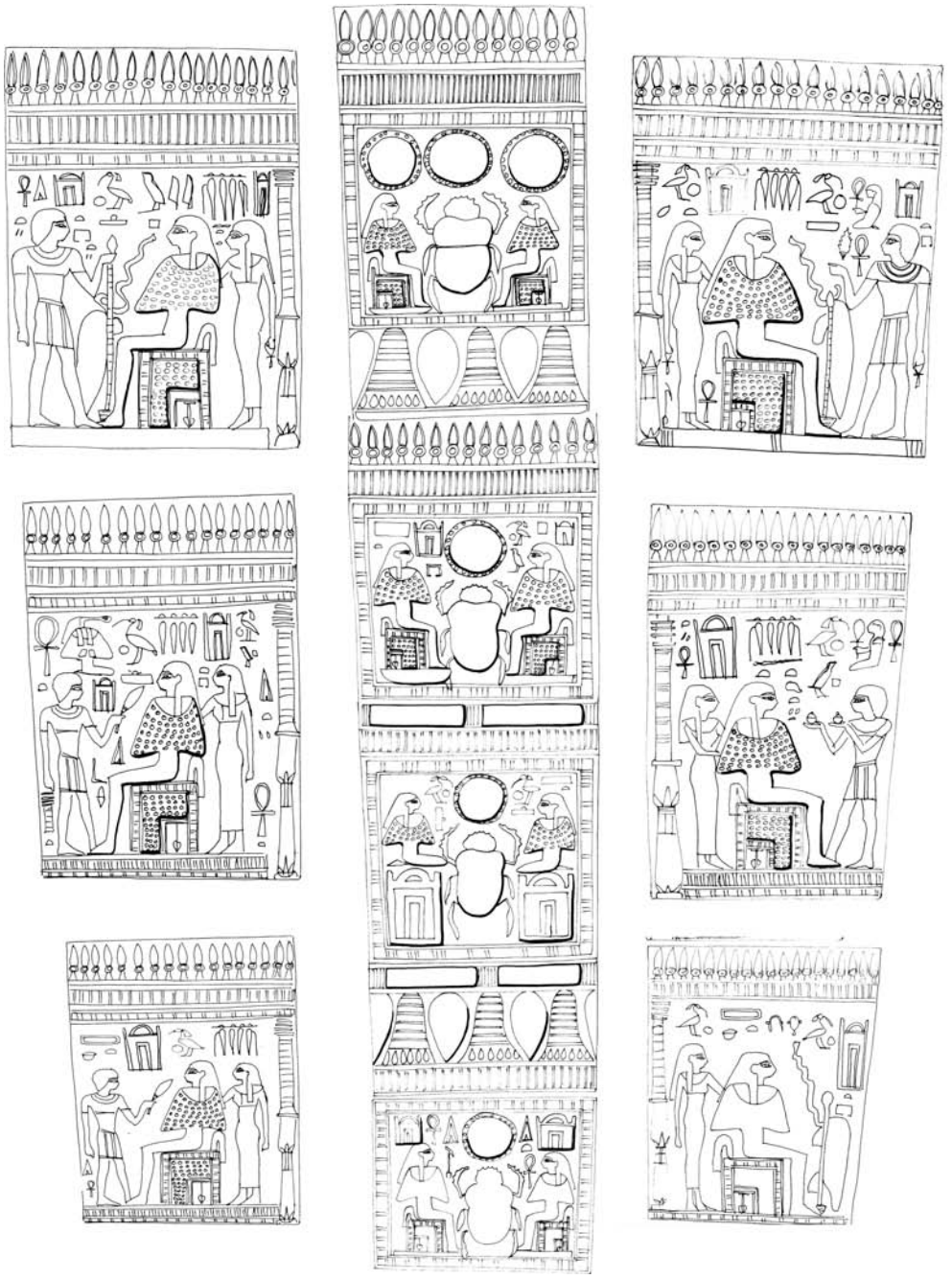


FIGURE 112 Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Lower section



FIGURE 113 Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Footboard

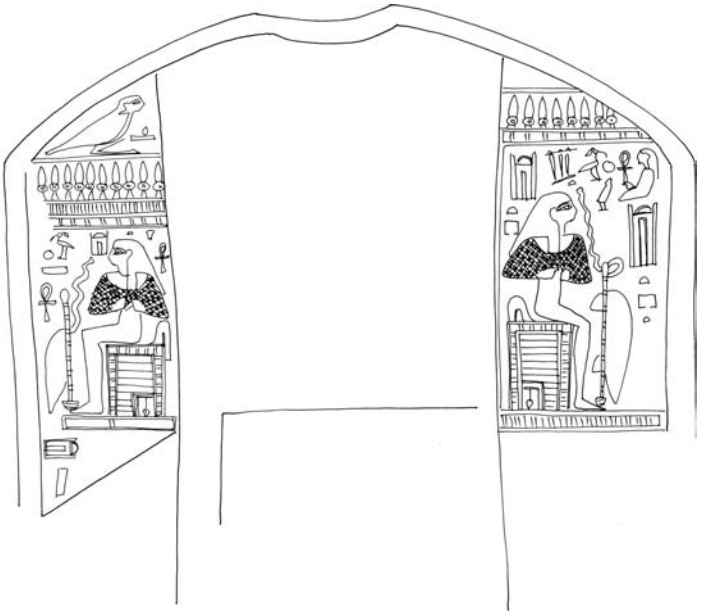


FIGURE 114 Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Footboard

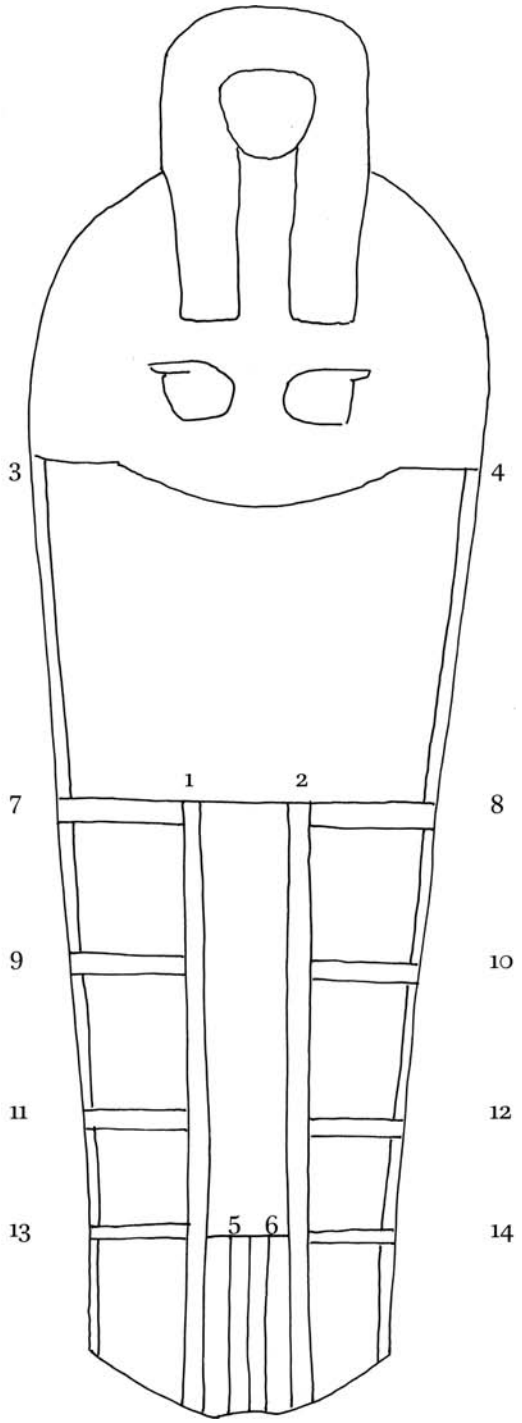
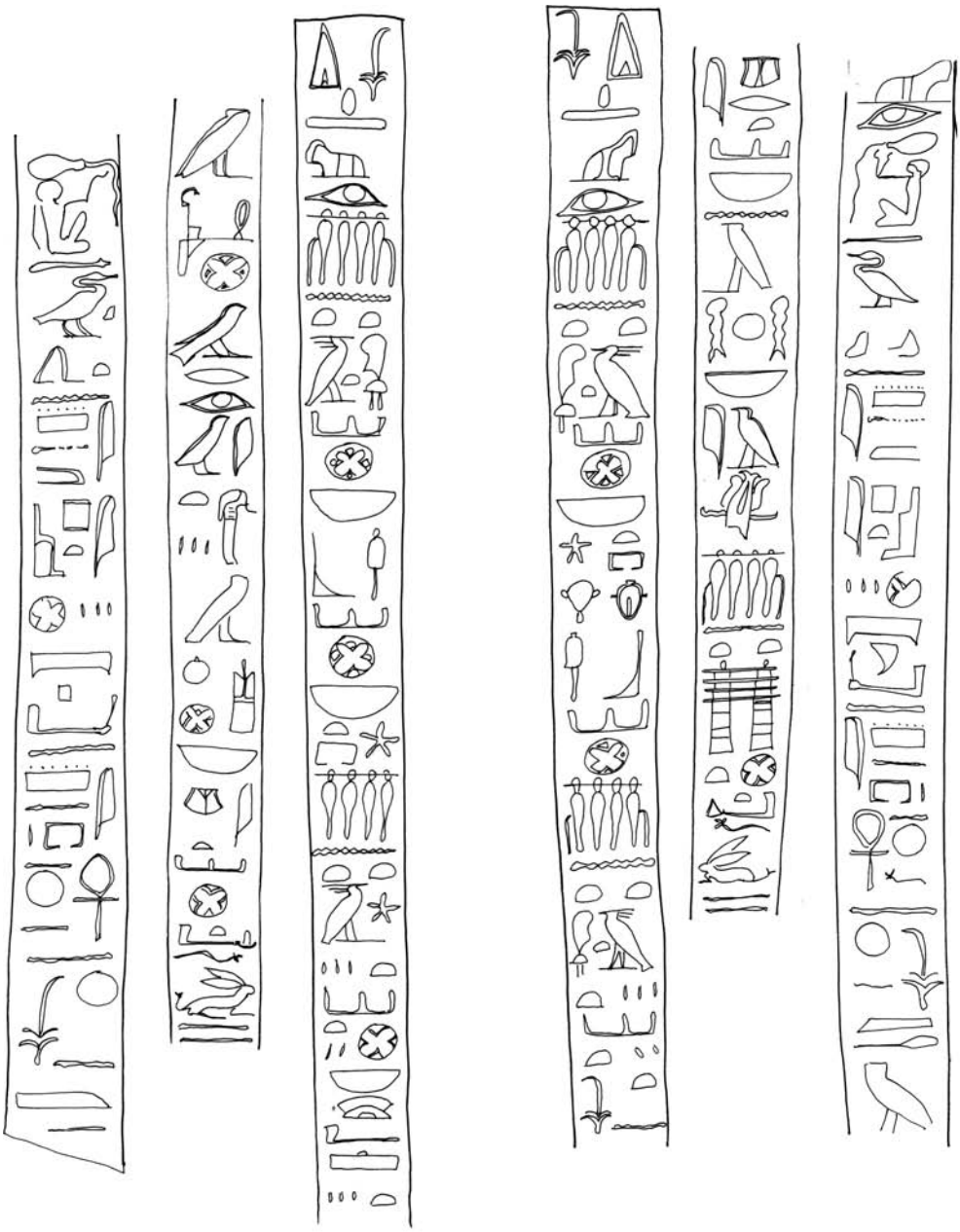


FIGURE 115
Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu.
Inscriptions



1 2

FIGURE 116 Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions 1–2

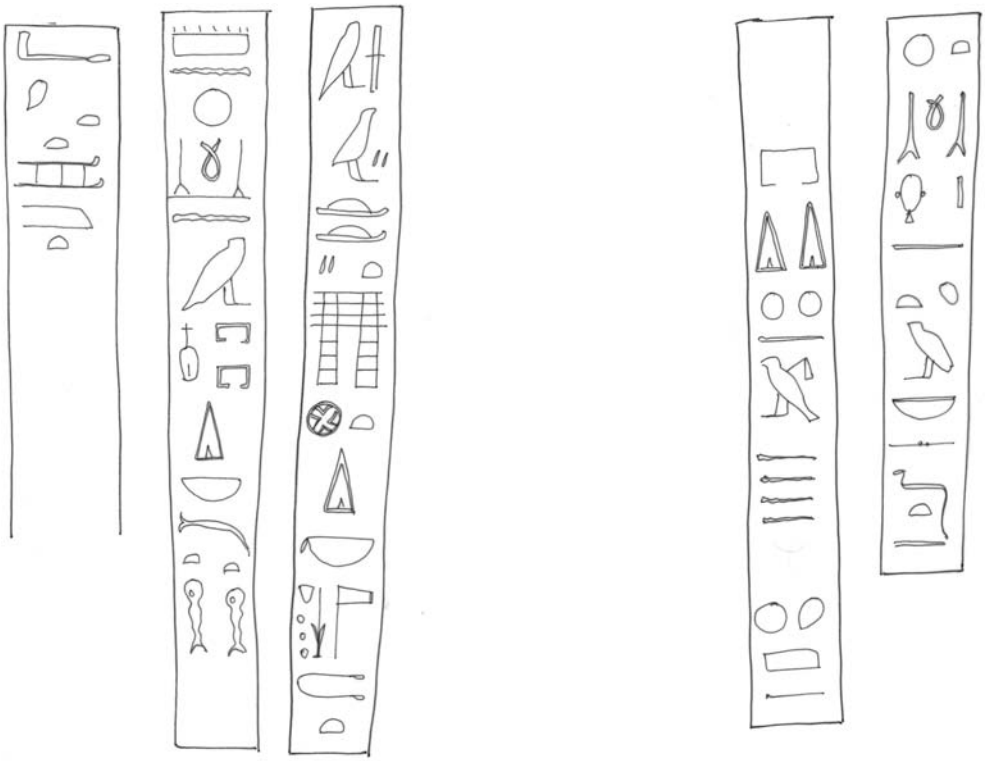


FIGURE 117 Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions 3–4

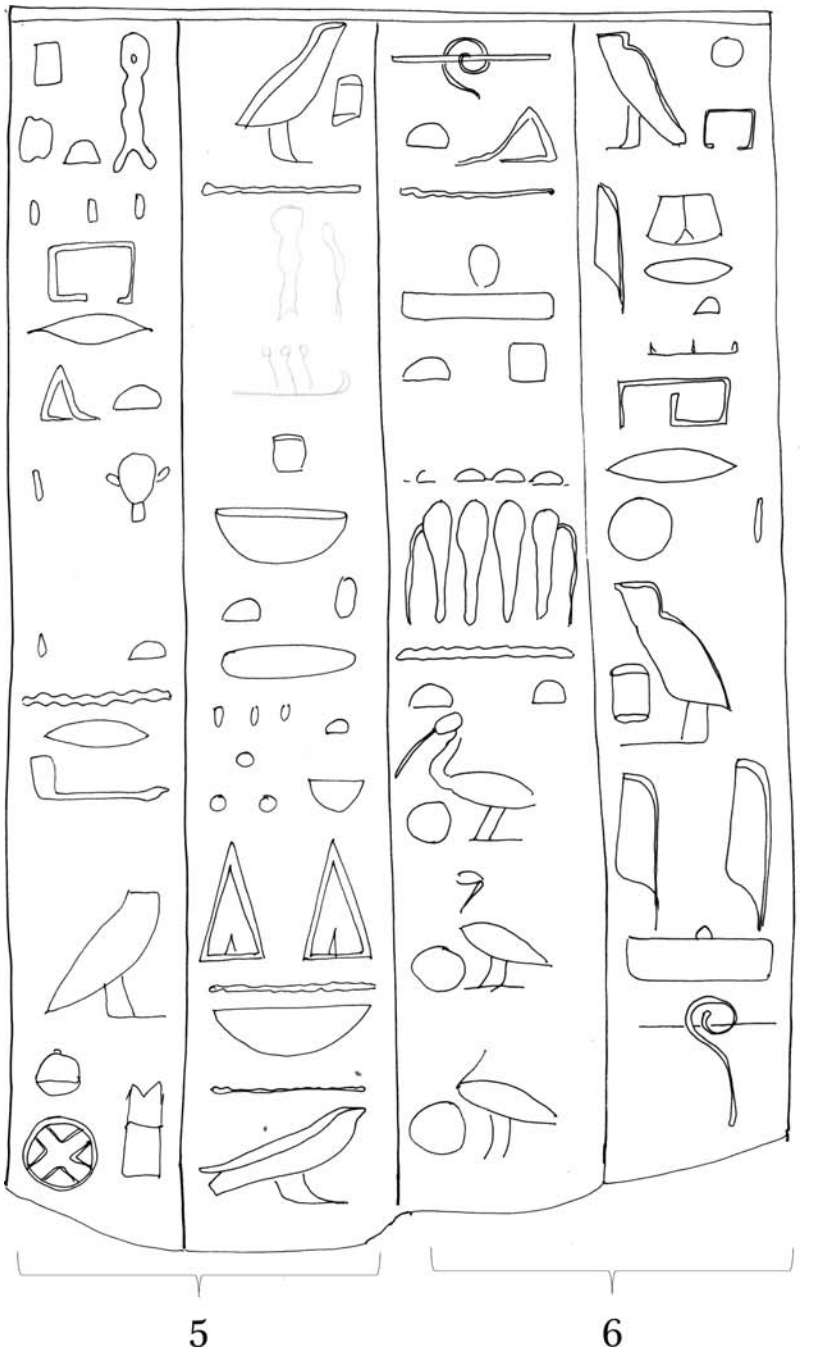


FIGURE 118 Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions 5–6

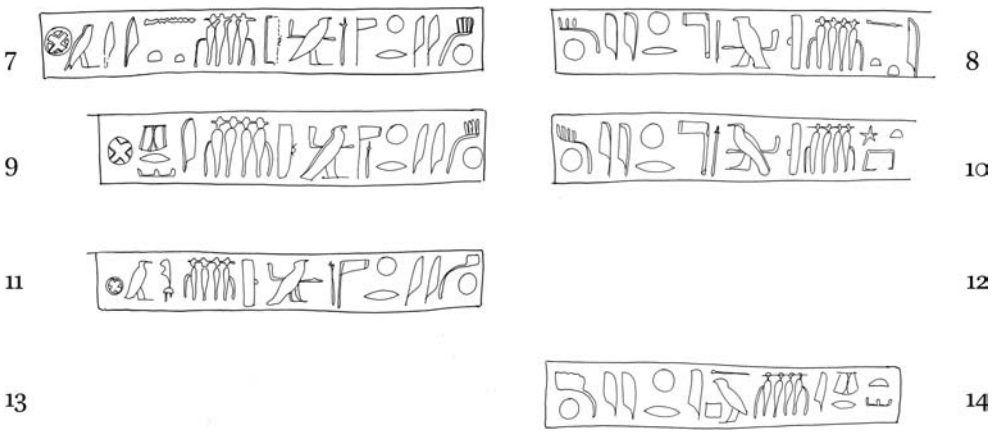


FIGURE 119 Inner lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions 7–16

10 Inner Box (Figures 120–148)

Inventory number: 3910 (AE 110).
Length: 185 cm.
Wood, paste, paint and varnish.
The painted decoration is well preserved, with exception of the headboard, which is severely eroded on the exterior wall. The footboard remained undecorated on the exterior.
The varnish was abundantly applied, especially over the hieroglyphs and the main figures. The headboard does not seem to have been varnish at all.
The craftsmanship of the object is excellent. The long sides are composed of single planks, carved to suggest the curves of the human silhouette. The floorboard assembles a wider number of planks, some of them very small, but the joints are so well adjusted that most of them are barely visible. However, at least one of these wooden pieces collapsed in the lower half of the floorboard, probably resulting from a bad handling.
The quality of the carpentry work assured the structural stability required for the good preservation of the painted decoration.
The thicknesses are stepped and painted in yellow. Eight mortises had been carved along the edge to hold the wooden tenons. The number 3910 is outlined in black on the thickness (proper right side).

Iconography (*Exterior*)

With exception of the footboard, the upper edge of the box is decorated with a band of hieroglyphic inscriptions and a block frieze (Figures 120–146).

The vignettes are entirely bounded within two longitudinal black bands. There are no columns of inscriptions bounding the vignettes: they are simply delimited by thin vertical lines outlined in black.

The vignettes show countless depictions of the deceased, together with a myriad of gods and goddesses. Although the name of the deceased is never mentioned, he is always depicted in the same way along the walls of the box: he is red-skinned, wears a shirt (green and blue), a tight green kilt and a collar with yellow and black bands. He wears a distinctive short wig. The male gods are red-skinned, but they have long hair and wear a green corslet suspended by two straps. The goddesses are yellow-skinned, they have long hair and are clad in a tight beaded dress.

Headboard

The headboard is composed of a tripartite panel. In the centre, the **Vignette 1** is severely damaged, and it is only preserved on the edges (Figure 121). The vestiges left in situ, show that the deceased was depicted on both sides, flanking

a central feature which is now completely lost. The upper area of the vignette was seemingly adorned with a frieze of symbols, such as *djed*, *was*, and *neb*.

On the left side, the **Vignette 2** shows the deceased being escorted by a goddess into the presence of a divine couple (Figure 122). The male god holds a long serpent, who raises its head to reach the top of the scene. Alongside its body, several hieroglyphs are featured suggesting the reading "Giving life, dominion and stability". Moreover, two texts flank the serpent.

Inscription A (Figure 123)
ḏd mḏw ỉn ꜣḫw pwy ỉỉ m ḥtp nṯr bꜣ pw m ḫr(t)-nṯr

Words to be spoken by these *akhw*: come in peace, this divine *ba*, in the necropolis.

Inscription B (Figure 123)
ḏd mḏw ỉn wʿb ḫrp ỉmn-pr ʿnḫ(.f)-n-ḫnsw mꜣʿ-ḫrw n ꜣḫw pwy dỉ.k (?) r ḫnw dwꜣt mꜣꜣ

Words to be spoken by the *wab*-priest, he who is at the head of the Temple of Amun, Ankhefkhonsu, the justified one, to these *akhw*, so that may be given (passage?) to the interior of the duat and (he may) see.

On the right side, the **Vignette 3** shows the deceased with the *imi-wt* totem at his feet presenting two cups before a goddess and a snake-headed god holding a long serpent, who raises its head to reach the top of the scene (Figure 122).[20] Along the serpent's body, several hieroglyphs were featured suggesting the reading "Giving life, stability, and dominion." Small label inscriptions figure aside these figures. Next to the deceased: "Before Anubis, lord of the necropolis". Next to the god: "Giving life, and dominion." Next to the goddess: "Giving all life, stability, and dominion" and "akhu". The area above is entirely inscribed with two inscriptions flanking the serpent:

Inscription A (Figure 123)
ḏd mḏw ỉn Wsỉr wʿb ʿꜣ ʿḳ n ỉmn m ỉpt-swt ḫrp ỉmn-pr ʿnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw mꜣʿ-ḫrw

Words to be spoken by the Osiris, *wab*-priest, having free entry to Amun in Ipet-Sut, he who is at the head of the Temple of Amun, Ankhefenkhonsu, the justified one.

20 The motif of the serpent grasped by a netherworld god is probably borrowed from the royal composition of the Book of the Amduat.

Inscription B (Figure 123)
ḏd mdw ỉn ȝḫw pwy n ȝḫw ỉȝk (?) pwy m tȝ r dwȝt sšt.k sbȝw ʿȝw n dwȝt

Words to be spoken by these *akhw* to these *akhw* (which are) in the land of the duat, so that you keep mysterious the great portals of the duat.

Left Side

The left side displays two vignettes (Vignettes 4 and 5), each one occupying the upper and lower section of the box, respectively.

The **Vignette 4** is divided in two registers (Figure 124). On the upper register a sacred barque is pulled over by four gods who march along the riverbank.[21] The divine crew is composed of six male gods. The prow and stern of the barque are shaped as papyrus stalks.

In the lower register twelve gods are featured, each one holding a paddle on the shoulders.[22] Amongst them, the deceased is figured twice. Between each figure a short label inscription is added.

The area above is inscribed with short columns of text:

Inscription A (Figure 125)
ḏd mdw ỉn ȝḫw ʿȝ pwy n ỉmntyw nʿt nšmt nty (sic, redundant) *pḫr.s dwȝt mȝȝ.tn ḥtpw m st.sn ʿḳ nšmt r štȝ (?) mȝȝ nt* (sic, read*: tn*) *ỉrww šḫmw nw (?) ḥtptyw*

Words spoken by these great *akhw* to the Westerners: when the *neshmet*-barque travels, while he traverses the duat you see the dead in their place. When the *neshmet*-barque enters the secret (places?) you will see the secret forms, (and) the powerful ones, of (?) those who went to rest (?).

Inscription B (Figure 125)
ỉHhy ȝḫw pwy nw dwȝt sn sḳd nšmt pwy m mw pwy ś(?)ȝ n ỉmntyw.sn ḫnww ỉḳr pwy nw duȝt(.s)n dỉ nʿ(t) nšmt r st(.s?)

21 For similar compositions see: Anonymous outer coffin (A.131, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Inv. nº E.5879) in Delvaux, Therasse 2016, 105; Anonymous outer coffin (A.60, Museo Egizio in Florence, 8523) in Zarli, Sousa 2018, 270; Coffin of Ankhefenkhonsu (A.3, Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid, Inv. nº 18256) in Pérez-Die 2021, 334; Anonymous inner coffin (A.135, Egyptian Museum in Cairo, CG 6127).

22 The motif of the sacred paddlers is borrowed from the royal composition of the Book of the Amduat featuring the nightly journey of the sun barque (Ninth Hour). See Hornung, 1999, 50.

Rejoice! These *akhw* of their duat, (when) this *neshmet*-barque travels in this great (?) water of their Westerners, these excellent sailors of their duat cause the *neshmet*-barque to travel to the/(its?) Place.

The **Vignette 5** shows a long iconographic sequence where the deceased is successively introduced to several deities (Figure 126).[23] In this process, at least seven different scenes can be detected. In the first scene the deceased is escorted by two male deities (Figure 128). The one at the front takes the deceased by the hand, while the other at the back supports him with his hand (the *imi-wt* totem stands at his feet).

In the second scene, the deceased meets a goddess who grasps his wrist and inflates the *ankh*-sign to his nose (Figure 128). A male deity witnesses this moment.

In the third scene, a divine couple walks hand in hand, facing each other.

In the fourth scene, the deceased is escorted by another goddess (the *imi-wt* totem stands at her feet) who leads him before a male deity (Figure 129). The god takes the deceased by the hand and inflates the breath of life to his nose.

In the fifth scene, the deceased is gently embraced by a male deity (Figure 129).

In the sixth scene, the deceased is escorted by a god before the presence of another male deity, who takes the deceased by the hand (Figure 129).

In the seventh and final scene, the deceased is escorted by a goddess (the *imi-wt* totem stands at her feet) to the presence of a god, who embraces the deceased.

Variations of the label inscription "Giving life, stability and dominion" are regularly displayed between the figures. Small captions reading "Akhw" are outlined in red before each deity, but never in relation to the deceased.

The area above is fully inscribed with two inscriptions (Inscription 1 and 2) occupying 29 and 21 columns respectively.

Inscription A (Figure 127)

spr pwy ỉn ȝḫw pwy r ḫnw r mȝȝ nṯrw ʿȝw pwy m ḫrt-nṯr
dỉdỉ n.k t, ḥnḳt sn-nṯr pwy pr ḥr ḫȝwt n Rʿ m ʾIwnw m wdnw šsp.k t ḥnḳt
dỉdỉ n.k swr.k ḥr ḳbbw(*t*) *ỉtrw šrt.k*[sic] *šsp.f dỉdỉ n.f sḫm mnty.k*
snt ʿȝwy nw dwȝt

23 This type of program is seldom found, normally associated with coffins of a later dating: Outer coffin of Tahuti (A.32, British Museum, JE 29720), Outer coffin of Dirpu (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29669).

nṯr bꜣ.k pwy m ḫrt-nṯr ꜣbw.k
n nṯrw ꜥꜣw pw n ỉmntyw
dỉdỉ ḥpr n bꜣ ỉḳr mw n r ḫḫ mnḫt šs ḥr ḫꜣt pw

This arrival of/by this *akhw* at the interior/abode in order to see these great gods in the necropolis. May be given to you bread, beer, this incense which comes forth from the offering table of Re in Heliopolis, consisting of offerings; may you take/receive bread and beer. May be given to you that you may drink from the cool water of the river. Your nose [sic!]. May he take/receive, (and) may be given to him power over your legs, and the opening of the two door(-wing)s of the duat. May be divine this *ba* of yours in the necropolis, your wish for/on behalf of these great gods of the Westerners, who give/make existence to an excellent *ba*, water to the mouth (and) to the throat, and cloth and alabaster upon this corpse.

Inscription B (Figure 127)
ḏd mdw ỉn ꜣḫw pwy n ꜣḫw ỉw.k ỉy m tꜣ sn.k
šbḫ(t) ꜥꜣ(t) pwy n dwꜣt
mꜣꜣ.k ỉrw ꜥ(ꜣ)w pwy
n(sic) *štꜣ(w), sḫmw pwy nw ḥtpw*
pḫr ỉrkfꜥ
m kfꜣw mꜣꜣ.k st pwy m ḫprw ꜥꜣ
dỉ.tw ꜣḫ ꜣḫw.k pwy m ḫrt-nṯr šsp tw.k ỉmntyw pwy m ḥtp pr.k
ꜥḳ.k m ḫnw dwꜣt
mꜣꜣ.k ỉtn.k m wbn.f m ḥtp pwy m mꜣnu
šsp(.*k*) *ḥtp pwy, mw ḥr.* (....)

Words to be spoken by this *akhw* to the *akhw*, you have come from the earth: (that) you may pass these great portals of the duat. So that you may see these great secret shapes/forms, (of) these powerful (ones) (and of) those gone to rest. Turn around, make captures in/among the deprived ones that you may see them (sic) in (?) (a) great transformation(s.) May this *akhw* of yours be given to be *akh* in the necropolis, (so that) you may receive these westerners in peace, when you go out and enter in the interior of the duat so that you may see your Aten in his rising, and in this setting (of his) in Manu/the Western Mountain, you receive these offerings, and water on (...).

Right Side

The right side displays two vignettes, Vignette 6 and 7, each one occupying the upper and lower section of the box, respectively. The layout of these scenes mirrors those arranged on the opposite side.

The **Vignette 6** is divided in two registers (Figure 130). On the upper register a sacred barque is pulled over by five gods who walk along the riverbank. The divine crew is composed by the deceased, which is depicted at the stern, four male gods, and one goddess, who stands on the prow wearing the monogram of Hathor on her head (falcon resting over the West-sign). The goddess raises her hand, as if summoning the gods standing on the riverbank.

Between each figure figures a hieroglyphic sign: *ankh*, *djed*, or *was*.

In the lower register thirteen male gods are featured, each one holding a paddle. In this group, three different gangs can be distinguished: the first and the last one have four members, while the second has five individuals. The last figure of each gang is the deceased. The most significant difference between these groups lies on the way their members carry (or not) the paddle. In the first gang, the gods do not hold a paddle, showing their arms alongside the body. In the second gang, the gods hold a paddle leaning down, while in the third gang, the paddle is carried over the shoulder.

The area above each register is inscribed with short columns of text.

In the first register, the Inscription A is displayed in a retrograde manner.

Inscription A (Figure 131)

ḏd mdw ỉn stꜣw ꜣḫw ꜥꜣ(w) n ỉmntyw nꜥt wỉꜣỉ (sic).*tn pwy pḫr.f ḏꜣt.f mw pw ꜥꜣ n mꜣnw dỉ.f ḥr.f r ỉmntt nfr*(*t*) *dwꜣỉ.f ỉmntyw m st.sn*

Words to be spoken by the draggers, the great *akhw* of the west(erners?), the traveling of this barque of yours, when it traverses the duat, its crossing this great water and the Manu/the Western Mountain, his giving his face to the Beautiful West, his praising the West(erners) in their place (...).

Similarly, in the second register the inscription is also arranged in a retrograde manner.

Inscription B (Figure 131)

ḏd mdw ỉn ꜣḫw pwy m ỉgrt ḫnty štꜣ⸗štyt(*?*) *dwꜣt ḫnty štꜣ⸗štyt*(*?*) *m ỉgrt sn ḫnw nšm*(*t*) *pw*(*y*) *n ꜣḫw ḥr mw pwy ꜥꜣ n ỉmntt dwꜣt*

Words to be spoken by these *akhw* in the secret Igeret, to the foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine(?) of (?) the duat, the foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine (?) in their

Igeret (when) this *neshemet*-barque rows for the *akhw*, on this great water of the West and … the duat.

The **Vignette 7** shows a long sequence where the deceased is successively introduced to several deities (Figure 132). In this process, seven different scenes can be detected. In the first scene the deceased is escorted by two male deities (Figure 134). The one at the front takes the deceased by the hand, while the other at the back supports him with his hand (the *imi-wt* totem stands at his feet).

In the second scene, the deceased meets a goddess who grasps his wrist and inflates the breath of life into his nose (Figure 134). A male deity witnesses this moment.

In the third scene the deceased is escorted by a male deity into the presence of a god, who inflates life into his nose (Figures 134/136). Between them figures the inscription: "Giving life, to the mysterious lord, the foremost".

In the fourth scene, the deceased is tenderly embraced by a goddess (Figure 134). The *imi-wt* totem stands at her feet.

In the fifth scene, the deceased is taken by the hand by two gods (Figure 135), and the one before him inflates life into his nose.

In the sixth scene, the deceased is tightly embraced by a goddess (Figure 135). The deceased grasps a bunch of three *ankh*-signs.

In the seventh scene the deceased meets a divine couple (Figure 135). The god takes him by the hand.

Variations of the label inscription "Giving life, stability and dominion" are regularly displayed between the figures. Next to the first scene, a column of these signs is headed by liminal elements: an enthroned mummiform god grasping the *ankh*-sign (the only mummiform god featured on the exterior walls of the box) and the *shetyt*-shrine. Moreover, a column of *shetyt*-shrines bounds the two inscriptions.

Small captions reading "Akhw" are regularly outlined in red before each deity.

The area above is fully inscribed with two inscriptions occupying 28 and 19 columns respectively. The Inscription A is arranged in a retrograde manner.

Inscription A (Figure 133)

ḏd mdw ỉn ȝḫw pwy wʿb hry tȝyw mḏȝt n ỉmn-Rʿ nsw nṯrw ʿnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw mȝʿ-ḫrw ḫr nṯr ʿȝ n Wsỉr

ỉhhy ḫnty ỉmntyw Wsỉr nb ȝbḏw ḥḳȝ ỉgrt nsw dwȝt ỉty n R-stȝw wr ỉrw ḫnty dwȝt ʿȝ m dwȝt nb nrỉ ḫnty hḳȝ-ʿnḏ sr ỉmntyw nb ỉ(sic)*ȝtf ḫnty ḏdw ʿȝ ḫʿw m ḥwt-ʿȝ*(*t*) *ỉhhy hnw.n.k ỉmy dwȝt ỉr.n.k ỉmntyw ỉȝw n ḥr.k nfr*

m ksw n šfyt tw(sic).*k*

šsp.k n.w ꜥ3bt ꜥ3t pwy
sḏmw.k ỉmy(w) …

Words to be spoken by this *akh*(*w*), the *wab*-priest, chief of the sculptors of Amun-Re, the king of the gods, Ankhefenkhonsu, the justified one near the great god, to Osiris: "Rejoice! Foremost of the Westerners, Osiris, the lord of Abydos, sovereign of Igeret, king of the duat, sovereign of Ro-setau, the one great of forms, foremost of the duat, the great one in the duat, lord of fear, the foremost of the 13th Upper Egyptian nome, magistrate of the Westerners, lord of the *atef*-crown, the foremost of Djedu/Busiris, the great one of appearances in the temple/palace. Rejoice! Praise to you who is in the duat, the one who has made for you the West(erners?), adoration to your beautiful face with bowings because of your respect.
(May) you receive for them this great offering, (that) you may hear th(os)e who are/is in (the duat)".

Inscription B (Figure 133)
ḏd mdw ỉn 3ḫw pwy ḫnty šṯyt ꜥ3t m ḫnw ỉgrt ỉy m ḥtp 3ḫw pwy ỉy.k m t3- sn.k. sb3w ꜥ3w pwy r ḫnw dw3t M333.k nṯr ꜥ3 m st-ššt(3), m333.k sḫmw ꜥ3w pwy nw ḥtpw dỉ.tw.n.k ḫt-nb pr m-b3ḥ.w m ḥbw pwy n ỉmntyw

Words spoken by this *akhw*, the foremost of the great *shetyt*-shrine, in the interior of Igeret: "Come in peace, this *akh*. You have come from the earth (that) you may pass these great portals at/into the interior of the duat, (that) you may see the great god who is in the secret place, (that) you may see these great powerful ones of (?)those who went to rest. May be given to you all things that go forth before them n/on these festivals of the West(erners)".

Footboard
Undecorated (Figure 137).

***Iconography* (*Interior*)**
The interior of the box is profusely decorated, with the motifs depicted against a reddish background (Figure 138). Some motifs are selectively coated with varnish.

Headboard

The panel is decorated with a large *ba*-bird outstretching its wings towards both sides of the box (Figure 139). The bird is depicted as flying over the head of the mummy. The reddish human head of the bird is featured frontally. The painting technique is good, with the details of the wings finely executed. The longer feathers are black, while the shorter ones are painted alternately blue and green, with the upper area of the wing painted in white. The body of the bird and the inner sections of the wings are painted in blue, with the details of the feathers outlined in white. The long tail and the goatee are painted in black. The result is a vivid, beautifully designed multicoloured composition.

On both sides, below the wings, the word "go forth" is detected, as well as the figure of a squatted vulture-headed mummiform god grasping a lizard (right side) or an *ankh*-sign (left side).

Sides

The sides are arranged in four registers (centrifugally oriented). The registers are bounded by transversal starry bands showing two rows of stars outlined in white against a blue background. On both sides, the composition is symmetrical (Figures 140–141).

The first register presents two enthroned mummiform gods. The outermost is vulture-headed and grasps the twisted body of a serpent. The innermost god is donkey-headed and holds a knife. They both wear large collars and mummy braces. The thrones are feathered and painted with differently coloured bands: green, blue and red, the innermost one showing a panel with the *sema-taui* motif.[24] The thrones are bounded by block-friezes.

Above, figures the inscription: "The foremost of the mysterious place".

The second register presents two enthroned mummiform gods. They both have long hair and wear large collars and mummy braces. The absence of curled beards suggests that they are goddesses. The outermost deity grasps the twisted body of a serpent. The innermost god holds a knife. The thrones are decorated as described above in the first register. Above their heads figures the inscription: "In the duat".

The third register presents two standing mummiform gods. The outermost deity is snake-headed, while the innermost is fully human, probably a goddess.

24 On the left side, the panel of the outermost throne is included.

They both have long hair and wear large collars and mummy braces. Each one is provided with a libation stand.

Next to the edge figures the inscription: "The foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine".

The fourth register presents two standing mummiform gods. The outermost deity is double-snake-headed, while the innermost is flame-headed. They both wear mummy braces. Each one is provided with a libation stand. Exceptionally, these gods stand on a transversal black band that runs along the floorboard and both sides of the box.

Floorboard

The floorboard displays four main registers clearly defined (Figure 145).

The first register displays two male *ba*-birds facing each other resting below the vaulted starry sky (Figure 142). Hieroglyphs allude to the duat and Nut.

The second register is the largest, showing a *djed*-pillar standing on a *nebu*-sign (Figure 143). The sacred column wears a *hem-hem* crown composed of three *atef*-crowns surmounted by mandrakes. The crown includes three solar disks set on ram's horns from where two serpents rise up.

The upper part of the *djed*-pillar is alternatingly painted in green and black. The column is decorated with an elaborated feathered pattern, showing two long wings wrapped around the pillar. Long feathers are located at the base of the column forming a bird's tail. This feathered layout suggests the body of a falcon wrapped in its own wings.

The pillar is flanked by secondary motifs arranged in several registers. Columns of hieroglyphic signs state: "In the duat". In the first sub-register two enthroned mummiform goddesses hold the *ankh*-sign. They wear long hair, with the tresses outlined in white, and broad collars. The mummiform body is exceptionally painted in blue and decorated with stars drawn in white. The thrones are feathered, showing the *sema-taui* motif. The thrones are bounded with block-friezes, resting over starry bands.

In the second sub-register two enthroned vulture-headed mummiform gods grasp a twisting cobra.

The third sub-register shows a hieroglyphic composition reading "Giving life, stability and dominion". Under the *nebu*-sign figures the word "The Place" or "The Throne".

A starry band bounds the second from the third register.

The third register consists in a centripetal composition showing two enthroned donkey-headed mummiform gods facing each other (Figure 144). On the right, the god grasps a lizard, while on the left, the god grasps a coiled cobra. Between them stands the *imi-wt* totem. The feathered thrones rest on the same starry band.

The fourth register shows a centrifugal composition featuring two standing mummiform gods flanking a small *djed*-pillar (Figure 144). On the right, the god is snake-headed, while on the left side he is vulture-headed. Their bodies are painted in white, and they wear a funerary collar and red mummy braces. An *imi-wt* totem stands at their feet. On the right side, hieroglyphs read "Giving life".

Footboard

It is uniformly painted in red.

Inscriptions

Inscription 1 (Figure 147)

ḏd mdw ỉn Wsỉr ḫnty ỉmntyw nbt (sic) *ꜣbḏw*
ḏd mdw ỉn ꜣḫ pw(y) Wsỉr wʿb ʿꜣ ʿḳ n ỉmn m ỉpt-swt ḥry tꜣy-mḏꜣt pr-ỉmn ʿnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw mꜣʿ-ḫrw n Wsỉr ỉhhy ḫnty ỉmntyw Wsỉr nbt (sic) *ꜣbḏw ḥḳꜣ ỉgrt wr ỉmy-r Mꜣnu ỉty mnḫ(t) ḳ(ꜣỉ) ḥḏt nsw nḫt ʿꜣ ḫpš smꜣ sbỉ(t)w pwy nw(?) tꜣ ʿꜣ. ḫʿw ḫnty ḥwt-ʿꜣ(t) nb snḏ m ỉnb ḥḏt nb(t) ꜣtfw ḫnty ḏdw ḥḳꜣ ʿꜣ dwꜣt*

Words to be spoken by Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos. Words to be spoken by this *Akh*, the Osiris, the great *wab*-priest, having free entrance to Amun in Ipet-Sut, the chief of the sculptors of the Temple of Amun, Ankhefenkhonsu, the justified one, to Osiris: "Oh, foremost of the Westerners, Osiris, lord of Abydos, sovereign of Igeret, the great one, overseer of the Western mountain, excellent ruler, high of the *hedjet*-crown, the powerful one, the great one, the strong arm who kills these rebels of the land, great of appearance in glory, foremost of the Palace, lord of fear in Memphis, lord of the *atef*-crown, the foremost of Djedu/Busiris, the great ruler of the duat".

Inscription 2 (Figure 148)
ḏd mdw ỉn Wsỉr ḫnty ỉmntyw nbt (sic) *ꜣbḏw hḳꜣ ỉmntyw*
ḏd mdw ỉn Wsỉr wʿb ʿꜣ ʿḳ n ỉmn m ỉpt-swt ḥry tꜣy mḏꜣt n pr-ỉmn ʿnḫ(.f)-n-ḫnsw mꜣʿ-ḫrw n Rʿ ỉhhy Mk Rʿ wbn.k nfr m pt s.ḥḏ.k tꜣw pwy mrt.k sḳdk pwy pḫr.k dwꜣt m wỉꜣ.k nfr pwy n dỉ.k nʿ.k. wỉꜣ.k ḏꜣ.k m mꜣ(ʿw) nfr nn ṯs pwy n ḳd.k d.k ḥr.k r ỉmntyw sḏm(?).k sṯywt.

Words to be spoken by Osiris, the foremost of the West, lord of Abydos, sovereign of the Westerners.

Words to be spoken by the Osiris, the great *wab*-priest, having free entrance to Amun in Ipet-Sut, the chief of the sculptors of the Temple of Amun, Ankhefenkhonsu, the justified one, to Re: "Hey, look, Re you rise beautifully in the sky, you enlighten these lands, you love, this travelling of yours (when) you traverse the duat in this beautiful barque of yours, because you make that your barque travel, while you cross/ferry with a good breeze, without this sandbank of your going around. May you give your face [=turn your face to] to the Westerners so that you may hear(?)those who are in the *shetyt*-shrines."

Figures



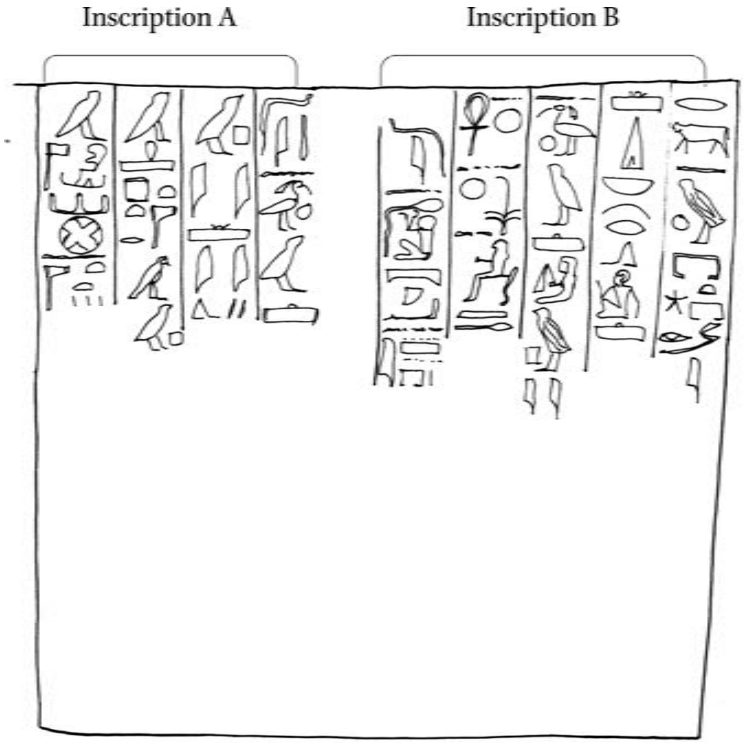
FIGURE 120
Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu



FIGURE 121 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Headboard (Vignette 1)



FIGURE 122 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Headboard. Left panel (Vignette 2) and Right panel (Vignette 3)



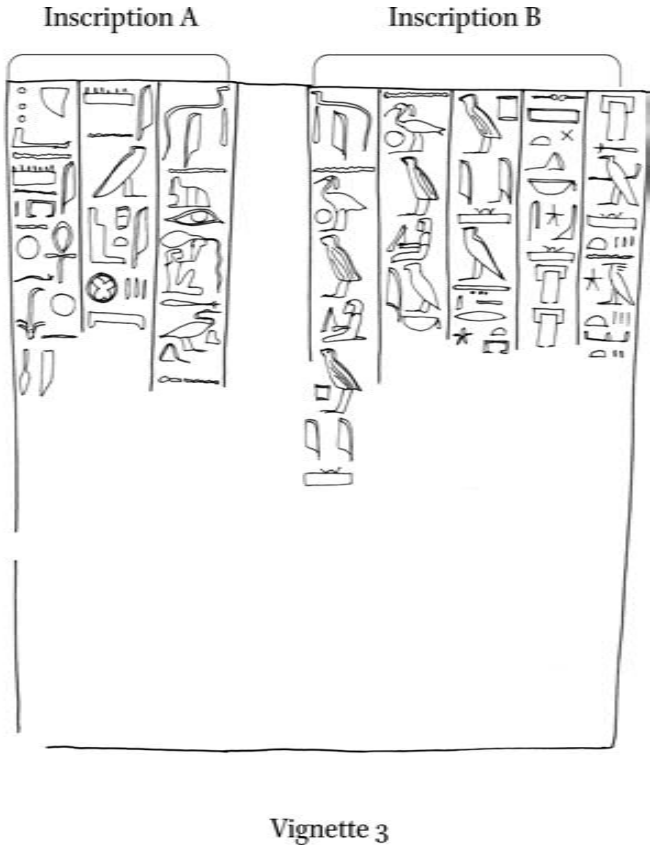


FIGURE 123 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Headboard. Inscriptions

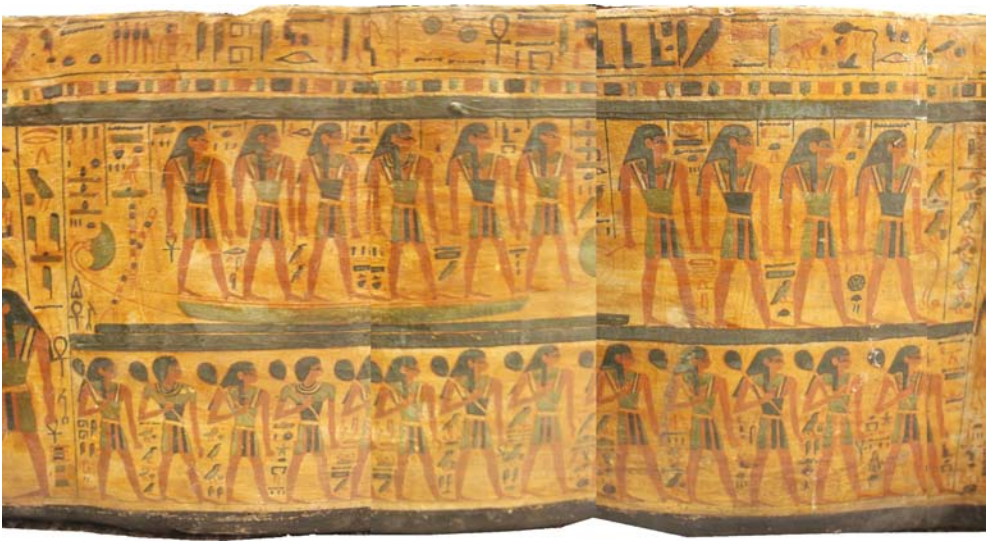


FIGURE 124 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Left side. Upper section (Vignette 4)

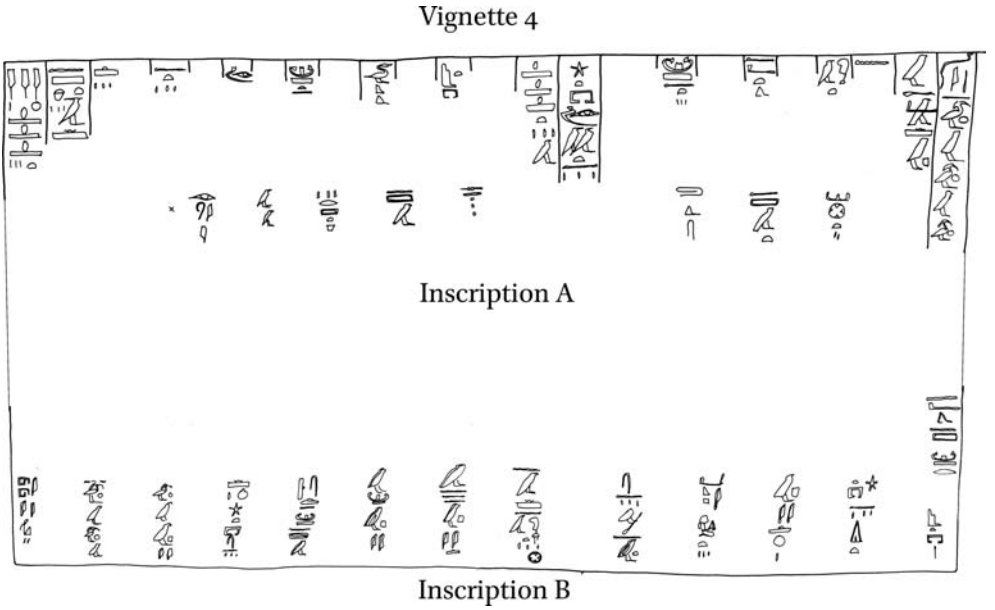


FIGURE 125 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Left side. Upper section (Vignette 4). Inscriptions



FIGURE 126 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Left side (Vignette 5). Lower section

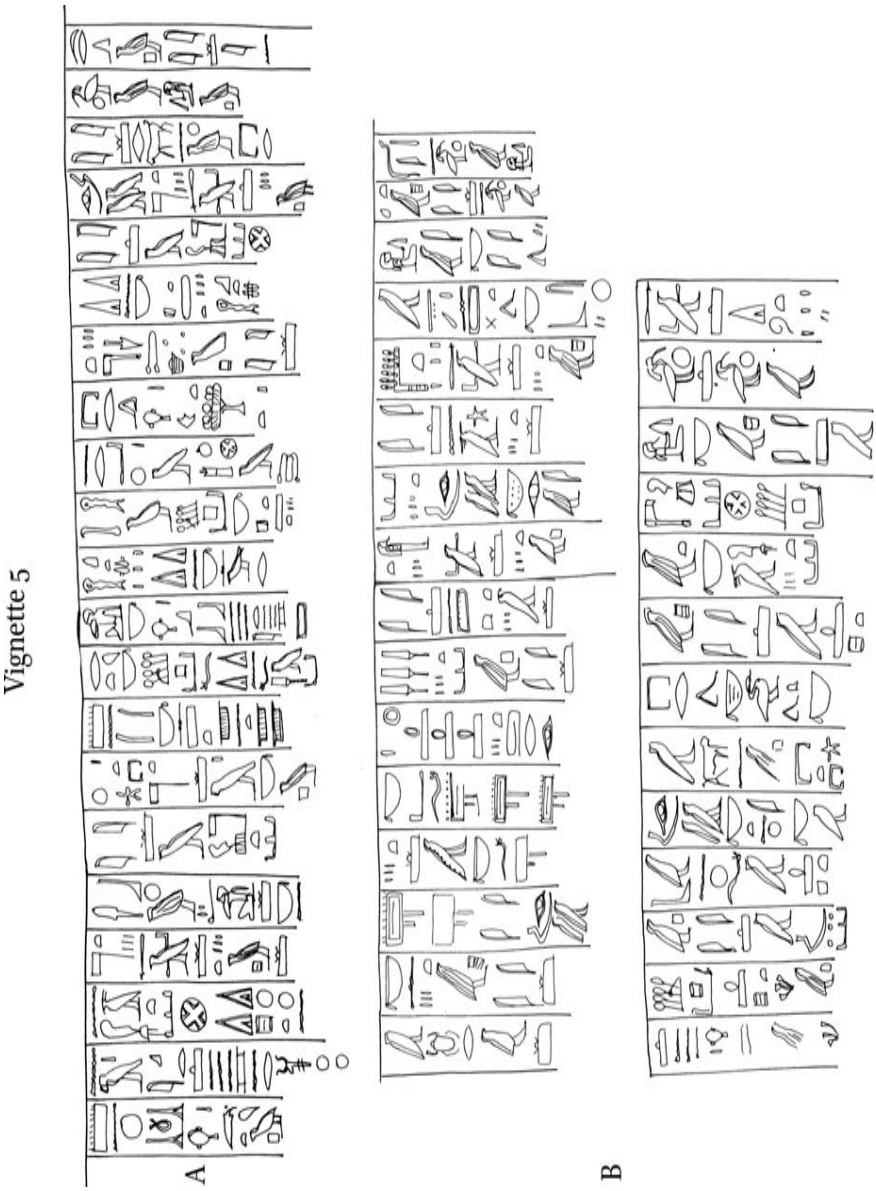


FIGURE 127 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Left side (Vignette 5). Inscriptions



FIGURE 128 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Left side. Lower section. Scenes 1–3

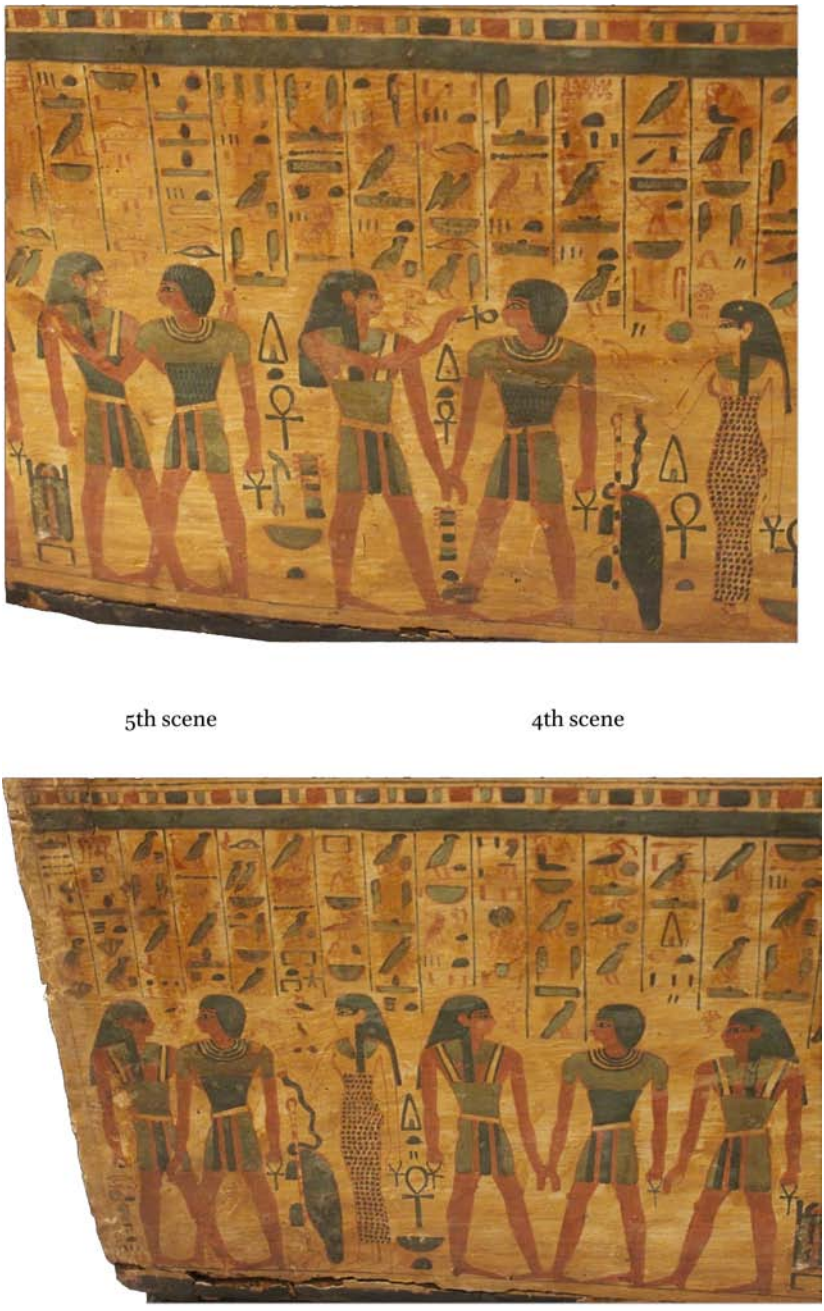


FIGURE 129 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Left side. Lower section. Scenes 4–7



FIGURE 130 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Right side. Upper section (Vignette 6)

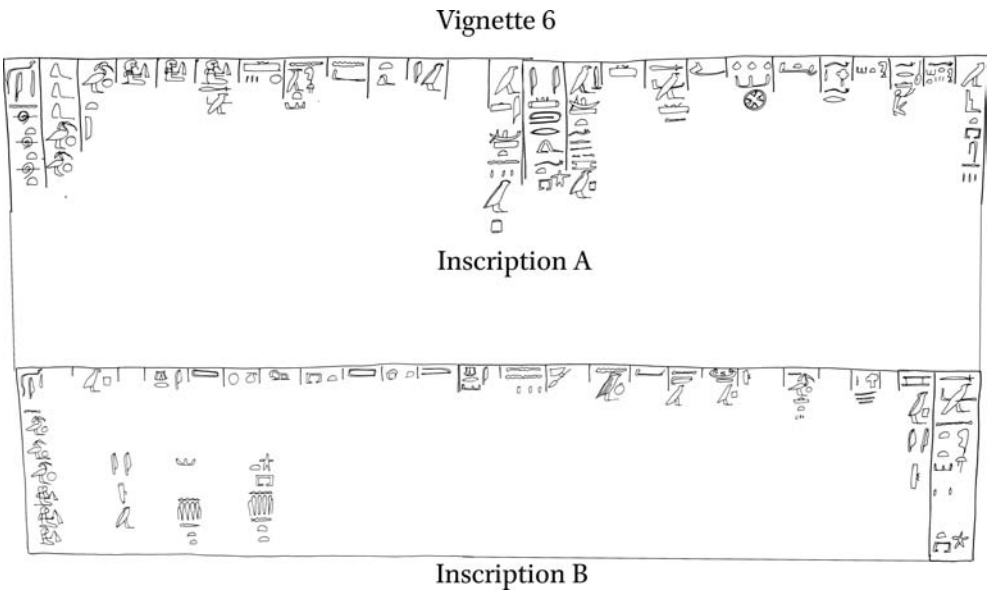


FIGURE 131 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Right side. Upper section (Vignette 6). Inscriptions



FIGURE 132 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Right side. Lower section (Vignette 7)

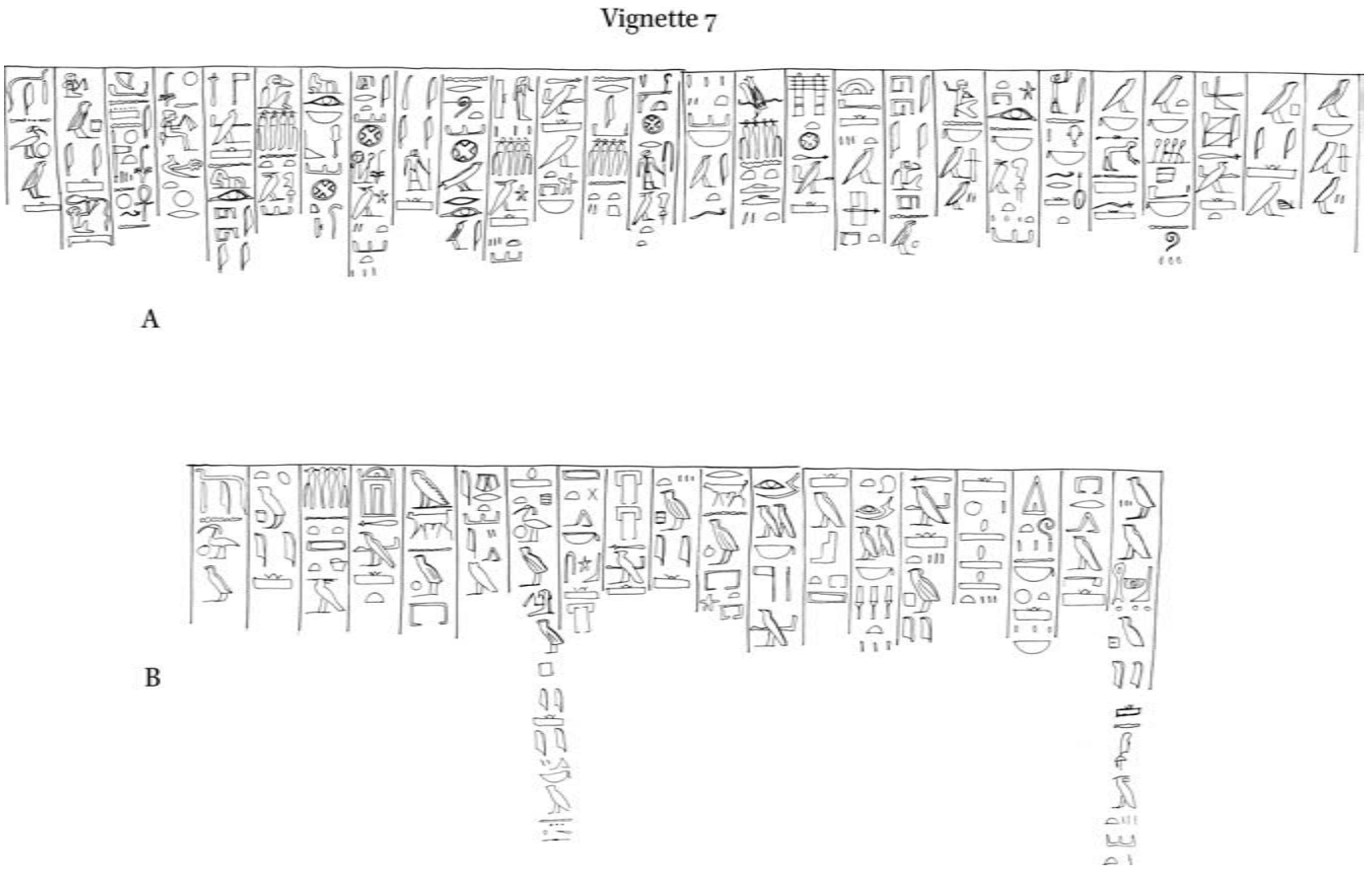


FIGURE 133 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Right side. Lower section (Vignette 7). Inscriptions



1st scene 2nd scene



3rd scene 4th scene

FIGURE 134 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Right side. Lower section. Scenes 1–4



FIGURE 135 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Right side. Lower section. Scenes 5–7



FIGURE 136 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Right side. Lower section. Scene 3 (detail)



FIGURE 137 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Footboard



FIGURE 138
Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior



FIGURE 139 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Headboard



FIGURE 140 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Left side

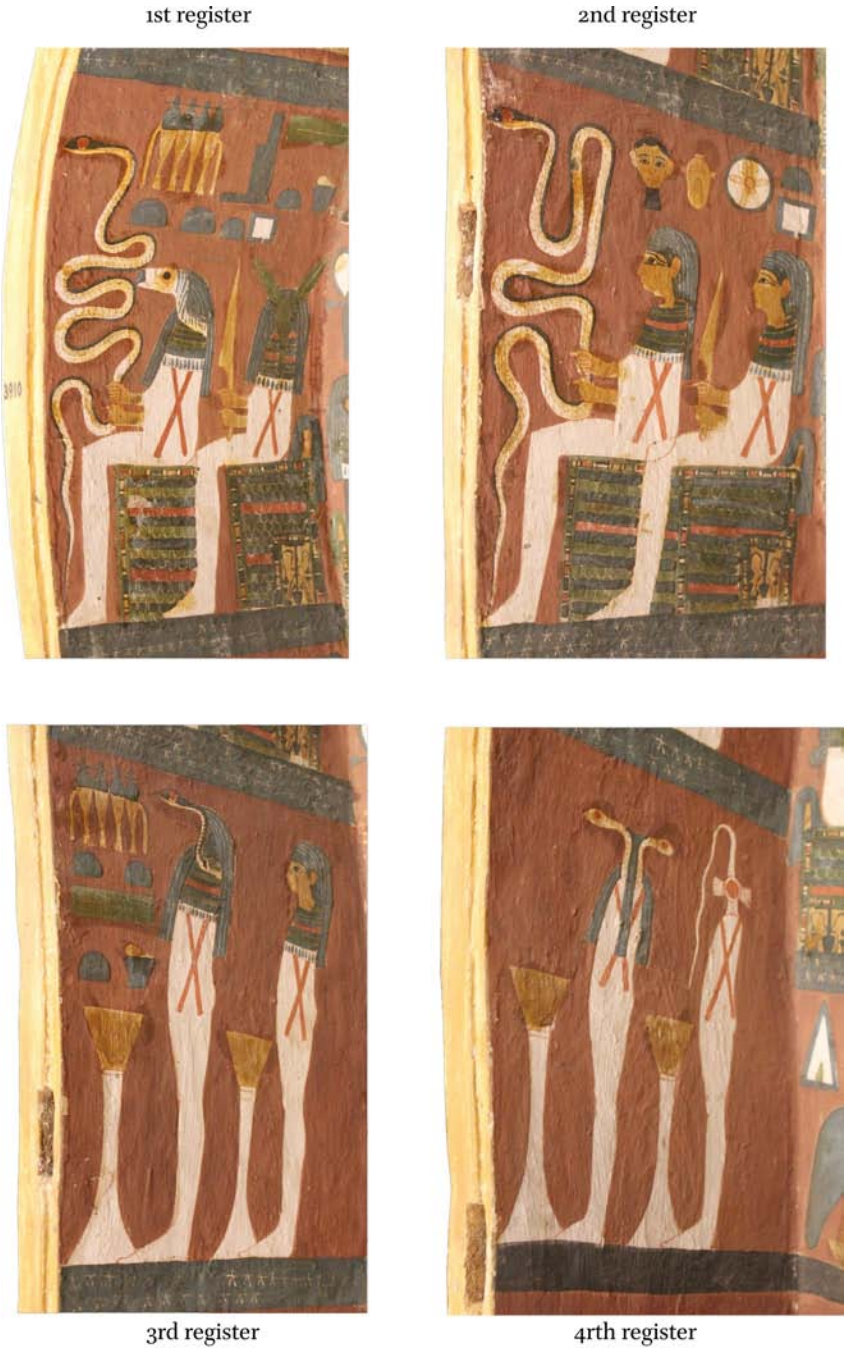


FIGURE 141 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Right side



FIGURE 142 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Floorboard (First register)



FIGURE 143 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Floorboard (Second register)



FIGURE 144 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior. Floorboard (Third and fourth registers)

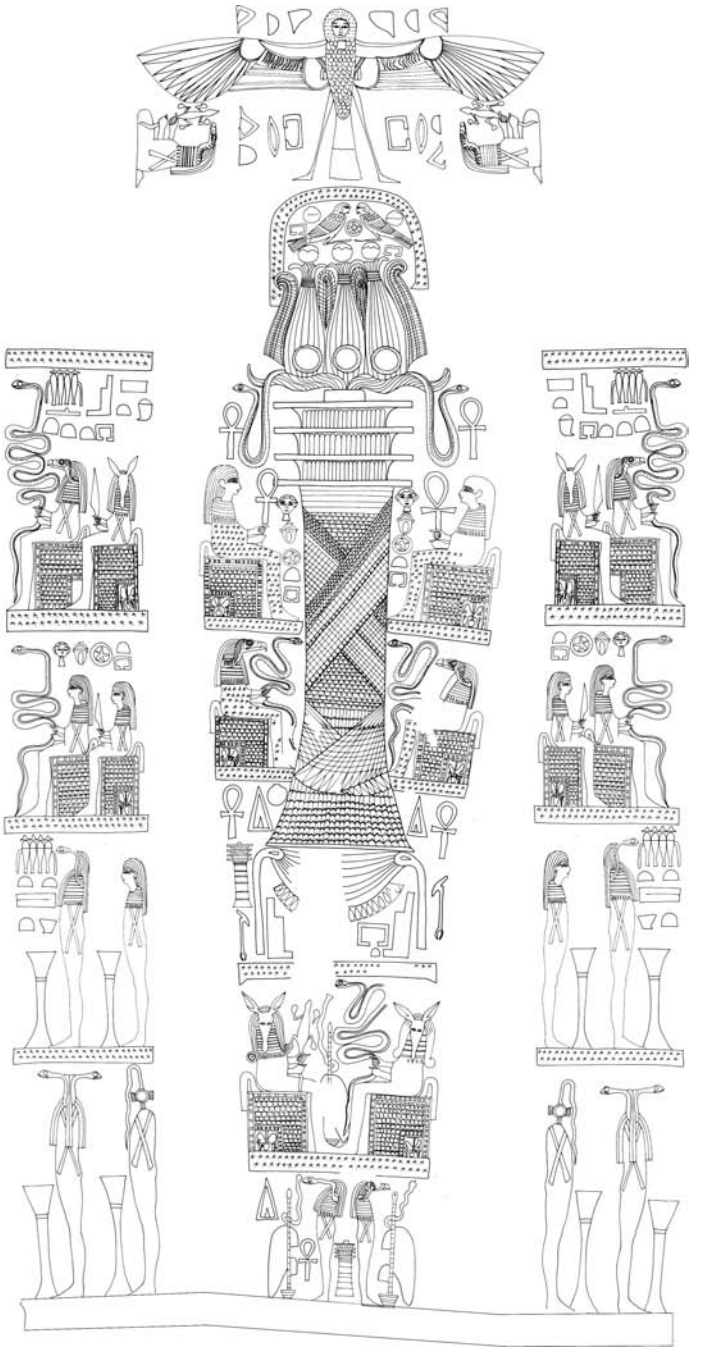


FIGURE 145 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Interior

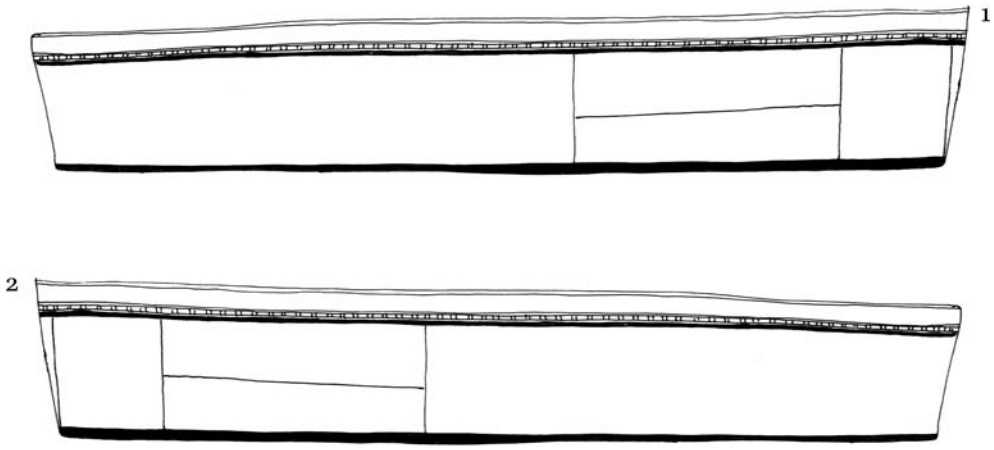
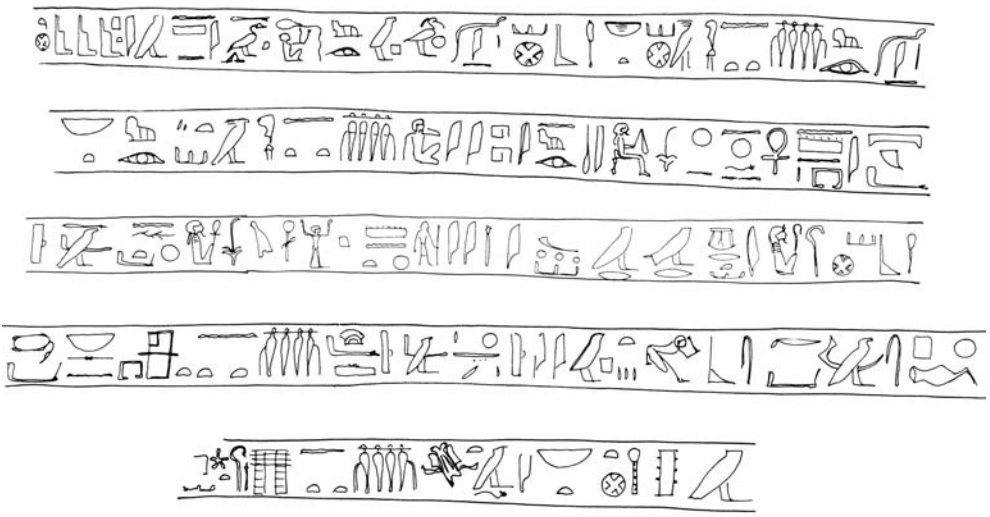


FIGURE 146 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions



1

FIGURE 147 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscription 1



2

FIGURE 148 Inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscription 2

11 Mummy Board (Figures 149–155)

Inventory number: 3910 (AE 119).
Length: 1,74 cm.
Wood, paste, paint and varnish.
The reverse side is undecorated.
The fists, beard, and ears are carved in wood and attached to the lid.
The mummy board was heavily coated with varnish, which gives it a vivid glow.
Well preserved. The paste covering the nose collapsed.

Iconography

Headboard

The face is beautifully carved and painted yellow, with thick cosmetic lines outlined in dark blue (Figure 150). The eyelids are suggested with small red lines. The iris is black, painted over a white background. The nose is small and well proportioned, with the nostrils carefully carved.

The lips are finely carved, displaying a graceful smile. A small goatee (dark blue) is attached to the chin. The ears are moulded in paste. The anatomical details are finely reproduced in relief, including the helix, antihelix, and concha. The earlobes are pierced. The face is youthful, and all the details were carefully and delicately rendered.

The divine wig shows a striped pattern composed of dark blue stripes painted over a yellow background. No adornment or headband was added to the wig.

Upper Section

The fists were crafted separately and attached to the lid, crossed over the chest (Figure 150). They are painted in yellow and grasp large wooden *ankh*-signs painted in dark blue.

The forearms are completely hidden under the broad collar, and only the elbows are visible, showing a large lotus flower. A small area of the arms is visible, displaying a squatted mummiform deity featured against a striped pattern outlined in red. On the proper left side, the word *hotep* is inscribed above the head of the goddess.

The large collar covers the shoulders and upper torso, displaying 13 floral bands. A variety of patterns are detected: lotus flowers intertwined with persea tree flowers, acacia flowers, and lotus buds (1st band), reeds (2nd, 4th, 6th, 8nd, 10th, 12th bands), buds on reeds (3th, 11th band), buds on reeds with acacia flowers (9th band), persea tree buds (5th band) and lotus petals (7th band). The clasps of the collar are not depicted.

In the area between the lappets, a smaller collar is detected, showing nine bands decorated with the same floral patterns: reeds (1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th bands), persea tree buds (2nd and 8th bands), lotus petals (3rd band), buds on reeds (6th band),

Central Section

This composition displays three registers bounded by block-friezes running along the edges of the object (Figure 151).

The first register features a symmetrical composition with a sacred scarab (*pastiglia*) at the centre. It holds up a green solar disk (*pastiglia*) and rises from the *nebu*-sign (*pastiglia*). These motifs are flanked by columns formed by large hieroglyphic signs: *ankh*, *djed* and *tjet*.[25]

This nuclear block is flanked by centrifugal blocks featuring the enthroned Osiris (red-skinned) in mummiform guise, wearing a long wig. The torso (*pastiglia*) and the cubic throne (*pastiglia*) are black, both decorated with small dots. A panel with the *sema*-motif is featured on the throne. The deity is protected by a goddess, who stands behind him clad in a green tight dress. The *imi-wt* totem (*pastiglia*) stands at the feet of Osiris. Hieroglyphs fill-in the area above these figures ("This *akh*, the foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine").

The symmetrical register is completed with a centripetal block featuring a winged goddess stretching out her wings towards the enthroned god. She is squatted on a *nebu*-sign and, on her head, figures the monogram of the Theban goddess (a falcon resting on the West-totem). Between her wings, the word "*shetyt*" is written. Above, figure liminal elements: the *imi-wt* totem, a squatted snake-headed mummiform god, and the *shetyt*-shrine.[26]

The second register features an imposing, green-skinned goddess outstretching her wings towards both sides of the panel. The squatted goddess is clad in a tight green dress decorated with small dots (*pastiglia*). The same pattern is found on her wig (*pastiglia*).

Above her head figures the falcon resting on the totem of the West. The word "West" is written next to the falcon. On both sides, large liminal elements are displayed along her arms, all of them moulded in *pastiglia*. On the proper right side, figures an enthroned mummiform god flanked by imi-wt-totems, a snake-headed mummiform deity squatted on a *heb*-bowl, and the *shetyt*-shrine.[27] Next to the enthroned god figures the label "*akh*", while next to the squatted

25 Compare with the composition of the inner lid (Figure 110).

26 The composition is sligthly assymetrical.

27 The arrangement of liminal elements on both sides is slightly assymetrical.

snake-headed god figures a cryptic writing of the word "duat". On the opposite side figure two snake-headed mummiform gods, both associated with the *shetyt*-shrine and the *imi-wt* totem. Here we find again the cryptic writing of the word "duat".

The third register follows roughly the same layout observed in the first register, showing a sacred scarab (*pastiglia*) at the centre holding up a green solar disk (*pastiglia*) and rising from the *nebu*-sign. This composition is flanked by columns of large hieroglyphic signs: *ankh*, *djed* and *tjet*. The centrifugal blocks feature the enthroned Osiris (red-skinned) in mummiform guise, wearing a long wig. Unlike the first register, the god is not escorted by a goddess. Several hieroglyphs read "This *akh*, which is in the *shetyt*-shrine".

The symmetrical register includes a centripetal block featuring a winged goddess stretching out her wings towards the enthroned god. Above her wings liminal elements are displayed: the *imi-wt* totem, the sacred scarab, and the word "*shetyt*".

Lower Section

This composition displays two longitudinal partitions bounded by columns of inscriptions (Inscriptions 1–2) and block-friezes running along the edges of the object (Figure 152).

These partitions display three registers. The arrangement of the scenes is symmetrical on both sides. The six vignettes show a red-skinned mummiform enthroned god, wearing long hair. His torso is decorated with small dots (*pastiglia*). The throne (*pastiglia*) displays a panel with the *sema*-motif. These scenes take place inside a shrine decorated with a *khekher*-frieze, a geometrical band, and a block-frieze. The shrine is supported by a double column, with a *djed*-pillar on top and a papiriform column below.

The first register depicts a cult scene performed by the deceased before the enthroned god, which is protect by a standing goddess clad in a green dress (*pastiglia*). The deceased is red-skinned, wears short wig and he is clad in a dark shirt and kilt.[28] The words "Giving life" are written before the deceased. Above the deceased figure liminal elements: a snake-headed mummiform god squatted on a *neb*-basket and the *shetyt*-shrine. Next to the divine couple one reads "*Akh,* the foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine".

28 Exceptionally, in the first register of the proper left side, the deceased wears a corslet, which seems to be a mistake, as in the inner coffin corslets are consistently associated with gods.

In the second register, the deceased presents an offering to the enthroned god. The area above shows a squatted snake-headed mummiform god and the *shetyt*-shrine, together with the sentence "*Akh*, the foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine".

In the third register, only the enthroned god is figured. The area above simply shows the sentence "Akh, foremost of the *shetyt*-shrine".

Inscriptions

Two longitudinal inscriptions run down the centre of the object (Inscriptions 1–2).

Small transversal bands (Inscriptions 3–10) bound the vignettes of the lateral partitions. All the inscriptions are aligned with the longitudinal axis of the object (Figure 153).

The calligraphy is good. The signs were outlined in red against a yellow background.

Inscription 1 (Figure 154)

ḥtp dỉ nsw n Wsỉr ḫnty ỉmntyw nb ȝbḏw nb dwȝt nsw dwȝt dỉ.f wn n Wsỉr wʿb ʿȝ ʿḳ n ỉmn m ỉpt-swt ḫrp ỉmn-pr ʿnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw mȝʿ-ḫrw m ȝḫ nṯr m dwȝt

Offering which the king gives to Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, lord of the duat, king of the duat so that he may give existence for the Osiris, the *wab*-priest, having free entry to Amun in Ipet-Sut, chief of sculptors of the Temple of Amun, Ankhefenkhonsu, the justified one, as a divine *akh* in the duat.

Inscription 2 (Figure 154)

ḥtp dỉ nsw n Wsỉr ḫnty ỉmntyw nb ȝbḏw nb dwȝt nsw ỉmntyw dỉ.f wn n Wsỉr wʿb ʿȝ ʿḳ n ỉmn m ỉpt-swt ḫrp ỉmn-pr ʿnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw mȝʿ-ḫrw m ȝḫwy nṯr m ḫrt-nṯr

Words spoken by Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, lord of the dwat, king of the duat so that he may give existence for the Osiris, the *wab*-priest, having free entry to Amun in Ipet-Sut, he who is at the head of the Temple of Amun, Ankhefenkhonsu, the justified one, as a *akhwy* in the necropolis.

Inscription 3 (Figure 155)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr-ᶜ ḫnty n ỉmntt

The venerable one before the great god, the foremost of the West.

Inscription 4 (Figure 155)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr-ᶜ ḫnty dwɜt

The venerable one before the great god, the foremost of the duat.

Inscription 5 (Figure 155)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr-ᶜ ḥḳɜ dwɜt

The venerable one before the great god, the sovereign of the duat.

Inscription 6 (Figure 155)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr-ᶜ ḥḳɜ ỉgrt

The venerable one before the great god, the sovereign of Igeret.

Inscription 7 (Figure 155)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr-ᶜ ḥḳɜ dwɜt

The venerable one before the great god, the sovereign of the duat.

Inscription 8 (Figure 155)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr-ᶜ ḥḳɜ ỉmntt

The venerable one before the great god, the sovereign of the West.

Inscription 9 (Figure 155)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr-ᶜ nb dwɜt

The venerable one before the great god, the Lord of the duat.

Inscription 10 (Figure 155)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr nṯr-ᶜ ḥḳɜ dwɜt

The venerable one before the great god, the sovereign of the duat.

Figures



FIGURE 149
Mummy board of Ankhefenkhonsu



FIGURE 150 Mummy board of Ankhefenkhonsu. Headboard and upper section



FIGURE 151 Mummy board of Ankhefenkhonsu. Central section



FIGURE 152 Mummy board of Ankhefenkhonsu. Lower section

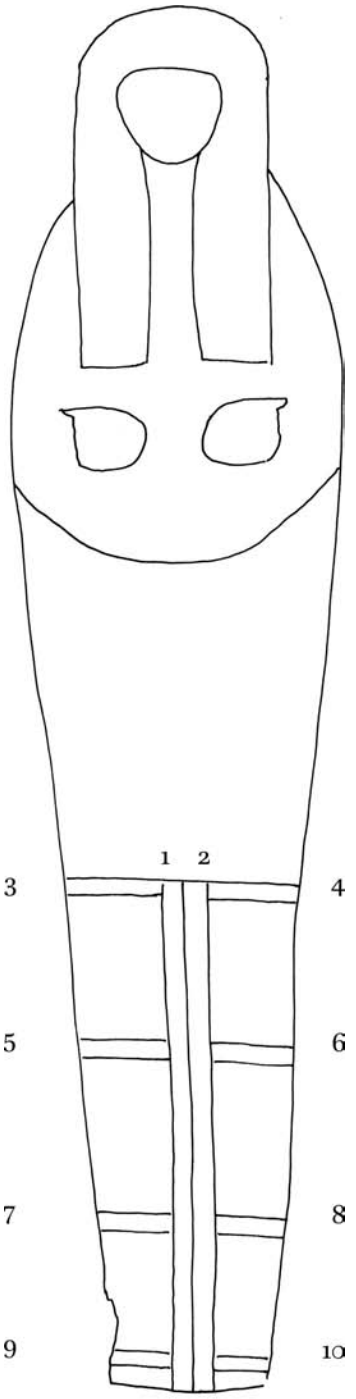


FIGURE 153
Mummy board of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions

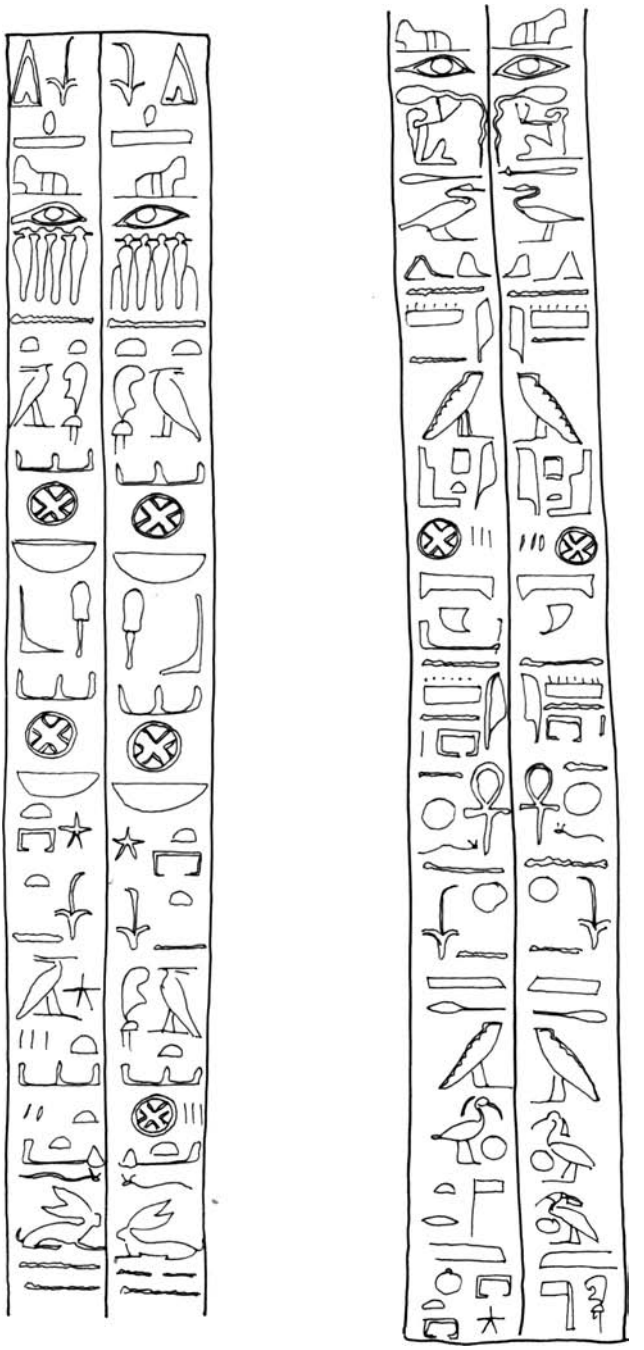


FIGURE 154 Mummy board of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions 1–2



FIGURE 155 Mummy board of Ankhefenkhonsu. Inscriptions 3–10

Anonymous Coffin Set (A.41)

Rogério Sousa

Inner anthropoid coffin (12–13) and mummy-cover (14).

Archaeological Context and Dating

The coffin set was found in the longitudinal gallery of Bab el-Gasus, next to the western wall. The decoration scheme of the set dates places it the late 21st Dynasty. The mummy was not examined by Georges Daressy.

Name and Titles of the Owner

The coffin set remained anonymous.

Bibliography

Daressy 1907, 5. Lieblein 1892, 995. Niwiński 1988, 135–136. Schmidt 1919, 148–149, figs. 758–759.

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FIGURE 156 Anonymous coffin set

12 Lid (Figures 157–169)

Inventory number: 3911 (AE 21).
Length: 190 cm.
Wood, paste, paint and varnish.
Some of the motifs of the central section and lower section were rendered in *pastiglia*.
The reverse side is undecorated.
The fists are carved in wood and attached to the lid.
The object is relatively well preserved, despite a few losses of material, especially on the proper left side, where the arms and the lower section had been affected. A transversal crack is detected in the joint between the footboard and the lower section. This joint is now reinforced with L-shaped iron brackets attached to the wood with iron screws.

Iconography

Headboard

The face is roughly carved, showing unbalanced proportions between the prominent nose and the small chin (Figure 159). The face is unusually painted in red,[1] with the thick cosmetic lines outlined in dark blue. The black iris is painted over a yellow background. The nose shows small incisions to suggest nostrils. The lips are outlined in red. A black line is traced along the jaw, but the chin does not show a hole to attach a wooden curled beard. The inexpressive face is not well proportioned.

The ears are roughly moulded in paste and they are quite smaller when compared with the other objects of the lot.

The neck shows two red lines suggesting creases on the throat.

The divine wig shows a striped pattern (dark blue stripes over a yellow background). The headband is missing, but a bunch of lotus flowers and buds falls dawn from the crown of the head. It has an unusual arrangement, displaying seven lotus flowers disposed in two bands.[2] The flowers are interspersed with buds or acacia flowers (Figure 160).

The lappets of the wig are decorated with yellow terminals.

---

1 The use of red to paint the skin is typically a Ramesside feature: it can be detected in "proto-yellow" coffins and in a few "yellow" coffins dating from the Ramesside period: Mummy-cover of Panebmontu (Louvre Museum, Inv. nº 13046) in Seipel 1989, nº 472–473; Mummy-cover of Hori (Kestner Museum, Inv. nº 1977.1) Loeben, Sousa forthcoming.

2 It is relatively uncommon to see the bunches of flowers without an additional headband. Nevertheless, when it occurs, the association with a striped wig is prevalent. See, for example:

Upper Section

The fists are painted in red, crossed over the chest (Figure 159). The fingers are outlined in a darker shade of red. The forearms are completely hidden under the broad collar. The elbows are lost.[3]

The large collar covers the shoulders and upper torso, displaying 14 floral bands running concentrically, with the epicentre located on the deceased's chest. A variety of patterns are detected: lotus flowers intertwined with acacia flowers (1st band), checkered motifs (2nd, 4th, 6th, 8th, 11th, 13th and 15th bands), lotus petals intertwined with persea tree buds (3rd, 5th, 9th, 12th and 14th bands), and persea tree buds (7th and 10th bands). The clasps of the collar are not depicted.

Between the lappets of the wig a short collar was featured, showing 13 bands with monochromatic (red or black) or floral bands (mandrake flowers).

A pectoral is shown pending from a beaded necklace grasped by the deceased's fists (Figure 160). The pectoral is rectangular, showing three red hearts with pending lily flowers.[4]

Central Section

This composition displays three main registers bounded by columns of inscriptions (Inscriptions 3–4) running along the edge (Figure 161–162).

The first register presents a symmetrical composition with a sacred scarab (*pastiglia*) at the centre. It holds up the solar disk (*pastiglia*) and shows the *shen*-ring between the hind legs. Two *iaret*-cobras encircle the sun-disk with large *tjet*-signs (*pastiglia*) pending from their necks. Over their heads figure label-inscriptions and sun-disks (*pastiglia*). Columns of hieroglyphs with the signs *was*, *djed*, *ankh* bound this composition.

These nuclear elements are flanked by centrifugal blocks featuring the enthroned Osiris (red-skinned) in mummiform guise, wearing the *hedjet*-crown and grasping the *heka*-sceptre. His body (*pastiglia*) is black, and the cubic throne (*pastiglia*) is decorated with a striped pattern. A green-skinned goddess stands behind Osiris, embracing him. She is clad in a tight robe (*pastiglia*), wearing a modius and the monogram of Isis over her head. The register

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Anonymous outer coffin (A.131, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, Inv. nº E 5879) in Delvaux, Therasse 2016, 103.

3 The decoration layer has collapsed in this area of the lid.

4 Heart amulets are frequently featured on the chests of coffins dating from the second half of the 21st Dynasty: Anonymous inner coffin (A.74, Historisches Museum in Bern, Inv. nº AE10) in Küffer, Renfer 1997; Anonymous coffin (A.4, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, Inv. nº AC-514) in Sousa 2017, Pl. 5. Inner coffin and mummy-cover of Padiamun (A.114, Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29666) in Hornung, Bryan 2002, 159.

is completed with a centripetal block featuring the same scene (only with Nephthys escorting Osiris). Between the enthroned gods figures the *ba*-bird resting over a pile of offerings. The area above is filled-in with *shetyt*-shrines, lily-flowers and label inscriptions referring to Osiris and his titles (ex: "The foremost"). On the proper left side, a column of inscriptions refers: "Osiris, the foremost (…), so that he may give".

A very exceptional composition follows, showing two friezes composed of interspersed *djed* and *tjet*-signs. Between these friezes 10 mummiform gods are displayed around the nuclear motif. They are squatted, facing inwards. From the centre to the periphery, we see a fully human god (*pastiglia*), a snake-headed god (*pastiglia*), a baboon-headed deity (*pastiglia*), a god with an undetermined form, and a snake-headed god. At the centre, figures a divine falcon resting on the totem of the West, holding the *nekhakha*-sceptre. This motif is the monogram of the goddess featured below. Thus, the mummiform gods must be read as a sub-register of the winged goddess. She is squatted on a reed mat outstretching her wings towards both sides of the panel. The goddess is clad in a tight red dress tied up with a long belt and her arms crossed over the chest. She wears a red headband. Exceptionally, her arms are not displayed along the wings and are crossed over the chest.

The third register presents a symmetrical composition with a sacred scarab at the centre (*pastiglia*). It holds up the solar disk (*pastiglia*) and shows the *shen*-sign between the hind legs. It is flanked by enthroned gods (*pastiglia*), wearing the *hedjet*-crown and the royal sceptres. At the gods' feet, stand lettuce vases. The remaining area presents two sub-registers. Below, figure two *ba*-birds in adoration surrounded by stars. Above, liminal elements are displayed (vultures, cobras and squatted feathered-headed mummiform gods).

Lower Section

This composition displays three longitudinal partitions bounded by columns of inscriptions painted against a black background (Inscriptions 1–2) and block-friezes running along the edge (Figures 163–164).

The central partition displays three vignettes (Figure 164). The nuclear block of these vignettes is always the same, showing a sacred scarab holding a solar disk and the *shen*-ring.[5] This nuclear composition is flanked by liminal elements centripetally displayed.[6]

5 The use of *pastiglia* decreases as we approach the bottom of the composition: in the first register the scarab and the disk are moulded in *pastiglia*, in the second register only the scarab is moulded, and in the third register neither one is moulded.

6 The repertoire of liminal elements is the usual one: vultures, *shedyt*-shrines and mummiform gods.

In the first register the centripetal blocks feature a vulture goddess resting on a *shetyt*-shrine and a *neb*-basket. The vignette is headed by a symmetrical frieze of *iaret*-cobras facing outwards.

In the second register the nuclear block is flanked by standing mummiform deities facing inwards, with long belts tied up to their waists, and unguent cones and lotus buds on their heads. The vignette is headed by a frieze with interspersed *djed* and *tjet*-signs and a block frieze.

In the third register, the nuclear block is flanked by a vulture goddess resting on a *neb*-basket and a *shetyt*-shrine. The vignette is headed by a frieze with interspersed *djed* and *tjet*-signs flanked by block friezes. The vignette is bounded by a block frieze and a floral pattern.

Below, the lower section is enclosed by a transversal *pet*-sign. Two crouching jackals holding *nekhakha*-sceptres face inwards to the rising sun disk. Three unguent vases at each side flank this composition.

The lateral partitions display three registers bounded by the network of longitudinal (Inscriptions 1–2) and transversal inscriptions (Inscriptions 6–15). The arrangement of the scenes is symmetrical on both sides (Figure 164).

The first register depicts the enthroned Osiris (red-skinned), wearing the *hedjet*-crown and holding the *heka*-sceptre. A goddess stands behind (green-skinned) supporting the god with her arm. She wears a red sun disk over her head, and she is clad in a tight dark garment tied up with a long belt. The remaining area shows a vulture resting on mat, a *shetyt*-shrine and a large ointment vessel (right partition) or lettuce vases (left partition).

The second register displays a similar composition, showing the enthroned Osiris protected by a standing goddess. The vulture goddess, an ointment vessel (right) or reed mats (left) are depicted before the god.

The third register features an enthroned mummiform god. He wears a long wig, with an unguent cone and a lotus blossom. Next to him figures the vulture goddess, baskets and a lettuce vase (left side).

Footboard

This area is decorated with a single scene symmetrically arranged showing two enthroned gods wearing the *hedjet*-crown (Figures 165–166). Three *shetyt*-shrines are disposed between them, together with *udjat*-eyes and stars. Each one of these enthroned gods is protected by a goddess: Isis on the proper right side, Nephthys on the opposite side. On the right edge, the *ba*-bird rests over a *shetyt*-shrine and heraldic flowers.

Inscriptions

Two longitudinal inscriptions (Inscriptions 1–2) bound the central partition of the lower section, while two other bands (Inscriptions 3–4) run along the edges of the lid, from the elbows to the beginning of the lower section (Figure 167).[7]

Transversal bands of text (Inscriptions 5–6) divide the central panel from the lower section, showing a symmetrical arrangement.

Smaller transversal bands (Inscriptions 7–16) bound the vignettes of the lateral partitions. The texts are all aligned with the longitudinal axis of the object.

The calligraphy is badly executed and it is often illegible, a situation which is particularly visible in Inscription 1. The signs are outlined in yellow against a black background.

Inscription 1 (Figure 168)
(?) *n mrwt* (*?*) *wnnṯ ḫpr tȝ* (*?*) *ỉr* [or: *ptr?*] *f ỉmȝḫ n mrwt* (*?*) *dỉdỉ.k* (*?*) *dỉ.f* (*?*)

(?) in order that exists and transforms (?), the venerable one so that (?) you(?) make that he may give them (?).

Inscription 2 (Figure 168)
ḥtp dỉ [*nsw*] *Wsỉr nb ḫnty ȝbḏw* (*?*) *nṯr ʿȝ wnn* (*?*) *dỉ*(*.f*) *ḥtp tȝfn* [or: *ȝtf?*] *n nỉwt tȝ* (*?*) *wʿbt nbt* (*?*)

Offering which (the king) gives to Osiris, the foremost of Abydos (?), great god, Wen-?, so that (he) may give offerings [or: the *atef* (?)] of the city (?) all things pure (?).

Inscription 3 (Figure 169)
Wsỉr.k ḫnty mnṯ (*ḥtp*) *nb*(*t*) (*?*) *mrd* (*?*) *nṯr ʿȝ, wnn-nfr* (*?*) *dỉ ḥtp tȝf*

Your (?) Osiris, the foremost of Montu/the west[erners] (?) Mered, the great god, who exists/Wennefer (?) so that he may give offerings (*?*).

Inscription 4 (Figure 169)
Wsỉr.k ḫnty mnṯ/ỉmntyw (*?*) *nb ȝbḏw* (*?*) *nṯr ʿȝ wnn-nfr* (*?*) *dỉ ḥtp tȝ*

Your (?) Osiris, the foremost of the west(erners)(?), great god, Wennefer (?) who (?) give(s) offerings.

7 Normally, the side inscriptions run down the edges from the elbows to the footboard. These are exceptionally short text bands.

Inscription 5 (Figure 169)

ꜥnḫ ḥr Wsỉr n (sic) *ḥnty mr ꜣbḏw* (*?*)

May Horus live, and Osiris, the foremost of Abydos (?)

Inscription 6 (Figure 169)

ꜥnḫ ḥr Wsỉr n (sic) *ḥnty mr ꜣbḏw* (*?*) ....

May Horus live, and Osiris, the foremost of Abydos (?)

Inscription 7 (Figure 169)
ỉmꜣḫy ḥr (...)

The venerable one before (...)

Inscription 8 (Figure 169)
ỉmꜣḫy ḥr (*?*) *ḥḳꜣ*.

The venerable one before (?) the sovereign.

Inscription 9 (Figure 169)
ỉmꜣḫy ḥr ꜣḳ (*?*)

The venerable one before the sovereign (?)

Inscription 10 (Figure 169)
ỉmꜣḫy [*ḥr*] (*?*)

The venerable one [before] (?)

Inscription 11 (Figure 169)
ỉmꜣḫy ḥr ḥḳꜣ (*?*)

The venerable one before the sovereign (?)

Inscription 12 (Figure 169)
ỉmꜣḫy ḥr ḥḳꜣ (*?*)

The venerable one before the sovereign (?)

Inscription 13 (Figure 169)
ỉmꜣḫy ḥr ḥḳꜣ

The venerable one before the sovereign (?)

Inscription 14 (Figure 169)
ỉmꜣḫy [*ḥr*]

The venerable one before

Inscription 15 (Figure 169)
ỉmꜣḫy ḥr

The venerable one before

Inscription 16 (Figure 169)
[*ỉmꜣḫy ḥr*] [*ḥḳ*]*ꜣ*

(The venerable one before)

Figures



FIGURE 157
Anonymous lid

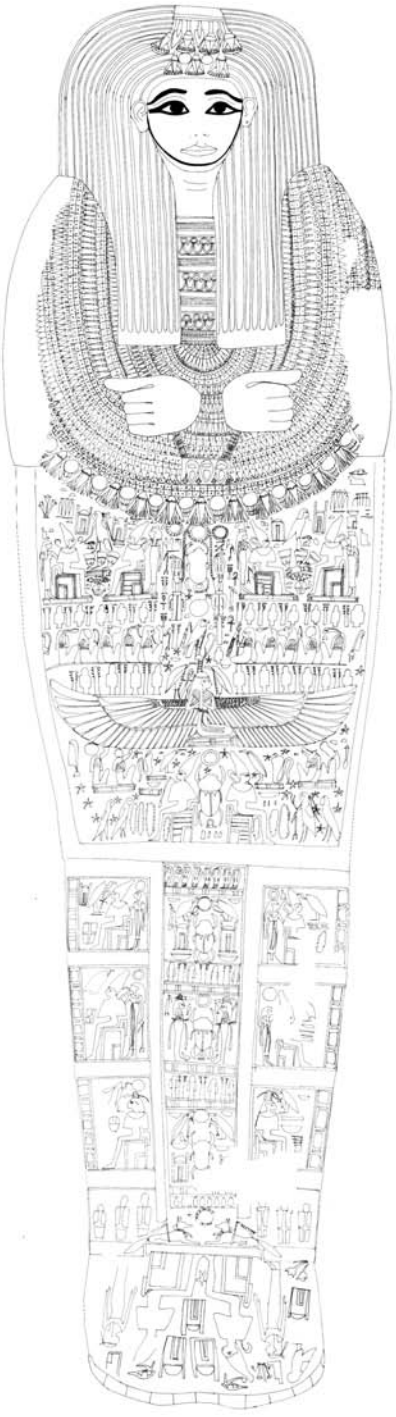


FIGURE 158
Anonymous lid



FIGURE 159 Anonymous lid. Headboard and upper section

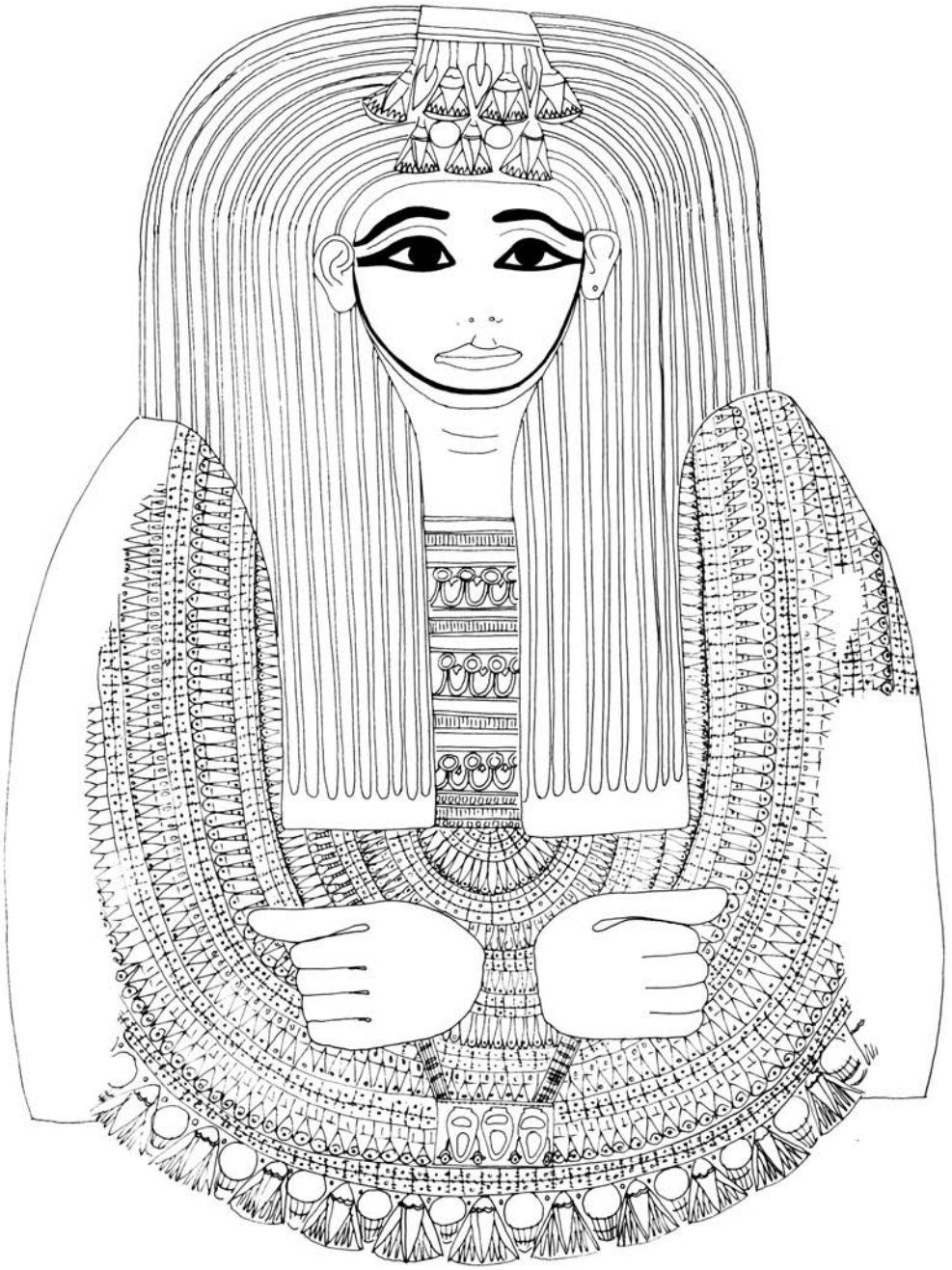


FIGURE 160 Anonymous lid. Headboard and upper section



FIGURE 161 Anonymous lid. Central section

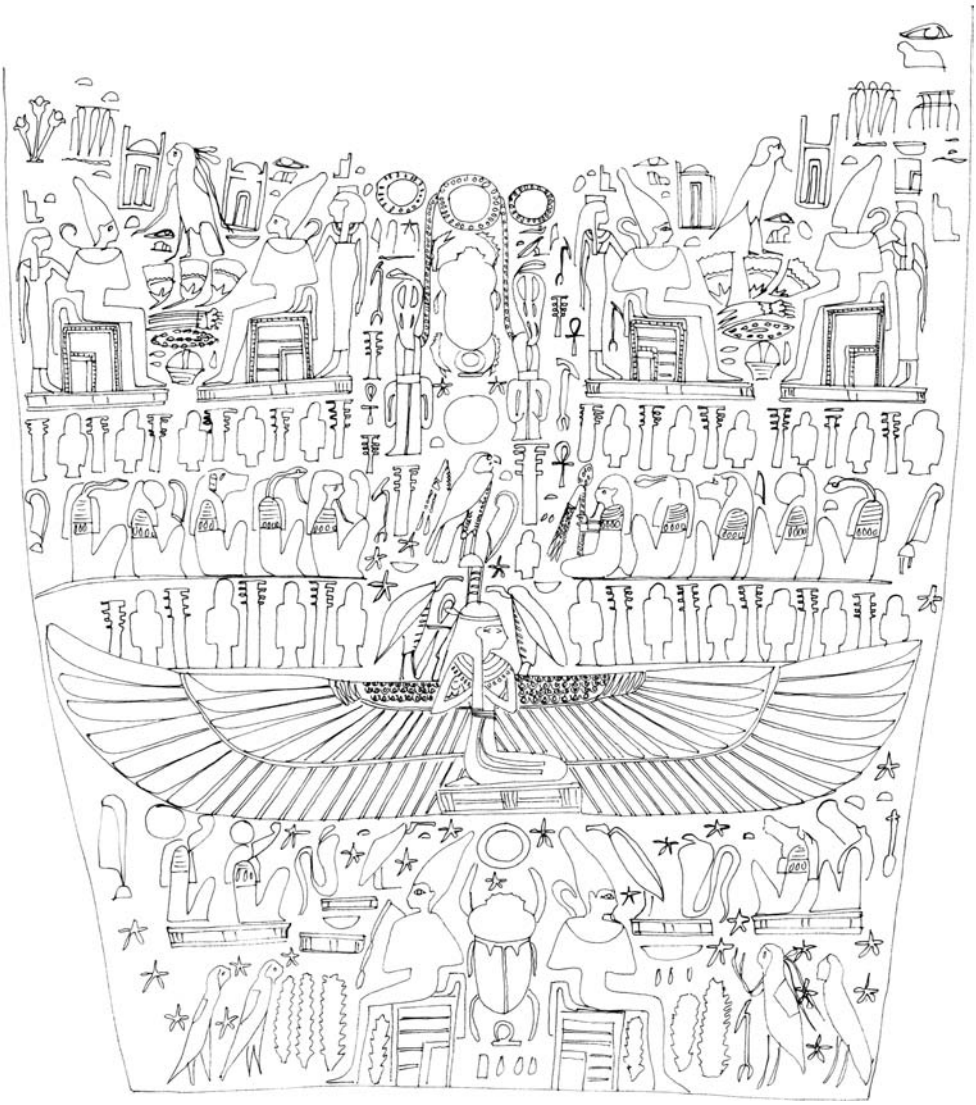


FIGURE 162 Anonymous lid. Central section



FIGURE 163 Anonymous lid. Lower section

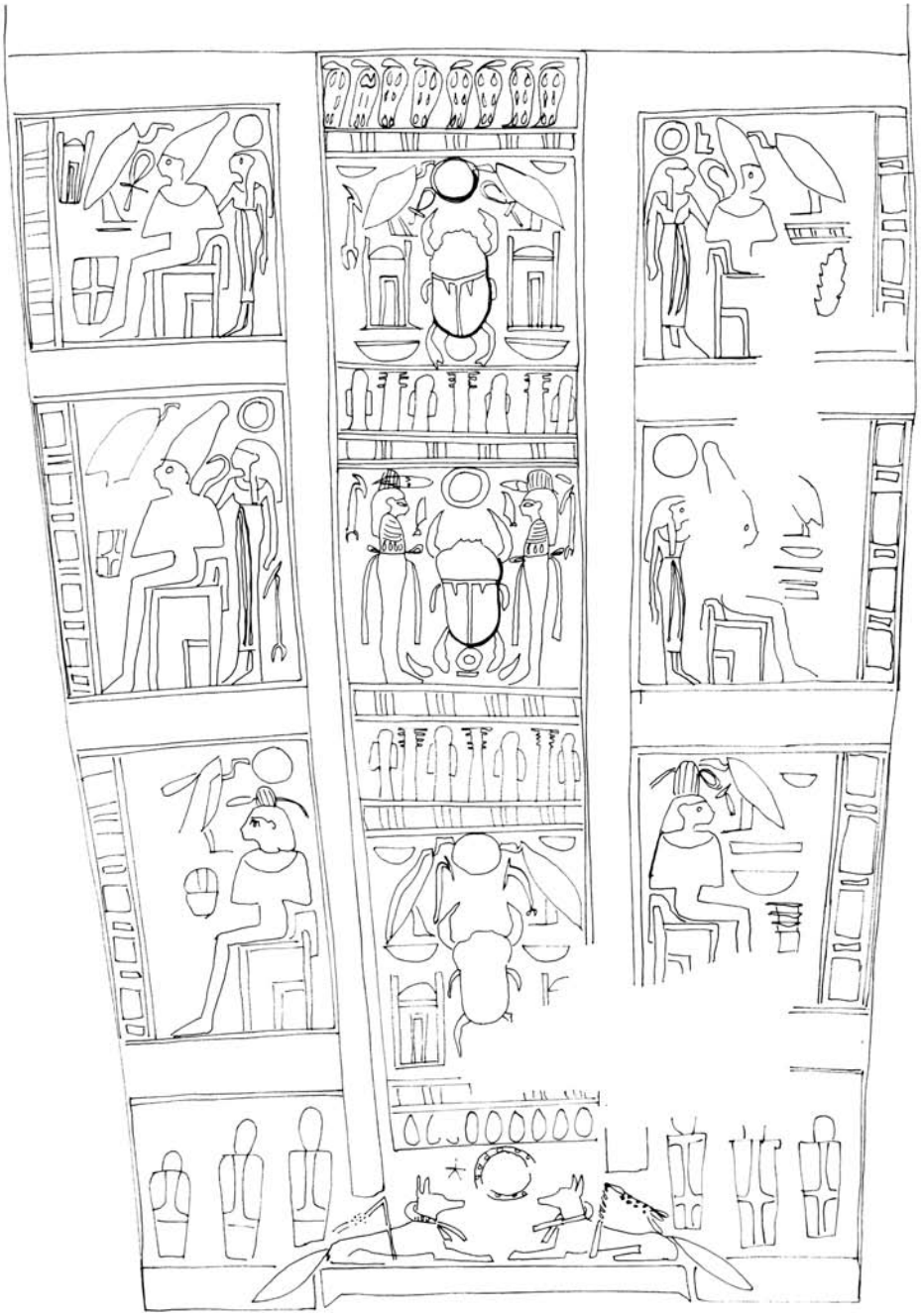


FIGURE 164 Anonymous lid. Lower section



FIGURE 165 Anonymous lid. Footboard

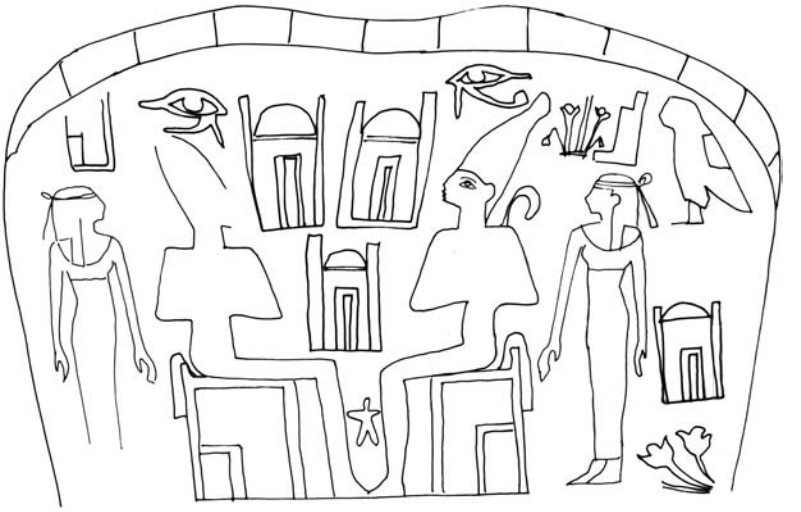


FIGURE 166 Anonymous lid. Footboard

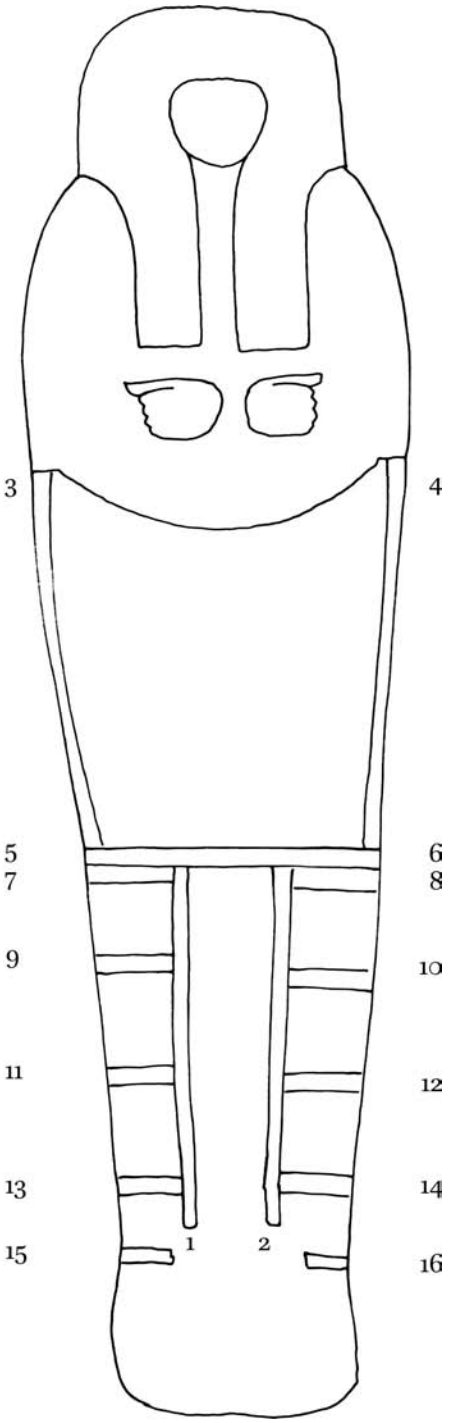
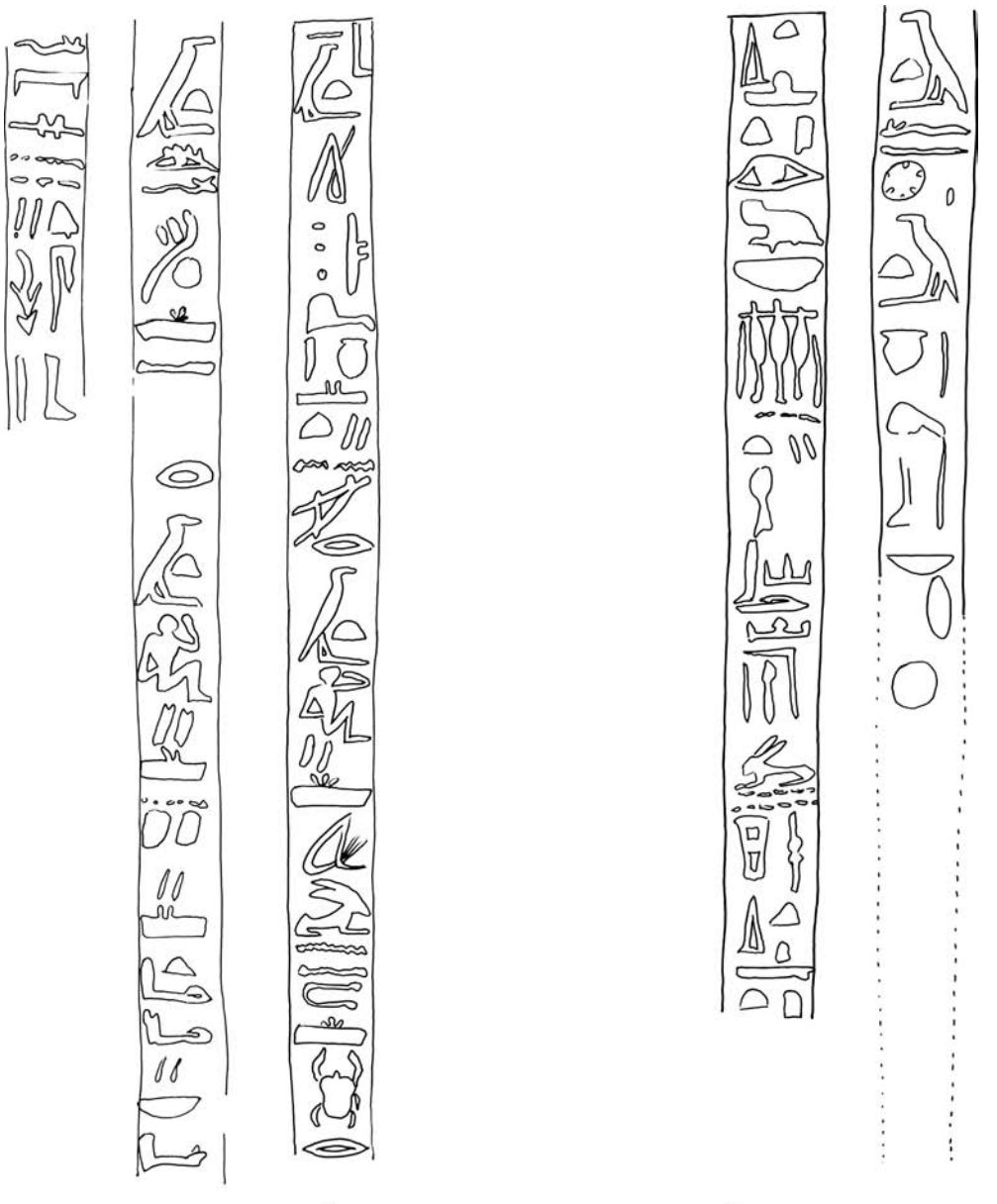


FIGURE 167
Anonymous lid. Inscriptions



1 2

FIGURE 168 Anonymous lid. Inscriptions 1–2

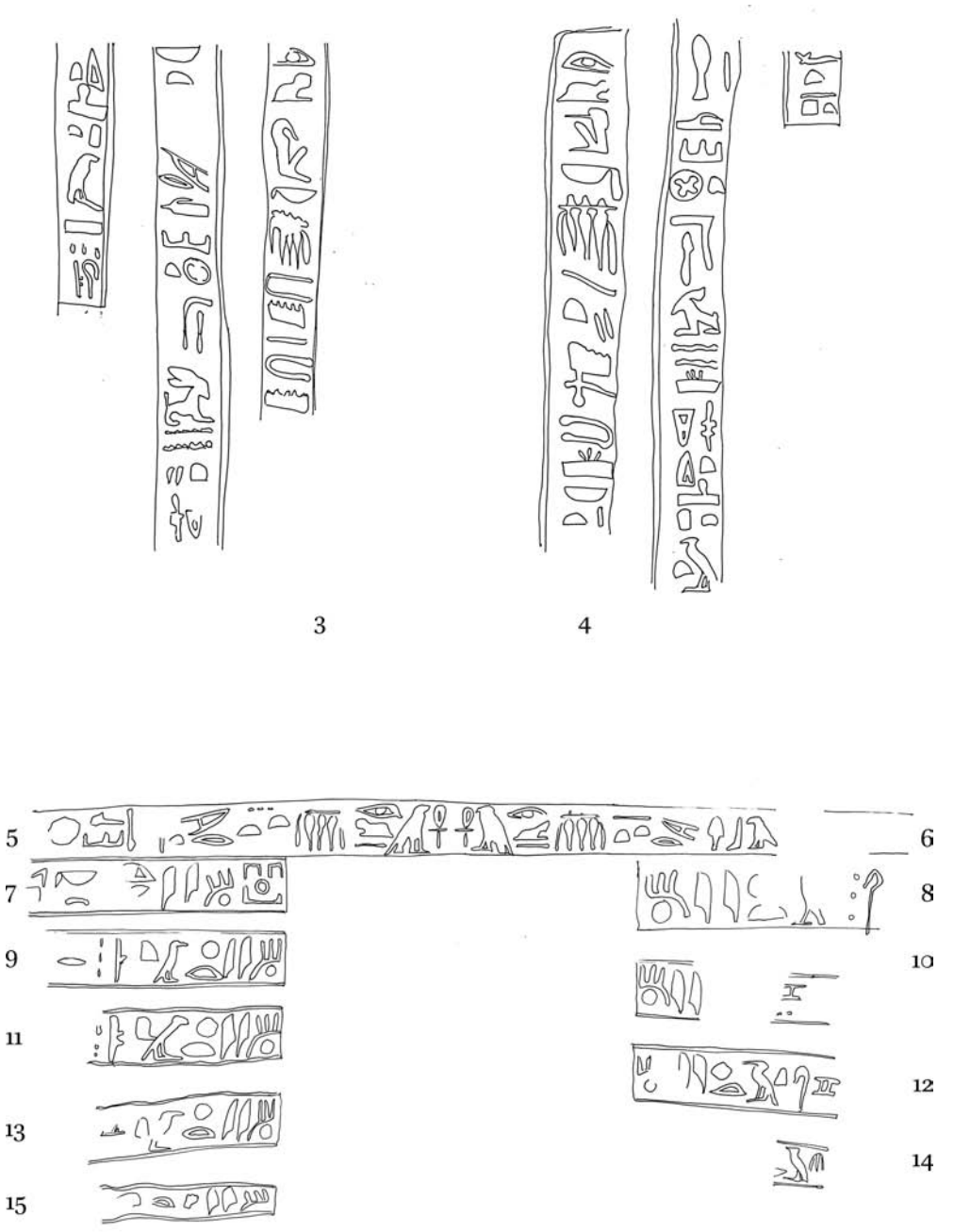


FIGURE 169 Anonymous lid. Inscriptions 3–15

13 Box (Figures 170–190)

Inventory number: 3911 (AE 21).
Length: 190 cm.
Wood, paste, and paint.
The exterior decoration is relatively well preserved. The sides are composed of single planks, which greatly contributed for the preservation of the pictorial decoration. The floorboard is composed of several planks, and many fissures are detected along the joints.
The interior decoration is well preserved, but two longitudinal cracks run along the floorboard. The thicknesses are stepped and painted in yellow. Eight mortises were carved along the edge to hold the wooden tenons.

Iconography (*Exterior*)

Except in the headboard, the upper edge is decorated with alternating cobras and feathers, and a block frieze (Figure 170).

The vignettes are bounded within two black longitudinal bands and columns of inscriptions. These inscriptions are flanked by block-friezes on both sides.

Headboard

The headboard is composed of a single panel decorated with the **Vignette 1**, showing a sketched scene briefly outlined in red consisting in a large *tjet*-sign adorned with two poppies and flanked by two standing goddesses, who take care of the *tjet* (Figure 171). Each one grasps the totem of the West and lettuce vases stand at their feet.

Left Side

The left side displays 12 small vignettes (Figure 170). No formal division between the upper section and the lower section is apparent.[8] All scenes face the headboard: they are swiftly sketched in red and finished off with dark paint. Despite that the figures are expressive, and the result is surprisingly good.[9]

8 This scheme is often detected in coffins dating from the late 21st Dynasty: Anonymous coffin (A.4, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, AC-514) in Sousa 2017, Pls. 14–15. The sketchy style of the vignettes progresses even more in the early 22nd Dynasty, eventually originating boxes with nearly any figurative decoration: Anonymous coffin (Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, Inv. nº 51.2094/2) in Liptay 2011, Pl. 5; Anonymous coffin (Wayne County Historical Museum, 06.03.3) in Sampsell 2020, 192–193.

9 This is possibly blue pigment that had degraded over time, showing now a dark tone.

The **Vignette 2** shows a vulture and a cobra resting on a pile formed by a reed mat, a *nebu*-sign and *shetyt*-shrines (Figure 172). A tall *sekhem*-sceptre heads the composition.

The **Vignette 3** presents a snake-headed mummiform god squatted on a reed mat and a geometrical frieze (Figure 172). The serpent bears a curled beard, and the sign of the West stands on his lap. A coiled cobra completes the scene.

The **Vignette 4** is illustrated with a feather-headed mummiform god squatted on a reed mat and a *nebu*-sign (Figure 172). The remaining space is filled-in with the West-totem, the vulture goddess and the *shetyt*-shrine.

The **Vignette 5** presents a jackal standing on a reed mat (Figure 172). It is adorned with red braces crossed over its neck. Behind the jackal figure three *nefer*-signs, the *udjat*-eye and the *neb*-basket, composing the expression, "Lord of beauty and soundness".

The **Vignette 6** shows a *djed*-pillar flanked on both sides by West-totems (Figure 173).

The **Vignette 7** is illustrated with a mummiform god squatted on a reed mat and a *heb*-bowl (Figure 173). He wears a curled beard. A vulture goddess is depicted next to him.

The **Vignette 8** displays the *ba*-bird resting on a reed mat (Figure 173). He wears long red streamers and a curled beard. On his feet figure a feather and an ointment vessel. The *udjat*-eye protects him.

The **Vignette 9** shows a baboon-headed mummiform god squatted on a reed mat and three *shetyt*-shrines (Figure 173). The *ankh*-sign figures on his lap, together with a coiled cobra holding the *uas*-staff.

The **Vignette 10** shows a jackal-headed mummiform god squatted on a reed mat and the *nebu*-sign (Figure 174). Above, figures the vulture holding the *ankh*-sign.

The **Vignette 11** is illustrated with the *ba*-bird with curled beard resting on a reed mat (Figure 174). On his feet figure a feather and a basket with food. Behind him figure three *nefer*-signs, the *udjat*-eye and the *neb*-basket, composing the expression, "Lord of beauty and soundness".

The **Vignette 12** shows a snake-headed mummiform god squatted on a reed mat and a *nebu*-sign (Figure 174). The West-totem figures on his lap, together with a libation vessel.

The **Vignette 13** presents the sacred sycamore tree with leaves (green) and fruits (red) (Figure 174). Around the tree, loose signs of undetermined nature can be seen.

Right Side

The right side displays 10 small vignettes, following the same layout observed on the opposite side.

The **Vignette 14** shows Ptah-Sokar in avian form with a cobra wearing the *atef*-crown at its feet (Figure 175). A winged goddess stands behind wearing a modius and a red dress. A vulture rests over her arm.

The **Vignette 15** presents a mummiform god squatted on a reed mat and the *nebu*-sign (Figure 175). He wears an unguent cone and a lotus blossom on his head. The vignette is completed with the West-totem, the vulture and the *shetyt*-shrine.

The **Vignette 16** is illustrated with a snake-headed mummiform god standing before an offering table (Figure 175). The god wears a feather on his head and a curled beard. The table is provided with an ointment vessel, food and lotus flowers. The table is flanked by lettuce vases.

The **Vignette 17** shows the sacred scarab holding up the solar disk, rising from a reed mat and a *neb*-basket (Figure 176). It is flanked by food baskets and *shetyt*-shrines surmounted by black disks.

The **Vignette 18** features a mummiform god squatted on a reed mat and a *heb*-bowl (Figure 176). He wears a curled beard. The scene is completed with a *shetyt*-shrine and hieroglyphs.

The **Vignette 19** depicts a mummiform god squatted on a reed mat and a *nebu*-sign (Figure 177). He wears a curled beard, and an unguent cone and a lotus bud on his head. A vulture goddess is depicted next to him, together with a *shetyt*-shrine, a lettuce-vase and a food basket.

The **Vignette 20** is illustrated with a baboon-headed mummiform god squatted on a reed mat and a *nebu*-sign (Figure 177). A vulture goddess is depicted next to him, as well as a *shetyt*-shrine, a lettuce-vase and a food basket.

The **Vignette 21** displays a mummiform god squatted on a reed mat and two *shetyt*-shrines (Figure 178). He wears a curled beard. The totem of the West, a food basket and the *shetyt*-shrine are featured next to him.

The **Vignette 22** shows a snake-headed mummiform god squatted on a reed mat and the *nebu*-sign (Figure 178). The totem of the West figures on his lap. A vulture goddess is depicted next to him, together with a *shetyt*-shrine, and a lettuce-vase.

The **Vignette 23** shows the *ba*-bird resting on a reed-mat with a feather at his feet (Figure 178). The avian form of the deceased wears a solar disk on his head and shows a curled beard. He is protected by a winged cobra rising from a *shetyt*-shrine.

Footboard

Undecorated (Figure 179).

Iconography (*Interior*)

The interior of the box is profusely decorated, with the motifs depicted against a reddish background (Figure 180).

Headboard

The *ba*-bird is featured in full frontal view with outstretched wings (Figure 181). The face is depicted with a goatee. The figure is so sketchy that not even the legs are depicted. Large hieroglyphs referring to the going forth to the day are displayed below his wings.

Sides

The sides are arranged in three registers (centrifugally oriented), each one of them displaying standing mummiform gods wearing red mummy braces. The registers are bounded by a blue band and a block-frieze. The decoration of the sides is symmetrical (Figures 182–183).

In the first register, there is a jackal-headed god, a falcon-headed god, and a snake-headed deity. They wear long wigs.[10]

In the second register, there is a feather-headed god, a flame-headed deity and a fully human-shaped god. The later wears a curled beard.[11]

In the third register, there are only two gods: a feather-headed god and a jackal-headed deity.

Floorboard

The floorboard is sprinkled with stars featured against a reddish background. It displays three main registers divided by large *pet*-signs painted in blue, or by large block-friezes.

The first register is the smallest, showing the solar barque navigating the sky (Figure 184). On the barque, the solar disk is featured over the sign of the horizon, which shows nine rows suggesting rays of sunlight. Inside the disk, there are vestiges of blue paint resembling a scarab. The solar disk is flanked by knifes. The prow carries a long net typically seen in the solar barque. Below the stern, a small blue fish leaps out of the water.

10 The feather-hieroglyph (Gardiner H.6) is placed above the scene.

11 The feather-hieroglyph (Gardiner H.6) is placed above the scene.

The second register shows the imposing depiction of a standing goddess (Figure 185). She is the personification of the Theban necropolis, as suggested by the falcon who rests over her head. She is yellow-skinned and opens her arms to cradle the mummy within.

She wears a beautiful vulture-headdress painted in yellow and blue as if crafted in gold and lapis lazuli.[12] The headdress is capped by a crown of *iaret*-cobras. The long blue hair is tied back at the back of the head with red streamers. The face is not entirely perceptible since this area was affected by a severe longitudinal crack.

The goddess wears a large collar with several bands painted in green, red and blue. She is clad in a white dress, tied up with a long blue belt. Her feet, with each toe perfectly individualized, rest over a thin line (blue).

The goddess is flanked on both sides by loosely placed compositions. On the proper left side of the floorboard, figures a large vulture resting on a reed mat and a *heb*-bowl. It holds the *was*-sceptre and the *shen*-ring. Above, figures the monogram of Isis, and below large hieroglyphs mention "the foremost, who goes forth from the duat". Below, mummiform gods are squatted over *nebu*-signs (snake-headed and feather-headed gods). These figures rest over a starry *pet*-sign. Below, a falcon rests on the feet of the goddess grasping in its claws a long, twisted serpent with a feather on its head.

The proper right side is headed by an uninscribed text band. Then follows a sacred cobra wearing the *atef*-crown and holding the *was*-sceptre and the *shen*-ring. It rests on a reed mat and a *heb*-basket. Below, figures a headless mummiform god with a twisted serpent over the torso, forming what can be perceived as his "head". He is squatted over a *nebu*-sign and holds the *nekhakha*-sceptre. Hieroglyphs suggest the reading "the foremost of the West". Below, other mummiform gods are squatted over *nebu*-signs (one is fully human, while the other is feather-headed). These figures rest over a starry *pet*-sign, followed by the sacred falcon grasping the *shen*-ring and a feather with its claws and holding the *nekhakha*-sceptre.

The whole composition is ended with a symmetrical scene featuring two jackals centrifugally displayed wearing large braces and the *nekhakha*-sceptre. They stand on a transversal block-frieze.

The third register shows two mummiform falcon-headed gods standing alongside a lotus-totem equipped with two tall feathers (Figure 186). In the

12 The vulture headdress is not common in this context. For parallels see coffins in the Museo Egizio in Turin (Cat. 101106-b/101104-b) (Niwiński 2004, Pl. XI/Pl. VIII) and the coffin of Amenhotep (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, Inv. nº AMM 2-a, b) (Schneider, Raven, Harvey 1998, nº 201).

intervening spaces, several hieroglyphs can be seen: above the lotus totem figures the water-sign, columns of hieroglyphs with the signs *djed*, *was* and *ankh* flank the standing deities. These gods stand over two monochromatic bands (yellow and black).

Footboard

It is uniformly painted in red.

Inscriptions

Columns of inscriptions bound the vignettes displayed on the sides (Figure 188). The calligraphy is sketchy. The signs were outlined in red and finished off with black paint. Each column of text is bounded by block friezes flanked by black lines.

Most of the inscriptions are unclear, particularly in the writing of the names of the Sons of Horus.

Left Side

Inscription 1 (Figure 189)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr (*?*)

The venerable one before (?)

Inscription 2 (Figure 189)
(col. 1) *ỉnk ɜst wrt mwt-nṯr ỉrt Rʿ*
(col. 2) *ỉmɜḫy ḫr Wsỉr* (*?*) *ḫnty*

(col. 1) I am Isis, the great one, divine mother, the Eye of Re.
(col. 2) The venerable one before Osiris(?), the foremost.

Inscription 3 (Figure 189)
ỉnk ɜst wrt mwt-nṯr ỉrt (*Rʿ*)

I am Isis, the great one, divine mother, the Eye (of Re).

Inscription 4 (Figure 189)
ỉmɜḫy ḫr Wsỉr (*?*)

The venerable one before Osiris (?)

Inscription 5 (Figure 189)
ḏd mdw ỉn (?)

Words to be spoken by (?)[13]

Inscription 6 (Figure 189)
ỉnk ꜣst wrt mwt-nṯr ỉrt (Rʿ)

I am Isis, the great one, divine mother, the Eye (of Re).

Inscription 7 (Figure 189)
ỉmꜣḫy ḫr (?)

The venerable one before (?)

Inscription 8 (Figure 189)
ỉnk ꜣst wrt mwt-nṯr

I am Isis, the great one, divine mother.

Inscription 9 (Figure 189)
(col. 1) *ḏd mdw ỉn (?) mwt-nṯr* (col. 2) *ḏd mdw ỉn (?)*

(col. 1) Words to be spoken by (?) the divine mother. (col. 2) Words to be spoken by (?)

Inscription 10 (Figure 189)
(col. 1) *ỉnk ꜣst wrt mwt-nṯr* (col. 2) *ḏd mdw ỉn (?)*

(col. 1) I am Isis, the great one, divine mother. (col. 2) Words to be spoken by (?)

Inscription 11 (Figure 189)
ỉnk ꜣst wrt mwt-nṯr

I am Isis, the great one, divine mother.

13 An awkward assemblage of signs gathers hieroglyphs that could be used to write down the names of Hapy, Imsety and Qebehsenuef.

Right Side

Inscription 12 (Figure 190)
ʾInk ȝst wrt mwt-nṯr ỉrt Rʿ ḥnwt

I am Isis, the great one, divine mother, the Eye of Re, the mistress.

Inscription 13 (Figure 190)
ḏd mdw ỉn ḥpy ḥkȝ ḏt

Words to be spoken by Hapy, sovereign of eternity.

Inscription 14 (Figure 190)
ʾInk ȝst wrt mwt-nṯr ỉrt (*Rʿ*)

I am Isis, the great one, divine mother, the Eye (of Re).

Inscription 15 (Figure 190)
ʾImȝḫy ḫr (*?*)

The venerable one before (?)

Inscription 16 (Figure 190)
ḏd mdw ỉn ḳbḥ/snwf (*?*) *n mwt-nṯr*

Words to be spoken by Qebehsenuef (?) to the (?) divine mother.

Inscription 17 (Figure 190)
ʾImȝḫy ḫr (*?*)

The venerable one before (?)

Inscription 18 (Figure 190)
ḏd mdw ỉn ḳbḥ/snwf (*?*) *n mwt-nṯr*

Words to be spoken by Qebehsenuef (?) to the (?) divine mother.

Inscription 19 (Figure 190)
ỉnk ꜣst wrt mwt-nṯr ỉrt Rʿ ḥnwt

I am Isis, the great one, divine mother, the Eye of Re, the mistress.

Inscription 20 (Figure 190)
ḏd mdw ỉn ỉmsty

Words to be spoken by Imsety.

Inscription 21 (Figure 190)
ỉnk ꜣst wrt mwt-nṯr ỉrt (*Rʿ*)

I am Isis, the great one, divine mother, the Eye (of Re).

Inscription 22 (Figure 190)
ỉmꜣḫy ḫr (*?*)

The venerable one before (?)

Inscription 23 (Figure 190)
ỉnk (...)

I am (...).

Figures

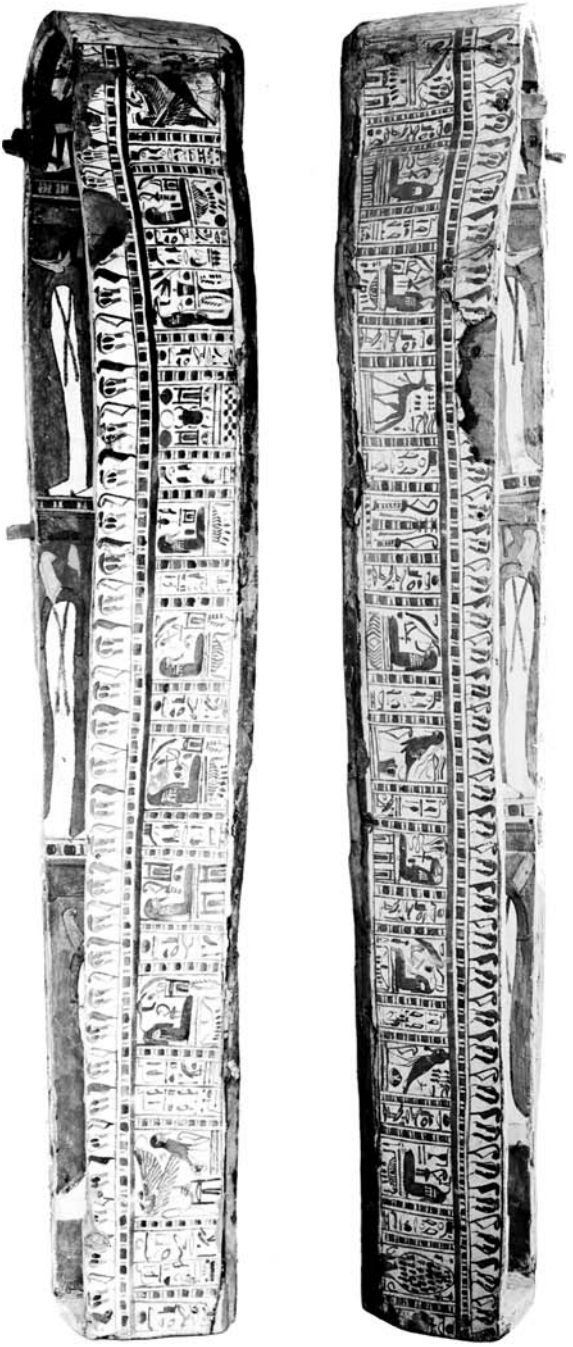


FIGURE 170
Anonymous box



FIGURE 171 Anonymous box. Headboard



FIGURE 172 Anonymous box. Left side. Vignettes 1–4



FIGURE 173 Anonymous box. Left side. Vignettes 5–8



FIGURE 174 Anonymous box. Left side. Vignettes 9–12



FIGURE 175 Anonymous box. Right side. Vignettes 13–15



FIGURE 176 Anonymous box. Right side. Vignettes 16–17



FIGURE 177 Anonymous box. Right side. Vignettes 18–19



FIGURE 178 Anonymous box. Right side. Vignettes 20–22



FIGURE 179 Anonymous box. Footboard



FIGURE 180
Anonymous box. Interior



FIGURE 181 Anonymous box. Interior. Headboard



FIGURE 182 Anonymous box. Interior. Left side



FIGURE 183 Anonymous box. Interior. Right side



FIGURE 184 Anonymous box. Interior. Floorboard. First register



FIGURE 185 Anonymous box. Interior. Floorboard. Second register



FIGURE 186 Anonymous box. Interior. Floorboard. Third register

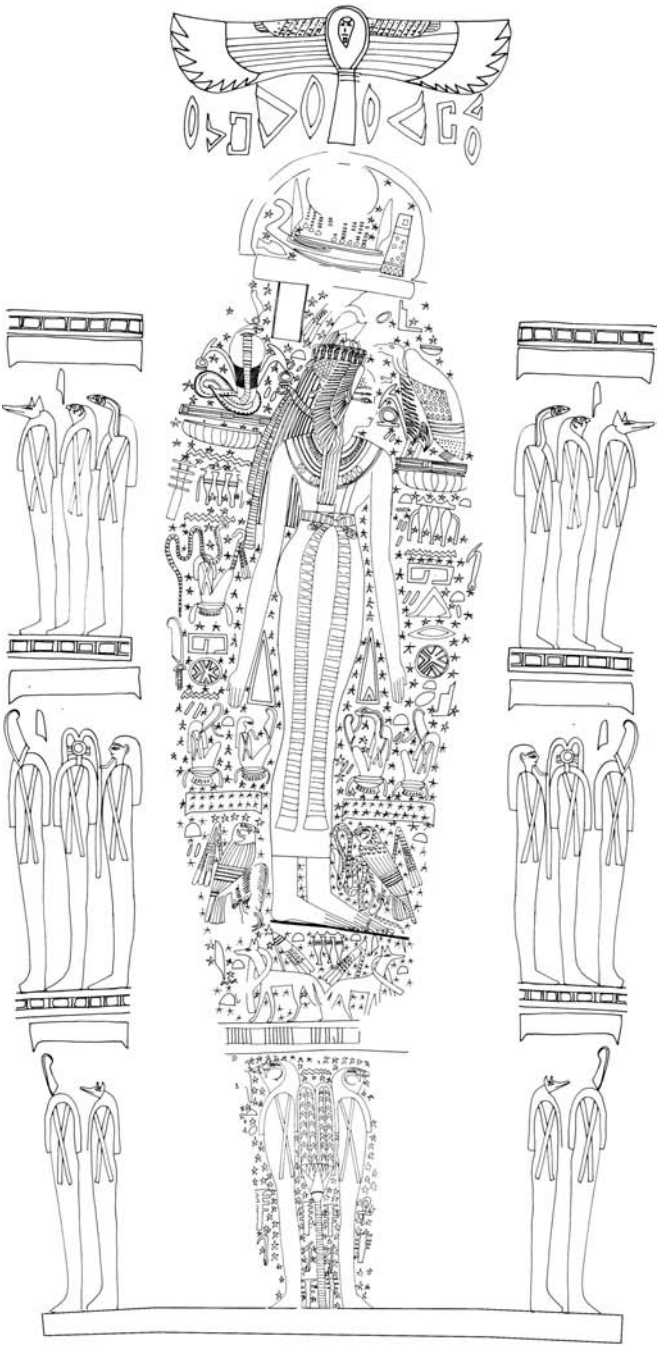


FIGURE 187 Anonymous box. Interior decoration

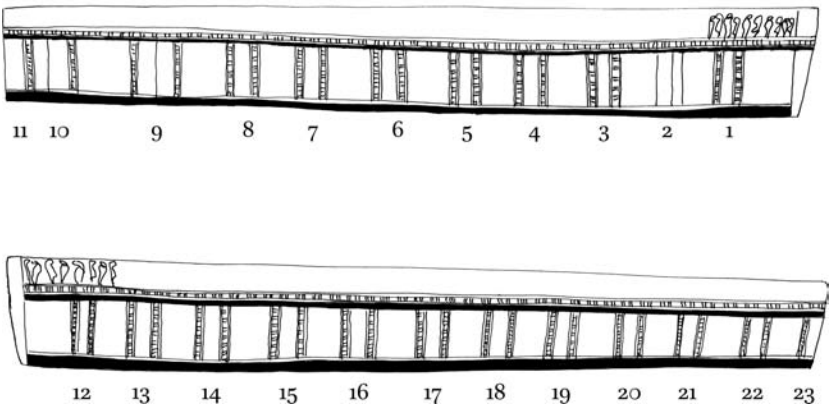


FIGURE 188 Anonymous box. Inscriptions



FIGURE 189 Anonymous box (left side). Inscriptions 1–10

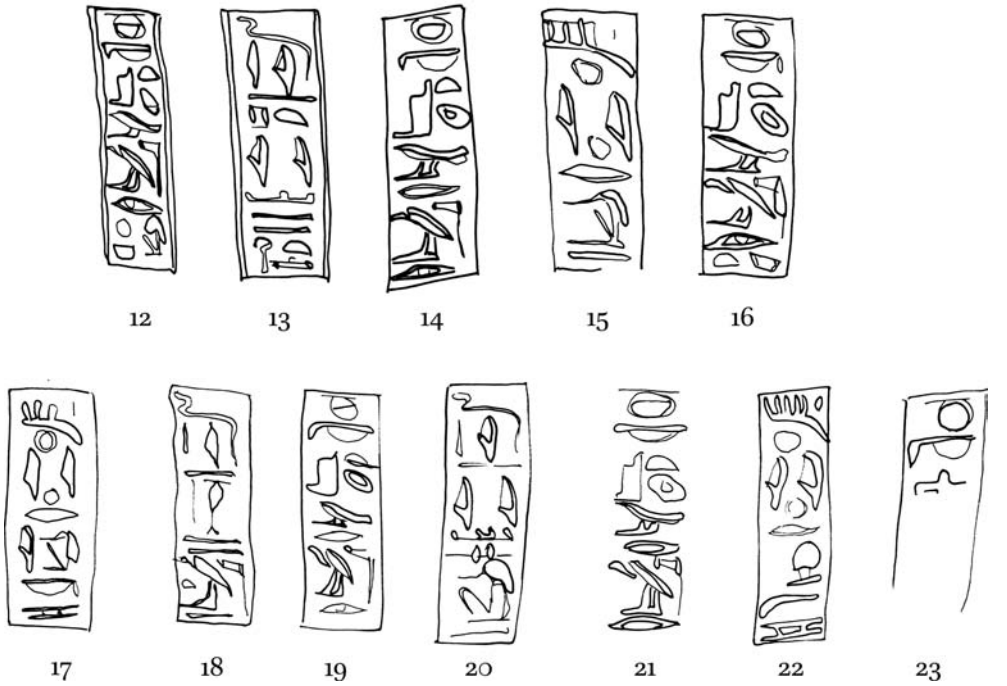


FIGURE 190 Anonymous box (right side). Inscriptions 11–23

14 Mummy Board (Figures 191–194)

Inventory number: 3911 (AE 119)
Length: 163 cm.
Wood, paste, paint and varnish.
The reverse side is undecorated.
The fists are carved in wood and attached to the lid.
Despite the thinness of the object, it is very well preserved.

Iconography

Headboard

The face is painted yellow, with the thick cosmetic lines outlined in light blue (Figure 192). The eyelids are suggested with a small red line. The iris is black, painted over a white background. The nose is small and roughly carved, the nostrils are suggested with red outline. The lips are outlined in red. The face is inexpressive and summarily carved.

The ears were simply outlined in red and not moulded in wood. Nevertheless, the anatomical details of the ears were carefully rendered, including pierced earlobes.

The divine wig shows a checkered pattern composed of interspersed longitudinal rectangles featured against a yellow background.

Upper Section

The fists are painted yellow, crossed over the chest (Figure 192) and the fingers are outlined in red. Five floral bands are displayed between the fists.

The forearms are completely hidden under the broad collar. Only a small part of the elbows is revealed, showing Osirian bracelets and a lotus flower, as well as a small part of the arms, decorated with red lines suggesting a pleated festive garment.

The imposing large collar has an elliptical shape, displaying seven floral bands featuring two distinct patterns: lotus leaves (1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th) and a checkered pattern (2nd, 4th, 6th). The clasps of the collar are not featured.

Between the lappets of the wig, a short collar displays eight bands showing petals like those depicted between the fists.

The chest displays a large, winged scarab holding up the solar disk (green) and grasping the *shen*-ring with the hind legs. The sun is flanked by *iaret*-cobras and *udjat*-eyes. This scene is featured against a yellow background, suggesting that the sun god is rising from the bare chest of the deceased.

Central Section

This composition is exceptionally long extending itself towards the footend of the object (Figure 193–194).[14] It is composed of ten registers presenting an alternate sequence of registers showing the sacred scarab flanked by symmetrical blocks (1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th) or a winged deity (2nd, 4th, 6th, 8th, 10th).

The first register presents a symmetrical composition with a sacred scarab at the centre. The scarab holds up the solar disk (green) showing the *shen*-ring between the hind legs. The scarab is flanked by large *tjet*-signs pending from cobras encircling the sun-disk (Figure 193).

This nuclear composition is flanked by centrifugal blocks featuring Osiris (red-skinned): he is squatted on a mat, in mummiform guise, wearing the *hedjet*-crown (green) adorned with long red streamers, and grasping the royal sceptres, *heka* and *nekhakha*. The register is completed with a centripetal block featuring a winged *udjat*-eye with a cobra wearing an *ankh*-sign pending from its neck.

The second register displays a squatted winged goddess (green-skinned) outstretching her wings towards both sides of the panel. She wears a modius, and a red headband. The goddess is clad in a tight dark dress. A frieze of geometrical motifs is displayed along the wings of the goddess.

The third register displays a sacred scarab flanked by squatted effigies of Osiris (not holding the royal sceptres) and winged *udjat*-eyes.

The fourth register displays a squatted winged goddess (green-skinned) outstretching her wings towards both sides of the panel. A frieze of geometrical motifs is displayed along the wings of the goddess.

The fifth register displays a sacred scarab flanked by centripetal blocks showing a *ba*-bird wearing the sun disk and holding a feather with his legs. The avian form of the deceased wears long red streamers and a *menat*-counterpoise pending from his back. The scene is completed with several hieroglyphs: an *udjat*-eye on a *heb*-bowl, the *nefer*-sign and a star (Figure 194).

The sixth register displays a squatted winged goddess (green-skinned) with a frieze of geometrical motifs displayed along her wings.

The seventh register displays a sacred scarab flanked by centrifugal blocks showing a mummiform god with a sun disk on his head and grasping a feather. He is squatted on a mat with a large bunch of lotus and ointment vessels at his feet.

14 This arrangement is typically associated with coffins dating from the late 21st Dynasty: Anonymous inner coffin and mummy-cover (A.15, Museo Egizio in Florence, Inv. nº 8524) in Zarli, Sousa 2018, 83/113.

The eighth register displays a squatted winged goddess (green-skinned) with a frieze of geometrical motifs displayed along her wings.

The ninth register displays a sacred scarab flanked by centripetal blocks showing a winged *udjat*-eye with a pending cobra.

The tenth register displays a winged *tjet*-sign with a frieze of geometrical motifs displayed along its wings.

Figures



FIGURE 191
Anonymous mummy-cover



FIGURE 192 Anonymous mummy-cover. Headboard and upper section



FIGURE 193 Anonymous mummy-cover. Central section (1st–4th registers)



FIGURE 194
Anonymous mummy-cover.
Central section (5th–10th registers)

TABLE 4 Burial assemblages of the Lot XVI: Table of concordance

Catalogue Number	Object	Names	Titles	Inv. Number	A.Number
1	Inner lid	Nesipanebimakh Maatemsaef		3909	A.12
2	Inner box	Anonymous		3909	A.12
3	Mummy board	Nesipanebimakh		3909	A.12
4	Inner lid	Taiuheret		3912	A.19
5	Inner box	Anonymous		3912	A.19
6	Mummy board	Anonymous		3912	A.19
7	Outer lid	Anonymous		3910	A.33
8	Outer box	Anonymous		3910	A.33
9	Inner lid	Ankhefenkhonsu		3910	A.33
10	Inner box	Ankhefenkhonsu		3910	A.33
11	Mummy board	Ankhefenkhonsu		3910	A.33
12	Inner lid	Anonymous		3911	A.41
13	Inner box	Anonymous		3911	A.41
14	Mummy board	Anonymous		3911	A.41

Shabtis

Rogério Sousa



1 *Shabtis* of Isety (*ỉsty*)

Inventory number: (a) 3937; (b) 3938.
Daressy List: A.66.
Height: (a) 7,1 cm; (b) 6,8 cm.
Terracotta once painted blue.
The painted decoration is deteriorated, as well as the hieroglyphic inscription.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Poorly modeled. Tripartite wig. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes, which are suggested with incisions. The reverse side is flattened, showing that a mould was used to craft the object.

Burial Assemblage

Probably from the burial assemblage of Isety (A.66).[1]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Isety are found in Cairo Museum,[2] Roanne,[3] and Florence.[4]

1 Zarli 2018, 326.
2 Newberry 1957, 288–89 (CG. 48064–73).
3 Gabolde 1990, 149 n. 134.
4 Zarli 2018, 326–327.



FIGURE 195
Shabtis of Isety

2 *Shabtis* of Isetemkhebi (*ꜣst-m-ꜣḫ-bỉt*)

Inventory number: (a) 3957, (b) 3958.
Daressy List: A.126.
Height: (a) 10,0 cm; (b) 9,8 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved. In (a) the inscription is slightly eroded.

Description

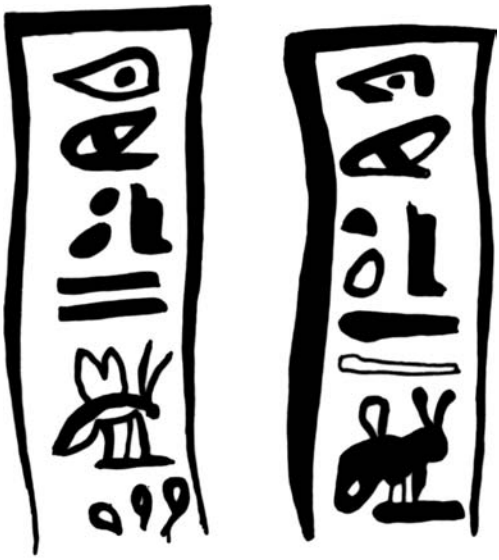
Mummiform servant.

The wig is painted black. Modeled ears, lips and nose. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Large basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black, bounded within black lines.



a b

Wsỉr ꜣst-m-ꜣḫ-bỉt

The Osiris Isetemkhebi.

Burial Assemblage

The *shabtis* of Isetemkhebi were included in the burial assemblage A.126.[5] Two types of *shabtis* are attested for this burial: short mummiform and tall mummiform. The objects here described are examples of the first series (see N. Cat. 3 for the second series).

Other examples of this series of *shabtis* crafted for Isetemkhebi are found in Basel,[6] Berlin,[7] Cairo,[8] Clermont-Ferrand,[9] Cortona,[10] Florence,[11] Leiden,[12] Lisbon,[13] London,[14] Madrid,[15] Paris,[16] Roanne,[17] Stockholm,[18] Uppsala,[19] Warsaw[20] and in private collections.[21]

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5 Zarli 2018, 329.
6 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 179 n. 111a.
7 Roeder 1913, n. 11898.
8 Newberry 1957, 64–66 (CG. 47016–47030).
9 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 4.
10 Botti 1955, 69 n. 116.
11 Zarli 2018, 331. A. Pellegrini, Bessarione VII (1899–1900), 13 n. 64–65.
12 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 1–2.
13 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507–4 A and B. Araújo 2003, 595–6 n. 1–2. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 102, E 401–2, E 460. Araújo 2003, 701–4 n. 1–4.
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17 Gabolde 1990, 105 n. 86.
18 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 903 (overseer).
19 Sandman 1931, 105 n. 29.
20 Pomorska 1959, 121 n. 31.
21 Janes 2002, 61–62.



FIGURE 196 *Shabtis* of Isetemkhebi

3 *Shabti* of Isetemkhebi (*ỉst-m-ỉḫ-bỉt*)

Inventory number: 3984.
Daressy List: A.126.
Height: 12,3 cm.
Blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Well-modeled figurine, with the anatomical features fairly designed. The wig is painted black. Short collar (three lines) depicted between the lappets. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Small basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black, bounded within two vertical lines (black).



Wsỉr nbt pr ỉst-m-ỉḫ-bỉt

The Osiris, mistress of the house, Isetemkhebi.

Burial Assemblage

This object provides an example of the second series of *shabtis* belonging to the burial assemblage of Isetemkhebi—A.126 (see N. Cat. 2 for the first series).

Other examples of *shabtis* for Isetemkhebi are found in Amiens,[22] Basel,[23] Berlin,[24] Brussels,[25] Cairo,[26] Clermont-Ferrand,[27] Cortona,[28] Florence,[29] Leiden,[30] Lisbon,[31] London,[32] Madrid,[33] Paris,[34] Roanne,[35] St. Gallen,[36] Stockholm,[37] Uppsala,[38] Wien[39] and in private collections.[40]

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23 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 180 n. 111b.
24 Roeder 1913, n. 11898.
25 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05423–24.
26 Newberry 1957, 64–66 (CG 47001–47015).
27 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 26.
28 Botti 1955, 69–70 n. 81.
29 Zarli 2018, 331. A. Pellegrini, Bessarione VII (1899–1900), 13 n. 64–65.
30 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 3.
31 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507–26 B. Araújo 2003, 597.
32 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24815–16.
33 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18310–11.
34 Aubert 1998, n. 2 (photograph on the left—overseer). Louvre E 22096.
35 Gabolde 1990, 107 n. 88.
36 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 179 n. 111.
37 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 905.
38 Sandman 1931, 96 n. 4.
39 Haslauer 1992, AS 8414.
40 Janes 2002, 61–2 n. 30.



FIGURE 197 *Shabti* of Isetemkhebi

4 *Shabti* of Amenhatpamesha (*ỉmn-ḥ3t-p3-mšʿ*)

Inventory number: 4006.
Daressy List: A.124 (?)
Height: 12,5 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face poorly shaped with outlined eyes and modeled ears. The wig is painted black. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Small basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black, written in reversed direction. This is the only object of the collection displaying this type of inscription.



Wsỉr ỉt-nṯr ỉmn ỉmn-ḥ3t-p3-mšʿ m3ʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris, divine father of Amun, Amenhatpamesha, justified.

Burial Assemblage

The coffin of Amenhatpamesha has not been identified, but the name Amenhat(pa)mesha has been associated with the coffin ensemble A.124 kept in Cairo,[41] showing the titles of "divine father of Amun, king of the gods" and "divine father of Mut".[42]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Amenhatpamesha are found in museums in Aix-les-Bains,[43] Amsterdam,[44] Assisi,[45] Berlin,[46] Brussels,[47] Cairo,[48] Cortona,[49] Florence,[50] Leiden,[51] Lisbon,[52] London,[53] Lyon,[54] Madrid,[55] Oslo,[56] Paris,[57] Roanne,[58] St. Gallen,[59] Toulouse,[60] and in private collections.[61]

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50 Zarli 2018, 335. A. Pellegrini, Bessarione VII (1899–1900), 12 n. 56.
51 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 10–11.
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56 Naguib 1985, EM 8085.
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58 Gabolde 1990, 101–2 n. 82.
59 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 162 n. 97.
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61 Janes 2002, 70–1 n. 34; Aubert 1998, n. 3.



FIGURE 198 *Shabti* of Amenhatpamesha

5 *Shabtis* of Amenhotep (*ʾImn-ḥtp*)

Inventory number: (a) 3977, (b) 3978.
Daressy List: A.39.
Height: (a) 9,7 cm; (b) 9,2 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

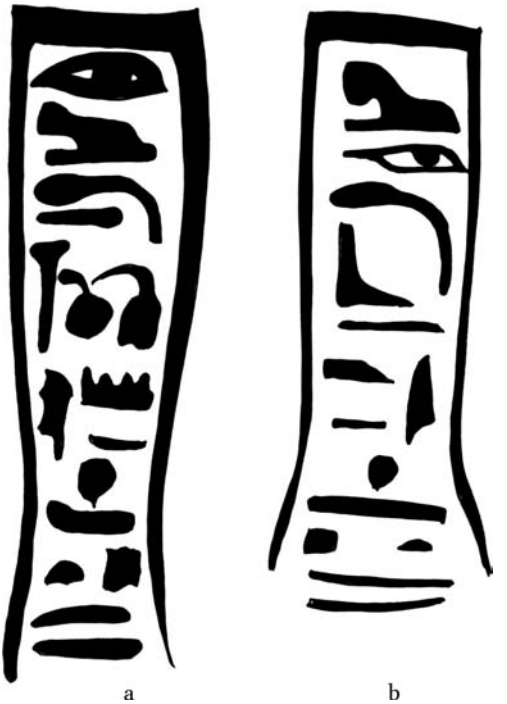
Mummiform servant.

Face poorly shaped with eyes and brows summarily outlined. Tripartite wig with modeled lappets and a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. The shape of the baskets is quite different with (b) having very unusual shapes on its top.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black, bounded within black lines.



a b

(a) *Wsỉr wʿb sš ỉmn-ḥtp mȝʿ-ḫrw*

The Osiris, *wab*-priest and scribe, Amenhotep, justified.

(b) *Wsỉr wʿb ỉmn-ḥtp mȝʿ-ḫrw*

The Osiris, *wab*-priest, Amenhotep, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* were part of the burial assemblage of the "divine father of Amun-Re", "*wab*-priest of Mut" and "scribe of the army recruits" Amenhotep (A.39).[62]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Amenhotep are found in museums in Basel,[63] Berlin,[64] Brussels,[65] Cairo,[66] Erevan,[67] Florence,[68] Leiden,[69] Lisbon,[70] London,[71] Lyon,[72] Madrid,[73] Oslo,[74] Paris,[75] Roanne,[76] St. Gallen,[77] Warsaw,[78] Wien[79] and in private collections.[80]

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64 Roeder 1913, n. 11947.
65 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05447a–b.
66 Newberry 1957, 32–4 (CG. 46644–46691), 39 (CG 46734–46738) and 42–3 (CG 46768–46772).
67 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 28.
68 Zarli 2018, 335.
69 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 12–13.
70 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507–10 A and B. Araújo 2003, 600–1 n. 6–7.
71 Petrie 1935, UC 277. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24865-66.
72 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 10.
73 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18278–79.
74 Naguib 1985, EM 8088 and EM 2309.
75 Louvre, E 22103 and E 22118.
76 Gabolde 1990, 103–4 n. 85.
77 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 178 n. 110.
78 Pomorska 1959, 123 n. 36.
79 Haslauer 1992, AS 6196.
80 Janes 2002, 73–5 n. 36a and 36b (overseer); Aubert 1998, n. 5 (overseer).



FIGURE 199 *Shabtis* of Amenhotep

6 *Shabtis* of Ankhefenmut (*ʿnḫ.f-n-Mwt*)

Inventory number: (a) 3947; (b) 3948.
Daressy List: A.140.
Height: (a) 13,5 cm; (b) 11,4 cm.
Terracotta.
(a) Well preserved. (b) Lower part is missing.

Description

Mummiform servant.

The features of the face slightly modeled, including nose and lips. Eyes painted with a black dot. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes (slightly modeled). Basket outlined on the back. Unlike the front side, the reverse is roughly shaped suggesting that a mould was used to craft these objects.

Inscription

The hieroglyphs are sunk, as they were imprinted by a mould. The text adopts the scheme of an "illumination formula".



a b

s.ḥḏ (*Wsir*) *it-nṯr ʾImn Mwt ʿnḫ.f-n-Mwt*

That may shine the Osiris, the divine father of Amun and Mut, Ankhefenmut.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* were part of the burial assemblage of the son of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperra, Ankhefenmut, who was "divine father of Amun and Mut" (A.140).[81] Other examples of *shabtis* for Ankhefenmut are found in museums in Amiens,[82] Berlin,[83] Brussels,[84] Cairo,[85] Cortona,[86] Florence,[87] Khazan,[88] Leiden,[89] Lisbon,[90] London,[91] Madrid,[92] Marseille,[93] Paris,[94] Roanne,[95] Stockholm,[96] Uppsala,[97] Wien[98] and in private collections.[99]

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81 Zarli 2018, 341.
82 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 34.
83 Roeder 1913, n. 11948–49.
84 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05431a–b.
85 Newberry 1957, 298–99 (CG. 48160–69).
86 Botti 1955, 71 n. 89.
87 Zarli 2018, 335. A. Pellegrini, Bessarione VII (1899–1900), 14 n. 70.
88 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 32.
89 Schneider 1977, n. 4.5.1. 1–2.
90 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507–34 A. Araújo 2003, 602 n. 8.
91 Petrie 1935, UC 434–35. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24807–08.
92 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18276–77.
93 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 34.
94 Louvre E 22075–76.
95 Gabolde 1990, 107–8 n. 89.
96 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 916.
97 Sandman 1931, 101 n. 18.
98 Haslauer 1992, AS 6190.
99 Aubert 1998, n. 6.



FIGURE 200 *Shabtis* of Akhefenmut

7 *Shabtis* of Ankhefenkhonsu (*ʿnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw*)

Inventory number: (a) 3916; (b) 3917; (c) 3918.
Daressy List: A.33.
Height: (a) 11,1 cm; (b) 10,7 cm; (c) 11,1 cm.
Terracotta painted white.
Well preserved. The white paint has faded away at some areas.

Description

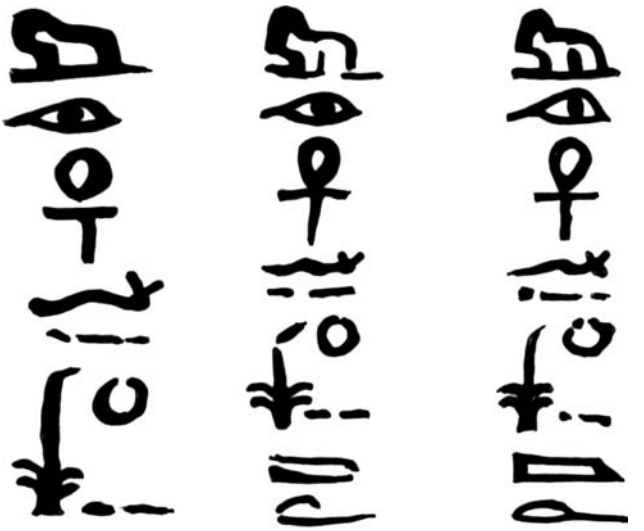
Mummiform servant.

Face poorly modeled, with outlined eyes and brows. Ears slightly modeled. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b c

Wsir ʿnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw mɜʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris Ankhefenkhonsu, justified.

Burial Assemblage

At least five individuals named Ankhefenkhonsu seem to have been buried in Bab el-Gasus and two series of *shabtis* with this name were found in the tomb. However, it is difficult to determine which coffin set they belonged to, or whether both types were made for the same individual. Daressy ascribes all the statuettes to the burial A.108, but according to Aubert the two series of statuettes, different in proportion, size and text, are to be ascribed to distinct burial assemblages: those with small eyes would belong to A.33, while those with large eyes to A.108.[100] On the other hand, the inscription provides a more objective criterion, with shabtis from A.108 showing a slightly different writing of the name of Osiris.

Following this criterion, the three objects showing the standard writing of the name of Osiris may belong to the burial assemblage A.33. The coffin set of Ankhefenkhonsu (A.33) is also kept in Copenhagen.[101] Other examples of *shabtis* for Ankhefenkhonsu are to be found in museums in Aix-les-Bains,[102] Basel,[103] Brussels,[104] Cairo,[105] Chicago,[106] Cortona,[107] Florence,[108] Leiden,[109] Lisbon,[110] London,[111] Madrid,[112] Oslo,[113] Paris,[114] Roanne,[115] St. Gallen,[116] Stockholm,[117] and Wien.[118]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3915-16-17-18.

100 Aubert 1998, 56–57 n. 7.
101 Niwiński 1988, 135 n. 165. Outer coffin, inner coffin and mummy board. Dating: middle/late 21st Dynasty.
102 Aubert 1988, 5 n. 268.
103 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 166 n. 101a.
104 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05400 c–d.
105 Newberry 1957, 283–4 (CG 47984–48003).
106 http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/136591.
107 Botti 1955, 71 n. 103.
108 Zarli 2018, 343–346.
109 Schneider 1977, n. 4.5.1. 3-4-5-6.
110 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507–27 A and B. Araújo 2003, 605–6 n. 11–12. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 92–4. Araújo 2003, 705–7 n. 5–7.
111 Petrie 1935, n. 385-400-449,460. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24801–02 and 24843–44.
112 MAN 18260 and 18212–13.
113 Naguib 1985, EM 8111.
114 Aubert 1998 n. 7 (Louvre 22050).
115 Gabolde 1990, 108–9 n. 90.
116 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 167 n. 101b and 101c.
117 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 912.
118 Haslauer 1992, AS 618.



FIGURE 201 *Shabtis* of Ankhefenkhonsu

8 *Shabti* of Ankhefenkhonsu (*ꜥnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw*)

Inventory number: 3915.
Daressy List: A.108.
Height: 11,0 cm.
Terracotta painted white.
Well preserved. The inscription is faint in the lower part.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face poorly modeled. Modeled ears. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



Wsỉr ꜥnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw mɜꜥ-ḫrw

The Osiris Ankhefenkhonsu, justified.

Burial Assemblage

This is an example of the second series of *shabtis* for Ankhefenkhonsu found in Bab el-Gasus,[119] showing the name of Osiris written in inverted sequence. Aubert ascribes these statuettes to the burial assemblage A.108, belonging to Ankhefenkhonsu, "divine father of Amun", "beloved of the god", "overseer of the secrets" and "chief of the engravers". His burial equipment included a *shabti*-box.[120]

Other examples of *shabtis* belonging to this series are found in museums in Basel,[121] Brussels,[122] Clermont-Ferrand,[123] Florence,[124] Lisbon,[125] Lyon,[126] Madrid,[127] Oslo,[128] Paris[129] and Uppsala.[130]

119 Zarli 2018, 347–348.
120 Aston 2009, 183 (TG. 108).
121 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 166 n. 101.
122 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05400a–b.
123 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 1.
124 Zarli 2018, 347–348.
125 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-1 A and B. Araújo 2003, 603–4 n. 9–10.
126 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 1.
127 MAN 18261.
128 Naguib 1985, EM 8110.
129 Aubert 1998 n. 7 (Louvre 22050).
130 Sandman 1931, 96 n. 3.



FIGURE 202 *Shabti* of Ankhefenkhonsu

9 *Shabtis* of Ankhesenmut (*ʿnḫ.s-n-Mwt*)

Inventory number: (a) 3939; (b) 3940; (c) 3941
Daressy List: A.38.
Height: (a) 11,8 cm; (b) 11,7 cm; (c) 11,7 cm
Terracotta painted blue.
Well preserved. The blue paint has faded away.

Description

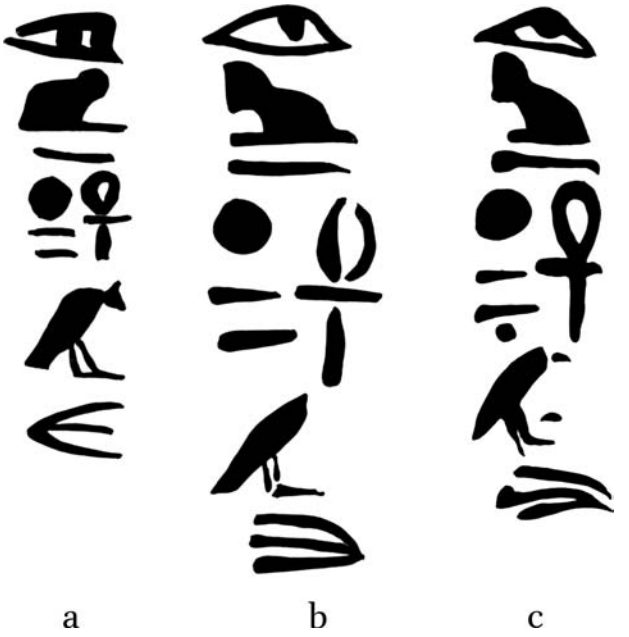
Mummiform servant.

Face crudely modeled. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



Wsi̯r ʿnḫ.s-n-Mwt mɜʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris Ankhesenmut, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* were included in the burial assemblage A.38 belonging to Ankhesenmut, "chantress of Amun" and "musician of the choir of Mut".[131] Other examples of *shabtis* for Ankhesenmut are to be found in museums in Basel,[132] Brussels,[133] Cairo,[134] Florence,[135] Lisbon,[136] London,[137] Madrid,[138] Marseille,[139] Oslo,[140] Paris,[141] Roanne,[142] St. Gallen,[143] and Stockholm.[144]

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131 Zarli 2018, 351.
132 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 187 n. 114c.
133 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05409a–b and E 05430a–b.
134 Newberry 1957, 300–01 (CG 48190–48209).
135 Zarli 2018, 350–352.
136 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-13 B and 2507–33 A. Araújo 2003, 608–9 n. 14–15. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 86. Araújo 2003, 709 n. 9.
137 Petrie 1935, n. 397. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24837–38 and 24855–56.
138 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18324.
139 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 33.
140 Naguib 1985, EM 8108 and EM 8118.
141 Aubert 1998 n. 8 (Louvre 20226).
142 Gabolde 1990, 110 n. 92.
143 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 186 n. 114.
144 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 917–18.



FIGURE 203 *Shabtis* of Ankhesenmut

10 *Shabti* of Ankhesenmut (*ꜥnḫ.s-n-Mwt*)

Inventory number: 3942.
Daressy List: A.38.
Height: 11,3 cm.
Terracotta painted blue.
Well preserved. Only vestiges of the paint are currently found.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Modeled ears. Arms crossed over the chest.

Currently there are no visible signs of inscriptions or decoration.

Burial Assemblage

This object is an example of a second series of *shabtis* crafted for Ankhesenmut: the body is thicker than those of the former examples (see N. Cat. 9). Other examples of this type of statuette are found in museums in Basel,[145] Cairo,[146] Kiev,[147] Florence,[148] Leiden,[149] Lisbon,[150] Madrid,[151] Roanne,[152] St. Gallen,[153] and Wien.[154]

145 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 187 n. 114b.
146 Newberry 1957, 300–01 (CG 48190–209).
147 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 86–87.
148 Zarli 2018, 353–354.
149 Schneider 1977, n. 4.5.1. 7-8-9-10.
150 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-13 A and 2507–33 B. Araújo 2003, 607 and 610 n. 13 and 16. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 85 and E 454–5. Araújo 2003, 708–11 n. 8, 10–11.
151 MAN 18285.
152 Gabolde 1990, 109 n. 91.
153 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 186 n. 114a.
154 Haslauer 1992, AS 6199.



FIGURE 204 *Shabti* of Ankhesenmut

11 *Shabtis* of Userhatmes (*Wsr-ḥ3t-ms*)

Inventory number: (a) 3965; (b) 3966.
Daressy List: A.105.
Height: (a) 12,0 cm; (b) 12,4 cm.
Blue faience.
Well preserved. In (a) the black outline of the inscriptions is slightly faded.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face finely shaped with outlined eyes and brows. Tripartite wig adorned with a *seshed* headband. The arms are crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsi̯r Wsr-ḥ3t-ms mȝʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris Userhatmes, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* integrated the burial assemblage A.105 belonging to Userhatmes,[155] "*wab*-priest at the prow of the Sacred Bark of Mut, mistress of the sky", "*wab*-priest of Amun, king of the gods" and "scribe of the treasury of the supreme chief of the concubines of Amun". He was supplied with two types of *shabtis*. One series is composed of slightly taller objects.[156] The objects kept in Copenhagen belong to the taller series. Other examples of this series are found in museums in Amiens,[157] Brussels,[158] Cortona,[159] Florence,[160] Leiden,[161] Lisbon,[162] London,[163] Paris,[164] Roanne,[165] Wien, and in private collections.[166]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3965.

155 Zarli 2018, 356.
156 Zarli 2018, 356–357.
157 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 7.
158 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05405a–b.
159 Botti 1955, 71 n. 110.
160 Zarli 2018, 355–357.
161 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1 17.
162 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-7 A. Araújo 2003, 611 n. 17.
163 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24803–04.
164 Louvre E 22091.
165 Gabolde 1990, 110–11 n. 93.
166 Janes 2002, 77–8 n. 37b; Aubert 1998 n. 9.



FIGURE 205 *Shabtis* of Userhatmes

12 *Shabtis* of Bakenmut (*B3k-n-Mwt*)

Inventory number: (a) 3955; (b) 3995.
Daressy List: A.94.
Height: (a) 9,7 cm; (b) 9,3 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face slightly modeled, with outlined eyes and brows. Modeled ears, nose and lips. The wig is adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

(a) *Wsi̯r it-nṯr n Mwt B3k-n-Mwt*

The Osiris, god father of Mut, Bakenmut.

(b) *Wsỉr Bꜣk-n-Mwt mꜣʿ-ḫrw*

The Osiris Bakenmut, justified.

Burial Assemblage

Two burial assemblages from Bab el-Gasus are associated with this name: A.40 and A.94.[167] The *shabtis* here presented can be attributed to the burial assemblage A.94.[168]

Other examples of mummiform servant for Bakenmut are found in museums in Amiens,[169] Boulogne-sur-mer,[170] Basel,[171] Brussels,[172] Cairo,[173] Cortona,[174] Florence,[175] Leiden,[176] Lisbon,[177] London,[178] Madrid,[179] Paris,[180] Roanne,[181] St. Gallen,[182] Stockholm,[183] Uppsala,[184] Wien,[185] and private collections.[186]

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Mogensen 1918.

167 Zarli 2018, 359.
168 Aubert 1998, 60. For the deceased A.40, Aubert notices *shabtis* crafted in clay painted green.
169 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 18.
170 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 18.
171 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 169 n. 103a.
172 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05414 (with titles).
173 Newberry 1957, 29–30 (CG 46604–46623) and 35 (CG 46697).
174 Botti 1955, 71–72 n. 85 and 97.
175 Zarli 2018, 358–360.
176 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1 18–19.
177 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-18 A and B. Araújo 2003, 613–14 n. 19–20.
178 Petrie 1935, UC 294. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24863–64;
179 MAN 18294–95.
180 Louvre E 22102.
181 Gabolde 1990, 111–12 n. 94.
182 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 169 n. 103.
183 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, MM 14987.
184 Sandman 1931, 100 n. 16.
185 Haslauer 1992, AS 6251–52.
186 Aubert 1998, n. 10.



FIGURE 206 *Shabtis* of Bakenmut

13 *Shabtis* of Paiefadjer (*Pȝy.f-ꜥḏr*)

Inventory number: (a) 3959; (b) 3960.
Daressy List: A.99.
Height: (a) 9,6 cm; (b) 9,4 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved. The inscriptions are slightly faded.

Description

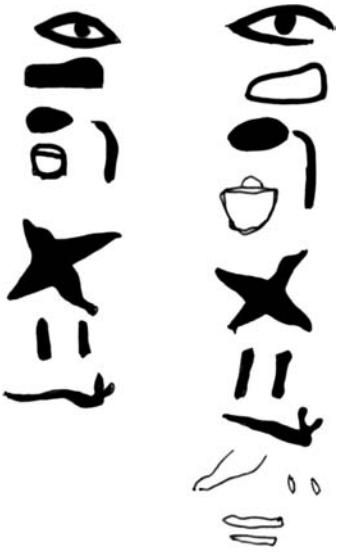
Mummiform servant.

Face crudely shaped, with outlined eyes and brows. Modeled ears and striped wig. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. With exception of the basket, the back is undecorated.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black. Part of the name is lost, but comparison with other objects helps us to identify the deceased.



a b

Wsi̯r wꜥb ḫry-ḥbt Pȝy.f-ꜥḏr

The Osiris, *wab*-priest and lector priest, Paiefadjer.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Paiefadjer (A.99).[187]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Paiefadjer are found in museums in Amiens,[188] Basel,[189] Berlin,[190] Brussels,[191] Cairo,[192] Cleveland,[193] Florence,[194] Leiden,[195] Lisbon,[196] London,[197] Madrid,[198] Marseille,[199] Oslo,[200] Roanne,[201] St. Gallen,[202] Voronezh,[203] Yuriev,[204] and private collections.[205]

187 Zarli 2018, 362.
188 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 22.
189 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 197 n. 121a.
190 Roeder 1913, n. 11971 (two examples).
191 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05418 and E 05448.
192 Newberry 1957, 77–8 (CG 47151–47160).
193 Berman and Kenneth 1999, 358 n. 270.
194 Zarli 2018, 361–362.
195 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 34-35-36.
196 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-22 A and B. Araújo 2003, 622–23 n. 28–29. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 114 and E 462. Araújo 2003, 722–23 n. 22–23.
197 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24811–12.
198 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18302–03.
199 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 22.
200 Naguib 1985, EM 8082 and EM 8093.
201 Gabolde 1990, 112–13 n. 95.
202 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 197 n. 121.
203 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 74.
204 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 75.
205 Aubert 1998, n. 11.



FIGURE 207 *Shabtis* of Paiefadjer

14 *Shabtis* of Pasebakhaenniut (*P3-sb3-ḫʿ-n-nỉwt*)

Inventory number: (a) 3999; (b) 4000.
Daressy List: A.85.
Height: (a) 9,1 cm; (b) 9,0 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face poorly modeled with outlined eyes and brows. Wig adorned with a *seshed* headband. Exceptionally, the arms are not crossed over the chest but brought over the belly grasping tools (moulded). Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Both objects have a sunken line across the back.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsỉr P3-sb3-ḫʿ-n-nỉwt mȝʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris Pasebakhemniut, justified.

Burial Assemblage

The *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Pasebakhaenniut (A.85),[206] or "Psusennes" in its Hellenized form, who was "divine father of Amun" and "prophet of Sobek".[207]

Other *shabtis* for this owner are found in museums in Amiens,[208] Basel,[209] Berlin,[210] Brussels,[211] Cairo,[212] Cortona,[213] Florence,[214] Leiden,[215] Lisbon,[216] London,[217] Madrid,[218] Marseille,[219] Paris,[220] Roanne,[221] St. Gallen,[222] Stockholm,[223] Voronezh,[224] and Wien.[225]

206 Zarli 2018, 367–368. This name was only found on the papyrus.
207 Zarli 2018, 367–368.
208 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 20.
209 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 164 n. 99.
210 Roeder 1913, n. 11976 (two examples).
211 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05416a–b.
212 Newberry 1957, 56–7 (CG 46933–46937).
213 Botti 1955, 72 n. 80.
214 Zarli 2018, 367–368.
215 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 37–38.
216 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-20 A and B. Araújo 2003, 617–18 n. 23–24. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 111. Araújo 2003, 716 n. 16.
217 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24877–78.
218 MAN 18298–99.
219 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 20.
220 Aubert 1998, n. 14.
221 Gabolde 1990, 114–15 n. 97.
222 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 180 n. 112.
223 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 908.
224 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 77.
225 Haslauer 1992, AS 6233.



FIGURE 208 *Shabtis* of Pasebakhaenniut

15 *Shabtis* of Padiamun (*Pȝ-dỉ-ʾImn*)

Inventory number: (a) 3921; (b) 3922.
Daressy List: A.114.
Height: (a) 11,5 cm; (b) 11,0 cm.
Terracotta painted white.
Well preserved. The white paint is faded away.

Description

(a) Overseer; (b) mummiform servant.

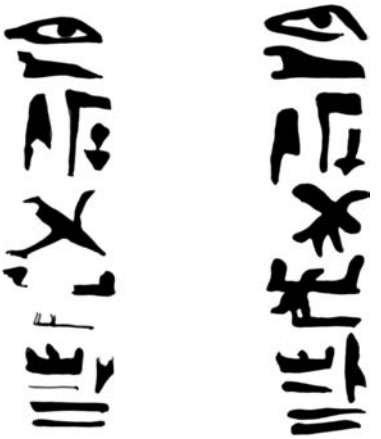
Faces crudely shaped with outlined eyes, brows and lips. Striped wig adorned with a *seshed* headband. Short collar between the lappets. In (a) the left arm crosses over the chest grasping a flail. The figurine shows the typical ceremonial costume worn by the overseers. In (b) the arms cross over the chest grasping hoes.

Both carry a basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsỉr ỉt-nṯr Pȝ-dỉ-ʾImn mȝʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris, divine father, Padiamun justified.

Burial Assemblage

At least five men with this name (Padiamun) seem to have been buried in Bab el-Gasus. Daressy ascribes all these *shabtis* to the deceased associated with the splendid burial A.114, belonging to the "divine father", "overseer of the secrets", "priest of Amun" and "chief-lector" Padiamun, son of Pakharu.[226]

However, we can detect two different types of statuettes which probably belonged to different individuals. One shows taller figures displaying one single column of hieroglyphs, while the other is composed of smaller figurines inscribed with three columns of hieroglyphs.[227] The *shabtis* under this rubric can be ascribed to the first series.

Other examples of this series of *shabtis* for Padiamun are found in Basel,[228] Berlin,[229] Brussels,[230] Cairo,[231] Cleveland,[232] Florence,[233] Leiden,[234] Lisbon,[235] London,[236] Paris,[237] Roanne,[238] St. Gallen,[239] Stockholm,[240] Toulouse,[241] Uppsala,[242] and Wien.[243]

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226 Daressy 1907, 15.
227 Zarli 2018, 371–372.
228 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 185 n. 113c.
229 Roeder 1913, n. 11954.
230 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05402 a (overseer) and b.
231 Newberry 1957, 286–7 (CG 48024 and 48039).
232 Berman and Kenneth 1999, 360–61 n. 274.
233 Zarli 2018, 371–372.
234 Schneider 1977, n. 4.5.1. 13–14, with traces of green painting and varnish.
235 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-3 A. Araújo 2003, 620 n. 25. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 96. Araújo 2003, 717 n. 17.
236 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24849–50.
237 Aubert 1998, n. 15 (Louvre E 22056). The scholar ascribes all the statuettes named Padiamun to the deceased A.114.
238 Gabolde 1990, 116–17 n. 99.
239 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 182 n. 113.
240 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 911.
241 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 3.
242 Sandman 1931, 104 n. 26.
243 Haslauer 1992, AS 8793 and 8795.



FIGURE 209 *Shabtis* of Padiamun

16 *Shabtis* of Padiamun (*Pȝ-dỉ-ʾImn*)

Inventory number: (a) 3935; (b) 3936.
Daressy List: A.24.
Height: (a) 9,8 cm; (b) 9,3 cm.
Terracotta painted light green and varnished.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face crudely shaped with outlined eyes and brows. The wig is adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

The object was finished off with varnish certainly to resemble the glazed faience objects.

Inscription

The text is displayed in three columns of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsỉr ḥm-nṯr n ʾImn Pȝ-dỉ-ʾImn mȝʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris, prophet of Amun, Padiamun, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These objects belong to the second series of statuettes inscribed with the name Padiamun. They are smaller, displaying three columns of hieroglyphs (cf. Cat. N. 15) and they were probably associated with the burial assemblage A.24.[244]

Other examples of this second series of *shabtis* for Padiamun are found in museums in Basel,[245] Brussels,[246] Cairo,[247] Clermont-Ferrand,[248] Cortona,[249] Kaunas,[250] Florence,[251] Leiden,[252] Lisbon,[253] London,[254] Madrid,[255] Marseille,[256] Oslo,[257] Paris,[258] Roanne,[259] St. Gallen,[260] and Wien.[261]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3935–36.

244 Zarli 2018, 375.
245 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 184 n. 113b.
246 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05442a–b.
247 Newberry 1957, 287 (CG 48040–41).
248 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 45.
249 Botti 1955, 72 n. 93.
250 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 31.
251 Zarli 2018, 374–375.
252 Schneider 1977, n. 4.5.1. 11–12, with traces of green painting and varnish.
253 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-45 A and B. Araújo 2003, 620–21 n. 26–27. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 89–90. Araújo 2003, 718–19 n. 18–19.
254 Petrie 1935, n. 14, 15 and 20. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24873–74.
255 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18348–49.
256 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 45.
257 Naguib 1985, EM 8103 and EM 8113.
258 Aubert 1998, n. 15 (Louvre E 22149).
259 Gabolde 1990, 115 n. 98.
260 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 183 n. 113a.
261 Haslauer 1992, AS 6161–6162.



FIGURE 210 *Shabtis* of Padiamun

17 *Shabtis* of Meritamun (*Mr.t-ỉmn*)

Inventory number: (a) 3990; (b) 3989.
Daressy List: A.71.
Height: (a) 12,6 cm; (b) 12 cm.
Blue faience.
Well preserved.
(b) Currently kept in Antikmuseet of the University of Aarhus.

Description

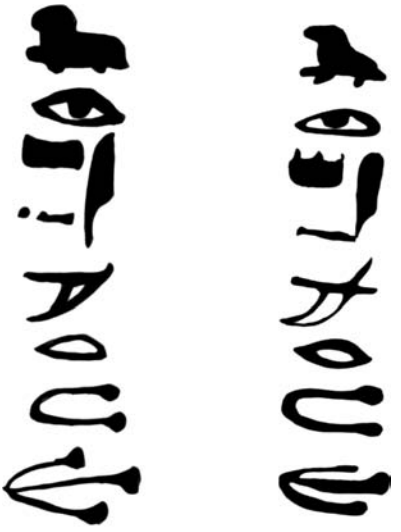
Mummiform servant.

Face poorly shaped with outlined eyes and brows. Ears and nose modeled. The wig is adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes (slightly modeled). Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsỉr Mr.t-ỉmn, mȝʿ-ḫrw.

The Osiris Meritamun, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Meritamun (A.71), which was the daughter of the High Priest Menkheperra and Isetemkhebi C.[262] She was "chantress of Amun", "musician of the choir of Mut, great lady of Isheru", "nurse of Khonsu, the child".

Three different types of *shabtis* can be ascribed to Meritamun, with differences in shape, size, and writing. These objects belong to the first series (see N. Cat. 18 for the second type and N. Cat. 19 for the third). The statuettes of this group are tall, slim, showing honorific anteposition of the god's name in the inscription.[263]

Other examples of the first type of *shabtis* for Meritamun are found in museums in Amiens,[264] Basel,[265] Bruxelles,[266] Cairo,[267] Florence,[268] Leiden,[269] Lisbon,[270] London,[271] Madrid,[272] Marseille,[273] Oslo,[274] Paris,[275] Roanne,[276] and St. Gallen.[277]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3989–90.

262 Zarli 2018, 377–378.
263 Zarli 2018, 378.
264 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 8 (overseer).
265 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 174 n. 106b.
266 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05406a–b.
267 Newberry 1957, 43–4 (CG 46773–78) and 52 (CG 46849–72).
268 Zarli 2018, 377–378.
269 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 8–9.
270 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-8 A and B. Araújo 2003, 624–25 n. 30–31.
271 Petrie 1935, n. 295. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24879–80.
272 MAN 18274–75.
273 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 8.
274 Naguib 1985, EM 8105 (b) and EM 8112.
275 Louvre E 22086.
276 Gabolde 1990, 100 n. 80.
277 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 173 n. 106.



FIGURE 211 *Shabtis* of Meritamun

18 *Shabtis* of Meritamun (*Mr.t-ỉmn*)

Inventory number: (a) 3962; (b) 3961.
Daressy List: A.71.
Height: (a) 10,5 cm; (b) 10,4 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved. The black outlines are slightly faded.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face crudely shaped with outlined eyes and brows. Ears, nose and lips modeled. Wig adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes (modeled). Basket on the back executed in a criss-cross pattern.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs incised and outlined in black.



a b

Wsỉr Mr.t-ỉmn, mȝʿ-ḫrw.

The Osiris Meritamun, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These statuettes belong to the second type of *shabtis* for Meritamun, smaller and thicker than the first series (N. Cat. 17) but displaying the same honorific anteposition in the writing of the name of the owner.

Other examples of this type of *shabtis* for Meritamun are found in Basel,[278] Brussels,[279] Cairo,[280] Clermont-Ferrand,[281] Florence,[282] Leiden,[283] Lisbon,[284] London,[285] Madrid,[286] Paris,[287] Roanne,[288] St. Gallen,[289] Stockholm,[290] Toulouse,[291] and Voronezh.[292]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3961–62.

278 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 174 n. 106c.
279 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05410a–b.
280 Newberry 1957, 73–4 (CG 47111–47120).
281 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 14.
282 Zarli 2018, 380–381.
283 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 6–7.
284 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-14 A and B. Araújo 2003, 626–27 n. 32–33. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 112 and E 486. Araújo 2003, 726–27 n. 26–27.
285 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24835–36.
286 MAN 18286–87.
287 Aubert 1998 n. 16 (Louvre E 22136).
288 Gabolde 1990, 100–01 n. 81.
289 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 173 n. 106a.
290 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 902.
291 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 14.
292 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 72.



FIGURE 212 *Shabtis* of Meritamun

19 *Shabtis* of Meritamun (*Mr.t-ỉmn*)

Inventory number: (a) 3986; (b) 3985.
Daressy List: A.71.
Height: (a) 12,7 cm; (b) 11,0 cm.
Blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

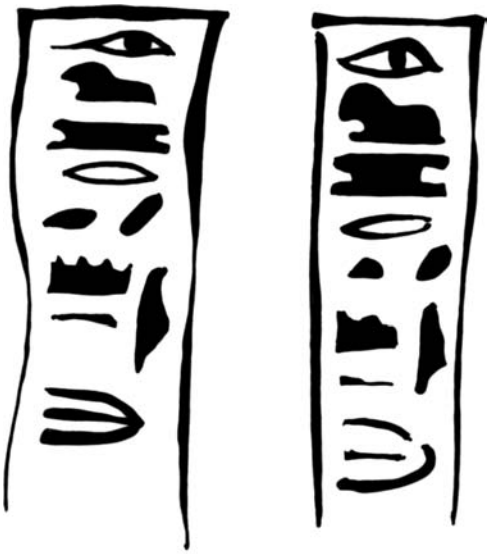
Mummiform servant.

Face crudely shaped with outlined eyes, brows and mouth. Ears and nose modeled. Wig painted black. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black and bounded within black lines.



a b

Wsỉr Mr.t-ỉmn, m;ʿ-ḫrw.

The Osiris Meritamun, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These statuettes belong to the third series of *shabtis* for Meritamun. The inscription is bounded within black lines and the honorific anteposition in the writing of the name of the owner is not used.

Other examples of the third type of *shabtis* for Meritamun are found in Berlin,[293] Boulogne-sur-mer,[294] Brussels,[295] Cairo,[296] Cleveland,[297] Cortona,[298] Florence,[299] Leiden,[300] Lisbon,[301] London,[302] Lyon,[303] Madrid,[304] Oslo,[305] Paris,[306] and Roanne.[307]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3985–86.

293 Roeder 1913, n. 11956–57.
294 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 35.
295 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05432a–b.
296 Newberry 1957, 55–6 (CG 46923–46932).
297 Berman and Kenneth 1999, 356 n. 267.
298 Botti 1955, 73 n. 114.
299 Zarli 2018, 383–385.
300 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 41–42.
301 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-35 A and B. Araújo 2003, 628–29 n. 34–35.
302 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24847–48.
303 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 35.
304 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18328–29.
305 Naguib 1985, EM 8083 and EM 8094.
306 Aubert 1998, n. 16 (E 22081).
307 Gabolde 1990, 118–19 n. 101.



FIGURE 213 *Shabtis* of Meritamun

20 *Shabtis* of Nesiamun (*Ns-ʾImn*)

Inventory number: (a) 3954; (b) 3953.
Daressy List: A.148.
Height: (a) 11,8 cm; (b) 11 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face roughly moulded, with outlined eyes and brows. The wig is adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

Text outlined in black displayed in three horizontal bands of hieroglyphs.



a



b

Wsi̯r 4 ḥm-nṯr n ʾImn-Rᶜ nsw-nṯrw Ns-ʾImn mꜣᶜ-ḫrw

The Osiris, fourth prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods, Nesiamun, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* were part of the burial assemblage of Nesiamun (A.148), "divine father of Amun", "chief of the secrets in the sky, on earth and in the duat", "he who opens the doors of the sky in Karnak", and, last but not least, "fourth prophet of Amun".[308]

Both objects are inscribed with a short text providing the name and titles of the deceased. Other objects were inscribed with slightly lengthier texts, with a version of Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead.[309]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Nesiamun are found in museums in Amiens,[310] Basel,[311] Berlin,[312] Boulogne-sur-mer,[313] Brussels,[314] Cairo,[315] Cortona,[316] Ivanovo,[317] Florence,[318] Leiden,[319] Lisbon,[320] London,[321] Madrid,[322] Oslo,[323] Paris,[324] Roanne,[325] St. Gallen,[326] and private collections.[327]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3953–54 (three horizontal lines).

308 Zarli 2018, 387.
309 Araújo 2003, 630.
310 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 38.
311 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 171 n. 104a (three horizontal lines).
312 BM 11955.
313 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 38.
314 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05435 a (four horizontal lines) and b.
315 Newberry 1957, 61–64 (CG 46981–47000).
316 Botti 1955, 73 n. 83 (three horizontal lines).
317 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 30.
318 Zarli 2018, 386–387.
319 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 43–44.
320 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-38 A (four horizontal lines) and B (three horizontal lines). Araújo 2003, 630–33 n. 36–37.
321 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24833 (three horizontal lines) and 24834 (overseer).
322 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18334–35 (three horizontal lines).
323 Naguib 1985, EM 8086 and EM 8092 (three horizontal lines).
324 Aubert 1998, n. 19.
325 Gabolde 1990, 120 n. 103 (three horizontal lines).
326 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 170 n. 104 (three horizontal lines).
327 Janes 2002, 92–3 n. 46 (three horizontal lines).



FIGURE 214 *Shabtis* of Nesiamun

21 *Shabtis* of Nesiamenemope (*Ns-ʾImn-m-ỉpt*)

Inventory number: (a) 3923; (b) 3924.
Daressy List: A.113.
Height: (a) 8,7 cm; (b) 9,1 cm.
Terracotta painted white.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face poorly shaped with outlined eyes and brows. The wig is adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

The back of the statuettes shows that these objects were produced by pressing the clay against a mould.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black. The text adopts the scheme of an "illumination formula".



a b

(a) *s.ḥḏ Wsỉr wʿb Ns-ỉmn-m-ỉpt*

That may shine the Osiris, *wab*-priest, Nesiamenemope.

(b) *s.ḥḏ Wsỉr wʿb pr-ỉmn Ns-ỉmn-m-ỉpt*

That may shine the Osiris, *wab*-priest in the Temple of Amun, Nesiamenemope.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* are associated with the burial assemblage of Nesiamenemope (A.113), "*wab*-priest at the prow of Amun", "great *wab*-priest assigned to the service of Amun in Karnak", "*imi-seta*" and "scribe of the treasury of the Temple of Amun".[328]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Nesiamenemope are found in museums in Amiens,[329] Basel,[330] Berlin,[331] Brussels,[332] Cairo,[333] Florence,[334] Kiev,[335] Leiden,[336] Lisbon,[337] London,[338] Madrid,[339] Marseille,[340] Paris,[341] Roanne,[342] St. Gallen,[343] Stockholm,[344] Uppsala,[345] Wien,[346] Zurich,[347] and private collections.[348]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3923–24.

328 Zarli 2018, 391.
329 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 31.
330 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 206 n. 128b.
331 Roeder 1913, n. 11952–53.
332 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05428a–b.
333 Newberry 1957, 284–85 (CG 48004–48013).
334 Zarli 2018, 390–391.
335 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 84–85.
336 Schneider 1977, n. 4.5.1. 15–16.
337 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-31 A and B. Araújo 2003, 634–35 n. 38–39.
338 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24891–92.
339 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18321.
340 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 31 (overseer).
341 Aubert 1998, n. 20.
342 Gabolde 1990, 120–21 n. 104.
343 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 206 n. 128a.
344 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 914.
345 Sandman 1931, 98 n. 10.
346 Haslauer 1992, AS 6179.
347 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 205 n. 128.
348 Janes 2002, 93–4 n. 47.



FIGURE 215 *Shabtis* of Nesiamenemope

22 *Shabtis* of Nesipaneferher (*Ns-pꜣ-ḥr-ꜥn*)

Inventory number: (a) 3997; (b) 3998.
Daressy List: A.35.
Height: (a) 10,5 cm; (b) 10,7 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face roughly shaped, with outlined eyes and brows. The wig is adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsi̯r Ns-pꜣ-ḥr-ꜥn.

The Osiris Nesipaheran.

Burial Assemblage

The *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Nesipaheran (A.35), who held the titles of "divine father of Amun", "*wab*-priest of Khonsu" and "scribe of the Temple of Amun".[349]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Nesipaheran are found in museums in Basel,[350] Berlin,[351] Brussels,[352] Cairo,[353] Cortona,[354] Florence,[355] Kiev,[356] Leiden,[357] Lisbon,[358] London,[359] Madrid,[360] Marseille,[361] Oslo,[362] Paris,[363] Roanne,[364] St. Gallen,[365] and private collections.[366]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3997–98.

349 Zarli 2018, 394.
350 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 176 n. 108a.
351 Roeder 1913, n. 11975 (two examples).
352 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05443a–b and E 05445.
353 Newberry 1957, 57–8 (CG 46938–46946).
354 Botti 1955, 73 n. 92.
355 Zarli 2018, 393–394.
356 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 88–89.
357 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 48–49.
358 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-46 A and B. Araújo 2003, 636–37 n. 40–41. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 107–9 and E 456–7. Araújo 2003, 728–32 n. 28–32.
359 Petrie 1935, n. 276. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24867–68.
360 MAN 18350–51.
361 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 46.
362 Naguib 1985, EM 8098 and EM 8115.
363 Louvre E 22078.
364 Gabolde 1990, 123 n. 106.
365 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 176 n. 108.
366 Aubert 1998, n. 22.



FIGURE 216 *Shabtis* of Nesipaheran

23 *Shabtis* of Nesipahernefer (*Ns-pȝ-ḥr-nfr*)

Inventory number: (a) 3973; (b) 3974.
Daressy List: A.98.
Height: (a) 11,1 cm; (b) 12,7 cm.
Blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face roughly shaped with outlined eyes and brows. Striped tripartite wig, adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. With exception of the basket (criss-cross pattern), the back is undecorated.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black. The text adopts the scheme of an "illumination formula".



a b

s.ḫḏ Wsỉr ỉt-nṯr mr n ỉmn Ns-pȝ-ḥr-nfr mȝʿ-ḫrw

That may shine the Osiris, divine father beloved of Amun, Nesipaneferher, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* integrated the burial assemblage of Nesipahernefer (A.98), "prophet and divine father beloved of Amun", "divine father of Mut", "scribe and chief of the recruits of the Temple of Amun".[367]

Daressy ascribes all the statuettes inscribed for Nesipahernefer to the burial assemblage A.117, but recent analysis suggests they can be ascribed to the homonym deceased from A.98.[368]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Nesipahernefer are found in museums in Basel,[369] Berlin,[370] Brussels,[371] Cairo,[372] Clermont-Ferrand,[373] Cortona,[374] Florence,[375] Leiden,[376] Lisbon,[377] London,[378] Lyon,[379] Madrid,[380] Paris,[381] Roanne,[382] St. Gallen,[383] Stockholm,[384] Voronezh,[385] Wien,[386] and private collections.[387]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3973–74.

367 Zarli 2018, 397.
368 Zarli 2018, 397.
369 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 195 n. 119b.
370 Roeder 1913, n. 11894–95.
371 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05440a–b.
372 Newberry 1957, 66–68 (CG 47031–47049).
373 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 43.
374 Botti 1955, 73 n. 123.
375 Zarli 2018, 396–397.
376 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 50–51.
377 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-43 A and B. Araújo 2003, 638–39 n. 42–43.
378 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24875–76.
379 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 43.
380 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18344–45.
381 Aubert 1998, n. 21.
382 Gabolde 1990, 121–22 n. 105.
383 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 195 n. 119a.
384 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 897.
385 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 73.
386 Haslauer 1992, AS 8797 (?).
387 Janes 2002, 97–8 n. 49.



FIGURE 217 *Shabtis* of Nesipahernefer

24 *Shabtis* of Nesipakashuti (*Ns-pꜣ-qꜣ-šw.tỉ*)

Inventory number: (a) 4005; (b) 4004; (c) 4003.
Daressy List: A.43.
Height: (a) 12,5 cm; (b) 12,7 cm; (c) 12,3 cm.
Blue faience.
Well preserved. In (b) the inscriptions are faint.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face crudely shaped with outlined eyes and brows. Tripartite wig painted black. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes (once outlined in black). Basket on the back (faint).

Iconographic details outlined in black. The object (a) is very incompletely glazed.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b c

Wsỉr ỉt-nṯr mr n ỉmn Ns-pꜣ-qꜣ-šw.tỉ

The Osiris, divine father of Amun, Nesipakashuti.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* were part of the burial assemblage of Nesipakhashuti (A.43), "divine father of Amun-Re" and "overseer of the treasury of the supreme chief of the concubines of Amun".[388]

Other examples of mummiform *shabtis* for Nesipakhashuti are found in museums in Berlin,[389] Brussels,[390] Cairo,[391] Clermont-Ferrand,[392] Florence,[393] Leiden,[394] Lisbon,[395] London,[396] Madrid,[397] Paris,[398] Prague, Roanne,[399] Uppsala,[400] Warsaw,[401] Wien,[402] and private collections.[403]

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389 Roeder 1913, n. 11969.
390 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05422.
391 Newberry 1957, 238 (CG 47783).
392 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 25.
393 Zarli 2018, 399–400.
394 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 52–53.
395 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-25 A. Araújo 2003, 640 n. 44.
396 Petrie 1935, n. 365, 391–92 and 395.
397 MAN 18308–09.
398 Louvre E 22114.
399 Gabolde 1990, 124 n. 107.
400 Sandman 1931, 102 n. 20–21.
401 Pomorska 1959, 126–8 n. 45–49.
402 Haslauer 1992, AS 6214.
403 Janes 2002, 100–1 n. 51; Aubert 1998, n. 23.



FIGURE 218 *Shabtis* of Nesipakashuti

25 *Shabtis* of Nesimut (*Ns-Mwt*)

Inventory number: (a) 3945; (b) 3946
Daressy List: A.48 or A.54 (?)
Height: (a) 14,0 cm; (b) 13,6 cm
Terracotta once painted pale green.
Well preserved. On (a) the face is scratched.

Description

(a) Overseer; (b) Mummiform servant.

Face poorly shaped with outlined eyes and brows. The wig is adorned with a *seshed* headband. The breasts are modeled below the lappets. In (a) the right arm is folded over the chest grasping the flail, while the left arm is extended along the body. A ceremonial kilt is moulded in high relief. In (b) the arms are crossed over the chest grasping hoes.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

On (b) there is one column of hieroglyphs outlined in black. The text adopts the scheme of an "illumination formula".



s.ḥḏ (*Wsỉr*) *Ns-Mwt*.

That may shine (the Osiris) Nesimut.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* are associated with the burial set A.48.[404] Two types of *shabtis* were found inscribed with this name. The first type (a) shows female features and a short version of the name Nes(i)mut.

Shabtis inscribed for Nesimut are found in Museums in Basel,[405] Brussels,[406] Clermont-Ferrand,[407] Cortona,[408] Leiden,[409] Lisbon,[410] London,[411] Paris,[412] Roanne,[413] Uppsala,[414] St. Gallen,[415] and Stockholm.[416]

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407 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 32.
408 Botti 1955, 74 n. 84.
409 Schneider 1977, n. 4.5.1. 17–18.
410 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-32 B. Araújo 2003, 642 n. 46.
411 Petrie 1935, UC 443. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24885–86.
412 Aubert 1998, n. 25 (Louvre E 20245).
413 Gabolde 1990, 125 n. 108.
414 Sandman 1931, 102 n. 19.
415 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 199 n. 123.
416 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, MM 14989.



FIGURE 219 *Shabtis* of Nesimut

26 *Shabtis* of Nesikhonsu (*Ns-ḫnsw*)

Inventory number: (a) 3927, (b) 3928.
Daressy List: A.42.
Height: (a) 9,0 cm; (b) 8,8 cm.
Terracotta painted white.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face roughly well shaped with outlined eyes and brows. Tripartite wig painted black, clearly showing ears. The breasts are modeled below the lappets. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back with different patterns: (a) criss-cross; (b) straight lines.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsỉr Ns-ḫnsw mȝʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris Nesikhonsu, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Nesikhonsu (A.42).[417] They were probably kept in the *shabti*-box assigned for this lady and preserved at the National Museum in Copenhagen (*Shabti*-boxes, Cat. N. 1).

Other examples of *shabtis* for Nesikhonsu are found in museums in Amiens,[418] Basel,[419] Berlin,[420] Brussels,[421] Cairo,[422] Florence,[423] Leiden,[424] Lisbon,[425] London,[426] Madrid,[427] Oslo,[428] Paris,[429] Roanne,[430] St. Gallen,[431] and Voronezh.[432]

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418 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 44.
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429 Aubert 1998, n. 26 (E 22054).
430 Gabolde 1990, 126 n. 109.
431 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 196 n. 120.
432 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 80.



FIGURE 220 *Shabtis* of Nesikhonsu

27 *Shabtis* of Nesitaudjatakhet (*Ns-tꜣ-wḏꜣ.t-ꜣḫt*)

Inventory number: (a) 3993; (b) 3994.
Daressy List: A.96.
Height: (a) 11,0 cm; (b) 10,2 cm.
Blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face crudely modeled with outlined eyes and brows. Wig adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

Text outlined in black and bounded within lines. Both objects are inscribed with an incomplete version of the deceased's name.



a b

Wsi̯r Ns-tꜣ-wḏꜣ.t-(ꜣḫt)

The Osiris Nesitaudjat(akhet).

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Nesitaudjatakhet (A.96), "musician of the choir of Mut, lady of Isheru".[433]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Nesitaudjatakhet are found in museums in Basel,[434] Brussels,[435] Cairo,[436] Clermont-Ferrand,[437] Florence,[438] Leiden,[439] Lisbon,[440] London,[441] Madrid,[442] Paris,[443] Roanne,[444] St. Gallen,[445] and Stockholm.[446]

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437 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 19.
438 Zarli 2018, 408–409.
439 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 54–55.
440 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-9 A and B. Araújo 2003, 645–46 n. 49–50.
441 Petrie 1935, n. 302. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24883–84.
442 MAN 18296–97.
443 Aubert 1998, n. 27 (E 22128).
444 Gabolde 1990, 126–28 n. 110–111.
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446 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 901.



FIGURE 221 *Shabtis* of Nesitaudjatakhet

28 *Shabtis* of Nesitanebettaui (*Ns-t3-nb.t-t3.wy*)

Inventory number: (a) 3969; (b) 3970.
Daressy List: A.77.
Height: (a) 9,9 cm; (b) 9,9 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face poorly shaped with outlined eyes and brows. Striped wig with ears. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back: in (a) it hands from a lower position.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black. The text adopts the scheme of an "illumination formula".



a b

s.ḫḏ Wsir Ns-t3-nb.t-t3.wy.

That may shine the Osiris Nesitanebettaui.

Burial Assemblage

The *shabtis* belonged to the coffin set of Nesitanebettaui (A.77), "chantress of Amun".[447]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Nesitanebettaui are found in museums in Basel,[448] Berlin,[449] Brussels,[450] Cairo,[451] Cortona,[452] Florence,[453] Leiden,[454] Lisbon,[455] London,[456] Lyon,[457] Madrid,[458] Oslo,[459] Paris,[460] Roanne,[461] St. Gallen,[462] and private collections.[463]

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449 Roeder 1913, n. 11959.
450 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05401a–b.
451 Newberry 1957, 54–5 (CG 46893–46992).
452 Botti 1955, 75 n. 115.
453 Zarli 2018, 411–412.
454 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 56-57-58.
455 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-2 A and B. Araújo 2003, 647–48 n. 51–52.
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457 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 2 (overseer).
458 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18262–63.
459 Naguib 1985, EM 8100 and EM 8120.
460 Louvre E 22080 and E 22104.
461 Gabolde 1990, 128–29 n. 112.
462 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 175 n. 107.
463 Janes 2002, 110–11 n. 55; Aubert 1998, n. 28.



FIGURE 222 *Shabtis* of Nesitanebettaui

29 *Shabtis* of Henuttaui (*ḥnw.t-tȝ.wy*)

Inventory number: (a) 3988; (b) 3987.
Daressy List: A.64.
Height: (a) 9,3 cm; (b) 9,5 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face crudely shaped with outlined eyes and brows. Wig decorated with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsi̯r ḥnw.t-tȝ.wy mȝʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris Henuttaui, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Henuttaui (A.64), "chantress of Amun" and "musician of the choir of Mut".[464]

Other examples of mummiform *shabtis* for Henuttaui are found in museums in Amiens,[465] Basel,[466] Berlin,[467] Brussels,[468] Cairo,[469] Clermont-Ferrand,[470] Cortona,[471] Florence,[472] Leiden,[473] Lisbon,[474] London,[475] Madrid,[476] Oslo,[477] Paris,[478] Roanne,[479] St. Gallen,[480] and Wien.[481]

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467 Roeder 1913, n. 11967–68.
468 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05426 a and b (overseer).
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470 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 29.
471 Botti 1955, 75 n. 91.
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474 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-29 A and B. Araújo 2003, 649–50 n. 53–54.
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478 Aubert 1998, n. 31 (Louvre E 22148).
479 Gabolde 1990, 129–30 n. 113.
480 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 201 n. 125.
481 Haslauer 1992, AS 6193.



FIGURE 223 *Shabtis* of Henuttaui

30 *Shabtis* of Hori (*ḥr*)

Inventory number: (a) 3952; (b) 3951.
Daressy List: A.143.
Height: (a) 12,0 cm; (b) 11,8 cm.
Blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Features of the face finely shaped with moulded eyes, brows, ears, nose and lips. Striped wig adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket with loops on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

The hieroglyphs are outlined in black, displayed in four superimposed transversal bands. The text adopts the scheme of an "illumination formula", using a short version of Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead.



a



b

a (1) *s.ḥḏ Wsir ḥm-nṯr n ʾImn* (2) *ḥry mȝʿ-ḫrw ḏd.f ʾI šwbty ỉptn* (3) *ỉr ỉptw Wsir ḥm-nṯr ḥry mȝʿ-ḫrw* (4) *r ỉrt* (*kȝwt nbwt*) *m* (*ḫrt-nṯr*). *ʾIr.ỉ*

(1) That may shine the Osiris, Prophet of Amun, (2) Hori, justified. He says: "Oh, *shabti*, if one (3) reckons the Osiris, the Prophet Hori true of voice to do (4) any work in the necropolis, 'I will do (here I am' you will say)".

b (1) *s.ḥḏ Wsỉr ḥm-nṯr n ỉmn ḥry mꜣʿ-ḫrw* (2) *ḏd.f ỉ šwbty ỉpn ỉr ỉptw* (3) *Wsỉr ḥry r ỉrt kꜣwt m* (4) *ḫrt-nṯr ỉr.ỉ* (…).

(1) That may shine the Osiris, Prophet of Amun, Hori, justified. (2) He says: "Oh *shabti*, if one reckons (3) the Osiris Hori to do any work in the (4) necropolis, 'I will do' (…)".

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belong to the burial assemblage of Hori (A.143),[482] son of the High priest of Amun Menkheperra. Hori was "priest of Amun", "priest of Hathor", "priest of Seth", "prophet of Hathor at Gebelein" and "divine father of Mut and Khonsu". Two *shabti*-boxes were assigned to this burial.[483]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Hori are found in museums in Amsterdam,[484] Basel,[485] Berlin,[486] Brussels,[487] Cairo,[488] Clermont-Ferrand,[489] Cortona,[490] Florence,[491] Leiden,[492] Lisbon,[493] London,[494] Madrid,[495] Paris,[496] Roanne,[497] Stockholm,[498] Toulouse,[499] Uppsala,[500] and private collections.[501]

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Mogensen 1918, n. 3951 (four horizontal lines) and 3952 (five horizontal lines).

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483 Aston 2009, 191–192 TG. 816.
484 Haarlem 1986, 66–8 Inv. 9465 (four horizontal lines).
485 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 177 n. 109 (five horizontal lines).
486 Roeder 1913, n. 11958 (two examples with four horizontal lines of inscription).
487 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05434 a (four horizontal lines) and b (five horizontal lines).
488 Newberry 1957, 24–27 (CG 46570–46589) and 83–4 (CG 47171–47174).
489 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 37.
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492 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 59-60-61 (five horizontal lines).
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495 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18332–33.
496 Louvre E 20144.
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501 Janes 2002, 117–19 n. 59 (four horizontal lines); Aubert 1998, n. 29 (five horizontal lines).



FIGURE 224 *Shabtis* of Hori

31 *Shabtis* of Heritubekhet (*ḥryt-wbḫt*)

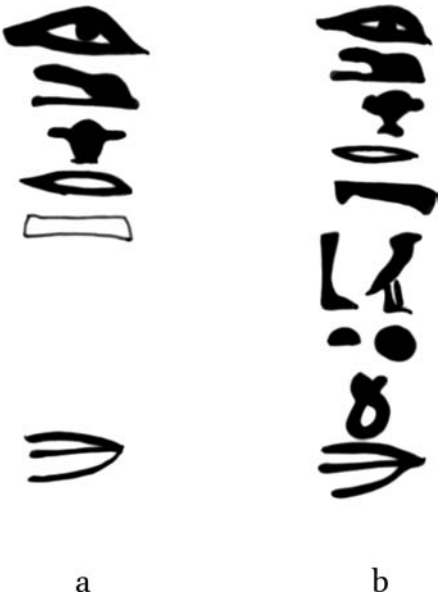
Inventory number: (a) 3992; (b) 3991.
Daressy List: A.133.
Height: (a) 10,9 cm; (b) 10,7 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved. In (a) the hieroglyphs are faded away.

Description
Mummiform servant.

Face poorly shaped with large eyes and brows. The wig is adorned with a *seshed* headband. Breasts modeled below the lappets. In (a) the breasts are painted black. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back summarily outlined.

Iconographic details outlined in black

Inscription
One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsi̯r ḥryt-wbḫt mꜣʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris Heritubekhet, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belonged to the splendid burial assemblage of Heritubekhet (A.133), daughter of Pinudjem II and Isetemkheb D, herself daughter of the High Priest Menkheperre.[502] Heritubekhet was also the owner of the *shabti*-box Inv. nº 8529 kept in the Florence Museum.[503] On this object we can read other titles, such as: "mistress of the house", "chantress of Amun", "overseer of the fourth phyle of the musicians of Mut". Other titles were "second prophetess of Mut" and "supreme chief of the harem of Amun".

Other examples of *shabtis* for Heritubekhet are found in museums in Amiens,[504] Basel,[505] Berlin,[506] Brussels,[507] Cairo,[508] Cleveland,[509] Cortona,[510] Florence,[511] Leiden,[512] Lisbon,[513] London,[514] Madrid,[515] Marseille,[516] Oslo,[517] Paris,[518] Roanne,[519] St. Gallen,[520] and private collections.[521]

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506 Roeder 1913, n. 11946.
507 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05411a–b.
508 Newberry 1957, 31 (CG 46624–46628) and 74–5 (CG 47121–47130).
509 Berman and Kenneth 1999, 359 n. 273.
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513 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-15 A and B. Araújo 2003, 564–65 n. 57–58.
514 Petrie 1935, n. 301. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24827–28.
515 MAN 18288–89.
516 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 15.
517 Naguib 1985, EM 8087 and EM 8090.
518 Louvre E 22109 and E 22123.
519 Gabolde 1990, 131–32 n. 115.
520 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 161 n. 96.
521 Janes 2002, 119–22 n. 60a and 60b (overseer); Aubert 1998, n. 30.



FIGURE 225 *Shabtis* of Heritubekhet

32 *Shabtis* of Khaas (*ḫ3ʿ.s*)

Inventory number: (a) 3949; (b) 3950.
Daressy List: A.102.
Height: (a) 8,2 cm; (b) 8,7 cm.
Terracotta.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face poorly shaped. Undecorated wig. Arms crossed over the chest. The back is uncdecorated.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsi̯r ḫ3ʿ.s mȝʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris Khaas, justified.

Burial Assemblage

The *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Khaas (A.102), "chantress of Amun".[522]

Other examples of mummiform *shabtis* for Khaas are found in museums in Basel,[523] Berlin,[524] Brussels,[525] Cairo,[526] Clermont-Ferrand,[527] Cortona,[528] Florence,[529] Leiden,[530] Lisbon,[531] London,[532] Lyon,[533] Madrid,[534] Oslo,[535] Paris,[536] Roanne,[537] St. Gallen,[538] and Wien.[539]

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527 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 21.
528 Botti 1955, 75 n. 88.
529 Zarli 2018, 425–426.
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531 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-21 A and B. Araújo 2003, 659–660 n. 61–62. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 81. Araújo 2003, 734 n. 34.
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534 MAN 18300–01.
535 Naguib 1985, EM 8116–17.
536 Aubert 1998, n. 32.
537 Gabolde 1990, 132–33 n. 116.
538 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 200 n. 124.
539 Haslauer 1992, AS 6165–66.



FIGURE 226 *Shabtis* of Khaas

33 *Shabtis* of Khonsuemheb (*ḫnsw-m-ḥb*)

Inventory number: (a) 3929; (b) 3930
Daressy List: A.106
Height: (a) 9,0 cm; (b) 9,6 cm
Terracotta painted green.
Well preserved. The painting has disappeared almost completely, and the inscriptions faded away.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Features of the face roughly modeled with outlined eyes, and brows. Wig adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back (faded).

Iconographic details outlined in black.

On the reverse side, the material that overflowed from the mould was not removed.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsỉr ḫnsw-m-ḥb

The Osiris Khonsuemheb.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Khonsuemheb (A.106), "*wab*-priest at the prow of Mut", "scribe of the counting of the grain in the Temple of Amun", "divine father of Amun", "prophet and divine father of Khonsu-Re".[540] His equipment included two *shabti*-boxes.[541]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Khonsuemheb are found in museums in Basel,[542] Berlin,[543] Brussels,[544] Cairo,[545] Clermont-Ferrand,[546] Florence,[547] Leiden,[548] Lisbon,[549] London,[550] Oslo,[551] Paris,[552] Roanne,[553] St. Gallen,[554] Voronezh,[555] and Wien.[556]

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552 Aubert 1998, n. 34 (Louvre E 20237).
553 Gabolde 1990, 133 n. 117.
554 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 189 n. 115a.
555 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 79.
556 Haslauer 1992, AS 6173–74.



FIGURE 227 *Shabtis* of Khonsuemheb

34 *Shabtis* of Khonsumes (*ḫnsw-ms*)

Inventory number: (a) 3933; (b) 3934
Daressy List: A.82 or A.121
Height: (a) 9,0 cm; (b) 9,0 cm
Terracotta painted green and varnished.
Well preserved. In (b) the paint has deteriorated, and the inscriptions are faint. In (b) the layer of varnish is faint.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face poorly shaped with outlined eyes, brows and lips. Breasts modeled below the lappets of the wig. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black. The figurines were varnished all over to imitate the glazed faience objects.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black. The text adopts the scheme of an "illumination formula".



a b

s.ḥḏ Wsi̯r ḫnsw-ms

That may shine the Osiris Khonsumes.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Khonsumes. Daressy ascribes the *shabtis* here described to the "scribe of the Temple of Amun", Khonsumes, whose coffin set is preserved in Florence Museum (Inv. nº 8527, A.22).[557]

Two other men with the same name were buried in Bab el-Gasus: the deceased from A.82[558] and the owner of A.121.[559] Each of these men holds the title of "scribe of the Temple of Amun". It is impossible to determine the *shabtis* that belonged to each one.[560] The same can be said for a *shabti*-box with the name of Khonsumes once kept in Berlin and now lost.[561]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Khonsumes are found in museums in Basel,[562] Berlin,[563] Brussels,[564] Cortona,[565] Florence,[566] Leiden,[567] Lisbon,[568] London,[569] Madrid,[570] Paris,[571] Roanne,[572] St. Gallen,[573] Stockholm,[574] and Wien.[575]

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558 Niwiński 1988, 104 n. 2. Inner coffin and mummy-board. Dating: middle 21st Dynasty.
559 Niwiński 1988, 174 n. 398. Outer coffin, inner coffin and mummy board. Dating: middle 21st Dynasty.
560 Zarli 2018, 432.
561 Aston 2009, 167 TG. 695.
562 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 214 n. 136.
563 Roeder 1913, n. 11966 (two examples).
564 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05420a–b.
565 Botti 1955, 76 n. 126.
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570 MAN 18306–07.
571 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 24 (Louvre E10637bis).
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573 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 189 n. 115b.
574 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 909.
575 Haslauer 1992, AS 6163.



FIGURE 228 *Shabtis* of Khonsumes

35 *Shabtis* of Shedsuamun (*Śd-sw-ʾImn*)

Inventory number: (a) 3963; (b) 3964.
Daressy List: A.30.
Height: (a) 9,3 cm; (b) 9,5 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved. In (a) the decoration has disappeared almost entirely. In (b) there is no glitter.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face slightly modeled. In (b) the eyes are outlined and the wig is striped. In (a) vestiges of a *seshed* headband can still be seen. Arms crossed over the chest holding hoes. Basket on the back.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black. The text adopts the scheme of an "illumination formula".



a b

s.ḥḏ Wsir Śd-sw-ʾImn mȝʿ-ḫrw

That may shine the Osiris Shedsuamun, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belonged to Shedsuamun (A.30), "*wab*-priest" and "scribe of the treasury of Amun".[576]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Shedsuamun are found in museums in Boulogne-sur-mer,[577] Cairo,[578] Cortona,[579] Florence,[580] Leiden,[581] Lisbon,[582] Madrid,[583] Paris,[584] Roanne,[585] St. Gallen,[586] Stockholm,[587] Uppsala,[588] and private collections.

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3963–64.

576 Zarli 2018, 435.
577 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 23.
578 Newberry 1957, 28–29 (CG 46590–96 and CG 46601–03).
579 Botti 1955, 76 n. 95.
580 Zarli 2018, 434–435.
581 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1 69–70.
582 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-24 A and B. Araújo 2003, 665–6 n. 67–68.
583 MAN 18305.
584 Louvre E 22119. Aubert 1998, 87 n. 35.
585 Gabolde 1990, 146 n. 131.
586 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 165 n. 100.
587 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 907.
588 Sandman 1931, 103 n. 24.



FIGURE 229 *Shabtis* of Shedsuamun

36 *Shabti* of Gautseshenu (*Gꜣwt-sšnw*)

Inventory number: (a) 3967; (b) 3968.
Daressy List: A.152.
Height: (a) 9,7 cm; (b) 9,7 cm.
Blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Features of the face finely modeled with outlined eyes, and brows. In (a) the mouth is outlined. Nose, lips and ears are very well modeled. Striped wig. Breasts modeled below the lappets. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black. The text adopts the scheme of an "illumination formula".



a b

s.ḥḏ Wsir Gꜣwt-sšnw mꜣʿ-ḫrw

That may shine the Osiris Gautseshenu, justified.

Burial Assemblage

Two ladies named Gautseshenu were buried in Bab el-Gasus. Gautseshenu A (A.152), daughter of Menkheperre and Isetemkhebi C, was the wife of Tjanefer (A.151). Gautseshenu B (A.139) was the daughter of Gautseshenu A.

Gautseshenu A had *shabtis* in blue faience, while the second had lesser elegant statuettes crafted in light blue faience. It is therefore likely that these *shabtis* belonged to Gautseshenu A.[589]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Gautseshenu are found in museums in Basel,[590] Berlin,[591] Boulogne-sur-Mer,[592] Brussels,[593] Cairo,[594] Florence,[595] Leiden,[596] Lisbon,[597] London,[598] Oslo,[599] Paris,[600] Roanne,[601] and private collections.[602]

589 Zarli 2018, 437.
590 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 159 n. 94.
591 Roeder 1913, n. 11899 and 11974 (two examples).
592 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 41.
593 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05438a–b.
594 Newberry 1957, 45–6 (CG 46789–46803) and 71 (CG 47081–47085).
595 Zarli 2018, 436–437.
596 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 71.
597 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-41 A and B. Araújo 2003, 667–68 n. 69–70. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 82. Araújo 2003, 735 n. 35.
598 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24851–52.
599 Naguib 1985, EM 8089 and EM 8104(b).
600 Louvre E 22121.
601 Gabolde 1990, 135 n. 119.
602 Aubert 1998, n. 37.



FIGURE 230 *Shabtis* of Gautseshenu

37 *Shabtis* of Tabakenkhonsu (*t3-b3k-n-ḫnsw*)

Inventory number: (a) 3925; (b) 3926.
Daressy List: A.10.
Height: (a) 11,2 cm; (b) 11,3 cm.
Terracotta painted white.
Well preserved. The white coating is nearly lost on the reverse side of the objects.

Description

(a) Mummiform servant (b) Overseer

Face crudely shaped with outlined eyes and brows. Modeled ears. Wig decorated with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest. In (a) the fists grasp hoes, and a basket is outlined on the back, while in (b) the figurine grasps a flail and a long, ceremonial kilt is moulded in high relief.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsi̯r t3-b3k-n-ḫnsw m3ʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris Tabakenkhonsu, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belong to the burial assemblage of Tabakenkhonsu (A.10), "chantress of Amun" and "musician of the choir of Mut".[603] The burial equipment included two *shabti*-boxes.[604]

Other examples of this type of *shabtis* are found in museums in Amiens,[605] Basel,[606] Berlin,[607] Brussels,[608] Cleveland,[609] Cortona,[610] Florence,[611] Leiden,[612] Lisbon,[613] London,[614] Madrid,[615] Oslo,[616] Paris,[617] Roanne,[618] St. Gallen,[619] and Wien.[620]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3925–26.

603 Zarli 2018, 440.
604 Aston 2009, 165 TG. 683.
605 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 28.
606 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 193 n. 118a.
607 Roeder 1913, n. 11963–64.
608 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05425a–b.
609 Berman and Kenneth 1999, 361 n. 275.
610 Botti 1955, 76 n. 113.
611 Zarli 2018, 439–440.
612 Schneider 1977, n. 4.5.1. 29–30.
613 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-28 A. Araújo 2003, 669 n. 71.
614 Petrie 1935, n. 450. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24881–82.
615 MAN 18314–15.
616 Naguib 1985, EM 8080 and 8081 (overseer).
617 Aubert 1998, n. 40 (Louvre E 22055).
618 Gabolde 1990, 136 n. 120.
619 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 193 n. 118.
620 Haslauer 1992, AS 6175.



FIGURE 231 *Shabtis* of Tabakenkhonsu

38 *Shabtis* of Tashedkhonsu (*tȝ-šd-ḫnsw*)

Inventory number: (a) 4001; (b) 4002 (c) 3976
Daressy List: (a) A.137; (b) A.138; (c) A.138
Height: (a) 12,4 cm; (b) 9,7 cm; (c) 9,6 cm
Blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

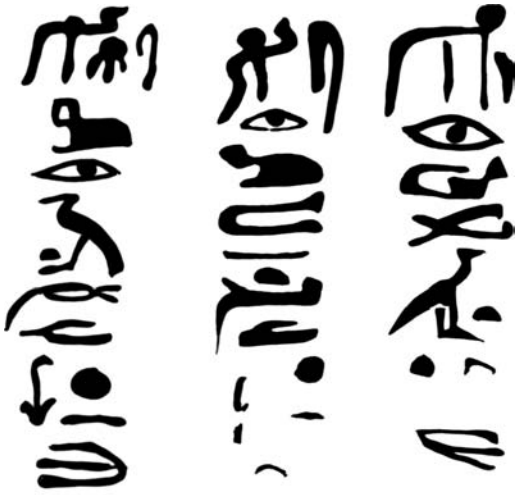
Mummiform servant.

Face poorly shaped with outlined eyes and brows. In (a) the wig is adorned with a *seshed* headband. In (b) and (c) the wig is painted in black. Breasts modeled below the lappets. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back: in (a) it hangs very low, in (b) there is no basket.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black bounded within vertical lines, adopting the scheme of an "illumination formula". On (a) the name of the deceased is partially written in reversed direction, which results from a mistake of the artisan.



a b c

s.ḥḏ Wsỉr tȝ-šd-ḫnsw mȝʿ-ḫrw

That may shine the Osiris Tashedkhonsu, justified.

Burial Assemblage

Two women named Tashedkhonsu were buried in Bab el-Gasus. The deceased from the burial assemblage A.137 owned two *shabti*-boxes.[621] She holds several titles including "mistress of the house", "chantress of Amun", "prophetess of Amun in Karnak", "prophetess of Mut of the Mammisi" and "prophetess of Nekhbeth of Hierakonpolis".

The burial assemblage of A.138 remains unidentified, but according to Lieblein[622] this was the burial of a woman holding the titles "chantress of Amun" and "musician of the choir of Mut".[623]

Two different types of statuettes named for Tashedkhonsu are known. Aubert ascribes the taller *shabtis* with modeled wig and headband painted black to the deceased A.138; for the deceased A.137 she ascribes the smaller statuettes with black wig.

The *shabti* (a) provides an example of the taller series. The *shabtis* (b) and (c) belong to the smaller series.

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 4001.

621 Aston 2009, 189–190 TG. 810.

622 Lieblein 1982, 1002.

623 Niwiński 1988, 181 n. 434.



FIGURE 232 *Shabtis* of Tashedkhonsu

39 *Shabti* of Taditmut (*tꜣ-dỉ.t-Mwt*)

Inventory number: (a) 3979.
Daressy List: A.91.
Height: (a) 12,3 cm.
Light blue faience.
Well preserved but the inscriptions are faint.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face crudely shaped with outlined eyes and brows. Wig adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black bounded within vertical lines. Inscription mostly illegible.

Burial Assemblage

The *shabti* belonged to the burial assemblage of Taditmut, "chantress of Amun" and "mistress of the house".[624] It included two *shabti*-boxes.[625]

Despite the illegible character of the inscription, comparison with other collections provides the identification of the *shabti*. Other examples of *shabtis* for Taditmut are found in museums in Basel,[626] Berlin,[627] Boulogne-sur-Mer,[628] Brussels,[629] Cairo,[630] Cortona,[631] Florence,[632] Leiden,[633] Lisbon,[634] London,[635] Oslo,[636] Paris,[637] Roanne,[638] St. Gallen,[638] Wien,[638] and private collections.[638]

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624 Zarli 2018, 450.
625 Aston 2009, 179 TG. 764.
626 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 172 n. 105a.
627 Roeder 1913, n. 11896–97.
628 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 6.
629 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05404 and E 05449.
630 Newberry 1957, 35 (CG 46692–46696) and 71–3 (CG 47086–47110).
631 Botti 1955, 76 n. 120.
632 Zarli 2018, 449–450.
633 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 77–78.
634 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-6 A and B. Araújo 2003, 374–75 n. 76–77.
635 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24823.
636 Naguib 1985, EM 8101 and EM 8106(a).
637 Louvre E 22099.



FIGURE 233 *Shabti* of Taditmut

638 Gabolde 1990, 140–42 n. 125–26.
639 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 172 n. 105.
640 Haslauer 1992, AS 6238.
641 Janes 2002, 132–3 n. 68; Aubert 1998, n. 42.

40 *Shabtis* of Tjanefer (*ṯ3-nfr*)

Inventory number: (a) 3971; (b) 3972.
Daressy List: A.151.
Height: (a) 9,1 cm; (b) 9,4 cm.
Blue faience
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

In (b) the decoration is severely deteriorated, and it looks as it was undecorated. However, remains of a basket can be seen at the back. In (a) the features of the face are finely shaped with outlined eyes and brows, and modeled ears. The striped wig is adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back: in (a) the shape is original, showing a large band on top.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

In (a) there is one column of hieroglyphs outlined in black. The text adopts the scheme of an "illumination formula".



s.ḥḏ Wsir 3 ḫm-nṯr n ʾImn ṯ3-nfr mꜣʿ-ḫrw

That may shine the Osiris, third prophet of Amun, Tjanefer, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Tjanefer (A.151).[642] Tjanefer had several titles including "prophet of Montu, lord of Thebes", "prophet of Khnum, lord of the Cataract", "divine father beloved of the god", "chief of the secrets in the sky, on earth and in the duat", "he who opens the doors of the sky in Karnak", "*setem-priest* in the horizon of eternity", "chief of the herds of the Temple of Amun", "overseer of the Estates of Re". He achieved the paramount position of "third prophet of Amun", although on some *shabtis* still appears the title of "fourth prophet".[643] The equipment included two *shabti*-boxes.[644]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Tjanefer are found in museums in Amsterdam,[645] Basel,[646] Berlin,[647] Brussels,[648] Florence,[649] Leiden,[650] Lisbon,[651] London,[652] Lyon,[653] Madrid,[654] Oslo,[655] Roanne,[656] St. Gallen,[657] and private collections.[658]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3971.

642 Zarli 2018, 453.
643 Zarli 2018, 453.
644 Aston 2009, 194 TG. 824.
645 Haarlem 1990, 106–7 Inv. 8807.
646 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 160 n. 95a.
647 Roeder 1913, n. 11972 (two examples).
648 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05437a–b.
649 Zarli 2018, 452–453.
650 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 79–80.
651 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-40 A and B. Araújo 2003, 676–77 n. 78–79.
652 Petrie 1935, UC 303. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24831–32.
653 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 40 (overseer).
654 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18339 (overseer).
655 Naguib 1985, EM 8119.
656 Gabolde 1990, 142 n. 127.
657 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 160 n. 95.
658 Janes 2002, 134–5 n. 69; Aubert 1998, n. 47.



FIGURE 234 *Shabtis* of Tjanefer

41 *Shabtis* of Tenttaui (*ṯnt-tꜣ.wy*)

Inventory number: (a) 3932; (b) 3931.
Daressy List: A ?
Height: (a) 9,2 cm; (b) 9,9 cm.
Terracotta painted light green.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face roughly crafted with outlined eyes, brows and lips. Wig adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping the handles of the basket.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black.



a b

Wsi̯r ṯnt-tꜣ.wy mꜣʿ-ḫrw

The Osiris Tenttaui, justified.

Burial Assemblage

The burial assemblage of these *shabtis* was not identified.[659]

Other examples of mummiform *shabtis* for Tenttaui are found in museums in Brussels,[660] Cairo,[661] Cortona,[662] Florence,[663] Leiden,[664] London,[665] Paris,[666] St. Gallen,[667] Stockholm,[668] Wien,[669] Zurich,[670] and private collections.

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3931–32.

659 Daressy 1907, 17.
660 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05412a–b.
661 Newberry 1957, 303 (CG 48239–48248).
662 Botti 1955, 76 n. 82 and 137.
663 Zarli 2018, 456.
664 Schneider 1977, n. 4.5.1. 31.
665 http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24830.
666 Aubert 1998, n. 46 (Louvre E 32550).
667 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 168 n. 102a.
668 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 910.
669 Haslauer 1992, AS 6172.
670 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 168 n. 102.



FIGURE 235 *Shabtis* of Tenttaui

42 *Shabtis* of Dikhonsuiry (*dỉ-ḫnsw-ỉry*)

Inventory number: (a) 3956, (b) 3996.
Daressy List: A.49
Height: (a) 9,7 cm; (b) 9,7 cm
Light blue faience
Well preserved. The inscriptions are lost.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face crudely shaped with outlined eyes, brows and lips. Modeled ears. Wig adorned with a *seshed* headband. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Small and briefly scathed basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

Three horizontal lines of an inscription in hieratic framed by black demarcation lines. The inscriptions are heavily eroded but comparison with other collections provides a fair reconstruction.



a b

Wsỉr dỉ-ḫnsw-ỉry

The Osiris Dikhonsuiry.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Dikhonsuiry (A.49),[671] "*wab*-priest at the prow of the bark of Khonsu", "divine father of Amun-Re", "scribe of the Temple of Amun" and "royal scribe".[672] The burial equipment included a *shabti*-box now in Florence Museum.[673]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Dikhonsuiry are found in museums in Basel,[674] Brussels,[675] Florence,[676] Leiden,[677] Lisbon,[678] Lyon,[679] Madrid,[680] Oslo,[681] Paris,[682] Roanne,[683] St. Gallen,[684] and private collections.[685]

671 Zarli 2018, 459.
672 Niwiński 1989a, 279 n. 73—S.R.VII.10236 (Book of the Amduat between legs, type A.II.1a).
673 See Guidotti, Vannucci 2018, 475 (N. Inv. 8531).
674 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 198 n. 122a.
675 http://carmentis.kmkg-mrah.be, E 05413.
676 Zarli 2018, 458–459.
677 Schneider 1977, n. 4.3.1. 81–82.
678 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-17 A and B. Araújo 2003, 678–79 n. 80–81. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 103, E 465–66 and E483. Araújo 2003, 738–41 n. 38–41.
679 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 17.
680 http://ceres.mcu.es, n. 18293.
681 Naguib 1985, EM 8097 and EM 8121.
682 Louvre E 22111.
683 Gabolde 1990, 143 n. 128.
684 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 198 n. 122.
685 Janes 2002, 135–6 n. 70; Aubert 1998, n. 49.



FIGURE 236 *Shabtis* of Dikhonsuiry

43 *Shabtis* of Djedmaatiuesankh (*ḏd-Mꜣʿt-ỉw.s-ʿnḫ*)

Inventory number: (a) 3919; (b) 3920.
Daressy List: A.109.
Height: (a) 11,5 cm; (b) 11,3 cm.
Terracotta painted white.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Face poorly shaped with outlined eyes and brows. In (b) lips are depicted. The wig is painted black. In (a) the *seshed* headband is painted white. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black. The text adopts the scheme of an "illumination formula".



a b

s.ḥḏ Wsỉr ḏd-Mꜣʿt-ỉw.s-ʿnḫ mꜣʿ-ḫrw

That may shine the Osiris Djedmaatiuesankh, justified.

Burial Assemblage

These *shabtis* belonged to the burial assemblage of Djedmaatiuesankh (A.109), "chantress of Amun" and "mistress of the house".[686] The burial equipment included two *shabti*-boxes.[687]

Other examples of *shabtis* for Djedmaatiuesankh are found in museums in Basel,[688] Berlin,[689] Boulogne-sur-mer,[690] Cairo,[691] Cortona,[692] Florence,[693] Kazan,[694] Leiden,[695] Lisbon,[696] London,[697] Lyon,[698] Madrid,[699] Paris,[700] Roanne,[701] Stockholm,[702] Uppsala,[703] and Wien.[704]

Bibliography

Mogensen 1918, n. 3919–20.

686 Zarli 2018, 462.
687 Aston 2009, 183 TG. 782.
688 Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990, 163 n. 98.
689 Roeder 1913, n. 11970 (two examples).
690 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 30.
691 Newberry 1957, 296–7 (CG 48141–48149).
692 Botti 1955, 77 n. 102.
693 Zarli 2018, 461–462.
694 Berlev and Hodjash 1998, n. 41–42.
695 Schneider 1977, n. 4.5.1. 32–33.
696 Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, n. 2507-30 A and B. Araújo 2003, 680–81 n. 82–83. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, E 101 and E 415. Araújo 2003, 742–43 n. 42–43.
697 Petrie 1935, n. 444. http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, EA 24857–58.
698 Dautant et al. 2013, Table 1 n. 30.
699 MAN 18318–19.
700 Aubert 1998, n. 50 (Louvre E 22052).
701 Gabolde 1990, 143–44 n. 129.
702 http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm, NME 913.
703 Sandman 1931, 104–5 n. 27–28.
704 Haslauer 1992, AS 6151 and AS 8794.



FIGURE 237 *Shabtis* of Djedmaatiuesankh

44 *Shabtis* of Uncertain Reading

Inventory number: (a) 3980; (b) 3983.
Daressy List: ?
Height: (a) 12,2 cm; (b) 11,9 cm.
Blue faience.
Well preserved but in (a) the inscriptions are faint.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Features of the face poorly shaped with outlined eyes and brows. Wig adorned with a *seshed* headband. In (b) the wig is striped. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back. Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs, outlined in black. Difficult to read. The titles are possible to detect but the name is uncertain. The shipping list mentions a certain Tashedkhonsu which otherwise is missing in this lot.



FIGURE 238 *Shabtis* of uncertain reading

45 *Shabti* of Uncertain Reading

Inventory number: 3982
Daressy List: ?
Height: 10,5 cm
Blue faience.
Well preserved.

Description

Mummiform servant.

Features of the face poorly shaped with outlined eyes. Wig painted in black. Arms crossed over the chest grasping hoes. Basket on the back. On the reverse side the painting of the wig was left incomplete.

Iconographic details outlined in black.

Inscription

One column of hieroglyphs outlined in black bounded within vertical lines, adopting the scheme of an "illumination formula".



s.ḥḏ Wsỉr Mḥw-nḏm(?)

That may shine the Osiris, Mehu-nedjem(?)

Burial Assemblage

Comparison with other statuettes makes the identification with Mehunedjem very likely.[705] These statuettes share the same formal features: the wig is painted in black, calligraphy is rough, the reverse of the figure displays the same format, with a basket moulded in relief. Daressy includes a collection of *shabtis* ascribed to Mehunedjem but so far no burial assemblage has been able to be related to it.[706]



FIGURE 239 *Shabti* of uncertain reading

705 Shabtis of the same person have been found in the Lot X, in the Lot II (ZP IV 1 in Schlög, Brodbeck 1990, 207).

706 Daressy 1907, 15.

46 Desintegrated *Shabtis*

Inventory numbers: 3943, 3944, 3975, 3981.

Description

During the 1930's, four *shabtis* are reported as "disintegrated" in the museum records, an occurrence that might be explained by the fragility of the material involved in their craftsmanship, possibly clay.

TABLE 5 *Shabtis* of the Lot XVI: Table of concordance

Catalogue Number	Owner	Inv. Number	A.Number	Shipping list number
1	*ꜣsty*	3937; 3938	A.66	12
2	*ꜣst-m-ꜣḫ-bỉt*	3957; 3958	A.126	4
3	*ꜣst-m-ꜣḫ-bỉt*	3984	A.126	26
4	*ỉmn-ḥꜣt-pꜣ-mšʿ*	4006	A.124 (?)	5
5	*ỉmn-ḥtp*	3977; 3978	A.39	10
6	*ʿnḫ.f-n-Mwt*	3947; 3948	A.140	34
7	*ʿnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw*	3916; 3917; 3918	A.33	1
8	*ʿnḫ.f-n-ḫnsw*	3915	A.108	27
9	*ʿnḫ.s-n-Mwt*	3939; 3940; 3941	A.38	13
10	*ʿnḫ.s-n-Mwt*	3942	A.38	33
11	*Wsr-ḥꜣt-ms*	3965; 3966	A.105	7
12	*Bꜣk-n-Mwt*	3955; 3995	A.94	18
13	*Pꜣy.f-ʿḏr*	3959; 3960	A.99	22
14	*Pꜣ-sbꜣ-ḫʿ-n-nỉwt*	3999; 4000	A.85	20
15	*Pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn*	3921; 3922	A.114	3
16	*Pꜣ-dỉ-ỉmn*	3935; 3936	A.24	45
17	*Mr.t-ỉmn*	3990; 3989	A.71	8
18	*Mr.t-ỉmn*	3961; 3962	A.71	14
19	*Mr.t-ỉmn*	3985; 3986	A.71	35
20	*Ns-ỉmn*	3953; 3954	A.148	38
21	*Ns-ỉmn-m-ỉpt*	3923; 3924	A.113	31
22	*Ns-pꜣ-ḥr-ʿn*	3997; 3998	A.35	46
23	*Ns-pꜣ-ḥr-nfr*	3973; 3974	A.98	43
24	*Ns-pꜣ-kꜣ-šw.tỉ*	4003; 4004; 4005	A.43	25
25	*Ns-Mwt*	3945; 3946	A.48 or A.54 (?)	32
26	*Ns-ḫnsw*	3927, 3928	A.42	44
27	*Ns-tꜣ-wḏꜣ.t-ꜣḫt*	3993; 3994	A.96	19
28	*Ns-tꜣ-nb(.t)-tꜣ.wy*	3969; 3970	A.77	2
29	*ḥnw.t-tꜣ.wy*	3987; 3988	A.64	29
30	*ḥr*	3951; 3952	A.143	37
31	*ḥryt-wbḫt*	3991; 3992	A.133	15
32	*ḫꜣʿ.s*	3949; 3950	A.102	21
33	*ḫnsw-m-ḥb*	3929; 3930	A.106	42
34	*ḫnsw-ms*	3933; 3934	A.82 or A.121	24
35	*Śd-sw-ỉmn*	3963; 3964	A.30	23

TABLE 5 *Shabtis* of the Lot XVI: Table of concordance (*cont.*)

Catalogue Number	Owner	Inv. Number	A.Number	Shipping list number
36	*Gꜣwt-sšnw*	3967; 3968	A.152	41
37	*tꜣ-bꜣk-n-ḫnsw*	3925; 3926	A.10	28
38	*tꜣ-šd-ḫnsw*	4001;4002; 3976	A.137 and A.138	11
39	*tꜣ-dỉ.t-Mwt*	3979;	A.91	6
40	*ṯꜣ-nfr*	3971; 3972	A.151	40
41	*ṯnt-tꜣ.wy*	3931; 3932	A.?	16
42	*dỉ-ḫnsw-ỉry*	3956, 3996	A.49	17
43	*ḏd-Mꜣꜥt-ỉw.s-ꜥnḫ*	3919; 3920	A.109	30
44	Illegible	3980; 3983	Tashedkhonsu?	36?
45	Illegible	3982	Mehunedjem?	39?
46	Desintegrated *shabtis*	3943, 3944, 3975, 3981	Djedmut(iuesankh)?	9

Shabti-*Boxes*

Anne Haslund Hansen

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1 Shabti-Box of Nesikhonsu (*Ns-ḫnsw*)

Inventory number: 3913
Daressy List: A.42
Height: 59,5 cm; Width: 30,5 cm; Depth: 31 cm.
Wood and paint.
Well preserved. A crack affects the frontal board.

Description

Rectangular *shabti*-box, closed by two sliding lids of vaulted shape, each one flanked by side panels; one knob on each lid.

On the front side are two knobs, in correspondence with each lid. In the centre there is a single band of hieroglyphic inscriptions outlined in black on a white background. The rest of the box bears no inscription nor decoration.

Inscription

Wsỉr nbt-pr šmʿyt n ỉmn Ns-ḫnsw mȝʿ-ḫrw ḫr Wsỉr hḳȝ ḏt

The Osiris, the Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun, Nesikhonsu, the justified one before Osiris, sovereign of eternity.

Burial Assemblage

It is noteworthy that Lot XVI includes two *shabtis* for Nesikhonsu (Cat. Number 26: Inv. Ns: 3927–3928). All these objects integrated the burial assemblage A.42.



FIGURE 240 *Shabti*-box of Nesikhonsu

2 Uninscribed *Shabti*-Box

Inventory number: 3914
Daressy List: Unknown
Height: 37,8 cm; Width: 44,5 cm; Depth: 43,5 cm.
Wood and paint.
In poor condition with several loose fragments. The connections between the sides are very unstable. The upper edge of one of the sides has collapsed.

Description

Wooden *shabti*-box with two lids. Plaster and polychrome paint on the outside and inside. The wood is of a light type with a coarse inner core. The rivets seem to be of a denser wood.

The box is painted in a creamy white on the outside. Brushstrokes are visible. The interior is light brown overall. The inside of the box contains a mixture of loosened wood and plaster bits, straws, and a few other plants.

The lids are painted in a darker colour, possibly green. A single white stripe runs at the full length of the lids and down the sides. The undersides of the lids are painted light brown. The lids differ slightly in size and shape.

a. (With inventory number) is thicker and finished with an angular cut, possible for fitting. Length: 45,5 cm. width: 17 cm. Height: 4,5 cm
b. Length: 46,0 cm. width: 20,5 cm. Height: 2,0 cm.

The loose fragments consist of: two curved top panels, 46 cm and 41 cm in length respectively, a knob and a larger fragment with knob, which was originally placed at the one side of the box, wood piece with brown paint, unknown position, and finally a foot panel measuring 42,3 cm.



FIGURE 241 Uninscribed *shabti*-box



FIGURE 242 Uninscribed *shabti*-box. Lids



FIGURE 243 Uninscribed *shabti*-box. Fragments

Textiles and Organic Materials



FIGURE 244 Floral elements. Fragments from a collar



FIGURE 245 Botanical elements. Fragments possibly from a collar

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FIGURE 246 Linen fragments



FIGURE 247 Inscribed (?) linen fragment

PART 2

Essays

∵

The Lot XVI: An Overview

Rogério Sousa

1 Textiles and Organic Materials

Botanical remains associated with the interments from the Gate of the Priests have been shipped with the Lot XVI. They are currently not fully identified, but consist of flower buds, various "twigs" and pieces that have been made by coiling stalks around a core. They may have once belonged to the floral collars that covered the mummies (Figures 244–245).[1]

Besides, the Lot XVI included a box holding several linen fragments. At least 14 individual pieces can be identified. Some are small fragments, while others are slightly larger folded pieces of cloth. The fabric ranges from coarse to fine. Some have visible fringes and edges. One small fragment seems to have a short hieroglyphic inscription, but the ink (?) has caused the fabric to dissolve (Figure 247).[2] Pieces of cloth like these were often found by Daressy during the unwrapping of the mummies, either positioned alongside the mummy or used as wrapping material (Figure 246).[3]

References to pieces of cloth and organic materials are rarely reported among the foreign lots of the Gate of the Priests either because they were not frequently shipped, or because they were not preserved once they arrived to their destinations.

2 The *Shabtis*

According to the list provided by the Giza Museum, the collection of 92 *shabtis* belonging to the Lot XVI was assembled out of 46 different burial sets.[4] Comparisons with the list which accompanied the Lot V[5] and the Lot X[6] shows exactly

1 Notes kindly provided by Anne Haslund Hansen.

2 These notes were handed down to us by Anne Haslund Hansen.

3 Daressy 1907.

4 Daressy lists 59 collections of *shabtis* found in the tomb (Daressy 1907, 14–17).

5 This lot was shipped to Italy. The list of *shabtis* from the Lot V is published in Guidotti 2018, 4–6.

6 This lot was shipped to the United States of America. The list of *shabtis* was kindly provided by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, where most of the objects from the Lot X are kept.

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the same composition. This similarity resulted from the method that was used to form the various lots. On average, each lot received two *shabtis* from each *shabti*-box although, exceptionally we may find single pieces (Cat. Numbers: 3, 4, 8, 10, 17, 36, 38, 39), or groups of three statuettes (Cat. Numbers 7, 9, 24). These variations are probably due to the available number of *shabtis* of a given burial.

Despite the formal similarity between the lists of the Lot XVI and the lots X/V, the composition of the *shabti* sets is not fully identical. For example, the number 39 of these lists, Pakkali (or Pakharu), is missing in the Lot XVI, which probably results from a mistake that occurred when the objects where being selected. Instead of Pakharu, a *shabti* belonging to Mehunedjem was shipped.

Other *shabtis* are missing because they have disintegrated. Comparison with other collections shows that at least some of these lost *shabtis* once belonged to Djedmut(iuesankh) (number 9 of the expedition list), which was crafted in unbaked clay.

In the Lot XVI, the collection of *shabtis* reflects the variety of models used in Thebes during the late 21st Dynasty. The clearest difference between these objects is detected in the material: 34 objects are moulded in terracotta, while 51 objects are crafted in glazed faience.

The objects in terracotta were crafted using moulds. Abundant evidence of this practice is found in the objects themselves: the reverse side often shows fingerprints, or even excess paste (Cat. Number 33).

These objects are often of very rough quality displaying a single column of inscriptions simply with the name of the owner. Some of them remained unpainted (Cat. Number: 6, 25, 32) but this is an exceptional circumstance as they were normally painted in white or blue paint, with the texts and decorative motifs outlined in black. In some cases, these pigments are now almost completely lost.

Some of these terracotta objects were covered with varnish, certainly to emulate those produced on glazed faience. The use of varnish is attested in some *shabti* sets, to make them shine (Cat. Number: 16, 33, 34). This same concern with light is detected in the use of the *s.ḥḏ Wsỉr* formula ("To make shine the Osiris ...."), attested in 6 objects (Cat. Numbers: 6, 21, 34).

The glazed objects display a similar design, with the texts and the iconographic motifs summarily outlined in black. In most of them, the text consists in the simple reference to the name of the owner. At least 22 male *shabtis* refer to titles, such as "divine father of Amun",[7] "priest of Mut",[8] "lector priest,"[9]

7 Inv. nº: 4006, 3947, 3948, 3921, 3922, 3973, 3974, 4005, 4004, 4003, 3955.

8 Inv. nº: 3995.

9 Inv. nº: 3959, 3960.

"prophet of Amun",[10] "*wab*-priest",[11] "third prophet of Amun",[12] and "fourth prophet of Amun".[13]

On female *shabtis*, however, titles are noticeably rare. The title of "chantress of Amun" is referred to on only 3 objects (3983, 3979, 3980), and even the title "mistress of the house" is mentioned on just 2 objects (3984, 3979).

At times, the *s.ḥḏ* formula is found (10 objects: Cat. Numbers 23, 28, 30, 36, 38, 39, 41, 45). This "illumination formula" is often associated with the depiction of a striped wig. Exceptionally, the *shabtis* of Hori combine the "illumination formula" with Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead.

Glazed objects may present longer texts. In the Lot XVI the longest texts are found on the *shabtis* of Nesiamun (Cat. Number 20) and Hori (Cat. Number 30). In the first case, the text is a slightly extended version of the usual identification text, while the latter is the only one in this Lot showing an abbreviated version of Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead.

Texts thus seem to have been inscribed on *shabtis* to enhance their value. It is instrumental, in this regard, to compare the *shabtis* of Tjanefer (Cat. Number 41), normally considered as the highest ranked individual in the Gate of the Priests, with those of Hori, who in fact holds the most exceptional coffin set. While Tjanefer simply shows the *s.ḥḏ* formula, Hori presents the longest text in the collection of *shabtis* from Lot XVI, with a version of Chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead. Therefore, the *shabtis* also suggest the superior status enjoyed by Hori in this tomb.

Regardless of the material, we may find different shapes in these statuettes: most of them show a simple mummiform design, but a small number of them are designed as overseers (Cat. Numbers: 15a, 25a, 37b), detected by their ceremonial costume.

10 Inv. nº: 3935, 3936, 3952, 3951.
11 Inv. nº: 3959, 3960, 3923, 3924.
12 Inv. nº: 3971, 3972.
13 Inv. nº: 3953, 3954.

3 The Coffins

Coffin Set of Nesipanebimakh (*A.12*)

Typological Profile

On typological grounds, the lid shows the following profile (Figures 3–4):[14]

- The floral collar is provided with clasps, covering the forearms. No central marker is displayed on the chest (Upper section: Type II.c);
- The central section displays three registers with the sacred scarab heading the composition (Central section: Type II.c),
- The central partition of the lower section does not show liminal elements flanking the nuclear motifs,[15] which consist of scarabs and *sekhem*-totems (Central partition: Type II.a);
- The lateral partitions display a sequence involving the avian form of Ptah-Sokar (Lateral partitions: Type II);
- The footboard includes the Ta-wer totem (Footboard: Type II).

The mummy board follows almost the same profile (only the central partition of the lower section and the footboard are missing), suggesting that both objects were prepared to be part of the same burial set.

Most of these typological features are typically found in coffins dating from the mid-21st Dynasty. In Niwiński's typology these objects belong to type III-a, which the author dates from the middle/late 21st Dynasty.[16]

The inscriptions of the lid are all aligned with the longitudinal axis of the object, a feature seen from the second quarter of the 21st Dynasty onwards.[17] The mummy was equipped with long braces inscribed with the name of Pinedjem II but this inscription alone cannot be taken as a criterion to date the coffin set. The inscription may refer either to the moment of re-use of the set or to a restoration carried out over the mummy during the pontificate of Pinedjem II.

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14 On our topographic typology see Sousa 2020a, 18–25. In Niwiński's typology this is Type III-a. Niwiński 1988, 135.

15 Liminal elements take the form of vultures, cobras, *shetyt*-shrines, mummiform gods, among other forms. For their definition and purpose see Sousa 2020a, 16.

16 Niwiński 1988, 77/135.

17 In coffins of early dating the inscriptions of the edges are aligned with the box. The same can be said of the transversal bands of text occupying the lower section. Examples: Coffin of Heritubekhet (Äs-12a–c, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst in Munich) in Sousa 2020b. Coffin of Tabasety (Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology in Aarhus) in Sousa 2020c.

Iconography

The central section of the lid offers the most elaborate pictorial composition of the coffin set (Figure 8). This composition does not show any use of liminal elements. Instead, label inscriptions are used throughout, which is a pattern typically found during the early 21st Dynasty. However, this panel makes use of a new motif: a long *serekh*-frieze bounding the first and the second register. This rare motif was not further used in coffin decoration during the 21st Dynasty, which makes this tableau very original. The search for uniqueness is also detected on the first and third registers of this tableau, where the centrifugal blocks present a very distinct composition. As a rule, the symmetrical registers tend to display a similar layout. Asymmetries like these are typically found in transitional objects, when the layout of the central section started to include three registers (Classical Scheme), instead of the previous two registers (Basic Scheme).[18]

Contrasting with the unique features of the central section, the remaining compositions of the lid follow quite strictly the conventions in use, not showing any distinctive features worthy of note.

The exterior walls of the box observe the traditional division between headboard, upper section, and lower section (Figures 20/22).[19] The repertoire of scenes featured on the box is less standardized than that of the lid, providing the most diversified set of scenes detected in the Lot XVI. The repertoire of scenes figured on this box includes classic subjects, such as the cow-goddess of the Theban necropolis (4th scene of the Vignette 5, Figures 20–21).[20]

However, most of the scenes are rather uncommon. Such is the case of the groups of enthroned deities, which are depicted in four vignettes (Vignettes 2 and 3, 2nd scene of the Vignette 5, 3rd scene of the Vignette 7, Figures 19–20/22). This rare scene is typically associated with coffins of a late dating,[21] which makes this coffin one of the earliest occurrences of this subject.

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18 Sousa 2014, 93.

19 On this topography of coffin decoration see Sousa 2017, 3.

20 Of the vast repertoire of the "yellow" coffins, this is by far one of the most depicted subjects. This scene is consistently associated with the footend of the long sides of the box. Inner coffin of Tabaekkhonsu (A.10—Inv. nº Äs 6265, Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna) in Egner, Haslauer 1994, Pl. 36. Coffin of Khonsumose (CGT 10106.b, Museo Egizio in Turin) in Niwiński 2004, Tav. XII.

21 Anonymous outer coffin (A.15—Inv. nº 8524, Museo Egizio in Florence) in Zarli, Sousa 2018, 65. Inner coffin of Hori (A.143—Inv. nº JE 29619, Egyptian Museum in Cairo) in Mostafa 2020, 137. Outer and inner coffin of Gautseshen (A.139—Inv. nº 93/10.1a–b, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden) in Mann, Greco, Weiss 2018, 40–41.

The symmetrical scene featuring falcon-headed enthroned gods (Vignette 4, Figure 20) is also interesting. This kind of vignette is rather frequent, but it usually features Osirian deities, while falcon-headed mummiform gods are seldom found.[22] Thus, also in this scene the iconographic program of the box privileged solar connotations.

The navigation of the solar barque is repeatedly depicted along the walls of the box, always alluding to the rising sun. In Vignettes 5 (1st scene) and 6 (Figures 20/22), the rising sun god Khepri is saluted by the Baw of the East (in the form of baboons) and by a flock of *ba*-birds. The use of the *ba*-birds saluting the solar barque is rare in coffin decoration,[23] and the same can be said about the Baw of the East performing a similar action.[24] The combined use of these motifs is even more rarely found.[25]

The motifs showing the *ba*-birds reveal a heavy influence of the royal funerary compositions of the Book of Earth[26] and the Book of Gates,[27] and the same can be said about the Baw of the East.

In Vignette 7 (1st scene, Figure 24) the solar barque of Khepri is pulled out from the Theban Mountain by a group of netherworld deities, thus resembling the sequence of the nightly journey of the sun god in the Book of the Amduat and in the Book of Gates.[28] The interesting difference is that in the scenes featured on the box this event does not allude to the nightly journey of the sun god, but to his daily circuit, namely to the rising of the sun. Despite this distinction, these scenes suggest a heavy influence of imagery of the royal compositions of the netherworld, a well-attested phenomenon during the late 21st Dynasty.[29] However, the stylistic features of the coffin point out to a much earlier dating, showing that the origin of this trend may be located shortly after the middle of

22 Coffin of Shedsutauepet (A.110) in Sousa 2017, 206. Coffin of Hori (Inv. nº 10114, Museo Egizio in Turin) in Niwiński 2004, Tav. XXIII.2. Inner coffin of Pinnedjem II (CG 61029, Egyptian Museum in Cairo) in Daressy 1909, PL. XLIV. Coffin of Tanatnektahat (1999.I.17, Michael Carlos Museum in Atlanta) in Lacovara, Trope 2001, 49–50. Inner coffin of Haes (A.102). Outer coffin of Ankhefenkhonsu (A.108—JE 29663, Egyptian Museum in Cairo).

23 Coffin of Tanatnektahat (1999.I.17, Michael Carlos Museum in Atlanta) in Lacovara, Trope 2001, 49–50. Outer box of Ankhefenkhonsu (A.108—JE 29663, Egyptian Museum in Cairo).

24 Inner box of Khonsumes (A.121—Inv. nº 228, Victoriamuseet in Uppsala) in Englund 1974, 42. Inner box of Bakenmut (A.40—Inv. nº 24798, British Museum). Outer box (EA 35288, British Museum).

25 We have been able to attest them only in the inner coffin of Hori (A.143). Mostafa 2020, 137.

26 Book of the Earth, part A. Hornung 1999, 104.

27 Book of Gates, ninth hour and twelfth hour. Hornung 1999, 74–77.

28 Hornung 1999, 52–53/74–77.

29 Duarte 2017. Duarte 2014.

the dynasty. Since in this case we are not before a strict copy of the royal motifs, we may assume that royal compositions begin to be used in coffin decoration in a very subtly way, as we see here.

The interior decoration of the box is arranged as a shrine, with the rear wall showing the great mother goddess with her arms open to embrace the mummy, and the *ba*-bird depicted on the ceiling, as if flying over the head of the deceased. The side walls are decorated with mummiform guardian deities who protect the mummy (Figure 30). The divine garment of the goddess is exceptional in its decoration, but an interesting parallel has been identified in the outer coffin of Tabakmut from the Theban tomb MMA 60, dating from the third quarter of the 21st Dynasty.[30] Also in this object we can witness to the same coiled pattern decorating the dress, as well as block-friezes displayed on the edges of the dress. Given the remaining similarities in the design of the lid, it is not too far-fetched assuming a common origin.

All in all, the iconographic program of the set shows a clear division between the lid and the box: the solar imagery is dominant on the exterior decoration of the box, while the Osirian references are prevalent on the lid/mummy board.

Texts

On the lid, the texts present variations of the offering formula (Inscriptions 1–4, Figures 14–15) and the usual transversal inscriptions referring to the protection of the mummy (Inscriptions 6–14, Figure 17). The same pattern is detected on the mummy board, but here the calligraphy is visibly of much better quality (Figures 38–39).

On the box, the repertoire of texts is extremely poor. Here versions of the same text are repeatedly inscribed along the sides of the box (Figure 32). The calligraphy is more informal than that observed on the lid and mummy board. Also in this aspect, a sharp contrast is detected between the lid and the box, with the best texts inscribed on the lid.

Workshop Practices

The carpentry work detected in the burial assemblage of A.12 is good. On the box, the wooden planks were carefully selected, and they are large enough to reduce the joints to the minimum. This selective use of the wood and the efficient carpentry work contributed for the good state of preservation of the pictorial layer. The carpentry work of the lid is very good, making use of long and nicely prepared planks. The mummy board is a very thin object, excellently carved.

30 Metropolitan Museum of Art (25.3.10 a, b). On this find see Kamrin 2020.

Although not exceptional, the sculptural work detected on the lid and mummy board is good. The proportions are balanced, and the faces are well carved in the round, showing a soft rendering of the anatomical details. The lid's face, in particular, was carved in an exceptionally large piece of wood, which was attached to the main plank of the lid.

After the general practice detected during the 21st Dynasty, ears and hands are carved separately and attached to the lid. *Pastiglia* was used on the lid and mummy board to suggest relief. This technique was typically employed from the mid-21st Dynasty onwards.[31] However, the style of the pictorial work is still very much embedded in the trends of coffin decoration of the first half of the dynasty, such as the deceased, who is clad in white ceremonial clothes (Figure 10), instead of the tight and dark coloured garments typically worn by the deceased during the second half of the 21st Dynasty (Figure 136).[32]

Thus, this coffin set reveals a transitional design, betraying the confluence of new emerging trends in a workshop highly familiar with the older tradition of coffin decoration. Corroborating the transitional character of this set is the parsimonious use of liminal elements, which are absent on the lid, but appear on the mummy board (Central section, Figure 35) and on the box (Vignette 4, Figure 20). This addition supposes a slightly later dating for the decoration of the box and the mummy board.

This is not the only contrast between these objects. The heavily detailed decoration on the lid is not matched by the exterior decoration of the box, which is rather sketchy. As a result, the amount of work and time involved in the decoration of the lid was certainly much higher than that spent in the decoration of the exterior walls of the box.

Moreover, there is evidence that both the lid and the box were finished off in haste:

– In the interior of the box, the goddess of the Theban necropolis is beautifully clad in a dress showing an unusual pattern composed by a coiled motif (Figure 27/29). It is noteworthy that only the upper eight rows of the dress were fully completed. Moreover, the mummy-braces worn by the mummiform gods displayed on the side walls are merely outlined and, on the proper left wall, the beard of one of them was left unpainted (second register).
– On the lid, evidence of an uneven level of execution is found throughout the object. In the central section, for example, the proper left centripetal block (1st register, Figure 8) shows a much cruder treatment of the faces than the

31 Geldhof 2018, 61–62.

32 For this change of style see Sousa 2019, 159.

opposite side. The style of this artist is also recognizable in the head of Maat (lateral partitions, 2nd register, proper right side, Figure 10) featured in the lower section. Further evidence of this crude style is found in the lower section, namely in the sacred ram (3rd register, proper left side, Figure 10). Other type of inconsistencies is found in the direction of the motifs. The frieze of *iaret*-cobras featured below the fourth register (proper left partition) faces inwards, as if it was copied directly from the frieze on the opposite partition (Figure 10). Moreover, in the central partition, the names of the goddesses featured on the second register are misplaced. These problems are not detected on the mummy board, where the style and level of execution is more uniform.

The collected evidence of the coffin set suggests the fingerprint of at least three different hands. Clearly, the best artist worked on the lid and mummy board. On the lid, he was assisted by an apprentice, who was assigned to minor tasks, focused on particular motifs. On the box, the style is not so detailed, but this criterion alone is not enough to isolate another actor. The lack of detail can simply result from the lack of time to finish off the object. However, the use of liminal elements on the left side of the box (Vignette 4) shows that a different artist stepped in, one that was already familiar with a new emerging trend in coffin decoration, which consisted in adding symbols that were originally featured inside the box.[33]

Considering the diversity of the iconographic references employed in the coffin set, the texts are surprisingly poor, most of them consisting of very repetitive and straightforward offering formulae. This contrast clearly suggests that the workshop where this coffin set was crafted was more familiar with iconography than with texts, a situation that does not seem to have been exceptional (cf. coffin sets of A.19 and A.41 in this volume) particularly in the workshops working for the lower elite. This contrast also shows how important iconography became in the perception of value of a coffin set during the 21st Dynasty, which may help to explain the greater care put in the iconographic compositions of coffins, rather than in the texts.

Re-use

Since this coffin set dates from the mid-21st Dynasty, at a certain moment it was re-used to be buried in the Gate of the Priests. Multiple evidence of re-use is found on the lid. The first and the second registers of the lower section (proper right partition) show vestiges of the name of the original owner of the coffin

33 Sousa 2014, 95, 96. Sousa 2018a, 204–207. Sousa 2020, 15–16.

set, a possible reconstruction of which might be "Maatemsaef" (Figure 10). The inscriptions over the footboard, with the name and titles of Nesipanebimakh, were visibly written over a scratched surface, which suggests that the original inscriptions over this area, normally focused on the name and titles of the deceased, were erased.

Coffin Set of Taiuheret (*A.19*)

Typological Profile

On typological grounds, the lid shows the following profile (Figure 42):[34]

- The collar is provided with clasps, and the forearms are visible. The winged scarab is displayed on the chest (Upper section: Type I.a);
- The central section displays two registers with the sacred scarab heading the composition (Central section: Type I.c);
- The lower section does not display a central partition (Central partition: Type I);
- The lateral partitions display a sequence involving the avian form of Ptah-Sokar (Lateral partitions: Type II).
- The footboard depicts mourning goddesses (Footboard: Type I).

In the layout of the lid there is a contrast between the design of the central section and that of the lower section, with the former displaying the basic scheme, and the later arranged after the classical scheme. In general terms, the basic scheme was in use during the early 21st Dynasty, while the classical scheme emerged by the mid-21st Dynasty.[35] In addition, the footboard displays the mourning goddesses in standing position, rather than squatted, as they were commonly depicted in the "yellow" type, which suggests a Ramesside dating.[36] With the noticeable exception of the lower section, all the other sections of the lid display an earlier design typically found on late Ramesside-early 21st Dynasty coffins.

In Niwiński's typology the lid belongs to type II-c, which the author dates from the middle years of H.P. Menkheperre to the end of the pontificate of H.P. Pinedjem II,[37] a date which the author supports by using the direction of writing of the inscriptions as criterion.

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34 In Niwiński's typology this is Type II-c. Niwiński 1988, 136.

35 Sousa 2018a, 175.

36 Coffin set of Henutmehyt (EA 48001, British Museum) in Taylor 2010, 277. Coffin set of Tamutneferet (N 2631, N2571, N 2623, N 2620, Louvre Museum) in Cooney 2007, fig. 42. Coffin set of Takayt (1651a–f, Die Städtische Galerie Liebieghaus in Frankfurt) in Cooney 2007, fig. 25.

37 Niwiński 1988, 135.

A similar design is found on the mummy board (Figure 65):[38]
- The forearms are visible, the collar is provided with clasps, and the winged scarab is displayed on the chest (Upper section: Type I.a);
- The central section displays two registers with the sacred scarab heading the composition (Central section: Type I.c);
- The lower section presents an irregular composition showing a white background, a design originally associated with Ramesside objects.

The mummy board shows a quite simple design, displaying the basic scheme in the upper and central sections, with the bands of texts of the lower section designed against a white background.

In Niwiński's typology, the mummy board belongs to type II-d, which the author takes as the evidence of archaization, thus pointing towards an estimated dating between the late pontificate of H.P. Menkheperre and the early years of H.P. Psusennes.[39] One of the main arguments of the author to support this late dating is the white background of the object, which in our view, plays no such significant role in dating a coffin set.[40]

Regarding the box, the absence of a decorative frieze on the upper edge is also telling of a very early dating, namely the late Ramesside period. The same early dating is suggested by the absence of the deceased in the pictorial program of the box. Similarly, the interior of the box was simply painted red, which is also an early feature. All these features help us dating the coffin set of A.19 from the end of the Ramesside period or the very beginning of the 21st Dynasty, which makes this burial assemblage the oldest of the Lot XVI and certainly one of the oldest so far documented in the Gate of the Priests.

Iconography

The design of the lid and the mummy board is simple, following the main conventions of each section. The central section (Figures 46, 67), for example, is reduced to its most basic features, so much so that the typical Osirian motifs flanking the scarab were not included. The resulting composition is thus focused on the solar rebirth provided by the winged goddess.

Given the early dating of the object, the lower section of the lid (Figure 48) presents a puzzling composition integrating the avian form of Sokar, which is typically found in coffins dating from the second quarter of the 21st Dynasty.[41]

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38 In Niwiński's typology this is Type II-d. Niwiński 1988, 136.

39 Niwiński 1988, 136.

40 Both types of backgrounds are often found in the same coffin set. For example, the lid and mummy board of Tabasety show different coloration despite the fact that both show a similar scheme of decoration. Sousa 2020c. Sousa and Nørskov 2018.

41 Sousa 2018a, 134–136.

As we will see below, it probably results from a later recycling operation. In any case, the sequence of vignettes is conventional, with the remarkable exception of the first register, where the deceased is replaced by a goddess (proper left partition).

The arrangement of the scenes on the box observes the traditional division between the headboard, upper section, and lower section. However, the content of these scenes does not strictly follow the archetypical layout detected in early coffins, showing Thoth and the four Sons of Horus.[42] Several deities of the underworld are depicted instead, probably a faint reminder of the Litany of Re (Figures 58/61).[43] Interesting parallels can be found on the box of Yutefamun (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.3.1a,b) and Anresennes (26.3.4a,b), both showing consistent features dating from the late Ramesside period.

A very unusual motif is featured in both upper sections of the box: a mourning scene before the *Ta-wer* totem with Isis squatted before the totem and Nephthys standing behind, protecting it with her wings (Figures 56/59). Although the *Ta-wer* totem can be often figured flanked by Isis and Nephthys in the form of winged goddesses,[44] mourning goddesses,[45] adoring goddesses[46] or even mummiform deities,[47] the combined use of a winged deity with a mourning goddess is unattested elsewhere by this author. Considering the early dating of the object, it would be more likely to find in this section the depictions of Thoth with the *udjat*-eye.[48] Once again, we might be here witnessing a later addition of a scene into a previously decorated coffin.

Texts

On the lid, the longitudinal texts present interesting variations of the offering formula (Inscriptions 2 and 3) addressed to Isis and Serket and not to Osiris, as it would be more expected. The main inscription (Inscription 1) is the typical address to Nut (Figure 52).

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42 Outer coffin of Tanethereret (Musée du Louvre, N 13034). Outer coffin of Masaharta (CG 61027) in Daressy 1909, Pl. XXXVII.

43 Good examples of coffins designed with the imagery of the Litany of Re are found in the coffin of Nesyamun (Leeds City Museum, D. 426–426a.1960), the outer coffin of Sutimes (Musée du Louvre, N 2610).

44 Inner box of Ankhsenmut (A.38—JE 29675, Egyptian Museum in Cairo). Inner box (1999.1.13, Michael Carlos Museum in Atlanta) in Lacovara, Trope 2001, 48.

45 Outer box of Pinedjem II (CG 61029, Cairo Egyptian Museum) in Daressy 1909: PL. XLIII

46 Inner box of Khonsuiri (A.47—F.93/10.3a–b, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden) in Boeser 1916, Pl. IV.

47 Anonymous inner box (F.93/10.4, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden) in Boeser 1916, Pl. I.

48 See box of Yutefamun (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.3.1a,b) and Anresennes (26.3.4a,b).

The repertoire of texts on the box is extremely poor, with versions of the same short texts repeatedly inscribed along the sides (Figure 64). Repetitions of words and even the inversion of the direction of signs are detected, showing the low level of literacy of the decorators. The texts are addressed to Isis (Inscription 6 and perhaps 13) and Serket (Inscriptions 5, 12), Nephthys (Inscriptions 1, 7, 14), Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (Inscriptions 4, 10) and Thoth (2, 9). Despite their crudeness, these texts try to be effective in establishing a magical ring of deities along the walls of the box.

However, the most striking inscriptions are those detected on the transversal bands of the lid (Inscriptions 4–10, Figure 52). Against the rule, these texts are centrifugally oriented, which is a very puzzling and rather exceptional feature. Moreover, the contents of these inscriptions are also exceptional, as they do not adopt the usual formula "The venerable one before …". Instead, they present very corrupted sentences borrowed from the traditional repertoire of coffin inscriptions, referring to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, a deity otherwise omitted in the main inscriptions of the lid. The calligraphy is cursive suggesting that the transversal texts had been inscribed by a different agent, revealing a heavily unskilled work. Moreover, the inscriptions are all aligned with the longitudinal axis of the lid, a feature that is only found from the second quarter of the 21st Dynasty onwards.

Unlike the lid, all the inscriptions of the mummy board are very well designed (Figure 70). Here, the calligraphy is of much better quality. Nevertheless, the longitudinal inscriptions seem to have been written after those inscribed on the lid. The Inscription 1 of the mummy board is visibly a shorter version of Inscription 2 inscribed on the lid, while Inscription 2 is nearly the same of Inscription 3 of the lid. The transversal inscriptions of the mummy board show the usual repertoire of texts.

This resemblance turns even more striking the sharp contrast detected between the transversal inscriptions of the lid and those of the mummy board, suggesting that by the mid-21st Dynasty the set was selectively intervened with the objects being re-inscribed.

Workshop Practices

The burial assemblage of A.19 presents the poorest carpentry work detected in the Lot XVI. The box reveals severe structural problems, particularly in the joints of the headboard. Most of the main joints between the side walls and the floorboard are loose, and that seems to be the result of a poor adjustment between them. The side walls had been crafted by joining together different pieces of wood, sometimes very roughly assembled. On the exterior walls, these irregularities were masked by using plaster, which was applied directly over the

wood.[49] The adherence of the plaster to the side walls of the box is weak, causing the collapse of the pictorial layer in several spots.

On the interior walls of the box the paint was directly applied to the wood.

A similar picture is found on the lid, which also reveals severe cracks, pointing to structural problems. Longitudinal cracks are detected over the headboard, the proper left side of the upper section, the right side of the lower section and the footboard. A severe transversal crack is found between the footboard and the lower section. Although we did not have the possibility to examine the reverse side of the lid, it is likely that these cracks originate deep in the joints of the planks. The sculptural work is also poor and disproportionate, particularly on the lid, where the head is visibly too large for the torso. Given the disproportion of the face, it is therefore likely that it was re-used from a previous coffin (perhaps an outer coffin?).

Moreover, the treatment of the face is crude. The sculptor carved the eyes on a very high position, so much so that the painter had no other solution than painting them over the cheek. The rounded earrings were crudely attached to the headboard, and a similar process was used on the open hands, which were attached to the main board of the lid by using tenons.

All these clues point in the same direction: the unskilled craftsmen who produced this object used low quality wooden planks, most of them certainly recycled from earlier Ramesside coffins. This is visible in the footboard of the lid, where the loss of paste revealed a foot carved on the wood. This feature would be expected in coffins of the "festive dress" type, in use during from the late 18th Dynasty to the early Ramesside period. Given the cracks detected between the joints of the footboard and the lower section, it is obvious that a broken Ramesside footboard was integrated in the structure of this lid. Once covered with paste, the sculpted feet were no longer visible, and the mourning goddesses were painted on top.

It is therefore very likely that most of the planks used in this set were re-used from Ramesside coffins. Oftentimes plundered coffins ended up completely broken, as it has always been witnessed by archaeologists. In antiquity, these loose fragments were surely used as a cheap resource of raw materials, especially in workshops producing objects for the lower elite,[50] as it seems to be the case in this coffin set.

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49 Better results were achieved by using linen, which was glued to the wooden planks. Plaster was then applied over the linen. Without this procedure, the plaster coating tends to crack along the joints, especially when they are weak, as it is the case in this set.

50 We use here the classification proposed by Cooney 2014.

In terms of carpentry work, the mummy board is the best object of the set: despite its thinness, the object is perfectly preserved, and the quality of the sculptural work is better, particularly on the face, which reveals delicate proportions.

Despite the rough craftsmanship detected in this coffin set, the style of the pictorial work is fair, particularly in the vignettes of the lower section of the lid, where the scenes are displayed with some sense of elegance and harmony (Figure 48).

On the box, the vignettes are not so well designed and seem to be the work of a different painter. The compositions are more loosely arranged, and the best figures are finished off with a black outline (the right side lacks this treatment), which is absent on the lid. As to the mummy board it was certainly painted by the same artist(s) who worked on the lid. They both share the same features, including the conspicuous absence of breasts, which otherwise are an almost universally acknowledged female attribute in "yellow" coffins.

All in all, this coffin set superbly shows that the re-use of Ramesside materials did not simply involve redecorating a coffin. In this case, the coffin was entirely crafted by using planks and fragments taken out from Ramesside coffins.

This coffin set is also interesting in showing that despite the poor levels of craftsmanship, workshops working for the lowest Theban elite were able to provide a meaningful and unconventional set of images. The decorators were clearly familiar with the scheme of decoration of the "yellow" type and with its developments. However, the degree of literacy shown in the texts is low, which suggests that these workshops certainly did not work under any kind of formal supervision.

Re-use

The close similarity between the lid and the mummy board clearly suggests that both objects were produced in the same workshop to be part of the same coffin set. Despite the early atmosphere detected in most of the features of this coffin set, there is plenty of evidence of later interventions.

The lower sections of both the lid and mummy board seem to have been selectively redecorated during the second quarter of the 21st Dynasty. Both on the lid and mummy board the network of the bands of text displays the inscriptions aligned with the longitudinal axis of the objects, which would not be expected in the early 21st Dynasty. It is therefore likely that these objects were intervened by the mid-21st Dynasty, with this action focused on the lower section. The name of the deceased now detectable on the object, Taiuheret, a chantress of Amun-Re (Inscription 1 of the lid), was possibly inscribed in this recycling operation.

Moreover, in the lower section of the lid the iconographic program shows a sequence integrating the avian form of the god Sokar, which typically appears during the second quarter of the 21st Dynasty. This can be due either to an early use of this sequence in the workshop which produced this coffin, or to a recycling operation that could have occurred by the mid-21st Dynasty.

Yet another striking feature is found in the lower section of the lid. Here, the transversal bands of text are centrifugally displayed, breaking an almost universally acknowledged practice of turning the hieroglyphs to the central axis of the lid. Such arrangement suggests a different agent, one which was not familiar even with the most fundamental principles of coffin decoration. Dating such intervention is difficult, but the complete lack of observance for the most fundamental conventions makes more likely a late dating, perhaps during the late 21st Dynasty. The longitudinal inscriptions of the lid were not affected by this operation, which helped to preserve the name of the second owner of the set.

The coffin set was eventually buried in Gate of the Priests, perhaps associated with a yet different owner but his/her name remained uninscribed. The interior of the box shows evidence of a thick layer of organic material, perhaps linen, which remained attached to the floorboard. This is probably the evidence of ritual practices involving pouring liquids over the mummy when it was already laid in the box.

Coffin Set of Ankhefenkhonsu (*A.33*)

Typological Profile

On typological grounds, the outer lid shows the following profile (Figure 73):

- The floral collar covers the forearms and it is not provided with clasps. The form of the pectoral is irregular (Upper section: Type III);
- The central section displays three registers with the sacred vulture heading the composition (Central section: Type III.f);
- The central partition of the lower section shows liminal elements flanking the nuclear motifs, which consist exclusively of scarabs (Central partition: Type III.b);
- The lateral partitions display a sequence exclusively involving enthroned gods (Lateral partitions: Type III);
- The footboard features Osiris and mourning goddesses (Footboard: Type III).

All these typological features are consistently often found in coffins dating from the late 21st Dynasty.[51] Inside the outer box we find further evidence of late cri-

51 In Niwiński's typology both lids are asigned under Type III-a. Niwiński 1988, 135.

teria, such as the depiction of ritual scenes (Figure 101), a feature that would become increasingly common by the late 21st Dynasty.[52]

The inner lid shows the following profile (Figure 106):
– The floral collar covers the forearms, and it is not provided with clasps. Any central marker is featured (Upper section: Type III.c);
– The central section displays three registers with the scarab heading the composition (Central section: Type III.c);
– The central partition of the lower section shows liminal elements flanking the nuclear motifs, which consist exclusively in scarabs (Central partition: Type III.b);
– The lateral partitions only display mummiform gods (Lateral partitions: Type III).
– The footboard features enthroned Osiris (Footboard: Type III).
These typological features are all consistent with an estimate dating from the third quarter of the 21st Dynasty.

The mummy board reveals exactly the same profile (Figure 149), with the exception of the central partition of the lower section, which is absent in this object. The affinity between the lid and the mummy board shows that these two objects were crafted to be part of the same burial set. Besides the typological similarities, there is abundant evidence showing the links between these objects. On both items, the deceased grasps *ankh*-signs, and the floral patterns used on the collars are very similar. The composition of the central section and the vignettes of the lateral partitions of the lower section are remarkably similar on both objects. Moreover, the use of large liminal elements in the shape of mummiform gods is a conspicuous feature of both items.

As to the outer coffin, we are dealing with a distinct object dating to the late 21st Dynasty, which appears to have no relation with the original set.

Quite unlike our approach, Niwiński's typology provides no contrast between the outer lid, inner lid, and mummy board. All these objects belong to his type III-a, which the author dates from the middle/late 21st Dynasty.[53]

52 It is important to note that the highest elite yellow coffins dating from the early 21st Dynasty are profusely decorated with ritual scenes. See coffin set of Sutimes (N 2610, Louvre Museum). Apparently, this repertoire remained inaccessible to the lower ranks of the Theban priesthood until the fourth quarter of the 21st Dynasty.

53 Niwiński 1988, 77/135.

Iconography

In terms of composition, the outer lid shows some peculiarities. A rather unusual pectoral is added to the upper section (Figure 75). Instead of the usual layout, the central section displays ritual scenes with overwhelmingly large offering tables (Figure 77). The lower section is exceptionally designed with enthroned gods featured as living deities (Figure 79). All these features are so rare that the program of this lid as a whole can be truly seen as a compilation of iconographic oddities. We will now examine them in more detail.

The pectoral displayed over the chest shows bees flanking the sacred scarab (Figure 75). The bees were integrated in the repertoire of the liminal elements during the last quarter of the 21st Dynasty.[54] Liminal elements were first used to cover peripheral areas of the compositions, but by the end of the 21st Dynasty they became integrated in the main compositions, as we witness here.

The central section is headed by a large vulture goddess, representing the divine mother (Figure 77). In the third register of the same tableau, the mother goddess is again depicted in the form of Nut, associated with a frieze of liminal elements and inscriptions over her wings,[55] making the imagery of the mother goddess exceedingly prevalent in this composition.

Quite unlike the conventions, the deceased is shown in the symmetrical registers of the central section. Here, the deceased performs offerings before an enormous offering table standing at Osiris' feet. Ritual scenes are common in this context in the early 21st Dynasty. However, the agent of the cult is normally the god Thoth.[56] Visibly, this scene is conceived after those earlier archetypes, which were re-interpreted to feature the deceased as the agent of the cult.[57]

As to the lower section, the central partition makes a heavy use of liminal elements, which makes it a rather stereotyped composition (Figure 79). On the other hand, the lateral partitions show enthroned gods featured as living deities (an unidentified solar god in the first register, Imsety in the second register and Hapy in the third one). A mourning goddess is featured before Imsety, which is

54 Sousa 2020a, 15–17.

55 In earlier compositions, it is common to see inscriptions alluding to Nut, over her wings. From the mid-21st Dynasty these inscriptions were replaced by liminal elements. In this composition, a mix of both elements has been essayed.

56 Coffin of Nodjemet (CG 61024, Cairo Egyptian Museum) in Daressy 1909, Pl. XXVI. Coffin set of Herytubekhet (ÄS-12a, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst in Munich) in Sousa 2020b, 30.

57 In this composition, the winged deities were replaced by offering scenes (compare with the inner lid and mummy board), which is detected in coffins dating from the early 21st Dynasty: Coffin of Tabasety (Antikmuseet in Aarhus, 8527) in Sousa 2020c, 45. However, in such early coffins the offering tables are never so large.

an awkward occurrence, as such depiction would be more expected in Osirian contexts. The design of the scenes is again deeply shaped by the sheer size of the offering tables.

The exterior decoration of the outer box observes the traditional division between headboard, upper section and lower section, with the vignettes extending themselves to the full length of each section. Not only the repertoire of scenes is poor, as it is replicated on both sides of the box. Only two scenes are featured: the symmetrically displayed enthroned gods (upper section) and the bovine form of Hathor (lower section). These are precisely the most common scenes in the repertoire of the "yellow" corpus.

The reduced number of vignettes allowed lofty compositions with a surprisingly conservative layout, which is further emphasised by featuring the deceased clad in white pleated garments, as it is often seen in the coffins dating from the first half of the 21st Dynasty, and not the customary dark garments (shirt and short kilt as detected on the lid—Figure 76). As it is, the box could be easily dated from the late second half of the 21st Dynasty. Only small details betray its later dating. For example, the side panels of the headboard display mourning goddesses before the standing god Osiris (Figure 88), which would be unexpected in earlier coffins. But the most conspicuous features pointing out to a later dating are the offering tables, which are designed exactly in the same manner as shown on the outer lid. In the interior decoration, the presence of ritual scenes showing the deceased offering to the gods and even the Opening of the mouth ceremony, is another poignant sign of a later dating (Figure 101).

Less balanced is the inner layout of the box, precisely where the best pictorial work would be expected (Figures 93, 101). Here the composition is naïve, unbalanced and overcrowded, which impairs the impact of the main figure, a large figure of Osiris standing on a *nubet*-sign, with his head replaced by the top cornices of the *djed*-pillar surmounted by a *hem-hem* crown. Around this main subject a wealth of motifs is depicted such as cobras, vultures and enthroned mummiform gods.[58] While this composition can be considered quite canonical, other motifs introduce an innovative atmosphere. The raptor depicted in the headboard is one of them (and not the conventional *ba*-bird: Figures 30, 145, 187). Perhaps more meaningful in terms of dating, are the ritual scenes, supplemented with long inscriptions and accompanied with large offering tables.

58 These are liminal elements, here depicted in large format and in their actual original location.

Thus, in the outer coffin the interior decoration is far more innovative than that observed on the exterior walls.

The inner lid is an outstanding piece (Figures 105–106). With the deceased grasping *ankh*-signs and showing an austere face, the lid would truly work as a larger-than-life statue. The layout of the lid does not reveal iconographical oddities, nor particularly creative arrangements, showing a rather classical design. The most peculiar feature of the inner lid is the abundant use of *pastiglia*, which was used even to mould the liminal elements. Since the use of *pastiglia* was obviously very time-consuming, the overabundance of moulded liminal elements decisively contributed to enhance the perception of value associated with this coffin, which was certainly regarded as a luxurious object.

Interestingly, the liminal elements used in this object are large, often moulded in *pastiglia*, taking the shape of *shetyt*-shrines and enthroned gods (human-headed, vulture-headed and snake-headed) and not making use of the most usual repertoire, such as vultures and cobras. The mummiform gods displayed on the lid are labelled as "akhu" and the name of Osiris is never mentioned.

The style is schematic, but the faces are beautifully designed with a wealth of detail, particularly in the animal-headed gods.

In terms of style and layout, the mummy board follows the same features of the inner lid (Figure 149), with the difference that the face of the deceased is rendered in a softer and more delicate manner. *Pastiglia* is also abundantly applied on the mummy board, but the relief is less raised than that observed on the lid.

The arrangement of the scenes in the inner box observes the traditional division between headboard, upper section and lower section but the content itself is very innovative, revolving around the admission of the deceased in the divine community of the netherworld. The style is softer than that observed on the lid, with the body shapes well-proportioned and the faces beautifully designed. Moreover, on the box, the gods are never depicted in mummiform guise, as we always find on the lid.

In the upper section of the box (Figures 124, 126), the deceased is admitted in the crew of the solar barque, integrating the team of divine paddlers. This subject, which is clearly derived from the solar circuit imaginary, is seldom found in the repertoire of the "yellow" coffins being consistently associated with high (or even the highest) elite burials.[59] Although the sun god is never depicted,

59 Outer coffin of Henuttaui (Äs 57 b, Staatliche Sammlung für Ägyptische Kunst in Munich) in Sousa 2020d, 87. Inner coffin of Hori (A.143—JE 29619, Egyptian Museum in Cairo)

these scenes show a heavy influence of the royal compositions of the netherworld, namely from the Book of the Amduat (Ninth Hour).[60] The inner coffin of Ankhefenkhonsu thus stands out as featuring a very rare and exclusive solar subject.

The lower sections of the box (Figures 126, 132) show the deceased introduced to several deities. The main subject of these scenes is the reception of the deceased by the (anonymous) gods of the underworld. The deceased is outnumbered by the gods, which are simply labelled as "akhu", but he stands out thanks to the short wig he wears, and to his double-coloured shirt.[61] Welcoming scenes like these are normally associated with high elite coffins,[62] and seem to derive from the decoration of the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings, where this type of scenes can be found in abundance.[63] Similar scenes can be found in coffins dating from the third quarter of the 21st Dynasty,[64] becoming progressively more abundant by the end of this period.[65]

Both types of scenes are not part of the traditional repertoire of "yellow" coffins, revealing a strong input from the repertoire of the royal tombs,[66] where a great deal of attention is given to the reception of the king by the gods of the netherworld.

Mostafa 2020, XXX. Coffin fragment of the outer coffin of Tanakhtentahat (2046, Musée de Beaux Arts in Grenoble) in Kueny, Yoyotte 1979, 93. Inner coffin of Heretenureb (A.133—JE 29738, Egyptian Museum in Cairo). Outer coffin of Pinedjem (A.55—JE 29637, Egyptian Museum in Cairo). Outer coffin of Maatkare (A.132—JE 29612, Egyptian Museum in Cairo).

60 Hornung 1999, 50.

61 What seems to be a double-coloured shirt might be a tunic used together with a corslet. Personal communication by Anne Haslund Hansen.

62 Outer coffin of Taahuti (A.32—Inv. nº 24793, British Museum). Inner coffin of Ankhefenkhonsu (A.58—Inv. nº 18256, Museo Arqueologico Nacional in Madrid). Outer coffin of Bakenmut (A.40—Inv. nº 24792, British Museum). Inner coffin of Shedkhonsu (A.52—007363/012454, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva). Outer coffin of Dirpu (A.123—29669, Egyptian Museum in Cairo). Anonymous outer coffin (A.135—Egyptian Museum in Cairo). Outer coffin of Tadimut (A.91—11981/11982/11983, Egyptian Museum in Berlin).

63 In the Tomb of Amenhotep III (WV22) the underworld gods greet the deceased king (Hawass 2006, 39–41) showing a very similar design to the scene depicted on the side walls of the inner coffin. Similar scenes can be seen in the Tomb of Horemheb (KV 57—Hawass 2006, 89–91), the Tomb of Ramses I (KV 16), the Tomb of Seti I (KV 17—Hornung 1991, Plate 56).

64 Inner coffin of Ankhefenkhonsu (A.58—Inv. nº 18256, Museo Arqueologico Nacional in Madrid). Outer coffin of Bakenmut (A.40—Inv. nº 24792, British Museum).

65 Inner coffin of Shedkhonsu (A.52—007363/012454, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva). Outer coffin of Dirpu (A.123—29669, Egyptian Museum in Cairo). Anonymous outer coffin (A.135—Egyptian Museum in Cairo). Outer coffin of Tadimut (A.91—11981/11982/11983, Egyptian Museum in Berlin).

66 Sousa 2018a, 203–207. Liptay 2017, 263.

The contrast detected between the inner box and the inner lid is the direct result of the prevalence of the solar imagery in the former, and the Osirian significance in the later. In the interior of the box, this contrast is abolished and the solar-Osirian union is fully illustrated through the almost life-sized depiction of the winged *djed*-pillar (Figures 138, 145).[67] From the point of view of the visual narrative displayed on the coffin, one senses a coherent progression from the sides of the box, where the deceased integrates the crew of the sacred barque and is welcomed by the deities of the underworld, to the lower section of the lid, where he presents offerings to the enthroned mummiform gods, then to the central section, where he reaches the secret place of the underworld where the heavenly mother goddess of the Theban Mountain gives birth to the solar god.[68] At the heart of this heavenly nest, in the interior of the box, lies in its full majesty the *djed*-pillar, the solarized manifestation of the resurrected Osiris, to whom the deceased becomes identified, when his mummy is laid over it.

The reading of the coffin as a sacred space is paralleled by the repeated use of the word "*shetyt*" throughout the multiple objects of the set, which associates the coffin with a shrine. In other words, the coffin is identified as a *shetyt*-shrine, holding the deceased as an underworld deity. A variety of procedures was used to enhance the sacred character of the coffin. One of them consisted in using inscriptions in the vignettes instead of liminal elements.[69] This prevalence of inscriptions is explained since these scenes are borrowed from the repertoire of temple decoration, where inscriptions use to play a bold role. Moreover, some of these inscriptions are displayed in a retrograde manner (Figures 131, 133), which is always connected with the desire of concealing and hiding their message. This feature is probably borrowed from the esoteric tradition of the Books of the Netherworld. The use of inscriptions inside the vignettes of the box thus betrays the increasing influence of temple scenes in coffin decoration. In a similar way, the profuse use of *pastiglia* detected on the lid and mummy board is likely a way to enhance the identification of coffin's scenes with those displayed on temple walls.

Texts

Regarding the inscriptions, in the outer coffin at least two hands are detected. One of them is responsible for the inscriptions outlined in yellow over a black

67 For this topic, see Niwiński 1989b.

68 This reading implies the subtle identification of the coffin with the plan of a royal tomb. See Sousa 2018a, 202–203.

69 Given the late dating of the object, it would be more likely to find liminal elements between the figures.

background (on the lid). These inscriptions present a higher level of execution (Figures 83, 86). These black bands of text are a conspicuous late feature, dating from the end of the last quarter of the 21st Dynasty. The others display the usual layout, with the hieroglyphs outlined in red over a yellow background (Figures 84–85). They are well executed, but in formal terms they are of inferior quality. All the texts, even the offering formulae are generically addressed to the deceased as "Osiris", never mentioning a specific name.

The inscriptions written over the interior of the outer box are sketchier and much cruder than those displayed outside. They are so rushly outlined as the accompanying scenes, suggesting that, unlike the usual pattern detected in the 21st Dynasty, the interior of this box was not regarded as so important as its exterior parts.

Regarding the inscriptions of the inner lid, the longitudinal bands of text flanking the central partition are very carefully designed consisting in typical addresses to Osiris (Figure 116). The texts running down the edges (Figure 117) and the inscription written over the footboard (Figure 118) reveal a very atypical content.

On the inner box, the two inscriptions running along the edge are finely designed (Figures 147–148). Their content is complementary to each other, as they consist in invocations addressed to Re (right side, Figure 148) and to Osiris (left side, Figure 147), respectively.

However, the largest corpus of inscriptions is found in the vignettes of the box. The calligraphy of these inscriptions is excellent. They are written in columns of text, but some of them overflow the formal limits and fall into the intervening space between the scenes (Vignette 7-Inscription B). Moreover, some of these inscriptions (Inscription A of the Vignettes 5 and 7, Inscriptions A and B of Vignette 6) are displayed in retrograde manner, which is a feature typically associated with secret inscriptions, perhaps aiming at associating these texts with the Books of the Amduat. The content of these texts revolves around the initiation of the deceased into the netherworld: he follows the solar barque into the underworld, and he sees its mysterious regions, culminating in the meeting with Osiris himself. Thus, the texts follow the subjects depicted in the vignettes. The textual and iconographic program of the inner box is interestingly consistent with the burial of a man who was "knower of the secrets of heaven, earth, and the underworld".

Workshop Practices

The inner coffin and the mummy board reveal excellent carpentry work. The planks composing these objects were masterfully prepared and assembled. The inner box, for example, was almost exclusively prepared using single planks

(the exception is the floorboard and the footboard). In the inner lid the volumes of the body were very skilfully rendered in the round, and they perfectly match the "wavy" design of the walls of the box (Figure 138).

The carpentry work of the inner lid is excellent, making use of several long planks that have been very carefully attached, so much so that cracks are hardly visible. Judging by the cracks in the headboard, the face seems to have been crafted as an independent board and attached to the main plank. The sculptural work of the face was carried out by applying a thick layer of stucco over the wood, which was then finished off to produce a strong and austere visage (Figure 107). The ears were carved separately and attached to the headboard. The curled beard was also carved separately and attached to the chin. The fists were similarly applied. The *ankh*-signs which they grasp are applied in two halves, one embedded on the upper part of the hand, while the other is fitted bellow. Similar processes were used on the mummy board, but here the face is more serene and graceful (Figure 150), showing a youthful expression. The mummy board is thin, and cracks are barely visible, which attest for the quality of the carpentry work.

The quality of the pictorial work is excellent. The painters that worked in the inner coffin excelled in the painstaking attention given to detail. The most peculiar feature of the inner lid is the abundant use of *pastiglia*. The use of *pastiglia*, plaster covered with paint, adds three-dimensionality to the compositions, as if carved in relief. The deities covered with *pastiglia* are also decorated with small dots, particularly on their garments, which again amplifies the amount of work implied in the decoration of this object (Figure 109). In the scenes featured on the box, a similar attention to detail is detected, particularly in the braiding motifs of the gods' hair and in the beaded patterns of the female garments (Figure 136).

The interior decoration of the inner box shows excellent levels of execution and a balanced composition (Figure 145). The anatomical details are beautifully rendered, and the figures are very well proportioned. The main figures are lavishly decorated with an over-abundance of feathered and starry patterns, showing colourful contrasts (Figure 143).

All these features show the high levels of craftsmanship available in the workshop where the inner coffin and mummy board were crafted. The choice of scenes featured on the inner box is very exclusive, featuring rare and highly revered subjects which derived from the decoration of the royal tombs. Clearly, this workshop fully mastered both the iconographic and textual resources, which allowed the creation of outstanding objects both in terms of carpentry work and design. Workshops like these certainly worked for the high elite, if not for the highest Theban elite. In this coffin set, in particular, we know that it

was prepared for a chief sculptor of the Temple of Amun, which actually may have been a position associated with funerary workshops.[70]

Both in terms of craftsmanship and style there is a sharp difference between the outer coffin and the remaining objects of the assemblage. The cracks and the loss of the coating material along the edges and footboard of the lid suggest an ineffective assemblage of the planks. The mortises have been so roughly carved along the edges of the lid that one of them pierced its entire thickness from one side to the other (Figure 248). The sculptural work is clearly of lower quality: an abundant use of paste was made to cover up the object, and the face was roughly moulded, showing a prominent nose summarily carved, the lips merely outlined in red, and the ears, moulded in plaster, are unevenly positioned.

The craftsmanship of the box is slightly better. Each long side is crafted by assembling two longitudinal planks. The floorboard assembled two long planks and two smaller ones. The stability of this object is relatively good. In terms of pictorial decoration, the work carried out on the box is effective but not impressive. On the contrary, the pictorial work of the lid is sketchier,[71] but its visual impact is better, thanks to the skilful use of colours and to the effective design of the floral bands.

As we have seen, pictorial decoration provides a wealth of dating criteria pointing out to the end of the 21st Dynasty, while the inner coffin and the mummy board date from the third quarter of the 21st Dynasty. Given these differences, it is clear that the outer coffin was produced independently of the inner coffin, and surely in a different workshop. It is worth pointing out the prevalent role played by offering tables, which are conspicuously used throughout the outer coffin (lid, exterior walls and interior decoration), so much so that it can be considered as a true "signature" of the workshop where this coffin was crafted.

Even if a careful treatment of the details is overlooked, the visual impact of the outer coffin is surprisingly good, especially when seen at some distance. The interior design of the box and the colourful compositions of the lid are very effective. Given these features, the outer coffin seems to have been designed to impress an audience that was supposed to see the object at some distance.[72]

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70 Monumental sculpture is not attested in the 21st Dynasty. The activity of sculptors was certainly focused in the creation of wooden artefacts, such as coffins and Osirian statuettes.

71 Only the general silhouette of the figures is outlined. So much so that the eyes are always left blank.

72 The question of who this audience could be is more uncertain. If only the closer relatives would approach closer to the mummy/coffin, the targeted audience of the outer coffin would be the public at large that witnessed the event at some distance.

Re-use

The exquisite inner coffin and the mummy board were crafted during the third quarter of the 21st Dynasty in a particularly good workshop. This coffin set was commissioned to be used by a certain Ankhefenkhonsu.

On the other hand, the outer coffin was crafted by the end of the 21st Dynasty but not under commission. In the Inscription 5 (Figure 85), written over the footboard of the lid, the space for the name was left blank. It is clearly visible that the title "divine father" is inscribed in charcoal (Figure 80). A name was followed written in the same manner, but it was erased. This practice suggests that the outer coffin not only was not crafted under commission, as it was used repeatedly, with the names of the different deceased persons successively inscribed and erased, a pattern that Kathlyn Cooney recognises as typical of something similar to a "parish" coffin.[73]

Indeed, the outer coffin reveals abundant evidence of repeated use. The outer box reveals severe levels of deterioration in the headboard and similar erosion is detected on the headboard of the lid too. The severity of this erosion suggests a repeated exposure of the object to a damaging agent, probably water poured during funerary rituals. Moreover, in the interior of the outer box, rough brushes of varnish cover the deities, the deceased, the inscriptions, and the solar disks, as if they were loosely applied on several occasions (Figures 95–96, 100).[74] This probably results from the repeated use of the object, as varnishing selected portions of the interior might have been part of the funerary ritual.[75]

By the end of the 21st Dynasty, this anonymous outer coffin was eventually associated with the coffin set prepared for Ankhefenkhonsu and buried in the galleries of the Gate of the Priests.

When examining the mummy, George Daressy states that despite some of the objects found in this burial were anonymous, such as the heart scarab and the mummy braces, the shroud wrapping the mummy was inscribed with the name of Ankhefenkhonsu, which leaves no doubt about the identity of the deceased. This burial assemblage thus proofs that the original coffin set (inner coffin and mummy board) was not re-used in a later burial. On the contrary, the original coffin set was kept with its mummy and it was associated with

73 For further evidence of this phenomenon see Cooney 17, 108.

74 Although on a much smaller scale, the inner box also shows evidence of this procedure, particularly over the divine heads and hands, and ritual vessels. In this case, however, they probably result from a single event.

75 Anthropoid coffins of the "black" type were varnished over during the funerary rituals themselves (Sousa 2018, 31) and there is evidence that varnish was ritually applied in small portions on "yellow" coffins (Sousa, Nørskov 2018, 221).

a later outer coffin. This reading has an important impact on how we understand the dynamics of use of funerary goods in the Gate of the Priests, as it makes clear that older mummies were brought to the tomb, together with their original belongings and associated with new ones. This is a rather different perspective of how we normally perceive the phenomenon of re-use, i.e., as an appropriation of older materials by later users. In this extraordinary case, we see an appropriation of new materials to benefit an ancestor, showing that the individuals buried in the Gate of the Priests were not necessarily contemporary of the period during which this tomb was carved.

Anonymous Coffin Set (A.41)

Typological Profile

On typological grounds, the lid shows the following profile (Figure 158):[76]

- The floral collar fully covers the forearms, and it is not provided with clasps (Figure 160). The pectoral shows heart amulets (Upper section: Type III.b);
- The central section displays three registers (Figure 162) with the sacred scarab heading the composition (Central section: Type II.c);
- The central partition of the lower section shows liminal elements flanking the nuclear motifs (Figure 164), which consist exclusively in scarabs (Central partition: Type III.b);
- The lateral partitions display a sequence exclusively involving the mummiform gods (Lateral partitions: Type III);
- The footboard (Figure 166) only features enthroned Osiris (Footboard: Type III).

With exception of the central section, all these typological features are typically found in coffins dating from the late 21st Dynasty. The mummy board reveals similar late features (Figure 191):

- The floral collar fully covers the forearms, and it is not provided with clasps (Figure 192). The central marker consists in a pectoral shaped as the winged scarab (Upper section: Type III.a);
- The central section displays ten registers (Figures 193–194) with the sacred scarab heading the composition (Central section: Type III.c).

Despite the consistent later dating of these compositions, nevertheless it is still possible to detect several "layers" in the decoration of both objects.

The mummy board displays an oval floral collar which is typically found in the objects from the stola corpus, thus of a very late dating (Figure 192).[77] The

76 In Niwiński's typology this is Type III-b. Niwiński 1988, 136.

77 In the late non-stola corpus the shape of the collar is progressively closer of the format it will display in the stola corpus. Anonymous coffin (EA 24907b, British Museum) in Russ-

number of floral patterns is extremely reduced and not even the usual outer band with lotus flowers was included, which is also a typically late feature.[78]

However, the extended central section would be a slightly earlier feature (Figures 193–194), dating from the late third or early fourth quarter of the 21st Dynasty.[79]

It is therefore likely that the mummy board was originally designed in the late third or early fourth quarter of the 21st Dynasty, with the floral collar having been redesigned at a later moment.

On the lid, it is the lower section that seems to have been intervened at a later stage, showing black bands of text inscribed in yellow paint (Figure 163), a pattern conspicuously observed in objects of a late dating.[80]

The heavily schematic style used on the exterior walls of the box, where the scenes are merely outlined, vividly contrasts with the pictorial work of the lid and mummy board and it is increasingly seen in coffins from the early 22nd Dynasty, corresponding to the last stages of evolution of the "yellow" type. The layout of the box thus provides one of the latest forms of coffin decoration detected in the Gate of the Priests.

The interior decoration of the box includes block-friezes in the dividing lines, but this is the only hint of a later dating. As a whole, the interior composition may have been designed during the third quarter of the 21st Dynasty, which means that, later on, the exterior walls may have been entirely redecorated.

These clues consistently suggest that this coffin set might have been originally crafted during the third quarter of the 21st Dynasty, being selectively redesigned by the end of the Dynasty.

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mann, Strudwick, James 2006, nº 82. Anonymous coffin (CGT 10117.a-b, Museo Egizio in Turin) in Niwiński 2004, Tav. XXX.

78 Outer and inner coffin of Direpu (A.123—JE 29669, Egyptian Museum in Cairo) in Niwiński 1995, 111–121. Anonymous mummy-cover (25022, Vatican Museums) in Gasse 1996, Pl. XXXII; Prestipino 2017, Fig. 12b. Anonymous mummy-cover (25020, Vatican Museums) in Gasse 1996, Pl. XXXI, Fig. 16. Mummy board (A.54—JE 29645, Musée d'Ethnographie in Neuchâtel). Mummy board of Maatkare (A.132—JE 29612, Egyptian Museum in Cairo) in Niwiński 1988, 118.

79 Sousa 2018a, 111/204.

80 Anonymous coffin (A.4—SGL-AC-514, Geographical Society of Lisbon) in Sousa 2017a. Coffin of Nesipakaef (A.23—JE 29624, Egyptian Museum in Cairo) in Niwiński 1995, 135–141, PL. XXIII. Inner coffin of Asetemkhebit (A.133—JE 29738, Egyptian Museum in Cairo) in Niwiński 1988, 131. Inner coffin of Butherkhonsu (A.52—JE 29646, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Genéve) in Küffer 2017; Küffer 2011.

Iconography

This coffin set presents interesting insights regarding style and composition. In terms of style, in all the objects the pictorial work is characterized by summarily drafted figures, informally arranged in the available space. This rough and sketchy style became more and more prevalent during the second half of the 21st Dynasty, particularly in the lowest elite burials. When compared with the rigorous and orderly scenes featured in high elite coffins, it risks being perceived as inferior and somehow reflecting a poorer work. However, that might not be entirely the case, as the ancient perception of value would assuredly also have involved other aspects than just the formal rigour of the pictorial work.

Despite the apparent low levels of execution of the pictorial work, the workshop where this coffin was decorated was perfectly acquainted about the processes that could enhance the perception of value of the object. These processes are mostly concerned with peculiar and/or innovative features that could help to perceive this coffin as "one of a kind".

On the lid, each single section displays at least one important innovative feature. The headboard shows a bunch of lotuses (Figure 160), presenting seven flowers (the normal figure would be three) and the usual headband is missing, which highlights the peculiar arrangement of the lotus bunch.

The upper section shows a pectoral featuring three heart amulets (Figure 160). Heart amulets are frequently depicted during the late 21st Dynasty,[81] but such tripartite composition is unattested elsewhere. Moreover, lily-flowers sprouting from heart amulets are also very uncommon motifs with unknown significance.

The central section displays a highly innovative arrangement (Figure 162). From the beginning of the "yellow" type, this section had always presented the most innovative designs.[82] These designs did not result from the simple creativity of the painters. On the contrary, painters used a pre-established scheme and created innovative results by manipulating some of its features. Here, the painters created a unique tableau by using the classical arrangement in three registers (one of them showing a winged goddess and the other two involving symmetrical registers flanking a sacred scarab) and adding a sub-register of a completely different nature. This was done by enlarging the monogram depicted over the head of the winged goddess (the falcon resting on the West-sign) in order to use it as a nuclear block of a sub-register. In addition, this sub-register is entirely composed of liminal elements (squatted gods, hieroglyphic signs

81 Sousa 2018a, 69–70.

82 Sousa 2014.

such as *tjet* and *djed*, vultures and cobras, *shetyt*-shrines). The resulting composition is thus highly innovative, and it was only possible thanks to a learned and skilled manipulation of the scheme of composition. Moreover, the winged goddess herself is featured with her arms resting on her chest, instead of displayed alongside her wings, which is an almost universally observed rule.

The lower section (Figure 164) also makes a heavy use of liminal elements, both in the central and in the lateral partitions, but its most distinct feature is the footer of the central partition, showing two jackals crouched on a *pet*-sign. The use of a footer like this is seldom found in the "yellow" corpus.[83]

Finally, the footboard is no less innovative than the other sections, showing a transversal panel featuring a symmetrical scene with the enthroned god Osiris (Figure 166).

All in all, the prevalence of Osirian motifs and liminal elements is overwhelming. Liminal elements (*tjet* and *djed*-signs, mummiform gods, *ba*-birds, and *shetyt*-shrines) are the main subject of the central section and have an important role in the lower section. Such prevalence results from the need of providing the coffin with a sacred atmosphere.[84]

When examined in this way, despite the apparent poor levels of the pictorial work, the lid was actually very carefully designed to produce a neatly distinct and unique object.

The arrangement of the scenes on the exterior walls of the box does not observe the usual distinction between the upper and the lower section, showing a linear arrangement of the scenes along the walls (Figure 170). Albeit over-simplified, the sketchy style of the vignettes vividly recalls the layout of contemporary funerary papyri.[85] Such trend can be detected in several coffins, all of them of a late dating.[86] These scenes include mummiform gods (depicted either squatted or in standing position), the cobra and the vulture, and the sacred scarab, all of them alluding to liminal elements.

Other subjects, apparently borrowed from the Book of the Dead, can be detected as well, such as the jackal alluding to the Baw of the West, the sacred

83 Anonymous outer coffin (A.54—JE 29645, Musée d'Ethnographie in Neuchâtel), in Küffer 2011; Küffer 2017. Coffin of Tenetpenheruenefer (A.47—F 93/10.3a–b, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden) in Mann, Greco, Weiss 2017, 44–45 (Figs. 18–19); Boeser 1916, Pl. IV. Coffin of Pashedkhonsu (1999.1.15, Michael Carlos Museum) in Lacovara, Trope 2001, 51.

84 Sousa 2018a, 203–205.

85 See papyri of Nesikhonsu A and B, in Piankoff 1957, Pl. 4–5.

86 Anonymous coffin (A.4—SGL-AC-514, Geographical Society of Lisbon) in Sousa 2017. Anonymous coffin (EA 24907b, British Museum) in Niwiński 1988, 153. Coffin set of Taditumut (A.91—JE 29707, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin) in Niwiński 1988, 110.

sycamore, or the *ba*-bird. These images are apparently used as abbreviations of more complex vignettes.

A sharp contrast in style is detected between the exterior and interior walls of the box. The interior decoration is not exactly designed after the best standards, but it is still a far better work than that displayed outside: the palette of colours is diverse, and the style is graceful and detailed, vaguely reminding the style from the reign of Amenhotep III.

Moreover, a few solutions seem worthy of note. In the headboard, the depiction of the *ba*-bird is crude and sketchy and yet it suggests an interesting resemblance with the *ankh*-sign (Figure 181). The composition of the floorboard may seem loose and naïve, but it shows a wealth of interesting details. In the first register (Figure 184), a fish jumps out from the heavenly water and the sun disk irradiates rays of light, a reminiscence of the art of Amarna.

In the second register (Figure 185), the goddess wears a vulture casket, which is not a common feature, and the lappets of her hair are arranged in a unique braided motif showing a wavy design. Her feet are featured with all the toes drawn up and, resting on top of one of them, a falcon grasps a cobra. Amongst the underworld deities that flank the goddess other originalities occur: a feather-headed god is depicted with a curled beard, while another one shows a twisted cobra replacing his head.

Moreover, the goddess does not stand over a *nub*-sign but on a thin register sign. This register closes with jackals symmetrically displayed, a travesty for the setting sun. The large image of the goddess is the perfect embodiment of the night sky. Not only she is supposed to embrace Osiris (which the mummy is identified with) as she mediates the rebirth of the sun god, who traverses the longitudinal axis of the floorboard until he rises anew next to the headboard. Hence, despite the overriding informality of the pictorial work, the painters involved in this workshop were resourceful in terms of the iconographic repertoire they used.

Although not so intensely, the mummy board also reveals an innovative layout, showing an extended version of the central section provided with ten registers, which associates this object with a temple's ceiling.[87]

Additionally, other later features of the "yellow" type, such as the oval floral collar (on the mummy board) and the black bands of text inscribed with yellow hieroglyphs (on the lid), greatly contributed for the perception of this coffin set as updated after the most recent trends of the Theban coffin decoration.

The iconographic program of the set bespeaks the prevalent role liminal elements played in coffin decoration by the late 21st Dynasty. They are no

87 See Sousa 2018a, 203–205.

longer acting as secondary elements and became so important that they completely transformed the layout of the main compositions. On the box they even became the main subject depicted in the vignettes.

Texts

Despite the care put into the graphic layout of the inscriptions of the lid, the texts are almost completely illegible. The text inscribed over the proper right edge of the lid resembles a loose assemblage of hieroglyphs possibly drawn after available models. On the opposite side, the inscription shows a slightly better quality, which might indicate a different agent.

Noteworthy is the complete absence of text on the mummy board and its parsimonious use on the box.

All in all, the workshop where this coffin set was produced, seems to have had extremely low levels of literacy in the textual tradition of the "yellow" type. Particularly on the lid, texts seem to be merely used as a visual resource. This provides a neat contrast with the good knowledge revealed in the iconographic resources of the "yellow" type.

Workshop Practices

The carpentry work detected in the burial assemblage of A.41 is relatively good. The sides of the box are crafted in single planks, while the floorboard assembled different planks: three large planks on the upper area and two smaller planks below. The reduced number of joints contributed to preserve the pictorial decoration. A similar level of quality is detected on the lid, where only the joints between the footboard and the lower section became loose. Against the usual practice, the ears were not carved in wood, but roughly moulded in paste. The fists were carved separately and attached to the lid. The sculptural work is rough, particularly on the faces, which are very poorly carved and inexpressive.

The pictorial work of the lid involves the use of *pastiglia*. It is interesting to see that the use of *pastiglia* decreases as we approach the bottom of the composition. The same can be said about the quality of the artwork which becomes more and more schematic from the top to the footend.[88]

The exterior walls of the box seem to have been coated with a thick layer of paste (dark colour) over which the painting was applied. As we have stated above, the style of the pictorial work is so rough that it can hardly be considered

88 We owe to Anne Haslund Hansen this interesting remark.

more than just a sketch. And yet, it must be noted the remarkable abilities of the draftsmen, which, in just a few and very skilful lines captured the most expressive aspects of each scene. There are no mistakes, and the scenes result entirely from the use of just two colours (red and black).

On the other hand, despite the rough and informal style of the pictorial work, the decorative program of the coffin set is surprisingly rich and innovative, with every object of the set displaying a strongly innovative design.

This coffin set provides an interesting example of how a low sculptural work and a simplified pictorial treatment of the object was associated with good and innovative designs and with relatively good levels of carpentry work, showing how the perception of value of a particular coffin set did include a wider set of criteria than just the formal aesthetics of the objects.

Re-use

When we examine this coffin set, it is clear that all the objects had been intervened at some point and updated. On the lid, the inscriptions were rearranged after the new style, the floral collar of the mummy board was repainted and extended, and the exterior walls of the box were redecorated.

These interventions are consistent with other evidence of re-use. The lid shows, in this respect, particularly intriguing clues, the most conspicuous of which are the ears. Roughly moulded in plaster, the ears reveal that they were included as a later addition to the object. Such addition cannot be hazardous, as ears are important male gender markers. This addition can only mean that the lid was previously designed to be used by a woman. It is therefore likely that when the lid was recycled to be used by a man, other features may have been introduced, such as the striped wig, the fists, and the beard. It is also interesting to point out the reddish colour of the skin, which is an exceptional feature in the "yellow" corpus and seems here to be used to enhance the male identification of the deceased.[89]

The mummy board also shows ears, but here they were not moulded, but simply outlined on the wig, which is decorated with a checkered pattern, a motif otherwise more common in female coffins.[90] It was likely during this

89 This is an extremely rare feature in the "yellow" corpus: mummy board of Panebmontu (E 13046, Louvre Museum) in Seipel 1989, nº 472–473.

90 Sousa 2018a, 50–51. Examples: Inner coffin and mummy board of Tabaekkhonsu (A.10—JE 29721, Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna) in Egner, Haslauer 1994, Pl. 18. Outer coffin of Tantdjehuti (A.53—JE 29648, National Museum of Natural History in Washington). Outer coffin of Taditumut (A.91—Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin) in Niwiński 1988, 110. Outer coffin of Haes (A.102—JE 29665, Egyptian Museum in Cairo) in Niwiński 1988, 124 (Pl. VIII), Niwiński 1995, 99–110.

operation, that the original open hands might have been removed, the collar was extended, and the fists were added.

If the redecoration of the lid and mummy board seems to have been undertaken out of the need to adapt the set to a new owner, the changes on the box are less well understandable. The interior decoration of the box was nearly unaffected by this operation and only block-friezes seem to have been added to the composition, as they are more typically associated with later objects.

On the exterior walls of the box, where the decoration seems to have been entirely redone, the quality of the work is rough, with the vignettes summarily outlined. This is even more obvious in the headboard, where the scene is only summarily sketched (Figure 171).

Summing up this information, it is likely that this coffin set may have been originally crafted by the late third quarter of the 21st Dynasty to be used by a woman. At the end of the 21st Dynasty, the set was recycled to be used by a man and updated for this use. In the last stages of this operation, the workshop that was recycling this object may have been pressed to deliver it, which resulted in the unusual sketchy design detected on the box.

4 The Craftsmanship of Coffins during the 21st Dynasty: The Input of Lot XVI

The examination of the burial sets from the Gate of the Priests carried out so far has been revealing a consistent scenario throughout the several collections dispersed in different museums.

The first aspect to retain is the lack of uniformity of the coffin sets. As a collective burial ground that was used for such a short period of time, it would be expected to find in the Gate of the Priests coffin sets with consistently late features. However, that is not the case. In the Lot XVI alone, we can find objects from the late Ramesside period down to the latest stages of the 21st Dynasty.

The coffin set A.19 is the oldest of the lot and one of the earliest so far detected in the Gate of the Priests. Not only all its features are ruled by the basic scheme as it shows clear evidence of re-using early Ramesside coffin components. It is dated from the late 20th Dynasty, although re-worked later on, surely on multiple occasions. In the set A.12 the classical scheme is prevalent, which help us dating it from the mid-21st Dynasty. The set A.33 is designed with the layout of the complex scheme, but it shows different stages of evolution, with the inner objects dating from the third quarter of the dynasty and the outer coffin dating from the late 21st Dynasty.

The set A.41 is the latest of the group, showing features already pointing out to the transition to the 22nd Dynasty.

Such diversity of funerary materials cannot be explained in the light of the patterns detected in the Theban necropolis during the New Kingdom, when decorated tombs were prepared for a specific family in private necropoleis (Deir el-Medina, Sheikh Abd el-Gurnah, etc), which ideally would be used for one or two generations. In this type of tomb, the objects of each burial set were commissioned privately to be used by a predetermined individual.

By the late 20th Dynasty, this pattern changed drastically. The previous necropoleis (both royal and private) were abandoned and their goods were taken out from the graves. This process is better known for the royal tombs, but it obviously also affected the private necropoleis in Thebes. While New Kingdom tombs were being emptied of content, at the same time, small undecorated burial grounds were grouped around the cliffs of Deir el-Bahari. At this stage it is unclear if family ties still played a prevalent role in the management of these tombs. The "yellow" type of anthropoid coffins emerged in this new context, and it is deeply rooted in the disruptive political and ideological setting that dictated all the changes observed in Thebes during the 21st Dynasty. This highly changing context helps to understand the transformations detected in the Theban coffin craftsmanship during this period. The "yellow" type did not just introduce a new layout in the decoration of anthropoid coffins. It also represented a deep break with the traditional workshop practices and, most importantly, with the previous patterns of acquisition of funerary goods.

The contrast between the "black" type and the "yellow" type is particularly revealing of these transformations. Wooden coffins of the "black" type seem to have been carved organically, i.e., the planks were attached and sculpted in a way similar to the production of a wooden statue.

In the "yellow" type new carpentry techniques emerged: instead of a "statue" the lid is now prepared in layers, which are added on top of each other. In the typical "yellow" coffin, the longest planks provide the full length of the lid. This plank is mounted over the sides of the lid. If the long plank is thick enough, the shape of the belly and the volume of the torso are carved in it. If not, a shorter plank is attached on the upper part to provide the volume of the torso, and the same procedure is used to shape the lappets of the wig and the feet. Additionally, the face is always carved separately and attached to the planks of the upper torso. The lesser the quality, the less the lid grows in volume, and so, in the lower elite coffins, we can simply find a long and thin plank, with the face and lappets attached to it. As to the footboard, it is normally formed by attaching a transversal board at the footend and adding a thick piece of wood that connects both planks. This construction technique in "layers" was accom-

plished in the 21st Dynasty and became predominant from then onwards, being als found in the coffins of the Late Period.

During the 18th Dynasty, painters did not play a significant role in the production of the "black" type.[91] The most relevant work was carried out by carpenters and sculptors, who carved in relief the decorative elements and inscriptions. Scribes interacted with sculptors, since they outlined the inscriptions that were subsequently carved in relief.

This status quo was challenged by the "festive dress" type when colour started to play a significant role. The use of varnish instead of black pitch allowed pictorial work to evolve.[92] In practical terms, this means that funerary workshops started to include painters in their teams. Thus, when the object was considered finished by the carpenters, it was painted and varnished by the painters. This favoured the separation of the work of the scribes from that of the sculptors and gradually inscriptions ceased to be carved in relief to be simply outlined in paint. Thus, texts were inscribed when the coffin started to be decorated and not during the carpentry work. However, there is still no direct evidence that during the Ramesside period, carpenters and painters worked in different premises.

This change becomes clearly visible in the "yellow" type. It has long been recognized that in "yellow" coffins, the hands, beards, breasts, earrings, and ears are attached to the lid and not carved on its planks, as it was the usual practice during the New Kingdom. We think that the reason for attaching these gender markers rather than sculpting them in the planks is probably found in the need to separate carpenter's workshops from painter's workshops. Carpenters' workshops produced the basic structure of the coffin. Gender markers such as those quoted above, would only be attached to the coffins in the painters' workshops, where the remaining decoration work took place. If this assumption is correct, then the production of "yellow" coffins would be carried out in at least two stages:

– In the carpenters' workshop the coffins were prepared in their most basic shape, without adding the typical gender markers. At this stage differences are detected in the quality of the carpentry work: type of wood, quality, and length of the planks. The use of small planks of wood is normally associated with lower elite burials, since the use of large planks provides the object with more stability. As an example of the later, in high elite burials, mummy

91 Painters only performed a more relevant role when imitations of gilded coffins were produced. See Coffin of Teti (Brooklyn Museum, 37, 14E) in Bleiberg 2008, Fig. 34.

92 Sousa 2019, 183–187.

boards tend to be carved in thick planks rather than in thin boards. These objects were not only more resilient, as they also provided another surface for decoration in the reverse side;

– In the painters' workshop, coffins would be gender defined: the different coffins would be assigned to men or women according to the needs and were completed with the respective attributes. Fists were attached to the lid, as well as beards and ears if a male coffin was intended, while for women's coffins earrings and open hands were attached. Breasts were normally moulded in plaster. Once the object was gender defined, the pictorial work could be started, an operation which involved several grounding techniques. In the early 21st Dynasty, linen was often glued onto the wooden surface and subsequently coated in plaster. From the mid-21st Dynasty onwards this technique is seldom seen, and a paste is often applied directly over the wood, sometimes forming a thick layer. The composition of this paste varies: it may be formed with plaster, but mud is also used.

The reason for this division of workshops is surely grounded on the difficulty involved in the pictorial work, which reached unsurpassed levels of complexity during the 21st Dynasty. Each object was divided in several sections, and it is possible that different painters were assigned to different sections. The detail and sophistication of the layout of the different sections required extremely skilled painters, who outlined in red the intricate compositions. In the Lot XVI we find evidence that the same object could have been decorated by at least three different hands but it is likely that a much larger team was involved. In the set A.12, the lid seems to have been decorated by a master painter and his apprentice, while the box seems to have been painted by a different agent. Sharp differences in style between the lid and the exterior walls of the box are also found in A.41 and, in a lesser degree, in the inner coffin of A.33, suggesting that lids and boxes were decorated by different teams.

During the second half of the 21st Dynasty, pictorial decoration not only became more complex, as it often involved the use of *pastiglia*, to produce relief. These two aspects combined demanded a highly skilled workforce. Moreover, the growth in detail of the pictorial decoration led coffins to have what today seems an increasing darker configuration (Cf. Figure 41 with Figure 3, 72 and 105). However, recent imaging techniques have been able to reveal that these dark colours were originally blue and so, the growth of complexity resulted in coffins showing a vivid contrast, with bluish motifs highlighted against a yellowish or whitish background.[93] Therefore, coffins such as those

93 Medina Sánchez 2019.

from A.33 and A.12 must have looked much brighter in ancient times than they do today, since both the blue pigment and varnish have degraded over time.

Moreover, pictorial decoration involved a highly specialized work that demanded solid knowledge of the iconographic repertoire and its possibilities of variation. We should keep in mind that regardless of the actual quality of its pictorial work, each "yellow" coffin stands out as a creation in its own right. Thus, planning the scheme of decoration of a particular coffin set involved a highly speculative work which was based on the vast iconographic resources that became available for coffin decorators during the 21st Dynasty. The exterior walls of the box usually provide the most diversified set for the representation of scenes of the hereafter. In the Lot XVI we find an unusual group of motifs. The inner box of A.33 shows rare scenes borrowed from the decoration of royal tombs. The box of A.12 reveals a most unusual selection of solar scenes related with the daily circuit of the sun, showing the influence of the royal compositions of the netherworld. This influence is not yet directly expressed through the adoption of iconographic sequences but can be detected by the adoption of certain details which are re-interpreted and positioned in new contexts.

Other subjects are more standardized. The box of A.19 reveals influence of the Litany of Re, while the box of A.41 seems very close to the late vignettes of the Book of the Dead. Finally, the outer box of A.33 displays the most conventional repertoire, one which is based on temple decoration.

The decoration of the interior of the box is one of the main achievements of the "yellow" type. In the Lot XVI, the late Ramesside set A.19 remains undecorated. In A.12 and A.41, the contrast between the side walls and the floorboard suggests that they were painted by different artists, with the most skilled working on the floorboard. Painting the interior of the boxes was certainly a difficult task to carry out, with the painters greatly conditioned in their movements by the tiny space provided by the box itself. Nevertheless, despite these difficulties, the decoration of the interior of the box is of much better quality than that seen on the exterior. That can be explained due to the magical importance of these representations, which are supposed to directly embrace the deceased, creating a sacred sphere around him/her.

The decoration of the lids was extremely time consuming, especially when *pastiglia* was used to add relief, such as we find in the inner coffin of A.33. The increasing use of liminal elements also enhanced the time required to complete the decoration of a coffin set. In the Lot XVI the use of liminal elements is mainly restricted to the lids and mummy boards of A.33 and A.41, the latest assemblages of this collection. It is likely that the time required in the decoration of the coffin set increased significantly during the 21st Dyn-

asty onwards, while the time involved in the carpentry work might have been slightly reduced.

Separating the workshops of carpenters from those of painters was required for several reasons. First and foremost, different teams of workers were involved in these tasks seemingly with no interaction between them. Carpenters' workshops produced coffins according to the degree of quality they were targeted to produce. These workers only mastered the technical knowledge related to the creation of the wooden structure of the coffin. The result of their work followed then to the painters' workshops where a highly knowledgeable team of painters resumed the craftsmanship of the coffins.

This process implies that, quite unlike the workshops from the New Kingdom, Theban workshops working under the 21st Dynasty did not have direct contact with the final user of the coffin. Carpenters did not need to know anything about the final users, and it is very likely that they simply produced objects having in mind three different models: outer coffins, inner coffins and mummy boards. Their concern was mostly a matter of size.

At first, painters did know the name, titles, and gender of the persons for which they crafted coffins. However, from the mid-21st Dynasty onwards this was no longer necessary, and coffins were frequently crafted without the concern of providing the identity of their possible owners. This trend strongly suggest that new patterns were involved in the acquisition of funerary goods, with the production of coffins being managed, not by private individuals, but by the Temple of Amun-Re itself, who commissioned burial assemblages for its own community.[94] The hierarchy of the priestly community required that coffin sets were produced with different levels of quality. This enhanced the setting up of a greater number of workshops working for the medium and lower strata of the Theban priesthood.

Workshops labouring for the highest elite necessarily differed from those serving for the lower elites. Carpenters' workshops working for the lower elite had limited access to raw materials. Nevertheless, painters' workshops catering for this same targeted population could sometimes have a fair knowledge of the iconographic resources. Despite that, those painters were normally illiterate, using texts in a very loose way. Luxury workshops, on the other hand, could afford high quality raw materials and employed highly skilled personnel, who had extensive knowledge both in terms of iconography and textual resources. These workshops were certainly better prepared to produce personalized coffins for the highest elite but even in this context many objects remained anonymous.

94 Sousa 2021.

One of the most defining features of the "yellow" type is the quest for uniqueness of each set, and so a great deal of attention was given to plan the decoration of the different sections. In the best examples, the coffin set forms an assemblage provided with a meaning of its own. The most elaborate coffin sets reveal an exquisite work at this level. At the current stage of our knowledge, we can hardly grasp the multiple levels of significance involved in these plans. Although this knowledge was certainly not available in all workshops, even the lower skilled ones were keen in producing original objects, mastering the techniques that allowed them to create "unique" objects.

With exception of the inner coffin of A.33, in the Lot XVI we don't have objects produced in highly skilled workshops. The sets of this collection offer interesting clues to understand how medium and lower elite workshops organized their work. The layout of the lids and mummy boards is normally better than that of the box, and the objects of the Lot XVI are not an exception to this rule. The level of quality of the exterior walls of the box is variable, even when the lid is carefully designed such as we detect in the set A.12. In the remaining sets, it is clear the lower care put in the decoration of the exterior walls of the box, which makes us think that the lid and the mummy board played a more important role in the perception of value of the coffin. Despite the lower levels of execution, the subjects depicted on the exterior walls of the boxes are always meaningful. In the Lot XVI they allude to the solar circuit (A.12), the Litany of Re (A.19), the introduction in the netherworld (inner A.33), the introduction in the necropolis (outer A.33), and the gods of the netherworld (A.41). Although very subtle, allusions to the sun's journey are detected as early as the mid-21st Dynasty (A.12). The use of motifs borrowed from the royal compositions of the netherworld plays a bolder role in the decoration of high elite coffins, such as in A.33 (inner coffin). In the best workshops, the exterior walls of the box remain the area *par excellence* for the display of innovative scenes regarding the netherworld and, in this context, the association with the royal compositions seems to have played a major role.

In general, inscriptions are more abundant on the lids than on the boxes, and this is probably one of the reasons behind the bolder role performed by the lids in the funerary ritual. Note that even in A.33 most of the inscriptions written on the box are located within the vignettes themselves and not in independent columns of text. This type of texts thus seems rather subordinate to the images than those written in independent bands of text.

Unlike visual resources, the repertoire of texts of the lower elite workshops is poor, as we can see in A.41, where we can speak of an almost complete illiteracy from the part of the decorators.

There is also abundant evidence of ritual practices performed over the coffins. Libations were poured mainly over the headboard of the coffin caus-

ing the loss of paint in this area (A.33). Inside the box, varnish seems to have been applied selectively over certain details (A.33).[95]

Regarding re-use, it was also an advantage to use workshops specifically concerned with the decoration. Those could operate either on a completely undecorated coffin that was released by carpenters, or on a previously decorated coffin. Theban workshops became very skilled in the techniques involved in erasing and repainting objects, normally in a very selective manner.[96] The set A.41 is particularly telling in this respect, with all its objects deeply intervened, and the same can be said of the lid and box of A.19. In these sets, the objects were most likely taken out of previous burials and recycled to be used again by other individuals. Other objects, such as the outer coffin of A.33, were crafted from the start to be used as a kind of a "parish" coffin. Most interestingly, by the end of the 21st Dynasty, this coffin was eventually associated with an older burial set, showing that re-use could also be practiced in the name of prestigious ancestors, and it did not always involve the opportunistic appropriation of funerary goods to provide for the burials of newer generations.

The sets of the Lot XVI provide an interesting social reading of the burials gathered in the Gate of the Priests.

The coffin set of Ankhefenkhonsu (A.33) clearly belongs to a high elite burial. This equipment is the richest of this group, and included a rich collection of amulets, an Amduat scroll, a Book of the Dead scroll and a *shabti*-box. The inner coffin and mummy board display high levels of quality, both in carpentry and in pictorial work. All the objects of the original coffin set can be considered "classical" of the "yellow" type. They are designed after the best standards available in Thebes by the time they were crafted.

This burial assemblage was meaningful enough to allowing, long after Ankhefenkhonsu's death, an anonymous outer coffin to be added to the set. The carpentry work of the outer coffin is structurally good, but the finishing work is rough. In this object, the pictorial work is fair: it is innovative on the lid, but on the box, it is extremely repetitive and it lacks originality and spontaneity.

The coffin set of Nesipanebimakh (A.12) is a medium elite burial. The burial equipment was poor, including wax figurines and a few pieces of cloth. The carpentry work is good, as well as the pictorial work, especially on the lid. Despite the lower levels of quality reached on the box, particularly on the exterior walls, the choice of subjects reveals an eclectic taste, gathering both conven-

95 Inscriptions, figures of deities or the deceased, etc.

96 This subject has been examined mostly from the perspective of re-use (Cooney 1018, 70–74).

tional and very unusual topics. The set was re-used at least twice, but only the texts were intervened. Its decoration remained virtually untouched suggesting that the layout of the coffin was appreciated long after its creation.

The anonymous coffin set (A.41) consists in a low elite burial. The carpentry work is rough, as well as the pictorial work. Despite that, the plan of the decoration is good, revealing a good knowledge of the iconographical resources. Crafted during the second half of the 21st Dynasty, it was subsequently redecorated and updated shortly before the definitive closing of the tomb. In its final stage, all the objects of this coffin set became remarkably original, with no parallel in the Gate of the Priests' burial assemblages.

The coffin set of Taiuheret (A.19) is the poorest of the collection, both in the carpentry and in the pictorial work. It was repeatedly re-used along the 21st Dynasty, and it was occasionally updated in selected areas of the lid (lower section) and the box (upper section). The pictorial work added at this stage is of slightly better quality, but the inscriptions were very carelessly copied from other objects.

The four sets of Lot XVI superbly show the variety of features detected in the decoration of coffins and how these variations are deeply embedded in the socio-political circumstances of the Theban theocracy.

The diversity of references detected in the decoration of the boxes provides clear evidence of the vibrant cultural atmosphere that surrounded Theban funerary workshops during the 21st Dynasty. Painters working in these workshops not only were able to use vast iconographical resources, including those of the royal funerary compositions of the netherworld, as they were also actively engaged in their re-interpretation. We cannot think about these workshops without considering that these teams were not simply composed by painters who limited themselves to follow well-established models or conventions, as craftsmen who produced "black" coffins did by the mid-18th Dynasty. On the opposite, these painters were extremely knowledgeable and creative, being able not only to use a vast iconographic repertoire, but also to use it creatively, designing new layouts and actually pushing up their own limits, increasing the level of complexity and difficulty involved in their compositions. This active enrolment of the workforce in the output of the craftsmanship is, in our perspective, a pattern that was handed down from the Deir el-Medina tradition. We may find this distinctive mark in coffin decoration from the necropolis of Deir el-Medina from the early 19th Dynasty onwards,[97] and it is very

97 Sousa 2019, 186.

likely that once this site was abandoned by the end of the Ramesside period, its workforce may have been employed in the funerary workshops that produced coffins, a circumstance that may have favoured the exceptional phenomenon that we witness in the "yellow" coffins.

The "yellow" type is also firmly associated with the new political status of the Temple of Amun-Re, which emerged during the Renaissance Era as the seat of a theocracy, where the priesthood of Amun truly stood as the new political elite. "Yellow" coffins were not only produced as a statement of the Theban theocracy of Amun, as they were crafted from the beginning having in mind not an individual, but a certain stratum of the hierarchy of Amun. This is even clearer from the mid-21st Dynasty onwards, when the anonymous character of coffins increased significantly, with the Theban workshops adapting their procedures to be able to craft coffins as "mass" production.



FIGURE 248 Outer lid of Ankhefenkhonsu. Detail showing the pierced edge

The National Museum of Denmark and the Bab el-Gasus Lot

Anne Haslund Hansen

The National Museum of Denmark is the largest and oldest museum of cultural history in the country. The museum obtained its present name in 1892, but its history extends further back in time.

Its nucleus stems from the Royal Danish Kunstkammer at the Copenhagen Castle, where Danish monarchs began collecting objects from at least the early 17th century. These collections were universal in scope and encompassed everything from natural specimens, art works, ethnographic objects and scientific instruments to antiquities from Scandinavia and the Mediterranean.[1] The Kunstkammer was dissolved in the 1820s and the Mediterranean objects then became part of the short-lived Royal Art Museum located at Dronningens Tværgade. The collections had then grown considerably. In 1853, Antik-Cabinettet (Cabinet of Antiquities) was installed in the Prince's Palace in inner Copenhagen. This collection was curated by Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, the inventor of the Three-Age System.

Today, the Egyptian antiquities form part of the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities, the National Museum of Denmark. In total, this collection comprises more than 55,000 inventory numbers. Approximately 3,300 of these are ancient Egyptian objects, covering all periods from prehistory to the Late Antiquity.[2]

1 Egyptian Coffins in the National Museum

In 1783, Danish zoologist Morten Thrane Brünnich stated that the best place to study mummies in all of Europe was in Copenhagen.[3] Although perhaps not based on a complete mapping of the continent and its collections, several mummies and coffins had found their way to Denmark already at this early stage.

1 Gundestrup 1991.

2 For a brief introduction to the collection see: Hansen 2008.

3 Brünnich 1783, 723.

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Two Late Egyptian stone sarcophagi came to Denmark around 1619, brought back from Egypt by the traveler Jesper Friis (1593–1643), a Danish nobleman from the Island of Fyn. These were originally exhibited in his private museum, and were later incorporated into the National Museum.[4] In the late 17th century, a child mummy and an adult mummy in a coffin were noted in the Royal Kunstkammer.[5] Mummies and coffins were also acquired during the Royal Danish Expedition to Arabia 1761–1767.[6] Several private collectors in Copenhagen, such as Otto Thott and bishop Frederik Münter, also held important pieces, some of which later came to the National Museum.

In the 19th century, additions to the collection were due to contacts with Danish diplomats and traders stationed in Alexandria and Cairo. The double coffin and mummy of Ta-Khennu arrived in 1821, during which the coffin and mummy of Pa-Nes was probably also added, to be followed by the mummy and coffins of Nesmin in 1892.[7] The Bab el-Gasus Lot XVI entered the collection in 1893. Further additions were the cartonnage and mummy of Di-mut-shep-en-ankh in 1878, which arrived alongside an unrelated coffin, belonging to Ankhefenkhonsu VIII. Finally the mummy and coffin of Nedjes came to the museum in 1901.[8]

2 The Arrival of Lot XVI from Bab el-Gasus

Documents regarding the Lot XVI and its arrival to Denmark are held in the National Museum of Denmark and the Danish National Archives, respectively. In the following is given an outline and discussion of the key points of this correspondence, then followed by a list of the individual letters themselves.

In early June 1893, the Danish consul in Egypt, Vicomte Antoine de Zogheb (see below), notified the Danish Foreign Ministry of a gift from the Egyptian government to the National Museum of Denmark. This information was forwarded in a letter, dated 30th of June 1893, to the Ministry for the Church and Education (in existence from 1848 to 1916), under which the National Museum then sorted.

The Foreign Ministry had furthermore been informed by the consul that the division of the find was done by a draft among foreign nations, and that the

4 Buhl 1974, 9–11 and nos. 1–2.
5 Gundestrup 1991, I, 39. Hansen 2015.
6 Hansen 2016.
7 Buhl 1974, 20 and 24. Buhl and Christensen 1969.
8 Brovarski (forthcoming).

director of the Giza Museum, Jacques de Morgan, personally ensured that also smaller states [like Denmark] had been able to participate.

Included in the letter from the Foreign Ministry were the original lists from the Giza Museum, drawing up the donation (Figures 249–252), and a clipping from an Egyptian newspaper, *Le Phare d'Alexandrie*, which must have come to the attention of a staff member in the Foreign Ministry.[9]

This article, dated 16th of June 1893, is entitled "Antiquités égyptiennes en loterie!" and contains a clear critique of the find division (Figure 254). The article questions the one-way flow of historical artefacts from Egypt to Europe and labels the division "une grave erreur". Written in a satirical style, it also acidly anticipates the honorific decoration of all those involved in this "mirifique operation". Published in French, *Le Phare* was a leading Egyptian newspaper, owned by a Greek lawyer, Nikolas Haicalis Bey.[10] Described in the Danish press (late 1891) as anti-British,[11] it may be presumed that the critique was not so much motivated by a sudden scholarly concern for the fate of the Bab el-Gasus find, but was rather embedded in a broader advocacy for an independent Egypt.

The *Le Phare* article describes the division as consisting of six larger lots for the bigger states while the smaller states would receive a reduced lot. In the end however, altogether 17 states were given similar sized lots.[12] To some extend Jacques de Morgan seems to have played an active role in this distribution process. An engaging diplomacy, as was the case of the Dutch nation, also had an impact on which nations participated in the division of the lots.[13]

On the 11th of July 1893, the Ministry for the Church and Education informed the National Museum of the donation, while also suggesting that Jacques de Morgan could be the recipient of "the highest recognition" for his actions. In their reply from 24th of July, the National Museum suggests waiting for the arrival of the objects, as their quality and historical value could then be assessed. On the 27th of November 1893, the museum confirmed the arrival of the Lot and approved the acknowledgment of Jacques de Morgan.

On the 30th of December 1893, Jacques de Morgan was awarded the title of "Ridder af Dannebrog" [Knight of the order of Dannebrog] by the Danish king Christian IX (ruled 1863–1906).[14] Dannebrog is the name of the flag of Den-

9 According to the A-journal, file 9670, Foreign Ministry, Danish National Archives, the letter from Alexandria was dated 3rd of June. Provided that the date given on the clipping is correct, it must have come from the Danish authorities, rather than being forwarded from Egypt.

10 Kazamias 2014, 272. See also Danovaro 1901, 135–137.

11 *Dagbladet København*, 7.12.1891, 2.

12 For the lots and their final destination see: Sousa et al. 2021, 24–27.

13 Greco et al. 2013, 14–15.

14 *Kongelig Dansk Hof- og Statskalender* 1894, 134.

mark, and the order was instituted in 1671. In the late 19th century, the order was offered to both Danes and foreigners, and in some numbers. In the year 1893 close to forty foreigners were awarded alongside de Morgan. Through the augmentation, the museum hoped for a closer collaboration with de Morgan.[15]

Indeed, over the years Jacques de Morgan did send some finds to the National Museum, including two Middle Kingdom vessels and some small fragments of gilding from excavations in Dahshur in 1894, a small selection of flint in 1896 also from excavations, and in 1905 and 1906 a group of objects from his work at Susa.[16]

3 Consul Zogheb

Vicomte Antoine de Zogheb (1856–1914) was the Danish consul in Egypt since May 1891. He took over from consul A.F. von Dumreicher-Serrach. Earlier Zogheb had served as the Belgian consul in Alexandria.

The Zoghebs [Zugayb] were French-speaking Christians of Syrian origin. They established themselves in Egypt around 1800–1850. The family soon made a profitable business in Alexandria allowing them to move in the very upper circles of society. Their nobility was acquired via the House of Savoy.[17] The family residence in Alexandria was the imposing 19th century "Palace Zogheb".

Around 1902, Antoine de Zogheb relocated from Alexandria to Cairo. In 1898 he had begun the construction of a large extravagant house, the so-called "Villa Zogheb" on Qasr-el-Nil, from where he then would handle the Danish consulate affairs (Figure 255). The house was built in a Neo-Mamluk style according to designs by the renowned architect Max Herz. It is considered one of the most important of Herz's private villas. Despite the cultural importance of the villa, as well-described in the scholarly literature already early on, it was unfortunately demolished in 1963.[18]

According to Danish newspapers, Antoine de Zogheb made several visits to Denmark. He attended the Royal Court in October of the year of his appoint-

15 A similar case was that of Michel Ange Floris, conservator of the Boulaq Museum. He was knighted in 1873, apparently for providing the National Museum with a large group of plaster casts. See document dated 25.1.1883. Archive of Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities. See also *Kongelig Dansk Hof—og Statskalender* 1874, 93.

16 Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities, registry.

17 Ormos 2009, Vol. II, 391–392. Awad, Hamouda 2005.

18 The house was already described by Gaetano Moretti in 1903 and later by zogheb's son, Patrice Zogheb and Creswell in *Our Home in Cairo*, 1941. See Ormos 2009, 391–400 for references.

ment in 1891.[19] Zogheb was in Denmark again in September 1893, where he also had an audience with the king, and gave an interview with the press.[20] These sources, however, carry no mention of his mediating role in bringing the Bab el-Gasus Lot to Denmark.

Antoine de Zogheb had been in contact with the National Museum earlier on. In early 1892, he sent the mummy and double coffin of Nesmin (inv. no. 3890) to Copenhagen. According to a letter from Zogheb, the assemblage was a personal gift to the museum offered "en mon nom". Furthermore, the set was formally equipped with stamps from the "Directeur Général du Musée du Caire [Giza]" and could therefore be exported.[21]

A letter from June 1889 from the Danish consul A.F. Dumreicher reveals that Zogheb, then the Belgian consul, had acquired the Nesmin ensemble along with a second similar set, in an exchange with "l'ancien Musée de Boulag", to which he had ceded a porphyre statue "de grande valeaur" in his possession. Both mummies originated from excavations by Gaston Maspero in Akhmim in the years 1884–1885.[22] According to Dumreicher, Zogheb had already offered one set to Stockholm in return for the Order of the Vasa, which he obtained in 1888.[23] These events clearly show that Antoine de Zogheb was familiar with the procurement of Egyptian antiquities and knew leading figures in the Antiquities Service.

Antoine de Zogheb was made "Ridder af Dannebrog" on 26th of May 1892.[24] This was already suggested by Dumreicher in 1889 as Zogheb was well-connected with "hauts-functionaires Egyptiens" and with the diplomatic corps.[25] In 1911, Zogheb was appointed *Kammerherre* (Chamberlain) to the Danish court.[26] At some point he and his next of kin were offered Danish citizenship in gratitude of his long service. He died in Cairo.[27] Alexandre Maximos de Zogheb, a relative, was acting as the Portuguese consul around the same time as Antoine.[28]

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19 *Berlingske Tidende*, 3.10. 1891, 2.
20 *Dannebrog*. 19.9.1893.
21 Archive of Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities. Letter dated: 27.2.1892 (copy).
22 Archive of Collections of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities. Letter dated: 8.6 1889.
23 *Sveriges Statskalender* 1889, 517.
24 *Kongelig Dansk Hof- og Statskalender* 1893, 129.
25 Letter of 8.6.1889 (see above).
26 *Jyllandsposten*, 25.11. 1911, 2.
27 Zogheb [1941].
28 Danovaro 1901, 170.

4 Studying the Lot

The Copenhagen Lot was first studied by Egyptologist Valdemar Schmidt (1836–1925) (Figure 256). He played a decisive role in Danish Egyptology at the turn of the 20th century, and can also be considered a pioneering "coffinologist". In 1883, Schmidt obtained the first chair in Egyptology and Assyriology at the University of Copenhagen. He was instrumental in the formation of the Egyptian collection at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, a work he commenced in 1892 by commission of the brewer Carl Jacobsen, founder of the Glyptotek.[29] Schmidt also acquired objects in Egypt on behalf of the National Museum of Denmark.

Schmidt worked ardently to disseminate Egyptian objects in Copenhagen collections. The National Museum formed the subject of *Østerlandske Indskrifter* (in French *Textes Hiéroglyphiques*) from 1879, and *Monuments Orientaux de Copenhague* from 1884. *Museum Münterianum* from 1910 was a study of the fine collection of Egyptian stelae held by bishop Frederik Münter, all of which are now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

Among his many publications, Schmidt's extensive typological study of sarcophagi, coffins and cartonnage cases deserves special mention. *Sarkofager, Mumiekister og Mumiehylstre i Det Gamle Ægypten. Typologisk Atlas med Indledning* which was published in 1919, contains 1516 photos or drawings of sarcophagi, coffins and related material, ordered according to chronology and types. It was an immense work collaged by Schmidt, based on numerous visit to museums in Europe and by the consultation of existing literature. The drawings, which are of good quality, were made by Schmidt's niece, Ingeborg Molesworth-Saint-Aubyn (1869–1928), who accompanied him on his study trips to museums.[30]

In 1949, Bernard von Bothmer of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston wrote fellow Egyptologist George Steindorff concerning a mummy cartonnage for which they were looking for parallels: "I have been unable to find anything close … (…) … but even Valdemar Schmidt's *Sarkofager, Mumiekister* does not offer anything comparable although that excellent compendium contains everything existing in museums or published before 1919".[31]

Even today, this work is still consulted by Egyptologists. Perhaps not so much for its chronological overview, which has met adjustments over time, but for its

29 *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* vol. 13, 156–157. https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Valdemar_Schmidt. See also Jørgensen 2015.

30 Schmidt and Molesworth-Saint-Aubyn 1919, foreword.

31 Bridwell Library Special Collections. Steindorff Correspondance at Bridwell Library. Letter dated 17.2.1949.

large and varied corpus of objects. An English translation by Ziff Jonker was issued in 2022.

In his *Atlas*, Valdemar Schmidt included even very humble pieces, as he strove to understand the variations of each period, while also noting the key typological changes over time. He paid attention to components such as the construction, shape and decoration of the coffins, and the wrapping and equipping of the mummies. Schmidt's typological atlas is an early contribution to the study of the funerary culture of ancient Egypt. While it was based on a simple academic ambition, namely to be able to date the many coffins found in Egyptian collections, it was a very complicated task, as scholars in the field today are still well aware.[32]

Only a few months after the arrival of the Lot, on the 20th of February 1894, Valdemar Schmidt did a demonstration of the coffins from Bab el-Gasus. The event took place at the National Museum during a meeting in the prestigious Royal Nordic Society of Antiquaries [Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftsselskab] of which Schmidt was a member.[33] The presentation was also described in the newspaper *Berlingske Tidende* the following day.[34]

This society, founded in 1825, had a focus on Scandinavian prehistory and Middle Ages, but as is evident from its minutes, they were often presented with recent acquisitions from all the collections of the National Museum. That particular evening, in the presence of the crown prince (the later Frederik VIII), began with a discussion on a document pertaining to King Valdemar 2 (1170–1241). Then the society moved on to Valdemar Schmidt's explanation of a "selection" of coffins, which were "displayed in the meeting room". Schmidt drew up the historical context of the find and some outlines of Egyptian funerary beliefs. Furthermore, he was quick to assure the audience of the high quality of the Danish Lot. A recent visit to the collections of Vienna (Lot II) and Berlin (Lot VIII) had supported his view of Denmark's good fortune in the division of the Bab el-Gasus tomb.

The archive in the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities holds a number og notes and sketches of the Copenhagen Lot, executed by Valdemar Schmidt (Figures 257–258). These may have formed part of his preparation for his coffin atlas, but they may also have been intended as a separate study. His work also included an assessment of the *shabtis* according to the original list from Egypt. Schmidt drew up short descriptions of the decoration of each coffin, and sketches of the decoration and inscriptions.

32 Schmidt 1919, III.

33 *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1894, Tillæg, 1 and 21.

34 *Berlingske Tidende* 21.02.1894.

In *Sarkofager, Mumiekister og Mumiehylstre i Det Gamle Ægypten*, the Copenhagen Lot did not come to play a crucial role. However, Schmidt displayed photographs of several pieces including drawings of selected vignettes (3910, outer and inner coffin, trough and lid of 3911, lid of 3009 and finally box 3912) (Figure 259). Egyptologist Marie-Louise Buhl (1918–2006), former Head of the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities, has also left some notes pertaining to the Copenhagen Lot, possibly in preparation of a catalogue.

5 Exhibiting the Lot

The acquisition of the Bab el-Gasus Lot meant a substantial enlargement of the Egyptian collection at the National Museum. Fortuitously, its arrival coincided with an overall refurbishment of the museum which was initiated in 1893. In the summer of 1895 most of the galleries of the Collection of Antiquities (*Antiksamling*) were finished, including the Egyptian section.[35] According to the 1899 guide to the collection, all fourteen coffin components were then on display. This installation was arranged according to themes, with the Lot being displayed collectively in cabinets 2–5, while the shabti-box (inv. no. 3913) and *shabtis* (92 pieces) were in cabinets 53 and 61, respectively.[36] Among the crates which arrived in Copenhagen was also a small box with samples of textiles from the tomb. These textiles were not inventoried, and seemingly also never exhibited (Figure 253).

During the years 1930 to 1938, the National Museum underwent a complete refurbishing and a large extension. This was done according to architect Mogens Clemmensen's designs and resulted in the building structure seen today. The Egyptian galleries were Rooms 1–2, and the display was now chronological. The cabinets nos. 24C–F contained the coffins from "the large find at Der-el-Bahri" (Figure 260). Again, all fourteen components were exhibited. The *shabtis*, now 87 pieces (some had disintegrated) were in cabinet no. 32, while the *shabti*-box was seemingly no longer on display.[37] During the years 1984–1985, curator and Egyptologist Marie-Louise Buhl, assisted by Egyptologist Elin Rand Nielsen, reworked parts of the exhibition from the 1930s, including the Bab el-Gasus Lot. In the earlier displays most of the coffins had been exhibited standing up like "panels". Now there was an attempt to create a more archaeological display with the ensemble of 3910 horizontally arranged as to closer reflect the original burial context (Figures 261–262). Now only nine components were

35 *Berlingske Tidende*, 4.6.1895, 1.

36 *Antiksamlingen. Vejledning for besøgende* 1899, unpaginated.

37 *Antiksamlingen. Vejledning for besøgende* 1935, 12–13 and 16.

on display (including all the pieces of inv. no. 3910 and 3909 and the mummy board of 3912). The *shabtis* and *shabti*-box were placed next to the ensemble to further underline the original context.

In 1994, the collection of antiquities was again refurbished, under the leadership of Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen, and with Elin Rand Nielsen as the Egyptian curator. In this exhibition, which is still in existence, there are seven components on display, these being the set of inv. no. 3909, the inner lid of 3910, lid and board of 3912 and finally the board of 3911 (Figures 263). Also included is the *shabti*-box inv. no. 3913 with *shabtis*.

Appendix 1: List of Correspondence with Summaries

The Danish National Archives, Ministeriet for Kirke- og Undervisningsvæsenet, 3. Kontor. Journalsager (1857–1915). Year: 1893, File 570/93:

30th of June 1893. Foreign Ministry to Ministry for the Church and Education (original).
The Foreign Ministry has been notified by the Danish consul [Kongelige Agent og Generalconsul] in Egypt that the Egyptian government has donated a collection of Egyptian antiquities to the National Museum in Copenhagen—by means of a drawing by lot between "foreign states". The original papers from Egypt, are included, listing "3 coffins and 46 funerary statuettes", which stem from the "interesting find" called "Priests of Ammon". The Danish consul will arrange for transport. According to the consul, it should be specifically noted that "Mr. Jacques de Morgan, Directeur Général du Service des Antiquités en Égypte" was the person who "took the initiative to this division of the antiquities and insisted that it was not limited to museums of the greatest nations".
Enclosed documents:
– "Seizième Lot". Coffins nos. 29630, 29697 and 29723 and two "boites funéraires".
– "Statuettes funéraires". List of *shabtis* nos. 1–46.
– Article "Antiquités égyptiennes en loterie!" from *Le Phare d'Alexandrie*, 16.6 .1893.

11th of July 1893. Ministry of the Church and Education to National Museum (draft). Original in the National Museum. Archive of Collection of Classical and near Eastern Antiquities. Document 399/93.
A summary of the letter from the Foreign Ministry. The letter ends with the suggestion to honor Jacques de Morgan, if the museum finds it befitting.

24th of July 1893. National Museum to Ministry of the Church and Education. (original).
Reply regarding honorary acknowledgement of the Danish consul for his work. The museum is at the moment not able to determine whether or not the listed objects are of "great value and importance" or not, as this would depend on their state of conservation. But it should be presumed that the Egyptian government would not give away objects of "poor value". It would of course be in the general interest of the museum to obtain even closer bonds with the Danish consul.

23rd of October 1893. Foreign Ministry to Ministry of the Church and Education. (original).
Forwarding a *Bill of landing* ("endosseret Conossement") dated the 10th of October 1893 concerning "six crates". They will be in Toldboden (customs house) for the ministry to act on. Today no documents are enclosed.

28th of October 1893. Ministry of the Church and Education to National Museum (draft). Original in the National Museum. Archive of Collection of Classical and near Eastern Antiquities. Document 399/93.
Letter forwarding same *Bill of landing* with similar instructions and information as the letter dated 23rd of October 1893. Form dated 30th of October from National Museum to Customs Office [Over-Toldinspectoratet] asking for the crates to be delivered unopened. The steamship Dower is mentioned as the transport ship from Alexandria.
No *Bill of landing* is included today.

27th of November 1893. National Museum to Ministry of the Church and Education (original).
The Egyptian antiquities have now been received by the museum. The gift from the Egyptian government is a "very valuable and welcome" addition. It consists of "4 mummiform coffins, an outer coffin and four "mummy boards", 46 pairs of funerary statuettes and 1 box for such, all with hieroglyphic inscriptions". The Collection of Antiquities [Antiksamlingen] has now "doubled" its number of coffins, and the new additions are from a period which the collection was hitherto wanting. In reply to the ministry's question regarding "the highest augmentation of honor" for Jacques de Morgan, the museum states that the gift is of a quality which would justify such an act. "Dannebrogsordenens Ridderkors" would be suitable for de Morgan "who undoubtedly may" be able to do much for the museum "in the future".

7th of December 1893. Ministry of the Church and Education to Foreign Ministry (draft).
Requesting permission from the Foreign Ministry to proceed with the augmentation of honor for de Morgan.

19th of December 1893. Foreign Ministry to Ministry of the Church and Education.
Augmentation approved as suitable by Foreign Ministry.

27th of December 1893. Ministry of the Church and Education to His Majesty the King (draft).
The letter contains a summary of the case and a request for knighthood. A note is added that the King [Christian 9.] has approved on the 30th of December 1893.

2nd of January 1894. Ministry of the Church and Education to Foreign Ministry (draft).
Notification that the king has knighted de Morgan and that it should be made known to him.

3rd of January 1894. Ordenscapitulet [The Chapter of the Royal Danish Orders of Knighthood] to Ministry of the Church and Education (original).
Acknowledgement of knighthood for de Morgan. He should ask his government for permission to receive the order and return the evidence of acceptance with his signature.

8th of January 1894. Ministry of the Church and Education to Foreign Ministry (draft).
Passing these instructions on to Foreign Ministry.

21st of March 1894. Foreign Ministry to Ministry of the Church and Education (original).
Returning the signed document from de Morgan.

2nd of April 1894. Ministry of the Church and Education to Ordenscapitulet (draft).
Forwarding the signed document [this is no longer preserved].[38]

38 Personal communication with Jes Fabricius Møller, Ordenskapitlet, August 2021.

Appendix 2: Shipping List of the *Shabtis* of Lot XVI

Statuettes funéraires

1. *Ankh f n khonsu*
2. *Nesi ta neb taoui*
3. *Padouamen*
4. *Isit m kheb*
5. *Hat pa menfi ámen*
6. *Ta dou mout*
7. *Ouserhatimes*
8. *Meritamon*
9. *Tetmoutausankh*
10. *Amenhotep*
11. *Tashedkhonsu*
12. *Isit*
13. *Ankh n mout*
14. *Meritamon*
15. *Heroub*
16. *Tent taoui*
17. *Doukhonsou ari*
18. *Bak n mout*
19. *Nessi ta ouza khou*
20. *Padouaout sem ouit*
21. *Khaes*
22. *Paifouzaro*
23. *Shedsouamon*
24. *Khonsoumès*
25. *Nespahashouti*
26. *Isitm kheb*
27. *Ankh f khonsu*
28. *Tabaken khonsou*
29. *Tent taouï*
30. *Tetourmatast ankh*
31. *Nesi amen ap*
32. *Nesi mout*
33. *Ankh s m mat*
34. *Ankh n mat*
35. *Merit amun*
36. *Ta shed khonsu*
37. *Hori*

38. *Nesi ámen*
39. *Pakhali*
40. *Ta nefer*
41. *Hatseshri*
42. *Khonsou m heb*
43. *Nespa nefer her*
44. *Nesi khonsou*
45. *Padou ámen*
46. *Nesi pa hiran*

Figures

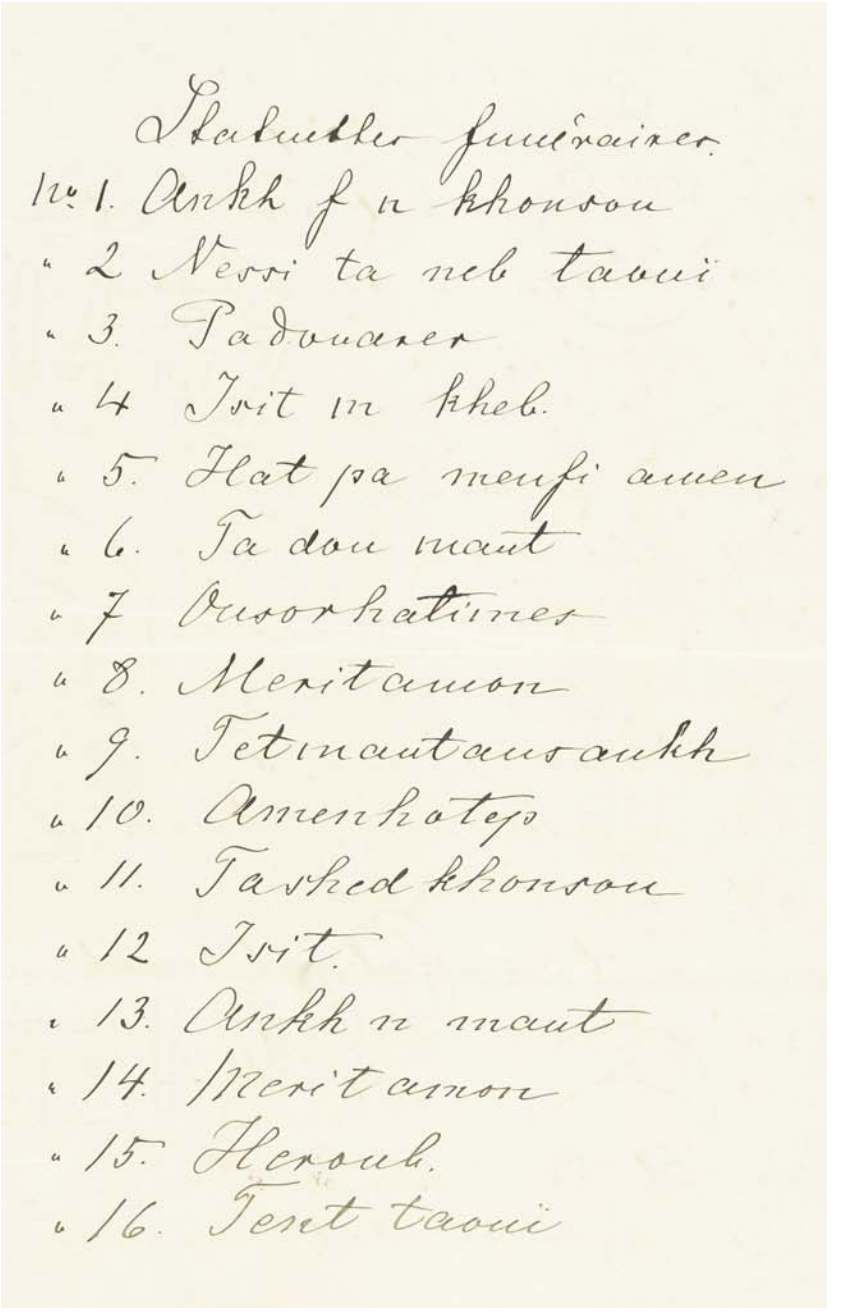


FIGURE 249 Documents from Egypt. Shipping list of the *shabtis* of Lot XVI. Danish National Archives

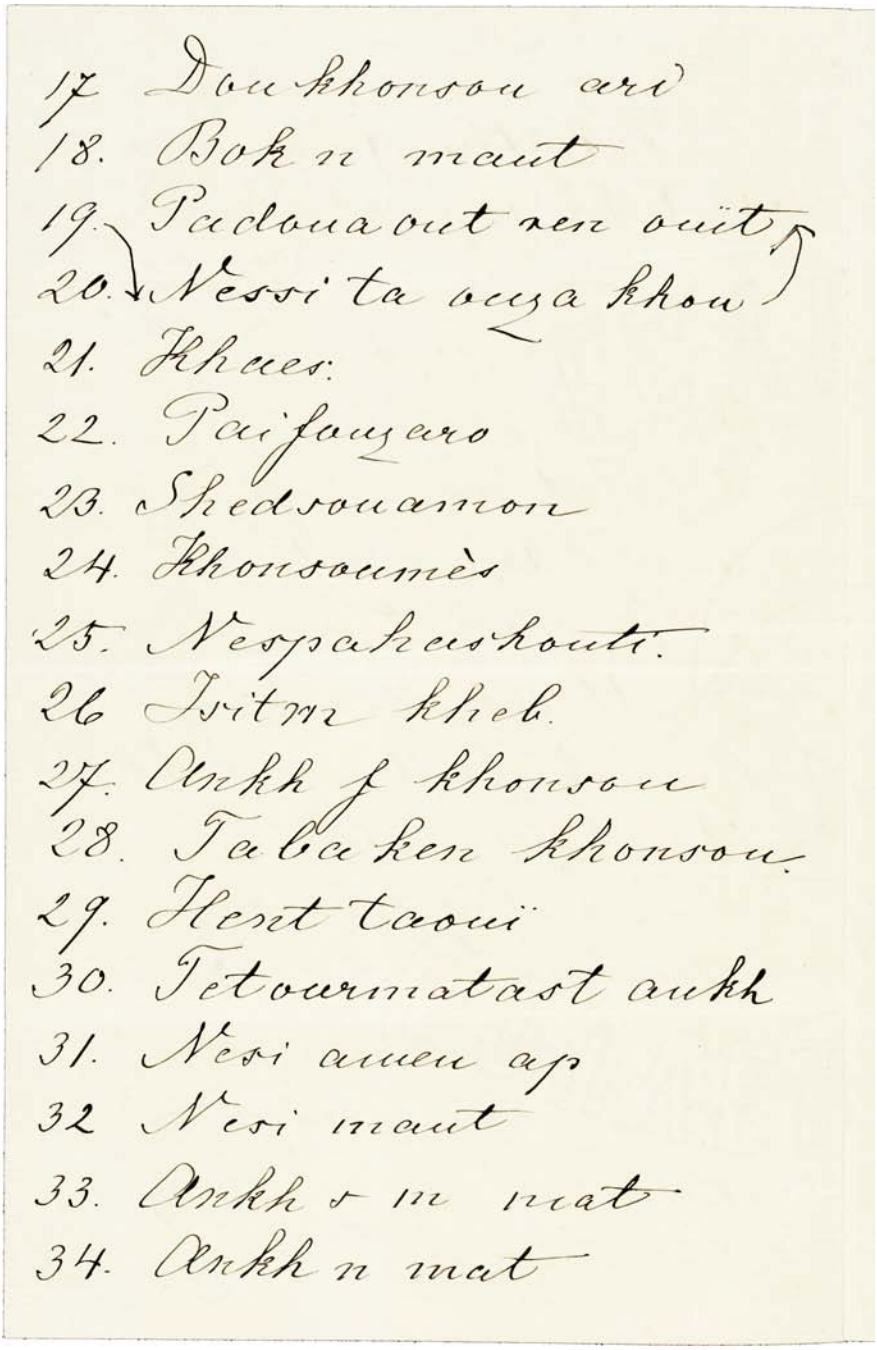


FIGURE 250 Documents from Egypt. Shipping list of the *shabtis* of Lot XVI. Danish National Archives

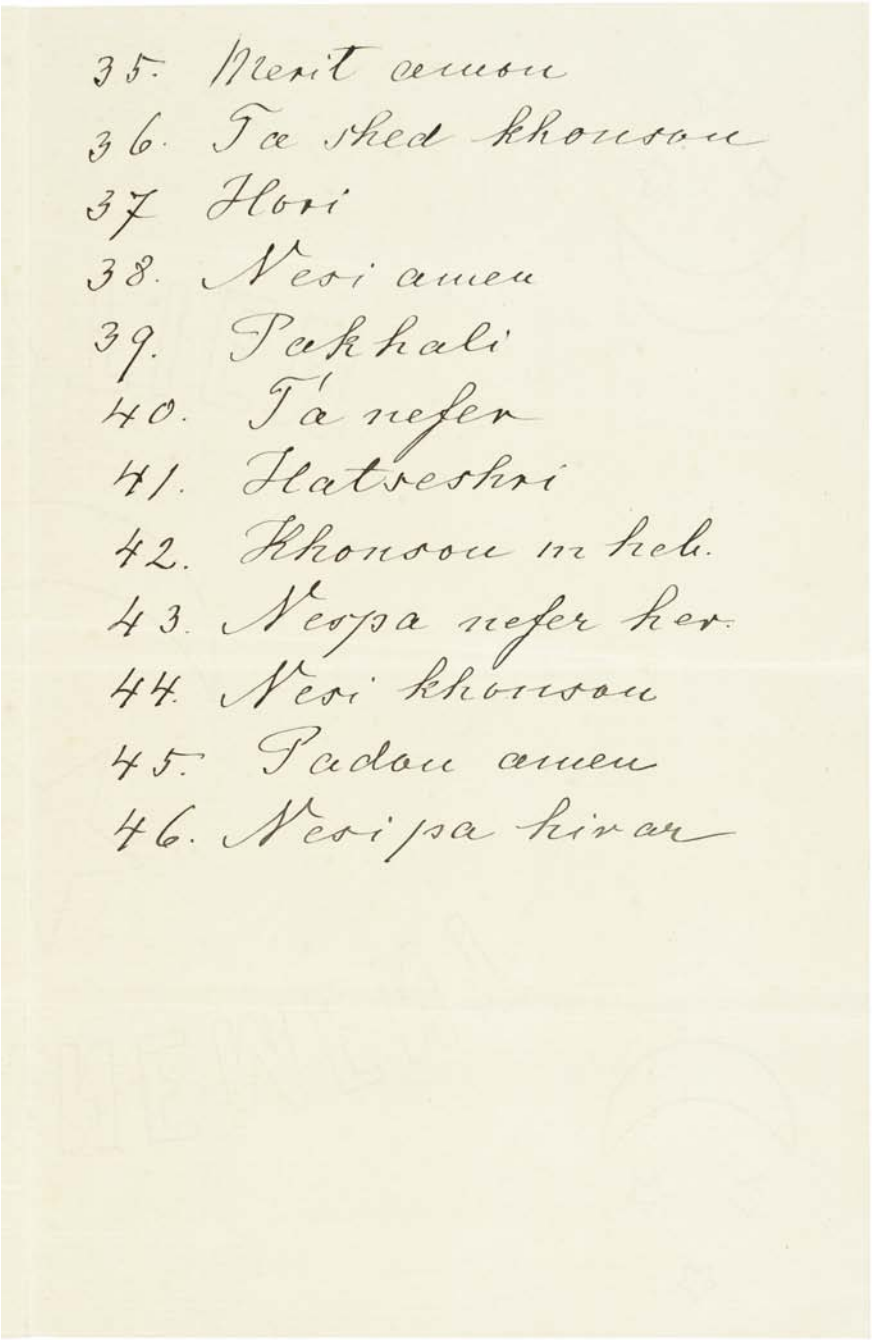
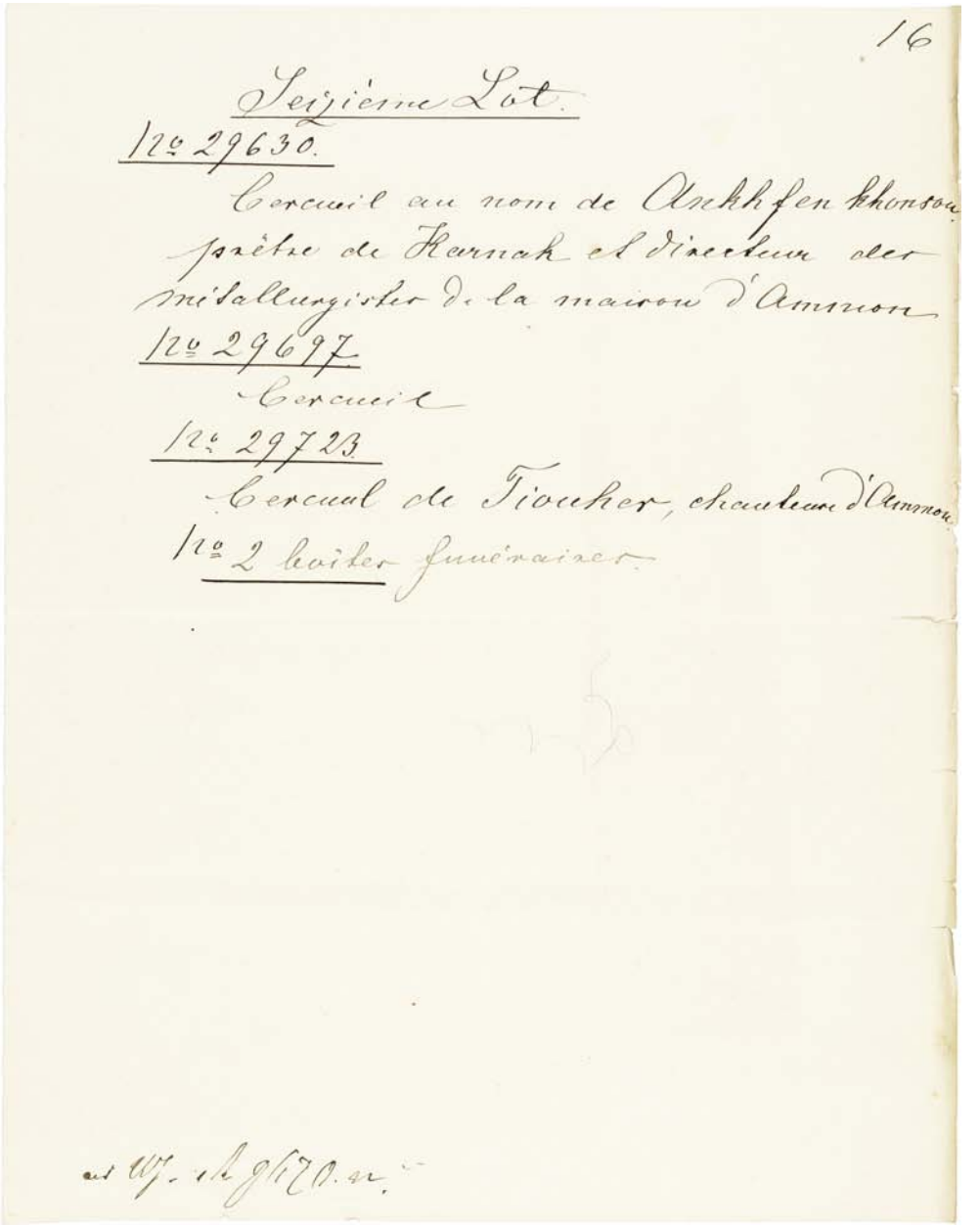


FIGURE 251 Documents from Egypt. Shipping list of the *shabtis* of Lot XVI. Danish National Archives


16

Seizième Lot.

N° 29630.

Cercueil au nom de Ankhsen khonsou
prêtre de Karnak et directeur des
métallurgistes de la maison d'Ammon

N° 29697

Cercueil

N° 29723

Cercueil de Tioukher, chanteuse d'Ammon

N° 2 boîtes funéraires

FIGURE 252 Documents from Egypt. Shipping list of the coffin sets of Lot XVI. Danish National Archives



FIGURE 253 Shipping box containing textile samples from Bab el-Gasus



fin de la triple alliance dès l'expiration des traités actuels. Déjà le dernier renouvellement anticipé des actes diplomatiques austro allemand, austro-italien et italo-allemand avait fait naître des doutes sur la solidité de cette construction dont M. de Bismarck fut l'architecte : s'il paraissait dénoter beaucoup d'empressement chez les contractants à confirmer une association dont ils croyaient tirer de grands avantages, on pouvait y voir tout aussi bien le désir chez Guillaume II de ne pas laisser aux oppositions latentes le temps de se produire au grand jour et de se formuler nettement Les déclarations du comte Kalnoky permettent de dire que cette seconde interprétation était la bonne.

Phare d'Alexandrie, 16 Juin 1893

ANTIQUITÉS ÉGYPTIENNES

EN LOTERIE !

Nous apprenons du Caire que Messieurs les agents diplomatiques et consuls généraux des Puissances européennes ont reçu du Gouvernement égyptien la nomenclature et désignation des pièces composant les lots, attribués par le sortà leursGouvernements respectifs, à la suite de la loterie d'un nouveau genre organisée récemment au Musée de Ghizeh, dans les conditions que nous avons indiquées.

Si nos renseignements sont exacts, les six lots principaux attribués aux grandes puissances et quelque peu supérieurs en valeur à ceux des Puissances secondaires, sont composés de huit à dix pièces (cercueils et coffrets funéraires) plus une série de statuettes en poterie vernissée représentant les grands prêtres d'Ammon et leur descendance royale.

Les lots réservés aux puissances dites secondaires et tirés au sort également, comprenaient 6 pièces, (cercueils et coffrets funéraires), plus une série d'environ quatre-vingts figurines en terre émaillée représentant les pleureuses, chanteuses, musiciens et autre menu fretin de la suite des Grands Prêtres d'Ammon.

On doit féliciter toutes les Puissances de ces dons précieux qu'elles doivent à la munificence du Gouvernement égyptien. Ces vestiges de l'antiquité pharaonique enrichiront certaines collections archéologiques qui, dans quelques grands musées d'Europe sont déjà très belles, très riches et très complètes.

Ces félicitations transmises, nous sommes en règle avec les obligations de la courtoisie internationale et nous nous permettons de rappeler ce que nous avons dit autrefois.

Cette lumineuse idée qu'ont eue nos gouvernants de faire des largesses aux Puissances Européennes en leur partageant les dépouilles opimes de l'antique civilisation égyptienne, cette idée géniale, disons-nous, ne date pas d'hier.

Dès que nous l'avons connue nous avons jeté les hauts cris ; nous avons protesté contre sa réalisation.

Nos lecteurs doivent s'en souvenir encore.

Nous avons essayé de faire comprendre à nos dirigeants combien peu rationnel était leur projet Le Gouvernement, disions-nous, n'a pas le droit de disperser aux quatre coins de l'horizon, suivant les caprices de certains administrateurs ou fonctionnaires des richesses nationales qui sont le patrimoine historique du pays. Dans ces cercueils aux formes rigides, à l'or terni, dans ces statuettes aux postures hiératiques, dans la moindre pierre portant un signe idéographique, revivent les splendeurs du passé, la gloire des siècles abolis, là se trouve figée pour l'éternité l'histoire des ancêtres et ce sont quelques-uns de ces impérissables documents que l'on offre délibérément et galamment à l'étranger.

Pourquoi ? — Quelle raison peuvent avoir nos dirigeants d'enrichir les musées d'Europe au préjudice des Egyptiens ?

Si l'on ne savait que faire de ces joyaux archéologiques, mieux valait les distribuer dans les cités Egyptiennes privées de leurs propres richesses On les pouvait envoyer au musée d'Alexandrie, à Port-Saïd, en d'autres villes d'Egypte qui n'ont rien, partout enfin excepté en Europe.

Nous admettons, comme on l'affirme, que l'on n'ait ainsi donné que des pièces dont le musée de Ghizeh possède un double specimen. Dans ce cas même, si l'on s'en désintéresse à ce point en Egypte il fallait les vendre à l'Europe pour qui ces *doubles* sont des specimens uniques et de grand prix, ou tout au moins proposer d'en faire l'échange.

En aucun cas on n'aurait dû procéder comme on l'a fait.

Si dans un autre pays du monde, on avait fait des découvertes de pareille importance, nous sommes bien convaincu que jamais on n'eût songé à les faire partager à l'Egypte. La loterie unique en son genre qui vient de se tirer au Caire ne peut donc pas, à nos yeux être considérée comme un acte de générosité bien entendu, mais comme une simple inconséquence.

Nous tenons à noter que toutes ces observations, toutes ces critiques, nous les avons présentées en temps utile avant que l'erreur ait été commise. Nous avons voulu les répéter aujourd'hui que c'est un fait accompli.

Il nous reste à voir maintenant de quelle manière les Puissances européennes voudront bien témoigner à l'Egypte leur reconnaissance de ce don gracieux.

Si des antiquités sont offertes à nos musées, à titre d'échange nous n'aurons qu'à nous féliciter.

Si les Gouvernements au contraire croients'acquitter suffisamment en décernant des décorations à tous ceux qui ont contribué à cette mirifique opération... dans ce cas nous féliciterons simplement les nouveaux décorés, mais nous maintiendrons plus que jamais notre opinion première et nous répéterons encore ce que nous disons aujourd'hui : Cette exportation des richesses historiques du pays est une grave erreur et l'Egypte, en y consentant, fait une perte positive.

FIGURE 254
Article from *Le Phare d'Alexandrie*. Danish National Archives

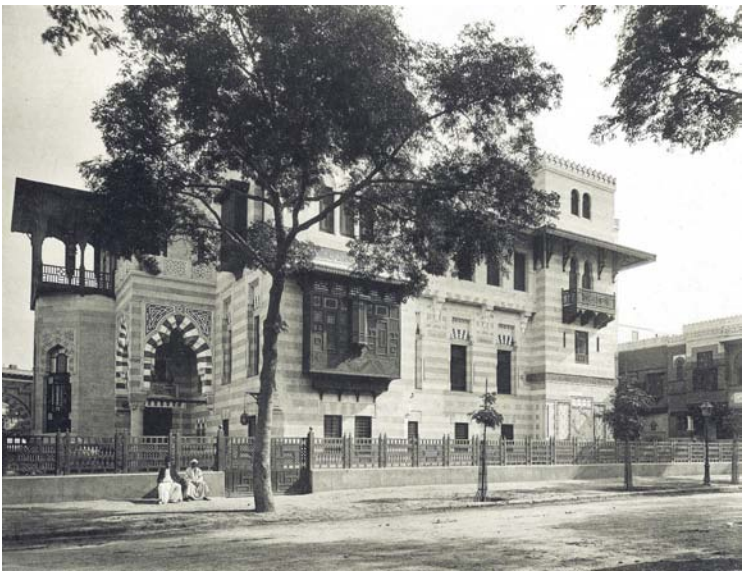


FIGURE 255 Villa Zogheb by architect Max Herz. From Gaetano Moretti: "La villa Zogheb in Cairo. Due parole sull'architettura moderna in Egitto". *L'Edilizia moderna 12* (1903)



FIGURE 256 Portrait of Egyptologist Valdemar Schmidt. The Royal Library

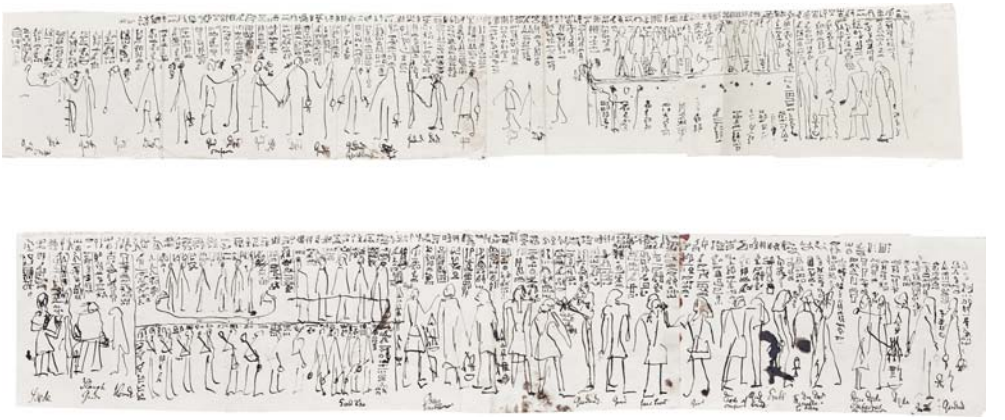


FIGURE 257 Examples of Valdemar Schmidt's notes and drawings regarding Lot XVI. Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities



FIGURE 258 Details of Valdemar Schmidt's notes and drawings regarding Lot XVI. Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities

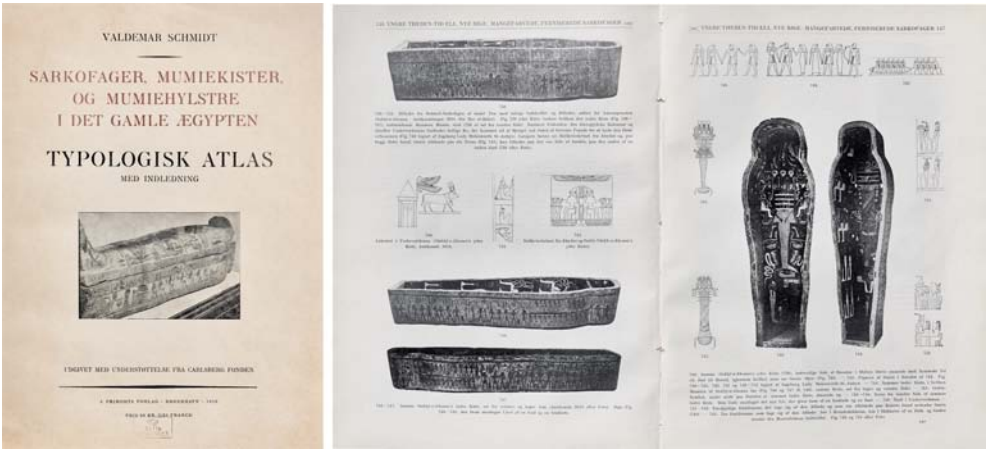


FIGURE 259 Spread from Valdemar Schmidt's *Sarkofager, Mumiekister og Mumiehylstre*, 1919. Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities



FIGURE 260 Lot XVI on permanent display at the National Museum c. 1938–1982. Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities. Registration photo

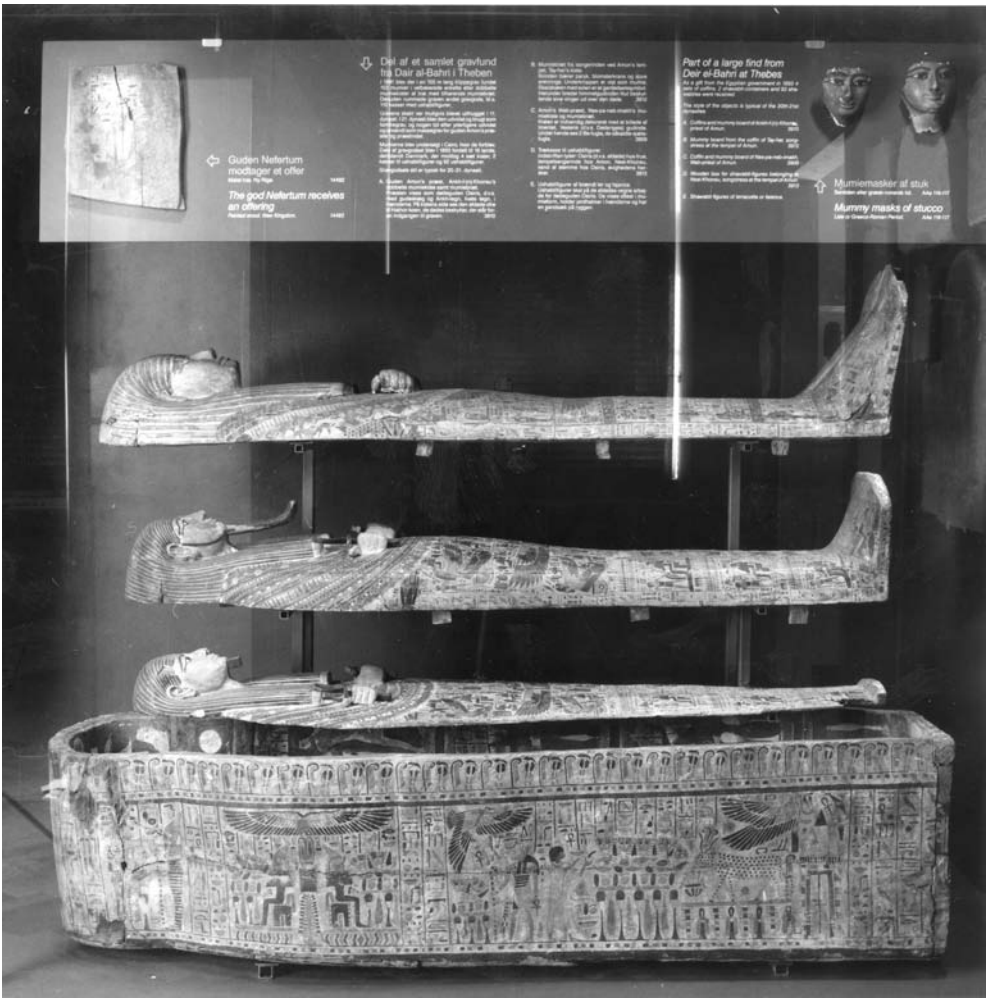


FIGURE 261 Lot XVI on permanent display at the National Museum c. 1985–1990. Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities. Registration photo



FIGURE 262 Lot XVI on permanent display at the National Museum c. 1985–1990. Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities. Registration photo



FIGURE 263 Lot XVI on permanent display at the National Museum 1994 to the present day. Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities. Registration photo

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CULTURE & HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Volume 130

Previously unpublished, the Danish Lot of antiquities from the Tomb of the Priests of Amun (Bab el-Gasus) is thoroughly examined in this book. The in-depth analysis of the objects is followed by an assessment of how these objects were crafted, designed, used and recycled in the Theban necropolis, a procedure that not only reveals to be instrumental in the dating of the objects, as it sheds light into the extraordinary dynamics of funerary workshops during the 21st Dynasty. The volume also examines the arrival of the Lot and its reception in Denmark.

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