

SCUOLA SUPERIORE MERIDIONALE



**DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN
ARCHEOLOGIA E CULTURE DEL MEDITERRANEO ANTICO.
RICERCA STORICA, CONSERVAZIONE, FRUIZIONE DEL PATRIMONIO**

**COORDINATORE
PROF. CARLO RESCIGNO**

**TESI
SOCIAL SIGNIFIERS AND CREATIVE PRODUCTION IN THE 20TH
AND 21ST DYNASTIES: (RE)DISCOVERING THE INDIVIDUAL IN
YELLOW COFFIN DECORATIVE MODELS**

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Abstract

English:

This doctoral research explores the intricate world of decorative models within the "yellow coffins" of Ancient Egypt's New Kingdom and Twenty-First Dynasty. It employs a comprehensive approach integrating historical, iconographical, and archaeological sources to shed light on the practices of Ancient Egyptian funerary decorators. The methodological approach employs a novel computer-aided comparative database developed for the purposes of the study, with visual and textual data points amassed by the author, many of them presented for the first time. The research delves into the socio-economic dynamics of the period by analyzing ownership patterns of materials adorned with similar decorative models. This analysis reveals the nuanced interplay between status and the implementation of specific decorative motifs on coffins. Through this lens, the study offers insights into the cultural and economic landscapes of ancient Egyptian society. It provides perspectives on the circulation and significance of these decorative artifacts throughout Egypt, contributing to a deeper understanding of the broader cultural milieu of the time.

Italiano:

Questa ricerca dottorale indaga sul complesso mondo dei modelli decorativi presenti sui "sarcofagi gialli" dell'antico Egitto, durante il Nuovo Regno e la XXI Dinastia, impiegando un approccio olistico. L'approccio metodologico utilizzato si avvale di un nuovo database comparativo sviluppato per gli scopi dello studio, con punti di dati visivi e testuali raccolti dall'autore, molti dei quali presentati per la prima volta. La ricerca integra, infatti, fonti storiche, iconografiche e archeologiche utili a comprendere le pratiche di coloro che decoravano questi reperti. Lo studio, inoltre, analizza le dinamiche socio-economiche del periodo in questione, indagando sugli individui che presentano modelli decorativi simili nei sarcofagi in loro possesso. Questa analisi evidenzia la complessa relazione tra lo status sociale dei committenti e l'impiego di specifici modelli decorativi sui sarcofagi. Attraverso questa prospettiva e questo nuovo approccio, la ricerca offre nuove visioni sui contesti culturali ed economici della società dell'Antico Egitto. Inoltre, fornisce una panoramica sulla diffusione e sull'importanza di questi oggetti policromi in tutto l'Egitto, contribuendo così a migliorare la nostra comprensione del contesto culturale dell'epoca.

Acknowledgements

Foremost, I express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. Christian Greco (Director, Museo Egizio) and Dr. René van Walsem (Lecturer, Leiden University). Dr. Greco's early mentorship is largely responsible for this work coming into existence as a doctoral research project. Dr. van Walsem's thorough and patient feedback on a regular basis as the project unfolded was essential to its realization. Without their support, generosity and expertise, this work would not have been possible. Any insights that may have been achieved are to their credit; any errors are wholly my own.

My utmost gratitude also extends to the reviewers of the work, Dr. Alessia Amenta (Curator, Egyptian and Near Eastern Antiquities Department, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Musei Vaticani) and Dr. Rogério Sousa (Professor, Lisbon University) for their invaluable feedback. The final product has been greatly improved by their meticulous and thoughtful efforts.

My most heartfelt and sincere thanks to all members of the Vatican Coffin Project (VCP). I owe a tremendous debt to their feedback and support throughout the years of this project, and indeed some years prior to its commencement as well. In particular, I acknowledge the leadership and mentorship of Dr. Alessia Amenta and Dr. Hélène Guichard (Conservator General, Egyptian Antiquities Department, Musée du Louvre). Dr. Amenta's guidance of this project, from conceptualization to elaboration to drafting to final editing, is singular in its impact. Dr. Guichard first acquainted me with the VCP, as well as the complexities and opportunities of museum curatorship more generally, and for these things I am forever in her debt. I am also deeply thankful to all of the members of the VCP, Egyptologists and Conservators and Scientists alike, for engaging in enlightening discussions during our periodic meetings. I look forward to continuing our work exploring the complexities of the yellow coffins.

I am thankful to the *Collegio dei docenti* of the Scuola Superiore Meridionale for funding the present research, including supporting research stays, conference participation, and fieldwork. In particular, I extend my sincere thanks to the former Coordinator of the program Archeologia e Culture del Mediterraneo Antico. Ricerca Storica, Conservazione, Fruizione del Patrimonio, Dr. Massimo Osanna (Director General of National Museums, Ministry of Culture, Italy), and the current Coordinator of the program, Dr. Carlo Rescigno.

Acknowledgments are also due to the Robert Anderson Trust Foundation and its Director, Dr. Chris Naunton, and the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO), especially to its former director Dr. Laurent Coulon, for providing opportunities for research stays abroad. I extend my thanks to scholars, museum staff and curators at institutions across the world who graciously granted me essential access to the objects, whether in person or through the use of images. In this respect I am particularly grateful to Dr. Kara Cooney (Chair and Professor of Ancient Egyptian Art and Architecture, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, University of California Los Angeles), whose knowledge and collection of unpublished materials, both of which she generously shared, proved to be invaluable to the work. I am also indebted to Dr. Andrzej Niwiński (University of Warsaw), both for his pioneering work in the field and

for making available to me both his wisdom and his collection of unpublished materials, both of which are unparalleled.

Finally, I express my gratitude to my colleagues in the archaeological missions in Egypt – Spanish-Egyptian Archaeological Mission in Saqqara (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona); Middle Kingdom Theban Project (Universidad de Alcalá de Henares); and Deir el-Medina: mission d'étude et de conservation (IFAO) – whose companionship enriched my research experience immeasurably. I look forward to continuing our work together.

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Plate 4.2/7 Herytubekhet (inner lid). Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich (ÄS 12b). Photos courtesy of Jan Dahms (© Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich)

Plate 4.2/8 Herytubekhet (inner box, exterior). Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich (ÄS 12c). Photos courtesy of Jan Dahms (© Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich)

Plate 4.2/9 Herytubekhet (mummy board). Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich (ÄS 12a). Photos courtesy of Jan Dahms (© Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich)

Plate 4.2/10 Tabasety (inner lid). Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus (8527). Photos courtesy of Vinnie Nørskov (© Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus)

Plate 4.2/11 Tabasety (inner box, exterior). Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus (8527). Photos courtesy of Vinnie Nørskov (© Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus)

Plate 4.2/12 Tabasety (mummy board). Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus (9530). Photos courtesy of Vinnie Nørskov (© Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus)

Plate 4.2/13 Tamerermut/Tj[...]peramon (inner lid). Musée de Tessé, Le Mans (1822-17A). Photos courtesy of Anais Verdoux (© Musée de Tessé, Le Mans)

Plate 4.2/14 Tamerermut/Tj[...]peramon (inner box, exterior). Musée de Tessé, Le Mans (1822-17A). Photos courtesy of Anais Verdoux (© Musée de Tessé, Le Mans)

Plate 4.2/15 Tamerermut/Tj[...]peramon (mummy board). Musée de Tessé, Le Mans (1822-17B). Photos courtesy of Anais Verdoux (© Musée de Tessé, Le Mans)

Plate 4.2/16 Pa[...]shepes[...] (cartonnage mummy board). El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2 (2014.Ca.006). Photo: L. Mátyus

Plate 4.2/17 Shedwyduat (cartonnage mummy board). El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2 (2014.Ca.004). Photo: L. Mátyus

Plate 4.2/18 Panakht-[...] B (cartonnage mummy board). El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2 (2014.Ca.015). Photo: L. Mátyus

Plate 4.2/19 Henuttawy (cartonnage mummy board). El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2 (2014.Ca.001). Photo: L. Mátyus

Plate 4.2/20 Khaemipet (cartonnage mummy board). Private collection of B.P. Harris, briefly on display in the Mint Museum, in Charlotte, North Carolina). Photo extracted from Lacovara 2005: 50

Plate 4.2/21 Nesiamon (inner lid). City Museum, Leeds (D. 426-426.a.1960). Photos courtesy of Katherine Baxter (© City Museum, Leeds)

Plate 4.2/22 Nesiamon (inner box, exterior). City Museum, Leeds (D. 426-426.a.1960). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© City Museum, Leeds)

Plate 4.2/23 Nesiamon (mummy board). City Museum, Leeds (D. 426-426.a.1960). Photos courtesy of Katherine Baxter (© City Museum, Leeds)

Plate 4.2/24 Panebmontu (inner lid). Musée du Louvre, Paris (E. 13029). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.2/25 Panebmontu (inner box, exterior). Musée du Louvre, Paris (E. 13029). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.2/26 Panebmontu (mummy board). Musée du Louvre, Paris (E. 13046). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

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Plate 4.3/1 Butehamon (outer box, exterior). Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 2236; CGT 10101.b). Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)

Plate 4.3/2 Butehamon (outer box, interior). Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 2236; CGT 10101.b). Photo: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)

Plate 4.3/3 Butehamon (outer box, exterior). Art & History Museum, Brussels (E. 5288). Photos by the author (© Art & History Museum, Brussels)

Plate 4.3/4 Butehamon (outer box, interior). Art & History Museum, Brussels (E. 5288). Photos courtesy of Luc Delvaux (© Art & History Museum, Brussels)

Plate 4.3/5 Butehamon (inner box, exterior). Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.b). Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)

Plate 4.3/6 Butehamon (inner box, interior). Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.b). Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)

Plate 4.3/7 Butehamon (outer lid, inner lid, mummy board). Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 2236; CGT 10101.a, Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.a, Cat. 2237; CGT 10103). Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)

Plate 4.3/8 Heramunpenaef (inner box, exterior). Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh (Inv. 22266-3d). Photos courtesy of Lisa Saladino Haney (© Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh)

Plate 4.3/9 Heramunpenaef (inner box, interior). Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh (Inv. 22266-3d) (pictures not accessible).

Plate 4.3/10 Heramunpenaef (inner lid, mummy board). Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh (Inv. 22266-3b, (Inv. 22266-3c) (pictures of the front lid and mummy board not accessible). Photos courtesy of Lisa Saladino Haney (© Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh)

Plate 4.3/11 Horemkenesi (inner box, exterior). City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol (Ha7386.1037). Photos courtesy of Lisa Graves (© City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol)

Plate 4.3/12 Horemkenesi (inner box, interior). City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol (Ha7386.1037). Photos courtesy of Lisa Graves (© City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol)

Plate 4.3/13 Horemkenesi (inner lid, mummy board). City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol (Ha7386.1038, Ha7386.1039). Photos courtesy of Lisa Graves (© City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol)

Plate 4.3/14 Tjanefer (inner box, exterior). Musée du Louvre, Paris (E. 18843 (Guimet 1334)). Photos: A. Maigret (© C2RMF/A. Maigret)

Plate 4.3/15 Tjanefer (inner box, interior). Musée du Louvre, Paris (E. 18843 (Guimet 1334)). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.3/16 Tjanefer (inner lid). Musée du Louvre, Paris (E. 18843 (Guimet 1334)). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.3/17 Sutymes (outer box, exterior). Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 2609). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.3/18 Sutymes (outer box, interior). Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 2609). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.3/19 Sutymes (inner box, exterior). Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 2610). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.3/20 Sutymes (inner box, interior). Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 2610). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.3/21 Sutymes (outer lid, inner lid). Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 29609, N. 2610). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.3/22 Sutymes (mummy board). Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 2611). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.3/23 Shedsuamon (outer box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29678 (CG 6201)). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/24 Shedsuamon (outer box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29678 (CG 6201)). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/25 Shedsuamon (inner box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29678 (CG 6203)). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/26 Shedsuamon (inner box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29678 (CG 6203)). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/27 Shedsuamon (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29678 (CG 6200)). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/28 Taudjatra (outer box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29737 (CG 6279)). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/29 Taudjatra (outer box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29737 (CG 6279)). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/30 Taudjatra (inner box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29737 (CG 6281)). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/31 Taudjatra (inner box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29737 (CG 6281)). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/32 Taudjatra (inner box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29737 (CG 6281)). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/33 Taudjatra (outer lid, inner lid, mummy board) (details). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29737 (CG 6278, CG 6280, CG 6282)). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/34 Hatshepsut (inner box, exterior). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble (3572 (1); 3572 (2)). Photos courtesy of Anne Laffont (© Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble)

Plate 4.3/35 Hatshepsut (inner lid). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble (3572 (1); 3572 (2)). Photos courtesy of Anne Laffont (© Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble)

Plate 4.3/36 Tjanefer (papyrus). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.IV.952). Photos extracted from Piankoff 1964: 98-109

Plate 4.3/37 Duathuthor Henuttawy (papyrus). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.IV.992/JE 95887). Photos extracted from Mariette 1871-1876 III: pls. 19-21

Plate 4.3/38 Taudjatra (papyrus). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.VII.11500 = JE 34033). Photos courtesy of Dik van Bommel (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/39 Nauny (papyrus). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (30.3.32). Photos extracted from <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545191> (last accessed March 7th 2024)

Plate 4.3/40 Nesiamonnesuttawy (papyrus). Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (P.3153). Photos courtesy of Dik van Bommel (© Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin)

Plate 4.3/41 Ahaneferamun, called Paharu (papyrus). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.IV.979/JE 95878). Photos extracted from Piankoff 1986: 66-71

Plate 4.3/42 Userhatmes (papyrus) Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.VII.10225/JE 34023). Photos courtesy of Dik van Bommel (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/43 Mutemwia (papyrus). British Museum, London (10006). Photos extracted from Piankoff 1986: 72-77

Plate 4.3/44 Amenmes (papyrus). British Museum, London (10011). Photos extracted from Piankoff 1986: 78-83

Plate 4.3/45 Nesypakheran (papyrus). Bodleian Library, Oxford (No number?). Photos extracted from Blackman 1918: pls. III-VI

Plate 4.3/46 Paser (papyrus). Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (158-161). Photos courtesy of Dik van Bommel (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.3/47 Nebhepetra (papyrus). Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 1768). Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)

Plate 4.3/48 Shedsuamon (papyrus). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.IV. 1530) (pictures not accessible).

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Plate 4.4/1 Anonymous ♀ (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29622; No CG N°; A. Unknown). Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/2 Anonymous ♀ (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29622; No CG N°; A. Unknown). Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/3 Anonymous ♀ (outer lid, underside). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29622; No CG N°; A. Unknown). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/4 Anonymous ♀ (outer lid). Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne (E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10); A. 74). Photos courtesy of Alban von Stockhausen (© Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne)

Plate 4.4/5 Anonymous ♀ (outer box, exterior). Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne (E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10); A. 74). Photos courtesy of Alban von Stockhausen (© Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne)

Plate 4.4/6 Anonymous ♀ (outer box, interior). Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne (E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10); A. 74). Photos courtesy of Alban von Stockhausen (© Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne)

Plate 4.4/7 Anonymous ♀ (inner lid). Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne (E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10); A. 74). Photos courtesy of Alban von Stockhausen (© Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne)

Plate 4.4/8 Anonymous ♀ (inner box, exterior). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (ÄS 6267b; A. 74) (pictures not accessible).

Plate 4.4/9 Anonymous ♀ (inner box, interior). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (ÄS 6267b; A. 74). Photos courtesy of Michaela Huettnner (© Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

Plate 4.4/10 Anonymous ♀ (mummy board). Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne (E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10); A. 74). Photos courtesy of Alban von Stockhausen (© Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne)

Plate 4.4/11 Meritamon A (fragmented outer box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (C. 13; A. 70?). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/12 Meritamon A (fragmented outer box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (C. 13; A. 70?). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/13 Meritamon A (fragmented inner lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (L. 31; A. 70?). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/14 Meritamon A (fragmented inner lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (L. 31; A. 70?). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/15 Meritamon A (fragmented inner lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (L. 31; A. 70?). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/16 Meritamon A (fragmented inner lid, underside). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (L. 31; A. 70?). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/17 Meritamon A (inner box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (C. 47; A. 70?). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/18 Meritamon A (inner box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (C. 47; A. 70?). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/19 Meritamon A (mummy board). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (MC.2; A. 70?). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/20 Meritamon A (mummy board, underside). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (MC.2; A. 70?). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/21 Meritamon B (inner lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29704 + 29734; CG 6176; A. 71). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/22 Meritamon B (inner lid, underside). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29704 + 29734; CG 6176; A. 71). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/23 Meritamon B (inner box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29704 + 29734; CG 6175; A. 71). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/24 Meritamon B (inner box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29704 + 29734; CG 6175; A. 71). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/25 Meritamon B (mummy board). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29704 + 29734; CG 6197; A. 71). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/26 Anonymous ♀ (not preserved?) (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (L. 13; A. Unknown). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/27 Anonymous ♀ (not preserved?) (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (L. 13; A. Unknown). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/28 Amenhotep (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (L. 14; A. 39). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/29 Amenhotep (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (L. 14; A. 39). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/30 Amenhotep (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (L. 14; A. 39). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/31 Amenhotep (inner lid). National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington (154959; A. 39). Photos courtesy of Carrie Beauchamp (© National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington)

Plate 4.4/32 Amenhotep (inner box, exterior). National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington (154959; A. 39). Photos courtesy of Carrie Beauchamp (© National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington)

Plate 4.4/33 Amenhotep (inner box, interior). National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington (154959; A. 39). Photos courtesy of Carrie Beauchamp (© National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington)

Plate 4.4/34 Amenhotep (mummy board). National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington (364999; A. 39). Photos courtesy of Carrie Beauchamp (© National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington)

Plate 4.4/35 Tjenetpaherunefer (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29699; CG 6218; A. 17). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/36 Tjenetpaherunefer (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29699; CG 6218; A. 17). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/37 Tjenetpaherunefer (outer box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29699; CG 6219; A. 17). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/38 Tjenetpaherunefer (outer box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29699; CG 6219; A. 17). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/39 Tjenetpaherunefer (inner lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29699; CG 6177; A. 17). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/40 Tjenetpaherunefer (inner lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29699; CG 6177; A. 17). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/41 Tjenetpaherunefer (inner box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29699; CG 6178; A. 17). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/42 Tjenetpaherunefer (inner box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29699; CG 6178; A. 17). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/43 Tjenetpaherunefer (inner box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29699; CG 6178; A. 17). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/44 Tjenetpaherunefer (mummy board). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29699; CG 6179; A. 17). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/45 Anonymous ♂ (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29653; CG 6205; A. 61). Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/46 Anonymous ♂ (outer box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29653; CG 6207; A. 61). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/47 Anonymous ♂ (outer box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29653; CG 6207; A. 61). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/48 Anonymous ♂ (inner lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29653; CG 6206; A. 61). Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/49 Anonymous ♂ (inner box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29653; CG 6171; A. 61). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/50 Anonymous ♂ (inner box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29653; CG 6171; A. 61). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/51 Anonymous ♂ (mummy board). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29653; CG 6172; A. 61). Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/52 Anonymous ♂ (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29680; CG 6043; A. 85). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/53 Anonymous ♂ (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29680; CG 6043; A. 85). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/54 Anonymous ♂ (outer box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29680; CG 6044; A. 85). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/55 Anonymous ♂ (outer box, underside). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29680; CG 6044; A. 85). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/56 Anonymous ♂ (outer box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29680; CG 6044; A. 85). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/57 Anonymous ♂ (inner lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29680; CG 6041; A. 85). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/58 Anonymous ♂ (inner lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29680; CG 6041; A. 85). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.4/59 Anonymous ♂ (inner box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29680; CG 6042; A. 85). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

- Plate 4.4/60** Anonymous ♂ (inner box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29680; CG 6042; A. 85). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
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- Plate 4.4/62** Anonymous ♂ (mummy board). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (29680; CG 6045; A. 85). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
- Plate 4.4/63** Anonymous ♀ (mummy board). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (MC. 1; A. Unknown). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
- Plate 4.4/64** Anonymous ♀ (mummy board). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (MC. 1; A. Unknown). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
- Plate 4.4/65** Anonymous ♀ (fragmented inner box, exterior). Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (62.2; probably from Bab el-Gasus (A. Unknown)). Photos courtesy of Lisa Anderson-Zhu (© Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore)
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- Plate 4.4/68** Anonymous (not preserved?) (fragmented outer box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (C. 28; probably from Bab el-Gasus (A. Unknown)). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
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- Plate 4.4/70** Anonymous (not preserved?) (fragmented lid/mummy board). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement) (L. 21; A. Unknown). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
- Plate 4.4/71** Tamutmutef (inner lid). Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 2228; CGT 10119.a). Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)
- Plate 4.4/72** Tamutmutef (inner box, exterior). Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 2228; CGT 10119.b). Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)
- Plate 4.4/73** Tamutmutef (inner box, interior). Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 2228; CGT 10119.b). Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)
- Plate 4.4/74** Tamutmutef (mummy board). Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 2228; CGT 10120). Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)

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- Plate 4.5/2** Anonymous ♀ (inner box, exterior). Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (ÄM 11984). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin)
- Plate 4.5/3** Anonymous ♀ (inner box, interior). Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (ÄM 11984). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin)
- Plate 4.5/4** Anonymous ♀ (mummy board). Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (ÄM 11985). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin)

Plate 4.5/5 Nesypakaswty (outer lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29641; CG 6018 ; A. 43) (pictures not accessible).

Plate 4.5/6 Nesypakaswty (outer box). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29641; CG 6061/62; A. 43) (pictures not accessible).

Plate 4.5/7 Nesypakaswty (inner lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29641; CG 6062/61; A. 43). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.5/8 Nesypakaswty (inner box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29641; CG 6086; A. 43). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.5/9 Nesypakaswty (inner box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29641; CG 6086; A. 43). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.5/10 Nesypakaswty (mummy board). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29641; CG 6087; A. 43). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.5/11 Ikhy (outer lid). Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City (MV 25035.3.1; A. 58?). Photos courtesy of Alessia Amenta (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)

Plate 4.5/12 Ikhy (outer box, exterior). Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City (MV 25035.3.2; A. 58?). Photos courtesy of Alessia Amenta (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)

Plate 4.5/13 Ikhy (outer box, interior). Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City (MV 25035.3.2; A. 58?). Photos courtesy of Alessia Amenta (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)

Plate 4.5/14 Ikhy (mummy board). Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City (MV 25035.3.3; A. 58?). Photos courtesy of Alessia Amenta (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)

Plate 4.5/15 Anonymous ♀ (inner box, exterior). Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City (MV 25016.2.2; A. 58?). Photos courtesy of Alessia Amenta (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)

Plate 4.5/16 Anonymous ♀ (inner box, exterior). Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City (MV 25016.2.2; A. 58?). Photos courtesy of Alessia Amenta (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)

Plate 4.5/17 Anonymous ♀ (outer lid). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (8524; A. 15). Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni (© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)

Plate 4.5/18 Anonymous ♀ (outer box, exterior). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (8524; A. 15). Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni (© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)

Plate 4.5/19 Anonymous ♀ (outer box, interior). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (8524; A. 15). Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni (© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)

Plate 4.5/20 Anonymous ♀ (inner lid). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (8528; A. 15?). Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni (© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)

Plate 4.5/21 Anonymous ♀ (inner box, exterior). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (8528; A. 15?). Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni (© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)

Plate 4.5/22 Anonymous ♀ (inner box, interior). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (8528; A. 15?). Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni (© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)

Plate 4.5/23 Anonymous ♀ (mummy board). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (9534; A. 15?). Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni (© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)

Plate 4.5/24 Djedkhonsuiuefankh (outer lid). Musée du Louvre, Paris (E 10636, AF 9593; AF 98; A. 8). Photos: G. Poncet (© Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN Grand Palais)

Plate 4.5/25 Djedkhonsuiuefankh (outer box, exterior). Musée du Louvre, Paris (E 10636, AF 9593; AF 98; A. 8). Photos: G. Poncet (© Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN Grand Palais)

Plate 4.5/26 Djedkhonsuiuefankh (outer box, interior). Musée du Louvre, Paris (E 10636, AF 9593; AF 98; A. 8). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.5/27 Djedkhonsuiuefankh (inner lid). Musée du Louvre, Paris (E 10636, AF 86; A. 8). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.5/28 Djedkhonsuiuefankh (inner box, exterior). Musée du Louvre, Paris (E 10636, AF 95; A. 8). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.5/29 Djedkhonsuiuefankh (inner box, interior). Musée du Louvre, Paris (E 10636, AF 95; A. 8). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.5/30 Djedkhonsuiuefankh (mummy board). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (H 2322 (Loan from the Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 10637; AF 102); A. 8). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Plate 4.5/31 Padikhonsu (inner lid, front). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (H 2320). Photos: Alain Basset (© Lyon MBA)

Plate 4.5/32 Padikhonsu (inner lid, underside). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (H 2320). Photos: Alain Basset (© Lyon MBA)

Plate 4.5/33 Padikhonsu (inner box, exterior). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (H 2320). Photos: Alain Basset (© Lyon MBA)

Plate 4.5/34 Padikhonsu (inner box, interior). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (H 2320). Photos: Alain Basset (© Lyon MBA)

Plate 4.5/35 Padikhonsu (mummy board, front). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (H 2321). Photos: Alain Basset (© Lyon MBA)

Plate 4.5/36 Padikhonsu (mummy board, underside). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (H 2321). Photos: Alain Basset (© Lyon MBA)

Plate 4.5/37 Ankhefiah (outer? box, exterior). Deir el-Bahari storeroom (D/III.5). Drawing: Andrzej Niwiński, from Niwiński 1985: 206 [fig. 3a]

Plate 4.5/38 Diwamun (inner lid). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29727; CG 6054; A. 31). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.5/39 Diwamun (inner box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29727; CG 6053; A. 31). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.5/40 Diwamun (inner box, interior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29727; CG 6053; A. 31). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.5/41 Diwamun (inner box, exterior). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29727; CG 6057; A. 31). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.5/42 Anonymous man (outer box, exterior). Basement of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (C. 12). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.5/43 Anonymous man (outer box, interior). Basement of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (C. 12). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.5/44 Anonymous man (mummy board). Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE unknown; CG 6047). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.5/45 Ankhefenamun, Ikhy (outer lid). Art & History Museum, Brussels (E. 5887; A. 51). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Art & History Museum, Brussels)

Plate 4.5/46 Ankhefenamun, Ikhy (outer box, exterior). Art & History Museum, Brussels (E. 5887; A. 51). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Art & History Museum, Brussels)

Plate 4.5/47 Ankhefenamun, Ikhy (outer box, interior). Art & History Museum, Brussels (E. 5887; A. 51). Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Art & History Museum, Brussels)

Plate 4.5/48 Virey's designs of JE 29620 and JE 29626 (folios 10-12). Photos courtesy of Alain Dautant, extracted from Virey 1892 (unpublished manuscript)

Plate 4.5/49 Anonymous ♀ (outer box, exterior). Basement of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (C.23, C. 3). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo) and Alain Dautant, the latter extracted from Virey 1892 (unpublished manuscript)

Plate 4.5/50 Anonymous ♀ (outer box, interior). Basement of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (C.23, C. 3). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Plate 4.5/51 Anonymous ♂ (outer lid). National Archaeological Museum, Athens (3338; A. 134). Photos courtesy of Argyro Grigoraki (© National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

Plate 4.5/52 Anonymous ♂ (outer box, exterior). National Archaeological Museum, Athens (3338; A. 134). Photos courtesy of Argyro Grigoraki and Andrzej Niwiński (© National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

Plate 4.5/53 Anonymous ♂ (outer box, interior). National Archaeological Museum, Athens (3338; A. 134). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

Plate 4.5/54 Anonymous ♂ (inner lid). National Archaeological Museum, Athens (3339 (=ANE 3422); A. 134). Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

Plate 4.5/55 Anonymous ♂ (mummy board). National Archaeological Museum, Athens (3333; A. 134). Photos courtesy of Argyro Grigoraki (© National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

Chapter 1. Introduction: Studying the Yellow Coffins

1.0 What is a Yellow Coffin?

Yellow coffins are a distinct type of anthropoid funerary containers found in Egyptological collections worldwide. They are characterized by their decoration, featuring multicolored texts and iconographies, typically set against a yellow background and often covered with a thick layer of yellow varnish. These coffins are easily identified by the mummiform shape of their associated lids and mummy boards, which symbolically represents the deceased individual as a divine being. The shape resembles the wrapped form of a mummy, emphasizing the transformation of the deceased into a spiritual entity or deity in the afterlife.

While the yellow coffins reached the height of their popularity during the Twenty-First and early Twenty-Second Dynasties, their origins and evolution predate this period. One of the earliest known examples of the yellow type can be traced back to Deir el-Medina during the late Eighteenth Dynasty, particularly during the reign of Amenhotep III. This example refers to the coffin of Teti, currently preserved in the Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn (37.14Ea-b) (see figs. 1.1-2).¹ This early yellow coffin shares decorative and textual characteristics with another contemporary coffin type known as the black type coffins with yellow (or gilded) decoration, for which an example is the inner coffin of Kha preserved at the Museo Egizio (Turin) (S. 8316/01) (see figs. 1.3-4).²

Both the coffin of Teti and the black type coffins feature similar elements in their decoration, such as the depiction of the four standing Sons of Horus, Thoth, and the *wꜥꜣt* eye and Anubis atop shrines on the boxes. Additionally, the representation of a vulture upon the lid's chest is another shared characteristic. These common features demonstrate the connections and influences between different coffin types during that period. However, what sets the coffin of Teti apart is its use of polychrome coloration and subsequent yellow varnish. While it maintains a decorative scheme closely related to the contemporary black coffins, it sets a precedent as one of the earliest examples of the yellow type, which would later become particularly popular in the Theban area and its surroundings.

The fact that the yellow type likely originated in Deir el-Medina is not surprising, as it emphasizes the significant role played by the community of craftspeople in the development of funerary materials and new decorative schemes. Deir el-Medina was home to highly skilled craftspeople who were involved in the construction and decoration of royal tombs. Their innovative contributions to decoration likely influenced the emergence of the yellow type, as it served as an environment where new decorative solutions were likely born.

Most of the known examples of yellow coffins are sourced from various necropolises situated in the Theban area, although they have also been discovered in surrounding regions such as Amarna and Akhmim, as discussed in the present study. This suggests that the popularity and widespread use of the yellow type extended beyond the immediate Theban vicinity.

¹ Dodson 2000.

² Sartini 2015, 2019a, 2019b.

Figure 1.1: Lid of Teti

Figure 1.2: Left side of the coffin of Teti



Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn. Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund. Creative Commons-BY (Photo: Brooklyn Museum, 37.14E_front_PS1.jpg)



Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn. Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund. Creative Commons-BY (Photo: Brooklyn Museum, 37.14E_profile_PS1.jpg)

Figure 1.3: Inner lid of Kha

Figure 1.4: Left side of the inner coffin of Kha



Museo Egizio, Turin (S. 8316/01). (Photo: Nicola Dell'Aquila. © Museo Egizio, Turin)



Museo Egizio, Turin (S. 8316/01). Photo: Nicola Dell'Aquila. © Museo Egizio, Turin)

Over time, the decoration of the yellow coffins underwent a significant evolution, reflecting the innovative skills of the craftspeople involved. The evolution encompassed changes in decorative style, layout, and iconography, marking a distinct shift in the artistic expression of these funerary containers.

The coffin of Teti represents an early phase of the new coffin type, characterized by distinct iconographic scenes with ample breathing space between them. Each scene features individual figures, carefully depicted within their respective settings. The number of scenes depicted on the coffin is relatively low, with unadorned space surrounding the figures, providing visual emphasis on the central themes of the depicted scenes. Furthermore, in this early phase, the upper edge of the box wall lacks ornamentation, exhibiting a simpler design compared to later iterations of the yellow coffins. These features of Teti's coffin exemplify the initial stages of the evolutionary process that ultimately defined the normative iconography, texts and layouts that would come to define the Twenty-First Dynast coffins.

As the yellow coffin type continued to develop, a notable increase in the density of texts and vignettes occurred. Throughout the Twenty-First Dynasty, the coffins gradually increased the number of registers on the chest as well as on the vertical partitions on the lower section of the lids. Furthermore, a frieze emerged on the upper edge of the outside walls of the boxes, an area that had previously been left unadorned in most coffins.³ These innovative and complex layouts allowed for the inclusion of new and more extensive and complex religious textual sequences and intricate religious scenes, featuring a greater density of figures. The surface of the coffins slowly became filled with an abundance of surrounding space fillers and details, resulting in a pronounced *horror vacui* aesthetic, which is the tendency to fill all available space with decoration. The interior of the boxes also witnessed the inclusion of an increasing amount of iconography and texts.

Furthermore, the lids of the yellow coffins underwent further transformations. They began to display bigger collars, which ultimately covered the carved and/or depicted arms of the deceased represented on the lid.⁴ This trend continued to evolve and reached its peak at the end of the Twenty-First and beginning of the Twenty-Second Dynasties, further exemplifying changes and innovations within this coffin type. Another new element that defined the coffins during the late Twenty-First and early Twenty-Second Dynasties was the depiction of red mummy braces or stola on the chest of the lids and mummy boards associated with the coffin sets.⁵

However, accurately pinpointing the exact transition between different modes of representation and decorative schemes remains challenging and is closely linked to the evolution of workshops and the creative minds of craftspeople. The precise moment of the application of decoration on the coffins continues to be a subject of debate, and, as discussed in the study, absolute dating of the coffins is difficult. Although some coffins are associated with specific textual and iconographic models, each individual coffin displays unique characteristics, sometimes more innovative and sometimes more traditional, highlighting the complex relationship between appeals to tradition and the attractions of innovation that lied at the heart of creativity itself.

³ Niwiński 2019: 61.

⁴ Niwinski 1988: 68-69.

⁵ Van Walsem 1993.

The complexity of the material increases when considering the practice of reuse, thoroughly studied by Kara Cooney.⁶ During most of the New Kingdom, tombs belonging to high-status individuals, whether they were royalty or private individuals, were known for their opulent funerary items and elaborately decorated walls. These tombs boasted abundance of funerary materials that served as a testament to the wealth and status of the owners and their associated family members, while also reflecting the prosperity of Egypt and its internal and external political climate. During this era, wealthy tomb owners relied on wall depictions of necessary spells, iconography, and scenes dedicated to the deceased(s). The elaborate decorations were complemented by a vast array of personalized funerary equipment, each serving a specific purpose in ensuring the eternal existence of the deceased during their journey in the afterlife.

In contrast to the prosperous moments of the New Kingdom that were reflected in the afterlife, there was a significant shift in funerary practices towards the end of the New Kingdom. In the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty, both archaeological evidence and written sources from Thebes indicate that the elite class began investing more resources in elaborately decorated coffins and coffin sets, while reducing their expenditures on private tombs and tomb decorations.⁷ This trend continued into the late Twentieth Dynasty and the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period. Consequently, decorated private tombs, traditionally reserved for the patriarch, his wife, and a few close relatives, became less prevalent. Instead, undecorated collective tombs became more common, as exemplified by the Royal Cache (DB 320) and Bab el-Gasus, although other similar tombs may have existed, albeit with insufficient documentation and contextual information. The notable undecorated collective tomb of Bab el-Gasus, located near the temple complex of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari, was discovered in 1891.⁸ This discovery significantly expanded the known corpus of yellow coffins by more than 250 objects. The coffins were placed in a primary corridor, a transversal corridor, and two funerary chambers.

This shift in funerary practices was heavily influenced by the social, political, and economic crises of the time, which ultimately led to the emergence of the Third Intermediate Period. The material culture of the Theban region reflects this crucial historical moment.

During this period, the now collective tombs remained undecorated, signifying a departure from previous practices. The religious texts and iconography, traditionally depicted on tomb walls and funerary equipment since the Fifth Dynasty, began to be directly incorporated onto the coffins and papyri themselves, leaving the tomb walls unadorned. The sources for this iconography and texts were derived from funerary literature such as the Book of Going Forth by Day, the Coffin Texts, the Amduat, and the Pyramid Texts. This shift is why the typical yellow coffins of the Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Dynasties stand out for their intricate and complex iconography, which has a deep and complex meaning that is enhanced by associated textual inscriptions. Both the texts and iconography reflect the complex interaction between ritual needs, funeral beliefs, and socioeconomic factors. These coffins served as a *private tomb, royal*

⁶ Cooney 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2014; 2017; 2018a; 2018b; 2018c; 2019; 2023.

⁷ Cooney 2007: 115, 129 [n. 123].

⁸ Daressy 1900; 1907.

tomb, temple, and burial receptacle for each individual, following the concept of an architectonisation developed by René van Walsem.⁹

During this period, the complex decoration of the coffins incorporated intricate scenes and texts. Some of these appeared for the first time, while others underwent reinterpretation. This indicates an ongoing interaction between the religious priests responsible for the creation of the coffin decorations. The dynamic process of constant evolution and reinterpretation suggests that religious figures played a significant role in shaping the funerary culture of the period. This adaptability was a mechanism to respond to the context and needs of the time, showcasing the flexibility of religious practices during this era.

With respect to the reuse of yellow coffins, it specifically provides valuable insights into the social, cultural, economic, and artistic dynamics of the late New Kingdom and the Twenty-First Dynasty. In this economically challenging period, the reuse of coffins emerged as a common defensive adaptation, highlighting the resourcefulness and creativity of the ancient Egyptians as they faced adversity and worked with limited resources for manufacturing new objects. Comparing the scarcity of coffins from the Twentieth Dynasty to the abundance of preserved coffins from the Twenty-First Dynasty and early Twenty-Second Dynasty indicates a significant increase in coffin reuse at the end of the New Kingdom. This trend continued throughout the Twenty-First Dynasty, coinciding with the decline of the New Kingdom. From the Twenty-Second Dynasty onwards, as fresh wood became more readily available and coffin styles evolved, the practice of coffin reuse declined in popularity.

The practice of coffin reuse during this period resulted in a mixture of different styles and multiple modifications on the same object, making it challenging to determine the typological sequence and dating of these objects. Determining the original creation date, the modifications made for reuse, and subsequent changes is a difficult task. However, archaeometric analyses such as stratigraphic studies and C14 radiocarbon analysis can provide valuable insights to address these questions. Through scientific analysis, it becomes possible to determine whether older layers of decoration exist beneath the current decoration or if the craftspeople removed them before applying new decoration.

Regarding the reuse of coffins, it is important to note that there are instances where the coffins contained mummies when they arrived at their current locations. Scientific analysis reveals that the dates of these mummies are sometimes inconsistent with the decoration or redecoration of the coffins, as discussed in the present study. Furthermore, in cases where the sex of the mummies has been determined, it does not always match the gender of the original or ancient reused coffin occupant. While this may suggest a second or further reuse of the coffins, the reason for the discrepancy is sometimes different. It is likely that the mummies were placed in the coffins by dealers who often sought to artificially create complete coffin ensembles in order to facilitate their profitable sale on the market. This practice sheds light on the modern trafficking of antiquities in Egypt.

⁹ Van Walsem 2014.

1.1 Introduction to the Present Study

The yellow coffins stand out for their intricate iconography, which feature deep and complex meanings that are enhanced by the associated textual inscriptions. The amount of information conveyed through these decorations, encompassing ritual, economic, social and religious aspects, presents a challenge in terms of study, organization, classification and analysis. As a result, there is a notable absence of systematic investigations into these interconnected characteristics.

This introductory chapter explores challenges associated with the study of the materials, and the strategies in which they can be mitigated. A comprehensive discussion of some of the outcomes resulting from the manipulation and comparison of annotated data of the coffins is presented.

The present study seeks to understand the social significance inherent in the decoration of yellow coffins. Given the absence of textual information detailing the production, decoration process(es) and the inner workings of coffin manufacture and decoration, the only available evidence lies within the tangible artifacts themselves. The primary objective of the study is to discern shared or similar decorative patterns on yellow coffins, delving into the prospect of standardization in decorations among specific coffins, thereby hinting at the existence of decorative models. This investigation aims to shed light on potential relationships within subsets of yellow coffins, providing insights into the societal context of their adornment. A key goal is to explore whether owners of materials adorned in a similar fashion shared any discernible social connections.

Through the comparison of the objects, it becomes possible to identify specific subset groups of yellow coffins that share similar or identical iconographic and textual models (see Chapter 4, Sections 1-5). This offers opportunities to investigate the status of their owners, their possible relationships and the provenance and recent histories of their associated materials. This is especially valuable in cases where historical documentation has been inaccurate or insufficient, resulting in the objects appearing decontextualized in museums and institutions. Furthermore, the connection between certain objects suggests a common geographical production origin, while in other instances, their interrelation highlights the dissemination of knowledge through the mobility of craftspeople and/or models. This approach also hints at the potential to establish relative chronologies among the materials.

One of the principal findings from the study on the interrelation of coffins sharing similar decorative models is that their iconographical and textual selection was not arbitrary, but rather closely associated with the status and position of the eventual owner. The analysis of these interconnected coffins not only reveals insights into the individual identities and roles of the owners but also provides clues about the communal and societal frameworks that influenced the creation and use of these coffins. Exploration of the interconnections and patterns among these artifacts contributes to a deeper understanding of the societal norms, power dynamics and cultural values prevalent within the Ancient Egyptian elite during the late New Kingdom and the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period.

Additionally, through an examination of the decoration on specific examples, the study aims to analyse available data to comprehend the organization of craftspeople responsible for adorning the coffins (see Chapter 2). Despite the inherently speculative

nature of this research, characterized by a dearth of definite evidence, the sheer volume of objects implies the simultaneous coexistence of diverse situations, albeit conjecturally. This exploration of the materials will delve into the intricacies of the how and when of the decoration process for certain examples, particularly concerning the depicted scenes and texts. Thus, the study seeks to shed light on another social aspect related to the individuals responsible for the decoration of these funerary objects, even hinting at the identification of common decorators or, at the very least, interconnected individuals or groups involved in adorning specific yellow coffins.

It is crucial to emphasize that this study focuses predominantly on the visual aspects of yellow coffins, specifically their decorative layer(s), abstaining from a comprehensive exploration of other facets such as construction/manufacture, preparatory layers and varnish layers, including their associated techniques. While recognizing the importance of these aspects, the current limitation is attributed to both the absence of published analyses and the restricted access to materials essential for examining these additional layers. Subsequent research should aim to cross-reference the presented data in this study with these omitted aspects for a more comprehensive understanding.

Numerous yellow coffins have resulted in a lack of widely available information, with existing publications often focusing on specific examples from certain collections. In contrast, this study aims to create new connections by gathering information on a broader range of materials. The goal is to provide evidence of the relationships between the materials, their owners and the decorators involved.

The implications of these findings reveal potential organizational structures and mindsets that influenced the production and decoration of coffin ensembles. This research holds the potential to significantly impact the broader field of yellow coffins and coffin studies in general, unveiling previously unexplored social aspects associated with their production. It paves the way for future research avenues and possibilities, inviting exploration into iconographical, textual, social and religious studies.

1.2 Challenges in the Study of Yellow Coffins

The study of yellow coffins presents a number of pressing challenges that must be taken into consideration when dealing with the material as a whole. They are as follows:

Diversity and plurality: The known surviving elements belonging to the typology of yellow coffins exceed 1000 components.¹⁰ The overwhelming majority of these materials come from the Theban area, with a few also traced back to Akhmim (see Chapter 4, Section 1). In a single instance, materials from Amarna have been identified (see Chapter 2).¹¹ These elements feature diverse textual and iconographical compositions. This wide range of features allows for the thorough study of the compositions, including their variants, as well as diachronic changes between the materials. However, this large amount of data makes it difficult to analyse and classify the materials without the assistance of contemporary computer software-based data analysis applications.

¹⁰ A complete coffin set identified today as belonging to the typology of the yellow coffins has five constituent elements: outer box, outer lid, inner box, inner lid and mummy board, the last of which was placed directly on top of the mummy.

¹¹ Bomann 1985: 14-17; Taylor, Boyce 1986.

As elaborated below, this study concentrates on the analysis of non-stola yellow coffins from the late New Kingdom throughout the Twenty-First Dynasty.¹² Currently, the corpus of known yellow coffins comprises more than a thousand elements, whether complete or incomplete. This list continues to grow, including objects emerging in the market,¹³ previously unconsidered coffins found in collections,¹⁴ new discoveries from excavations¹⁵ and a reevaluation of storage facilities on various sites. Notably, this includes the substantial number of non-stola yellow coffins located in Deir el-Medina's storage rooms, awaiting analysis.¹⁶

Furthermore, there are collections that lack systematic studies of their non-stola yellow coffins. This makes it unknown how many coffins of this typology they possess, as their collections are currently inaccessible.¹⁷ Additionally, some objects have been lost, as discussed in more detail below.

Regarding coffin sets comprised of the discussed elements, the count is continuously changing. Elements dispersed across various collections may belong to the same coffin set, while elements thought to be part of a single coffin set might actually be part of two separate sets.¹⁸ Therefore, the precise number of coffin sets within the present corpus of non-stola yellow coffins remains unclear, as ongoing studies continue to rearrange sets, sometimes dividing traditionally accepted sets.

The present study and dataset do not include small fragments lacking relevant iconographical and textual information for the current research objectives. These fragments, such as masks removed from the coffins, as well as hands, beards and ears, are dispersed among various museums due to trafficking practices in modern times;

Access and complexity: With their large amount of complex iconographic and textual decorations, which occupy the entire exterior surfaces of the objects and sometimes their interiors as well, yellow coffins exemplify the *horror vacui* style -an artistic tendency to saturate the entire space of an artwork with elaborate decoration, leaving little to no empty or blank spaces on the surface and resulting in a composition densely

¹² For the definition of yellow coffin type, see Sousa 2020: 11-26.

¹³ Consider, for example, the mummy board associated with Rai, sold by Drouot in June 2023 (Anonymous 2023: 15 [93]), and the inner coffin of Nesaset (pls. 4.1/11-12, discussed in Chapter 4, Section 1), sold in Bonham in July 2019 (Anonymous 2019: 186-187 [316]). The appearance of yellow coffin fragments on the market is relatively common. However, a thorough examination of yellow coffins and their fragments from auction houses in the last decades has not been extensively conducted.

¹⁴ For example, consider the recently rediscovered collection of yellow coffins and fragments at the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (Niwiński 2021, some of them discussed in Chapter 4, Sections 4-5), along with the various yellow coffins from smaller collections in France (Dautant 2014; Dautant, Jamen 2017).

¹⁵ For instance, the discovery of fragments from a yellow coffin in the debris fill of the Middle Kingdom tomb beneath the Hathor chapel at Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahari temple has been documented (Chudzik 2021: 71 [fig. 18], 72-73).

¹⁶ In this context, it is worth mentioning the Medjehu Project, directed by Eschenbrenner Diemer, which includes a significant focus on the documentation, preservation, and study of hundreds of unpublished yellow coffin fragments originating from Deir el-Medina, alongside its other objectives (Eschenbrenner Diemer, Sartini, Serpico 2021; Eschenbrenner Diemer 2023).

¹⁷ For instance, the collection of yellow coffins at the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul and that of the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg serve as notable examples.

¹⁸ As an example, see the elements of the coffin sets traditionally associated with sets A. 7 and A. 60, respectively, materials which originate from Bab el-Gasus (see Chapter 2).

filled with intricate and ornate designs.¹⁹ Access to all of the decorations exhibited on the objects is sometimes complicated by the state of conservation as well as their display or storage in collections where operators are often resistant to moving them or otherwise subjecting them to comprehensive photography.

Undertaking a comprehensive visual analysis of the displayed coffins presents a considerable challenge, primarily due to their arrangement and considerable size. This necessitates curators to place the coffins at the far end of the vitrines, making them less accessible to viewers and challenging to open due to the abundance of smaller objects usually positioned in front. Typically situated against the wall, these coffins hinder a thorough examination of all their decorated sections. The logistical challenges associated with their placement within the vitrine create a practical impediment, making it less straightforward for researchers to delve into the study of these artifacts.

The difficulties in obtaining or producing the amount of photographs necessary for the comprehensive study and comparison of the materials have resulted in a dearth of publications of the yellow coffins.²⁰ While numerous international projects, as discussed below, and scholars are engaged in studying this material, the majority of yellow coffins remain unpublished.

The limited accessibility significantly hinders the examination of the information contained within texts and iconography, particularly textual content. Variability in the placement of information regarding the deceased on the coffins complicates the study of ownership when complete access to the coffin is not possible, potentially leading to the unavailability of critical details about the deceased. Similarly, specific analyses like stylistic, technical, or paleographical studies require direct access for a thorough examination of their distinctive characteristics.

Fortunately, while the best research practice of course compels comprehensive in-person visual observation and recording of the objects, access to comprehensive, complete high-quality images of the materials is often sufficient and usually the only viable means to obtain materials for many lines of inquiry, including the comparative analytical methodology necessary for the present study. Unfortunately, the copyright restrictions for the majority of the existing images present a real impediment to accessing certain object pictures and impede the progress of research.

In order to reduce the impact of the aforementioned limits and challenges, an exhaustive campaign to collect photographic materials of all the known yellow coffins has been carried out in this study, either in person with the cooperation of museum curators and registrars, or via the internet thanks to museum staff who kindly shared pictures of the materials. The majority of documented yellow coffins provided accessible images, allowing for a comprehensive investigation that extends beyond decorative description to scrutinize the details about the deceased, including their characteristics and specifics.

¹⁹ For this tendency, see Niwiński 1988: 99. The term *horror vacui* is described by Sousa as “liminization” of coffin decoration (Sousa 2018: 203; Sousa 2021: 159).

²⁰ Van Walsem 1997: 8. Moreover, the published images occasionally provide limited visuals, with small, sometimes poorly contrasted, frontal pictures of the covers and side views of the boxes (the issue has previously been noted in Van Walsem 1977: 159 [366], 165). This limitation hinders researchers from thoroughly examining the coffins, as evidenced by the coffins presented in Pérez-Die 2021. For a discussion on coffin photography and its practical applications, see Van Walsem 1987: 13.

Though certain coffins lacked available pictures and direct access to the objects has been impossible, overall, the accessed material has produced new insights into the materials. These discoveries have been integrated into the ongoing study, contributing to a better understanding of the subject.

In addition to photographic materials, primary archival documentation regarding the biography of the objects and their modern history have also been gathered;

State of conservation: Some of the yellow coffins, especially those with gilded parts, were already damaged by tomb raiders going back to Antiquity, prior to their modern discovery (for examples, see Chapter 4, Section 4). Consequently, some of the objects are not preserved in their entirety and are fragmented, thereby posing significant challenges to their study. Post-discovery, contemporary challenges pose new conservation and fragmentation risks. These modern events and challenges include the disruptive effects on the initial discovery on the stability of the objects and their environment, which had remained unchanged for thousands of years,²¹ as well as the subsequent transportation of these objects from Egypt to myriad collections around the world (see Chapter 4).²² Additional challenges arise from the poor management, application of inappropriate conservation techniques and materials and the impact of recent war events.

Given that a substantial portion of these objects lacks adequate documentation and photography, studying them today proves to be challenging. Moreover, modern interventions, particularly for coffins originating from Bab el-Gasus, have introduced additional complexities in studying and identifying sets. Sets from the tomb were affixed with labels denoting specific numbers corresponding to their spatial positions within the tomb. Unfortunately, a significant number of these labels were removed during restoration processes, often without proper documentation.²³ Consequently, a crucial source of historical information has been lost over time, compelling researchers to employ alternative methods to piece together the objects' history (see the discussion in Chapter 4, Sections 4-5).

Moreover, contemporary restoration practices have, at times, resulted in the removal of varnish from certain originally varnished objects. This process has altered their current appearance and led to the inadvertent loss of potentially valuable information that the varnish might have conveyed. The use of specific materials in previous conservation treatments, which are no longer employed today,²⁴ has also contributed to the damage and hastened deterioration of the original surfaces. These factors often hinder thorough material study. Additionally, a lack of proper monitoring of complex and voluminous

²¹ Refer to Daressy 1900: 145 for further insights into the consequences of the opening of Bab el-Gasus.

²² Delvaux 2021: 343, specifically referencing the remarks made by the curator in charge upon the arrival of the objects from Bab el-Gasus that were shipped to Belgium.

²³ This can be seen by the lack of these labels in the materials, even though they are visible in older photos (for example, see Chassinat 1909: pl. X). Future access to archival images may reveal the original numbers of certain coffins for which this information has been lost over time.

²⁴ For instance, the use of paraffin wax has been documented (Winlock 1926: 19). However, the Vatican Coffin Project, an international initiative discussed in more detail below, has undertaken a systematic study to ensure uniform and standardized treatment procedures among the project partners. The project employs the best practices based on the standards of contemporary restoration techniques, informed by extensive material testing. For example, for further information on the testing of adhesives and consolidants, refer to Prestipino *et al.* 2015.

collections, such as those found in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, has further intensified these challenges.

It is crucial to acknowledge that the visual perception of these polychrome objects today differs significantly from their original appearance. This is due to the alteration of original pigments and varnishes -consider Egyptian blue, which frequently appears blackish, or varnish that takes on an orangish color- caused by chemical agents, environmental factors or even modern interventions. Moreover, gaps and detachments frequently impede the complete comprehension of the decoration, further altering the impact of the original composition;

Missing elements: Sometimes the yellow coffin sets are incomplete,²⁵ allowing only a partial image to emerge of the materials as a whole. In other instances, old publications mention yellow coffins whose whereabouts have been lost to time, hindering their comprehensive study. This is the result of various activities such as: illegal trafficking; the official and unofficial sale of objects at the Cairo and Luxor stores throughout the 19th and 20th centuries;²⁶ the acquisition of objects by private collectors;²⁷ wars;²⁸ gifts;²⁹ and the disappearance of elements in museum warehouses due to theft or mismanagement. Furthermore, insufficient records detailing the discoveries of the objects, coupled with the haphazard diffusion of the materials across the globe, have resulted in frequent difficulties in identifying and associating the elements.

This is especially the case for those elements from unknown collective burials as well as for those originating from Bab el-Gasus. Regarding the materials originating from Bab el-Gasus, the recent rediscovery of Twenty-First Dynasty coffins and coffin fragments in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, some of them discussed in Chapter 4, Sections 4-5,³⁰ has somewhat attenuated the challenges associated with missing elements. Although this rediscovery has facilitated new information and insights regarding the Bab el-Gasus objects that were thought lost, there are still many objects from that tomb that remain unidentified. Moreover, this substantial quantity of materials, currently inaccessible, awaits proper publication. Consequently, the wealth of new data offered by these artifacts cannot be comprehensively understood in a systematic manner;

²⁵ Indeed, it is imperative to recognize the fortuitous nature of the discovery of yellow coffins in general, intrinsically linked with the overarching domain of missing elements.

²⁶ Piacentini 2013-2014; Piacentini 2017.

²⁷ For instance, materials in private collections, even if referenced in older publications (Budge 1896: 30-41, pl. II [N° 2]; Schmidt 1919: 145 [figs. 737-738], mentioning a coffin originating from the collection of Lady Meux, and David 1981, documenting the conservation treatment of a coffin likely from a private collection), are often lost to time. Additionally, a stola mummy board, which falls outside the corpus of the present study, is featured in a photograph of Baron Max Von Oppenheim's house but has since disappeared (I appreciate Budke for providing me with access to the image). This example highlights the significant portion of materials currently held in private collections, inaccessible to the scholarly community.

²⁸ For instance, some of the coffins which are preserved at the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin.

²⁹ For instance, the aforementioned coffin of Rai, currently held in a private collection (Anonymous 2023: 15 [93]), was initially presented as a gift by King Farouk around 1949.

³⁰ Niwiński 2021.

Coffin reuse: It has been suggested that, in response to an economic downturn toward the end of the New Kingdom, the practice of reusing coffins became more widespread during the Twenty-First Dynasty.³¹

As discussed by Cooney, despite the scarcity of coffins from the Twentieth Dynasty,³² there is already evidence of an explosion in coffin reuse during that period. This high rate of reuse³³ persisted throughout the Twenty-First Dynasty. The increasing prevalence of the practice during the Twentieth Dynasty was adopted in response to an economic downturn, and craftspeople were not yet adept at concealing the signs of reuse. Minimal stylistic adjustments were made to the coffins in terms of carpentry, remodeling and repainting. More sophisticated strategies to conceal reuse were employed starting around the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty, as craftspeople were skilled at working with older wood, adapting it from older wooden objects as well as from older coffins, and removing the original decoration before applying new decoration.³⁴ From the Twenty-Second Dynasty onwards, coffin reuse became less popular and more difficult to identify as new sources of fresh wood became available and coffin style evolved.³⁵

The recognition of the so-called “reuse marks” on several yellow coffins, including redecorations, alterations in names and genders, the utilization of older wood, and the identification of Ramesside coffin markers, suggests that these coffins were modified, and perhaps reused, throughout the Twenty-First Dynasty (some of these marks are discussed in Chapter 4). This complicating feature must be taken into account when studying the materials.

Specifically, the identification of “reuse marks” and reuse practices on coffins presents significant challenges when it comes to determining typology and analysing their decorations. This complexity becomes apparent when attempting to comprehend the evolution of styles, texts, iconographies and specific elements within the typology of yellow coffins. Given that partial redecoration was not uncommon on coffin decoration practices, ascertaining which part of an object's decoration precedes or follows in time is challenging without proper access to the material. This diversity within individual coffins and across the entire corpus poses a challenge for conducting decorative comparisons at times. Furthermore, due to the absence of chronological information regarding coffin decoration, establishing dates and even relative chronological data concerning texts and iconographies, not only within the same coffin but also across different coffins which share different decorative models, becomes nearly impossible.

Adding complexity, although some coffins display redecorations and various names within their associated elements, potentially indicating reuse, this is not always the case. There are specific instances where coffins lack explicit evidence of alterations. However, the gender depicted in the iconography and mentioned in their texts diverges from the gender of the mummy placed inside the funerary container. In these cases, the

³¹ Cooney 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2014; 2017; 2018a; 2018b; 2018c; 2019; 2023.

³² Cooney 2019: 99. For a catalogue of the Ramesside coffins and mummy boards, see Cooney 2007: 397-484. For the Ramesside coffins originating from Memphite necropolises, see Cooney 2017a.

³³ For the prevalence of coffin reuse, see Cooney 2019: 98 [table 1], 108 [table 2].

³⁴ Cooney 2019: 100-101, 104-105.

³⁵ Cooney 2019: 99, 107-108. When new wood became available, the earlier coffins were no longer useful. Therefore, it is at that moment when large caches of coffins were arranged (Cooney 2019: 107-108; Cooney 2021: 114-115, 117-119).

evidence could suggest reuse or a change of ownership at a specific point. It is also worth noting that that uncertainty surrounds whether the mummy truly belonged to the ensemble as an owner or if the mummy was recently added to the ensemble to artificially construct a cohesive coffin set (see Chapter 4, Section 1). Such intricacies and nuances further complicate the matter and add additional layers to the interpretation of these objects.

The potential practice of reuse adds complexity to establishing relationships between coffin elements lacking similar characteristics, suggesting they might have originated from different burials but were potentially (re)used together as part of the same set without modification or redecoration (see Chapter 3). Such scenarios are occasionally encountered in studies on coffins and their reuse. However, definitively determining whether dissimilar coffins were originally repurposed together or if their association is a modern interpretation, potentially creating a misleading impression of a connection that did not exist in reality, can be challenging. In other words, it's challenging to determine whether the grouping is a historical fact or a contemporary assumption. This issue is explored further for some of the discussed materials (see Chapter 2), as it may have connections with contemporary practices concerning the management of yellow coffins.

Conversely, similar uncertainties arise in the opposite scenario: objects currently housed in the same or different collections, despite lacking shared characteristics, may have been reused together at some point. Given the dispersion of elements among collections and the challenges being discussed, the absence of documentation makes it difficult to gain a comprehensive understanding of this practice, particularly when modification marks are not clearly visible.

Modern practices and mistakes: Following the discovery of some of the Twenty-First Dynasty burials, their associated yellow coffin ensembles were sometimes reassembled and mixed with mummies and funerary materials that originated from other sites. Antiquities dealers frequently sought to create artificial coffin ensembles in order to more readily, and more profitably, sell them on markets. These practices are clearly detected in yellow coffins originating from Akhmim (see Chapter 4, Section 1), which frequently exemplify a kind of modern reuse of the objects and burial equipment. This reality points to the importance of considering the modern history of these objects in addition to their ancient context.

Shipping errors have also contributed to the misidentification of yellow coffin objects, the best example of which may be the scattering of objects originating from the single context of Bab el-Gasus at the end of the Nineteenth century. Following Daressy's documentation of the materials from the tomb,³⁶ there were some mistakes in shipping the materials from Egypt or in identifying the elements properly upon arrival at their destination, which caused specific elements to become mismatched.³⁷ These errors obfuscate the original burial contexts of the objects, creating new and fictive groups that were only assembled in modern times.

Moreover, concerning the materials from Bab el-Gasus, there were instances where specific lots were further scattered upon reaching their intended destinations. This resulted in the separation of complete coffin sets into various locations, and some

³⁶ Daressy 1907.

³⁷ For instance, with respect to sets A. 39, A. 68 and A. 74 (see Chapter 4, Section 4). See also Chapter 2.

objects were overlooked and understudied, even forgotten, within smaller collections.³⁸ In the context of modern practices involving the dispersal of objects among different cities within the same country, it's worth noting that numerous items originally from Bab el-Gasus, traditionally preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, are now being relocated to various smaller museums across the country, which sometimes involves the separation of objects that belong to the same set.

An aspect linked to contemporary errors and misinterpretations arises from the extensive amount of inventory numbers assigned to each coffin set and its corresponding elements.³⁹ This complexity is further complicated by the diverse designations found in publications, modifications to these designations and occasional confusions. These factors collectively pose a substantial challenge in conducting research, presenting difficulties in accurately tracing, identifying and comprehending each set;

Insufficient publication of the materials: Niwiński's publication remains the seminal reference work on Twenty-First Dynasty non-stola yellow coffins.⁴⁰ He commenced that project by building a catalogue of the materials from collections around the world. Niwiński sought to address many of the aforementioned challenges, especially in relation to the materials originating from Bab el-Gasus. His pioneering work was an important step forward in advancing the research in this area. However, when the relevant research was conducted, the study of the coffins preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, that is, the institution with the largest collection of yellow coffins in the world, was largely limited to viewing a subset of the relevant objects through the glass of dust-covered showcases, with little light, alongside limited access to the dusty storage rooms and the limited objects contained therein.⁴¹ Similar challenges in accessing materials were encountered when studying other objects worldwide, occasionally necessitating reliance on outdated publications for research, as direct access to the objects was not possible.⁴²

Comprehensive access to the detailed decorative features was simply not possible for many, perhaps most, of the objects. In the circumstances, inaccuracies and incomplete information in this first major publication are unsurprising. Niwiński's primary goal was to create a typology of the materials,⁴³ therefore the description and inclusion of some types of information, such as iconographical and textual data, details about the coffin owners, including their names and titles, and the indicators of coffin modifications, were not considered in depth in the volume.

³⁸ Refer to Dautant, Escobar Clarós, Jamen 2017 for the dispersion of objects from Bab el-Gasus in France, and consult Tarasenko 2019, 2021 for the dispersal of objects from Lot 6 across various countries.

³⁹ See, for example, Niwiński 1988: 202-204 [Table III – Coffins from the Bab el-Gasus tomb in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (after Brunton & Guéraud)].

⁴⁰ Niwiński 1988. For a comprehensive study of the stola coffins, see Van Walsem 1997.

⁴¹ Niwiński 2021: 355.

⁴² Niwiński 1988: 139 [190], 140 [191, 192].

⁴³ Niwiński 1988. A comprehensive review of the volume is presented in Van Walsem 1993. Cooney (2014) advocated for the development of a new typology of these objects, emphasizing the significance of social differentiation and the practice of reuse. Furthermore, Sousa (2020: 11-26) recently proposed an updated typology of yellow coffins, building upon the work laid by Niwiński.

Concerning the former aspect, it is essential to highlight that in his volume, Niwiński structured the entries in his catalogue⁴⁴ based on sets of coffins rather than addressing each element individually, even if it belonged to the same set. Consequently, while he offered general information about the ownership of these sets, his approach was inclined towards generalities and did not thoroughly explore the specifics of each element within the coffin sets, hindering the presentation of a comprehensive view of the coffin elements (see Chapter 3).

Moreover, in specific instances, typically associated with objects from Bab el-Gasus, Niwiński relied on Daressy's and Lieblein's information, alongside old publications, without directly examining the objects. This methodology occasionally resulted in inaccuracies, as the presented information did not precisely match the specifics of the related coffin set,⁴⁵ and at times, even the enumerated elements as part of a set were imprecise.⁴⁶ Direct access to the objects is thus crucial to verify the actual information portrayed on the elements associated with a single set, enabling the study of their specific characteristics.

Highlighting the specific personal information on an element-by-element basis (see Chapter 3-4) holds significant importance for various reasons. The majority of publications usually refer to the individual coffins as belonging to specific individuals, without noting or emphasizing where the owner's information is actually featured on the objects. Names and/or titles rarely appear on all of the coffin set elements. Coffin sets may comprise elements that include named components as well as entirely anonymous ones. Analysing the elements individually proves immensely advantageous, offering insights into the intricacies and organization of craft production. It also reveals the unique characteristics of coffins linked to the trajectory of the owners' careers, their ownership, individualization, and the relative significance of elements within the set, particularly considering the information of the deceased associated with them. Additionally, such analysis helps identify patterns that may arise from the inclusion or exclusion of the owner's information, potentially stemming from the use of a specific iconographical and textual model.

Furthermore, examining the elements individually facilitates the examination of the relative chronological sequence of the materials associated with a given set, as elaborated in Chapter 3, with particular examples that shed light on production sequences and the precedence of specific elements over others.

As noted, not all the information that identifies the owners was uniformly present in all the elements linked to the same set. The titulary of the owners is sometimes depicted differently between the different elements of set(s) associated with individual respective owners, and some of the titles of the owners are not consistently found on every element, sometimes varying from one element to another. Early career titles are sometimes featured on some elements while more senior titles are featured on other elements. This phenomenon suggests that production of the elements in the same set

⁴⁴ Niwiński 1988: 104-184 [List of Sources].

⁴⁵ For example, refer to the confusions regarding set A. 61 (Chapter 4, Section 4).

⁴⁶ For instance, the items mentioned in Niwiński 1988: 110 [38], 158 [295] correspond to the lid of a shabti coffin and a stone sarcophagus, respectively. Similarly, the objects discussed in Niwiński 1988: 120-121 [91], 162 [318] relate to identical items, mirroring a similar scenario as seen with the objects mentioned in Niwiński 1988: 156 [287] and Niwiński 1988: 180 [428]), alongside with coffin elements from Niwiński 1988: 164 [332] and Niwiński 1988: 184 [457].

occurred at different points in time (see Chapter 3). Therefore, treating coffin sets by considering each element individually, rather than as a whole, becomes crucial for a more comprehensive understanding of these complex artifacts, providing valuable insights into the activities of craftspeople involved in the decoration of these objects.

In this regard, the present study systematically categorizes and studies the coffin sets by individual elements, providing detailed information of the deceased, namely, the name and distinct titles that are featured on the elements individually. With regard to elements that, for various reasons, do not feature any name, researchers have traditionally used the term "anonymous" as a broad categorization that actually encompasses various nuanced situations that require careful consideration. The term necessitates a more precise definition and description, as an "anonymous" coffin can signify several scenarios: (These distinctions align with those utilized in the present study)

1. The object is partially preserved, and the surviving areas do not contain any name (it might or might not have originally been featured on the parts of the element that have not survived); hence, the terminology "anonymous (not preserved?)" has been used, always in relation to the gender of the deceased, if known. While the lids are always gendered, meaning they were clearly, at least originally, crafted for either a man or a woman, some boxes lack any characteristics indicating the gender of the owner, neither in the texts nor the depictions, possibly suggesting advanced production methods for the materials. In these cases, the term "anonymous (not preserved?)" is used. The specification of the "(not preserved?)" terminology is particularly significant when covers lack their footboards, which is the part that sometimes includes information about the deceased. While the object is presently anonymous, it might not have been originally, and this distinction must be emphasized;
2. The object is complete, but no name was inscribed on its surface. In this situations, the term "anonymous" has been used, again in relationship with the gender of the deceased, if known; and
3. The decorator integrated a blank space for the information of the deceased, which was either left empty or intended to be filled after the decoration of the coffin with the name and, in some cases, the titulary of the deceased, as seen in several instances. The presence of empty spaces in some cases might indicate that the elements were prepared in advance, without necessarily excluding a potential connection to the practice of reuse -both possibilities could coexist or complement each other. While most examples featuring this characteristic originate from Bab el-Gasus, a few instances exist outside of that tomb as well (see Chapter 3).⁴⁷ In this scenario, the term "anonymous" is applicable, specifying whether it is associated with a blank space that remained empty or was filled at a later point in time with specific information of the deceased.

⁴⁷ While certain coffins with an "unknown" provenance that exhibit this characteristic might originate from Bab el-Gasus, such as the mummy board in Chartres (1905.6924.1-4, not in Niwiński's volume), the coffin along with a mummy board in London (Niwiński 1988: 153 [268]), and the unlocated coffin once part of the collection of Lady Meux (Niwiński 1988: 183-184 [454]), there are other instances displaying this feature that arrived at their present locations before the discovery of Bab el-Gasus (for the examples, see Chapter 3). Hence, these examples cannot be sourced from that tomb.

By studying the sets while considering these specific nuances of the term "anonymous," researchers can better address and analyze the material without sacrificing crucial information and the insights it offers for the study of these artifacts.

In Niwiński's book, iconographic and textual references were only a secondary concern for the author. At the time of his study, Chassinat's work from 1909 constituted the only detailed publication of the iconography and texts of some yellow coffins.

Some of the aforementioned research areas not addressed by Niwiński's study have only been meaningfully elaborated after his publication, perhaps most notably the prevalence of coffin modification marks, as thoroughly examined by Cooney. Furthermore, greater access to more photographic materials, many of them of superior quality to those that may have been available during Niwiński's research period, is now feasible for some of the materials.

Furthermore, since Niwiński's publication, new yellow coffins have been unearthed, others have been identified from minor collections around the world, and, as previously mentioned, there has been a significant number of them (re)discovered in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. All of these 'new' materials can now be considered in addition to Niwiński's original corpus.

Typological problems and insufficient chronological data pertaining to the coffins and their respective owners: The study of yellow coffins typology is complex,⁴⁸ necessitating a systematic, part-by-part analysis of the coffin elements and its associated levels, as conducted by Van Walsem, who specifically focused on stola coffins, and Sousa.⁴⁹ The typological variability is such that simply assigning an individual element under a general type is inadequate, insufficient and overly broad, as it involves combining several levels of manufacture and decoration that should be addressed independently.⁵⁰ Instead of treating the elements as a whole,⁵¹ it is crucial to analyze them based on their distinct parts and sections, recognizing the intricate interplay and diversity among the elements within a single coffin set, and even across the different components and sections of a single element. This complexity presents a challenging scenario, but it can facilitate a deeper understanding of the coffins.

The occasionally observed variations and differences in typology among the elements within the same coffin set can be attributed to various factors and variables (see Chapters 3-4). These may involve potential contemporary errors during the transportation of the objects, instances of reuse, the acquisition of coffin elements at different phases of an owner's life, and even personal preferences and tastes. However, none of these instances offer precise chronological information about the coffins.

Although Niwiński correlated specific types in his typology with chronological information primarily extracted from the dates inscribed on the stolae of certain mummies, accurately dating the decoration of coffins using current available methods is

⁴⁸ Van Walsem 1993: 9.

⁴⁹ Van Walsem 1997; Sousa 2020.

⁵⁰ Van Walsem 1993: 13-17.

⁵¹ Niwiński 1988.

actually unattainable.⁵² Consequently, Niwiński's typology requires reevaluation because the chronology of the decoration of the coffin may not align with the date(s) indicated on the stolae.

The exact date of commissioning for the manufacturing and decoration of a yellow coffin remains elusive, even though certain instances suggest that the adornment of coffins might have started before the death of the owner, with this timeline varying on a case-by-case basis. The lack of textual references, coupled with the diverse and differing elements and typologies found within a single set, hinting at various production stages, presents a challenge in determining a precise timeframe for the initiation of the coffin's decoration.

Therefore, even if the date of death for certain individuals can be hypothesized through the stolae, the beginning of decoration for their corresponding coffin elements remains uncertain. Despite having detailed records for prominent figures such as the High Priests of Amun and their immediate family, it is still unclear when the decoration of their coffins started. Additionally, the absence of genealogical data for the majority of yellow coffins and their associated elements⁵³ complicates the establishment of connections between individuals, making it challenging to determine relative chronologies among these objects. This issue becomes especially challenging when considering the coffins from the closed context of Bab el-Gasus, which seem to be organized by family groups, although the exact relationships among the individuals are not always clear (see Chapter 4 for new insights regarding the position of the burials of individuals associated with the family of the High Priest of Amun). The inability to pinpoint a specific individual in a particular time and place complicates efforts to link them to the coffins of other preserved individuals.⁵⁴ Furthermore, there is a lack of information about the coffins' origins in terms of their location and the individuals involved in their creation.

Regarding ongoing research initiatives centered on the study of yellow coffins, noteworthy international projects include the Vatican Coffin Project, directed by Amenta,⁵⁵ the Gate of the Priest Project, under the direction of Sousa, as well as the project of the University of Warsaw led by Niwiński.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the database established by Jamen, which is dedicated to all the items originating from Bab el-Gasus,

⁵² Stolae, if at all usable for dating something related to the coffin set, which could also be a topic of debate, predominantly signify the date of the mummy's burial (Van Walsem 1993: 20-21, 30; 2000: 347-348) rather than the decoration and construction of the coffin set.

⁵³ Genealogical information, if present, is usually found within funerary equipment items, such as papyri and shabti boxes. For the former, see Stevens 2019. However, exceptions exist, notably in the case of coffins often linked to the High Priest of Amun's family members, as elaborated upon later.

⁵⁴ One notable exception is the probable relationship between Amenniutnakht (A. 81) and Shebty (A. 86), the former's wife, evidenced by the inscription on Amenniutnakht's shabti box (Cairo Ismaileya Monuments Museum IS 2560 (Miatello, Ibrahim 2020: 121-123)) and the presence of "niwt-nxt" on the underside of Shebty's mummy board (Chassinat 1909: 75). Moreover, although certain instances of genealogical information exist, such as the case of set A. 135 linked to Padiamon, which features his father's name, Patjaw(em)diamun, the absence of preservation or identification of Patjaw(em)diamun's coffin creates a gap in the available information. In this context, the fact that Padiamon held the title of *hry sdm ꜥꜣ n pꜣ hm-ntr tpy n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* does not negate the possibility of a direct connection to the High Priest of Amun's family, potentially explaining the inclusion of specific genealogical details on his coffin.

⁵⁵ Amenta 2014.

⁵⁶ Niwiński 2020.

including coffins, represents a significant advancement towards promoting open access to some of the materials originating from the tomb.⁵⁷

As the research field matures, it is imperative to revisit and reconsider some of the ideas and typologies that have been suggested in the past. Although some subsequent publications of the yellow coffins have appeared since Niwiński's pioneering work,⁵⁸ the majority of which are from international conferences and projects⁵⁹ or as a result of the systematic study of specific yellow coffins, usually from Bab el-Gasus,⁶⁰ the majority of the materials have not been published and remain inaccessible to researchers. Especially lacking are publications that address the iconographical and textual models featured on the objects as well as those that employ comparative methodologies.

To counteract the century of deterioration, conservation, redistribution, re-cataloguing and re-recording of all of the materials, international cooperation and curatorial expertise are needed, and important projects such as the Vatican Coffin Project are of vital importance in meaningfully advancing the study of the yellow coffins.

1.3 Computer-aided Comparative Analysis

This section details the elaboration of a computer-aided database populated with diverse data of the non-stola yellow coffins, the subject of the present study. The fledgling database allows for more certain and comprehensive comparative analyses, both single variable and multivariable, in myriad constellations across the corpus.

1.3.1 Aims

As in many fields, Egyptology has undergone a seismic transformation in recent decades brought about by the widespread use of personal computers, the development and deployment of increasingly sophisticated software applications, and, of course, the internet.⁶¹ There are now large electronic databases, some of them accessible to the general public and others restricted to specialized researchers. In order to mitigate the impacts of the aforementioned challenges in the study of the non-stola yellow coffins specifically, I set out to populate and manipulate a richly annotated database of the yellow coffins. The associated objects constitute complex materials, with a significant but finite number of properties that can be catalogued and compared in order to facilitate novel insights, correct prior mistakes and encourage new research questions.

Digital technologies and computer database software allow for the identification and comparison of large data sets with the objective of efficiently and precisely discerning patterns and connections in both texts and iconography exhibited on the coffins. The population of an electronic database of the various features of the non-stola yellow coffins allows the researcher to collect, organize and classify the enormous amount of data exhibited on, and associated with, the yellow coffins. Many parameters can be taken into account in classifying the heterogeneous information featured on the materials. These include textual and iconographical information, as well as historical

⁵⁷ This database can be accessed at <https://invisu.cnrs.fr/project/jamen-bab-el-gasous/> and <http://beg.huma-num.fr/>.

⁵⁸ Including from Niwiński himself (Niwiński 1995; 1999).

⁵⁹ Amenta, Guichard 2017; Sousa *et al.* 2021; Taylor, Vandenbeusch 2018; Strudwick, Dawson 2019.

⁶⁰ Sousa 2017; 2018; Sousa, Hansen 2023.

⁶¹ Polis, Winand 2013.

(biography of the object) and technical. Computer database manipulation allows for faster, more comprehensive and more precise isolation of relevant similarities and differences between and among the coffins and their attributes. The database organizes and relates all kinds of data available in order to make the most comprehensive analysis of the yellow coffins in a coherent manner, taking into account the research needs.

For the yellow coffins, this methodology is especially useful for relating multiple coffins featuring the same or similar models. In some cases, it's even conceivable that the related objects could have originated from the same location or interconnected networks of craftspeople, or perhaps they were decorated by the same group of decorators or specific individuals. Furthermore, the use of computer database software can be helpful in suggesting provenances where they are otherwise unknown. This allows, in some cases, to relate elements now scattered across the globe but that originated at the same time and place, as exemplified in the case study concerning a group of coffins originating from Akhmim (see Chapter 4, Section 1).

While the computer database can of course be manipulated for single variable analysis, it is especially helpful when undertaking any multivariable analysis type of comparative methodology. Two or more attributes can be more readily and more accurately compared across the corpus, both within and between coffin sets. This multivariable comparative approach strengthens investigations into both similar and divergent patterns in the texts and iconography depicted on the yellow coffins. The insights garnered from such analysis provide a basis to operationalize and consider novel questions, such as: Do the artistic choices reflect the preferences and circumstances of the coffin owner? Did each workshop in time and space, if they existed, use specific and incommutable patterns and models? Were variable individual factors such as gender, class, or specific aesthetic and religious motivations, relevant to stylistic choices?

This comparative methodology, rendered accessible by contemporary computer database software, makes it possible to generate new analytical insights about the copying process, knowledge circulation and transmission mechanisms of the textual and iconographic motifs and patterns amongst the relevant artistic networks and craftspeople. The comparative analysis of the copying process allows for the isolation and observation of meaningful variations, adaptations, deletions and additions. Identified deviations from the patterns may, possibly, derive from the complex interaction between appeals to tradition and the attraction of innovation that lies at the heart of the creative endeavour itself. Without any principled basis, ancient Egyptian craftspeople have largely been denied their agency as actors involved in, and relevant to, the creative process.

The most notable strengths of computer-aided databases is their efficient and accurate identification of patterns and differences amongst voluminous and complex data points. The database created for this study is not necessarily concluded; it can be an evergreen catalogue to which new data can be added and existing data can be further refined. Importantly, given the volume and diversity of data points, multivariable comparative analysis can be undertaken manifold times by the addition or deletion of variables in the search for insights beyond just the scope of this project. It has the potential to be a useful tool for other diverse studies relating to yellow coffins.

Once populated with as many yellow coffins as possible, the ultimate goal of the database is that it serve as a fully implemented instrument that can facilitate all kinds of

research in relation to the corpus. The database is intended to be a fully searchable and manipulable tool. Such an application could facilitate diverse research into the materials from diverse points of view.

1.3.2 Structuring and Functioning of the Database

From the outset, the organization and development of the database was guided by the decision to relate a multiplicity of different kinds of information. From a technical point of view, the relational database was organized into two main sections, both of which include multiple sub-sections (see fig. 1.1). Each sub-section includes information on various types of data, using free text and/or fixed terms for the multiple fields. The two main sections are as follows:

Section on coffin set information: A complete coffin set identified today as belonging to the typology of the yellow coffins has five constituent elements: outer box, outer lid, inner box, inner lid and mummy board, the last of which was placed directly on top of the mummy. This first main section includes general information regarding the coffin set. Some fields are pre-established, that is, fixed options were identified and employed, while others can be filled using free text. A mechanism that tracks the introduction and subsequent modification of the data was implemented. Information about each purported set was populated in this section, including: number of elements associated with the set, inventory number, location of discovery, gender, reuse marks, iconographic models, textual models, typology and chronology (these later two variables were initially based on Niwiński's study). Where such information was available, the purported provenance of the objects, as well as their associated funeral materials, was also included in this section. Materials and primary documentation concerning the biography of the objects and their modern history have an important role for the database. All of this information incorporated into the database is also associated with free text fields for comments, bibliographic sources and other miscellaneous and *sui generis* information.

The first main section also includes data on the coffin owner's information. The database indicates the location on the objects of personal biographical details including names, titles and known relatives.

Section on the iconographical and textual program featured on each element of the set: This second main section deals with the elements of the set individually. Therefore, it is divided into five sub-sections, each of them associated with a specific element of the coffin set. Each sub-section includes two main parts, the first of which details the iconography featured on the element (exterior and interior for the boxes; exterior and underside for the covers), and the second of which details the textual program. The description and organization of the formal components of the yellow coffins follows Sousa's vocabulary: head-board, upper section, central panel, lower section and foot-board.⁶² For the central panel and lower section, the number of registers is specified, and for the lower section the description of the lateral and central partitions, if they exist, is also included. Each specific formal component is associated with a free text field that includes a basic description of the iconographic scenes and representations in the section, as well as the texts in the textual program. Regarding the inclusion of texts,

⁶² Sousa 2014: 92 [fig. 1].

each individual text is translated, transliterated and transcribed. A further sub-section allows for further comments about the texts and iconography. The database is intended to contain encoded versions of both iconography and texts, which in the future will be helpful in making further types of comparisons between the materials.

Every data point and field description can be compared and corroborated with images associated with the specific elements, which are also included in the database. This is useful when relationships are being considered as they allow the researcher to easily eyeball two or more actual images in order to confirm or reject the purported relationship identified by the application of a comparative analysis. The further development of the database might see the inclusion of representational images that can further contextualize the objects, such as drawings and plans. Burial plans would be especially useful for contextualizing those coffins originating from Bab el-Gasus, a tomb that unearthed 153 coffin sets.

The result is a kind of coffin directory and an electronic catalogue of iconographies, texts, titles, personal names, origins, associated materials, etc., including bibliographic references.

Figure 1.5 Caption of the Database Used for the Study

Presentación: Coffins

Ver como:

Vista previa

COFFIN SET

Núm. 189

Complete set

OL X 8523 Florenc late 21st ill-a MF gender

OB X 8523 Florenc late 21st C 3-c MF

IL X 8526 Florenc early/middle Between F

IB X 8526 Florenc early/middle A 2-a F

MB X 8521 Florenc middle 21st MF gender

Comments

Chronology notes

Bibliography

N. corrections

Doubts

Provenance

X Bab el-Gasus 60

Date of purchase

Related material

Nothing about objects in the burial

Names and titles

Owner

Other owners

Other names mentioned

Arkhfenkhonsu (first owner) (nfr-f-nfrw)

Anonymous

RPN

Anonymous

Not preserved

Name outlined in red on the OB (nfr-f-nfrw)

Texts

OL OB IL IB MB

Inscription

6 10

Vignette

1

Total

6 11

Comments

Titles

COFFIN ELEMENTS

Outer Lid Outer Box Inner Lid Inner Box Mummy Board All Schemas

Iconography Images Schemas

Exterior Interior

H-B

Upper section

Central panel

Lower section

Right 4

Vertical X 3

Left

Headband: 2 bands (geometrical, floral motifs). Lotus flower hang from the head's crown. Face: roughly carved. Eyelids, lips: red line. Earrings: moulded, decoration faded away. Wig: black. Lappets: binding bands with geometrical motifs bounded by block-friezes.

Breasts: moulded, rosettes. Hands: open. Arms: red lines (linen stripes). Forearms: over the collar with bracelets (geometrical and 2 with small udjat-eyes). Elbows: lotus flower. Between the lappets: short collar (6 bands with floral and geometrical motifs). Collar: 5 bands (geometrical (3, 5), mandrake flowers (4), persea-tree buds (2), lotus flowers intertwined with cornflowers and buds (1)). Terminals: falcon (partially depicted). Chest: pectoral with winged scarab holding solar disk and shen rings. It hangs from a necklace hidden under the short collar.

Pectoral with winged scarab holding a solar disk flanked by udjat-eyes and shen rings. It hangs from a necklace hidden under the floral collar. Flanking: enthroned mummiform Osiris (hedjet) protected by winged djed-pillar with solar disk resting on ram's horns. Completed with winged cobra (desheret), udjat-eye between her wings) outstretching her wings towards Osiris. Bunches of grapes and offerings on a reed mat at the feet of the god.

Squatted winged goddess (right beaded dress) on a lotus flower, outstretching wings. Medium with Neith monogram. Over her arms, two winged coiled cobras. Udjat-eyes flank the head of the goddess. Large blue pet-sign above. Underneath, unusual composition with large lotus flanked by frogs spitting out a flow of water crumpled by the ba-bird, who raises her hands to contain it. Offerings rest on reed mats behind her.

Deceased (F) (white festive dress, ornament cone) gives libation vessel and burning incense to enthroned Osiris (hedjet).

Mummiform ibis-headed god stands before avian Ptah-Soker (left, solar disk) on a divine standard with feather at his feet. Wined urjat-eye.

Sekhem scepter flanked by winged cobras (sun disk). Pilled offerings in the lower part.

Mummiform ibis-headed god stands before avian Ptah-Soker (left, solar disk) on a divine standard with feather at his feet. Wined urjat-eye.

Sacred ram (double-feathered solar headress) on divine standard with feather at its feet. Two nfr and udjat-eye on its back, rest on a heb-bowl.

Djed-pillar (double-feathered solar headress), flanked by winged cobras (sun disk) and offerings.

Winged scarab holding solar disk flanked by cobras.

Deceased (F) gives libation vessel and art ornament vessel to enthroned Osiris. Rest = R

Mummiform ibis-headed god stands before avian Ptah-Soker (left, solar disk) on a divine standard with feather at his feet. Wined urjat-eye.

Sacred ram (double-feathered solar headress) on divine standard with feather at its feet. Two nfr and udjat-eye on its back, rest on a heb-bowl.

Happy (baboon) and Duamutef (jackal) squatted on heb-bowls.

Presentación: Coffins

Ver como:

Vista previa

COFFIN SET

Núm. 189

Complete set

OL X 8523 Florenc late 21st ill-a MF gender

OB X 8523 Florenc late 21st C 3-c MF

IL X 8526 Florenc early/middle Between F

IB X 8526 Florenc early/middle A 2-a F

MB X 8521 Florenc middle 21st MF gender

Comments

Chronology notes

Bibliography

N. corrections

Doubts

Provenance

X Bab el-Gasus 60

Date of purchase

Related material

Nothing about objects in the burial

Names and titles

Owner

Other owners

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Anonymous

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Texts

OL OB IL IB MB

Inscription

6 10

Vignette

1

Total

6 11

Comments

Titles

COFFIN ELEMENTS

Outer Lid Outer Box Inner Lid Inner Box Mummy Board All Schemas

Iconography Images Schemas

Exterior Interior

H-B

Upper section

Central panel

Lower section

Right 4

Vertical X 3

Left

Headband: 2 bands (geometrical, floral motifs). Lotus flower hang from the head's crown. Face: roughly carved. Eyelids, lips: red line. Earrings: moulded, decoration faded away. Wig: black. Lappets: binding bands with geometrical motifs bounded by block-friezes.

Breasts: moulded, rosettes. Hands: open. Arms: red lines (linen stripes). Forearms: over the collar with bracelets (geometrical and 2 with small udjat-eyes). Elbows: lotus flower. Between the lappets: short collar (6 bands with floral and geometrical motifs). Collar: 5 bands (geometrical (3, 5), mandrake flowers (4), persea-tree buds (2), lotus flowers intertwined with cornflowers and buds (1)). Terminals: falcon (partially depicted). Chest: pectoral with winged scarab holding solar disk and shen rings. It hangs from a necklace hidden under the short collar.

Pectoral with winged scarab holding a solar disk flanked by udjat-eyes and shen rings. It hangs from a necklace hidden under the floral collar. Flanking: enthroned mummiform Osiris (hedjet) protected by winged djed-pillar with solar disk resting on ram's horns. Completed with winged cobra (desheret), udjat-eye between her wings) outstretching her wings towards Osiris. Bunches of grapes and offerings on a reed mat at the feet of the god.

Squatted winged goddess (right beaded dress) on a lotus flower, outstretching wings. Medium with Neith monogram. Over her arms, two winged coiled cobras. Udjat-eyes flank the head of the goddess. Large blue pet-sign above. Underneath, unusual composition with large lotus flanked by frogs spitting out a flow of water crumpled by the ba-bird, who raises her hands to contain it. Offerings rest on reed mats behind her.

Deceased (F) (white festive dress, ornament cone) gives libation vessel and burning incense to enthroned Osiris (hedjet).

Mummiform ibis-headed god stands before avian Ptah-Soker (left, solar disk) on a divine standard with feather at his feet. Wined urjat-eye.

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Mummiform ibis-headed god stands before avian Ptah-Soker (left, solar disk) on a divine standard with feather at his feet. Wined urjat-eye.

Sacred ram (double-feathered solar headress) on divine standard with feather at its feet. Two nfr and udjat-eye on its back, rest on a heb-bowl.

Djed-pillar (double-feathered solar headress), flanked by winged cobras (sun disk) and offerings.

Winged scarab holding solar disk flanked by cobras.

Deceased (F) gives libation vessel and art ornament vessel to enthroned Osiris. Rest = R

Mummiform ibis-headed god stands before avian Ptah-Soker (left, solar disk) on a divine standard with feather at his feet. Wined urjat-eye.

Sacred ram (double-feathered solar headress) on divine standard with feather at its feet. Two nfr and udjat-eye on its back, rest on a heb-bowl.

Happy (baboon) and Duamutef (jackal) squatted on heb-bowls.

Presentación: Coffins

Ver como:

Vista previa

COFFIN SET

Núm. 189

Complete set

OL X 8523 Florenc late 21st ill-a MF gender

OB X 8523 Florenc late 21st C 3-c MF

IL X 8526 Florenc early/middle Between F

IB X 8526 Florenc early/middle A 2-a F

MB X 8521 Florenc middle 21st MF gender

Comments

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Doubts

Provenance

X Bab el-Gasus 60

Date of purchase

Related material

Nothing about objects in the burial

Names and titles

Owner

Other owners

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Anonymous

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Name outlined in red on the OB (nfr-f-nfrw)

Texts

OL OB IL IB MB

Inscription

6 10

Vignette

1

Total

6 11

Comments

Titles

COFFIN ELEMENTS

Outer Lid Outer Box Inner Lid Inner Box Mummy Board All Schemas

Iconography Images Schemas

Exterior Interior

H-B

Upper section

Central panel

Lower section

Right 4

Vertical X 3

Left

Headband: 2 bands (geometrical, floral motifs). Lotus flower hang from the head's crown. Face: roughly carved. Eyelids, lips: red line. Earrings: moulded, decoration faded away. Wig: black. Lappets: binding bands with geometrical motifs bounded by block-friezes.

Breasts: moulded, rosettes. Hands: open. Arms: red lines (linen stripes). Forearms: over the collar with bracelets (geometrical and 2 with small udjat-eyes). Elbows: lotus flower. Between the lappets: short collar (6 bands with floral and geometrical motifs). Collar: 5 bands (geometrical (3, 5), mandrake flowers (4), persea-tree buds (2), lotus flowers intertwined with cornflowers and buds (1)). Terminals: falcon (partially depicted). Chest: pectoral with winged scarab holding solar disk and shen rings. It hangs from a necklace hidden under the short collar.

Pectoral with winged scarab holding a solar disk flanked by udjat-eyes and shen rings. It hangs from a necklace hidden under the floral collar. Flanking: enthroned mummiform Osiris (hedjet) protected by winged djed-pillar with solar disk resting on ram's horns. Completed with winged cobra (desheret), udjat-eye between her wings) outstretching her wings towards Osiris. Bunches of grapes and offerings on a reed mat at the feet of the god.

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Djed-pillar (double-feathered solar headress), flanked by winged cobras (sun disk) and offerings.

Winged scarab holding solar disk flanked by cobras.

Deceased (F) gives libation vessel and art ornament vessel to enthroned Osiris. Rest = R

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Sacred ram (double-feathered solar headress) on divine standard with feather at its feet. Two nfr and udjat-eye on its back, rest on a heb-bowl.

Happy (baboon) and Duamutef (jackal) squatted on heb-bowls.

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1.3.3 Potential Results Derived From the Applied Methodology and the Manipulation of the Data

The creation of a structured multivariable database populated by a specific corpus of objects maximizes their research potentialities. If the information is well ordered and defined, the tool serves as a kind of yellow coffin directory and electronic catalogue that can provide answers to questions that would otherwise be extraordinarily difficult to resolve. As the database grows in size, with the introduction of more objects and information associated with them, more complex and diverse searches and analyses are possible. The more data contained in the database strengthens the research outcomes, by providing a greater sample size with which to confirm or reject research hypotheses or tentative outcomes.

Potential results of single variable or multivariable manipulation of the database can include the mitigation of the challenges identified above and emphasized in contemporary coffin studies:

1. Considering the sheer volume of the materials, specific iconographic and textual models featured on the materials are often difficult to detect using only the naked eye. The database allows for the identification of new similarities and groupings between and among coffin sets and, sometimes, even the identification of individual craftspeople involved in the creation and decoration of the objects (see Chapter 4). This also facilitates new analytical insights about the operations and organization of craftspeople during the late New Kingdom and Twenty-First Dynasty, including the production sequence of the elements. The identification of patterns that may reveal the factors that impacted the craftspeople's selection of texts and iconography is also possible;
2. The study of personal names and titulary reveals the social statuses of those who originally owned the funerary containers, as well as specific family lineages. Owners with similar status and titles usually have similar textual and iconographical models decorating their coffins. Furthermore, studying the specific areas where the owner's information appears, as well as the number of times that the information is featured, is very useful in order to understand which elements were more important (see Chapter 3). This research helps to understand coffin ownership, how coffins were decorated, and the ancient differential value accorded to specific elements;
3. Comparing iconographical, stylistic and textual features yields significant insight into knowledge circulation and transmission of iconographic motifs and patterns among the relevant artistic networks and craftspeople (see Chapter 2). This also allows for the identification of relative chronologies and chronological sequences and developments of style, iconography and texts between groups of coffins and within coffin groupings (see Chapter 4, Sections 1-2);
4. The association of elements that originally belonged to the same coffin set but are now scattered across several collections has not been systematically considered. The presented methodology allows for the specification of the provenance and origins for the coffins, as well as the study of the recent history of the materials. The tomb of Bab el-Gasus is especially important in terms of this objective (see Chapter 4, Sections 4-5);
5. The study of modification marks on yellow coffins and the existence of blank space reserved for the information of the deceased has been the subject of much contemporary debate. The consideration of this data sheds light on the economic

- dimensions of ancient Egyptian society, as well as on the organization of the craftspeople who constructed and decorated the coffins (see Chapter 3);
6. The textual and iconographical diversity featured on the elements of the corpus sheds light on when and how innovations impacted the decoration of the materials. The annotations regarding the diverse texts, their lexical analysis and morphology, as well as the variable iconographical compositions on the coffins, allow for the study of diachronic dimensions and changes in the evolution of the materials (see Chapter 4, Sections 1-2); and
 7. The frequency of specific iconographies, texts, titles, stylistic details, etc., featured on the objects can be related so as to produce statistical results. Such analyses can be performed on isolated specific groups of objects or on the entire corpus. These statistical results will be especially useful once the information featured on all the known yellow coffins has been included in the database.

The data populating the database allows for relatively expeditious and accurate testing of research hypotheses attempted to date.

1.3.4 Future Development

The current database, far from complete, is a solid starting point from which to improve. Efforts are still focused on the insertion, consolidation and standardization of the data entries. At a future stage, the functionalities of the database will ideally expand to include other types of information, such as extensive information about the funerary equipment associated with the yellow coffins and the technical details of the coffins. For this latter aspect, access to scientific analyses provides information about the manufacturing techniques and the nature of the materials used for the construction and decoration of the objects, which are especially useful in relating coffins to the same origin. Cross-referencing technical data with the textual and iconographic information may eventually allow for the attribution of specific decorative models, tracing their usage to specific locations or interconnected groups of craftspeople, shedding light on the origins of the materials.

The end goal is to render the database publicly available online.⁶³ If achieved, the availability of a comprehensive online catalogue would go a long way to addressing one of the most consequential research challenges, that is, accessibility of the data. Furthermore, integration with other similar databases could dramatically expand the corpus for researchers engaged in comparative analyses of the yellow coffins with other types of coffins from ancient Egypt.

1.4 Limits of the Study

Despite the myriad benefits of the development of the database, it is hardly a panacea. While advances in artificial intelligence and algorithmic design may supplement, or perhaps one day even replace, the meaning-making role of the researcher, for now, even with the database, the human researcher remains central to the interpretation of the data analysis results. The researcher also occupies an essential role in collecting and populating the database in a consistent manner that is capable of yielding meaningful comparisons. Building a large and richly annotated database of non-stola yellow coffins, the great majority of them still unpublished, involves considerable human resources and interdisciplinary collaboration. As no previous electronic data for the corpus is available

⁶³ In this regard, the primary challenge stems from copyright concerns associated with images.

as a whole, the digitization and cataloguing of the objects must still be executed manually. The fields that have to be completed must be semantically consistent. This keeps the data coherent and capable of being relationally analyzed, thereby ensuring a higher degree of accuracy as compared with exclusively human comparison and interpretation. However, the researcher retains their interpretive role to a significant degree, especially at the point of recording and entering the data into the database (see Chapter 2).

The analysis currently underway on the yellow coffins and their relationships primarily centers, at this stage, on their decorative aspects. This involves a thorough examination of the intricate iconography, textual inscriptions and symbolic elements found on the coffins. However, the manufacturing techniques and the specifics of the materials used for the application of the preparatory and pictorial layers are also essential factors for gaining a more comprehensive understanding of these artifacts, which have not yet been explored in depth for the majority of the objects under discussion in this study.

While there have been studies focused on individual objects or even specific collections concerning manufacturing techniques and the characterization of materials and techniques within the realm of yellow coffins,⁶⁴ there has not been a comprehensive examination of this aspect across the entire corpus. This limitation is primarily attributed to the accessibility of the materials and the requirement for scientific techniques and analyses to achieve a thorough understanding of this matter.

This study does not intend to consider each and every example incorporated into the database, nor does it intend to compare and analyze the huge amount of iconography and texts featured on all of them. Clear limits are required for determining a coherent, principled, and manageable corpus to subject to greater analysis (see Chapter 4).

These limits cannot be based on the selection of one collection, or perhaps a few, that preserve yellow coffins. Restricting study only to the objects in one or a few collections, a frequent limiting factor in many studies, would afford only a partial view of the non-stola yellow coffins, because all but one of the collections are insufficient in terms of sample sizes. The objects that are associated with coherent groups in terms of typology, iconography, texts, models and even craftspeople, are frequently fragmented across many, many, collections (see Chapter 4), such that the selection of only one or a few won't capture the diversity of the objects.

The only collection that constitutes an exception to the aforementioned problem is the collection preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The museum contains the largest number of yellow coffins, numbering more than 90 sets. Due to the large number of objects to be compared, the results would be satisfactory, since several groups of coffins can be identified, each of them associated with a specific model or even craftspeople (see Chapter 4 for the discussion of some of the objects from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo). However, the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo is one of the most difficult to access and document. Furthermore, with only one exception, all of the non-stola yellow coffins preserved in Cairo come from the same two contexts, these are, the tomb of Bab el-Gasus and the royal cache DB 320. This last characteristic precludes the

⁶⁴ From a technical point of view, there have been important scientific advances allowing for greater investigation of the material aspects of the yellow coffins, including analyses performed on some of the coffins mentioned in the present study. In this regard, one must note the scientific studies performed on multiple yellow coffins by the Vatican Coffin Project (Amenta 2014; Asensi Amorós 2017; Pagès-Camagna, Guichard 2018; Geldhof 2018).

exclusive selection of the Egyptian Museum's collection, since the present study does not intend to consider material from only one or two contexts. Finally, although photographs of the majority of these materials have been accessed, including the recently (re)discovered coffins and coffin fragments in the basement of the museum, in many cases these are incomplete and do not allow for an exhaustive study of the material.

For this reason, the coffins under discussion in Chapter 4, and according to specific criteria, a select subset of the yellow coffins and their associated materials were analyzed and subjected to comparative analysis. This selection was guided by an effort to consider a broad and representative cross-section of the known surviving corpus. In order to identify these several distinct groups, a preliminary survey of all the coffins for which images were produced, or otherwise made available, was conducted. Several distinct groups were identified for further analysis. The groups are diverse in terms of chronology, geographical origins within the Theban area and also outside, and social status of the owners of the materials. This allows for some degree of comprehensive and representative samples, and therefore, superior results. They are discussed thoroughly as case studies in Chapter 4, encompassing detailed discussions on their decorative elements, exploration of associated documents pertaining to their owners in a form of prosopographical study, and comparisons with other instances featuring similar decoration. The aim is to draw conclusions regarding the operational aspects of these decorative models.

However, the groups discussed in Chapter 4, despite their association with the same or similar iconographic and textual model(s), have yet to undergo contemporary scientific analysis for the adoption of a multidisciplinary approach. Further physical material exploration of these subset clusters of yellow coffins is likely to incorporate considerations regarding manufacturing techniques, materials, including pigments, plaster and wood, and other pertinent factors as they become available. Investigating potential correspondences not only in the iconographic and textual models but also in the similarities and differences in materiality will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of these artifacts, including their materiality and potential common origins. Consequently, this exploration will facilitate their association with specific crafting techniques and material origins, potentially illuminating their common place of origin within the broader historical and archaeological context.

In this context, Mainieri's research presents a valuable approach, focusing on analyzing the facial modeling of coffin covers through the use of photogrammetry.⁶⁵ This method, while not reliant on sophisticated or expensive scientific equipment, facilitates the recognition of resemblances and disparities in the final layer of the coffins in terms of volume. It provides valuable insights into possible connections among the coffins, implying a shared manufacturing process and shedding light on a common place of origin and the involvement of a connected group of individuals during the application of the plaster layer.

Implementing these analyses on the groups discussed in Chapter 4 would contribute significantly to the understanding of their production processes. It would help determine whether the coffins sharing a common model also share a common volumetric structure, indicating whether the plaster and decoration were applied by the same individuals or

⁶⁵ Mainieri 2023.

connected groups of individuals, whether working or not in the same location. This, in turn, would provide valuable information on the manufacturers and the processes involved in applying the plaster.

Furthermore, the study does not encompass stylistic nuances, brushwork intricacies, or paleography due to limitations in the available images and material access. It also does not delve deeply into the analysis of grammar issues and word characterization. Some of these aspects are critical for identifying specific decorators who participated in ornamenting various objects within the subset clusters of coffins. While certain hypotheses can be put forward, further validation is necessary.

Ideally, the study aims to encompass as many groups as possible through a thorough examination of all available images of the non-stola yellow coffins and utilizing the information provided in the database. This approach would enable extensive comparisons and, with the inclusion of new groups and case studies, significantly increase the volume of data, opening up new research avenues. However, one individual scholar alone cannot feasibly realize such an enormous and time-consuming project, which would involve collaborating with numerous and diverse institutions and researchers across the world. Additionally, challenges arise as not all coffins are readily accessible, with collections still holding unknown, unpublished and unphotographed materials. The extensive amount of pictures and details needed to observe in order to collect sufficient data for establishing potential connections with other materials adds complexity to the endeavor.

In any case, by delving into the complexities and intricacies of these coffins, these limits in research highlight the interdisciplinary nature of archaeological investigation. This underscores the importance of integrating historical and art historical perspectives to comprehensively grasp the multifaceted narratives inherent within these artifacts. It emphasizes the necessity of a multidimensional approach in uncovering the layers of meaning and significance within these materials.

Chapter 2. The Notion of Workshop in the Context of Yellow Coffins

2.0 Introduction

One of the contemporary definitions that the Oxford English Dictionary gives for the term workshop is “a room or building in which goods are manufactured or repaired”. The term usually appears in writing concerning yellow coffins as a way in referring to the organization of the individuals that produced and decorated the objects, as well as the primary place of their origin.⁶⁶ Although the term is widespread, little is known about the nature, functioning or even existence of actual workshops dedicated to the construction and decoration of non-stola yellow coffins during the late New Kingdom throughout the Twenty-First Dynasty. This is equally true for privately commissioned coffins as it is for those intended for the family of the High Priests of Amun.⁶⁷

Thanks to cooperation between institutions, modern technological applications and scientific analyses have been performed on many yellow coffins. These procedures have shed light not only on the stratigraphy of the objects, but also on the composition of the specific materials used for their construction and decoration. The nature of the pigments, wood, plaster and even the binders can now be analyzed, as demonstrated by studies conducted by international projects such as the Vatican Coffin Project, as discussed in Chapter 1. While the material technologies of the objects are under ongoing research and will evolve with technological advancements, significant knowledge continues to lack concerning the more intangible aspects: How did craftspeople build and decorate the objects? Where were these objects created? When were the coffins constructed and decorated?

As suggested by late Ramesside documentation from Deir el-Medina, craftspeople did not participate in private commercial activities alone, but rather, they worked collectively in what Cooney has called “informal workshops”.⁶⁸ Furthermore, they did not work together in fixed locations, as the ordinary contemporary use of the term would suggest, but rather, the craftspeople combined resources, access to materials, skills, reputations, and social connections, in order to succeed in the market. Is it possible that this constellation of strategies, or something similar, was also occurring during the Twenty-First Dynasty, when private tomb use transitioned to collective tomb use?⁶⁹

Some questions that are discussed and addressed in the chapter are: What is a workshop? Did workshops exist during the Twenty-First Dynasty? How were the craftspeople organized? Did craftspeople use models? If so, were these models constituted out of papyri, ostraca, or were they actual coffins? Were craftspeople differentiated between carpenters and decorators, or did they perform both roles? Were the coffins constructed and decorated in the same, or distinct, locations? The notion of

⁶⁶ Niwiński 1988: 18, 57, 84, 97, 99; Van Walsem 1997: 366-367, especially n. 1371; Amenta 2014: 486.

⁶⁷ While originating from a distinct context, two-dimensional depictions of the Old and New Kingdoms, as well as three-dimensional models from the Middle Kingdom, offer valuable insights into the production techniques, tools and materials employed by artisans in crafting funerary items such as coffins. Regrettably, these representations are idealized and linked to funerary beliefs, rendering them inadequate for understanding the practical operations of workshops (El Gabry 2014: 3).

⁶⁸ Cooney 2007: 128, 133, 144-145, 147, 152, 156-157, 159, 342, with textual examples. See also Haring 2018: 200-201.

⁶⁹ Niwiński 1988: 15; 1989b: 92; 2006: 261; Abbas 2014: 1, 3.

workshop is explored and problematized in the context of yellow coffins, putting special emphasis on the functioning and organization of the craftspeople within the workshops, that is, if workshops can be said to have existed at all.

2.1 Comparisons among Coffins: Criteria for Attributing Objects to a Shared Decorative "Origin"

There is no textual evidence addressing the aforementioned questions regarding individual roles, the number of individuals involved, their relationships, and the specific contributions of these individuals in the processes associated with yellow coffins—ranging from their commission to material supply and production. It is plausible that these processes involved numerous individuals, including intellectual experts, each performing distinct functions. Naturally, the pertinent factors would exhibit variability among objects due to various considerations such as timing, the utilization of specific decorative models, materials, the owner's status and other underlying factors.

Attempting to comprehend the production of decorated tomb equipment, especially coffins, in the absence of what might nowadays be labeled a “workshop” or a comparable entity presents a significant challenge. Although the existence of such workshops is highly probable, it remains a speculative proposition since no archaeological remains of structures associated with these spaces have been unearthed. The potential existence of “informal workshops,” suggested for the production of private coffins during the Late New Kingdom in Deir el-Medina, cannot be dismissed. Despite the documented reduction in the official workforce in Deir el-Medina and the probable adoption of a different organizational structure for the craftspeople, specific details about this remain unknown.⁷⁰

The organization of such work remains undocumented, posing challenges in directly identifying and studying these locations along with their historical organization. Only through indirect examination, specifically by examining the coffins themselves, can some insights be gained. While recognizing potential variations in coffin production from one instance to another, there are several criteria that can generally be applied to establish the connection of decorated objects to a shared, interconnected “origin” in some capacity. This implies the involvement of the same decorator, “workshop” (or place of decoration), as well as decorative model(s). The specific considerations, which may involve additional criteria not addressed here, are further discussed below.⁷¹

Criteria for attributing coffins to the same textual and/or iconographical intermediary model and/or master copy⁷² (see Chapter 4 for case studies) include:

- Comparable or identical layout of the decorative program;
- Comparable or identical iconographical and textual program; and
- Comparable or identical iconographical and textual details.

When considering these criteria, it is crucial to acknowledge that the arrangement of layout, texts and iconography, sometimes down to the smallest details, may have been

⁷⁰ Although referring to a New Kingdom context, consult Brown 2023: 10-11 for the suggestion of craft industry within the Valley of the Kings itself.

⁷¹ Backes (2010) has already addressed the challenges associated with determining the “origins” of funerary objects, specifically in the context of funerary papyri.

⁷² The concepts of intermediary model and master copy are explored in the subsequent discussion.

influenced and shaped by the characteristics of the employed template(s) for coffin decoration. These templates, inclusive of both the original master models and their intermediary copies, could potentially be transferred and circulated on a macro-level, extending from one region to another, and conceivably across the entire country, creating a net of interrelated models. This phenomenon is illustrated by a specific subset of yellow coffins originating from both Akhmim and the Theban area, adhering to a consistent decorative model (or similar ones) even when originating from distant regions (refer to Chapter 4, Section 1). As an example, within this group of coffins, among other shared features, consistently displays a specific orthographic mistake in the writing of a particular term. Instead of “*im³hy hr*,” they all feature the sequence “*im³hy rh*.” Additionally, they exhibit a distinctive order in presenting the names and titles of the owners of the objects. The presence of these specific features, along with other decorative similarities discussed in the pertinent section, in coffins from distant locations, strengthens the possibility of a shared “origin”. This origin could take the form of a model or copies of a model circulating and dictating the standards -and, in this context, the mistakes that would be replicated on the final object. These characteristics also provide insights into the level of literacy of the person responsible for copying and/or decoration.

In a different context, an anonymous (not preserved?)⁷³ yellow coffin from Amarna exhibits typical Theban decorative characteristics, as discussed below. While this might suggest the potential circulation of decorative models, possibly accompanied by the movement of craftspeople, it's important to note that one example is too limited to conclusively affirm a widespread transfer of patterns. Since it pertains to a sole coffin of an individual in a distant location, it's more plausible that the coffin was transported for a specific, yet unknown, reason—such as a burial in its original place of origin—rather than being part of an intended circulation flow.

Circulation was not limited to a macro-level but could also occur on a micro-level, involving the movement of templates within the specific Theban area. This is suggested by examples of yellow coffins from Theban origin (refer to Chapter 4, Section 4, where a comparison of the coffin set of Tamutmef (Museo Egizio in Turin, Cat. 2228; CGT 10119.a (inner lid), Cat. 2228; CGT 10119.b (inner box), Cat. 2228; CGT 10120 (mummy board)) (pls. 4.4/71-74) is compared with the rest of the objects dealt in the Section (see Table 4.4.1), sharing identical or closely similar layout(s) and iconographical characteristics but displaying significant differences in style and quality. This suggests that their production likely followed the same or a similar template but perhaps occurred in distinct locations, executed by different craftspeople possessing varying skills. These individuals operated within the same region but catered to a different subset cluster of society, as evidenced by the varying quality of the objects and the status of their owners.

Additionally, there is no inherent reason why a workshop, assuming its existence, could not have employed diverse templates that might also have existed, in the form of copies, in other locations where coffins were decorated. This approach could provide customers, encompassing different strata of society, access to the same workshop offering a wide range of decorative choices, although information on this matter is currently nonexistent. As suggested, the use of templates and decorative models on

⁷³ For the terminology and various casuistical details among what is usually referred to as anonymous coffins, see Chapter 1.

coffins was likely influenced, to some extent, by the social characteristics of the objects' owners (Chapter 4, Sections 2-5). This introduces uncertainty regarding whether the same workshop or interconnected group(s) of decorators would utilize various models based on their intended use for individuals of different statuses or specialize in a specific type of templates and clientele. Naturally, this would depend on the dynamics of supply and demand and the economic characteristics of the industry, which are currently unknown. It may also have been influenced by the region, where the array of choices and availability of decorative patterns may have varied, as suggested in Chapter 1, Section 1 for the coffins originating from Akhmim. The titulary of these individuals, whose coffins follow the same or similar model, suggests a broader spectrum within society in terms of the social position of the owners compared to the coffins examined in Chapter 4, Sections 2-5, from the Theban area. The latter are more closely associated to a specific subset cluster of society, although slight differences in terms of professional roles or familial ties can also exist. The reasons behind this phenomenon could stem from the degree of specialization among workshops and decorators or the choice of decorative models between cities of different sizes.

Interconnected coffins, sharing the same or similar decorative model(s) in certain areas of their ornamentation, may also exhibit differences among them. This suggests either the contemporaneous use of different templates or variations applied to the same model, sometimes reflecting slight distinctions in the societal positions or roles of the owners (see Chapter 4, Sections 2, 5). Furthermore, these seemingly "fixed" models could undergo modifications, as decorators introduced new elements, accounting for variations among coffins featuring the same or similar models, which are never exact duplicate.⁷⁴ This variability sometimes facilitates the establishment of a relative chronology among coffins adhering to similar models, indicating that decorators innovated over time and were not confined to a static model (see Chapter 4, Sections 1-2). However, the individuals who decided that variations could occur remain unknown, as does the extent of creative freedom afforded to decorators deviating from the model(s).⁷⁵

Moreover, attributing a particular model to a specific short time period proves challenging, given its potential prolonged usage, as elaborated upon below. Consequently, undertaking a spatiotemporal classification of models employed during a distinct era is precarious, particularly in light of the stylistic and fashion changes indicative of a chronological evolution observed in objects featuring the same model (see Chapter 4, Sections 1-2).

Specific iconographic and textual details may have circulated either through the use of templates or via the transmission of knowledge by individuals, whether they were craftspeople or not. Consequently, in certain instances, similarities in particular

⁷⁴ In this context, Forman and Quirke made reference to the material in the following manner: "At exactly this time the variety of the papyri, and of decoration on the ornate wooden coffins, reaches its peak. [...] the Theban craftsmen began to experiment with a wide range of ingredients from every type of image. This is an age in which the visual effectively triumphs over the written word [...], sometimes adding new variations on the existing forms, in a whirlwind of active invention." (Forman, Quirke 1996: 145).

⁷⁵ Examining the models alongside the final outcome could enable the tracking of the copying process, revealing both similarities and differences. This analysis, with a particular focus on aspects such as alterations and errors, serves as evidence of the level of literacy, training, skills and freedom involved in the process of transfer. Unfortunately, this does not apply to yellow coffins, as direct models for specific objects have not been preserved.

iconographic, scribal details and motifs among coffins denote a tradition and their widespread use within artistic networks, during a specific context and particular period. Therefore, the mere presence of these details does not always unequivocally connect the objects featuring the motif to the same origin -be it a decorative model, decorator(s),⁷⁶ a network of decorators or even a single workshop.

This is illustrated below by the prevalence of the "greenery motif," thoroughly discussed further in the text, observed on a range of objects, not confined to yellow coffins, across various regions in Egypt (see Table 2.3).⁷⁷ This recurring motif was integral to a tradition and transmitted during a specific chronological period throughout Upper Egypt and, in one documented instance, to Lower Egypt. Therefore, the presence of a specific motif in several yellow coffins (see Table 2.4, some of which feature different iconographic and textual patterns in their decorative program, does not necessarily imply a common decorative origin. For example, compare objects from Chapter 4, Sections 1-2, where both groups share the motif on their associated coffins, but their iconographical arrangements differ. Instead, it suggests the utilization of a shared popular motif circulating throughout Egypt. Evidence of the widespread use of the motif, incorporated by multiple craftspeople as part of their repertoire, lies in the diverse styles and flexible methods of representation among surviving examples. These interpretations and variations can be associated and combined with iconographies and texts originating from various models.

However, a significant shift in dynamics occurs when specific rare and unique iconographical and textual details, whether presented independently or associated with specific motifs from the typical repertoire of yellow coffins, become exclusive to a particular subset of yellow coffins. This subset not only shares the same layout but exhibits a cohesive iconographic and textual program, along with other similar characteristics. Importantly, these distinctive and uncommon details are exclusive to this specific group of yellow coffins and are not identified elsewhere. For example, the exclusive presence of black dots on the shetyt chapels and gods' thrones is confined to a specific subset group of yellow coffins adhering to the same decorative arrangement in terms of texts and iconography (see Chapter 4, Section 4). In this case, it could be suggested that the detail was likely inherent in the model used for the decoration of those coffins. Alternatively, it might be a distinctive mark of the decorator if all the objects were adorned by the same individual or a mark of interconnected groups or individuals, or even workshop(s), employing the same template for decorating those objects.⁷⁸ Without such connections, if the detail was simply a common feature circulating around the Theban area or elsewhere, the same unique small detail would likely appear on other coffins featuring different patterns and decorative programs, originating from distinct decorative models or templates, as is the case with the "greenery motif."

⁷⁶ Van Walsem 2018: 53.

⁷⁷ The choice to study this particular motif is grounded in Van Walsem's previous research (Van Walsem 2000). However, a comprehensive survey and in-depth analysis, focusing on additional small iconographic details that may indicate the circulation of motifs and, perhaps, chronological timeframes for the use of these details, are needed.

⁷⁸ As mentioned by Van Walsem in his analysis of additional specific motifs found on the stola corpus, "its rareness also raises the question whether it is an entirely original detail 'invented' by an individual painter and thus found only on these few coffins, or whether it is known from another period and/or context" (Van Walsem 2018: 48). A similar situation might arise with specific paleographical details, the rendering of specific signs or even particular texts (as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 1).

The presence of the mentioned criteria within specific subsets of yellow coffins suggests a connection among certain objects, sharing a common origin through the utilization of a master copy and/or subsequent intermediary model(s) for their decoration. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that the origin concerning decorators and geographical locations remains unknown and might have varied from one object to another, even if adhering to the same or similar template(s). The models, whether intermediary or copies of small iconographic details from the intermediary models, could have circulated among locations, extending not only within the Theban area but also beyond. Consequently, this suggests a circulation not only of people but also of motifs, whether facilitated through specialized individuals or in a more informal manner.

When the previously mentioned criteria are identified on a group of yellow coffins, additional criteria that may support their connection to the same textual and/or iconographical intermediary model and/or master copy, and possibly to the same decorator or at least interconnected groups of decorators (see Chapter 4, Sections 1-2), include:

- Comparable or identical style in the painted vignettes;
- Comparable or identical style in the small details; and
- Comparable or identical paleography.

The uncertainty and challenge of attributing objects to the same model on one hand and to the same decorator(s) on the other, imparting distinctiveness and specificity to the objects' origin(s), arise from the limited understanding of the level of detail in existing models –a level undoubtedly varying among them. Drawing insights from the characteristics of the documented textual and iconographical coffin models discussed in this chapter, in conjunction with the coffins explored in Chapter 3, and considering that even coffins following the same or similar decorative models exhibit distinctions (refer to Chapter 4), it can be posited that sometimes decorators exercised a significant degree of creativity and freedom in shaping specific figures and minor details, essentially manipulating and experimenting with the models, although the exact extent of this freedom remains unknown. This artistic flexibility encompasses nuances in representing secondary elements such as offering tables, attires and the depiction of the same deity in multiple forms. While the intended meaning was effectively communicated, the diverse approaches in executing these representations did not necessarily originate from a predefined and specific model but were, instead, influenced and shaped by the experience(s) of the decorator(s).

Exploring the style associated with vignettes and examining the intricacies of small details and motifs within them poses a challenging task when attempting to identify a specific painter among subset groups of objects following the same decorative model (see Chapter 4, Sections 1-2). The primary challenge lies in determining the degree and extent to which individual decorators and their distinctive styles can be distinguished and recognized, especially given the current limitations of available data.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ For an attempt at the identification of scribal hands in the burial chamber of Nakhtmin, from the New Kingdom, and the associated methodology, see Díaz-Iglesias Llanos, Méndez-Rodríguez 2023: 12-37.

Instances where slight variations in details, encompassing both textual/paleographical and iconographical elements, and styles emerge on the same object are notable (see Chapter 3). It is uncertain whether these variations indicate the involvement of different individuals working on the same object or if they can be attributed to the same decorator who, for creative choices or other unknown reasons, chose to depict elements with slight differences. This phenomenon is rooted in the challenge of consistently reproducing exact details, as discussed in Chapter 3, alongside other contributing factors. The extent to which a single decorator could introduce stylistic differentiation and variability within a single object remains unknown.

In this discussion, it is crucial to emphasize that variations on the same object can extend to the forms of writing of the same word, such as the names of the owner or deities, or even identical sequences that are written differently in different locations on the same object (see Chapter 3). Once again, in these instances, even while maintaining a cohesive style and paleography, it is unclear whether it was the same person who could "experiment" while adhering to a pre-established pattern, if the same person utilized various patterns, or if distinct individuals were involved in the decoration. Similarly, in the Book of the Dead papyri, certain chapters appear twice on the same object with distinct spellings. This has led to the suggestion that these recurrent chapters and inscriptions were integrated into separate collections of utterances, thereby copied from distinct templates.⁸⁰

However, as exemplified in one of the presented examples of surviving decorative coffin models within this chapter (see fig. 2.1), it is evident that textual patterns were not always consistently complete. Instead, the responsible for creating the templates may have included an abbreviated version of the textual formulas and/or iconography, presumably already familiar to the decorators. This observation provides a potential explanation for the differences observed in identical sequences repeated on the same object; these sequences were not fully articulated in the models. The decorative model, in essence, functioned as a guiding framework, offering a reference for the decorators. Subsequently, when integrating the entire sequence onto the actual objects, the decorators drew upon their acquired knowledge. This practice of including identical formulas in various locations on the same objects contributed to the variability in the execution of writing the same words and formulas in distinct ways.

Furthermore, decorators undoubtedly underwent evolution over the course of their careers, potentially manifesting changes in their artistic style over time (see Chapter 4, Section 2). This evolution and transformation could result from the continuous acquisition of improved skills, exposure to diverse training methodologies and engagement with various iconographies, models and external influences. Consequently, the observed dissimilarity in the appearance of coffins may not necessarily indicate the involvement of distinct craftspeople. Instead, it might suggest that the same individual underwent stylistic transformations, even when working on coffins within a close temporal proximity. In such cases, these shifts in style could be influenced by multifaceted factors, encompassing economic pressures and time constraints in the context in which decorators were operating. The intricate interplay of these considerations significantly complicates the task of identifying specific painters within this dynamic and evolving artistic landscape.

⁸⁰ In a similar context, certain Middle Kingdom coffins exhibit identical inscriptions multiple times on the same object, with each instance featuring different spellings (Lüscher 2015: 86 [nts. 6-7]).

Similarly, within objects that adhere to the same decorative model, the presence of identical or similar styles, details, handwritings and paleography between them may not necessarily indicate the distinct signature of a decorator or workshop. It is plausible that these shared elements could indicate that multiple decorators underwent similar training. This shared educational background does not inherently imply that these decorators were employed within the same workshop or were part of the same interconnected network of craftspeople and decorators who utilized the same decorative model(s). The career trajectory of a decorator could involve migrating from one workshop to another during their lifetime or even establishing an independent workshop, adding layers of complexity to the intricate web of connections within the craftspeople community.

However, when details associated with more than one single motif consistently appear combined in various objects that follow the same textual and iconographical model, it suggests their attribution not only to the same model (or exact copies of it, if they existed), but possibly to a specific artistic network and/or the hand of a decorator(s)⁸¹ (see Chapter 4, Sections 1-2). A more in-depth examination and comparison of other characteristics featured on the objects, such as stylistic particularities linked to rare motifs or paleographical details, may substantiate which objects were perhaps decorated by the same craftspeople. These craftspeople might have adopted unique iconographical and textual repertoires of funerary texts and iconographies, whether or not they belonged to the same specific artistic network. Consequently, they could (re)combine unique motifs for their productions with endless varieties. This type of analyses may reveal the diagnostic features of a specific artistic network and/or decorator's trait(s), as the frequency of multiple rare motifs combined on various elements increases the likelihood that they were decorated within the same artistic network or by the same craftspeople.

In conclusion, tracing the origin(s) of minute details and determining whether they serve as the signature of a model, decorator or workshop poses a considerable challenge. The inquiry extends to the distinctiveness of one style compared to another and the potential identification of different craftspeople contributing to a single object—an evident possibility in some instances (see Chapter 3) but a challenging endeavor in others.

Finally, by considering the aforementioned criteria in conjunction with those elaborated further below, it can be suggested that specific coffins were not only decorated using the same textual and/or iconographical model and/or master copy, and possibly by the same decorator or interconnected groups of decorators, but it is likely that these decorators collaborated closely, potentially within the same location(s) or interconnected locations, and perhaps even within an institution serving a specific subset or cluster of the community (Chapter 4, Sections 2-5). The criteria for these considerations include the following:

- Similar or identical statuses and titulary of the owners;
- Professional relationships between the owners; and
- Family relationships between the owners.

⁸¹ Van Walsem 2018: 57, 59. The extent of detail in the models and their copies remains unknown, including the degree to which craftspeople would faithfully "copy" precise details and traits from the templates, or even paleographical elements.

The coffins analyzed in Chapter 4, Sections 2-5, grouped based on similar decorative attributes, indicate that individuals sharing comparable status, titulary or designations - meaning related professions and roles- tend to have coffins adorned with similar or identical decorative patterns. This observation implies a probable shared origin of materials, possibly sourced from locations designated for commissions by a specific subset of the community.

The relationship among individuals possessing similarly decorated coffins may extend beyond shared titulary affiliations. Understanding the complex network of interconnections among specific titles and professions proves challenging, particularly since certain individuals may have assumed multiple roles and held titles associated with various institutions, not always documented on their funerary containers (see Chapter 3). Notably, instances arise where individuals with comparable coffin decorations do not necessarily hold identical titles; instead, their roles are linked to institutions with interconnected functions, situated in close physical proximity. This suggests collaborative professional ties or close working relationships, as exemplified in Chapter 4, Sections 1-2.

Chapter 4, Section 1 addresses a group of coffins predominantly associated with individuals who operated in the city of Akhmim. Considering the relatively limited funerary activity in Akhmim concerning yellow coffin decoration, it is conceivable that decorators and/or potential workshops in this region might have wielded a more widespread influence. This is evident in the diverse array of titles, roles and functions inscribed on the coffins examined in the section, despite all sharing a common decorative model. In Chapter 4, Section 2, the owners of coffins adorned with similar decoration exhibited, in some cases, variations in titulary, holding titles affiliated with different institutions. However, these institutions demonstrated interrelated functions and were physically close in a specific area of Karnak. In contrast, the decorative patterns and groups discussed in the remaining sections of Chapter 4 may suggest a more specialized focus on status, professional activities or a specific group of individuals, including familial relationships, indicating the specialization of Theban decorators. It's important to note that these interpretations remain speculative due to the absence of concrete textual information on the matter, and the workings of the commissioning of the objects remain unknown.

When considering the titulary of the owners, it is important to acknowledge the inherent difficulty in precisely determining the functions of certain titles. Furthermore, at times, the absence of additional funerary equipment displaying supplementary titles further complicates understanding, leaving only partial information derived from the inscriptions on the coffins themselves.

An illustrative case is that of Amenniutnakh (Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 29649; CG 6174 (inner lid), CG 6173 (inner box), CG 6196 (mummy board), A. 81), pls. 3.48-51), discussed in Chapter 3, where specific funerary items associated with the owner, specially the shabti box (see Table 3.7), provide a more comprehensive display of his titulary. This challenge is particularly pronounced in the examples discussed in Chapter 4, Sections 1 and 2, where minimal funerary equipment is associated with the owners of the materials. Even if their associated titles are distinct in some cases but associated with related institutions, accessing their additional funerary equipment might reveal

more comprehensive titulary information. This, in turn, could shed light on potential overlapping titles among the owners and the interrelationships between institutions.

The existence of familial connections among owners of coffins that share the same or similar decorative model(s), status and/or professional roles remains uncertain, primarily due to the infrequent inclusion of genealogical information on yellow coffins. However, given the hereditary nature of professions in Ancient Egypt, it would not be surprising if individuals with similar positions or related roles also had familial ties. This inquiry extends to the female owners of the examined coffins. The presence of female titulary on coffins that share the same decoration as their male counterparts is typically marked by general designations such as *nbt pr* and *Smayt* (with some exceptions noted in Chapter 4, Section 4). In these instances, the true status of the females remains unknown. However, given the inclusion of decoration also found on their male counterparts, whose roles are identified through their titulary, it could be inferred that these women were likely family members of some of the male individuals (see specifically Chapter 2, Section 2).

In this case, it is crucial to acknowledge that introducing the “same family criteria” constitutes circular reasoning. This is because, without the observable decorative similarities among the coffins, the notion that their owners potentially belonged to the same family would not have been considered in the first place, especially given the absence of genealogical information on yellow coffins.

In conclusion, it is conceivable for both a single family and individuals with comparable backgrounds to independently choose and procure coffin decorations from the same location or interconnected networks of decorators, using the same decorative model(s), as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4, particularly in relation to the coffins associated with the entourage of the High Priest of Amun. It remains plausible that individuals with connections (professional, institutional and/or familial) engaged specific workshops while adhering to particular decorative models for their coffins that mirrored their status. Certainly, this hypothesis should not be regarded as an absolute rule, especially considering the limited availability of information.

In conjunction with the aforementioned criteria, a complementary aspect and variable that requires consideration to shed light on the potential shared common origin among objects is the materiality. Several criteria play a role in establishing connections between objects, indicating interconnected craftspeople potentially involved in their production, and possibly even originating from the same location(s). These criteria include:

- Similar or identical manufacturing techniques;
- Similar or identical stratigraphy of preparatory and pictorial layers; and
- Similar or identical material composition, encompassing both the support and the rest of the coffin stratigraphy, such as preparatory and decorative layers.

Cross-referencing information and conducting a thorough study of all the mentioned criteria, combined with contemporary archaeometric analysis of the physical materials, could reveal commonalities in the discussed context. The extent of similarity within a group of coffins, encompassing aspects such as decoration, stylistic elements and the professional or familial relationships among their owners, plays a pivotal role. Moreover, if the materiality of the coffins is also comparable, the likelihood increases

that they share a common origin at both micro and macro levels. This implies a shared origin spanning from the decorator's influence to the actual location of production and decoration of the coffins.

However, uncertainties persist regarding the complex production system and the division of work associated with the production and decoration of coffins (see Chapter 3).⁸² Specifically, it is unknown whether the wood used for the coffins was manufactured in the same place where the decoration took place, and if the same craftspeople participated in both phases, or if the involved agents had specializations associated with specific stages of coffin production. In the case of specialized individuals, it is unclear whether their work would be performed in the same location(s), leaving the possibility of the existence of "informal workshops" unknown. Furthermore, it is also unknown if individual craftspeople worked autonomously and whether this autonomy involved their collaboration, even if working independently, or if they would be associated with a production center(s), within a system based on cooperation. Additionally, there is uncertainty about whether there would be a professional intermediary between them or if or if the organizational specifics occurred directly with the commissioner.

These aspects likely depended on various factors, offering different options and coexisting possibilities depending on the context and location. The challenge arises due to the lack of textual information associated with this issue. Furthermore, the ambiguity extends to whether decorators produced their materials for painting the coffins individually,⁸³ collectively, or relied on external sources. This consideration emphasizes the necessity and significance of examining objects featuring the same decorative model, along with their associated manufacturing techniques and materials involved—although such examinations are often challenging or not feasible.

The uncertainties within this context extend to the entire coffin production process, encompassing manufacturing, preparation, decoration and varnishing, as well as the specific location(s) where each phase occurred. Additionally, uncertainties extend to the number of personnel involved in these phases, encompassing roles from foremen overseeing the process(es) to assistants providing support, as well as the organizational details within these professions. Considering technical aspects, if these stages unfolded in the same location, it is likely that distinct spaces were designated to mitigate and be cautious of the potential impact of each phase on the others, aiming to prevent compromising subsequent stages. For instance, the dust generated during manufacturing could adversely affect the preparation and decoration phases, as well as the varnishing stage.⁸⁴

⁸² To explore insights into the division of labor among craftsmen involved in woodworking, refer to Śliwa 1975: 65-66, 68.

⁸³ For instance, the scribes who worked in the burial chamber of Nakhtmin during the New Kingdom likely produced their own materials individually. This is supported by the chemical analysis of the inks, which varies among the different scribes identified as contributing to the decoration of the tomb (Díaz-Iglesias Llanos, personal communication (September 2023)).

⁸⁴ As outlined by Cennino Cennini in Chapter 155 of his painting treatise, which serves as a guide for late Medieval and early Renaissance painting techniques, the author recommends conducting varnishing in an open-air setting, emphasizing the importance of a dust-free environment (Cennini 1899²: 133-134). Moreover, in Chapter 145, Cennino Cennini suggests that dust may pose a potential risk to the gilding of objects (Cennini 1899²: 122-125). The connection between yellow coffins and panel paintings from the medieval period is noteworthy, making Cennino Cennini's treatise significant in documenting the

Concerning the latter phase, the likely ritualistic dimension of varnishing adds complexity, raising questions about whether the varnish application took place inside the tomb during rituals or within the premises of coffin production. A systematic study of varnished areas on yellow coffins is required, but it appears that varnish was often applied selectively at specific points, such as divinities, lotus flowers and tables of offerings. The targeted locations suggest a ritualistic purpose. This is further supported by the non-homogeneous application of varnish on certain elements associated with yellow coffins, such as the inner box Tjanetamon's coffin set (N. 2562) and the inner box of Ankhefenkhonsu's stola coffin (AF 9591), both preserved at the Musée du Louvre.⁸⁵ This suggests a ritual significance that extends beyond mere protective measures. If the primary objective of varnish were overall protection of the pictorial layer, a more uniform application would be expected. However, conclusive determinations on these aspects are hindered by the limited scope of existing studies.⁸⁶

2.1.1 Challenges and Limits in Defining the Aforementioned Criteria

Engaging in this type of study presents an inherent challenge due to its subjective nature. The employed methodology adopts a human-centric approach, meticulously examining similarities and differences among objects across various levels, progressing from broad layouts to minor and precise details, styles, and motifs. The outcome firmly resides in the subjective domain of interpretative research. The information provided for assessing the reasonableness of interpretations reflects a procedure guided by the researcher's evaluations of likelihood and probability, avoiding absolute certainty in favor of a nuanced understanding of connections among the materials. This approach includes exploring hypothetical scenarios within the imperfect framework of yellow coffins, often bereft of contextual information. The goal is to provide readers with the necessary tools for evaluating the accuracy, supportability and reasonableness of the study's assertions. Nevertheless, the research represents a continuous, interpretative process open to validation and correction through ongoing investigation.

Concerning the identified similarities and differences among the various coffins of this study (see Chapter 4, Sections 1-5), the process of selecting and presenting them is inherently subjective. Ideally, an exhaustive consideration of every decorative attribute - encompassing scenes, texts, details, stylistic traits, and more- would be necessary to precisely establish the degrees of similarity and difference among the coffins. However, it is acknowledged that only technology and optical character recognition systems can detect all existing similarities among objects. Yet, highlighting every similarity is impractical, given that some are more general and commonly found in yellow coffins. Instead, a subset of certain similarities proves representative and unique enough to infer

tradition of preparing, producing and decorating wood, representing the first written account of this practice (Amenta 2014: 487).

⁸⁵ Brunel-Duverger 2020: 118 [fig. 40]. The method of application and the positioning of varnish on coffins become apparent through specific imaging techniques performed on the objects, specially through the utilization of ultraviolet fluorescence (UVF).

⁸⁶ Sousa has suggested that sometimes the application of the varnish may have occurred during the funerary rituals (Sousa 2020b: 63). Its potential connection with the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth remains uncertain, as this ritual practice might have occurred on various occasions, including, at least in part, within the workshops where the coffins were prepared (Finnestad 1978: 119; Eaton-Krauss 1984: 75-76; Lorton 1999: 153-154; Harrington 2013: 44-45). For a discussion on the relationship between craftspeople and their active participation in the performative rituals of Old Kingdom burial monuments for their effectiveness, see Chauvet 2015: 65-78.

a degree of similarity among the objects (see Chapter 4, Sections 1-5). This suggests that certain coffins were decorated following a common model, perhaps in the same location or even by a single hand. The use of the term "groups" in the study, when describing the coffins discussed in each of the specific sections, serves to prevent confusion and overinterpretation.

Furthermore, when proposing that certain coffins may share a common origin in a decorative model, alternative research perspectives could posit that they are variations or adaptations of one another, acting as models between them. Similarly, in instances where shared similarities may indicate the influence of a single model, other research might suggest that a singular craftsman was responsible for adorning them. The complexity of deciphering the origin and connections among these coffins is underscored by the varying interpretations within scholarly discourse. These divergent viewpoints highlight the nuanced nature of art historical investigations, where multiple plausible explanations coexist, necessitating a thorough examination of contextual details, craftsmanship techniques, materiality and historical evidence to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the intricate relationships between these artifacts. This task is particularly challenging given the absence of textual sources providing information about their production and origins.

The selection of specific groups in Chapter 4, Sections 1-5 serves as an initial step, emphasizing the necessity for extensive and detailed comparative analysis across the entire collection of yellow coffins (see Chapter 1). This involves an in-depth examination and categorization of their attributes, materiality and other features to gain a better understanding of the materials. The instances highlighted in the discussion merely scratch the surface of the connections within the corpus, with the actual number of objects associated with the same group likely exceeding the presented cases. Ongoing discoveries are anticipated to broaden both examples and groups. The study not only affirms the intricate iconographic and textual decorations and complex decorative schemes on these coffins but also underscores that social information is intricately integrated into these decorations. This detailed and comparative decorative approach is essential for a thorough interpretation of the diverse facets of the materials.

2.2. Insights into the Definitions of “Models” and “Copies”

2.2.1 Ancient Egyptian Institutions Responsible for the Preservation of Knowledge

During the pharaonic era, institutions characterized by their role in preserving the *cultural memory* of Ancient Egyptian society through the safeguarding and managing of texts -referred to as *Überlieferungsfunktion*- were widespread, supported by various textual evidence.⁸⁷ Likely constructed primarily from mudbrick, the majority of these structures faced challenges in terms of survival.⁸⁸ Recent archaeological discoveries during the last decades have unearthed buildings that likely served as repositories and

⁸⁷ Literature regarding these institutions is extensive. For instance, see Posener-Kriéger 1976; Posener-Kriéger 1997; Parkinson 2002: 68, 70-73; Donker van Heel, Haring 2003: 7-18. These institutions and departments are nowadays associated with the concepts of “library” or “archive” (Zinn 2011: 183 [n. 9]). An attempt to present the difference between the terms “archive” and “library” is found in LÄ I: 422-424 [archive, contribution by Helck]; 783-785 [library, contribution by Wessetzky].

⁸⁸ Burkard 1980: 80.

storage for documents,⁸⁹ although the lack of textual information or definitive indications hinders a clear identification of their original function(s). Consequently, the understanding of institutions like libraries and archives remains limited, encompassing aspects such as their construction, specific functions and purposes, location, types, sphere of activity, internal organization, furnishings and storage, and other specificities.

Some specific archaeological and textual evidence from temples dating back to the Ptolemaic and Graeco-Roman Periods suggests that these institutions, particularly the major ones, had their own permanent *library*,⁹⁰ located in at least one of the rooms within the temple, logically constructed in stone.⁹¹ Such rooms have been identified in the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu⁹² and the Graeco-Roman temple of Philae,⁹³ where they are explicitly labelled as *pr-md3t* (literally translated as “house of books”).⁹⁴ The walls associated with the Edfu library contained carved texts with a catalogue of documents, potentially emulating those that once would have been stored in the room, alongside depictions of writing equipment, divinities related to the world of scripture and representations of offerings of book chests likely containing documents. The room also includes architectural niches that originally would have contained wooden chests with specific documents. The *pr-md3t* in Philae features representations of writing equipment and divinities associated with writing.⁹⁵

Given the small dimensions of the rooms, each measuring 2 square meters,⁹⁶ the *pr-md3t* likely stored a limited selection of documents specific to each temple, focusing on important ritual handbooks, magical texts and documents required for the performance of the daily cultic acts, specific religious rituals of the temple or the celebration of the temple festivals. Inventories of holy places, documents related to temple decorations and perhaps even some important archival materials might have been stored there too.⁹⁷ This suggests that these rooms should be more accurately defined as a “reference library”

⁸⁹ A “priestly library” has been associated with a mudbrick structure in the mortuary temple of Pepi I, dating to the Twelve and Thirteen Dynasties (Berger el-Naggar 1999; Berger el-Naggar 2004). Additionally, an archive or library was identified in a mudbrick structure from the Greco-Roman Period in Tanis (Brissaud 1993: 81-82, 93 [fig. 7], pl. V [B]; 1998: 36-37, pl. II [8], VII [b]). See also Amenta 2002.

⁹⁰ Burkard 1980: 79.

⁹¹ For the interpretation of the entire temple as a monumental library, especially from the Late Period onwards, housing all the important ancient texts, see Zinn 2011: 188.

⁹² Chassinat 1928: 339-351, pls. LIX, LXXXII.

⁹³ Vassilika 1989: 69, pls. I, III.

⁹⁴ Some blocks originating from the temple of Montu at El-Tot and likely dating from the Ptolemaic period feature a portion of the catalog of documents that were likely included in the *pr-md3t* of the temple. These texts are also present in the *pr-md3t* of Edfu. Unfortunately, the name of the institution is not mentioned in the inscriptions from El-Tot, and their exact context of origin within the temple is unknown (Thiers 2004). For suggestions regarding the location of the *pr-md3t* in Medinet Habu, the Ramesseum and the temple of Luxor, though without definitive proof, see Burkard 1980: 109-110.

⁹⁵ Notably, the decoration alone does not necessarily determine the place as library (Zinn 2011: 181, 182, 193-194, 196, 200). The identification as a *pr-md3t* is only established in Edfu and Philae, thanks to inscriptions explicitly designating the place. For an exploration of the connection between the decoration of rooms and their function, see Arnold 1962.

⁹⁶ Burkard 1980: 109; Kurth 1994² (1998): 140; Matthey 2002: 18 [fig. 26]; Lüscher 2015: 88.

⁹⁷ Burkard 1980: 85-86; Zinn 2011: 182, 184, 188, 191, 194. The *pr-md3t* was linked to the *pr-dw3t* (literally translated as “morning house”), a room similarly identified in the temples of Edfu and Philae, situated in close proximity to the *pr-md3t*. The *pr-dw3t* was connected to a ceremonial purification and dressing room, where the king or acting priest would ready themselves for the performance of daily ritual and duties. In this preparatory phase, specific documents from the *pr-md3t* would be retrieved (Zinn 2011: 191, 194, 196, 200).

or “special library”.⁹⁸ It is important to note that the certain identification of these libraries within temples originates from later periods, and evidence concerning the characteristics of earlier libraries is unknown.⁹⁹

In addition to the *pr-md3t*, there were likely one or more libraries or similar institutions attached and/or associated with the temples.¹⁰⁰ In this context, an inscription associated with the *pr-md3t* of the temple of Philae reads as follows: “This is the library... All the books are in it [...] of the whole House of Life”.¹⁰¹ This information suggests that the documents in the *pr-md3t* were a selection from a broad repertoire of knowledge stored at other associated institutions, the *pr-ꜥnh* (literally translated as “house of life”).¹⁰²

The Houses of Life served as pivotal centers and institutions where highly knowledgeable and talented scribes engaged in the compilation, copying, editing, extension and supplementation of various texts, encompassing medical, astronomical, religious and magical content. Typically referred to as scriptoria, these institutions were hubs of significant intellectual activity and served as focal points for scholarly discussions on kings, gods and festivals, and being the places where the most sacred books and inscriptions were composed and written.¹⁰³ While the presence of a library in these houses has been debated, evidence suggests its existence, at least during the Late and Ptolemaic period.¹⁰⁴ Beyond their role in the production and composition of written knowledge, the Houses of Life likely functioned as archives, storing liturgical and ritualistic texts, master copies of myths, temple handbooks, pattern books, templates and other significant textual corpora.¹⁰⁵

Information about the *pr-ꜥnh* is scarce, but it is conceivable that there were numerous institutions of this kind, perhaps one in every city of importance.¹⁰⁶ Concerning its location, their typical placement remains uncertain. It has been suggested that the *pr-ꜥnh*, in certain cases, existed as an institution independent of and spatially separated from the temple¹⁰⁷ -differing from the aforementioned House of Books. This is evident in the absence of any specific room identified as *pr-ꜥnh* within any temple.¹⁰⁸ These institutions could have been located either within the broader temple complex¹⁰⁹ or near

⁹⁸ Burkard 1980: 87.

⁹⁹ Burkard 1980: 83, 87. Moreover, the *pr-md3t* was not architecturally standardized in these temples, given that the rooms are situated in different sections of the respective buildings (Burkard 1980: 95). Additionally, there are exceptionally well-preserved temples from the same period (Esna, Kom Ombo, Dendera), where a definite identification of a *pr-md3t* has not yet been established. Consequently, the architectural layout of the libraries remains unknown in these cases.

¹⁰⁰ Zinn 2011: 195.

¹⁰¹ Burkard 1980: 85.

¹⁰² Zinn 2011: 196.

¹⁰³ For the House of Life, see Gardiner 1938; Burkard 1980: 87-91; Nordh 1996: 106-84, 193-215. The majority of compositions produced within the House of Life were imbued with divine inspiration. In connection with this concept, at least during the Ptolemaic Period, there is evidence attributing a priestly role to the scribes of the House of Life (Gardiner 1938: 170 [38]).

¹⁰⁴ Burkard 1980: 88-89, 91.

¹⁰⁵ Zinn 2011: 195.

¹⁰⁶ Gardiner 1938: 177; Burkard 1980: 89. See also David 1999: 248; Sauneron 2000: 135, for the suggestion that all sizable towns and major temples had one House of Life.

¹⁰⁷ Burkard 1980: 91.

¹⁰⁸ However, refer to Gardiner 1938: 173 [46], which alludes to a stela from Akhmim. The document implies a connection between the House of Life and the House of Min, potentially indicating a temple association.

¹⁰⁹ Zinn 2011: 188, 195, 198.

the temple precinct,¹¹⁰ as indicated by the only archaeological remnants of an identified *pr-ꜥnh* found at Amarna, which was constructed using in mudbrick.¹¹¹ They could have been associated with palaces and courts,¹¹² although the details about their administration remain unknown.

The *pr-ꜥnh* likely played a role in the creation, utilization, circulation, transmission and reproduction of written knowledge and tradition.¹¹³ This significance has been underscored in recent studies within the theoretical framework known as “New Philology” or “Material Philology.” This approach goes beyond the traditional interpretation that focuses solely on the content of the documents, aiming instead to reconstruct the *chaîne opératoire* related to them.¹¹⁴ From this perspective, the emphasis is placed on analyzing the traces left by the processes of material and intellectual production associated with the objects (see *infra* for a discussion on archeological evidence of coffin templates). Additionally, this approach delves into the use, modification, transmission and reception of their associated compositions. This comprehensive approach includes the examination of the social practices involving human agents behind the compositions, such as commissioners and scribes.

The current study and section utilizes this approach to investigate coffins as intricate processes and dynamic entities, delving into the comprehension of the intellectual and material roles of their creators. This perspective shifts the focus from viewing the objects solely as a result and static artifacts to understanding them as evolving entities shaped by the dynamic interplay of intellectual and material practices.

2.2.2 Templates and Models

Regarding the definition and utilization of templates and models, various original sources encompassed diverse iconographic and textual repertoires that held the potential for replication, transforming into models for subsequent use. Within the specific context under examination, these models played a crucial role as instructive guides for craftspeople, providing them with a solid foundation upon which to base their decorative compositions. The categorization of these identifiable models is essential for a nuanced understanding of the diverse influences and sources that contributed to the creative process of these craftspeople. These models can be categorized as follows:¹¹⁵

- Musterbücher or pattern books, presumed collections or catalogs of texts and images likely stored in a secure location, that is, temples, archives or workshops.¹¹⁶ Sometimes crafted on durable materials such as leather, these

¹¹⁰ Gardiner 1938: 174 [50], 177.

¹¹¹ Pendlebury 1951: 115, pls. XX, XLIX.3, LXXXIII.VI.

¹¹² Parkinson 2002: 69. For information about the remains of the royal archives at Amarna, including the government offices and the foreign office, see Pendlebury 1951: 113-115. Furthermore, Zinn (2011: 182) highlighted the close connection between the *pr-ꜥnh*, the Small Aten Temple and the King’s House. The House of Life at Amarna had an associated archive described as *[t]A st nAw Sawt pr-aA*, the Records Office (lit. “the place of the documents/letters of the Pharaoh”), latter depicted iconographically in the Ramesside tomb TT23 in Sheikh Abd el Gurna (Borchardt 1907-1908: 59; Zinn 2011: 190-192).

¹¹³ In addition to written knowledge, craftsmen could have affiliations with the House of Life (Zinn 2011: 195).

¹¹⁴ Leroi-Gourhan 1964; Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2022: 12-13, with references.

¹¹⁵ Der Manuelian 1985: 107-112, focusing on the transmission systems for Saïte “copies”. Refer to Kahl 1999: 294-298 for a terminological discussion. See also Lüscher 2015: 85-86, with references.

¹¹⁶ Der Manuelian 1994: 4, 53-55, 57. The documents were probably kept in wooden chests, as indicated by the depiction in the *pr-md3t* at Edfu, where offerings of chests are made to Horus Behedeti (Zinn 2011:

pattern books were intended to serve as original templates. Leather, valuable for its durability, played a crucial role in preserving important texts. There is ample evidence supporting the existence of these leather-bound documents, meant for preservation and likely duplication of important and practical records for subsequent use, effectively acting as templates.¹¹⁷ For example, inscriptions associated with Tutmosis III, detailing the siege and battle of Megiddo in Karnak, identify their origin in inscriptions found on a leather roll stored in the temple of Amun.¹¹⁸ Another example is found in leather fragments at the British Museum (BM 10281), suggesting that models and text templates meant for future use in the production of funerary objects were also stored on leather rolls. In this example, the document features a series of Book of the Dead formulas. Instead of individual names, the document uses the generic identifier "*Wsir mn pn*" (this Osiris so-and-so) as a placeholder that would eventually be personalized in the final object. This provides insights into the intricate process of document creation and replication, as discussed later.

- Vorlage or master copy, which held a significant role in the dynamic and temporary process of transferring texts and iconographies from one medium to another. Typically inscribed on practical materials like papyri or ostraca, these master copies often served as portable intermediate models,¹¹⁹ bridging the gap between an initial prototype or template and the final object. It is important to note that subsequent secondary copies originating from this master copy could also emerge in the process. The original model inspiring these Vorlage could be from Musterbüchern or even existent monuments or objects. Moreover, the Vorlage may function as an original source, aiding in the definitive monumentalization of texts¹²⁰ and images onto an actual object. In some instances, these master copies may even derive from the original creative endeavors of individuals, facilitating the transition of representation to tangible objects. Therefore, the term "Vorlage" is employed here to denote a model meticulously prepared for a specific and individual purpose, encompassing representations intended for transfer to a subsequent support with a predetermined objective.¹²¹

Certainly, the task of distinguishing whether surviving examples of templates represent a master book, a temporary model (i.e., Musterbuch or Vorlage), or possibly even a secondary copy of the latter, remains challenging. Understanding these complexities involves delving into the diverse types and specific characteristics of each template, including their various forms and the intricate processes associated with their transmission from one model to another. Exploring the relationships that existed between these templates, namely Musterbücher and Vorlagen, encompassing the number of copies and their specific details, as well as their connections with the final

191). Additionally, sources referring to the *pr-ḥnḥ* suggest that documents could be stored in boxes (Gardiner 1938: 173 [46]). The depiction of the Records Office from Amarna in TT23 illustrates wooden chests containing files and records.

¹¹⁷ Burkard 1980: 85; Lüscher 2015: 89-92.

¹¹⁸ *iw=sn smn hr ḥrt nt dḥr m ḥwt-ntr nt 'Imn m hrw pn* ("They were stored on a leather roll in the temple of Amun on this day") (Urk IV: 662.5-6).

¹¹⁹ Lüscher 2015: 97. In the New Kingdom tomb of Nakhtmin (TT87), ostraca serving as intermediate models for scribes or copyists to transcribe texts directly onto the walls of the burial chamber were discovered (Lüscher 2013; 2015).

¹²⁰ Morales 2016; Alvarez, Grebnev (eds.) 2020.

¹²¹ Der Manuelian 1994: 57.

objects, adds another layer of complexity. These templates were likely associated with different supports, varying in sizes and levels of detail, and pertained to documents of which our knowledge remains incomplete. Notably, materials such as ostraca or papyri could potentially function as *Musterbücher*, further contributing to the intricate nature of these processes. Furthermore, the individuals who played a role in these processes also remain unknown.

Addressing the complexities surrounding copies raises questions about the definition of the term "copy" and its adequacy in capturing the complexity and challenges inherent in the discussed phenomenon.¹²² Furthermore, when considering the transmission and relationship between objects within a specific model, the traditional classification of what is deemed "rare" based on surviving materials suggests that occurrences of something unusual in two distinct monuments are related through a copy. However, the distinction between "direct copies" and *Musterbücher* or other temporary and intermediary models, along with the exploration of their permanence in archives, introduces another layer of complexity.

Engaging with templates prompts inquiries into the agents involved, the process of adapting these templates across changing supports during the transmission process(es) and the identification of differences, including mistakes and corrections, in the copying process. This involves understanding what was copied and what was omitted, not just from the original model to the secondary one(s) but also in the creation of the final object.

As a general rule, only secondary copies have survived, making it impossible to locate their originals or the archives/libraries from which they originated, preventing definitive statements. It is essential to acknowledge the various procedures and mechanisms of transmission that could coexist, influenced by factors like the situation, actors involved, chronology and geography. The multifaceted nature of these processes highlights the complexity of understanding the transmission and copy of texts and iconographies.

Analyzing this complexity becomes particularly challenging for coffins due to the absence of identified *Musterbücher*. However, the comparative analysis of the copying process by the craftspeople that may have followed the same or similar models allows for observation of meaningful variations, adaptations, deletions and additions between the texts and iconographies featured on the linked yellow coffins (see Chapter 4). Identified deviations from the patterns may, possibly, not only derive from the variation between similar models but also from the complex interaction between appeals to tradition and the attractions of innovation that lies at the heart of creativity itself.¹²³ It is unknown if these variations could also be associated with specific choices attributed to the preferences and circumstances of the coffin owner or whoever commissioned the object. As suggested in Chapter 4, access to specific models was probably linked to the social status of the owner of the object and their access to a specific repertoire of texts and iconographies. All of these variations result in the enormously complexity and variation of the texts and iconography depicted on the yellow coffins.

Egyptologists have generally accepted that ancient Egyptian art assumed the neutralization of the personal stylistic identity of the artist in favor of stylistic

¹²² Der Manuelian 1994: 5; Zinn 2011: 185 [n. 17].

¹²³ For the concept of "intericonicity," see Laboury 2017: 247-254.

homogenization. In this way, specific craftspeople remained imperceptible, even omitted, in ancient studies. However, by identifying and comparing the different patterns exhibited on the coffins, one can identify some of the specific models and even suggest the activity of individual craftspeople involved in the decoration of the funerary artifacts (see Chapter 4).

In conclusion, comprehending the dynamics outlined above serves to shed light on anthropological, cultural, historical, social, economic and humanized perspectives applied to objects within their specific contexts. This approach transcends the conventional, solely textual and iconographic methods commonly employed in traditional studies. Templates and models emerge as crucial sources for understanding the copying traditions of premodern cultures. Their intrinsic potential lies in exploring issues related to the circulation of texts and iconography, transfer processes and monumentalization. By scrutinizing the materials, their decoration and other marks, the objective is to gain insight into the individuals involved, particularly commissioners and decorators, who played integral roles in shaping the materials. This comprehensive exploration underscores the importance of a holistic understanding that extends beyond the visual aspects of objects.

2.2.3 Existence of Iconographical and Textual Models for Coffins

Regarding coffins in general, instances where actual models and templates can be definitively identified are exceedingly rare. Despite a few exceptions discussed below, only the extensive collection of coffins and their associated elements has been preserved. Given the vast dataset available on yellow coffins specifically, one might expect a greater number of models to have surfaced, but this remains an area of limited visibility. Unfortunately, the funerary containers themselves offer no direct insights into the manufacturing process or the social, economic and cultural context surrounding their production.

However, by conducting a meticulous analysis of the material and engaging in an inherently subjective interpretative process, as mentioned earlier, it becomes possible to suggest facets not explicitly documented in ancient sources. Material, intellectual and contextual processes at both individual levels (decorators, their unique styles, and commissioners, particularly to determine their level of involvement in the decoration) and collective levels (education, working methods and conditions) underlie the decoration of these coffins. These aspects, pivotal to ongoing debates and inquiries within the field of Egyptology and historical disciplines in general, remain absent from primary textual sources.

Certain inscriptions and iconographic scenes consistently appear in identical positions on the yellow coffins, implying the existence of established rules of composition, recurring patterns and common sequences that dictated the adornment of the material. This observation further hints at the existence of textual and iconographic models adhered to by craftspeople when organizing the layout and subsequently decorating the materials.

As previously discussed, attributing a particular group of specific coffins and coffin elements to the same model or similar ones can be proposed by identifying consistent similarities, such as texts and iconographies, consistently featured in the same positions

on the compared objects (see Chapter 4). This implies that their decoration likely resulted from the same or similar design indications and influences. It is important to note, as mentioned earlier, that identifying isolated individual similarities between elements does not necessarily associate them with the same pattern. Scenes and motifs widely popular during the period when yellow coffins were decorated may have naturally appeared in multiple models (as exemplified by the “greenery motif” discussed further below), and a single similar variable alone could be coincidental. The greater the number of similar variables between objects and the more distinctive they are, the higher the likelihood that the ornaments on the materials originated from the same or similar decorative models. This methodology holds true not only for yellow coffins but also for coffins in general.

Unfortunately, the identification of these models poses challenges due to the limited number of examples available, with only a few instances identified thus far, all originating from ostraca. The discussion below explores these models, which not only relate to the decoration found on yellow coffins but also have connections to earlier Ramesside material. Specifically, one model (fig. 2.2) features the design of a festive-dress type of cover, while another is likely associated with one of the now-lost coffins of Merenptah (fig. 2.4).

As a result, the presented examples, being the only ones identified so far with the context of coffin models, span a broad chronological range, as will be detailed further. Additionally, the circumstances surrounding the preparation of these models—such as when, by whom, and for what purpose—are not always known and may have varied depending on the specific instances. Furthermore, as will be discussed, specific texts frequently observed on yellow coffins also appear on earlier materials, like the so-called black coffins. This implies the possible utilization of similar models over an extended period, serving various materials interconnected in their purpose.

Uncertainty persists regarding whether these models exclusively corresponded to this particular type of support or if they could also pertain to inscribed and/or decorated papyri, coffins or even a combination of these objects. The specifics would depend of the context, purpose and desired level of detail. The specific indications, level of detail and complexity that would classify them as models are also unknown and likely varied from one object to another. For instance, among the examples presented below, one is solely textual (fig. 2.1), featuring various formulas, some specifically designed for inclusion on covers and others for inclusion on boxes. In contrast, other models are purely visual (fig. 2.2-3). Additional examples combine both figurative and textual indications (figs. 2.4-5). While the precise context of these models, including their exact purpose, period of usage, origin, creator, eventual circulation, and whether they served as master copies or secondary and temporary versions, remains unknown for the majority of the examples, some insights into their characteristics will be explored further below.

The responsible parties for preparing and using these models remain uncertain. Who had access to the *Musterbücher*? Who prepared the *Vorlagen*? Were decorators directly engaged in their preparation and utilization, suggesting a level of literacy on their part? Alternatively, could a scribe have been assigned the task of transferring textual details from the models onto, at the very least, the preparatory design of the coffins themselves? This lack of information must be considered when dealing with the context

of decorative models, as their use may have varied depending on specific circumstances.

2.2.3.1 Iconographical and Textual Models for Yellow Coffins

A detailed analysis of the decoration on the yellow coffins offers insights into the characteristics of the models used for this specific type of materials. The distinct layouts, iconographies and texts observed between covers and boxes (see Chapter 4) strongly suggests the existence of specific indications exclusive to each material typology, making these indications non-interchangeable. Such indications might have been present on separate individual models, each designed for a specific type of element, or they could be combined into a single model. Both cases are illustrated further below by two examples.¹²⁴ One example (fig. 2.5) was specifically designed for a box, featuring both texts and images, while another one (fig. 2.1) exclusively involved textual formulas for both covers and boxes. In the latter case, even if the model did not explicitly specify the type of objects to receive each type of inscription, experienced decorators would adeptly discern the context based on their expertise.

When focusing exclusively on the lids and mummy boards, distinguished by the reduced decorative surface of the latter, uncertainty arises regarding whether specific models were designated for each or if, at times, the same model could be applied to both for decoration. The latter scenario is exemplified by one of the discussed ostraca (fig. 2.2), which could be used for the production of either a lid or a mummy board. If a single model was employed for decorating both objects in certain instances, decorators would likely adapt the indications based on the characteristics of each element, depending on the level of detail present in the model. Regarding one of the examples presented below (fig. 2.1), some of the provided texts could be incorporated into both lids and mummy boards, suggesting that the model could be utilized for the decoration of both objects. However, specific layouts and decorations are exclusively featured on mummy boards, as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 2, indicating the existence of particular models associated with these objects. Regardless, the dynamics associated with these models would vary depending on the context and the characteristics of the artistic network or craftspeople responsible for adorning the objects, as well as their access to specific design patterns.

Coffin elements featuring identical or similar iconographical arrangements often exhibit corresponding textual similarities (see Chapter 4). This correlation arises because the depicted scenes are typically associated with specific texts, hinting at the possibility that models could have encompassed both textual and iconographical indications. One such model (fig. 2.5), presented below, exemplifies this relationship, where a speech related to the representation of the four sons of Horus is consistently associated with the representations of the gods. These figures and similar speeches are featured on the examined boxes in Chapter 4, Section 2.

However, it is important to contemplate the potential existence of distinct and independent textual and iconographical models and guidelines. An exclusively textual

¹²⁴ As discussed below, it is probable that both models were created during the popularity of black-type coffins. However, iconographic features, such as the representation of the four sons of Horus, as well as textual speeches commonly found on those coffins -such as the protective formula of Nut- were also prevalent and can be observed in some yellow coffins.

model, also presented below (fig. 2.1), includes, among others, a formula associated with the Book of the Dead Chapter 161. This particular formula is consistently featured on boxes and is invariably linked with the representation of the god Thoth. In instances like this, it is plausible that decorators, drawing on their experience, could perceive the intended representation solely from the text without the necessity for a separate figurative model. Alternatively, additional models, in this case, figurative ones, may have existed, recognized by decorators as complementing specific texts. The acknowledgment of compatibility could have been facilitated through markings or the decorators' experience.

This logical approach is crucial because, without some form of correspondence among texts and iconography—whether within the same model, based on experience or through marks on separate models intended to be used together—there would be a broad textual variety in both the utilized models and the specific texts associated with particular scenes among coffins sharing the same iconographical arrangement and scenes, and vice versa. However, such diversity is not observed in the presented evidence.

While speculative, there is a possibility that coffins served as model¹²⁵ due to their incorporation of both texts and iconography, organized layout and sequences. The intricate decorative features of yellow coffins may imply that obtaining general indications, if not specific details, was more convenient from a coffin itself, as opposed to papyri or ostraca, which might have been used for different purposes, such as the transmission of specific indications, texts, details and motifs among artistic networks.

In yellow coffins, specific scenes consistently occupy designated locations. For instance, in the case of boxes, when present, representations such as female goddesses with outstretched wings or the tit knot and Djed pillar are intended for the headboard. Additionally, the representation of Thoth associated with Book of the Dead 161 consistently appears, if existent, at the beginning of the walls, close to the head of the deceased. Conversely, scenes illustrating Hathor as a cow emerging from the Theban mountain and the goddess of the sycamore are typically positioned at the end of the walls of the coffin box, close to the legs of the deceased. Furthermore, the scene featuring Ptah Sokar Osiris usually serves as the opening scene on the walls, followed by the depiction of the scene involving Thoth. The method of deriving these indications—whether from a model, the decorator's experience or an actual coffin that could potentially, at a second moment, be modified for a specific customer—is unknown and remains speculative. It is important to acknowledge that each craftsperson and artistic network likely had their unique dynamics and specific practices.

Moreover, when considering coherent coffin sets—sets that do not exhibit heterogeneous elements resulting from the practice of recycling, reuse or perhaps modern mistakes that rearranged elements from different origins into a set—it is evident that lids and mummy boards associated with the same or similar model(s) are linked with boxes that also follow the same or similar model(s) among them. This observation is drawn from the analysis of the coffin sets discussed in Chapter 4. This practice implies that models were interconnected not only in terms of texts and iconographies related to the same element but also in terms of texts and iconographies associated with

¹²⁵ To explore the proposal for identifying a coffin as a direct model for coffin decoration during the Middle Kingdom, see Bommas 2017.

the elements of the same coffin set. In other words, even if the content within models was specifically created for individual elements, when a particular pattern of iconography and associated texts was used for covers, a corresponding pattern of iconography and associated texts was utilized for the decoration of the boxes. This ensured a cohesive theme throughout the entire set.

This may suggest that an actual model, regardless of the type of object, or corresponding models, might have included indications for correspondences among both covers and boxes in some form. An example of this practice is presented below (fig. 2.1). Although focusing solely on textual matters, the ostrakon features texts that would be incorporated on both lids and boxes. Even without direct specifications, the decorator would likely discern which formulas were intended for each element based on factors such as the orientation and arrangement of the texts or their experience. It is unknown if there would be the same in terms of figuration or a combination of both textual and iconographic indications. Additionally, separate models for lids and boxes may have existed, potentially identified by a mark or characteristic, to be used within the same coffin set. Of course, a coffin could also serve as a reference.

As previously mentioned, linking coffin elements to the same or similar model does not necessarily imply that they were decorated simultaneously and in the same location by the same craftspeople (see Chapter 4, Section 1). It remains unknown whether specific models were confined to particular artistic networks and/or craftspeople, or if access to multiple models was feasible and under what conditions. As discussed further below (pp. X), the prevailing assumption is that models and/or their copies, encompassing variations and distinct iconographic and textual details, may have circulated among various artistic networks and craftspeople. Additionally, individual craftspeople might have engaged in work across multiple artistic networks throughout their careers, gaining access to various models that would interact with the craftspeople's own specific textual and iconographical traits and details.

2.2.3.2 Archaeological Evidence

Surviving ostraca offer evidence of decorative models and their potential role in the decoration process(es), likely serving as intermediary models that bridged the gap between the master copy, its copies, or other intermediary models and the final product - the coffin.¹²⁶

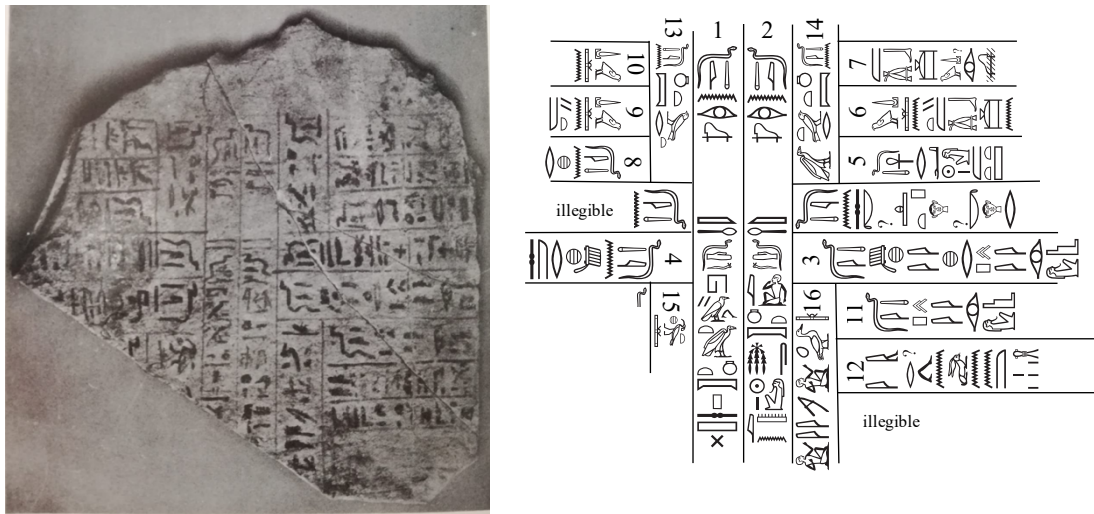
Ostrakon MMA 29.2.24¹²⁷ (fig. 2.1) indicates its purpose for the textual elements of a coffin, incorporating formulas used for both covers and boxes. The two central columns (cols. 1-2) feature a blank space intended for the deceased's name. This implies that the ostrakon served as a general prototype, a model without a specific name, adaptable for use in various contexts (refer to Chapter 4, Sections 4-5 for coffins featuring blank spaces). The ostrakon's decoration corresponds with the organizational structure of the textual elements intended for a male individual, as evidenced by the suffix pronouns in

¹²⁶ For insights into models related to additional funerary artifacts, such as a shabti and a heart scarab, refer to Keller 1991: 52, 67. Capart (1940) mentioned an ostrakon housed at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (No Inv. N°) with a text presumably associated with the depiction of a canopic vase, including a blank space where the name and titulary of the deceased should be featured. It's noteworthy that Capart emphasized the rarity of such a text related to canopic vases. This rarity raises the possibility that the text and depiction might actually pertain to another funerary item.

¹²⁷ Keller 1991: 53, 72 [pl. 6].

the *dd=f* formula within the central columns and the gender designation of *m3^c hrw* without the feminine gender marker (cols. 1-2).

Figure 2.1 Ostrakon that served as a textual model for a coffin



Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
29.2.24. Probably from Deir el-Medina.
Rogers Fund, 1929 (Keller 1991: 72 [pl. 6])

The object features a complex arrangement of multiple columns and horizontal bands, with signs arranged in various directions—likely mirroring their precise placement on different sections of coffin components. One of the two central columns (col. 1) on the object incorporates a segment of the protective speech associated with the goddess Nut, identified as the mother of the deceased. This aligns with the consistent inclusion of this formula on the central columns of covers within both the black¹²⁸ and yellow coffin corpus, with the formula notably absent on the associated boxes. Col. 2 likely displays a variation of the same formula, given that it includes the invocation of the same goddess.

Additional columns on the ostrakon, positioned perpendicular to the central ones in both directions, meticulously replicate specific inscriptions found on coffins (cols. 3, 4). These inscriptions typically run perpendicular to the central columns that include the speech associated with Nut. Therefore, the alignment of these formulas on the ostrakon faithfully mirrors their orientation and relationship as they would appear on actual coffins. The inscriptions in question commence with the words "Dd mdw in imAxy xr" (Words spoken by the revered one before), a recurring arrangement found on black coffins¹²⁹ and also on the yellow corpus, sometimes with variations.¹³⁰ This speech, which may be repeated several times on the objects, is usually followed by the names of specific divinities, often the four sons of Horus, along with a protective formula.

In the case of black coffins, this textual formula typically commences on the border inscriptions on lids and extends onto the box. However, on yellow coffins from the late

¹²⁸ Sartini 2019: 155-156.

¹²⁹ Sartini 2019: 161-163.

¹³⁰ New Kingdom yellow coffins and early Twenty-First Dynasty yellow coffins exhibit a similar arrangement, as demonstrated, for instance, in coffins in Chapter 4, Section 2. However, progressing through the Twenty-First Dynasty, the commencement of these inscriptions on the yellow corpus typically lacks the complete sequence "*dd mdw in im3hy hr*," as observed on the ostrakon. Instead, it often appears as "*dd mdw in*" or "*im3hy hr*," followed by the mention of the divinities.

New Kingdom throughout the Twenty-First Dynasty, this formula consistently appears on the covers. This is attributed to the formal independence of the lid and the box, both adorned as distinct pieces.¹³¹

After the beginning of the mentioned formulas, the divinities Hapy and Imseti are the sole ones referenced on the ostrakon, two of the four sons of Horus typically mentioned in these inscriptions. By focusing on only two divinities, the person that would use the model could easily recall the others, eliminating the need for explicit inclusion and conserving space on the ostrakon for supplementary information. Of course, the original size of the ostrakon remains unknown, and whether it would include additional columns and information is uncertain.

The ostrakon contains references to speeches intended for both covers and boxes; however, these texts are exclusive to one or the other and are not interchangeable.¹³² It is likely that the user of the model would have been aware of this distinction. The formula of Thoth, associated with Spell 161 of the Book of the Dead and found on boxes of the black¹³³ and yellow corpus, is present in two locations on the ostrakon (cols. 5-7, 8-10). Each instance features columns facing opposite directions, corresponding to indications for the formula to be integrated on each side of the box, given its common occurrence on both sides. Its inclusion also adheres to the arrangement in columns, never in horizontal lines.

This traditional speech included on coffins follows a highly standardized arrangement, typically adhering to the following structure, albeit with minor variations at times: *dd mdw in dhwtj nb mdw-ntr šš mʕt n psdt ʕt ʕnh Rʕ mr šty wdʒ nty m štyt m štyt n Wsir* NN¹³⁴ (Words to be spoken by Djehuty, lord of the divine words, true scribe of the great ennead: May Re live, may the turtle die, uninjured is the one who is in the burial mound, in the burial mound, for the Osiris NN). However, the columns on the ostrakon present a condensed version of the formula. One instance features the text *dd mdw ʕnh Rʕ mt š wdʒ nty m dbʒt m štyt [?] Wsir*, which is replicated on the other side, although that area is extensively damaged and thus incomplete. The abbreviation omits the mention of Djehuty, who is consistently recognized as the performer in the formula when inscribed in other documents. This implies that the content on the ostrakon served as a mnemonic aid to recall the complete speech. It is possible that, given this deity's consistent role as the performer of the action, specifying Djehuty was deemed unnecessary, and the user of the model would likely have been aware of the formula's central figure.

On the right side of the ostrakon (cols. 11-12), another example of a typical formula found on coffin boxes is presented. The speech, with its focus on the god Hapy, reads as follows: "*dd mdw in hpy (n) Wsir [NN] ii.n(=i) wnn(=i) m sʒ[=k...]*." This protective formula, meaning "Words spoken by Hapy (for) the Osiris (NN): I have come in order to be your protection," is commonly featured on black coffins, although traditionally

¹³¹ Sousa 2018: 35.

¹³² Excluding inscriptions that commence on the lid and extend to the box within the black coffin corpus, as previously noted.

¹³³ Sartini 2019: 174-177.

¹³⁴ The provided example comes from the box linked to Herytubekhet (ÄS 12c) (pl. 4.2/8), preserved at the Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst in Munich (Sousa 2020a: 34-38). The examination of the coffin is detailed in Chapter 4, Section 2.

associated with additional gods.¹³⁵ The speech underwent modifications and, with some differences, was also part of the typical textual repertoire of yellow coffins (refer to Chapter 4, Section 2, for examples and variations). This implies that the creation of the discussed model occurred during the period when the decoration of black coffins was popular. While its potential later application for the decoration of specimens from the yellow corpus, with variations, cannot be ruled out, it at least suggests the feasibility of similar models existing for the decoration of the yellow coffin corpus.

Notably, on the ostrakon, the resemblance between the speech in col. 11-12 and the one in col. 3, both mentioning the same god, suggests that each served distinct purposes and was intended for different locations on the coffin. The slight variations in their positions on the ostrakon could indicate to the user of the model that one (col. 3) was meant for the lid (and continued to the box in the case of black coffins), while the other (cols. 11-12) was specifically intended for the box.

Finally, the ostrakon includes references to the goddess Nut, along with one of her epithets (*wrt Mwt [ntr]*), arranged in two horizontal lines (ls. 13, 14). The strategic arrangement of signs in opposing orientations indicates their intended placement on different sections of the coffin. Additionally, the ostrakon incorporates the mention of the words “*3ht*” (l. 15) and the phrase “*s3=i mry=i*” (l. 16). These elements fill the remaining space, transforming the ostrakon into a comprehensive template, showcasing the meticulous planning and purposeful design associated with its inscriptions.

The examined ostrakon reveals prototype versions of texts strategically designed for distinct locations and elements within the coffin set. Utilizing diverse possibilities through the strategic use of columns and lines, each with varying orientations, the ostrakon caters to the diverse requirements of associated coffin elements. It is plausible that the decorator possessed a nuanced understanding of which information corresponded to each coffin element and the specific section where the texts were to be incorporated. While not an exact reproduction of the texts eventually featured on the final objects, the ostrakon serves the crucial purpose of conserving space. These indications offered individuals with experience the necessary tools and indications to execute the task accurately, emphasizing the efficiency and practicality inherent in such prototype inscriptions.

Additional surviving models predominantly feature figurative representations, as exemplified by the models presented below. Specifically, ostrakon MMA 23.7.1¹³⁶ (fig. 2.2) showcases the representation of the so-called festive-type Ramesside covers (refer to Chapter 4, Sections 2, 4). This specific model illustrates a male cover,¹³⁷ whether meant to represent a lid, a mummy board, or both.

Ostrakon Turin. S. 6306 (Fig. 2.3) illustrates a coffin lid with longitudinal bands framing vignettes showcasing seated divinities. The lower portion of the object features a representation likely intended to depict the underside footboard of the coffin lid. Naturally, the same model, with modifications, could be utilized for a mummy board. The extension of the horizontal bands beyond the lid suggests a connection with the

¹³⁵ Sartini 2019: 166-167.

¹³⁶ Keller 1991: 53, 73 [pl. 7].

¹³⁷ Refer to Cooney 2009 for insights into coffins characterized by gender distinctions during the Ramesside Period.

bands on the box, indicating the creation of the model before the yellow type of the late New Kingdom and Twenty-First Dynasty. As mentioned, during this later periods, there was no correspondence between lids and boxes in the decorative arrangement, as the elements were independently decorated.

Additionally, fig. 2.4 provides insights into the representation of a royal coffin, potentially one of the wooden coffins (now destroyed) of King Merenptah, accompanied by notes on its measurements. The object's discovery in the burial chamber of the aforementioned king's tomb sheds light on craft production and industry within the Valley of the Kings during the New Kingdom. In this case, the ostrakon suggests that measurements and final checks on near-finished products could be conducted at the necropolis itself, although the exact purpose of the model remains unknown.¹³⁸ This specific example underscores the varied typologies and purposes of coffin models, suggesting an unidentified activity within the burial chamber that specifically required the use of a particular type of coffin model. Unlike models strictly dedicated to decoration, which may include texts or iconography, this instance is intricately linked to its purpose, involving the measurements of the coffin.

Figure 2.2 (left): Ostrakon that likely served as a model for a festive-type male coffin

Figure 2.3 (center): Ostrakon that likely served as a decorative model for the arrangement of a coffin

Figure 2.4 (right): Ostrakon that likely served as a reference model for the measurements of a royal coffin



Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 23.7.1. From the Valley of the Kings, slope above the tomb of Merenptah (KV 8). Carnarvon/Carter excavations, 1920. Gift of the Earl of Carnarvon, 1923 (Keller 1991: 73 [pl. 7]; <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/555557>)

(Last accessed: 5/June/2023).



Museo Egizio, Turin. S. 6306. From Deir el-Medina, acquired by Ernesto Schiaparelli

(https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/it=/IT/material/S_6306/?description=&inventoryNumber=6306&title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=&provenance=&acquisition=&epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh=)

(Last accessed: 5/June/2023)

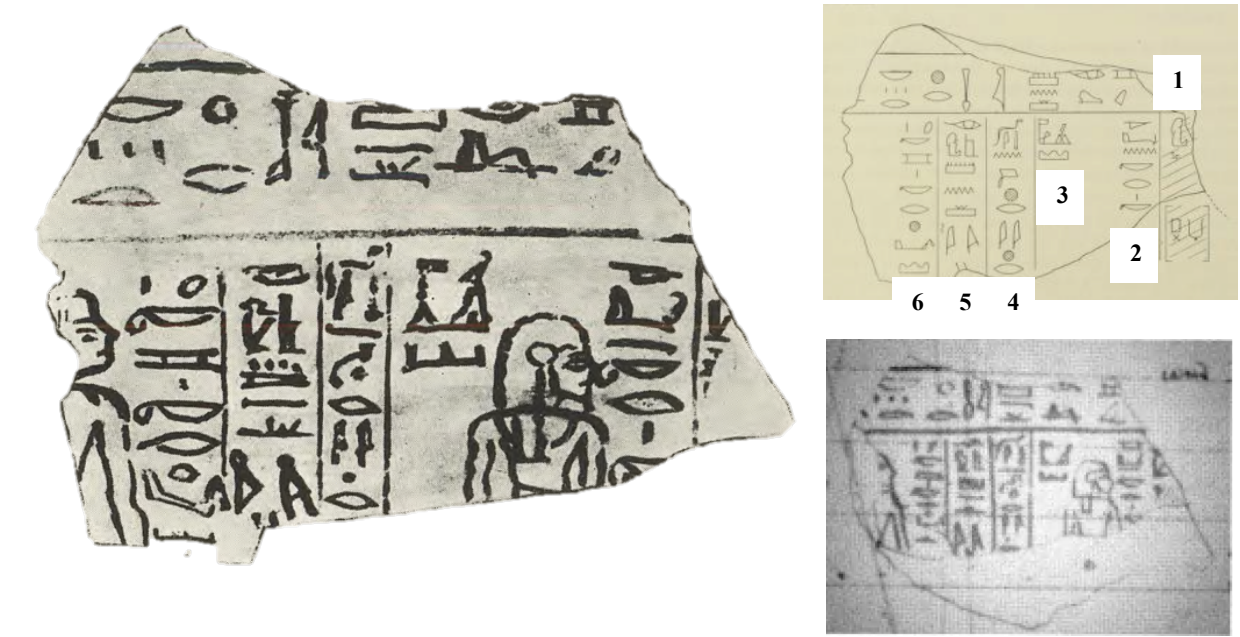


Location unknown. From the burial chamber of the tomb of Merenptah (KV 8). Carter excavations, 1903-1904 (Brown 2023: 8 [fig. 1] after Carter 1905: pl. III).

¹³⁸ Brown 2023.

The Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin preserves an ostracon (3300¹³⁹) (fig. 2.5, Table 2.1) that functioned as both an iconographical and textual model for a coffin box. It includes a single upper horizontal inscription along with six vertical lines, displaying remnants of a right-facing funerary text. Among the vertical lines, there are the remains of two individually standing funerary deities facing the direction of the text, possibly representing two of the four sons of Horus, although their names are not specified.

Figure 2.5: Ostracon likely used as an iconographical and textual model for decorating a coffin box



Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, 3300. Found by Möller in 1913 (Brunner-Traut 1956: 58 [50], pl. XIX; Weiss 2015: 405-6 [Table 11, Cat. 11.29], referring to the findspot as Excavation Site D = Area N.E. VIII-XIX).

Table 2.1 Proposed Transliteration and Translation of the Inscriptions Featuring on the Ostracon Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, 3300.

Transliteration	Translation
(1) <i>mr? Wsir mn m3^c hrw hr nbw r[...]</i>	(1) ? Osiris “so-and-so,” justified, before all [...]
(2) <i>wn[=i] n=k r(3)=k [...]</i>	(2) I will open for you your mouth [...]
(3) <i>hryt ntr</i>	(3) necropolis
(4) <i>dd mdw in im3hy hr [...]</i>	(4) Words to be spoken by the revered one before [...]
(5) <i>Wsir mn mry?</i>	(5) Osiris “so-and-so,” beloved?
(6) <i>s3=k mr=k r hw[it]?</i>	(6) his son, beloved of him in order to protect [you?]

The distinguishing factor indicating that the ostracon is likely a model rather than a sketch lies in two instances where, instead of a specific name, the particle "mn" is referenced, signifying a generic individual.¹⁴⁰ The use of this generic term suggests a

¹³⁹ Brunner-Traut 1956: 58 [50], pl. XIX; Weiss 2015: 405-6 [Table 11, Cat. 11.29].
¹⁴⁰ The proposition, initially suggested by Brunner-Traut (1956: 58 [50]), faced rebuttal from Weiss (2015: 405), who posited that "mn" actually denoted the name of the deceased. Despite the existence of a

broadener applicability for the model. Whether it served as an intermediate model passed between craftspeople or if it was associated with a particular location or decorator remains unknown.

The specific date of the ostrakon remains elusive, and while the phrase "*s3=k mr=k*" is identifiable in yellow coffin boxes, exemplified in those discussed in Chapter 4, Section 2, alongside the representation of the four sons of Horus, its precise historical context remains uncertain. Notably, col. 2 appears to be linked to a variant of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony,¹⁴¹ a ritual seldom depicted on coffins, with only a few exceptions, discussed below.

With respect to yellow coffins,¹⁴² among them is the coffin lid of Ineferti (Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, 86.1.5a, b)¹⁴³ from the Nineteenth Dynasty and the much later coffin set of Butchamon. In the case of Butchamon, the ceremony is uniquely inscribed on the underside of both the inner lid (Museo Egizio in Turin, Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.a) and the mummy board (Museo Egizio in Turin, Cat. 2237; CGT 10103) (see Chapter 4, Section 3). Another rare instance is noted on a fragment of a yellow coffin box, currently held at the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum in San Jose, California (RC-616¹⁴⁴) (fig. 2.6, Table 2.2). This fragment features a speech and a representation related to the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. The fragmented box, to which this fragment belongs, is believed to have originated from Akhmim and was owned by Huiuiipwy. A comprehensive discussion on this artifact, along with the associated fragmented lid, can be found in Chapter 4, Section 1.

corresponding name (Keller 1991: 66-67, with references), the current study regards "*mn*" as a generic particle rather than a specific name.

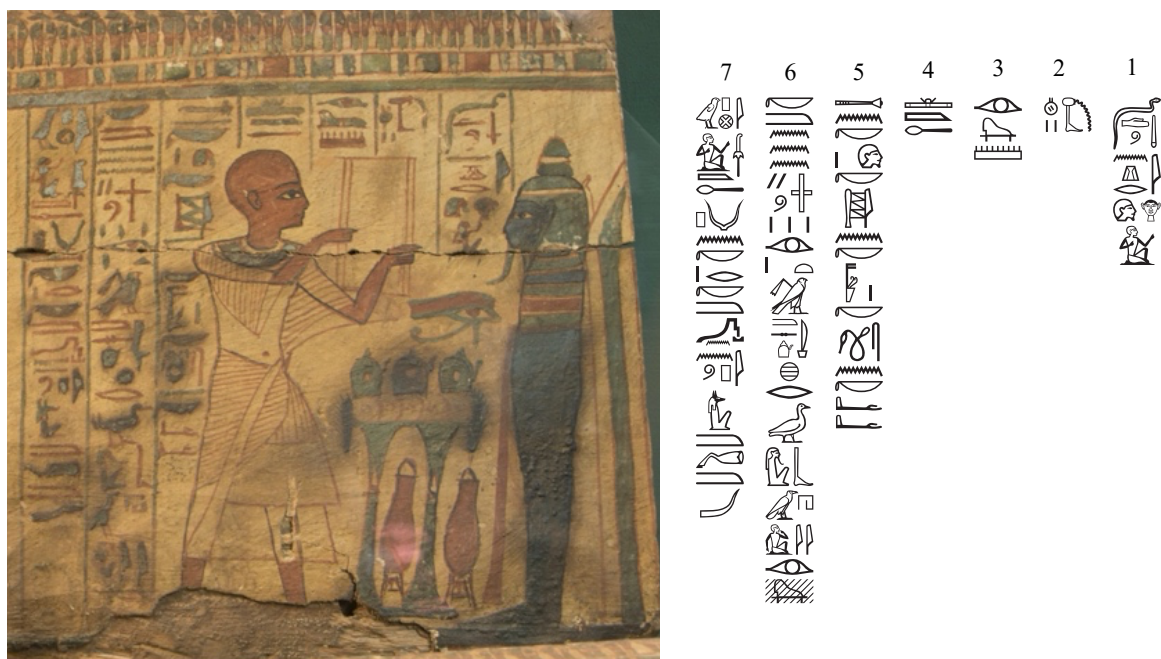
¹⁴¹ Otto 1960: 76 [Scene 43].

¹⁴² To explore the depiction of the Opening of the Mouth ritual on black coffins, see Pendlebury 1951: 90, 92, 188, pls. LXXIV.9, CIV, specifically concerning a coffin from Amarna that belonged to the royal scribe Iny during the Amarnian Period. Additionally, see Bettum 2012: 156-157. An explicit reference to the ritual can also be found in a fragmentary coffin box from Akoris (Paleological Association of Japan and Egyptian Committee 1995: 59-60, 319-321, pl. 24; Sartini 2019: 751-753 [81]).

¹⁴³ Cooney 2007: 450-455, figs. 141-149; Bettum 2012: 246.

¹⁴⁴ An additional detail of the fragmented box appears, even if misdated to the Nineteenth Dynasty, in Schwappach-Shirriff 2004: 13.

Figure 2.6: Detail of a fragment associated with a yellow coffin box, featuring a speech and a representation related to the Opening of the Mouth ceremony



Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California, RC-616. Unknown origin, probably from Akhmim.

Table 2.2 Proposed Transliteration and Translation of the Inscriptions Related to the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony on the Coffin of Huiuiipwy (Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California, RC-616)

Transliteration	Translation
(1) <i>dd mdw in hry(-hbt)-hry-tp</i>	(1) Words spoken by the chief lector priest:
(2) <i>w^cb(.w) sp 2</i>	(2) you are pure, you are pure,
(3) <i>Wsir mn</i>	(3) Osiris “so and so,”
(4) <i>m3^c-hrw</i>	(4) justified
(5) <i>Mn n=k tp=k i^cb¹⁴⁵ n=k ks(w)=k srwd n=k w^cy</i>	(5) Take your head, put together/assemble your bones, strengthen your arms
(6) <i>=k m mw imyw irt hr m nms(t) hr Gb h3 Wsir</i>	(6) with the water that is in the eye of Horus, with the nemset-jars, before Geb. Oh Osiris
(7) <i>hwi-(wi)-Ipwy m3^c-hrw wpw(.n=i) n=k r=k m stp.n Inpw m hps, m w^cbt</i>	(7) Huiuiipwy, justified. I have opened your mouth for you with the adze of Anubis, being/namely the foreleg and the abet utensil(s)/polishing stones (?).

Notably, the name of the coffin’s owner, Huiuiipwy, appears frequently on both the fragmented inner lid and the inner box of his ensemble (pls. 4.1/5-6). What sets apart the depiction of the Opening of the Mouth ritual on his associated box is the inclusion of the generic particle “*mn*” in col. 3 of the inscription related to the ritual. This implies that the decorator or scribe responsible for reproducing the formula likely followed a model featuring this specific generic particle, intended for substitution with an actual name in the final product.

¹⁴⁵ The text discusses the reassembly of the dismembered body of Osiris, that is, the deceased individual. To find the relevant verb involved, *i^cb*, refer to WB I: 40: 13-14, spelled with the Gardiner List sign M19 (see WB I: 167: 10-11).

It is probable that the individual in charge, perhaps due to the rarity of the formula on the coffin or other reasons, may not have been fully aware of the distinction or encountered confusion, resulting in the non-substitution of "*mn*," even though the name of the deceased was later included in col. 7. These insights offer a glimpse into the production process of this particular object. As discussed in Chapter 4, Section 1, the owner of the coffin held a position as an individual associated with the role of *sš kd* in the domain of Min in Akhmim. This connection suggests that craft activities were occurring at Akhmim towards the end of the New Kingdom. It remains unclear whether his relationship with the temple granted him access to restricted texts, such as the Opening of the Mouth ritual.

It is conceivable that the privilege enabling the inclusion of the Opening of the Mouth ritual in Huiuiipwy's coffin set originated from his father's position, who held a role associated with the *pr-ḥ*, potentially in Akhmim. This strongly suggests that Huiuiipwy's father had access to texts of a similar nature, offering a plausible explanation for their inclusion in his son's coffin, although the specifics remain unknown. This perspective sheds light on Huiuiipwy's social status as a craftsman in Akhmim during that era, securing a distinctive position that was likely rare, if not previously documented. The scarcity of such roles is underscored by the sole surviving documentation of Huiuiipwy's yellow coffin associated with a *sš kd*, recognizing the possibility that additional instances may exist but remain undocumented or have been lost over time.

Moreover, a stela from Akhmim¹⁴⁶ suggests a connection between the House of Life and the Domain of Min. Thus, during the era of Huiuiipwy and his father, if the House of Life in Akhmim was indeed linked to the temple of Min, it would clarify the connection between these individuals not only on a familial level but also professionally, influencing Huiuiipwy's access to sacred texts. This association likely resulted in the inclusion of the Opening of the Mouth ritual in Huiuiipwy's coffin, as he enjoyed privileged access to these sacred texts that might not have been available in a different context.

2.3 Mobility of Craftspeople and Circulation and Transmission of Decorative Models and Motifs

As the primary capital city during the New Kingdom, Thebes was no doubt the primary site of decorative innovation. However, it is also possible that iconographical and textual models, as well as specific iconographical details, were created in other locations as well. The demonstrable mobility of craftspeople likely facilitated the diffusion of tangible innovative models, layouts and new and unique iconographic scenes and motifs across artistic networks and to various geographical locations. Put another way, the mobility of craftspeople facilitated the widespread and impactful transmission of new creative processes and themes. Additionally, there is a possibility that specific models and iconographic details were disseminated through alternative channels, driven by numerous reasons, occasionally involving individuals unrelated to any artistic network.

¹⁴⁶ Gardiner 1938: 173 [46].

When decorating private objects, craftspeople could be less rigid about applying the standards and themes of the artistic canons, deviating from those norms to develop individual signature decorative styles. Decorative applications became less orthodox in the post-Amarnian period, which already represented a significant departure from the preceding artistic parameters, rendering it a fertile period in which to investigate individual craftspeople and specific transmissions of decorative motifs and ideas. As discussed further below, the appearance of unique decorative features in distant locations around the same time also suggests that craftspeople exercised, to a meaningful degree, their own creative agency in decorating objects and sites.

Whenever and however novel innovative models and motifs found their way into the workshops or were introduced to the craftspeople in new locations, it is difficult to ascertain whether the coffin *owners* themselves decided to follow them for the decoration of their funerary equipment or if their depiction reflected the will of the individual *craftspeople*. Furthermore, it is now known from the surviving record whether the models, even if they could circulate, were typically associated with specific workshops or craftspeople as their signature or popular representation, or if they became a common part of the creative repertoire in broader areas.

2.3.1 Mobility of Craftspeople

There is a lack of extensive textual sources that speak to the phenomenon of the circulation of both craftspeople and models, whether it occurred simultaneously and collectively or independently. However, there is documentation suggesting that during the New Kingdom, particularly after the Amarna Period, the mobility of individual craftspeople contributed to the diffusion of specific motifs and scenes across artistic networks.¹⁴⁷

Exceptionally, one ostrakon of Theban provenance contains a unique inscription that establishes the geographic origins of some of the workers that laboured in private Theban tombs during the Eighteenth Dynasty. The inscription indicates that the men travelled from different regions of Upper Egypt, one from as far as Middle Egypt.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, multiple surviving Theban stelae, as well as a surviving statue, contain inscriptions presenting the genealogy of Dedias, who lived in the early Nineteenth Dynasty and came from a family of craftspeople with names that suggest even non-Egyptian roots.¹⁴⁹

Moving beyond the limited textual sources, the decorations of the private Theban tombs, with their specific stylized features, present more persuasive evidence of the impactful mobility of craftspeople. The proposed indication of an individual craftperson's style appearing in various tombs across different locations strongly suggests the mobility of individual decorators. Consider, for example, Zivie's analysis of Tomb I.19 at the Bubasteion in Saqqara,¹⁵⁰ which features many scenes depicted on

¹⁴⁷ Shahawy 2012. For an overview, see Vivas Sainz 2017.

¹⁴⁸ Megally 1981: 306-308.

¹⁴⁹ Lowle 1976.

¹⁵⁰ Sometimes called "The Tomb of the Artists" (Zivie 2013: 9), the tomb owners were likely Thutmes and his wife (Zivie 2013: 12, 97, 102, 110). For a list of relevant references, see Zivie 2013: 11.

the walls that were decorated by its owner, Thutmes,¹⁵¹ during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.¹⁵² Zivie identifies Thutmes's unique decorative style, evidenced not only by his exceptional talent but also by his innovative technique and pigments used.¹⁵³ Zivie suggested that the style and design of several figures, including most notably their gestures, movements and faces, are common to I.19 and some contemporaneous private Theban tombs located approximately 600 kilometers down the Nile River, and even the royal tomb of Amenhotep III at the Valley of the Kings.¹⁵⁴

Returning to textual corroboration, Thutmes' mobility is further supported by the titulary on his tomb, which specifically associates most of the described men with *st M3ꜥt*, the "Place of Maat", a term attributed to Deir el-Medina.¹⁵⁵ This constellation of data suggests that Thutmes, as well as associated craftspeople, enjoyed significant mobility between the Theban area and Memphis.¹⁵⁶ Although speculative, Zivie has even suggested the identification of this Thutmes with the sculptor Thutmes attested to in Amarna during the same period.¹⁵⁷

The mobility of craftspeople around Egypt was especially important after the Amarna Period. After Akhenaten's death and the sudden abandonment of Amarna, a significant portion of the large and important community of craftspeople, who had relocated to Amarna during its brief time as the capital city, likely returned to their places of origin or other regional centres, such as Thebes, Deir el-Medina and Memphis.¹⁵⁸ Some of them may have even followed Tutankhamun to the new royal residence and administrative capital of Egypt at Memphis.¹⁵⁹ This mobility is also evidenced by the presence of quintessentially Amarnian scenes and styles in the post-Amarna period private tombs in the Theban area,¹⁶⁰ Akhmim¹⁶¹ and the Memphite necropolises, especially at Saqqara.¹⁶²

The evident mobility of craftspeople during the New Kingdom may not only be explained by the sudden abandonment of Akhetaten. Other unknown factors likely prompted workers and craftspeople from distant regions in Egypt to undertake extensive journeys. This migration inadvertently intensified the transfer of styles and scenes, originally unique to one location, to tombs in different geographical areas.

The whole myriad group of reasons motivating this mobility cannot be known, as well as the full extent of the mobility and the volume of travelling craftspeople. It is possible that craftspeople travelled pursuant to labor contracts, assuming that some people could

¹⁵¹ Zivie 2007: 606; Zivie 2013: 32, 35, 45, 102, 113 [n. 1]. For the activity of another decorator in the same tomb, see Zivie 2013: 58-59.

¹⁵² Zivie 2013: 10, 34-35, 55, 125.

¹⁵³ The results of the scientific analyses of the pigments, varnishes, resins and bindings, which are not yet published, will provide more information regarding Thutmes' activity (Zivie 2007: 612; Zivie 2013: 122).

¹⁵⁴ Zivie 2003: 73; Zivie 2007: 612-615; Zivie 2013: 123-125, with references.

¹⁵⁵ Zivie 2013: 9, 12, 32, 97.

¹⁵⁶ Zivie 2013: 109-110, 113.

¹⁵⁷ Zivie 2013: 128-136.

¹⁵⁸ Zivie 2013: 112 [n. 2]; Vivas Sainz 2017: 108, 111-113.

¹⁵⁹ Vivas Sainz 2017: 108, 111-113. There is debate on this issue: see, for example, Van Dijk, Eaton-Krauss 1986.

¹⁶⁰ Vivas Sainz 2017: 112-113, with references.

¹⁶¹ For example, in the tomb of Sennedjem (Ockinga 1991: 83; Ockinga 1997).

¹⁶² For example, in the Tomb I.27 of Raiay/Hatiay (Zivie 2005; Zivie 2013: 64). For other examples, see Vivas Sainz 2017: 113, with references.

subsidize such a luxury. This mobility could also reflect the desire of craftspeople to seek new opportunities during a period without sufficient work available at Deir el-Medina. Of course, undocumented personal reasons could also have motivated the mobility of craftspeople, with work objectives being secondary to their motivations.

Therefore, craftspeople from Deir el-Medina and the Theban area could operate beyond their village boundaries and extend their influence beyond the local area.¹⁶³ This capability is supported by textual records and is evident in the distinctive styles of Deir el Medina decorators found in private tombs of nobles, such as Theban Tombs 65¹⁶⁴ and 113,¹⁶⁵ extending even to locations as distant as Saqqara, as previously mentioned.

2.3.2 Circulation of Decorative Models

There is evidence supporting the circulation of decorative models for coffins, whether facilitated by the mobility of craftspeople or transmitted through alternative channels. This mobility is particularly evident in the context of New Kingdom coffins originating from Amarna. Regarding the black coffins with yellow decoration, certain specimens from this site exhibit a Theban traditional style and arrangement, incorporating elements from Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead, displaying Anubis and the four Sons of Horus. This particular style is especially common among coffins associated with the lower strata of the population.¹⁶⁶ The inclusion of such iconography on black coffins originating from Amarna implies a transfer of artistic motifs and iconographical patterns associated with traditional religious beliefs from Thebes to Amarna, where these beliefs persisted, at least within a subset group of the population.

However, a reverse transfer also took place. During the Amarna period, alongside the previously mentioned traditional scenes on black coffins, the city witnessed a departure from these traditional depictions with the emergence of the "new Amarna style." This shift likely occurred in response to the new religious beliefs. In contrast to the customary representations of traditional deities, the new decorative arrangement incorporated funerary scenes depicting priests, mourners and/or the deceased's relatives making offerings.¹⁶⁷ Interestingly, some examples featuring this Amarna iconography and following this provincial pattern were discovered in Akoris¹⁶⁸ and Deir el-Medina.

Concerning the specimens discovered in Deir el-Medina featuring the "new Amarna style", a notable discovery was the coffin of Taat,¹⁶⁹ standing out as the only complete

¹⁶³ Van Walsem 2000: 347.

¹⁶⁴ Regarding this tomb, a unique graffito from the tomb of Ramses VI, dated to the ninth year of the reign of Ramses IX, documents the decoration of the private TT 65 by craftspeople from Deir el Medina (Keller 1984: 124, with references; McDowell 1999: 242 [195]; Cooney 2007: 170; 2008: 96).

¹⁶⁵ Bács, Parkinson 2011: 42. A surviving letter sent by the owner of the tomb to one of the craftspeople of Deir el-Medina suggests the existence of relationships between the craftspeople there and elites elsewhere (Černý 1937 II: 12, pl. II [ODM 115]).

¹⁶⁶ Sartini 2019: 126.

¹⁶⁷ Bettum, Skinner 2015: 29-32; Sartini 2019: 10-11, 126-127.

¹⁶⁸ Paleological Association of Japan and Egyptian Committee 1995: 59-60, 319-321, pl. 24; Sartini 2019: 751-753 [81]

¹⁶⁹ Bruyère 1937: 104-105, pls. X, XII; Sartini 2019: 659-662 [57]; Eschenbrenner-Diemer, Sartini, Serpico 2021: 262-264. For additional coffin fragments discovered in Deir el-Medina featuring the "new Amarnian style", see Eschenbrenner-Diemer, Sartini, Serpico 2021: 262, 266, 269, 283. It is noteworthy that the coffin of Taat was recently rediscovered in the magazines of the west bank in Luxor and is currently under study by the Medjehu Project, directed by Eschenbrenner-Diemer.

specimen of this type found outside Amarna to date. The associated coffin lid is adorned with gold leaf, covering the face, part of the usekh-collar and the terminal section of the wig lappets. The decorative scheme on the box walls reveals Taat's relatives as offering-bearers, identified by their names. Furthermore, despite significant damage, the funerary inscriptions on the coffin make references to the god Aten and the city of Akhetaten.

This data offers valuable insights into the interaction between religious beliefs and artistic styles during the New Kingdom. It not only suggests the mobility of decorative models and/or craftspeople between cities but also raises questions. The examples following the “new Amarna style” discovered outside of Amarna prompt inquiry into whether these coffins were potentially prepared and decorated in Amarna and later transported to those cities for unknown reasons, or if the decoration took place locally. The absence of titulary on these specimens does not provide clarity on this matter.

Artistic styles and patterns continued to circulate during the Ramesside period, as illustrated by a recent finding in the city of Tuna el-Gebel.¹⁷⁰ The discovery includes a two-part “open-work technique” mummy board adorned for a Chantress of Djehuty named Nany. This artifact prominently features the typical and traditional artistic motifs, decorative arrangements and styles characteristic of the Ramesside Theban era.¹⁷¹ The presence of such elements in this context serves as evidence for the continued influence and circulation of these artistic attributes throughout Egypt. Certainly, the precise moments and details of these transmissions between regions remain elusive, introducing uncertainties about whether stylistic evolution occurred concurrently in distant areas and the speed at which these artistic models circulated.

Transitioning to the yellow coffin corpus, a New Kingdom yellow coffin unearthed at Amarna, positioned alongside to the north outer wall of the so-called Main Chapel and attributed to an anonymous male,¹⁷² highlights both the dissemination of decorative models and motifs, regardless of the influence of mobile craftspeople. While the coffin's general iconographical layout, program and style differ from those discovered at Amarna,¹⁷³ it shares more similarities with the Theban yellow type coffins of the same period,¹⁷⁴ as discussed in more detail below. Taylor and Boyce dated the coffin to the late Twentieth Dynasty, presupposing a concurrent development in style and iconographic trends in both Thebes and Amarna.¹⁷⁵

Iconographic attributes of the anonymous coffin from Amarna further substantiate the late Twentieth Dynasty origins proposed by Taylor and Boyce. These characteristics,

¹⁷⁰ The discovery was announced online, and a partial image of the object can be viewed on the following website: <https://www.heritagedaily.com/2023/10/new-kingdom-cemetery-found-at-tuna-el-gebel/148888> (Last accessed: 18/December/2023)

¹⁷¹ A remarkable resemblance to the mummy board is evident in the Theban mummy board of Henutmehyt (British Museum in London, EA48001), which is preserved at the British Museum (EA 48001) (Taylor 1999).

¹⁷² Bomann 1985: 14-17; Taylor, Boyce 1986.

¹⁷³ Stevens *et al.* 2013; Bettum, Skinner 2015; Stevens 2017; Skinner *et al.* 2018; Skinner *et al.* 2019; Rogge *et al.* 2022. For the conservation of coffins originating from the site, see Dawson, Skinner 2013; Dawson, Skinner 2014. Some of the results from these publications stem from the Amarna Coffins Project, led by Stevens and Bettum, initiated in 2015 for the analysis of all coffin fragments discovered in the *South Tombs Cemetery* situated in a wadi below the southern tombs of the nobles at Amarna.

¹⁷⁴ Taylor, Boyce 1986: 120-121, 139-140.

¹⁷⁵ Taylor, Boyce 1986: 142.

consistent with the style of the period,¹⁷⁶ appear on both the lid and the box. For instance, the central panel of the lid depicts a winged goddess and a prominent *wd3t* eye, with perhaps a *nfr* sign on either side of the goddess's head.¹⁷⁷ The box showcases a striped pattern emulating a wig on the headboard, decorations on the base of the coffin foot, an absence of ornamentation on the upper edge of the exterior walls, no interior box decorations¹⁷⁸ and individual scenes illustrating the sons of Horus separately on the box exterior.

The iconography featured on the anonymous coffin from Amarna aligns consistently with some Theban coffins from the late Twentieth Dynasty, especially those associated with Padiamon¹⁷⁹ and Ahaaa.¹⁸⁰ Beyond the shared characteristics mentioned earlier, the iconographic resemblance across these coffin boxes is evident in the distinctive arrangement of the *wd3t* eye on a pedestal on one wall, juxtaposed with the depiction of Anubis on a pedestal on the opposite wall.

While it is plausible that these coffins were adorned based on the same or similar decorative models, indicating a potential mobility of stylistic innovation and transmission of motifs and layouts during the same period, the specificity of the iconographic details and their likelihood suggest that the involvement of an individual mobile craftsman in decorating them across regions cannot be dismissed.

In the absence of preserved titulary, what inspired the Theban-style decoration of the Amarna coffin is even less clear. Was the anonymous owner from Thebes? Or did they commission the coffin in that style out of some other motivation? Alternatively, did the craftspeople or craftsman have a signature or preferred style? In other words, do the unique iconographic features reflect the choice of the *owner* or the choice and circumstances of the *decorator*?

Moreover, the Amarna yellow coffin showcases the halo of greenery motif, as depicted on a table of offerings before the four sons of Horus.¹⁸¹ The presence of this motif, elaborated upon later, implies its transmission to a region beyond Thebes, where it presumably originated. In this regard, the chronology of the Amarna coffin aligns with the chronological range proposed by Van Walsem for the use of the motif,¹⁸² a discussion of which is also provided below.

Concerning additional evidence on the circulation of models around Upper Egypt, an analysis in Chapter 4, Section 1 delves into a group of yellow coffins and yellow coffin elements decorated during the late New Kingdom and the beginning of the Twenty-First

¹⁷⁶ Niwiński 2019: 61.

¹⁷⁷ Taylor, Boyce 1986: 126 [fig. 8.6], 129.

¹⁷⁸ Taylor, Boyce 1986: 142.

¹⁷⁹ JE 26220; CG 61011 (Daressy 1909: 12-17, pl. XII; Niwiński 1988: 117 [74]; Cooney 2007: 466-468 [E.3]). For the similarities between the anonymous coffin from Amarna and the coffin of Padiamon, see Taylor, Boyce 1986: 142. The coffin of Padiamon was reused for the reburial of the Princess and Queen Ahmose-Sitkamose (Kitchen 1973: 262, 420 [§ 386, 39]).

¹⁸⁰ JE 34567; CG 61041 (Daressy 1909: 222-224, pl. LXIV). The coffin of Ahaaa was reused for the reburial of Ramesses IV in KV35 after his removal from KV2 (Reeves 1990: 196-198).

¹⁸¹ Taylor, Boyce 1986: 136 [fig. 8.8], 137 [fig. 8.9]. Interestingly, the motif is absent on both the coffins of Padiamon and Ahaaa. However, the figures of the four sons of Horus depicted on both boxes lack any tables of offerings before them, which traditionally incorporate the motif.

¹⁸² Van Walsem 2000: 339-340, 347-348.

Dynasty, revealing shared or comparable iconographical and textual decorative model(s). The analysis suggests that the majority of the materials have an Akhmimic origin, while others can be traced back to a Theban source. The observation that these coffins, despite sharing the same or similar provincial model(s), were likely decorated in different locations, provides insights into the circulation and transmission of these models, perhaps involving craftspeople from the Akhmimic region. However, the reasons behind such circulation and the actual place of origin of the used model(s), even if commonly found in yellow coffins originating from Akhmim, remain unknown.

Finally, an archaeological report underscores discoveries made during the exploration of a reused Middle Kingdom tomb at Kom Ombo, where three coffins were found. Among these artifacts, at least one is likely to have been interred during the reign of Psusennes I,¹⁸³ and they were described as displaying stylistic resemblances to the coffins presumed to belong to the priests of Amun.¹⁸⁴ However, the absence of corroborative information, such as images or additional reports, introduces uncertainties. Once again, the presence of these coffins in Kom Ombo raises the prospect of a transfer of yellow coffin models, craftspeople, or both to this location. Given the limited information about the specific nature and mode of model(s) circulation, understanding is further complicated. In all these instances suggesting model(s) circulation, conducting scientific analyses on the coffins could provide insights into the actual manufacturing and materiality associated with the decoration of the objects. This, in turn, could shed light on the similarities and differences between these and other objects from various locations that share the same or similar model(s).

2.3.3 Circulation of Motifs: The Halo of Greenery Drooping from the Table Edges of the Offering Tables and Stands Featured on Coffins

The motif, commonly known as the halo of greenery drooping from the table edges of offering tables and stands,¹⁸⁵ consistently appears across all elements of the coffin sets analyzed in Chapter 4, Sections 1-2. However, it is not uncommon to find this iconographic detail on yellow coffins, extending beyond the previously mentioned sets, although the motif has not been extensively studied on these additional materials. This particular design has been identified in numerous funerary elements, including yellow coffins and cartonnages,¹⁸⁶ as comprehensively outlined in Table 2.4.¹⁸⁷

The presence of the motif varies within the constituent elements of the coffin sets; it may feature on all components or only some of them. Despite the presence of this distinctive motif in these materials and their connection based on this unique formal tradition, the execution of the motif on these additional coffin elements and cartonnages

¹⁸³ Wenig 1968: 94.

¹⁸⁴ Wenig 1968: 74.

¹⁸⁵ The particularity, already noted by Varga (1987: 10–11 [n. 8]), was exhaustively studied for the first time by Van Walsem, who defined it as a “halo of greenery not only draped over the offerings on the stands but drooping from the table edge and tapering into a triangular tip” (Van Walsem 2000: 337, pl. XLV). The detail can be rendered in various styles across different coffins, indicating that its depiction was influenced by the creative expression of the craftsman responsible for its execution. In other words, there was flexibility in how the detail was represented, allowing for unique interpretations on different coffins.

¹⁸⁶ The use of cartonnage for the manufacture of the mummy board excludes an origin from the Twenty-First Dynasty, when mummy boards were made of wood (Niwinski 1988: 7).

¹⁸⁷ The table serves as an updated corpus of yellow coffins and cartonnages showcasing this motif, with the expectation that it will continue to expand in the future.

exhibits distinctive variations that set them apart from the examples examined in Chapter 4, Sections 1-2. Furthermore, these additional coffin elements and cartonnages clearly deviate from the same nor similar iconographic and textual decorative model(s) as those discussed in Chapter 4, Sections 1-2.

The analysis of this motif proves helpful in establishing a chronology framework for the materials featuring it, encompassing those discussed in Chapter 4, Sections 1-2. According to Van Walsem, the motif was part of a unique formal tradition that originated in the Theban royal tombs¹⁸⁸ and was present in both royal and private contexts in Deir el-Medina and the wider Theban area.¹⁸⁹ The author's analysis led to the conclusion that the motif appeared during the last decade of the reign of Ramesses III,¹⁹⁰ around the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty. It was suggested that it was (certainly) in use until the time of Ramses IX, with the possibility of extending its utilization to the last year of Ramesses XI's rule, the final monarch of the Twentieth Dynasty. Consequently, the motif was prevalent from approximately 1162 BCE to 1108 BCE (Ramses III-IX), with a potential continuation until 1070 BCE.

2.3.3.1 Revisiting the Chronological Framework of the Motif

As suggested below, the examination of newly identified coffin elements, adorned with the iconographical detail, supports the long chronological range of the utilization of the motif initially proposed by Van Walsem. Moreover, it suggests the possibility that its usage could even be extended, at least during a portion of the Twenty-First Dynasty.¹⁹¹

Establishing a precise chronological framework for the usage of the motif on coffins and mummy boards poses a challenge. Apart from the materials that feature it, there is a lack of additional documentation associated with the majority of their respective owners. While the chronology of some of the objects has been tentatively suggested, the absence of this additional documentation makes it difficult to establish the specific chronology of the existence of their possessors with complete certainty.

¹⁸⁸ Van Walsem 2000: 348.

¹⁸⁹ For some of the objects which feature the motif and a consideration of their chronology, see Van Walsem 2000: 339-347, with references. The list of coffins and cartonnages can be expanded, as discussed further below and presented in Table 2.4. Additional objects from different typologies, such as papyri and shabti-boxes, also displaying the motif, although this study does not aim to examine them, can also be included in the corpus of objects featuring the motif. For example, consider at least one papyrus and six shabti-boxes: the papyrus Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.9.19a-6, belonging to Sethnakht and of unknown provenance (Hayes 1959: 387-388), the shabti boxes Louvre E. 2638, belonging to Iyernutef (Chappaz 2003: 41; Marini 2018: 294, 296 [fig. 14]), and Louvre E. 2640, belonging to Wabet (Chappaz 2003: 40; Marini 2018: 296 [fig. 15]), both of which likely come from Deir el-Medina. The shabti boxes Vienna KHM 960 (Aston 1994: 26-27, pl. 3.4) and Berlin 733, the latter belonging to Paenrenenutet (Aston 1994: 26-27, pl. 4.1). Finally, the shabti boxes Napoli Picchianti collection 1097, belonging to Mutemwia (Poole 2016: 88), and at least one of the two shabti boxes which originated in DB 320, Cairo JE 26272, Cairo no number, which belonged to the likely daughter of Ramesses XI, Henuttawy A (Aston 1994: 30; Maspero 1889: pl. XXI.C). Additional papyri featuring the detail can be consulted in Niwiński 2017: 339.

¹⁹⁰ Van Walsem 2000: 339-340, 347-348. The motif is considered an evolution of an innovation from the Nineteenth Dynasty, when the offering tables were depicted surrounded by greenery, sometimes slightly drooping from the table edges (Robins 1998: 961 [n. 14], with examples).

¹⁹¹ Considering the coffin of Sutymes (Musée du Louvre in Paris, N. 2609 (outer coffin), N. 2610 (inner coffin), N. 2611 (mummy board)), which displays the motif, Van Walsem previously suggested that the iconographical detail might have been employed during the (very) early Twenty-First Dynasty (Van Walsem 2000: 348).

However, certain coffins and mummy boards featuring the motif are associated with owners for whom additional contemporary documentation exists. This supplementary documentation allows the establishment that some of these individuals lived around and during the Twenty-First Dynasty. The identified owners of these coffins and mummy boards include: the scribes Butehamon¹⁹² and his son Nebhepetra;¹⁹³ Nodjmet, likely the wife of Herihor;¹⁹⁴ Nauny, possibly the daughter of Panedjem I;¹⁹⁵ Maatkara A, the daughter of Panedjem I;¹⁹⁶ the High Priest of Amun Masaharta;¹⁹⁷ and Gautseshen A, the daughter of Menkheperra.¹⁹⁸

Establishing with certainty when the decoration of their associated coffins and mummy boards was commissioned and subsequently applied is challenging. Additionally, the practice of reuse and/or remodification comes into play, as exemplified by the case of the coffin of Nauny (see Chapter 3). She utilized a coffin that was originally decorated for her mother, Tjenetnaubekhenu, whether she personally used it or was interred in a different coffin. Therefore, the decoration of the coffin that eventually held Nauny's body was undoubtedly done well in advance of her death. Furthermore, as seen in the case of the coffin of Gautseshen A, despite the presence of mummy braces featuring the name of the King Amenemope, it does not necessarily indicate the date of the coffin's decoration.

However, some of the previously mentioned objects featuring the motif provide additional information that tentatively dates their decoration to the Twenty-First Dynasty, indicating the continued use of the motif during that period. One such object is the mummy board of Nebhepetra, the son of Butehamon (see Chapter 4, Section 3). While Nebhepetra's original coffin remains undiscovered, his mummy board presents identifying titles, including that of *sš nsw m st m3ʿt*. Nebhepetra likely assumed the position of *sš nsw*, or royal scribe, following the death of his brother, Ankhefenamon,

¹⁹² His funerary set is preserved in the Egyptian Museum, Turin (Cat. 2236, Cat. 2237) (Niwiński 1988: 172–173 [385]; Niwiński 2004: 21–47, pls. I–VII) and the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (E. 5288) (Niwiński 1988: 112 [47]). For a recent study of Butehamon and his entourage, refer to Guérin 2010: 458–546, as well as Chapter 4, Section 3 of this study.

¹⁹³ Nebhepetra's mummy board is preserved at the Musée du Louvre, Paris (E. 13047) (Niwiński 1988: 164–165 [333]).

¹⁹⁴ Her coffin set is preserved at the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 26215; CG 61024) (Daressy 1909: 40–50, pls. XXV–XXVII; Niwiński 1988: 116–117 [72]). Almost all of the decoration of the set was removed, however, the motif was depicted on the surface of the interior of the inner box at a minimum. The exact role and position in time for Nodjmet remain tentative and subject to further investigation. For a discussion of the individual and her potential relationship with Herihor, refer to Lull 2006: 81–89, 109–111.

¹⁹⁵ Her coffins and mummy board are currently held at the Metropolitan Museum, New York (30.3.23a, b; 30.3.24a, b; 30.3.25) (Niwiński 1988: 161 [316]). She was the daughter of Tjenetnaubekhenu, possibly one of the daughters of Herihor, who could have later married Panedjem I (Lull 2006: 149–150, 152, 192, 206). Refer to Chapter 3 for additional insights into the decoration of the coffin.

¹⁹⁶ Her associated coffin set is located at the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 26200; CG 61028) (Daressy 1909: 82–95, pls. XXXIX–XLI; Niwiński 1988: 116 [68]). For a discussion of the individual, refer to Lull 2006: 150–152.

¹⁹⁷ His coffins and mummy board are stored at the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 26195; CG 61027) (Daressy 1909: 66–82, pls. XXXVI–XXXVIII; Niwiński 1988: 114–115 [63]). For a discussion of the individual, refer to Lull 2006: 191–202.

¹⁹⁸ Her funerary set is preserved at the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 29635) (Daressy 1907: 14, 17, 38 [A. 152]; Niwiński 1988: 121 [92]). For a discussion of the individual, refer to Lull 2006: 208–211.

around the 20th or 21st year of likely Smendes' reign.¹⁹⁹ Based on the titulary of his mummy board, it can be inferred that at least this object was likely decorated after that moment.

Moreover, within the coffin set of Maatkara A, titles such as *s3t nsw n ht=f mr=f* and *s3t hmt nsw wrt* are featured on her inner box and mummy board. This suggests that, at the very least, these components were decorated after her father, Panedjem I, assumed kingship during the Twenty-First Dynasty.²⁰⁰ A similar circumstance is evident with the coffin of Masaharta, where the title *hm-ntr tpy n 'Imn-R' nsw ntrw* is featured on all elements of his set. Consequently, the decoration of his coffin likely occurred after Masaharta assumed the position of High Priest of Amun during the Twenty-First Dynasty. Lastly, Gautseshen A is designated as *s3t hm-ntr tpy n 'Imn* on her outer lid, indicating that at least part of her coffin set was decorated after her father, Menkheperria, assumed the office of the High Priest of Amun.

It is noteworthy that in all these instances, the decoration of the specified coffin elements appears to be contemporary with the incorporation of information about the deceased. This implies that, at the very least, decorative reuse and/or modification did not play a significant role in these examples. The analogous paleography observed among the titles, names and the rest of the texts further reinforces the proposition that the decoration aligns with the existence of the discussed owners.

2.3.3.2 Development of the Motif

Within all the previously mentioned artifacts, where the decoration likely took place during the Twenty-First Dynasty, signifying the persistent use of the greenery motif, the style and design of its intricate details underwent changes and evolution before falling out of fashion. The motif on Nebhepetra's mummy board seems to be diminishing in popularity, as it is present in only 3 out of the 11 offering tables and stands depicted on the object (pl. 2.1). A parallel situation is evident in Masaharta's coffin set (pls. 2.2-6), where, out of a total of 34 depicted offering tables, only 13 feature the greenery motif.²⁰¹

A comparable pattern is also noticeable on the coffin set of Gautseshen A (pls. 2.7-13). The outer lid features a single representation of a table of offerings with the inclusion of the greenery motif. However, this depiction includes only two geometrical triangular tips beneath the edges of the table, lacking the greenery on top of the table. Shifting attention to the outer box, there are 4 representations of tables of offerings, but only 2 of

¹⁹⁹ Refer to Černý 1956: 22, pl. 63 [1337] for a graffito dated in the 20th year that refers to Nebhepetra solely as a *sš*. Ankhefenamon is not mentioned in the document, which could suggest that Nebhepetra was acting as his assistant (Niwinski 1984: 153) or that Ankhefenamon was already deceased, as there are no dated graffiti mentioning a Ankhefenamon from that point onwards. Nebhepetra is unequivocally mentioned as a *sš nsw* in a graffito dated in the 21st year (Černý 1956: 24 [1359]).

²⁰⁰ For the chronology of the High Priests of Amun, refer to Lull 2006: 312.

²⁰¹ More specifically, the outer lid depicts 5 offering tables adorned with the greenery motif. On the outer box, there are 4 tables of offerings, all lacking the greenery. Interestingly, all the depicted tables of offerings are located on the left side of the exterior of the box. Moving to the inner lid, there are 6 tables of offerings, 2 featuring the greenery and 4 without it. As for the inner box, it features 14 tables of offerings, with only 2 displaying the greenery. Finally, on the mummy board, there are 5 tables of offerings, 4 of them featuring the greenery motif. Unfortunately, due to a lack of photographs, the interior of both the outer and inner box could not be examined.

them partially integrate the motif. One side of the table features a triangular tip beneath one of the edges, and the corresponding greenery on top of the table is depicted in a significantly reduced size. However, the symmetrical and complementary part of the motif is absent. The same scenario is observable on the inner lid, with only 2 tables of offerings, 1 of which features the motif but in an incomplete and non-typical manner, as if the craftspeople no longer fully comprehended its significance. This observation lends support to Van Walsem's suggestion that the motif underwent phases of development.²⁰² On the inner box, there are 2 tables of offerings, with 1 featuring the motif, though complete. In all these instances, the representation of the motif maintains a highly stylized and geometric nature. Lastly, on the mummy board, despite the presence of 2 tables of offerings, neither includes the greenery motif.

The representation of the motif on Maatkara A's coffin (pls. 2.13-20) holds special interest in terms of its development. On the outer lid, 3 tables of offerings are depicted. 2 of them lack the greenery motif, while 1 provides a reinterpretation of the detail, displaying only the greenery on top of the table. This particular representation features intricately rendered individual leaves that come together to create a crest-like effect, but without drooping from the edges.

The outer box features a total of 11 tables of offerings, but only 4 of them incorporate the usual greenery motif. Intriguingly, all 4 of these tables are situated on the exterior of the left side of the box, suggesting a distinct approach by the craftsman responsible for that section compared to the decoration on the other side. It is also possible that multiple individuals participated in the object's decoration, each employing different motifs and iconographical solutions from their repertoire.²⁰³

Transitioning to the inner lid, 4 tables of offerings are depicted, none of which feature the greenery motif. The inner box features 2 tables of offerings that follow a similar design to those on the outer lid. Additionally, there are representations of 8 offerings, 4 on each exterior wall. Although not placed on tables, they display the aforementioned reinterpretation of the greenery motif. Lastly, the mummy board presents 6 tables of offerings, with 1 of them incorporating the previously discussed greenery motif, as is also present on the outer lid.

In summary, the compiled data suggests that while the greenery motif may have persisted into the Twenty-First Dynasty, both its popularity and the level of attention to its execution diminished. There are instances where craftspeople left the motif incomplete in their depictions, hinting at a potential decline in its significance or understanding. Notably, the examples featured on the coffin of Maatkara A illustrate how some craftspeople reinterpreted the motif, implying a departure from its perceived rigidity or essential nature. These notable reinterpretations might have preceded the motif's eventual disappearance and discontinuation.²⁰⁴ A comprehensive analysis of objects featuring the motif from additional typologies, such as papyri, could potentially offer more specific information regarding the chronological range of the usage of the motif.

²⁰² Van Walsem 2000: 348.

²⁰³ A similar situation may have occurred during the decoration of Masaharta's outer box. Additionally, consult Chapter 3 within this study.

²⁰⁴ For a resurgence of the motif in the Twenty-Second Dynasty, refer to Van Walsem 2000: 348.

2.3.3.3 Revisiting the Geographical Evidence of the Motif

As mentioned earlier, Van Walsem attributed the origin of the greenery motif to Deir el-Medina. Although it may have originated and been widely used there, the motif also appears on coffins and cartonnages originating from various locations, necropolises and tombs across Upper Egypt beyond the Theban area during the same period (see Tables 2.3-4). In one case, the motif has even been identified in Lower Egypt. Unfortunately, not all the geographical and contextual origins for these coffins and cartonnages are documented or deducible (as suggested, for example, in Chapter 4, Section 1), remaining unknown for now.

The presence of the motif on additional coffins from various locations indicates its popularity and widespread circulation across Upper Egypt and beyond during part of the New Kingdom and the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty. This broad distribution provides valuable insights for contemporary scholarship, enhancing the understanding of the circulation and transmission of iconographic motifs among relevant artistic networks and craftspeople beyond Thebes during that period. It suggests that the motif was not exclusive to a specific workshop or individual craftspeople, as it exhibits various stylistic attributes and particularities throughout the corpus.²⁰⁵ As mentioned earlier, on the coffins originating from the Theban area, where there are more examples allowing for comparison, the motif underwent multiple phases in its development, illustrating an evolution towards a particular stylization of the motif.²⁰⁶

The extent to which this circulation was facilitated by the movement of craftspeople and/or specific iconographic models during that time in Egypt remains uncertain, although it likely played a role in the diffusion of decorative innovations. The mobility of craftspeople and/or the circulation of motifs around Upper Egypt appears to have been particularly intense during the Eighteenth Dynasty, especially in the post-Amarna period. However, by the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty, coinciding with the emergence of the greenery motif, the preference for decorated private tombs started to give way to undecorated collective tombs. Theban sources indicate that the elite were allocating more resources to intricately decorated coffins and coffin sets while simultaneously reducing expenditures on private tombs and tomb decorations. This trend persisted into the late Twentieth Dynasty.²⁰⁷ The production and ornamentation of a coffin likely required the labor of fewer craftspeople compared to the decoration of a comparable tomb. Consequently, one would anticipate a corresponding decrease in the challenge of a shortage of craftspeople, leading to reduced mobility and creative transmission, although this remains speculative.

The limited scale of the greenery motif introduces a complicating factor into the usual dynamics of creative mobility and transmission. Its recurrence in disparate locations could be attributed to the exchange and circulation of small, easily transportable sketches or portable decorated objects depicting the motif.²⁰⁸ Although speculative, it is

²⁰⁵ The present study did not thoroughly examine these stylistic and particular characteristics of the motif across all the elements featuring it, but if conducted, it could provide valuable insights into the detail.

²⁰⁶ Van Walsem 2000: 348.

²⁰⁷ Cooney 2007: 115, 129 [n. 123].

²⁰⁸ To find examples of objects displaying small motifs, some of which may suggest circulation for decorative purposes and indicate their intended use for ornamentation, refer to Andreu-Lanoë (ed.): 168-331.

conceivable that verbal descriptions of the feature, conveyed by mobile craftspeople or individuals who may have encountered the motif elsewhere, played a significant role. This influence might have occurred either in addition to or instead of specific tangible iconographical models that could have featured the depiction, although the exact levels of detail of these models remain unknown.

Upon the motif's arrival in various locations, regardless of when and how this occurred, the circumstances and decisions surrounding its inclusion on funerary equipment become challenging to ascertain. It remains uncertain whether the coffin *owners* themselves chose to incorporate it or if its depiction reflected the preferences of individual *craftspeople*. Additionally, whether the halo of greenery motif served as a signature or popular design feature across workshops, became a constituent part of the creative repertoire of workshops or artistic networks more broadly, or was a distinctive creation of specific craftspeople cannot be known based on the surviving record.

Coffins adorned with the motif have origins in various necropolises and tombs, as outlined in Tables 2.3-4. Specifically, this distinctive motif is featured on coffins originating from the necropolises of Akhmim (see Chapter 4, Section 1), Amarna²⁰⁹ and the Theban area (see Chapter 4, Section 2 for some examples). In the latter region, materials from Deir el-Medina, El-Khokha, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and Deir el-Bahari contribute to the incorporation of this motif. Within the Deir el-Bahari area, the detail is discernible on coffins from Bab el-Gasus, the Royal cache (TT 320) and the tombs MMA 59 and MMA 65. Additionally, a noteworthy instance reveals a coffin with the motif identified in Saqqara, specifically as a secondary burial at the Old Kingdom tomb of Khwy in South Saqqara.²¹⁰ As previously mentioned, these coffins were likely adorned in various workshops, emphasizing that the motif was not confined to a particular decorative model, workshop or individual craftspeople. Furthermore, although not directly represented on a coffin, the detail is also observable in one of the tombs at El Kab.²¹¹

Table 2.3 Statistics on the Frequency of Coffins Featuring the “Greenery Motif” in Each Locality

Provenance of the coffins		Number of coffins that feature the motif	
Akhnim		13	
Amarna		1	
Theban area	Bab el-Gasus	12	Total n° of coffins featuring the motif that originated in the Theban area:
	Deir el-Bahari	1? + 3	
	Deir el-Medina	2? + 1	
	El-Khokha	3	

²⁰⁹ As illustrated by the previously mentioned anonymous coffin found in the so-called Main Chapel (Bomann 1985: 14–17; Taylor, Boyce 1986: 118–146).

²¹⁰ Vymazalová *et al.* 2021: 114. Despite the lack of specific indications by the authors, the object is suggested to have a Saite-Persian date for the burial; however, the organization of the scenes featuring the four sons of Horus and the details of their mummiform garments, the latter reminiscent of those on the inner coffin boxes of Butehamon, Horemkenesi and Hatshepsut (see Chapter 4, Section 3), cannot rule out an earlier date.

²¹¹ Specifically, on the façade of the tomb of Setau (Tomb 4), dating from the Twentieth Dynasty. An image of the scene featuring the motif can be accessed at: https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/el_kab/setaou/photo/setau_37.jpg&lang=en&sw=1440&sh=900 (last accessed: 15 December 2023).

	Royal cache	4	3? + 26
	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna	3	
Sagqara		1	
Unknown provenance (Thebes?)		27	
Total		71	

Table 2.4 Coffins and Cartonnages Featuring the “Greenery Motif”²¹²

OL	O B	IL	IB	M B	Coffin	Present Location	Original provenance
		x	x		Anet (<i>ʿnt</i>) ²¹³	Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City (D2066.3.1-2) (pls. 4.1/1-2)	Deir el- Medina?
		x	x		Sesekhneferu (<i>Ssh-nfrw</i>) ²¹⁴	NY Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (AEIN 62) (pls. 4.1/3-4)	Akhmim
		x	x		Huiuiipwy <i>Hwi(-wi)-ipwy</i> ²¹⁵	Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California (RC-599, RC-609, RC-610, RC-611, RC- 612, RC-613, RC-614, RC-615, RC-616, and at least three other fragments whose inventory number is unknown to me) ²¹⁶ (pls. 4.1/5-6)	Akhmim
		x	x		Khnumensanapehsu (<i>Hnmw-n-s3-n3-ph-sw</i>) ²¹⁷	Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin (8505) (pls. 4.1/7-8)	Akhmim
		x	x		Meretenakhet (<i>Mrt-n-ʿht</i>) ²¹⁸	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, Vienna (ÄS 6066) (pls. 4.1/9-10)	Akhmim
		x	x		Nesaset (<i>Ns-3st</i>) ²¹⁹	Bonham Lot n° 316, Auction 25388 (3/07/2019) (pls. 4.1/11- 12)	Akhmim
		x	x		Hori (<i>Hry</i>) ²²⁰	Calvinist Collections, Pápa (A.1) (pls. 4.1/13-14)	Akhmim
		x	?		Wsirfaymenuaa (<i>Wsir-ʿʿy-Mnw-ʿ3</i>)	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (31840)	Akhmim

²¹² OL = Outer lid; OB = Outer box; IL = Inner lid; IB = Inner box; MB = mummy board. The “x” on a green background indicates the presence of the discussed iconographical motif on the element. A white background signifies that the element does not feature the motif, while a grey background indicates that the coffin set lacks that particular element. The “?” denotes uncertainty regarding the presence or absence of the motif due to poor preservation of the object or insufficient access to images.

²¹³ Gasse 1996: 148-157, pls. XXXV-XXXVII; Van Walsem 2000: 337-338, 348-349; Cooney 2007: 472-475 [E.6]. See also Chapter 4, Section 1.

²¹⁴ Koefoed-Petersen 1951: 14-19; Niwiński 1988: 136 [168]; Jørgensen 2001: 56-91; Cooney 2007: 468-470 [E.4]. See also Chapter 4, Section 1.

²¹⁵ A detail of the fragment RC-615 appears, even if misdated to the Nineteenth Dynasty, in Schwappach-Shirriff 2004: 13. See also Chapter 4, Section 1.

²¹⁶ The object is significantly fragmented; at least six parts of the inner box and six parts of the inner lid are documented. Other fragments may be preserved in the Museum’s storage room.

²¹⁷ Niwiński 1988: 109 [29]; Cooney 2007: 248-250, 462-464 [E.1]; Brech 2008: 27-29, 49; Germer, Kischkewith, Lüning 2009: 116-119. See also Chapter 4, Section 1.

²¹⁸ Egner, Haslauer 2009: 116-143; Niwiński 2010: 536-537. See also Chapter 4, Section 1.

²¹⁹ Anonymous 2019: 186-187 [316]. See also Chapter 4, Section 1.

²²⁰ László 1987; Varga 1987; Liptay 2011a. See also Chapter 4, Section 1.

Table 2.4 Coffins and Cartonnages Featuring the “Greenery Motif”²¹²

						(catalogue number), 876 (accession number)) (pls. 4.1/15-16)	
		x	x		Tayukheret (<i>T3yw-hryt</i>) ²²¹	Victoria Museum for Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala (VM 153) (pls. 4.1/17-18)	Akhmim
		x	x		Aafenhor (<i>ʿ3=f-n-hr</i>) ²²²	Musée du Louvre, Paris (AF 9592) (pls. 4.1/19-20)	Akhmim
			x		Anonymous ♀	Australian Museum, Sydney (E019466) ²²³ (pl. 4.1/21)	Akhmim
		x	x		Isisnofret (<i>3st-nfrt</i>)	Putnam Museum and Science Center, Davenport (AR 21190) (pls. 4.1/22-23)	Akhmim
				224	Anonymous ♂ (fragment)	Atkinson Art Gallery and Library, Southport (BOOMG: 1/08/84) (pls. 4.1/24)	Akhmim
		x	x	x	Ankhefenmut (<i>ʿnh=f-n-Mwt</i>) ²²⁵	British Museum, London (EA 35288, EA 35288b) (pls. 4.1/25- 27)	Deir el- Bahari?
		x	x	x	Ankhef (<i>ʿnh=f</i>) ²²⁶	Ivanovo Regional Art Museum, Ivanovo (A-601, A-602) (pls. 4.1/28-30)	Akhmim
				x	Panakht-[...] (<i>P3-nht-[...]</i>) ²²⁷ (cartonnage)	El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2 (2014.Ca.007) (pls. 4.2/1)	El-Khokha TT400
				x	Anonymous ♀ ²²⁸ (cartonnage)	El-Khokha TT61, Room VIII (1.4.41) (pls. 4.2/3)	El-Khokha TT61
				x	Khamaat (<i>Hʿ-M3ʿt</i>) ²²⁹ (cartonnage)	El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2 (2014.Ca.003) (pls. 4.2/5)	El-Khokha TT400
				x	Hori (<i>Hry</i>) ²³⁰	Kestner-Museum, Hannover (1977.1) (pls. 4.2/6)	Thebes?
		x	x	x	Herytubekhet (<i>Hryt-wbht</i>) ²³¹	Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich (ÄS 12/12b) (pls. 4.2/8-9)	Thebes?
		x			Henet-mer ²³²	Newark Museum of Art,	Sheikh Abd

²²¹ Niwiński 1988: 174 [397].

²²² Niwiński 1988: 167 [348], without considering the inner box; For the complete inner coffin, see Brunel-Duverger 2020: 149-151.

²²³ Niwiński attributes the object to the Macquarie University Museum of Ancient Cultures, Sydney (Niwiński 2017: 335). However, it was there only as a temporary loan.

²²⁴ The small fragment lacks any table of offerings. However, its close association with the coffin of Isisnofret (pls. 4.1/22-23), preserved at the Putnam Museum and Science Center in Davenport (AR 21190), suggests the possibility that both objects were decorated by the same craftsman or closely related decorators (see Chapter 4, Section 1). This implies that the original box, whose fragment is now preserved in Southport, likely featured the greenery motif.

²²⁵ Niwiński 1988: 154 [272]; Cooney 2018a: 317-319.

²²⁶ Berlev, Hodge 1998: 8-10, 23, pl. 22-26, 51-52; Bolshakov 2020a; Bolshakov 2020b.

²²⁷ Schreiber 2015a: 50-52; Schreiber 2018: 190-192.

²²⁸ Schreiber 2015b: 32-33, pls. XVI [1.4.41], XXII [1.4.41].

²²⁹ Schreiber 2018: 188. Refer to Chapter 4, Section 2, for a discussion considering the possibility that this object might precede the rest of the items in the present Table.

²³⁰ Niwiński 1988: 142 [204]; Kestner-Museum, 1981: 6-7 [11].

²³¹ Niwiński 1988: 157 [289]; Sousa 2020a: 27-42.

²³² Mond, Emery 1929: 69, pls. LXVIIa, LXVIII [No. 5]; Zayed 1962: 33-38 [No. 2649]; PM I²: 676; Niwiński 1988: 182 [441].

Table 2.4 Coffins and Cartonnages Featuring the “Greenery Motif”²¹²

					(<i>Hnwt-mr</i>)	Newark (Inv. N° not available)	el-Qurna (TT 97)
		x	x	x	Tabasety (<i>T3-b3-sty</i>) ²³³	Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus (O 303) (pls. 4.2/10-12)	Thebes?
		x	x	x	Tamerermut/ Tj[...]peramon (<i>T3-mrr-Mwt/T[...]pr-Imn</i>) ²³⁴	Musée de Tessé, Le Mans (1822-17A, 1822-17B) (pls. 4.2/13-15)	Thebes ?
		x	x	x	Nesiamon (<i>Ns-Imn</i>) ²³⁵	City Museum, Leeds (D. 426-426.a.1960) (pls. 4.2/21-23)	Thebes?
		x	x	x	Panebmontu (<i>P3-nb-Mntw</i>) ²³⁶	Musée du Louvre, Paris (E. 13029, E. 13046) (pls. 4.2/24-26)	Thebes?
		x	x		Anetenmes (ant-n-msw), called Iraia (I-r3-iʿ) ²³⁷	Metropolitan Museum, New York (26.3.4a, b)	Deir el-Bahari
		x	x		Hori (<i>Hry</i>) ²³⁸	National Museum, Rio de Janeiro (CR.56 (525), CR.57 (526)).	Thebes?
			x		Horhotep (<i>Hr-htp</i>) (3 fragments) ²³⁹	Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (87.4-E, 87.5-E) Victoria Museum for Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala (VM 57)	Thebes? ²⁴⁰
			x		Padi[Amun?] (<i>P3-di[-Imn?]</i>) ²⁴¹	Musée Calvet, Avignon (A. 54a)	Thebes?
			x		Anonymous (2 fragments) ²⁴²	Pierre Bergé Lot n° 26 (1/12/2011)	Thebes?
			x		Anonymous (fragment) ²⁴³	Nicholson Museum, Sydney (NMR.84)	Thebes?
			x		Inpehefnakht (<i>In-ph=f-nht(w)</i>) ²⁴⁴	British Museum, London (EA 29591)	Thebes?
				x	Nes[...] (Ns-[...]) usurped by Tameniut (<i>T3-mniwt</i>) ²⁴⁵	British Museum, London (EA 15659)	Thebes?
		x			Muthotep (<i>Mwt-htp</i>) ²⁴⁶	British Museum, London (EA 29579)	Thebes?

²³³ Niwiński 1988: 104 [1]; Sousa, Nørskov 2018; Sousa 2019: 128-146; Sousa 2020b: 43-63.

²³⁴ Dautant 2014b: 153 [fig. 4D], 158.

²³⁵ Schmidt 1919: figs. 670-673; Niwiński 1988: 145 [220]; David, Tapp 1992; Wassell 2008; Van Walsem 2000: 347-348; Cooney 2007: 470-472 [E.5]; Liptay 2011a: 13-14.

²³⁶ Niwiński 1988: 164 [330], pl. 3B; Van Walsem 2000: 348.

²³⁷ Winlock 1922: 35; Niwiński 2017: 340; 2019: 61.

²³⁸ Kitchen 1990: 117-144, pls. 109-135.

²³⁹ Niwiński 1988: 174 [393], without considering the two fragments in Budapest. For the attribution of the fragments in Uppsala and Budapest to the same inner box, see Liptay 2011a: 15-18, with references; Liptay 2011b: 67-70.

²⁴⁰ An attribution of the objects to Akhmim was proposed by Liptay (refer to the previous note) and supported by Niwiński (2017: 335). However, the fragments appear to be distinctly Theban, as evidenced by a comparison with the objects identified as originating from Akhmim discussed in Chapter 4, Section 1.

²⁴¹ Niwiński 1988: 106 [16].

²⁴² Anonymous 2011: 17 [26]. The fragments lack any gender markers.

²⁴³ Niwiński 1988: 170 [371]. The fragment lacks any gender markers.

²⁴⁴ Niwiński 1988: 153 [270]; Taylor 2010: 196 [92].

²⁴⁵ Niwiński 1988: 151 [259]; Cooney 2018a: 304-305.

Table 2.4 Coffins and Cartonnages Featuring the “Greenery Motif”²¹²

			x	x	Iufenkhonsu (<i>Iw=f-n-hnsw</i>) ²⁴⁷	Musée d’histoire naturelle, Perpignan (No Inv. N° available)	Thebes?
			x		Anonymous ♂ ²⁴⁸	National Museum, Warsaw (139072/a-b MNW)	Deir el- Medina
			x		Hatshepsut (<i>H3t-špswt</i>) ²⁴⁹	Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble (3572-1/2) (pls. 4.3/34-35)	Thebes?
			x		Tjeneturheqat/ Iufenamon (<i>Tnt-wr-hk3t/Iw=f n Imn</i>) ²⁵⁰	Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum (A. 1907.569, A. 1907.569 B)	Thebes?
			x		Anonymous ♀ ²⁵¹	Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (E. 5884, E. 5906)	Bab el-Gasus (A. 18)
		?	x		Pentahutres (<i>P(3)-n-t3-hwt-rs</i>) ²⁵²	Kynzvar Castle, Laznê Kynzvar (KY 1086)	Thebes?
		?	x		Iteneferamun (<i>It-nfr-Imn</i>) ²⁵³	Musée d’Aquitaine, Bordeaux (Mesuret 8590)	Thebes?
		?	x		Anonymous ²⁵⁴	Amarna, Main Chape	Amarna ²⁵⁵
				x	Nebhepetra (<i>Nb-hpt-R</i>) ²⁵⁶	Musée du Louvre, Paris (E 13047)	Thebes?
		x			Nesytanebettawy (<i>Nsy-t3-nbt-t3wy</i>) ²⁵⁷	National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington (A154955, A364998)	Bab el-Gasus (A. 9)
x	x	x	x	x	Tjanetnahereru (<i>T3-nt-n3w-hrrw</i>) ²⁵⁸	Musée du Louvre, Paris (E.13027, E.13034, E. 13035, E. 22343)	Thebes?
x		x	x	x	Masaharta (<i>Mshrt</i>) ²⁵⁹	Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 26195; CG 61027)	Royal Cache
x	?	x	x	x	Seramun (<i>Sr-Imn</i>) ²⁶⁰	Musée des Beaux-Arts et Archéologie, Besançon (A. 777, A. 776, A. 779, A. 778, A. 780)	Thebes?

²⁴⁶ Niwiński 1988: 153 [269]; Cooney 2007: 464-466 [E.2]; Cooney 2018a: 312, 314, 316, 317.

²⁴⁷ Guilhou, Perraud 2010.

²⁴⁸ Bruyère, Bataille 1936-1937: 149-150, pl. VI; Niwiński 1988: 178 [419].

²⁴⁹ Niwiński 1988: 142 [203]; Guichard 2018: 130-131 [Cat. 60].

²⁵⁰ Niwiński 1988: 138 [183]; Manley 2006; Manley, Dodson 2010: 36-38, 47-51.

²⁵¹ Daressy 1907: 5, 21, 23 [A. 18]; Niwiński 1988: 112-113 [50, 53]. For recent studies of the ensemble, see Delvaux, Therasse 2016: 92-97; Delvaux 2020: 349, 351).

²⁵² Verner 1982: 57-93; Niwiński 1988: 144 [219], without mentioning the mummy board is also preserved at the Kynzvar Castle. For a recent study of the ensemble, see Onderka, Jungová, Bučil, Oktábcová, Pečený, Cvrček, Schierová, Tomsová 2016: 142-143 [C.6].

²⁵³ Niwiński 1988: 184 [455]; Dautant, Boraud, Lalanne 2011.

²⁵⁴ Bomann 1985: 14-17; Taylor, Boyce 1986.

²⁵⁵ Refer to the preceding discussion for the argument that a single example is not sufficient to conclusively establish the actual circulation of a motif in that area.

²⁵⁶ Niwiński 1988: 164-165 [333]. The mummy board has been associated with an inner coffin (Dautant, Jamen 2017: 129, 132 [32], 134 [66-67]), although this connection is considered unlikely (see Chapter 4, Section 3).

²⁵⁷ Daressy 1907: 5, 20 [A. 9]; Niwiński 1988: 179 [424]; Noah 2013.

²⁵⁸ Niwiński 1988: 163-164 [328].

²⁵⁹ Daressy 1909: 66-82, pls. XXXVI-XXXVIII; Niwiński 1988: 114-115 [63].

²⁶⁰ Niwiński 1988: 111 [41]. For the owner of the coffin, see Gasse 1982-1983.

Table 2.4 Coffins and Cartonnages Featuring the “Greenery Motif”²¹²

?	x	x	x	x	Nespawershefyt (<i>Ns-p3-wr-šfyt</i>) ²⁶¹	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (E.1.1822) (pls. 3.9-15)	Thebes?
?	?	?	x	x	Sutymes (<i>Sty-msyw</i>) ²⁶²	Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 2609, N. 2610, N. 2611) (pls. 4.3/17-22)	Thebes?
x	x		x		Henuttawy (<i>Hnwt-t3wy</i>) ²⁶³	Metropolitan Museum, New York (25.3.182a/b, 25.3.183a/b, 25.3.184)	Deir el-Bahari (MMA 59)
x	x	x			Khonsumes (<i>Hnsw-ms</i>) ²⁶⁴	Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm (NME 890, NME 894), Victoriamuseet, Uppsala (VM 228 (=NME 891))	Bab el-Gasus (A. 121)
x	x				Butehamun (<i>Bth-Imn</i>) ²⁶⁵	Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 2236, Cat. 2237) (pls. 3.16-24)	Deir el-Medina (TT 291)? ²⁶⁶
x	x				Ankhesenmut (<i>ʿnh=s-n-Mwt</i>) ²⁶⁷	Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm (NME 892) (outer coffin) Museum of Cultural History, Oslo (C47713 (=EM8123)) (inner coffin) Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm (NME 895 (=MM 32003))	Bab el-Gasus (A. 7)

²⁶¹ Niwiński 1988: 133-134 [156], colour plate D; Strudwick, Dawson 2016: 182-189 [26]; Strudwick 2017: 521-528; Dawson 2018.

²⁶² Niwiński 1988: 166 [341]; Van Walsem 2000: 348; Guichard 2018: 132-133 [Cat. 61].

²⁶³ Winlock 1924: 22-25; Niwiński 1988: 161 [313].

²⁶⁴ Niwiński 1988: 174 [398]; Bettum 2014: 180-183.

²⁶⁵ Niwiński 1988: 172-173 [385]; Niwiński 2004: 21-47, pls. I-VII. Refer to Chapter 4, Section 3 for the discussion of an additional outer box linked to the deceased, not included in Table 2.4, currently housed at the Art & History Museum in Brussels (E. 5288) (pls. 3.19-20). This box exhibits stylistic coherence with the inner coffin and mummy board preserved in Turin, and like them, it does not feature the greenery motif.

²⁶⁶ The hypothesis is based on the information presented on the dipinto that was once located in the tomb (Bruyère, Kuentz 1926: pl. IX).

²⁶⁷ Daressy 1907: 5, 21-22 [A. 7]; Niwiński 1988: 174 [396, outer coffin], 162 [319], 169 [366]. For attribution of the multiple elements to the same coffin set, see Bettum 2014: 178-180. However, I suggest that the outer coffin preserved in Stockholm (NME 892) corresponds to the inner coffin (8526) and mummy board (8521) preserved in Florence and traditionally attributed to the complete coffin set in Daressy's list A. 60 (Daressy 1907: 8, 19, 27 [A. 60]; Niwiński 1988: 139 [189]; Zarli, Sousa 2018: 236-322). In comparing the inner coffin and mummy board in Florence with the outer coffin in Stockholm, it becomes clear that the elements share the same iconographic and textual model. They also present the same craftperson's style. Moreover, the outer coffin in Stockholm presents the name of Ankhsenmut, which does not appear on the inner coffin and mummy board traditionally attributed to the same ensemble, but which also features on the mummy board in Florence. Furthermore, in his study, Bettum wonders why the A. 7 outer coffin lid in Stockholm presents Ankhsenmut's name with a vertical "s" (Bettum 2014: 179-180) since Daressy, in his report from 1907, spells the name with a horizontal "s" (Daressy 1907: 7, 21). Bettum suggests that perhaps there was a second occurrence of the name with a horizontal "s" somewhere in the A. 7 set related elements. Curiously, the mummy board from A. 60 in Florence contains the name with a horizontal "s" (Zarli, Sousa 2018: 317 [fig. 189], 322 [fig. 194]). If these elements originally constituted a complete set, this would explain the style and chronological differences between the elements that have been historically put together in both A. 7 and A. 60 sets. Bettum and Cooney explain the differences in the currently constituted sets as a result of coffin reuse (Bettum 2014: 178-179, regarding the ensemble A. 7; Cooney 2018b: 501-502, 504-505, regarding the ensemble A. 60). However, Daressy's report suggests that he discovered the full coffin set for Ankhsenmut intact. I suggest that, following Daressy's discovery, there was an error in shipping to Europe or in identifying the elements properly upon arrival in Europe, that caused the elements to become mismatched.

Table 2.4 Coffins and Cartonnages Featuring the “Greenery Motif”²¹²

						(mummy board)	
	x	x			Tayuherit (<i>T3yw-hryt</i>), usurped from Hattit (<i>H3t-tyt</i>) ²⁶⁸	Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 26196; CG 61032)	Royal Cache
	x				Maatkara A (<i>M3ꜣt-k3-Rꜣ</i>) ²⁶⁹	Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 26200; CG 61028)	Royal Cache
	x				Nauny (<i>N3wny</i>), usurped from Tjenetnawbekhenu (<i>Tnt-n3w-bhꜣnw</i>) ²⁷⁰	Metropolitan Museum, New York (30.3.23a, b; 30.3.24a, b; 30.3.25)	Deir el-Bahari (MMA 65 = TT 358)
		x	x		Pasebakhaenipet (<i>P3-sb3-ḥꜣ-n-ipt</i>) ²⁷¹	Brooklyn Museum, New York (08.480.1a-b, 08.480.2a-b-c)	Thebes?
	x			x	Tjanetamon (<i>T3-nt-Imn</i>) ²⁷²	Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin (8) (outer coffin) Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 2562) (inner coffin) Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, Marseille (253.3) (mummy board)	Thebes?
	?		x		Paser (<i>P3-sr</i>) ²⁷³	Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 2581, N. 2570, E. 20165)	Thebes?
?	?	?	x		Nodjmet (<i>Ndmt</i>) ²⁷⁴	Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 26215; CG 61024)	Royal Cache
x	x	x	?	?	Sennu (<i>Snnw</i>) ²⁷⁵	Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 29651; CG 6150, CG 6151, CG 6134, CG 6132, CG 6135)	Bab el-Gasus (A. 46)
?	?	?	x	?	Paennesettawy (<i>P3-n-nst-t3wy</i>) ²⁷⁶	Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 29698; CG 6243, CG 6244, CG 6227, CG 6226, CG 6228)	Bab el-Gasus (A. 11)
x	x	?	?	?	Khonsuemrenpet (<i>Hnsw-m-rnpt</i>) ²⁷⁷	Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 29613; CG 6256, CG 6257, CG 6258, CG 6259, CG 6220)	Bab el-Gasus (A. 120)

²⁶⁸ Daressy 1909: 171-196, pls. LIV-LVII; Niwiński 1988: 115 [64].

²⁶⁹ Daressy 1909: 82-95, pls. XXXIX-XLI; Niwiński 1988: 116 [68].

²⁷⁰ Niwiński 1988: 161 [316].

²⁷¹ Niwiński 1988: 158-159 [301], without considering that the mummy board is also preserved at the Brooklyn Museum. For the outer coffin, see Serotta, Bruno, Barbash 2019.

²⁷² Niwiński 1988: 107 [21], 165 [339], 156 [285]. For attribution of the multiple elements to the same owner, see Dautant 2014a: 63-66, with references.

²⁷³ Niwiński 1988: 165-166 [340], without mentioning the inner box and the mummy board. For attribution of the multiple elements to the same coffin set, see Dautant 2017: 133 [N° 75].

²⁷⁴ Daressy 1909: 40-50, pls. XXV-XXVII; Niwiński 1988: 116-117 [72]. Almost all of the decoration of the set was removed, however, the motif was depicted on the surface of the interior of the inner box at a minimum.

²⁷⁵ Daressy 1907: 7, 25 [A. 46]; Niwiński 1988: 122 [97].

²⁷⁶ Daressy 1907: 5, 22 [A. 11]; Niwiński 1988: 127-128 [125]; Niwiński 2017: 346 [pl. VI] (detail of the inner box), 348 [pl. VIII] (detail of the inner lid).

²⁷⁷ Daressy 1907: 12, 32 [A. 120]; Niwiński 1988: 118 [81]; Niwiński 2017: 347 [pl. VII] (detail of the outer box).

Table 2.4 Coffins and Cartonnages Featuring the “Greenery Motif”²¹²

		x	x		Amenniutnakht (<i>Imn-niwt-nḥt</i>) ²⁷⁸	Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 29649; CG 6174, CG 6173, CG 6196) (pls. 3.48-52)	Bab el-Gasus (A. 81)
x	x	?	?	?	Nesitanebettawy (<i>Nsy-t3-nbt-t3wy</i>) ²⁷⁹	Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 29716; CG 6246, CG 6245, CG 6247, CG 6248, CG 6237)	Bab el-Gasus (A. 88)
?	?	x	x	?	Tjanefer (<i>t3-nfr</i>) ²⁸⁰	Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 29682; CG 6250, CG 6249, CG 6251, CG 6253, CG 6252) (pls. 3.25- 31)	Bab el-Gasus (A. 69)
x	x	x	x		Gautseshen A (<i>G3wt-sšn</i>) ²⁸¹	Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 29635; No CG N°)	Bab el-Gasus (A. 152)
?	x	?		?	Gautseshen (<i>G3wt-sšn</i>), usurped from Nesiamon(neb)nesuttta wy (<i>Nsy-Imn-(nb)-nswt- t3wy</i>) ²⁸²	Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 29621; CG 6016, CG 6013, CG 6014, CG 6015)	Bab el-Gasus (A. ?) ²⁸³
		?	x		Anonymous ♂ ²⁸⁴	Unknown	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 97)
			x		Anonymous (fragment) ²⁸⁵	Unknown	Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 97)

²⁷⁸ Daressy 1907: 10, 28 [A. 81]; Niwiński 1988: 121-122 [96]; Aston 2009: 177 [TG 754]; Miatello, Ibrahim 2020.

²⁷⁹ Daressy 1907: 10 [A. 88]; Niwiński 1988: 129 [134].

²⁸⁰ Daressy 1907: 9 [A. 69]; Niwiński 1988: 126 [119]. See also Chapter 3.

²⁸¹ Daressy 1907: 14, 17, 38 [A. 152]; Niwiński 1988: 121 [92]). For a discussion of the individual, refer to Lull 2006: 208-211.

²⁸² Daressy 1907: 13, 20, 36; Niwiński 1988: 119 [84].

²⁸³ For a discussion on the A. Number of the ensemble, refer to Chapter 4, Section 4.

²⁸⁴ Mond, Emery 1929: 67, pls. LXIV-LXV [No. 2]; PM I²: 676; Niwiński 1988: 181 [439].

²⁸⁵ Mond, Emery 1929: pl. LXIXb [No. 72]; Niwiński 1988: 182 [445]. The fragments lacks any gender markers.

Chapter 3. Individualization, Sequential Production and Work Organization on Yellow Coffins

3.0 Introduction

The inner workings of coffin production, encompassing tasks like commissioning, manufacturing, decision-making and sequence production, remain unknown, as do the identities of the individuals involved in these processes. Notwithstanding the information gap surrounding these interconnected aspects, certain examples provide light into potential production sequences for specific coffin sets.

Notably, the titulary of distinct owners may vary across the various elements associated with their respective sets. In some instances, early-career titles are found on certain elements, while senior titles are featured on others. This observation suggests that the components of the same set were commissioned, produced and/or decorated at different points in time. Furthermore, differences in typology and, consequently, chronology, among elements within the same set that bear the same owner information also indicate that these elements were likely created at distinct moments in time and, perhaps, different locations.²⁸⁶

Moreover, manufacturing marks provide clues to a step-by-step decoration process, and the decorative elements and details on certain coffin components suggest the engagement of different individuals in their decoration -a commonly assumed practice that lacks concrete textual information. These various individuals may have possessed varying skills. This pattern of collaborative participation extends to the operations performed within modified and/or reused coffin elements. A more thorough exploration of these aspects will be undertaken in the upcoming chapter.

This section will also delve into the ownership details found on yellow coffins, specifically examining the personal information associated with the owner's name and titulary as displayed on these coffins. Surprisingly, this aspect has not received a thorough or comprehensive analysis. In most publications regarding yellow coffins, individual coffin sets are typically attributed to specific persons without giving due emphasis to the precise location of the owner's information on these objects.²⁸⁷ Notably, the owner's details are not the norm to uniformly appear on all elements of the set. In other words, there is variation or irregularity in how the owner's information is distributed among the different elements; indeed, instances where such information is present in every element are unusual.

Examining the placement of the owner's information on the coffin elements is crucial for discerning the relative significance of different components within the set. Specific sets exhibit a diverse array of elements concerning the information of the deceased they contain. Within the same set, there are anonymous elements, elements with blank spaces, elements initially adorned with details about the deceased, and modified elements that were originally associated with a different individual. This variety suggests distinct production processes and/or moments linked to the commission of

²⁸⁶ Certainly, reuse could have been a factor when specific objects within the same set and under the same owner exhibit different typologies and chronologies, as further discussed below.

²⁸⁷ Lieblein 1892; Daressy 1907; Niwiński 1988: 104-184 [List of Sources].

objects for the same individual. The reasons for such variations and heterogeneity remain unknown.

When examining individual yellow coffins, precise details will be provided regarding the placement of the owner's personal information, encompassing their names and titles. This section will encompass an analysis of coffins featuring empty spaces intended for the owner's information, which were not consistently filled. The presence of these blank spaces implies that the coffins were prepared in advance, and were later inscribed with the name and titles of the deceased on some occasions.

3.1 The Study of the Production Processes of Yellow Coffins

When delving into the details of the production processes of the elements associated with a yellow coffin set, such as the organization of manufacturers and decorators, a significant and unfortunate reality emerges: there is a notable absence of textual documentation shedding light on all these practices.

First and foremost, the origins and specific details of the commissioning process for these coffins remain unknown. The questions surrounding when these objects were ordered and by whom persist, raising uncertainties about whether they were commissioned by the future owner prior to their passing, a family member, a collaborator in their profession, or someone else entirely. This ambiguity extends to the characteristics of the economic transactions – it remains unclear whether the owner, their family or the professional circles associated with the owners bore the cost of these coffins.

Furthermore, it is uncertain if all the elements associated with the funerary equipment of the deceased -such as shabti boxes, shabtis, shrouds, coffins, funerary statuettes and stelae- were crafted by the same interconnected group of individuals or by different groups of craftspeople. It is also unclear if they were manufactured in distinct facilities, and whether variations occurred based on the materials and specific objects requested.

After the order for the coffin was initiated, regardless of when or by whom, the subsequent production process puzzles researchers. While the sequence of crafting the coffins and their associated elements, encompassing their manufacture, preparation, decoration, and final varnishing (if applicable), as well as the physical materials employed, is known,²⁸⁸ questions persist. Specially concerning yellow coffins of the Twenty-First Dynasty, it remains unclear whether these phases were executed by a single craftsman or involved collaboration among craftspeople, each specializing in a particular facet of coffin construction.²⁸⁹ Furthermore, it remains ambiguous whether these stages happened in the same locations or at different sites contingent on the particular phase and the materials involved.

The most extensive surviving documentation on coffin manufacturing originates from the village of Deir el-Medina, with documents dating back to the Ramesside Period. These materials suggest that domestic furniture and funerary goods associated with the

²⁸⁸ See Chapter 1 for projects and publications addressing the material aspects of yellow coffins.

²⁸⁹ Despite belonging to a distinct chronology and being relevant to the royal sphere, refer to Brown 2023: 7, 10-12 for ostraca associated with one of Merenptah's coffins that provide evidence of the possibility that work on royal coffins could occur in various locations, including the royal tomb itself.

private market of that location during that chronological period, including coffins, were manufactured by two or more craftspeople in sequence, with a structured division of labor. Craftspeople did not participate in the private commercial activities alone, but rather, they worked collectively in that Cooney has called “informal workshops”.²⁹⁰ Nor did they work together in fixed locations, as one would expect of traditional workshops, but instead they combined their resources, access to materials, skills, reputations, and social connections, in order to succeed in the market.²⁹¹

It remains uncertain whether this concept applied during the Twenty-First Dynasty, given our lack of knowledge regarding the production locations of these coffins and whether the same organizational model as seen in Deir el-Medina was in effect at that time. During this period, distinctions between private and state commissioning and craftsmanship, along with their respective characteristics and differences, also warrant exploration.

In connection with these various phases tied to the craftsmanship of a coffin, it is essential to take into account the practice of reuse, which significantly influenced the manufacturing process. In this context, it's also imperative to acknowledge our lack of knowledge regarding the locations and craftspeople involved in repurposing coffins for reuse.

Similarly, the decision-making process regarding material selection and decorations, as well as the key figures responsible for choosing decorative models and executing adornments remains unknown. It seems that the social status and resources of the owner and/or commissioner played a pivotal role in these aspects (see Chapter 4), but uncertainty deepens when it comes to the materials used, with decision-makers and potential agreements or disputes remaining hidden from view.²⁹²

Although creativity played a role in the variability and decoration of the objects, the precise orchestrator of this creativity remains elusive - was it an external individual, the decorator, or the eventual owner or commissioner? Furthermore, the extent to which individual craftspeople left their personal mark on these coffins is unknown, as is the degree to which they adhered to or deviated from the chosen iconographic and textual models for the decoration of the objects.

In terms of the manufacturing and decoration processes, details about the division of labor, the number of individuals involved in crafting and decorating a single coffin, the time invested, and the effort expended remain frustratingly obscure.

Certainly, multiple factors may have influenced the various realities that emerged in the creation of these coffins. Social status, available resources, geographic location, material availability, and even chronological considerations could have shaped the production process and artistic choices that would depend from one case to the other. Moreover, it remains uncertain whether these commissions exclusively occurred in the

²⁹⁰ Cooney 2007: 128, 133, 144-145, 147, 152, 156-157, 159, 342, with textual examples.

²⁹¹ Cooney 2007: 132, 149, 157.

²⁹² In this context, refer to Chapter 4, Section 4, which explores coffins likely adorned for individuals associated with the High Priest of Amun but lack partial gilding.

private sphere or if the priests of Amun and associated individuals engaged in a collective effort,²⁹³ potentially leading to the emergence of distinct scenarios.

The sole tangible remnants of these enigmas lie within the coffins themselves. Fortunately, certain coffins exhibit distinct traces and features, which are discussed further below, suggesting that some sets were ordered, adorned, and even underwent redecoration while the final owner was still alive – whether they initiated the process or not. This hints at a potential sequence in the production of elements associated with the same set and, perhaps, the commissioner's active involvement in the processes.

Upon closer analysis of select examples, it becomes evident that there were shifts in the owner's status during the decoration of specific elements within the set. This tantalizing clue implies that the owner wielded influence over the coffin's decoration, driven by considerations of social status and, sometimes, the desire to conform to the prevailing trends in decoration at the time. However, the full extent of their impact remains uncertain. For specific yellow coffin sets, it is evident, for various reasons, that not all elements within them were necessarily ordered simultaneously, even if they are related to the same owner. Such observations may carry significant chronological implications.

These insights offer a glimpse into a potential production sequence for some objects, shedding light on specific examples and addressing some of the questions raised earlier considering the corpus of yellow coffins.

3.1.1 Coffin Sets Production Sequence(s)

In exploring the world of coffin production, the titulary of distinct owners exhibits variation among the various elements associated with their respective sets. This observation suggests a temporal evolution within the same set, hinting at components crafted at different points in time. Differences among the status conveyed by the different titularies also correspond, at times, with differences in typology and chronology among the same elements, indicating the likelihood that these elements were created at distinct moments in time.

Moreover, certain coffins underwent redecoration in alignment with the social evolution of their respective owners to reflect updated personal information. This process might have occasionally involved the replacement of older coffin elements, leading to the creation of new ones that better signify the elevated status of the deceased, attributed to their professional trajectory.

Finally, manufacturing marks enable the suggestion of a sequential production for specific elements and offer insights into the particular steps or sequences involved in their creation. The yellow coffin examples presented in this section are drawn from various origins and are based on the available data at the time of this study. The understanding of the production and decoration moment(s) of different elements associated with the same set is subject to the existing evidence. As research continues, new examples may come to light, offering fresh perspectives and contributing to a better comprehension of coffin production.

²⁹³ For the definition of the priesthood of Amun as a novel conceptualization of religious power, incorporating a corporative and egalitarian notion of sacred space, along with a reorganization of the necropolis, refer to Sousa 2011: 88, 92-93; Sousa 2012: 132, 141, 143-148.

3.1.1.1 Coffin set of Ankhefenmut (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29692; CG 6109 (outer lid), CG 6110 (outer box), CG 6098 (inner lid), CG 6099 (inner box), CG 6100 (mummy board), A. 16) (pls. 3/1-8)

Set A. 16 from Bab el-Gasus, preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,²⁹⁴ comprises an outer coffin (pls. 3/1-3), an inner coffin (pls. 3/4-6) and a mummy board (pl. 3/7). Each of these elements bears the name Ankhefenmut alongside specific titles associated with the individual (see Table 3.1 below). In terms of the characteristics of the inscriptions featuring his personal information, they were originally integrated into the decorative plan of each element individually. The inscriptions are consistent and in harmony with the overall iconography and inscriptions, with no evidence or indications that they were added as a redecoration after the completion of the other decorative and textual elements. Everything featured on each element appears to have been executed in the same phase. While in-depth analysis could potentially revise this assessment, it currently appears unlikely. This information, of course, doesn't necessarily speak to the timing of the creation of the different elements in relation to each other.

When examining the typology of these elements, it becomes apparent that the inner coffin and mummy board share a distinct typology that distinguishes them from the outer coffin. As elaborated upon later, it is probable that the outer coffin was commissioned, or at the very least decorated, subsequent to the full decoration of the inner coffin and mummy board.

Both the inner lid and mummy board (pls. 3/4, 7) exhibit a pectoral placed above the hands, as well as the depiction of forearms resting on the collar. In the central panel, both elements incorporate two registers. The lateral partitions of the inner lid's lower section depict scenes featuring Osiris, Horus, the sacred ram and a kneeling god. Conversely, the central partition showcases alternating scarabs with representations of the sekhem scepter and the Ta-Weret scepter. As for the mummy board, its lateral partitions in the lower section depict representations of Osiris, the Ta-Weret scepter, a scene featuring three divinities atop a coiled serpent and the sekhem scepter on top of Anubis. Its central partition mirrors that of the inner lid. These characteristics align with the definition of the “basic scheme” as outlined by Sousa.²⁹⁵

Both the inner lid and the mummy board stand as exemplars of the creative craftsmanship behind specific facets of their decoration. Notably, the inner lid showcases a rare depiction of a ba bird with outstretched wings and human arms on its footboard. This unique scene is situated beneath the representation of a sacred ram enclosed within a solar circle, encircled by two human arms, all atop a lotus flower and framed by two mummiform kneeling gods. This iconography lacks parallels in other contexts.

Likewise, the mummy board presents a similar scene in its central panel, featuring the head of a sacred ram within a solar circle embraced by human arms, all resting atop a lotus flower. This suggests the presence of a shared creative influence or, perhaps, the same decorator, with a distinctive artistic vision, behind these elements. While the possibility of a shared origin or influence is suggested, it remains unclear whether these

²⁹⁴ JE 29692; CG 6109 (outer lid), CG 6110 (outer box), CG 6098 (inner lid), CG 6099 (inner box), CG 6100 (mummy board). Daressy 1907: 5; Niwiński 1988: 127 [123], pl. Va.

²⁹⁵ Sousa 2020a: 15, 20-25.

distinctive characteristics originated from a common model or the result of individual artistic expression. Another exceptional feature found on the mummy board is the representation of the Sema Tawy in one of the scenes within the central partition of the lower section, an iconography rarely encountered in the decoration of yellow coffins.

In contrast to both the inner lid and the mummy board, the outer lid (pl. 3/1) exhibits distinctive characteristics in terms of typology and the style of the craftsman or craftspeople responsible for the decoration. Unlike the inner lid and mummy board, the outer lid depicts only the elbows, with the arms concealed by a larger floral collar compared to that represented on both the inner lid and mummy board. Notably, the object lacks a pectoral above the hands and extends the central panel to four registers. The lower section features depictions of Osiris with the deceased and other divinities across all the registers, accompanied by a more extensive range of space fillers compared to the previously mentioned objects. In the central partition, displaying Osirian attributes, three scenes are depicted, with a central marker adorned by a scarab, surrounded by kneeling gods with hawk heads. This typology is consistent with Sousa's "complex scheme."²⁹⁶

The arrangement and distinctions between the outer box and the inner box (pls. 3/2-3, 5-6) also suggest a relative chronology, with the outer box likely being decorated at a later stage, in line with the hypothesis that the outer lid was adorned after the inner lid and mummy board. Concerning the boxes, the prevalence of text incorporated into the vignettes on the outer box is a characteristic of later examples of yellow coffins. In contrast, the inner box adheres to the typical iconography of the early part of the Twenty-First Dynasty, featuring scenes separated by columns and scenes typical for that era, such as the Judgment scene, Geb and Nut or the three divinities atop a coiled serpent. Moreover, the inner box, on two occasions, features the representation of the solar disk with a ram's head inside, a motif also present on the inner lid and mummy board, linking these three elements into a cohesive group.

Given the originality of the featured information, it implies that the owner commissioned the various set elements at different stages of his career. One could propose that the inner coffin and mummy board were decorated in one phase, with the outer coffin being commissioned and adorned in a subsequent phase, likely by different craftspeople. The evidence for this differentiation in decoration extends beyond the visual aspects. This inference is supported by an analysis of the titulary displayed on these materials.

The titulary of Ankhefenmut, as displayed on the various coffin elements (pl. 3/8), significantly aids in substantiating the rationale behind the typological variations among the elements of set A.16. The representation of this titulary is illustrated in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Titulary of Ankhefenmut (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29692; CG 6109 (outer lid), CG 6110 (outer box), CG 6098 (inner lid), CG 6099 (inner box), CG 6100 (mummy board), A. 16) (pls. 3/1-8)

Element	Titulary
Outer lid	<i>w^cb n Mwt;</i>
Outer box	<i>ḥm-ntr n T^cḥ-ḥtp;</i>

²⁹⁶ Sousa 2020a: 16, 20-25.

	<i>sš prwy ḥd n pr 'Imn;</i> <i>sš n ḥwt-nbw n 'Imn;</i>
Inner lid	<i>wꜥb n Mwt;</i>
Inner box	<i>ḥm-ntr n Tḥ-ḥtp;</i> <i>wꜥb n ḥꜣt n Mwt wrt nbt 'Isrw</i>
Mummy board	<i>wꜥb n Mwt;</i> <i>ḥm-ntr n Tḥ-ḥtp</i>

The absence of uniformity and consistent execution in the decorations and titulary across the elements suggests distinct production moments. Notably, the high-status titles *sš prwy ḥd n pr 'Imn* and *sš n ḥwt-nbw n 'Imn* found on the outer coffin do not appear on the inner coffin or the mummy board. While the limited space on the mummy board might explain the omission of these titles, it's unlikely, considering the significance they would hold for Ankhefenmut's career, that they were excluded. On the contrary, the inner coffin places emphasis on the lower-ranking title *wꜥb n ḥꜣt n Mwt wrt nbt 'Isrw* in its inscriptions, while the designation *wꜥb n Mwt* is primarily featured within the vignettes, where space for writing is more restricted.

Considering all the available data and the implications of this diversity, it can be suggested that Ankhefenmut, or someone associated with him, ordered his coffin set elements at different points in his career, as indicated by the varying typologies and titulary across the elements. This could explain the stylistic differences between the outer coffin and the inner coffin and mummy board. It's likely that Ankhefenmut's outer coffin was commissioned at a later time, given that the outer lid lacks the representation of the arms of the deceased and features a more senior titulary. Unfortunately, there are not known associated elements with the set, making it unknown if Ankhefenmut held different titles at various times.

It remains uncertain whether Ankhefenmut possessed an initial outer coffin with his earlier titulary, typologically similar to the inner coffin and mummy board of set A.16. If true, at some point, he may have ordered a new outer coffin²⁹⁷ or undertaken a redecoration of the previous one, featuring his updated titulary in a more contemporary style.

3.1.1.2 Coffin set of Nespawershefyt (Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, E.1.1822) (pls. 3/9-16)

A similar scenario to the one discussed regarding Ankhefenmut can be drawn in connection with the complete coffin set of Nespawershefyt (pls. 3/9-16),²⁹⁸ which is preserved at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge²⁹⁹ and originates from the Theban area, although its exact place of origin remains unknown. The characteristics of the titulary featured on the coffin set (pl. 3/16), as seen in Table 3.2 below, suggest that the

²⁹⁷ This scenario is not unprecedented, as demonstrated in the subsequent discussion involving the case of Butehamon, and as elaborated upon in Chapter 4, Section 4 concerning the case of Amenhotep (A. 39), although the latter example still requires further investigation.

²⁹⁸ The coffin also bears the name Nesiamon. For the distribution of the names Nespawershefyt and Nesiamon within the ensemble, both of which pertain to the same owner, with Nesiamon being a shortened version of the complete name, see Strudwick 2017: 523. The shorter version is more prominent on the mummy board due to the limited space available for inscriptions. This is further supported by the mummy board featuring the shorter versions of the titles associated with the owner (see Table 3.2).

²⁹⁹ E.1.1822. Niwiński 1988: 133-134 [56]; Strudwick 2017.

coffin set was decorated and inscribed for Nespawershefyt before his passing and subsequently underwent alterations in part of his titulary to reflect his changing roles and promotions. Additionally, the variations in typology between the outer coffin (pls. 3/9-11) and the inner coffin (pls. 3/12-14) and mummy board (pl. 3/15) may indicate that the outer coffin was commissioned and adorned prior to the other elements.

Table 3.2 Titulary of Nespawershefyt (Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, E.1.1822) (pls. 3/9-16)

Element	Titulary
Outer lid	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw;</i> ꜥ3 n mw n pr 'Imn ³⁰⁰
Outer box	<i>'It-ntr n 'Imn;</i> <i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw;</i> <i>hry hmt;</i> <i>hry sšw n pr 'Imn;</i> <i>hry sšw hwt-ntr n pr 'Imn</i> ꜥ3 n mw n pr 'Imn
Inner lid	<i>W^cb;</i> <i>'It-ntr;</i> <i>'It-ntr n 'Imn;</i> <i>hry hmt;</i> <i>hry sšw n pr 'Imn;</i> <i>hry sšw hwt-ntr n pr 'Imn;</i> ꜥ3 n mw n pr 'Imn (probably) ³⁰¹
Inner box	<i>W^cb;</i> <i>W^cb n 'Imn;</i> <i>'It-ntr;</i> <i>it-ntr n 'Imn;</i> <i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw;</i> <i>hry hmt;</i> <i>hry hmt m 'Ipt swt;</i> <i>hry sšw hwt-ntr n pr 'Imn;</i> <i>hry sšw hwt-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw;</i> ꜥ3 n mw n pr 'Imn (probably)
Mummy board	<i>W^cb;</i> <i>'It-ntr n 'Imn;</i> <i>hry hmt;</i> <i>hry sšw hwt-ntr n pr 'Imn;</i> aA n mw n pr 'Imn

An analysis of the titulary of the object (pl. 3/16) reveals that the title *ꜥ3 n mw n pr 'Imn*, meaning Great One of the Water of the House of Amun, underwent alterations. It appears to have been intentionally concealed and replaced with a more senior titulary, namely, *hry sšw hwt ntr n pr 'Imn (-R^c nsw ntrw)* and *hry hmt (m 'Ipt swt)*, signifying Supervisor of Temple Scribes of the Domain of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, and

³⁰⁰ The use of "—" indicates that the title was initially present on the element but was subsequently altered and concealed to make way for a more recent and senior title, signifying a change in the owner's career and promotion. The modification is further indicated by the fact that the area was varnished twice, consistently in the areas bearing the owner's titulary (Strudwick 2017: 525).

³⁰¹ Taking into account the layers of varnish and the discussed title alteration, it's conceivable that beneath the present decoration, this earlier title may still exist, even if it is not currently visible. A comparison with the other elements supports this hypothesis, and additional scientific analysis will either confirm or refute this notion.

Supervisor of Craftsmen's Workshops in Karnak. This implies that the earlier title was less significant than the new ones, but it also indicates that when Nespawershefy's coffin set was commissioned, the title referring to the Water of the House of Amun held importance, as he had not yet changed his duties.³⁰²

The absence of a name change, and the presence of only a title change, implies that these modifications are not related to the reuse of the coffin by a different individual. This further supports the notion that the coffin was commissioned and decorated while Nespawershefy was still alive, although the timing of these changes and the identity of the individual responsible for making them remain unknown.

Similarly, delving into a different level of analysis, there are typological distinctions among these elements. Specifically, the outer coffin (pls. 3/9-11) exhibits scenes against a white background, while the inner coffin (pls. 3/12-14) and mummy board (pl. 3/15) feature scenes with a yellow background. The use of a white background is associated with individuals of high status.³⁰³ Given Nespawershefy's role as a supervisor of temple scribes and craftsmen in Karnak, this decorative choice may have reflected his elevated status, a concept also explored in Chapter 4, Section 2 and observed in other instances, such as the outer coffin of Butehamon, which is discussed further below.

However, the reason why the owner did not extend the use of the white background to the inner coffin and mummy board remains unknown. This might be indicative of chronological considerations, suggesting the need for a more contemporary style for the inner coffin and mummy board. This chronological distinction is also evident on the interior of the boxes. While the interior of the outer box (pl. 3/11) features red background with only a single figure on the floorboard, typical of earlier decoration, the interior of the inner box (pl. 3/14) is adorned throughout with various scenes and registers, featuring a multitude of representations.

Based on these observations, it seems plausible that the outer coffin was commissioned before the other elements in the set. In this context, Nespawershefy's outer lid exclusively displays the designations of *it-ntr n 'Imn-R' nsw ntrw* and *ʕ n mw n pr 'Imn*. The absence of additional titulary found on the other objects, such as *hry hmt* and *hry sšw* (with variants), implies that this may have been the first object in the set to undergo decoration. It's worth noting that the outer lid is also more damaged than the rest of the objects, potentially obscuring some titles due to its preservation state.

However, when considering the outer box, it's noteworthy that while the object maintains a more uniform titulary in line with the other elements in the set, the title *wʕb* is absent on the outer box (as well as the outer lid) but is present on the remaining elements. In this scenario, it could suggest that Nespawershefy did not hold this designation when his outer coffin was commissioned but acquired it when the inner coffin and mummy board were ordered.

If these considerations hold true, there might have been three distinct phases in the decoration of Nespawershefy's coffin, irrespective of the potential reuse marks on

³⁰² In the Old Kingdom, officials had to determine the appropriate time to commence inscribing their tombs, mirroring the situation discussed (Strudwick 1985: 8).

³⁰³ Jamen, forthcoming. I appreciate Jamen for granting me access to her unpublished paper addressing the issue.

certain elements.³⁰⁴ Initially, someone commissioned the decoration of the outer coffin. Subsequently, the decoration of the inner coffin and mummy board were ordered. In all instances, his titulary included the title *ʿ3 n mw n pr Imn*. The third phase would involve the redecoration and modification of this title to incorporate his more recent, higher-ranking positions while concealing the *ʿ3 n mw n pr Imn* title. This likely occurred in connection with a promotion, although other unknown reasons may have contributed to this practice.

3.1.1.3 Coffin set(s) of Butehamon (Museo Egizio in Turin, Cat. 2236; CGT 10101.a (outer lid), Cat. 2236; CGT 10101.b (outer box), Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.a (inner lid), Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.b (inner box), Cat. 2237; CGT 10103 (mummy board); Art & History Museum in Brussels, E. 5288 (outer box) (pls. 3/17-25)

Butehamon is notably associated with an outer (pls. 3/17-19) and inner coffin (pls. 3/22-24), along with a mummy board (pl. 3/25) held in Turin, and, additionally, remnants of an outer box (pls. 3/20-21) preserved in Brussels.³⁰⁵ What's particularly intriguing is that the stylistic features of the outer box in Brussels align with those of the inner coffin and mummy board in Turin, suggesting that they were originally decorated as a coherent set. The outer coffin preserved in Turin, though currently linked with the inner coffin and mummy board in the same museum, follows a different typology and decoration, indicating that it was commissioned at a different point in time.

There is still uncertainty about whether the outer box preserved in Brussels, although at one point part of Butehamon's burial equipment, was ultimately set aside due to unknown circumstances, leading to its replacement with a new outer coffin for Butehamon, the one currently held in Turin with the rest of his funerary equipment. Was the outer box preserved in Brussels perhaps utilized by another individual prior to Butehamon's death? Furthermore, which of the two outer coffins was adorned first? If the outer coffin preserved in Turin received its decorations after the one preserved in Brussels, could this indicate a deliberate decision to commission a new outer coffin with updated and more contemporary decorations?

Did this decision, whether made by Butehamon or someone else, correlate with a subsequent change in Butehamon's status? Might a shift in ritual and religious beliefs, occurring during a period when rites and funerary customs were evolving, have influenced this decision? Could it have been driven by Butehamon's personal preferences, impacting the choice to decorate a new outer coffin based on his own opinions?

In this regard, the decoration of the outer coffin preserved in Turin, whether it was adorned before the other associated coffins and the mummy board of Butehamon or not, may offer valuable insights. It has been proposed that Butehamon played a role in orchestrating the reburials of some New Kingdom pharaohs (see Chapter 4, Section 3). This hypothesis gains support from the presence of several New Kingdom pharaohs and their families on the distinctive decoration of the outer lid (pl. 3/17), all of whom were indeed restored and reburied during Butehamon's time.³⁰⁶ This unique iconography sets

³⁰⁴ Strudwick, Dawson 2016: 186 [fig. 96a].

³⁰⁵ For the discussion of the individual, his associated documentation and his associated funerary materials, see Chapter 4, Section 3.

³⁰⁶ Reeves 1990: 243 [n. 94]; Taylor 2016: 32.

the object apart from any other coffin of its kind. While there is definitive contemporary documentation confirming Butehamon's participation in the reburial of Ramesses III, it is plausible that Butehamon also had involvement in other reburials, either directly or under his supervision.

An intriguing aspect in this context is the inclusion of Amenhotep I on the decoration of Butehamon's outer lid, along with references to his reburial in the texts associated with the "Opening of the mouth" found on the underside of Butehamon's inner lid (pl. 3/22) and mummy board (pl. 3/25) preserved in Turin.³⁰⁷ While not directly conclusive, this accumulation of data may suggest that Butehamon had a role in that reburial, possibly in an organizational capacity.

Amenhotep I was reburied twice. The event associated with the second documented reburial of Amenhotep I, which is documented in a docket featured on his coffin, occurred in Year 16, during the 4th month of Peret, on the 11th day of Smendes I's reign.³⁰⁸ Considering the last documented mention of Butehamon (see Chapter 4, Section 3), it is unlikely that he was present physically during this event, even if he may have had organized some aspects beforehand.

Therefore, the decoration featured on the outer lid of Butehamon (pl. 3/17) and associated with the reburial of Amenhotep I might refer to his first documented reburial, with again the possibility that Butehamon played an active role in its organization. The event, again recorded on a docket featured on Amenhotep I's coffin, occurred in Year 6, during the 4th month of Peret, on the 7th day of Smendes' reign.³⁰⁹

The presence of the king and his family on Butehamon's coffin can be attributed to the scribe's participation in Amenhotep's initial reburial during Year 6 of Smendes' reign. This association could have impacted the timing of the decoration on the outer coffin preserved in Turin (pls. 3/17-19), and it's conceivable that the potentially original outer coffin preserved in Brussels (pls. 3/20-21) was subsequently replaced, resulting in the decoration of a new one.³¹⁰ Nevertheless, it's crucial to acknowledge that these assertions are speculative and the chronological order of decoration for the outer coffins remains uncertain. In this respect, and regarding the decoration of the objects, it's worth noting that Butehamon lived during the transition from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-First Dynasty. As a result, even if it is impossible to determine the exact timing of when his associated coffin set(s) were decorated, his funerary equipment incorporates traditional elements alongside certain innovations.

The origins and fate of the outer coffin preserved in Brussels, of which only the outer box remains, are a mystery.³¹¹ It's unclear whether it was repurposed by someone else or

³⁰⁷ Schiaparelli 1882-1890; Niwiński 1984: 140.

³⁰⁸ Maspero 1889: 536-537; Reeves 1990: 236 [Table 10/4, N° 23]. The reburial, commanded by the High priest Masaharta, was done by the scribe of the treasury and scribe of the temple Penamun, son of Sutymes.

³⁰⁹ Maspero 1889: 536-537; Reeves 1990: 235 [Table 10/3, N° 14]. The reburial, commanded by the High priest Panedjem I, was done by the overseer of the treasury Pa[...].

³¹⁰ In this regard, it's worth mentioning that Butehamon's outer coffin preserved in Turin shows signs of having been modified for Butehamon from a prior coffin that was repurposed and redecorated (Ciccopiedi 2019: 80-87; Cooney 2023: 11-13).

³¹¹ Regarding the acquisition dates of the materials, Butehamon's funerary ensemble preserved in Turin was discovered in Western Thebes around 1817-1818. It was part of the Drovetti collection, who

simply abandoned. An alternative possibility arises when considering the dimensions of these objects, suggesting that Butehamon might have had a comprehensive coffin set consisting of the outer coffin preserved in Turin, an intermediate coffin, whose box is preserved in Brussels, and an inner coffin and a mummy board, which are preserved in Turin.³¹² However, this hypothesis doesn't explain why the intermediate coffin ended up in Brussels. Furthermore, the lid of this potentially intermediate coffin remains unidentified, which is a subject that requires further investigation.

The provided data suggests a chronological order in the production of Butehamon's coffin sets, with evidence pointing towards the replacement of previously adorned materials with newly commissioned ones. The decoration on the new outer lid seemingly reflects some aspects of Butehamon's experiences. However, while the precise motivations behind these operations remain unclear, they may have been influenced by Buthamon's personal decisions and his evolving status and life experiences, possibly prompting him to present himself with a more impressive and contemporary outer coffin. This competitive spirit and desire to align oneself with the elite and the association with the ruling class are evident in the visually striking coffins.

While it is not possible to definitively establish a direct connection between the depiction of New Kingdom kings and queens in the iconography of its outer lid and Butehamon's specific role and involvement in their reburial practices, it undoubtedly emphasizes Butehamon's significant influence and involvement in the decoration process. However, it's important to consider that the highly knowledgeable and skilled artisans responsible for these decorations might have also played a substantial role in influencing and shaping the design choices for Butehamon's unique coffin.

Considering the prevalent use of a white background (pls. 3/17-19) in combination with the depicted scenes, it is worth noting that, as mentioned, this choice of background color is typically associated with individuals of high status. This further suggests that Butehamon may have intentionally commissioned a "second" outer lid that deviated from conventional and traditional norms.

The "second" outer box preserved in Turin similarly presents a white background for the scenes and introduces innovative iconographic trends anticipated during the Twenty-First Dynasty (pl. 3/18). This includes the inclusion of complementary cosmological scenes featuring Geb and Nut, as well as Osiris with the great serpent. The inclusion of these rare and exclusive scenes, new at the time, combined with the use of the white background, as discussed earlier in relation to the outer lid, suggests the owner's access to new and evolving iconographic elements, marking a departure from traditional norms and reflecting the changing trends characteristic of the late New

excavated the tomb of Nakhtmin (TT 291). This tomb was possibly reused by Butehamon and his family, making it a likely place for the discovery of his funerary ensemble (Niwiński 1984: 138; Niwiński 2004: 45). As for the outer box preserved in Brussels, its origins remain unknown. It was discovered around 1818 by Belzoni (Capart 1905: 80; Niwiński 1984: 138). However, it is unclear whether all these materials were discovered together or not.

³¹² Černý 1973: 374; Guérin 2010: 619, 639, 641-642. However, this is an exceptionally unique characteristic for its time, with Hori being the only known individual, so far, to possess such a feature. Hori, the son of the High Priest Menkheper, was equipped with a nesting gilded set consisting of an outer coffin, an intermediate coffin, and an inner coffin (Mostafa 2020). Although there are examples from other periods (Guérin 2010: 640-641), they remain exceptional.

Kingdom and beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty. Hence, the decorative choices also convey chronological implications.

In conclusion, the rare presence of two outer coffins associated with Butehamon indicates a discernible production sequence influenced by various changes,³¹³ although the specific actors and intricacies involved in each phase remain unknown.

3.1.1.4 Coffin set of Tjanefer (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29682; CG 6250 (outer lid), CG 6249 (outer box), CG 6251 (inner lid), CG 6253 (inner box), CG 6252 (mummy board), A. 69) (pls. 3/ 26-34)



The elements associated with the complete set of Tjanefer (A. 69), preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,³¹⁴ exhibit differences both in typology and in terms of the ownership characteristics and featured information about the deceased. The outer coffin (pls. 3/26-28), presumably prepared in advance (see Table 3.4 below), albeit the outer lid (pl. 3/26) was subsequently inscribed with Tjanefer's information, features a decoration against a white background. Conversely, the remaining elements associated with the set, specifically decorated for Tjanefer (further details of his titulary, discussed below, are featured in Table 3.4), display decorations against a yellow background (pls. 3/29-32).

All the covers display visible forearms (pls. 3/26, 29, 32), but they exhibit certain differences in the arrangement of their inscriptions (refer to Table 3.3 below) (pl. 3/33), which points to slightly chronological variations among the elements, shedding light on the production sequence of the materials. Specifically, the outer lid has its side inscriptions in a horizontal orientation, while the border inscriptions are vertical. On the other hand, the inner lid has its side inscriptions in a vertical orientation, with the border inscriptions being horizontal. Notably, the mummy board features the side inscriptions in a horizontal layout, with no border inscriptions present.

Table 3.3 Arrangement of the Inscriptions on the Covers Associated with the Set of Tjanefer (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29682; CG 6250 (outer lid), CG 6251 (inner lid), CG 6252 (mummy board), A. 69) (pl. 3/33)

Element	Side inscriptions	Border inscriptions
Outer lid	Horizontal	Vertical
Inner lid	Vertical	Horizontal
Mummy board	Horizontal	-

³¹³ In this context, a valuable approach would involve a comprehensive analysis of the titulary featured on each element, akin to the methodology applied in previous examples. However, current limitations exist due to the inaccessibility of the box preserved in Brussels. Moreover, the object is damaged to the extent that the available pictures do not permit a thorough examination of every single sign featured on the object, making it an aspect that remains unexplored for now.

³¹⁴ JE 29682; CG 6250 (outer lid), CG 6249 (outer box), CG 6251 (inner lid), CG 6253 (inner box), CG 6252 (mummy board). Daressy 1907: 9 [A. 69]; Niwiński 1988: 126 [119]. Notably, Daressy and Niwiński both interpreted one of the titles associated with Tjanefer as  and  respectively. However, this title is, in fact, the title of *wr m3w n R'-Itm m W3st*. Refer to Table 3.4 below for the comprehensive titulary linked to set A. 69, which Niwiński did not provide. This absence suggests the possibility that he may not have had direct access to the object.

The decorative arrangement of the inscriptions on the outer lid and the mummy board, specifically the horizontal side inscriptions and vertical border inscriptions on the outer lid, is representative of a more modern typology as defined by Niwiński, specifically types II-c/d and type III.³¹⁵ This decorative solution postdates the earlier arrangement seen on the inner lid of the set, which features vertical side inscriptions and horizontal border inscriptions. These observations, in terms of production sequence of the materials, suggest that the decoration of the inner lid may have preceded that of the outer lid and mummy board, a notion that is further explored in subsequent discussions.

Furthermore, the mummy board displays a unique arrangement of the words *imAx xr* within its horizontal side inscriptions (pl. 3/33). In the initial side inscription, positioned atop the first vignette of the lower section, the writing of the word *imAx xr* follows a pattern resembling that of the traditional vertical arrangement. However, in the following side inscriptions, the word has been somewhat adapted to fit a horizontal arrangement. This interesting phenomenon may reflect a transitional period during which the decorators were still adjusting to the new horizontal arrangement of the side inscriptions, potentially leading to some confusion in the execution, given their likely adherence to more conventional models.

This variation among the elements might indicate that the objects were decorated at slightly different moments during a transitional phase when the standard arrangement of side inscriptions and border inscriptions had not yet been established. This could potentially lead to differences within various elements of the same set.

The examination of the titulary displayed on the elements of set A. 69 (refer to Table 3.4 and pl. 3/34) could aid in validating and elucidating the rationale behind the typological variation and potential slightly chronological disparities within the decoration of the elements comprising the set.

Table 3.4 Personal Information Associated with Tjanefer as Featured on Set A. 69 (pl. 3/34)

Element	Name	Titulary
Outer lid	Anonymous man (blank space filled with the name Tjanefer?) ³¹⁶	<i>it-ntr</i> ; (<i>wr</i>) <i>m3w n R^c-Itm m W3st</i> ; others? ³¹⁷ (filling the blank space)
Outer box	Anonymous	None
Inner lid	Tjanefer (original)	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i> ; others? ³¹⁸
Inner box		<i>it-ntr</i> ; <i>it-ntr n Imn</i> ; <i>w^cb ^cwy n Imn m Ipt-swt</i> ;

³¹⁵ Niwiński 1988: 74-78.

³¹⁶ The identification of the name on the footboard cannot be confirmed based on the currently available pictures of the object. After the titles in the area (see note below), there is a dirty space where the name might be situated, even though it remains unseen in the provided pictures; however, it is likely to be present.

³¹⁷ The titles displayed on the footboard are situated within a damaged and dirty area, the details of which are not entirely discernible in the low-quality pictures available for the objects.

³¹⁸ The footboard lacks preservation, leaving uncertain any potential original inclusion of titles in that area.

		<i>hry-ḥb sšt3 n 'Imn</i> (original)
Mummy board		<i>ḥm-ntr n 'Imn;</i> <i>it-ntr mry;</i> <i>wr m3w n R'-Itm m W3st;</i> <i>stm m 3ḥt nḥḥ;</i> <i>hry sšt3 m pt t3 dw3t;</i> <i>Wn ʿ3wy nw pt m 'Ipt swt</i> (original)

Across all elements featuring the titulary associated with Tjanefer, the title *it-ntr* appears consistently, with its related variations differing slightly among the elements. Additionally, the title *wr m3w n R'-Itm m W3st* is shared between the outer lid and the mummy board, the covers that, as previously mentioned, feature the same arrangement of the side and border inscriptions.

Regarding the mummy board, it is notable that the remaining titles featured on the object, including *ḥm-ntr n 'Imn*, *stm m 3ḥt nḥḥ*, *hry sšt3 m pt t3 dw3t* and *Wn ʿ3wy nw pt m 'Ipt swt*, are exclusive to the mummy board and are not found on the other components of the set.³¹⁹

Upon examining the spatial placement of the titles on the mummy board, it becomes apparent that the only title referenced in the vignettes featuring the depiction of the deceased is that of *ḥm-ntr n 'Imn* (pl. 3/34). This implies that this was potentially the most significant title held by the owner at the time of the mummy board's decoration, while the remaining titles were incorporated within the vertical inscriptions of the object. This is unsurprising, as the title *ḥm-ntr*, signifying "Prophet," was presumably more significant than the others held by the owner.

Tjanefer's elevated status is further underscored by additional titles featured on his mummy board, such as *wr m3w n R'-Itm m W3st*, *stm m 3ḥt nḥḥ*, *hry sšt3 m pt t3 dw3t* and *Wn ʿ3wy nw pt m 'Ipt swt*. These designations not only suggest his priestly connections with the Horizon of Eternity³²⁰ but also indicate his roles in positions granting access to restricted temple areas and specialized knowledge. This implies a high-ranking position within the priestly hierarchy. The significance is further supported by his holding prominent priestly roles in various institutions and with different deities, including Ra-Atum. In his cult, he occupied one of the highest positions as the "Greatest of the Seers of Ra-Atum in Thebes" a title also found on the outer lid, reinforcing this assumption.³²¹

Shifting the focus to the inner lid, the only mention of the titulary associated with Tjanefer is featured in the border inscriptions (pl. 3/34), as the vignettes depicting the deceased do not provide any such details. Within the border inscriptions, a single title

³¹⁹ As mentioned, the footboard of the inner lid lacks preservation, and it's possible that some titles found on the mummy board might have also been present in that element.

³²⁰ The designation refers to the King's tomb (Černý 1973: 74-79).

³²¹ The title is exceptionally rare and denotes high status. Notable individuals during the Twenty-First Dynasty who possess this title on their yellow coffins include Menkheperra, the grandson of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperra (Lull 2006: 210) and owner of the gilded set A. 147, as well as his father Tjanefer, owner of the gilded set A. 151. Other individuals with this distinguished title on their coffins include Amenhotep, the owner of a set currently preserved at the Musée du Louvre (Niwinski 1988: 164 [329]), whose origins are unknown, and Padiamon, the owner of set A. 114.

precedes the name of the deceased: *it-ntr n 'Imn*. The absence of the prominent title *hm-ntr*, which is evident on the mummy board, suggests that Tjanefer did not hold this title during the decoration of the inner lid. This absence implies that the inner lid's decoration likely predates that of the mummy board, indicating that Tjanefer had not yet acquired the title *hm-ntr n 'Imn* when the lid was adorned. This observation aligns with the traditional approach evident in the arrangement of the side inscriptions and border inscriptions, which is distinct from those found on the mummy board and outer lid (pl. 3/33).

It remains plausible that the title *hm-ntr* could have been included on the footboard of the inner lid, which, unfortunately, did not survive (pl. 3/29). However, if that were true, it would not clarify why the border inscriptions on the lid mention *it-ntr n 'Imn* instead of *hm-ntr n 'Imn*, given the latter's presumed significance. Admittedly, the sole inclusion of the title *it-ntr n 'Imn* on the border inscriptions could also have an additional explanation that eludes our current understanding.

Furthermore, concerning the inner box, the object incorporates titles such as *it-ntr*, *it-ntr n 'Imn*, *w^cb ^cwy n 'Imn m 'Ipt-swt* and *hry-hb sšt3 n 'Imn* (pl. 3/34), the latter two not observed on the other elements associated with the set. Notably, the title *w^cb ^cwy n 'Imn m 'Ipt-swt* is of markedly inferior quality compared to the others featured on the remaining elements. This discrepancy suggests that this particular title might represent an early career position for Tjanefer, explaining its absence on the other components. These variations imply that the inner box, alongside the inner lid, displays differences in titulary compared to the other objects and likely indicates that they were decorated at different points in time compared to the rest of the elements associated with Tjanefer, thereby implying a specific sequence of production and a cursus honorum for the owner.

Regarding the outer lid and the outer box, it appears that they were likely pre-prepared, with the outer lid subsequently incorporating, at least, the titles of *it-ntr ^cnd (wr) m3w n R^c-Itm m W3st* (pl. 3/34). The significant title associated with the cult of Ra-Atum in Thebes may be linked to the presence, on the outer coffin, of the iconography atop a white background (pls. 3/26-27), a visually striking characteristic arrangement typically associated with high-status individuals.

Once again, the existence of blank spaces and pre-decoration does not always signify a lower status for the owner. Whether this outer coffin replaced a previously decorated one, as suggested in the case of Butehamon, or was solely adorned after the commission of the inner coffin remains uncertain. It is also unclear whether the mummy board was decorated subsequent to the outer coffin, although the absence of the title *hm-ntr* on the outer coffin might imply such a sequence. In that scenario, it is also unknown whether the mummy board was a replacement for an earlier one that was discarded or redecorated during Tjanefer's career advancement, or if it was only newly commissioned upon his assumption of the role of *hm-ntr*.

In this regard, presumably indicative of Tjanefer's elevated status, the mummy board, featuring the title *hm-ntr*, exhibits on its central panel an atypical representation of Horus with outstretched wings (pl. 3/32), replacing the customary depiction of a female

divinity.³²² This unique decision, while potentially a product of creative ingenuity, likely aimed to visually underscore and enhance the owner's esteemed position. Another distinguishing feature is the inclusion of two Ta-Weret totems below the representation of Horus in the second register of the central panel, elegantly framed by the depictions of Isis and Nephthys. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the funerary equipment associated with the individual.

3.1.1.5 Coffin set of Panedjem (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29637; CG 6105 (outer lid), CG 6106 (outer box), CG 6103 (inner lid), CG 6104 (inner box), CG 6063 (mummy board), A. 55) (pls. 3/35-42)

The components associated with the complete set A. 55, preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,³²³ show variations in typology and the inclusion of information about the deceased on the objects, as detailed in Table 3.5 and further discussed below. These variations suggest a sequence in the production of the materials. Additionally, the discussion also explores the potential repurposing of a mummy board from another set.

Table 3.5 Personal Details Featured on the Set of Panedjem (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29637; CG 6105 (outer lid), CG 6106 (outer box), CG 6103 (inner lid), CG 6104 (inner box), CG 6063 (mummy board), A. 55) (pl. 3/42)

Element	Name	Titulary
Outer lid	Anonymous man (blank space filled with the name Panedjem?) ³²⁴	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i> (original)
Outer box	Anonymous man	<i>hsyt 3t s3 n hsywt m W3st;</i>

³²² In this context, it is essential to highlight objects that bear similar depictions on their covers, likely associated with the family of the High Priest of Amun as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4. Additionally, the mummy board of another individual named Tjanefer (JE 29736; CG 6260), recognized as the husband of Gautseshen, the daughter of the High Priest Menkheper (Lull 2006: 209-210), and owner of a partially gilded set (A. 151 (Daressy 1907: 14, 38; Niwiński 1988: 131 [142])), features a remarkable representation of Horus. In this portrayal, Horus's wings extend across the entire lower section of the object, further emphasizing Tjanefer's connection with the High Priest of Amun. The shared name between both individuals is intriguing, and Tjanefer (A. 69) held numerous titles in common with the other Tjanefer (A. 151), such as *it-ntr mry, wr m3w n R^c-Itm n W3st, stm n 3ht nhh, hry s3t m pt t3 dw3t, wn 3wy nw pt m 'lpt swt* and *hm ntr n 'Imn* (with the designation *3-nw n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw* in the case of Tjanefer, owner of A. 151). While this observation could suggest a connection between the two, this hypothesis lacks additional confirmation. This information underscores that, despite the conventional association of individuals interred within the funerary chambers of Bab el-Gasus with the most prominent societal positions of the moment, some individuals not buried there still played significant roles, as elaborated in Chapter 4, Section 4.

³²³ JE 29637; CG 6105 (outer lid), CG 6106 (outer box), CG 6103 (inner lid), CG 6104 (inner box), CG 6063 (mummy board). Daressy 1907: 8 [A. 55]; Taylor 1985 II: 119-120; Niwiński 1988: 121 [93]; Niwiński 1995: 54-69. A Book of the Amduat decorated for an anonymous individual, held at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (S.R.VII. 10237) (Niwiński 1989: 279 [Cairo 74]; Sadek 1985: 218-219, pls. 43-44 [C 31]), has traditionally been linked with the set. However, the exact reasons for this association remain unclear, especially since Daressy does not refer to any funerary items connected to the set.

³²⁴ The inscriptions containing information about the deceased are located atop a blue band. A noticeable contrast exists between the technical aspects of the inscription featuring the titulary, which is clear and distinct, and that of the inscription featuring the name, which appears somewhat faded in comparison to the preceding inscription. This difference might suggest that the name was possibly added at a later stage, filling a section that was initially left undecorated. To confirm this hypothesis, direct access to the object is required. It is also possible that the name was originally included alongside the title and has since become faded due to other factors.

		<i>ḥsyw n W3st r st m3^ctyw n imntt</i> ³²⁵
Inner lid	Panedjem (original)	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i> (original)
Inner box	Anonymous man	-
Mummy board	Shedkhonsu (the preceding owner, original) Panedjem (the usurper, subsequent phase)	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R^c nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš n pr Imn</i> (referred to Shedkhonsu, original) <i>it-ntr n Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i> (referred to Panedjem, reusing Shedkhonsu's designation) ³²⁶

Each element of the complete set A. 55, despite variations in style, typology, and the utilization of pre-prepared or recycled materials, collectively serves to emphasize Panedjem's distinguished status. The inclusion of distinctive features on his set points toward a creative mind and/or decorator associated with an individual of high standing, mirroring the characteristics commonly found on coffins belonging to individuals of elevated social status.

The outer lid (pl. 3/35) is particularly remarkable for its unique pectoral, which includes a depiction of a ram, as well as a representation of a winged solar disk on the central panel, accompanied by an elongated central panel that extends towards the footboard. Additionally, preceding the footboard is the representation of a winged Horus. The last three characteristics are commonly exhibited on coffins owned by individuals connected to the sphere of influence of the High Priest of Amun (see Chapter 4, Section 4).

The outer box (pls. 3/36-37) is inscribed with the designations of *ḥsyt 3t s3t n ḥsywt* and *ḥsyw n W3st r st m3^ctyw n imntt* (pl. 3/42), signifying an individual of high status, although the titles are not directly connected to Panedjem, given the anonymous nature of the object. Notably, the box features a frieze of inscriptions not only on the upper section, as is customary, but also on the lower part, a unique characteristic that further enhances the object's prestige. The presence of numerous intricate texts and atypical

³²⁵ These designations are not explicitly linked to a particular owner but are integrated within the texts depicted on the box. Consequently, it remains unclear whether they actually refer to the original owner of the coffin or not, especially since the coffin was originally prepared for an anonymous individual, presumably in advance. It is uncertain whether the box was initially commissioned for Panedjem or if the association with him was established later, particularly given the possibility that the outer lid was also pre-prepared.

³²⁶ It seems deliberate efforts were made to erase both the name and the second title, *sš n pr Imn*, associated with Shedsukhonsu, from the side and border inscriptions of the object during its repurposing for Panedjem. However, Panedjem's name wasn't consistently inserted in all the places where Shedsukhonsu's information had originally appeared. Only in one area, on the side inscriptions above the initial vignettes, does the name Panedjem emerge, associated with the title *it-ntr n Imn-R^c nsw ntrw*, which was previously attributed to Shedsukhonsu. Considering the titulary featured on the remaining components of Panedjem's set and the deliberate omission of Shedsukhonsu's scribal title but not this specific one, it is highly probable that Panedjem held this priestly title. Intriguingly, not all mentions of Shedsuhor were entirely removed, as his particulars, including his name and titles, persist on the vertical column descending towards the lower section of the object. The potential reasons behind this feature are further elaborated below. Direct access to this artifact is of utmost importance. As detailed later on, additional components from the original coffin set of Shedsuhor were also repurposed by another individual interred in Bab el-Gasus.

iconographies contributes to its distinguished nature. Inside the outer box (pl. 37), there is a distinctive depiction of Horus, replacing the customary ba bird, on the headboard. The same scene is feature on the interior of the inner box (pl. 3/40).

Regarding the inner lid (pl. 3/38), its extended central panel, similar to that of the outer lid, features distinctive registers. These include cartouches with the names of Osiris and Nephthys, alternating with tit signs, accompanied by a depiction of the winged Horus. All these elements serve to further emphasize the individual's prestigious status. In contrast, the exterior of the inner box (pl. 3/39), while exhibiting a lower quality of decoration compared to the other elements of the set, presents a unique upper frieze. This frieze showcases alternating depictions of Horus adorned with a solar double plume, the Was scepter with a shen ring at its center, and the uraeus, also crowned with a solar double plume. However, the object's interior (pl. 3/40) reveals a higher level of craftsmanship, featuring intriguing elements such as a portrayal of Horus in place of the traditional ba bird on the headboard. These distinctive characteristics and qualities suggest the potential involvement of different groups of craftspeople contributing to the same object. The object's anonymity (see *supra*, Table 3.5) hints at the possibility of a pre-prepared arrangement.

The mummy board associated with set A. 55 (pl. 3/41) was repurposed from another individual, Shedsuhor, although Panedjem's name was subsequently included on the object (pl. 3/42). The object features the scene with the offering of insignias, a detail that further indicates the high status associated with its owner(s),³²⁷ as the iconography is commonly found on items associated with the entourage of the High Priest of Amun (see Chapter 4, Section 4). Additionally, the object includes the depiction of the winged Horus as part of the central panel.

The typology of the mummy board, conforming to the stola type, postdates the other coffin elements in the set, which adhere to the non-stola type. This distinction suggests that Panedjem likely assembled his outer and inner coffins before the stola style was in use. Subsequently, for unknown reasons, he repurposed a previously decorated stola mummy board that belonged to another individual. It remains uncertain whether Panedjem originally had a mummy board that he intended to replace and update, leading to the reuse of an existing mummy board with the addition of his name. Alternatively, it is possible that he did not originally own a mummy board, and this became the last coffin element commissioned, involving the repurposing of a previously decorated mummy board for his use.

The diversity and variation observed in the elements associated with the set, originating from different contexts, contribute to the complexity of our understanding and invite further exploration. This heterogeneity may be attributed to various moments for the commissioning of the elements and/or the influence of different workshops, decorative models and craftspeople. It emphasizes the potential interplay of factors that shaped the creation and repurposing of these artifacts.

³²⁷ In this instance, with the object being repurposed, the status would be linked to its previous owner, Shedsukhonsu, for whom the object was originally adorned (this individual and his set are further examined below). However, considering the possibility of a connection between Shedsukhonsu and Panedjem, as discussed later on, it wouldn't be unexpected to suggest that this elevated status linked to Shedsukhonsu also extended to Panedjem.

3.1.1.6 *The Original Coffin Set of Shedsukhonsu, Partly Reused for Butharkhonsu (Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, ÄS 6271 (outer box); Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva, 7363bis (inner lid), 7363 (inner box), A. 52) (pls. 3/43-47)*

The earlier discussion concerning the modification of the mummy board (pls. 3/41-42), initially intended for Shedsukhonsu but later repurposed for Panedjem (A. 55), serves as a starting point for tracing additional elements from Shedsukhonsu's original coffin set that were subsequently repurposed by another individual, Butharkhonsu, owner of the coffin set A. 52 (pls. 3/43-47).³²⁸ The examination of the personal information, stylistic characteristics and the arrangement of iconography and texts within the components linked to set A. 52 (refer to Table 3.6 for personal details associated with the set) implies that the dismemberment of Shedsukhonsu's coffin set led to the reuse of his objects not only for Panedjem's burial but also for Butharkhonsu's. This demonstrates that elements initially connected to a single set, in this case, the set of Shedsukhonsu, were repurposed by at least two distinct individuals, namely Butharkhonsu and Panedjem.

This circumstance holds considerable significance, especially considering the inherent challenge associated with identifying the origins of repurposed elements within their original coffin sets. In this particular instance, the chance to accomplish this unusual feat and trace repurposed elements back to the same original coffin set has emerged. This realization offers valuable insights into the practice of reusing and repurposing objects, presenting a significant case study. The relationship between these three individuals (Shedsukhonsu, Butharkhonsu and Panedjem), or between any two of them, remains unknown and will be further discussed below.

Table 3.6 Information Associated with The Original Coffin Set of Shedsukhonsu, Partly Reused for Butharkhonsu (Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, ÄS 6271 (outer box); Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva, 7363bis (inner lid), 7363 (inner box), A. 52) (pl. 3/47)

Element	Name	Titulary
Outer lid	Shedsukhonsu?, reused for Butharkhonsu	<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šm^cyt n 'Imn nsw ntrw</i> (referred to Butharkhonsu)
Inner lid	Shedsukhonsu, reused for an anonymous? ³²⁹ woman	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš n pr 'Imn;</i> <i>imy-r [n hnsu m W3st] nfr-ḥtp³³⁰</i> (referred to Shedsukhonsu)
Inner box	Shedsukhonsu	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw;</i>

³²⁸ Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (ÄS 6271 (outer lid)), Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva (7363bis (inner lid), 7363 (inner box), 12454 (mummy board)). Daressy 1907: 8, 18, 20, 26; Niwiński 1988: 140-141 [196, 197].

³²⁹ The low-quality images currently available for the object make it difficult to discern whether there is information associated with the woman, presumably Butharkhonsu, for whom the object was modified. Future access to the object will provide clarity on whether there are names, a blank space, or any other indications of the new owner following the modification of the information related to the previous owner, Shedsukhonsu.

³³⁰ The third title is unclear, given the limitations of the available images (refer to the previous note). However, taking into account the remnants of the title visible on the inner box (pls. 3/45, 47), the consistent association of the epithet *W3st nfr-ḥtp* with the cult of Khonsu, and further considering the names of the object's owners, the suggested reconstruction of the title is probable. Future access may reveal additional titles on the object.

		[<i>imy-r n ḥnsw m</i>] <i>W3st nfr-ḥtp</i> ; <i>sš n pr 'Imn</i> (referred to Shedsukhonsu)
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With respect to the outer lid, it is important to note that the object exclusively bears the name Butharkhonsu. However, given the notable resemblances between the outer lid and the inner lid (see, for instance, the representation of the *ḥwt* thrones and gods' crowns, the depiction of unique horizontal scarabs, the representation of an offering of insignia on the lower section, and the specific arrangement of the central panel and lower section, including the lateral and central partitions) -both of the stola type- (pls. 3/43-44)³³¹ and considering that the inner lid was originally adorned for Shedksuhonsu, it is plausible that the outer lid also originally belonged to Shedsukhonsu, subsequently redecorated for Butharkhonsu. In this scenario, alterations included a change from male to female hands, the addition of earrings and breasts, and likely a repainting of the wig, hinted by a striped pattern beneath the current decoration (pl. 3/43). Despite the absence of the name Shedsukhonsu on the object, information about Butharkhonsu appears on the footboard, featured in monochrome signs, likely in response to a redecoration of the area. A more thorough examination with future direct access to the object is essential to shed light on this aspect.

The set remains incomplete as the outer box and mummy board have not been identified yet. Niwiński linked a mummy board to the set (pl. 3/48);³³² however, it is likely that the mummy board he referred to, even if associated with the inner coffin of set A. 52 during the transportation of Lot IX from Bab el-Gasus to Geneva, did not originally belong to the ensemble under discussion.

This mummy board was originally adorned for an anonymous woman and was later repurposed for a man, evident from the modification of the female hands to resemble those of a male. These characteristics do not align with the elements linked to set A. 52, whose last owner was likely a woman. Furthermore, the mummy board lacks any stylistic or textual similarities with the other cohesive elements of set A. 52. Given that set A. 52 was divided between Lots II and IX,³³³ it is not surprising that an unrelated mummy board from an unknown set ended up being included in set A. 52, despite its initial disassociation from the ensemble. Therefore, Niwiński's association of the mummy board with set A. 52 is likely a modern mistake.

As discussed earlier in the context of the coffin set of Panedjem, Shedkhonsu likely occupied a high status, indicated by his titles as *sš n pr 'Imn-R^c* and *imy-r n ḥnsw m W3st nfr-ḥtp*. Additionally, depictions originally featured in his coffin set reinforce this notion. All the covers, including the outer lid, inner lid and mummy board (pls. 3/41, 43-44), depict the presentation and/or offering of insignia. In these instances, the examples include the representation of a necklace with a counterpoise and a pectoral featuring uraeus on each side -an iconography linked to individuals of elevated status,

³³¹ In alignment with the mummy board sourced from Shedsukhonsu's burial and repurposed for Panedjem's burial, as discussed earlier.

³³² Niwiński 1988: 140-141 [196, 197]. It is unclear why Niwiński made two distinct entries for objects that he proposed to be related to the same set. Notably, in entry 197, he incorrectly labels the lid in Vienna as an inner lid when it is, in fact, an outer lid. The updated personal information featured on the objects is referenced in Table 3.6.

³³³ The reasons behind the division of the objects into two lots remain unknown, but it is unlikely to be a mistake, as Daressy already acknowledged the division (1907: 8, 18, 20).

as illustrated in Chapter 4, Section 4, regarding coffins associated with high-status individuals that exhibit analogous representations.

Butharkhonsu repurposed both the outer and inner lids, retaining the original depiction of the masculine figure representing Shedsukhonsu (figs. 3/43-44). As mentioned, although the outer lid lacks any inscription referring to Shedsukhonsu, presumably replaced with information about Butharkhonsu, the inner lid still preserves Shedkhonsu's original information (pl. 3/47). Gender alterations involved the repainting of both wigs, revealing traces of a prior male wig beneath the current decoration (pls. 3/43-44). Additionally, modifications were made to the hands. Both lids exhibit the addition of earrings, while only the outer lid features breasts.

The original whereabouts of the outer box associated with the set of Shedsukhonsu remain unknown, casting doubt on whether it was repurposed by Butharkhonsu or another individual, including the possibility of Panedjem. Considering the reuse of Shedsukhonsu's mummy board by Panedjem (pl. 3/41) and the anonymous nature of the current outer box linked to Panedjem (pls. 3/36-37), it is difficult to definitively attribute its origins. Alternatively, it remains plausible that the outer box of Panedjem belonged to someone else, was pre-decorated, or was originally adorned for Panedjem. Notably, the presence of high-status designations and superior quality on the outer box, despite the absence of a specific association with an individual, remains a compelling point of interest.

Regarding the inner box initially associated with Shedsukhonsu (pls. 3/45-46), although it was likely reused by Butharkhonsu as part of set A.52, it does not contain any information related to Butharkhonsu. The texts and iconographies on the object remained unchanged, except for a blue strip concealing Shedkhonsu's original information (pl. 3/47); however, that blue strip was not filled with any information, remaining blank. Damage in specific sections reveals remnants of Shedkhonsu's previous information. The box's anonymity in its reused state aligns with the common practice of covers being more likely to bear information about the deceased compared to the box (see Chapter 4, Section 5. See also *infra*, Tables 3.10-11). This implies that the owner sought a higher level of personalization with the covers, as discussed in more detail below. This reasoning is logical, particularly given the anthropomorphism of the covers.

Considering the inner boxes of both Shedsukhonsu, reused by Butharkhonsu (pls. 3/45-46), and Panedjem (pls. 3/39-40), the latter of which remained anonymous, an intriguing observation arises. Despite the markedly lower quality of Panedjem's inner box compared to that of Shedsukhonsu, they exhibit similarities in terms of intricate iconography, including the unique inclusion of the depiction of a rare frieze atop the exterior walls on both items. The frieze alternates between cobras and Horus, with minor variations in the crowns adorning the figures. This unique and uncommon characteristic depicted in both objects raises the possibility of a deeper connection between the owners, the utilized model or even the workshop, although this remains speculative.

The reuse of Shedsukhonsu's original mummy board by Panedjem (pl. 3/41) could be linked to the observed connection between the inner boxes. One might speculate whether Panedjem, the commissioner or the decorator attempted to replicate

Shedsukhonsu's inner box at a significantly lower quality, possibly due to the workshop's characteristics and the impending reuse of Shedsukhonsu's original inner box by another individual. This consideration prompts a closer examination of the potential relationships among the individuals under discussion.

3.1.1.6.1 The relationship between Shedkhonsu, Butarkhonsu and Panedjem

In the context of the artifacts under examination and the potential for reuse of Shedkhonsu's materials by other individuals (see Image 3.1 below for clarification), the original usage of Shedkhonsu's coffin by its intended owner remains shrouded in ambiguity. It is uncertain whether Shedkhonsu personally utilized the coffin or if it was discarded and subsequently repurposed by the mentioned individuals for reasons that are yet to be determined.

Shedkhonsu and Butharkhonsu shared the inclusion of the same deity in their theophoric names, and the close physical proximity of sets A. 52 linked to Butharkhonsu and A. 55 associated with Panedjem within Bab el-Gasus suggests the possibility of a familial connection between Butharkhonsu and Panedjem, potentially explaining the shared reuse of the same coffin set for their respective burials. This spatial proximity may indicate a common origin for the burials prior of their transference to Bab el-Gasus, and the fact that both individuals repurposed objects from the same set may imply, although speculative, a close temporal relationship between their deaths or at least between the commission of specific elements of their funerary equipment.

These findings prompt further investigation into the potential relationship among the three individuals. Moreover, the fact that not all elements of Shedkhonsu were reused by the same person but rather by various individuals raises intriguing questions. Could it be possible that both Butharkhonsu and Panedjem employed the services of the same workshop for the refurbishment of the artifacts? The shared status similarities between Shedkhonsu and Panedjem add another layer of interest, despite the lack of concrete information concerning their precise connection. Whether the three individuals were indeed part of the same family remains an unresolved aspect.

Considering this, it is essential to highlight that Shedkhonsu's information was not entirely intentionally erased from the discussed elements (pls. 3/42, 47). This might have served as a form of commemoration and remembrance of the deceased, even if his coffin set, or at least part of it, was utilized by a different person than its original intended owner. This observation underscores the intricacies surrounding the practice of reuse and the challenges it poses for researchers, especially since the concept is still not well comprehended, despite the thorough examination of "reuse marks" in recent years (see Chapter 1). It also raises questions about Panedjem's choice to reuse elements despite his high status.

Based on the variety of data and the recurrence of specific owners' details among the sets under consideration, one could suggest the possibility of some mixings between the objects associated with sets A. 52 and A. 55 in contemporary times. However, the presence of Shedkhonsu's mummy board featuring Panedjem's name (pl. 3/42) and the evidence of gender reuse in the elements associated with Butharkhonsu suggest that these errors and mix-ups did not occur within the discussed elements.

In summary, the examination of set A. 55 provides insights into its production sequence and relationships between three distinct sets.

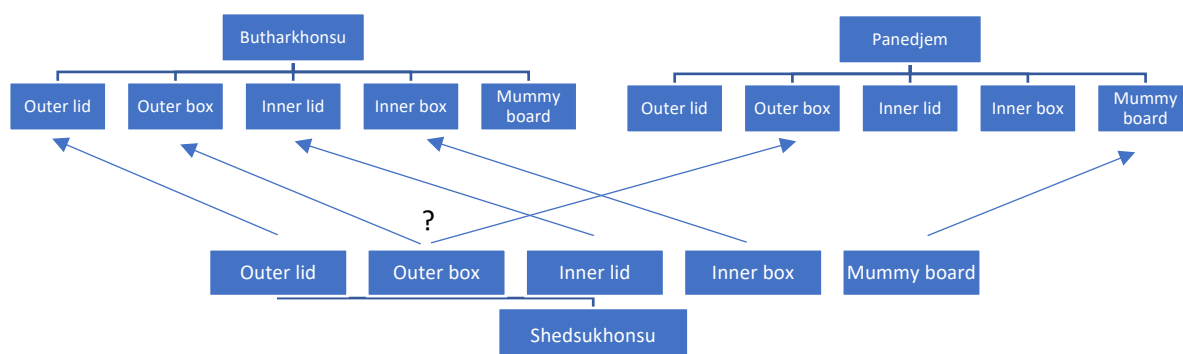


Image 3.1 Illustration of the distribution and possible reuse of objects from Shedsukhonsu's coffin set to those of Butharkhonsu (A. 52) and Panedjem (A. 55)

3.1.1.7 Coffin set of Amenniutnakht (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29649; CG 6174 (inner lid), CG 6173 (inner box), CG 6196 (mummy board), A. 81 (pls. 3.48-52)

The previously mentioned artifacts indicate that the production of coffin elements linked to a particular individual sometimes underwent a series of steps, resulting in distinct variations among the funerary components within the same set. Discrepancies in titles, finishing, and typology among elements associated with the same individual set mark different stages of production, although the precise reasons for these variations may have differed across the various objects. Future examples will shed more light on this issue.

Understanding the nuances of the yellow coffins proves to be a challenge due to the dearth of information related to their accompanying funerary equipment. In the great majority of instances, this section primarily focuses on coffin sets and their specific elements, as the associated funerary equipment remains largely unidentified. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that similar complexities exist not only among the coffin elements themselves but also between these elements and the broader funerary apparatus associated with the owner of the materials.

Consequently, variations in titulary among all these objects, including those associated with the funerary equipment, potentially signify distinct production stages, diverse commissions and varying locations of object preparation, all hinting at diverse intentions behind their construction and decoration. However, the precise details surrounding these matters remain uncertain. Considering this, and while it may not be always feasible, a comprehensive understanding of coffins and the specifics of their owners necessitates the inclusion and analysis of the complete funerary equipment to acquire a more holistic perspective on the subject.

The examination of Amenniutnakht's inner coffin and mummy board (A. 81) (pls. 3/49-52), preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,³³⁴ reveal notable typological and

³³⁴ JE 29649; CG 6174 (inner lid), CG 6173 (inner box), CG 6196 (mummy board). Daressy 1907: 10, 28; Niwiński 1988: 121-122 [96]; Aston 2009: 177 [TG 754]; Miatello, Ibrahim 2020.

titulary distinctions within the elements. Additionally, there are also variations in titulary between the coffin elements and their related funerary equipment, illustrating the previously mentioned phenomenon (refer to Table 3.7 for specific details). Of note, all the funerary elements associated with set A. 81 prominently feature the name of the owner, Amenniutnakht.

Table 3.7 Information Featured on the Coffin Set of Amenniutnakht (A. 81) and its Related Funerary Equipment (pl. 3/53 for the Coffin Elements)

Element	Titulary
Inner lid	<i>w^cb;</i> <i>w^cb n 'Imn-R^c nsw n_{tr}rw;</i> <i>hry sšt3;</i> <i>hry t3y bsnt n pr 'Imn</i>
Inner box	<i>w^cb;</i> <i>hry sšt3 n pr 'Imn-R^c nsw n_{tr}rw;</i> <i>hry t3y bsnt n pr 'Imn-R^c nsw n_{tr}rw</i>
Mummy board	<i>w^cb;</i> <i>w^cb n 'Imn;</i> <i>hry t3y bsnt n pr 'Imn-R^c nsw n_{tr}rw</i>
Mummy linen shroud	<i>it-n_{tr};</i> <i>hry sšt3 (n pr) 'Imn-R^c nsw n_{tr}rw</i>
Book of the Dead papyrus ³³⁵	<i>it-n_{tr};</i> <i>hry sšt3</i>
Magical papyrus ³³⁶	<i>w^cb;</i> <i>hry-hbt n 'Imn</i>
Shabti box	<i>hsy 3 m rh 'Imn;</i> <i>w^cb 3 3k n 'Imn m 'Ipt-swt;</i> <i>nb nmtt m st=f nb;</i> <i>hry sšt3;</i> <i>hry t3y bsnt n pr 'Imn-R^c nsw n_{tr}rw;</i> <i>'Imy-hnt n pr 'Imn Mwt hnsu;</i> <i>imy-hnt n pr nb t3wy m 3h=f;</i> <i>it-n_{tr}</i>
Shabtis ³³⁷	<i>hry sšt3 n pr 'Imn;</i> <i>hry t3y bsnt n pr 'Imn;</i> <i>it-n_{tr} n 'Imn;</i> <i>w^cb</i>

3.1.1.7.1 The Coffin Elements (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29649; CG 6174 (inner lid), CG 6173 (inner box), CG 6196 (mummy board), A. 81) (pls. 3/49-53)

Regarding the coffin set elements, the mummy board lacks the title *hry sšt3 (n pr 'Imn-R^c nsw n_{tr}rw)*, and the title of *hry t3y bsnt n pr 'Imn-R^c nsw n_{tr}rw* appears only once in the vertical inscription (pl. 3/53). The lower section vignettes depicting the deceased consistently emphasize the title of *w^cb n 'Imn* (pl. 3/52-53), underscoring the significance of this priestly role. This pattern is also evident on the inner lid, where the

³³⁵ Egyptian Museum, Cairo, probably enclosed in an Osiris figure (S.R.VII.10224). Niwiński 1989: 274-275 [Cairo 61], without mentioning any titulary.

³³⁶ Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.IV.946 = JE 95848 = CG 58025). Niwiński 1989: 302 [Cairo H]; Golénischeff 1927: 102-103, pl. XXIII. The papyrus bears the number 104 on the back, corresponding to the B. Number documented in Daressy's report (Daressy 1907: 10).

³³⁷ Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29278). Daressy 1907: 14; Aubert 1998: 53[4].

designations *hry sšt3* and *hry t3y* occur only twice within the vignettes (pl. 3/49), specifically on the right side. In contrast, the title of *wꜥb n 'Imn* is featured a total of 7 times, highlighting its prominence. This observation is striking, especially considering the comparatively lower importance of the title of *wꜥb n 'Imn* in relation to those of *hry sšt3* and *hry t3y bsnt*.

The absence of the title *hry sšt3* on the mummy board suggests that the object might have been commissioned or decorated before the owner assumed this significant position, predating the other elements that bear this title. However, if this is the case, this raises an intriguing observation, as the mummy board showcases distinct characteristics associated with high-status individuals, unlike the other coffin elements. Notably, while the inner box and the inner lid are adorned with iconography on a yellow background (pls. 3/49-51), the mummy board features decorations against a white background (pl. 3/52) -a choice typically reserved for individuals of high status. This observation gains further support from the presence of a winged Horus within the central panel of the mummy board, which also holds significance associated with the elite.

Furthermore, although the mummy board seems to exhibit a comparatively lesser *horror vacui* than the other objects, hinting at an earlier date, its superior craftsmanship in contrast to the inner lid implies a more intricate and detailed style. This disparity suggests that a greater amount of resources were likely allocated to the adornment of the mummy board, potentially indicative of a change in the owner's status. Consequently, it could be deduced that the mummy board was adorned after the inner lid and possibly even the inner box, thus accounting for the absence of decorations against a white background on these objects. Assuming that the mummy board was decorated before the inner lid, it would become challenging to explain why the latter lacks a white background. However, there could be other unknown reasons for such decisions.

In this context, it is noteworthy that the inner lid features a distinctive depiction of greenery drooping from the offering tables (pl. 3/49), an iconographic characteristic not present on the mummy board. This discrepancy might suggest that the decoration on the mummy board was executed after that of the inner lid (for specific details of this iconographic motif and its chronological implications, refer to Chapter 1 and Chapter 4, Section 1). However, it is also plausible that these distinctions are merely attributable to the involvement of different decorators.

If indeed the mummy board was adorned after the inner lid, as suggested by the presence of a white background on the mummy board and stylistic variations among the items, it remains enigmatic why a significant title like *hry sšt3* was omitted from the mummy board. Perhaps there were unknown considerations at play, or it could have been due to spatial limitations and a deliberate effort to highlight other titles. A similar emphasis on the alternative title of *wꜥb n 'Imn* is observable on the inner lid, suggesting that it might have held greater importance for the deceased. Was the exclusion of the title *hry sšt3* on the mummy board simply because the white background was already prominent and visible enough, signifying the status of the deceased?

Another possible explanation for the variations between the objects could be a potential redecoration of the central panel and the lower section of the mummy board after the set was already complete. The covers display two distinct types and styles (pls 3/49, 52),

with the contrast being particularly evident in the central panel and lower section of the objects. On the other hand, the covers exhibit similarities in the arrangement of the upper section. Certain details and elements, including the *ba* birds in adoration, the *hwt* thrones adorned with geometrical motifs, occasionally featuring a small depiction of the *Sm3* sign on the rear corner of the object, as well as the depiction of the floral collar alternating checkered patterned rows with lotus petals in between them, and the stylistic nuances of the facial details, persist consistently between both objects, indicating a coherence between them.

This implies that, regardless of whether the central panel and lower section of the objects were decorated at different moments and/or by different craftspeople -perhaps a master and apprentice or individuals from distinct networks, with one having more refined skills- the examination of the decoration of the upper sections of the covers suggests a similar or common context of origin. The decoration of those areas was likely applied by the same network of decorators, adhering to a similar model. Consequently, it is plausible that the central panel and lower section of the mummy board underwent redecoration at an unknown later stage, aiming to emphasize the significance of the deceased, even if this is not reflected in the titulary. Verification of this hypothesis requires direct access to the object.

The earlier discussions underscore the inherent complexities of the subject and the intricacies linked to the inclusion of the titulary, typically representing various stages in the decoration of the objects. However, additional complexities emerge when considering and comparing the typologies, styles and titulary of the objects under discussion in this case.

3.1.1.7.2 The funerary equipment

Concerning the funerary equipment associated with set A. 81, notable differences in the titulary are evident both among these elements themselves and in comparison to the elements of the coffin set. The mummy linen shroud displays the titles *it-ntr* and *hry sšt3*, suggesting their paramount significance for the deceased, especially due to their placement on an object directly covering the mummy. This contrasts with the observations from the coffin set, where the emphasis on the title of *hry sšt3* is absent and the title of *it-ntr* is not featured. This differentiation possibly implies that the commission and adornment of the coffin set took place during the lifetime of the deceased and likely before the decoration of the mummy shroud, whenever that occurred.

Turning to the papyri, the Book of the Dead maintains a consistent titulary with that of the mummy linen shroud. Remarkably, the papyrus spans 5.3-meter length, an exceptional length that could indicate the high status of the owner. The magical papyrus adds further complexity. While bearing the title of *wꜥb*, it also presents an additional title for the deceased—*hry-hbt n Imn*, lector priest—an evidently significant inclusion. This may suggest a shift in the owner's status at the time of commissioning or a deliberate decision to incorporate this title for unspecified reasons.


Even though the magical papyrus references the title of *wꜥb*, prominently emphasized in the coffin set, the latter does not feature the title of *hry hbt*, nor any of the other associated funerary elements of the coffin set. Certainly, this heterogeneity may lack a

discernible rationale. However, considering that the title is absent on the shabti box, which will be discussed later and is known for its extensive titulary, it is plausible that the magical papyrus under discussion was commissioned at a different moment or might have belonged to another individual, perhaps erroneously attributed to set A. 81 in more recent times.

In the context of the mummy shroud and the Book of the Dead papyrus, the absence of the titles *hry t3y* and *wꜥb* raises the question of whether, during their adornment, these titles were deemed insignificant for various reasons. It is plausible that the owner no longer held those positions at that particular time. Nonetheless, considering the prominence of the title *wꜥb* on the coffin set, this anomaly remains particularly noteworthy.

The shabti box includes titles such as *hry sꜣt3*, *hry t3y* and *it-ntr* found on other elements of the set, in addition to titles not present elsewhere, such as *hsy 3 m rh Imn*, *wꜥb 3 3k n Imn m Ipt-swt*, *nb nmtt m st=f nb*, *Imy-hnt n pr Imn Mwt hnsu* and *imy-hnt n pr nb t3wy m 3h=f*. The absence of *hry-hbt* is striking, especially considering the abundance of titles present on the object. One would anticipate its presence alongside the other titles. All these designations serve to underscore the owner's elevated status, spanning various positions associated with multiple deities and encompassing administrative and esteemed roles, including that of the *hsy 3 m rh Imn*. Particularly noteworthy is the reference to the title of *wꜥb*, with the clarification of the position, that of *wꜥb 3 3k n Imn m Ipt-swt*. One may contemplate whether the same title was intended for the other elements under discussion, but spatial constraints necessitated its abbreviation, or if they reflect different stages in Amenniutakh's career.

The rationale behind the extensive inclusion of information about the deceased on the shabti box remain elusive. The possibility exists that it was decorated at a later time, including all the titles present on the other associated elements with Amenniutakhbt, excluding the title *hry hbt*, alongside new titles not observed elsewhere. However, it seems more plausible that this inclusivity stems from the availability of space. Evidently, one side of the object is entirely dedicated to the titulary. This leads to a consideration of whether the absence of a detailed titulary on other objects, like the coffin set, was due to spatial limitations. This situation prompts questions regarding the significance of each specific element in characterizing the deceased, given the abundance of information provided. Furthermore, it raises queries about why certain elements possess more titles than others, considering the coffin would logically be the most significant object.

Delving into the individualization and personal details highlighted on the shabti box, it's essential to note the mention of Amenniutakh's wife, Shebty, who was likely buried in a nearby coffin in Bab el-Gasus associated with an owner of that name (A. 86).³³⁸ Additional evidence is discovered in an inscription on the underside of the mummy board of set A. 86, featuring the cursive signs  above the name of the owner,³³⁹ probably alluding to her relationship with Amenniutakh. This occurrence and the spatial relationship between the objects clustered in Bab el-Gasus suggest that the

³³⁸ JE 29711; CG 6028 (inner lid), CG 6029 (inner box), CG 6027 (mummy board). Daressy 1907: 10; Chassinat 1909: 70-75, pl. X [6022a-b, 6023]; Niwiński 1988: 129 [132].

³³⁹ Chassinat 1909: 75.

coffins may have originated from the same tomb before being transferred there, possibly further indicating a marital connection between the owners of the two discussed sets.

The inclusion of familiar information on the shabti box is particularly noteworthy. Such a feature is rarely observed on non-stola yellow coffins, with only a few exceptions.³⁴⁰ However, shabti boxes typically tend to present more information about familial relationships compared to coffins. Perhaps once again influenced by spatial constraints, this observation, combined with the greater number of titles on the shabti boxes, encourages contemplation on this process of "individualization" and the reflection of the owner on specific funerary elements at the expense of others.

The shabtis bear the titles of *hry sšt3*, *hry t3y*, *it-ntr* and *wꜥb*, although the exact reasons for these specific selections remain elusive, as does the precise period of the objects' production. Despite featuring fewer titles, all the titles present on the shabtis are consistently found on the shabti box. In this context, the title *wꜥb* could be an abbreviation of the *wꜥb ʕ3 ʕk n Imn m Ipt-swt* title found on the shabti box, suggesting a similar moment of production.

3.1.1.8 Coffin set of Padiamon (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29623; CG 6107 (outer lid), CG 6108 (outer box), CG 6102 (inner lid), CG 6101 (inner box), CG unknown (mummy board), A. 24) (pls. 3/54-61)

The complete set of Padiamon from Bab el-Gasus (A. 24), preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,³⁴¹ offers valuable insights into individualization, specifically regarding the presentation of the deceased's personal information. It also confirms the possibility that within a single set, even when decorated by the same decorator or group of decorators, there could be varying degrees of individualization of the coffin. However, the underlying reasons for these disparities in the presentation of the deceased's information remain unknown.

One of the elements of the set indicates typological deviations from the rest. These variations imply that the objects may have been commissioned at slightly different intervals, shedding light on the commissioning process and suggesting that the coffin

³⁴⁰ These exceptions pertain to individuals who were or may have been part of the immediate High Priest of Amun family. For instance, consider the case of Padiamon's coffin, where his father is mentioned (A. 135; Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE Unknown; CG 6146 (outer lid), CG 6145 (outer box), CG 6126 (inner lid), CG 6127 (inner box), CG 6128 (mummy board). Daressy 1907: 13, 35-36; Niwiński 1988: 133 [152]). It's important to note that both authors provide incorrect information not found on the actual material, possibly indicating some confusion surrounding the materials. The owner of the set was affiliated with the entourage of the High Priest of Amun, as indicated by one of the titles featured on the inner box (*hry sdm ʕš n p3 hm-ntr tpy n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*). Another illustration of a non-stola yellow coffin containing genealogical information is found on the coffin set associated with Menkheperrea, originating from MMA 60 (Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, 25.3.7a, b (outer coffin), 25.3.8a, b (inner coffin), 25.3.9 (mummy board). Niwiński 1988: 160 [310]; Kamrin 2020: 808-811). Of note, Niwiński did not provide any information about the genealogical data mentioned on the set. The material linked to the owner, who held various designations, including that of *hm-ntr n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*, includes a mention of his direct ancestry as well. Lastly, genealogical details are noted on particular coffins originating from DB 320, such as those belonging to Masaharta (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 26195; CG 61027. Niwiński 1988: 114-115 [63]) and Asetemakhbit (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 26198; CG 61031. Niwiński 1988: 115 [66]).

³⁴¹ JE 29623; CG 6107 (outer lid), CG 6108 (outer box), CG 6102 (inner lid), CG 6101 (inner box), CG unknown (mummy board). Daressy 1907: 6, 23; Niwiński 1988: 119 [86].

was ordered during a transitional phase of styles and typologies. However, it is also possible that these differences in typology could be attributed to the practice of redecoration and/or reuse.

Regarding the inclusion of Padiamon's name and titulary (see Table 3.8), distinctions are evident among the elements. The outer lid and outer box originally featured his name and titulary, aligning with the other inscriptions and indicating the same phase of decoration. In contrast, the inner lid, while displaying the information of Padiamon, does so in an originally designated blank space, implying a second instance of inclusion. The inner box remains anonymous, lacking any information pertaining to Padiamon. Moreover, although it is probable that the mummy board initially bore the name and titulary of Padiamon, the current state of preservation renders the object anonymous.

Table 3.8 Personal Details Featured on the Set of Padiamon (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29623; CG 6107 (outer lid), CG 6108 (outer box), CG 6102 (inner lid), CG 6101 (inner box), CG unknown (mummy board), A. 24) (pl. 3/61)

Element	Name	Titulary
Outer lid	Padiamon (original)	<i>w^cb;</i>
Outer box		<i>sš ḥsb n pr 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i> (original)
Inner lid	Anonymous man (blank space, filled with the name of Padiamon in blue and red pigments) ³⁴²	<i>w^cb;</i> <i>sš ḥsb n pr 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i> (filling the blank space, in blue and red pigment)
Inner box	Anonymous man	None
Mummy board	Anonymous man (not preserved/blank space?) ³⁴³	[...] <i>n 'Imn</i> [...] (original, partially preserved on the footboard)

The differences in terms of individualization would initially suggest that the objects were commissioned at various points in time and in different contexts, potentially involving distinct networks of craftspeople. These discrepancies could also be attributed to varying iconographic and textual models, accounting for the diversity in the presentation of personal information across the different elements. However, the consistent presence of a shared iconographic and textual model on all the covers and boxes suggests the likelihood of a single decorator, workshop or networks of decorators responsible for the decoration of these elements. This notion is further supported by the uniform style observed in both the iconography and paleography of the objects.

However, curiously, the mummy board (pl. 3/60) deviates in terms of typology from the rest of the covers, as it exhibits the forearms of the deceased, a feature not observed on

³⁴² Importantly, conducting a stratigraphic study of the area containing the blank space is essential to determine whether there was a prior instance of another deceased's information before the inclusion of Padiamon's details.

³⁴³ The object is currently anonymous. Nevertheless, at an unspecified time and for unknown reasons, the footboard of the object was severed. Original traces of the words *Wsir* and *n 'Imn*, in line with the overall style of the rest of the inscriptions, are visible before the cut. Hence, it is probable, given the coherence of the titulary, that the original name of Padiamon may have been included there as part of the initial decorative design. However, the possibility of a blank space following the word *Wsir*, whether filled subsequently or left unfilled, cannot be ruled out.

the inner lid and outer lid (pls. 3/54, 57), where they are completely concealed by the floral collar. While the elements are evidently associated with the same owner and demonstrate homogeneity in terms of style and iconographical and textual model(s), the discrepancy in the portrayal of the arms raises questions about the possible chronological differences between the covers. In that case, the production of the mummy board would precede the rest of the elements of the set. It is also possible that this variation suggests a transitional phase, with iconographical experimentation on the inner and outer covers while the mummy board retained its traditional approach, whether decorated contemporaneously or prepared earlier. Another plausible scenario involves the practice of reusing the mummy board, preserving the original craftwork and decoration of the upper section, while redecorating the rest of them in consistency with the rest of elements of the set.³⁴⁴ Further analysis is required to ascertain these possibilities.³⁴⁵

Based on that, it is worth noting that the arrangement and decoration of the floral collars differ between the outer lid and inner lid, as well as the mummy board. This further implies the possibility of an experimental or transitional phase, although the possibility of object reuse and redecoration, while maintaining the floral collar's iconography, cannot be ruled out. The idea of a creative approach also appears feasible. In fact, creativity is evident across the set, particularly in the representation found in the central panel of all the covers. This depiction includes a kneeling god positioned between two winged djed pillars, a unique iconography. However, on the mummy board, likely due to spatial constraints, the two djed pillars are substituted with the representation of Isis and Nephthys.

In regard to the boxes, the similar arrangement and decoration of both the outer and inner boxes suggest a shared context of origin, indicated by comparable details such as the depiction of the ram head within a solar disk featured on the barque included in the exterior of both objects (pls. 3/55, 58). However, a notable distinction arises when considering the interiors (pls. 3/56, 59). While the floorboards of both boxes exhibit the same iconography and arrangement, with the presence of a djed pillar and underworld divinities holding coiled serpents, the inner walls of the inner coffin are decorated, whereas the inner walls of the outer coffin remain unadorned. This disparity could potentially indicate a phase of transition or experimentation.

In relation to the incorporation of information about the deceased, it is intriguing to consider the underlying reasons for the disparities despite the shared iconography and texts, which suggest a common model and context of origin. These differences might stem from the circumstances of commission. While the outer coffin and possibly the

³⁴⁴ The similarity in the volumetric effects achieved by the plaster layer, as well as the painting of the face on the inner lid and mummy board is noteworthy.

³⁴⁵ A comparable situation is observed in the complete set A. 38 associated with Ankhesenmut (Daressy 1907: 6; Niwiński 1988: 126 [115]). Her name is prominently featured on all elements of the coffin set, accompanied by the titles *nbt pr*, *šmꜣyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* in all elements, with the addition of the title *ḥsyt n p3 ꜥ n Mwt* on the inner lid and mummy board. Consequently, the elements are appropriately linked to the set. However, despite all covers sharing the same decorative model and likely being the work of the same decorator, they present different typologies concerning the arrangement of the forearms. The mummy board features carved forearms, while the other two covers do not. The possibility of repurposing and modifying a previously carved mummy board cannot be dismissed, potentially involving updates to the decoration. Alternatively, it is conceivable that the objects were decorated during a transitional period, or the mummy board was adorned before the rest of the objects.

mummy board were likely directly commissioned for Padiamon, whether simultaneously or at slightly different times, the preparation of the inner coffin might have preceded its specific commission, even if it was executed in the same location and by the same craftspeople. Subsequently, the information about the deceased was included as part of the decoration. The precise motivations behind this practice and its intricacies remain elusive. Economic considerations, potential ritual implications, or even subtle variations within the models used by the decorators, indicating the necessity or not to include the personal information of the deceased, could all play a role in understanding this phenomenon.

Given the available data, it could be suggested that the mummy board was the initial element to undergo decoration, displaying an earlier stylistic approach. It would be intriguing to know what titulary was originally inscribed on the object, as it could differ from that featured on the other components of the set. The presence of the same titles on the other elements provides limited additional information on the sequence production of the elements.

Subsequently, the inner coffin and outer coffin seem to have been decorated simultaneously, although the former's production may have involved a pre-decorated process, with the titulary and the name of the deceased added later. The outer coffin, on the other hand, was evidently decorated specifically for Padiamon. The divergent commissioning of these elements could potentially be attributed to the outer coffin's visibility during the funeral rites, although this remains speculative.

The complexities surrounding these apparent heterogeneous elements, their production sequence, potential reuse practices, the intricacies in typology and the attribution of elements to a specific owner, despite the apparent unified origin and shared involvement of models and decorators, highlight the challenges and difficulties in comprehensively interpreting yellow coffins and uncovering the various layers embedded within these objects.

3.1.1.9 Coffin set of Usermontu (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29691 + 29695; CG 6073 (outer lid), CG 6074 (outer box), A. 122) (pls. 3/62-64)

Coffin set A. 122 is currently associated solely with its outer coffin (pls. 3/62-64), preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.³⁴⁶ Initially adorned for Usermontu, the coffin underwent later modifications for an unknown female individual, as indicated by visible modification marks and alterations in various areas. Notably, the recommodification of the outer lid (pl. 3/62) involved the addition of breasts and earrings, as well as the transformation of the male, fistled hands into those of a female, open and flat. Additionally, the originally decorated striped wig was repainted, resulting in a plain monochrome wig to signify the new female owner.

Interestingly, despite these alterations, the depictions within the vignettes remained unchanged, preserving the original representation of the male owner. Moreover, the name and titulary of the initial owner, Usermontu, inscribed on both the lid and the box

³⁴⁶ JE 29691 + 29695; CG 6073 (outer lid), CG 6074 (outer box). Daressy 1907: 12; Niwiński 1988: 127 [122].

(pls. 3/62, 63), were merely covered by a layer of blue paint, with the space left unfilled with the information of the new owner.³⁴⁷

One striking characteristic of the coffin lid is the retention of the white preparation on the face, breasts and hands, areas which did not present their final decorative layer. While the deliberate inclusion of the breasts and the transformation of the previously male hands suggest a purposeful effort and deliberate changes to realign the coffin with the identity of the new owner, the unexpected alteration of the face raises questions about the decision-making process behind these modifications. It is perplexing that, despite the changes made during the modification process, the scenes and inscriptions were left untouched, while the face, with no specific gender association, underwent alterations. This observation highlights the possibility of individualization among coffins and their respective owners, independent of the depicted scenes, which, in this instance, still reflect the identity of the former owner. It is plausible that the new owner desired a direct personal connection to the coffin, hence the necessity for changes to the face, an area that might have had a specific value for the new owner or commissioner.

Furthermore, the exact purpose behind the use of the white preparation, whether intended for repainting or possibly for gilding purposes (refer to the discussion of the coffin set of Maatkara below), remains ambiguous. Considering the spatial positioning of the coffin set A. 122 within Bab el-Gasus, notably in the second part of the main corridor, near the staircase, and in close proximity to the burial chambers, which can be considered the most sacred area of Bab el-Gasus, the potential presence of gilding would not be surprising.

In any case, the object indicates that the production sequence involved alterations linked to the process of recommodification, which, based on the incomplete alterations, could suggest a hurried or expedited execution. In this respect, it is important to mention that Lieblein refers to the set as belonging to an anonymous child,³⁴⁸ although no additional information is available regarding the final owner of the set. Perhaps the time constraint can explain why the vignettes were left unaltered and why a mere layer of blue paint was used to uncover the information about Usermontu, without being further completed. This rushed production process could be indicative of a hasty commissioning of the coffin set, regardless of whether it was previously used by Usermontu. Naturally, the potential relationship between Usermontu and the presumed (final) owner of the recommodified coffin set remains unknown.

Despite the apparent haste, modifications were made to the hands, breasts area and the face, the implications of which remain unclear, particularly for the latter area. This suggests the prioritization of certain aspects during the production process, at least in this specific case and for this individual, even if the redecorations were not finalized. Discoveries of the remaining elements associated with the set in the future might provide further insight into the nature of these production sequences.

³⁴⁷ The deterioration of the blue paint in certain areas has revealed traces of the original information pertaining to Usermontu, which appears to include the title of *sš hwt-ntr n Mntw(-R?)*. Similarly, in other sections, the thin layer of blue paint has made the underlying original signs partially visible. However, the restricted access to the object and the absence of specific lighting techniques, such as grazing light, have hindered a comprehensive examination of these original inscriptions. Consequently, it remains uncertain whether additional titulary was inscribed for Usermontu on the coffin.

³⁴⁸ Lieblein 1892: 1001.

3.1.1.10 Coffin set of Maatkara (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29612; CG 6286 (outer lid), CG 6287 (outer box), CG 6288 (inner lid), CG 6289 (inner box), CG 6283 (mummy board), A. 132) (pls. 3/65-72)

In relation to set A. 122, a similar pattern can be observed in the complete set A. 132, preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.³⁴⁹ The production process, particularly in terms of gilding, can be discerned through the examination of this set. The outer lid of the coffin retains its original gilding (pl. 3/65), while the areas that were initially covered with gold leaf on the inner lid were removed during antiquity (pl. 3/68). However, the mummy board associated with the set was never gilded (pl. 3/71). Although its face and hands were prepared for the lavish finish, with the necessary white preparation layer to support the gold leaf, they were ultimately left unfinished.

This suggests that during the production process, the mummy board was likely the last element intended to receive such finishing touches. This finding implies a sequence of production for the materials, with the gilding of the mummy board being (one of) the final step(s), which, for reasons unknown, was never executed. It is surprising that the mummy board, being the closest element to the mummy, was not prioritized. However, the visible prominence of the outer and inner lids during the social dynamics of funeral rituals and their associated implications could potentially elucidate this particular observation.

In terms of the production sequence and the specific characteristics of the elements associated with the set, it is essential to highlight the distinct features of the personal information pertaining to the owner inscribed on the various elements of the set (see Table 3.9). The final user of the ensemble was Maatkara,³⁵⁰ the daughter of the High Priest Panedjem II. This association is not surprising, given the original intent for gilding the entire set, the featuring of unique vulture wings on the wig of the outer coffin and the spatial positioning of the set near the funerary chambers, just outside the entrance.

Table 3.9 Personal Details Featured on the Set of Maatkara (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29612; CG 6286 (outer lid), CG 6287 (outer box), CG 6288 (inner lid), CG 6289 (inner box), CG 6283 (mummy board), A. 132) (pl. 3/72)

Element	Name	Titulary
Outer lid	Anonymous woman (blank space filled with the name Maatkara)	<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜣyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i> (original)
Outer box	Ankheseniset	<i>ḥsyꜣt sꜣ ḥsyꜣt;</i>

³⁴⁹ JE 29612; CG 6286 (outer lid), CG 6287 (outer box), CG 6288 (inner lid), CG 6289 (inner box), CG 6283 (mummy board). Daressy 1907: 12 (erroneously categorized as part of Lot 11), 34-35; Niwiński 1988: 118 [80]. Niwiński did not furnish specific information about the titulary and ownership of the objects (refer to Table 3.9 for this information). Despite Niwiński suggesting usurpation, there are no evident signs of reuse on the objects -only diverse elements linked to the same set. This heterogeneity might also be a modern mistake, though the shared high status of both individuals could imply the potential for reuse or usurpation.

³⁵⁰ The shroud linked to the mummy discovered in set A. 132 featured an inscription with the title *špst* and the name Maatkara, along with her genealogical details, confirming her direct relationship with the High Priest of Amun, Panedjem (Daressy 1907: 34). Despite the mummy facing attacks in antiquity, as indicated by Daressy, it can be affirmed that Maatkara was the last owner of the set.

		<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜣyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i> (original, referred to Ankhesenaset)
Inner lid	Anonymous woman (blank space filled with the name Maatkara)	<i>špst</i> (filling the blank space, referred to Maatkara)
Inner box	Anonymous	-
Mummy board	Anonymous woman (not preserved?) ³⁵¹	-

Considering Maatkara's high social standing and the likelihood capacity to afford gilding for her coffin set, it is significant that she repurposed an outer box previously decorated, and perhaps used, by Ankhesenaset. Moreover, concerning the remaining elements of the set, Maatkara utilized objects that were likely prepared beforehand. The motivations behind these actions remain ambiguous. Additionally, it is unclear whether, aside from the outer box, some of the other components, particularly the covers, were initially intended for Ankhesenaset.³⁵² If this were the case, it remains uncertain whether gilding was part of the original plan for Ankhesenaset or if it was added later for Maatkara's use.

In this regard, it is important to emphasize the high quality of the outer box, bearing Ankhesenaset's important designation *hsyt s3 hsyf*, and its unique featuring of the presentation of royal insignia and crowns as part of the iconographical program, serving as a testament to Ankhesenaset's high position.³⁵³ However, the exact nature of her relationship with Maatkara, if any, remains unknown. Concerning the outer lid, its high quality is again evident, featuring the distinct iconography of the offering of crowns on the central panel and vignettes on the lateral partitions. Moreover, it also features distinctive iconographic elements, including the depiction of a row of bull's head separating the registers on the central partition of the lower section and the representation of an infant god atop a lotus, accompanied by the portrayal of a scarab above it. These distinctive elements may be attributed to a creative mind associated with the production of high-status materials.

Whether this particular object was originally intended for Ankhesenaset or not remains uncertain, warranting direct access to the object for verification.³⁵⁴ While it is plausible that the coffin lid was pre-prepared, leaving a blank space to be later inscribed with Maatkara's information, the possibility of her information replacing a previous one that might have occupied that space remains uncertain. In any case, the coffin lid was likely prepared by a select group of skilled craftspeople in a dedicated location known for producing high-quality coffins for prominent individuals. Despite the original generic

³⁵¹ The footboard of the mummy board is currently incomplete, with a section missing at the end, resulting in the abrupt termination of the column of inscription (pl. 3/71). Despite the possibility that the missing area on the footboard might have once contained an inscription of a name, the available space is too small to have accommodated it.

³⁵² A stratigraphic analysis of the area containing the originally blank spaces, now filled with the personal information of Maatkara, should be conducted to ascertain whether Maatkara's name is substituting a previous name, although this appears unlikely at first glance. Further studies are needed to confirm this.

³⁵³ Refer to Chapter 4, Section 4 for an exploration of the iconography found on additional coffins associated with individuals of high status, likely from the entourage of the High Priest of Amun.

³⁵⁴ A comparison of styles and paleography between the two objects is necessary to draw conclusions regarding them.

titulary on the object indicating nbt pr and Smayt n Imn, only Maatkara's name, without her specific titulary, was included in the designated blank space.

In this instance, as previously suggested in Chapter 4, Section 4, the presence of blank spaces indicating advanced preparation does not necessarily imply that the ultimate owners belonged to a lower class. This highlights the need to consider various factors and examples when studying this particular characteristic. For example, as discussed in more detail below, the inner lid associated with Maatkara also includes an original blank space (pl. 3/72), suggesting that the object was decorated in advance, before knowing the ultimate owner. However, unlike the outer lid, the inner lid exhibits significantly lower quality.

Regarding the inner coffin and mummy board (pls. 3/69-71), the situation changes significantly, as they were evidently decorated by a different group of craftspeople, quite possibly in a different location as well. The quality of the objects is markedly inferior compared to the outer coffin. The inner lid (pl. 3/68), despite its gilding, displays notably poor craftsmanship, featuring blank spaces that were later inscribed with Maatkara's information, emphasizing her high-status designation as *špst* (pl. 3/72), a title associated with prominent women in the family of the High Priest of Amun. Conversely, the inner box (pls. 3/69-70) lacks any specific designation to the deceased and even depicts both male and female genders on the owner's depictions in the vignettes, without a clear preference for either gender. This further implies that the object was pre-prepared without a specific gender in mind (see also Chapter 4, Section 5). Finally, concerning the mummy board (pl. 3/71), despite the initial intent for gilding, the execution never materialized. The lavish intended finish does not align with the low quality of the decoration.

The heterogeneity of the elements within the set raises questions about whether Maatkara's set was commissioned due to her premature death, leading to a hurried arrangement that involved repurposing elements and the use of pre-decorated materials. This rushed arrangement could also explain why the gilding on the mummy board was left unfinished. The precise timing of the gilding, whether it was applied during the initial decoration process or only for Maatkara's use of the object, remains unclear. The same uncertainty extends to the depiction of the vulture headdress on the wig of the outer lid.

The apparent inferior quality of the inner coffin and mummy board implies that the gilding might have been applied at a later stage, likely associated with Maatkara, regardless of the decorations and previous ownership, if any, of the coffin elements, though this cannot be conclusively proven. These circumstances also offer insights into the sequence of production and decoration of the materials. The potential hurried nature of these actions could account for Maatkara's utilization of repurposed and pre-prepared objects rather than accessing new elements, despite her presumably important status, though uncertainties persist.

It is also plausible that the allocation of resources was focused on particular elements, such as gilding, due to their greater visibility, while other areas and/or object decoration were left relatively neglected, potentially explaining the lower quality of some of the

elements.³⁵⁵ Additionally, there is the possibility that the set currently associated with Maatkara was a secondary set and that she was reburied there, with her original coffin being of a different nature. This possibility gains some support from Daressy's commentary that Maatkara's mummy was attacked in antiquity.³⁵⁶

These observations could imply a change in the status of the deceased subsequent to the preparation of the outer coffin, potentially providing chronological implications regarding the production sequence of the elements linked to Maatkara. In this regard, the evident indication that the mummy board was the final element prepared, at least for the application of its gilding, is noteworthy.

It is also possible that within this sequence of production and associated heterogeneous materials, there might be a modern misinterpretation, and the elements currently considered to be together did not originally belong together. Lieblein's work becomes particularly relevant in this context. He attributes set A. 132 to the *šmꜣyt n Tmn* Ankhesenaset, which seems logical considering the available information regarding the outer box under discussion. However, he also mentioned that "sur la caisse interieur" (on the inner box), the name Maatkara was featured, which is actually not accurate based on the available material. This could suggest that he was confused or mistaken³⁵⁷ and used the term "caisse" (box) when referring to the coffin. It is also possible that he was referring to an object that is currently unlocated.

These uncertainties surrounding the set extend beyond Lieblein. In his report, Daressy mentioned that set A. 132 displayed the name Maatkara "surcharge sur" Ankheseniset, which is also inaccurate, as the names do not appear together on any element identified today as part of set A. 132. Additionally, Daressy indicated that the set was supposed to be part of Lot 11, but the set did not appear as part of Lot 11 in another section of the same report.³⁵⁸ Given these discrepancies, it is also plausible that modern errors occurred in the grouping of this coffin set, with the original coffin elements potentially mixed with objects from other coffins. This possibility is especially relevant for the inner box and possibly even the outer box and the mummy board, all lacking the name of Maatkara. Further comprehensive studies are necessary, considering that the discussed materials come from different contexts, including repurposed and pre-prepared contexts, yet all covers featuring gilding or being prepared as if they were to be gilded.

3.2 Exploring the Interplay Between Decoration and Production Sequences in Materials Involving Multiple Individuals in Their Decorative Process(es)

The organization and execution of the intricate decoration on yellow coffins remain a topic of ongoing research, primarily due to the ambiguity surrounding the precise number of individuals involved in their creation and subsequent preparation and decoration. Speculation suggests that, in some instances, the decoration may have been a collaborative effort between two craftspeople, with each focusing on a specific side of

³⁵⁵ Chapter 4, Section 5 details a comparable scenario concerning the coffin set linked to the high-status individual Padikhonsu.

³⁵⁶ Daressy 1907: 34.

³⁵⁷ The information might also have originated from Daressy's notes and/or comments, sources seemingly utilized by Lieblein for his publication.

³⁵⁸ Daressy 1907: 12.

the coffin. This practice appears to mirror the pattern observed in certain royal tombs, where two distinct teams were often responsible for decorating different sections.³⁵⁹ In the case of yellow coffins, the potential involvement of various individuals, ranging from master craftspeople to apprentices or an array of different skilled individuals, adds layers of complexity to the production process. It is also uncertain whether the same individual who adorned the figures and iconography would have been responsible for the decoration of the texts. While these observations give rise to various hypotheses about the specifics of labor organization and its possible motivations, reaching definitive conclusions is challenging in the absence of concrete evidence. Notably, the specifics of the production process likely varied for each coffin, potentially influenced by factors such as time, resource allocation and the social standing of the commissioner and eventual owner. The upcoming section will explore instances that shed light on the potential involvement of distinct individuals in their decoration.

There are specific coffins and coffin elements where the division of labor can be clearly delineated and examined, especially in light of specific iconographic and stylistic features tied to the distinct areas of the coffins. In certain instances, it can be inferred that more than one decorator participated in the decoration of these coffins. However, even though certain coffin elements may display variations in their appearance, hinting at the involvement of different individuals in decorating specific sections, the extent to which individual craftspeople can be identified, the distribution of labor, and the time and effort invested in crafting a single coffin remain uncertain. These factors may vary for each object, contingent on specific circumstances.

Furthermore, in scenarios where an object underwent decorative modifications, particularly involving changes to the inscriptions associated with the initial deceased in response to alterations in ownership and implying a potential practice of reuse, it becomes apparent that the object was adorned by multiple individuals or groups. Each contributor played a role in a specific phase of the object's decoration, especially when there was a chronological gap between various uses or moments of commissioning the object.³⁶⁰ Specific examples to be discussed highlight situations where newly included information about the new owner is exclusively located on one side of the objects. This suggests the likelihood of different individuals being responsible for each side. While one person inscribed the new information, the other did not, further indicating the involvement of distinct individuals in the decorative process.

Forthcoming scientific analysis, with a specific focus on the material components of the coffins, ranging from the wood to the varnish, holds the potential to provide valuable insights. They could uncover material similarities and differences among coffins, especially those sharing the same decorative model(s). This examination may hint at the

³⁵⁹ Černý 1973: 36-38; Keller 1991: 51. See also Dodson, Ikram 2008: 49 for the organization with separate teams regarding the decoration of the walls of Horemheb's tomb. Studies conducted as part of the Vatican Coffin Project have already proposed this division of labor between the two sides of the coffin (Guichard, Pagès-Camagna, Timbart 2017).

³⁶⁰ This factor introduces chronological challenges regarding the objects and their various moments of commission, production and use, which do not always impacted the decoration. Consequently, it becomes impossible, with the available means, to precisely date the decoration(s) of a yellow coffin due to insufficient data associated with its chronological decorative context(s).

likelihood that the woodwork was manufactured in separate locations or by distinct individuals than the subsequent preparation and decoration of the coffins.³⁶¹

Moreover, such analysis could aid in determining whether the materials used for decoration, such as plaster, specific pigments, and varnishes, were also created in different locations, potentially suggesting the utilization of specific models by different craftspeople working in separate settings.

In this context, and concerning the material manufacturing process, it's noteworthy that when studying specific New Kingdom Theban tomb textual decorations, there have been indications of varying ink types, each linked to an individual craftsman who worked within the same tomb. This suggests the possibility that these artisans were responsible for creating their own materials individually.³⁶²

Even if the present study deals with a different context in terms of chronology, labor division, materials, location, and the nature of materiality, these analyses, stemming from stylistic, iconographic and textual variations on specific coffins, may potentially be applicable to the production of coffins. However, shedding light on these aspects necessitates a more comprehensive analysis, comparison, multidisciplinary studies and cross-referencing of data.

3.2.1 Labor Organization and Stylistic Variations in Coffin Elements: Indications of the Potential Involvement of Multiple Individuals in Their Decoration

Stylistic variations between different sections of individual coffin elements do not necessarily imply the involvement of multiple craftspeople in their decoration process. In instances where the distinctions in style, decorative solutions, and iconographic or textual details are subtle, it is plausible that a singular craftsman intentionally or unintentionally incorporated slight variations in style and decorative elements across the coffin areas. This could be attributed to potential minor differences in the execution process(es) over time, the specific orientation of decorative elements differing from one section to another, or unknown reasons. Such factors may have contributed to the distinct stylistic features observed in different areas of the coffin element.

When considering the possibility of a single craftsman being responsible for the overall decoration of a single artifact, even when variations are noticeable between specific areas, it is imperative to recognize the potential absence of a highly detailed model governing the entire decoration process. This lack of a comprehensive guide might have allowed for creative freedom in the execution of minor details, potentially leading to slight variations while adhering to a general arrangement or template in the overall stylistic consistency of the piece. It remains uncertain to what extent the craftsman adhered to any existing model or template, regardless of the level of detail, during the execution of the work, leaving room for speculation regarding their adherence to specific guidelines or instructions during the process (refer to Chapter 1

³⁶¹ In this context, refer to Mainieri's research (2023) focusing on the examination of the geometric shapes of faces of yellow coffin lids. This study sheds light on craft practices, woodworking techniques, plaster application and sequential production patterns. The cross-reference between her data and objects showcasing the same decorative models is crucial for defining differences or similarities among various phases of yellow coffin production.

³⁶² Díaz-Iglesias, personal communication (June 2023).

and Chapter 4 for the discussion on the existence of decorative models for yellow coffins).

The stylistic and iconographic discrepancies within the same object during the decoration process could have arisen due to various factors, such as the potential limitations of not having a complete view of the entire object during the decoration process, especially if the object was already assembled. Potential factors like limited perspective might have influenced the variations and discrepancies between different sides of the object. If the decorator initially adorned one side of the artifact before moving on to the other, the lack of access to and visibility of the previously decorated side could have contributed to subtle discrepancies in the final outcome and between the two sides, especially if the details were not derived from a specific and comprehensive model or reference. Other factors constraining the decoration process might include time, resources and available materials, spatial limitations, visibility, technique or other practical limitations.

Consequently, while distinct styles and details might be observable on a single artifact, creating the impression of the involvement of multiple individuals in the decoration process, it does not necessarily imply the presence of multiple contributors, as in reality it could have been the work of a single person.

In the examples explored below, noticeable variations in text, iconography and style are apparent between one side of the coffin element and the other, indicating a decorative sequence within the materials and/or alluding to the potential involvement of different individuals in the object's decoration. The more pronounced the stylistic, iconographic and textual differences, the higher the likelihood of inferring the involvement of more than one contributor for the decoration. Conducting such studies poses challenges, and the necessity for direct access to the object, along with paleographic studies, in-depth stroke analysis, high-quality images, and other similar methods, is essential. However, the practical execution of these steps has not always been feasible.

Future scientific analyses on the materials could potentially shed light on these aspects, offering a promising avenue for further exploration. The differences in styles might correlate with the use of different materials and decorative tools, pointing towards different moments of production and/or perhaps the involvement of different individuals. Nonetheless, the challenge in identifying individual hands underscores the speculative nature of such discussions, leaving the organizational structure of the decoration process largely unknown, possibly involving more individuals than anticipated. In this regard, a careful analysis of the ductus and style present in the materials could shed light on this issue.

3.2.1.1 Inner box associated with an anonymous woman (Art & History Museum in Brussels, E. 5884, A. 18) (pls. 3/73-74)

In an inner box associated with an anonymous woman, preserved at the Art & History Museum in Brussels,³⁶³ discrepancies are noted in the depiction of the table of offerings

³⁶³ E. 5884. The object is linked to an inner box (bearing the same inventory number) and a mummy board (E. 5906), all associated with an anonymous woman. The set (A. 18) has its origins in Bab el-Gasus and was sent to Belgium as part of Lot XV. For details about the coffin set, see Daressy 1907: 5, 21, 23; Niwiński 1988: 112-113 [50 (inner coffin), 53 (mummy board)]; Delvaux, Therasse 2015: 92-97.

on both sides of the box. Specifically, the motif of the greenery drooping from the tables of offerings is present on the right side but noticeably absent on the other side. Although seemingly a minor detail, it remains uncertain whether this variation can be attributed to different individuals involved in the process or if it was an intentional choice by the same decorator. It is unclear if these minor details were guided by a specific model, or if this variance implies that the specific details were left to the discretion of the decorator(s) without strict adherence to a predefined model. The variability observed in these details might suggest a certain degree of creative freedom in the decoration process and/or the possible involvement of more than one individual.

3.2.1.2 Outer box of Panedjem II (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 26197; CG 61029) (pls. 3/75-78)

The outer box associated with Panedjem II, preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (pls. 3/75-76),³⁶⁴ displays significant differences between its two sides (pls. 3/77-78). This is particularly evident in the motifs and specific details depicted within the scenes, as well as the stylistic elements that characterize the individuals presented in these scenes, which are discussed further below.

On the left side, the individual vignettes are consistently placed under vaulted shrines, while the right side only presents one vignette beneath this type of architecture, with the remaining vignettes framed by the horizontal pattern on top.

Furthermore, in the initial vignette on the walls depicting three divinities atop a coiled serpent, despite maintaining a similar arrangement, notable differences are observed in the details (pl. 3/77). The central ram-headed divinity displays a distinct crown and mummiform cloth on both sides, and there are significant variations in the style of the serpent and the pedestal supporting the divinities. Additionally, differences are noted in the portrayal of the mummiform cloths and the collars of the rest of the divinities.

Similar differences are evident in the subsequent scene featuring Thoth (pl. 3/77), extending to variations in the crown, the beak, the attire and the totem held by the divinity. These disparities are also conspicuous in the paleography of the texts associated with the scene, as indicated by the discernible word *sš*. Similarly, the subsequent scene representing the deceased exhibits differences in terms of clothing, the table of offerings and the associated details and offerings, along with the facial depiction of the deceased. Notably, the delineation of the eye is fully realized on the right side, while on the left side, the eye is depicted merely with a black dot.

Consistent variations in clothing and the depiction of the eyes of the individuals persist throughout the subsequent scenes featuring the sons of Horus (pl. 3/78), alongside differing configurations of the offering tables. Furthermore, on the right side of the box, the depiction of an *wdꜣt* eye, typically winged, appears in front of each of the sons of Horus, while the other side does not feature this characteristic element.

The differences observed in style and details between the sides of the coffin indicate the possibility that the right side was decorated by an individual with comparatively less skill, resulting in a less refined style. This notion finds support in the paleography of



³⁶⁴ JE 26197; CG 61029. The object is associated with an outer lid, inner coffin and mummy board, all sharing the same inventory numbers. Daressy 1909: 95-110, pls. XLI-XLIV; Niwiński 1988: 115 [65].

specific signs, notably the depiction of the *s3* sign on the columns preceding the representations of Hapy and Duamutef on the right side (pl. 3/78), as well as the rendering of the owner's name and titulary in the scene featuring the owner of the coffin (pl. 3/77). In these instances, the signs are notably indistinct, particularly the sign representing the word Osiris (Gardiner sign Q2), as well as those denoting the word *tpy* and the particle *p3*. Similarly, the rendering of the sign Q2 in the scene featuring Isis and Nephthys adoring the Ta Weret totem (pl. 3/78) suggests a lack of expertise and/or knowledge on the part of the decorator. Considering the disparity in both the quality of texts and iconography compared to the other side, it is plausible that the same individual was responsible, at least in this instance, for both the texts and iconography. In conclusion, the evidence suggests the involvement of at least two different individuals with varying levels of expertise in the decoration of the object.

3.2.1.3 Outer box of Maatkara (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 26200; CG 61028) (pls. 3/79-81)

The outer box associated with Maatkara (pls. 3/79-80), preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,³⁶⁵ exhibits disparities between its sides, implying different moments of production or the potential involvement of two distinct individuals. Regarding the arrangement of the vignettes, the left side prominently showcases two scenes featuring distinct snakes framing the vault atop the vignettes. One of these vignettes depicts the Djed pillar, while the other portrays representations of Isis and Osiris. Notably, this particular iconographic element is conspicuously absent from the vaults featured on the other wall of the object (pl. 3/79).

Concerning the stylistic elements, significant differences are observed in the initial vignette on both sides of the object, presenting the representation of the Djed pillar framed by winged *wd3t* eyes on its upper part (pl. 3/81). Variances are evident in the representation of the winged *wd3t* eyes between the sides, encompassing both the wings and the *wd3t* itself. Moreover, distinctions arise in the depiction of the Djed pillar's crown, the Heka scepter, the upper section of the figure and the bands framing the pillar. Additionally, on the left side, the vignette includes mummiform gods surrounding the Djed pillar, while on the other side, these divinities are substituted by offering tables.

Transitioning to the subsequent scene depicting Thoth (pl. 3/81), which is featured on both sides of the object, this scene similarly displays variations, particularly in terms of clothing, the ceremonial totem held by the god and the hieroglyphs composing the divinity's name. Notably, on the left side, the accompanying text references the god as , employing the sign Gardiner G26 for the god's name, and achieving the plural word *mdw* with the use of sign Gardiner N33, as opposed to repeating the sign Gardiner S43 three times. Additionally, the sign Gardiner H6 represents *m3t*. In contrast, the corresponding inscription on the right side designates the divinity as , using the sign Gardiner C3 for the god's name, triplicating the term *md* (sign Gardiner S43) three times for its plural, and employing the sign Gardiner Aa11 to represent the word *m3t*.

³⁶⁵ JE 26200; CG 61028. The object is associated with an outer lid, inner coffin and mummy board, all sharing the same inventory numbers. Daressy 1909: 82-95, pls. XXXIX-XLI; Niwiński 1988: 116 [68].

In the following scenes featuring the four sons of Horus, noticeable differences in the arrangement of the offering tables placed in front of each god are evident (pl. 3/82). The left wall consistently showcases the inclusion of the discussed greenery motif and three vases positioned atop the table. Conversely, the absence of the greenery motif on the right side is noticeable, with the table consistently exhibiting only one vase placed on top. Furthermore, the pair of offerings beneath the offering tables differ, with those on the right side appearing wider and less elongated in some scenes.

Regarding further significant stylistic differences, it is noteworthy to highlight variations in the portrayal of the kilts worn by the four sons of Horus and Thoth (pls. 3/81-82). Specifically, the upper belt is consistently delineated with a dark line on these kilts displayed on the left side, except for the one worn by the god Hapy, while this detail is absent on the right side. Additionally, the horizontal lines on the upper part of the clothing worn by the sons of Horus are consistently thicker on the left side. These distinct stylistic characteristics may potentially suggest the presence of a particular decorative trait and signature style attributed to two different decorators.

Moreover, concerning paleography, distinctions are apparent in the depiction of certain signs between the two sides. For instance, the sign of the Gardiner sign M17 (𓄢) displays a more elongated end of the wider part on the signs depicted on the right side of the box, differing from those featured on the left side. Additionally, the depiction of the determinative sign for the god, corresponding to Gardiner's sign list A40 (𓄢), consistently portrays a markedly lengthy beard in the majority of cases on the right side, whereas on the left side, the sign appears more intricate and balanced in its elements (pl. 3/79).

Such alterations could imply potential creative choices made by the same decorator, adherence to different templates, different moments of production by the same craftsman that would account for subtle stylistic, textual and iconographic differences, or the potential involvement of two different individuals. A systematic paleographic and stylistic study is necessary to draw definitive conclusions, requiring direct access to the object and high-quality images for thorough analysis.

3.2.1.4 Outer box of Khonsuemrenpet (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29613; CG 6257, A. 120) (pls. 3/83-84)

In the case of the outer box of Khonsuemrenpet, preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,³⁶⁶ it is particularly intriguing that, with one exception to be discussed later, the two sides of the box exhibit a striking similarity both stylistically and iconographically, down to the smallest details (pl. 3/83). This encompasses various elements, including

³⁶⁶ JE 29613; CG 6257. The object is associated with an outer lid (CG 6256), inner lid (CG 6258), inner box (CG 6259) and mummy board (CG 6220). All the objects were decorated for Khonsuemrenpet and are linked to set A. 120 originating from Bab el-Gasus (Daressy 1907: 12, 32; Niwiński 1988: 118 [81]). It is worth noting that not all the titles provided by Niwiński are present on the coffin elements, and the sources of Niwiński's data remain unknown. The titles presented on the coffin set include: *wꜥb n Imn; sš (s)rn̄p rwd ꜥ3 n pr n p3 s3 nsw n Kš* (outer lid); *wꜥb n Imn; sš (s)rn̄p rwd ꜥ3 n (pr n) p3 s3 nsw (n Kš)* (outer box); *wꜥb n Imn; it-n̄tr n In-ḥrt-šw s3 Rꜥ; sš šḥnw n pr ḥnm nb Kbḥw; sš (šḥnw) n pr ḥnm nb šꜥy?* (inner lid); *ḥsy ꜥ3 m rh Imn; wꜥb n Imn; it-n̄tr n In-ḥrt-šw s3 Rꜥ; ꜥ3 pr p3 (...)? nsw n Kš; sš šḥnw n t3 ḥryt wrt ḥnrt tpyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw n̄trw* (inner box); *wꜥb n Imn-Rꜥ nsw n̄trw; it-n̄tr n In-ḥrt-šw s3 Rꜥ; sš šḥnw n pr ḥnm nb Kbḥw; sš šḥnw n pr ḥnm nb šꜥy?; ꜥ3 pr p3 (...)? nsw n Kš* (mummy board).

the depiction of the figures, their gestures, crowns, attire, stylistic nuances, the arrangement and portrayal of the thrones, the *nbw* bowls and other intricate features. Furthermore, the texts on both sides are consistent, as well as the paleography, contributing to the overall uniformity observed between the sides.

However, a distinct disparity emerges solely in the arrangement of the tables of offerings. On the left side, a prominent feature is the greenery drooping from the tables of offerings, accompanied by the presence of red vases in two specific instances, elements notably absent on the right side. The exact reasons for this divergence remain elusive, leaving open the possibility that this aspect might have been redecorated at some point. Further examination of the object may provide more insights into this intriguing variation. This noticeable dissimilarity between the sides could stem from the absence of these details in the original model, deliberate choices by the decorator, subsequent redecoration, or even the involvement of a different individual for that particular section.

3.2.2 Redecorating Coffins: Indications of Collaborative Efforts by Multiple Individuals

The analysis of specific objects provides intriguing case studies where the general decoration indicates a consistent and unified production. However, a peculiar feature emerges in the unequal distribution of the owner's information, exclusively inscribed on one side of the discussed objects. This asymmetry raises questions about the deliberate or inadvertent nature of this practice, possibly involving the participation of multiple individuals responsible for each side of the object in the inclusion of that information. This practice and phenomenon are typically associated with objects that underwent modifications to the initial owner's information, potentially indicating a process of reuse. Further exploration of these discrepancies and their implications for ancient Egyptian funerary customs will provide insights into the practices of decorating coffins and the inclusion of the owner's information.

3.2.2.1 Mummy board of Padiamon (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29616; CG 6136, A. 99) (pl. 3/85)

This mummy board (pl. 3/85), part of set A. 99 from Bab el-Gasus and preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,³⁶⁷ features original decoration encompassing both texts and iconography. It exhibits no significant stylistic differences between the right and left sides, implying a consistent production, potentially by the same decorator. However, the name of the owner is only inscribed in the vignettes identifying the deceased on the left side. The name is written in black ink, distinct from the multicolored inscriptions on the rest of the object, and lacks any associated designation or title. This could suggest a later addition, possibly due to reuse or redecoration.³⁶⁸ The connection of the mummy

³⁶⁷ JE 29616; CG 6136 (mummy board). The object is associated with a complete set (CG 6138 (outer lid), CG 6137 (outer box), CG 6157 (inner lid), CG 6136 (inner box). Daressy 1907: 99; Niwiński 1988: 118-119 [82]).

³⁶⁸ A similar scenario is observed on the coffin set A. 54, preserved at the Musée d'Ethnographie in Neuchâtel (Daressy 1907: 8, 20, 26; Niwiński 1988: 158 [299]). The complete set only bears the name Nesymut, inscribed in two small spots on the outer lid with black ink, but not integrated into the overall decoration or placed next to the figure of the deceased. Instead, it seems to serve as an indication related to the preparatory process, irrespective of the intended recipient of that information. There is also the possibility that it was a later addition referencing a change of ownership of the coffin, whether related to the practice of reuse or not. The distinction between this example and that of Padiamon lies in the

board with set A. 99, which includes the outer and inner coffins featuring the name Paefadger, might lend weight to this theory, despite the absence of that name on the mummy board. It is also plausible that the mummy board was mistakenly linked to those inner and outer coffins at a more recent date,³⁶⁹ having lost its original associated coffins.

Nevertheless, the singular appearance of the name on one side of the mummy board prompts questions regarding its purpose—whether it was an oversight or intentional, perhaps for ritualistic reasons. Another possibility is that different individuals were responsible for adding the name to each side of the mummy board, resulting in the inclusion of the owner's information on only one side. The recurrence of this pattern in other examples also raises inquiries on this matter.

3.2.2.2 Outer box of Nesiamon(neb)nesuttawy, redecorated for Gautseshen (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 29621; CG 6013, A. 139?) (pls. 3/86-87)

Concerning the decoration of the outer box of Nesiamon(neb)nesuttawy, redecorated for Gautseshen and preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (pls. 3/86-87),³⁷⁰ slight differences emerge between the two respective sides of the object (pl. 3/86). For instance, the tops of the vignettes consistently feature four curved lines on the left side. The only deviation occurs in the scene depicting the deceased, where the architectural structure in the upper part of the scene comprises only three lines. Conversely, on the right side of the object, only the scene featuring the jackal includes that element with three lines, while the others are decorated with four. This discrepancy may imply the involvement of different decorators or suggest that each side was decorated at slightly different times, allowing for more variations. It is also possible that these deviations respond to a creative freedom of a single decorator.

Differences are also noticeable in the representation of the offering tables, which vary from one side to the other side, suggesting that the decorator may have exercised some discretion. Consequently, perhaps elements with less apparent significance, such as iconographic accessories and details, may have been entrusted to the decorator's judgment, without adhering to more rigid decorum or rules.

The object in question features information about two distinct owners, suggesting a change of ownership at some unknown point in time. Particularly noteworthy is the information about the initial³⁷¹ owner, Nesiamon(neb)nesuttawy, which is featured on both sides of the object but exclusively covered with a blue band only on the right side. This coverage permitted the inscription of details about Gautseshen, the subsequent

deliberate incorporation of references to Padiamon (when existent) as a part of the decoration, next to the representation of the deceased, rather than mere indications or marks for the preparation of the coffin.

³⁶⁹ In this regard, it is noteworthy that neither Daressy (1907: 11) nor Lieblein (1892: 999) included the name Padiamon in the entry for set A. 99. This omission might simply be an unsurprising oversight, as the name of Padiamon was solely present on the mummy board and Daressy might not have documented it during the material inspection.

³⁷⁰ JE 29621; CG 6013. The object is associated with an outer lid (CG 6016), an inner lid (CG 6014) and a mummy board (CG 6015). Daressy 1907: 13, 20, 36; Niwiński 1988: 119 [84]. Refer to Chapter 4, Section 4 for the discussions regarding the confusions related to this set and the owner(s) of the ensemble.

³⁷¹ Nesiamon(neb)nesuttawy is the earlier owner recorded on the coffin. It is unknown whether there were previous owners whose information or coffin was entirely repurposed or modified, whether the coffin was used before Gautseshen or not.

owner who usurped the object. This mirrors the earlier situation discussed in relation to the mummy board of Padiamon.

The visibility of information about the deceased (Padiamon and Gautseshen) and the modification marks associated with the box subsequently associated with Gautseshen being limited to one side of the objects raises questions about the intention behind this action. It may imply the potential involvement of different decorators during the (re)decoration or simply be attributed to an error. This practice also raises questions about a possible meaning in leaving the information about the original owner of the object untouched in the case of the discussed outer box -perhaps for ritual purposes, although this hypothesis remains unknown and speculative.

In connection with the latter supposition, it is particularly intriguing to observe that on the side containing the information about Gautseshen and marks indicating decorative modification, a column with the previous owner's information remained uncovered. This decision could have been intentional, or it might have been an oversight. It is plausible that, in this specific case, the absence of the word "Osiris" preceding the information of the deceased could have led the person responsible for the redecoration to overlook it. It is conceivable that this individual was primarily focused on concealing inscriptions featuring the original information of the deceased preceded by the term "Osiris," as seen with the covered columns. This suggests that the individual concealing the original information was aware of the specific inscriptions requiring concealment. Nevertheless, this remains a speculative interpretation and does not fully explain why the corresponding side of the object was left unaltered.

3.2.2.3 Inner box of Tjenetnaubekhenu, reinscribed for Nauny (Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, 30.3.24b) (pls. 3/88-89)

Similar to the previously described situations, the inner box initially adorned for Tjenetnaubekhenu and later reinscribed for her daughter Nauny (pls. 3/88-89),³⁷² preserved at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and originating from TT 358,³⁷³ initially featured Tjenetnaubekhenu's information on both sides of the inner box. Subsequently, for unknown reasons, Nauny's name was inscribed on the object, possibly implying reuse rather than just a change of ownership or usurpation. This is especially significant when considering that, at the time of Nauny's interment in that coffin, her mother was likely deceased. This conclusion is drawn from the information about the mummy found within the coffin, estimated to be around 70 years old,³⁷⁴ with the bandages associated with the mummy indicating it belonged to Nauny. However, it remains uncertain whether Tjenetnaubekhenu was previously interred in the usurped coffin or elsewhere, as no information about her mummy was found within TT358. The absence of Tjenetnaubekhenu's mummy raises speculative possibilities about her

³⁷² This information is extracted from the Book of the Dead associated with the owner (30.3.31. Niwiński 1989: 347 [New York 13]), explicitly stating that Nauny was the daughter of Tjenetnaubekhenu. For details about the individual and the presence of the iconography of the Litany of Ra on one of her papyri, implying a connection between the owner and the High Priest of Amun, refer to Chapter 4, Section 3.

³⁷³ Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, 30.3.24b. This item is associated with an outer lid (30.3.23a), an outer box (30.3.23b), an inner lid (30.3.24a) and a mummy board (30.3.25). It is noteworthy that the covers were originally gilded. For information about the coffin, see Niwiński 1988: 161 [316]. A volume dedicated to the tomb is currently under preparation by Elshazly and Kamrin. For comprehensive original documentation of the tomb, see Winlock 1942.

³⁷⁴ Winlock 1942

original burial location and, if she was originally buried in Nauny's coffin, what happened to her mummy.

Whether reused or not, during the redecoration and the inclusion of the name Nauny on the object, it is intriguing that the name was only inscribed on the left side, while the other side remained in its original state. As mentioned previously for other examples, various hypotheses can be suggested for this phenomenon. One possibility is that different craftspeople worked on each side, and for reasons unknown, only one of them included the new information. Another possibility is that it was a deliberate choice, perhaps as a form of paying homage to the previous owner, though the involvement of ritual practices cannot be ruled out.

In this case, another plausible explanation worth considering is related to accessibility. This raises the question of whether, in the event of actual reuse, the redecorations were strategically placed on accessible areas. If accessibility played a role, it could suggest that Tjenetnaubekhenu, even if her mummy was not found in the tomb, might have been originally buried there. The new information related to Nauny, in this scenario, might have been deliberately placed only in accessible areas of the object during the redecoration process, especially if it occurred within the tomb itself.³⁷⁵ This prompts further inquiry into the specific locations where these modifications, in the case of reusing objects taken out of a tomb and modified, might have occurred.

3.2.2.4 Inner box of Tayukheret (*Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin*; ÄM 28) (pls. 3/90-91)

Regarding the inner box of Tayukheret preserved at the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin (pls. 3/90-91),³⁷⁶ the information about the deceased is located on both sides of the object. However, it appears that the object was subsequently modified to incorporate the information of another deceased, that of Tabakenmut.³⁷⁷ Her information is only featured in one of the vignettes on the left wall of the box, and it is conspicuously absent from the right side. This aligns with the observed pattern in other presented examples, although the reasons for this phenomenon are unknown.

In conclusion, conducting further research into the specific of how names and related titles were incorporated onto the coffin sets, along with examining their particular details and variations found within different areas of the same object and among various elements associated with the same set, has the potential to yield valuable insights. It is imperative to understand whether the inconsistencies in the placement of names in

³⁷⁵ In this context, it is crucial to highlight the existence of doors in some tombs, although their exact significance, potentially for reuse, remains unknown. In this particular case, if the coffin element was never relocated from the tomb, not even for redecoration, it raises questions about the funeral practices for Nauny, if any, and the objects employed to temporarily contain the body under such circumstances.

³⁷⁶ ÄM 28. The object is linked to an inner box (bearing the same inventory number as the inner lid) and a mummy board (D 32), the latter preserved at the Académie des Sciences, Lettres et Arts in Marseille. Niwiński 1988: 107-108 [22], although without considering the mummy board.

³⁷⁷ The available pictures of the object are only in black and white, so the area surrounding Tabakenmut's name should be checked to determine if its inclusion is actually a redecoration or it was originally part of the decoration of the object. In this regard, the rest of the elements associated with the set—the inner lid and mummy board—only feature the name Tayukheret. Therefore, if the inner box was at least partially modified for Tabakenmut, the rest of the elements remained untouched. Future access to better pictures of the inner box will shed light on whether it was redecorated or not.

certain locations were intentional, perhaps tied to funerary rituals or other unexplored reasons.

Additionally, exploring potential stylistic differences between the individuals responsible for the decoration and those tasked with adding the information of the deceased is essential. Investigating cases where name changes occurred and understanding their positioning on specific sides of the objects could provide significant clues about the patterns of redecoration. Notably, distinctive variations between the sides of the coffin elements might also be connected to ritual practices, underscoring the necessity for a more comprehensive research approach.

3.3 Blank Spaces on Yellow Coffin Elements

There has not been a systematic study on the presence of blank spaces on yellow coffin elements.³⁷⁸ While some specific coffin elements exhibiting this characteristic have been discussed in relation to their inclusion in certain coherent coffin groups studied in Chapter 4, Sections 4 and 5, providing insights into this practice, a comprehensive analysis is lacking.

Table 3.10 presents an updated overview of non-stola sets, whether complete or incomplete, wherein at least one associated element features a blank space—whether it remained unfilled or was subsequently filled with a name, as indicated in the table. The table excludes sets consisting of one or more anonymous elements unless they are associated with additional elements featuring a blank space. Anonymous elements refer to those with no reserved space for the inclusion of the deceased's information.³⁷⁹

The focused approach of the table in this section is designed to underscore the relationship between names and blank spaces, serving the purpose of highlighting the considerable diversity within coffin sets concerning the presentation of information about the deceased's name on their elements. This diversity adds complexity to the study of coffins in terms of ownership, prompting questions about the variations seen across individual coffin sets, which may be attributed to a variety of unknown reasons.

To maintain clarity, the table exclusively delves into the details related to the deceased, focusing on names. However, it does not specify whether the owner's name is associated with original titles preceding the blank spaces, aligning with the object's overall decoration, or if titles were added subsequently alongside the name to fill these spaces. Furthermore, the table intentionally omits any reference to redecoration or recommodification marks associated with the objects, commonly referred to as "reuse marks." This exclusion applies to these marks whether associated with individual coffin elements or the sets to which these objects belonged.

³⁷⁸ While some publications such as Daressy 1907 and Niwiński 1988, touch upon this practice, they do so in a non-systematic manner, only highlighting specific instances. Notably, certain studies categorize these objects as parish coffins (Bettum 2014: 180, 184). However, it is important to note that the term originates from the context of European church coffins and has been deliberately avoided in the current study.

³⁷⁹ Refer to the introduction of this study for distinctions and specific characteristics associated with the term "anonymous".

The table addresses the origins of these coffins. Interestingly, the majority of coffin elements featuring the discussed characteristic originated from Bab el-Gasus. Future studies will delve into the chronology and gender aspects of these elements, which were not explored in this study. It is crucial to recognize that certain elements currently associated with an individual set, considering significant inconsistencies among them, as well as the heterogeneity and differences in ownership and the identification of the deceased, might result from modern errors. Consequently, elements presented as part of the same set in the table may, in fact, be fictitious sets organized as such in modern times.

In this respect, it is essential to acknowledge that the author did not have direct access and proper observation of these "blank spaces" for the majority of the elements, as the study relied on low-quality photographs and observations through exhibition cases. This neglects an examination of potential remains of potential remains of names within the apparently empty blank spaces. Furthermore, when the blank space was subsequently filled with a name, the relationship between the new decorative layer and the presence of the varnish layer, if any, was also not studied—whether it is above or below, in terms of stratigraphy and the relationship between the multiple decorative layers. Direct access to the object is needed to conduct these kind of observations.

Thus, the table serves only as an initial reference point for the study of the phenomenon, offering some insights into the included objects. Likely, the examples will grow in the future with new discoveries and better access to known elements. It is also worth noting that future studies, considering this practice, will shed light on whether it can be associated with the reuse of objects or not.

Table 3.10 Coffin Sets that Include, at Least, One Element³⁸⁰ Featuring a Blank Space

Coffin ³⁸¹	Origin ³⁸²	Outer Lid	Outer Box	Inner Lid	Inner Box	Mummy Board
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-------------

³⁸⁰ When the table cell associated with the coffin element is empty, it indicates that the object has not been preserved for the set, is unlocated, or never existed. A blue cell indicates that the element includes a blank space. When the blue cells are filled with a name, it means that the original blank space was subsequently filled with a name. If, on the contrary, a blue cell is empty, it means that the original blank space was not subsequently filled with any names. When specific names are illegible due to a lack of proper observation of the objects, it is specified in its respective entry. A white cell featuring a name indicates that the name is original to the object and coherent with the rest of inscriptions. Cells featuring the letter "A" signify that the object is anonymous, meaning it does not contain any space reserved for the information of the deceased. "A (pp)" denotes that the object is currently anonymous, but due to a lack of complete preservation (pp meaning "partially preserved"), it could perhaps have featured a space reserved for the name of the deceased, although the characteristics of this space, if it existed, are unknown. "?" indicates that the object could not be accessed, and there is not complete information about it. When an object is lost, it is indicated in the table. Specificities of certain coffin elements are specified in the footnote associated with the object in question.

³⁸¹ The given numbers pertain to Niwiński's entries (1988: 104-184 [List of Sources]). If the object(s) is not included in Niwiński's volume, the city and museum that preserve the object(s) are provided, and their inventory numbers are specified in the associated footnote. It's worth mentioning that small fragments displaying individual scenes or smaller details have not been included in the table. Their exclusion is due to their size, which does not allow for meaningful conclusions regarding the information the coffin element they belonged to might originally contain about their associated owner. Additionally, larger fragments unlikely to have featured ownership information are also excluded. For instance, even if the entire floorboard or headboard of a coffin is preserved, it has not been included in the table because such locations usually lack information about the owners, and it is unknown whether the elements they belonged to would have originally featured a name or not.

Table 3.10 Coffin Sets that Include, at Least, One Element³⁸⁰ Featuring a Blank Space

2	BG			Illegible	A	Khonsumes
3	BG			Illegible	A	
8	BG				Tabakenmut	
11+12 ³⁸³	BG	A		Illegible	A (pp)	A
13	BG			Ta[...]	A	
14	BG	Tjenetray	Ankheseniset, Neferibu			
Atlanta ³⁸⁴	Unknown					
35	BG				A	
429 ³⁸⁵	BG			Mutenipet	Nedjemmut	
48	BG				A	A
51	BG				A	Tausertempernseu
80	BG	Maatkara	Ankhesenaset	Maatkara	A	A (pp)
84	BG	Gautseshen	Nesiamon(neb)ne suttawy, Gautseshen	Gautseshen		A
85	BG					
86	BG	Padiamon	Padiamon	Padiamon	A	Padiamon
87	BG	A (pp)		Nesypakef	A	
88	BG			Ta[...]	A	A
434 ³⁸⁶	BG	Tashedkhonsu		Tashedkhonsu	Tashedkhonsu	
90	BG	?	?	Nesykhonsu	A	Nesykhonsu
93	BG	Panedjem	A	Panedjem	A	Shedkhonsu, Panedjem
99	BG	Isety	A	?	Ankhesenmut	Ankhesenmut, Isety
100	BG	Henuttawy	Henuttawy	Nesytanebettawy, Henuttawy	Nesytanebettawy	Nesytanebettawy, Henuttawy
108	BG		?	Haaset	A	Haaset
114	BG	Asetemakhbit	A		A	Asetemakhbit
119	BG	Tjanefer	A	Tjanefer	Tjanefer	Tjanefer
122	BG					
126	BG		A		Tjenetpaheruner	
128	BG			Meretamun	A	A
138	BG			Diwamun	A	Diwamun
140	BG	Tamererpara, Ankhefenmut	Tamererpara, Ankhefenmut	Ankhefenmut	A	Padiamon
151	BG			Iset	Iset	A (pp)
153	BG			A	A	Ax pw mAa xrw ³⁸⁷
430 ³⁸⁸	BG			Nesypaneferher		

³⁸² BG stands for Bab el-Gasus. In cases of unknown provenance, the first known date of the object's existence is referenced.

³⁸³ See supra for the discussion regarding the combination of two entries from Niwiński's volume.

³⁸⁴ Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta (1999.001.013A).

³⁸⁵ The object is mentioned in Niwiński's volume within the section dedicated to objects of unknown location, though there is a suggestion of its presence in Boulogne-sur-Mer (France) (Niwiński 1988: 180 [429]). An inner coffin linked to the set has indeed been identified in the city and is housed in the Musée-Château (226.R2 for the inner lid, and 225.R2 for the inner box).

³⁸⁶ The coffin set is mentioned in Niwiński's work, particularly in the section dedicated to objects of unknown location. However, fragments associated with the outer lid, inner lid and inner box of the coffin set have recently been (re)discovered in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (L. 6 (outer lid), L. 24 (inner lid), C. 16 (mummy board)). For the proposal that these elements constitute a substitute set belonging to the same owner as set A. 137, refer to Niwiński 2021: 365. Nevertheless, a challenge to the concept of substitute coffin sets has been presented in Chapter 4, Section 4.

³⁸⁷ Refer to Chapter 4, Section 4 for a discussion regarding the inscription found within the blank space. It is important to note that the inscription does not refer to the actual name of a deceased individual but rather to a generic designation.

³⁸⁸ The item is referenced in Niwiński's work, specifically in the section dedicated to objects of unknown location. However, fragments linked to the coffin set have recently been (re)discovered in the basement

Table 3.10 Coffin Sets that Include, at Least, One Element³⁸⁰ Featuring a Blank Space

Chartres ³⁸⁹	Unknown (1905)					
159	BG					A (pp)
175+178 ³⁹⁰	MMA 60			Illegible	A	A
189	BG	?	Ankhefenkhonsu		A	Ankhesenmut
190 + 194 ³⁹¹	BG		A			
192	BG					
Florence ³⁹²	Unknown (1828-1829)					Illegible
199 + Atlanta ³⁹³	Unknown (1841-1842)		Tanakhtentahat	Tanakhtentahat	Tanakhtentahat, Taaset	A (pp)
Issoudun ³⁹⁴	Unknown (1882, 1906?)			A (pp)		
211 + C.39 ³⁹⁵	BG		Ankhefenkhonsu	?	?	?
228	BG	Gautseshen		A (pp)	A	A
229 + 230 ³⁹⁶	BG	Nesytanebettawy	Nesytanebettawy	A (pp)		A
231	BG			A	A	Tjenethenherunefer
232	BG				A	
247	BG	A (pp)	A (pp)	A (pp)	A	
264	BG				A	A
265	BG	Tjenetkhenef?	Tjenetkhenef	T[...]		
266	BG	Illegible name	?	A	A	A (pp)
267	BG	Taakhuty	Taakhuty	A		A
268	BG			A (pp)	A	Illegible
Los Angeles ³⁹⁷	Unknown				A	
Lviv ³⁹⁸	Unknown (1887)					
287 = 428 ³⁹⁹	BG		A (pp)	Bakenkhonsu	Bakenkhonsu	
290	Unknown (1820)			A (pp)		A (pp)
292	Unknown (1824)				Khonsuemrenpet	
299	BG	Nesymut	A	A (pp)	A	
311	MMA 60	Tabakmut	A	A	A	A
312	MMA 60	Lost	Lost		?	Tiye
315 (outer)	MMA 60		A		Lost	A

of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (L. 29, L. 2). I appreciate Niwiński for providing me with access to the photographs of these fragments.

³⁸⁹ Musée des Beaux-Arts, Chartres (1905.6924.1-4).

³⁹⁰ Kamrin (2020: 811-812) has suggested the combination of these distinct entries in Niwiński's volume.

³⁹¹ For the rearrangement of the separate entries, see Zarli 2018: 480, 483-484, 490.

³⁹² Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (2174).

³⁹³ Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta (1999.001.017C (inner lid), 1999.001.017A (inner box), 1999.001.017B (mummy board). The indication of a potential connection between the elements is drawn from Siesse 2018: 126-127 [Cat. 58].

³⁹⁴ Musée de l'Hospice Saint Roch, Issoudun (11.55).

³⁹⁵ The outer box connected to the set was recently (re)discovered in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (C. 39. Niwiński 2021: 362).

³⁹⁶ The combination of separate entries in Niwiński's volume relies on the insights provided by Mann, Greco, Weiss 2018: 39, 46-47. To explore the discourse on the potential reuse of objects associated with the set, see Cooney 2018: 82-87, 95.

³⁹⁷ Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA), Los Angeles (M.47.3a-c).

³⁹⁸ Museum of History of Religion, Lviv (Ar-227). Tarasenko 2019a: 65 [n. 1], 68; Tarasenko 2019b.

³⁹⁹ Both references in Niwiński's volume actually pertain to the same set.

Table 3.10 Coffin Sets that Include, at Least, One Element³⁸⁰ Featuring a Blank Space

box) + 176 ⁴⁰⁰						
317	BG	Nesitaudjatakhet		Nesitaudjatakhet	Nesitaudjatakhet	A
320	BG				A	
331	Unknown					
349, 344, 345, 427 ⁴⁰¹	BG			A (pp)	A	Djedkhonsuiuefankh
396 (outer coffin) + 319 + 366 ⁴⁰²	BG	Ankhesenmut	A	A (pp)	A	Nesypernebu
398	BG		A	Khonsumes	Khonsumes	Khonsumes
379	Unknown (1822)			A	A	
381	Unknown (1822)			[...]khonsu		
382	Unknown (1822)			Tabakenkhonsu	Tabakenkhonsu	Tabakenkhonsu
384	Unknown (1822)			Tamutmutef		A
386	Unknown (1822)			Khonsumes	Khonsumes	Khonsumes
396 (inner coffin) ⁴⁰³	BG				A	
403	BG	Ikhy	A			Ikhy
404	BG			Takhibat	Takhibat	
410	Unknown (before 1875)					Pashedkhonsu
413	BG		Ankhefenkhonsu	Nesipautitai	A	Nesipautitai
417	BG	Nespernebu	A	Nespernebu	A	Nespernebu
423	BG	Tjenetpamedushe pes	Tjenetpamedushe pes	Tjenetpamedushe pes	Tjenetpamedushe pes	
425	BG		?	A	A	
L. 14 + 426 ⁴⁰⁴	BG	Amenhotep		A (pp)	A	A
454	BG?					

The analysis of the data presented in the preceding table reveals intriguing observations, some of which were previously highlighted in Chapter 4, Section 4 regarding the inclusion of blank spaces on coffin elements. Table 3.11 below provides a summary of the forthcoming discussion.

In terms of coffin elements incorporating blank spaces, there is a higher prevalence of this characteristic on inner coffins and mummy boards. This is likely influenced by the larger quantity of inner coffins and mummy boards compared to outer coffins, given that many sets lack an associated outer coffin. It is essential to emphasize that elements with blank spaces are more likely to be covers than boxes, and when blank spaces exist on boxes, they typically remained unfilled.

Similarly, in sets where at least one element features a blank space, the associated elements that are anonymous, meaning without reserved spaces for the deceased's information, are more likely to be associated with boxes than covers. This suggests a

⁴⁰⁰ For the identification of the coffin elements connected with the set, see Kamrin 2020: 813-814.

⁴⁰¹ For the discussion of the elements linked to the coffin set, refer to Chapter 4, Section 5.

⁴⁰² For the reorganization of the elements linked with the set, see Bettum 2014.

⁴⁰³ For the reorganization of the elements linked with the set, see Bettum 2014.

⁴⁰⁴ For the discussion regarding the elements associated with the set, see Chapter 4, Section 4.

trend towards individualization and identification of the deceased with the covers rather than the boxes, possibly due to their anthropomorphic design.

Concerning the presence of original blank spaces in elements within a single set, a unique instance stands out, where all associated elements originally featured these blank spaces (entry 386 in the list). The set comprises an inner coffin and a mummy board, and it remains uncertain whether an outer coffin, either not surviving or yet to be identified, was originally part of this ensemble.

The inner lid associated with this set displays the characteristic footboard of yellow coffins, and it was initially designed with a blank space. Intriguingly, on the underside of this footboard, an additional piece (or pieces) of wood was affixed. On the sides of this added piece(s), inscriptions were incorporated, containing the name and titulary of Khonsumes, the owner of the ensemble. However, unlike the blank spaces on the elements associated with the set, which were subsequently filled with information about Khonsumes, details on the additional piece(s) in the footboard are presented using multicoloured pigments. This unique case raises questions about this feature and suggests that the addition to the footboard may have been specifically created for this object. The reasons behind this distinctive practice, not documented elsewhere thus far, remain unknown.

The only known set comparable to that of entry 386 is documented under entry 265 in the table. All four elements associated with this set feature blank spaces, although the mummy board linked to the set has not been identified yet. Sets listed under entries 159, 211 and 290 may share a similar characteristic, but due to incomplete preservation of some associated elements, it remains uncertain whether any of the partially preserved elements indeed contained blank spaces.

Furthermore, the outer coffin listed as number 192 on the list displays blank spaces on both elements, but the associated elements remain unidentified. A similar scenario is observed in the inner coffins listed as numbers 331 and 454, although their associated elements, at least a mummy board, are unknown.

On the contrary, entry 423 stands out as a complete set where all elements, except the mummy board, feature the name of the deceased as part of the original decoration of the objects. Interestingly, the mummy board associated with the set features a blank space.

In conclusion, although the practice of incorporating blank spaces was widespread, it was seldom implemented across all elements within the same set. This can be attributed to the diverse methods of including the owner's information, which could coexist within a single coffin set. The reasons behind this variation remain elusive.

Table 3.11 Summary of the Data Included in Table 3.10⁴⁰⁵

	Outer Lid	Outer Box	Inner Lid	Inner Box	Mummy Board
Total elements	41	42	73	72	72
Elements featuring an original name	8	9	15	14	11

⁴⁰⁵ The numbers do not consider whether the objects are part of the same set or individual items, meaning sets where only one element is known, and it includes a blank space. Future statistical analyses using this data, cross-referenced with additional information on the objects, such as gender, status and modification marks, will provide insights into this practice.

Elements featuring a blank space	28	14	39	15	28
Elements featuring a blank space subsequently filled with a name	16	5	20	3	15 ⁴⁰⁶
Anonymous elements	1 A / 2 A (pp)	13 A / 2 A (pp)	7 A / 10 A (pp)	39 A / 1 A (pp)	15 A / 6 A (pp)
Lost elements	1				
Elements with unknown information	2				

Regarding the origins of sets that include at least one element featuring a blank space (refer to Table 3.12), as mentioned earlier, they predominantly originate from Bab el-Gasus. For those instances where the origin is unknown, and considering the acquisition dates, it could be suggested that some of them also originated from Bab el-Gasus. It is noteworthy that four examples trace their origins to tomb MMA 60, which contained individuals associated with the High Priest of Amun.⁴⁰⁷

Table 3.12 Origins of the Sets Including, at Least, One Element Featuring a Blank Space

	Number
Total sets	96
Bab el-Gasus	75 + 1?
MMA 60	4
Unknown	16

⁴⁰⁶ The count does not incorporate entry number 153 (see supra).

⁴⁰⁷ Refer to Chapter 4, Section 4 for information on specific elements featuring a blank space associated with individuals from the entourage of the High Priest of Amun.

Chapter 4, Section 1

4.1 The Circulation of Yellow Coffin Decorative Models Between Thebes and Akhmim at the End of the New Kingdom and Beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty

4.1.1 Introduction

There has been recent debate concerning the provenance and chronology of a group of distinct yellow coffins that share the same or similar decorative model(s). These coffins have been attributed to either Deir el-Medina during the middle to late Twentieth Dynasty⁴⁰⁸ or Akhmim around the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁴⁰⁹ This section broadens the corpus to include additional coffins and mummy boards relevant to the debate to clarify their historical context.

In this section, the relevant aspects of the coffins and mummy boards compared include style, layout, iconography, texts, names of the owners and their relatives, titulary, acquisition date and assigned provenance in collection registries. Consideration and comparison of these characteristics suggests a Theban derivation for some materials and a likely Akhmimic origin for the majority, all likely decorated from the middle to late Twentieth Dynasty/early Twenty-First Dynasty.⁴¹⁰ This analysis yields significant insight into knowledge circulation and the transmission of iconographic motifs and decorative models among the relevant artistic networks and craftspeople operating in Upper Egypt during the period, suggesting mobility of craftspeople around Upper Egypt during this time.

Furthermore, the comparisons of style, layout and iconography between the coffins contribute to the identification of a chronological sequence within the coherent group of objects. It also hints at the possibility of identifying individual craftspeople who decorated the materials.

The identification of reuse or modification marks on some of the coffins suggests their eventual reuse and/or modification during the Third Intermediate Period and subsequent periods. When the ensembles arrived at their current locations, the majority of them also contained mummies and, oftentimes, related funerary materials, such as mummy masks and cartonnage plaques. In almost all of examples, the mummies and related funerary materials postdate the original use of the coffins, again pointing towards reuse. However, the mummies and related funerary materials were likely placed in the coffins by dealers, who frequently sought to artificially create coffin ensembles to more readily and profitably sell them on the market. This modern reuse practice sheds light on the trafficking and re-assembling of antiquities in Egypt during the end of the Nineteenth century.

⁴⁰⁸ Van Walsem 2000.

⁴⁰⁹ Niwiński 2017.

⁴¹⁰ These insights into the chronology and Akhmimic origin for certain materials lend further support to the propositions presented by Liptay (2011a). This possibility was already suggested by Van Walsem regarding one of the discussed objects -the coffin of Khnumensanapehsu (Van Walsem 2000: 347).

4.1.2 Corpus of Associated Yellow Coffins and Yellow Coffin Elements

The materials presented in Table 4.1.1 share numerous and distinct stylistic, iconographic, textual and even paleographic attributes which are analyzed further below. These commonalities suggest that the objects can be ascribed to the same or similar textual and iconographical model(s). It is possible that some of the examples originated from the same workshop and were even decorated by the same craftsman.

The materials can be further classified into two sub-groups, identified based on iconography, paleography, style and layout details. These characteristics are consistent within each sub-group but differ between them. These sub-groups are herein identified as sub-groups 1 and 2. The distinctions between the coffins of sub-groups 1 and 2, discussed further below, suggest a chronological progression wherein craftspeople innovated over time, exhibiting an evolution of style, layout and iconography.

Table 4.1.1 Coffins and Coffin Elements Attributed to the Same or Similar Textual and Iconographical Model(s)

S.G. ⁴¹¹	Coffins ⁴¹²	Present Location	Plates
1	Anet (<i>ꜥnt</i>) ⁴¹³ (inner coffin)	Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City (D2066.3.1-2) (inner coffin)	4.1/1-2
1	Sesekhneferu (<i>Ssh-nfrw</i>) ⁴¹⁴ (inner coffin)	NY Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (AEIN 62) (inner coffin)	4.1/3-4
1	Huiuiipwy (<i>Hwi(-wi)-ipwy</i>) ⁴¹⁵ (inner coffin)	Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California (RC-599, RC-609, RC-610, RC- 611, RC-612, RC-613, RC-614, RC-615,	4.1/5-6

⁴¹¹ Coffin-related subgroups (S.G.).

⁴¹² Some of the associated coffins and their analogies were last defined by Niwiński (2017: 335-337). However, a number of similarities among some of the materials were already mentioned by Varga (1987: 10 [n. 6], 28-29, 31), Van Walsem (2000: 337-338, 347), Cooney (2007: 224, 248-250, 462-475 [Group E]), Taylor (2009: 376 [n. 11]), and Liptay (2011a: 12-13). The proposed list in this study excludes the fragments of the inner coffin of Horhotep (Liptay 2011a: 15-18, followed in Niwiński 2017: 335) and the coffins of Nesiamon, Panebmontu and Sutymes (Van Walsem 2000: 347-348), attributed to the same group by Liptay and Van Walsem respectively. These materials were initially associated with the same group of the coffins under discussion based on the presence of the greenery motif in their decoration, which is discussed in Chapter 2 and was believed to be unique. However, a thorough investigation of the motif on funerary containers, found in numerous other yellow coffins and cartonnages from various locations, has led to the exclusion of the materials associated with Horhotep, Nesiamon, Panebmontu and from the suggested corpus in this section. It is evident that they follow distinct iconographical and textual Theban models, and therefore, they will be considered separately (the coffins of Nesiamon and Panebmontu are analyzed in Chapter 4, Section 2). On the contrary, the fragmented coffin of Huiuiipwy, the fragment of an anonymous box preserved in Southport, as well as the coffins of Nesaset, Wsirfaymenuaa, Isisnofret, Ankhefenmut and Ankhef (the latter two of which include contemporaneously decorated mummy boards), are related to the broader group of coffins in this study for the first time. Their study allows to suggest further analogies between the majority of the objects, which are subsequently analyzed.

⁴¹³ Gasse 1996: 148-157, pls. XXXV-XXXVII; Van Walsem 2000: 337-338, 348-349; Cooney 2007: 472-475 [E.6].

⁴¹⁴ Koefoed-Petersen 1951: 14-19; Niwiński 1988: 136 [168]; Jørgensen 2001: 56-91; Cooney 2007: 468-470 [E.4].

⁴¹⁵ A detail of the fragment RC-615 appears, even if misdated to the Nineteenth Dynasty, in Schwappach-Shirriff 2004: 13.

		RC-616, and at least three other fragments whose inventory numbers are unavailable) ⁴¹⁶ (inner coffin)	
1	Khnumensanapehsu (<i>Hnmw-n-s3-n3-ph-sw</i>) ⁴¹⁷ (inner coffin)	Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin (8505) (inner coffin)	4.1/7-8
1	Meretenakhet (<i>Mrt-n-ht</i>) ⁴¹⁸ (inner coffin)	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, Vienna (ÄS 6066) (inner coffin)	4.1/9-10
1	Nesaset (<i>Nsy-3st</i>) ⁴¹⁹ (inner coffin)	Bonham Lot n° 316, Auction 25388 (3/07/2019) (inner coffin)	4.1/11-12
1	Hori (<i>Hry</i>) ⁴²⁰ (inner coffin)	Calvinist Collections, Pápa (A.1) (inner coffin)	4.1/13-14
2	Wsirfaymenuaa (<i>Wsir-f3y-Mnw-3</i>) ⁴²¹ (inner coffin)	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (31840 (catalogue number), 876 (accession number)) (inner coffin)	4.1/15-16
2	Tayukheret (<i>T3yw-hryt</i>) ⁴²² (inner coffin)	Victoria Museum for Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala (VM 153) (inner coffin)	4.1/17-18
2	Aafenhor (<i>3=f-n-hr</i>) ⁴²³ (inner coffin)	Musée du Louvre, Paris (AF 9592) (inner coffin)	4.1/19-20
2	Anonymous ♀ (inner coffin box)	Australian Museum, Sydney (E019466) ⁴²⁴ (inner coffin box)	4.1/21
2	Isisnofret (<i>Ist-nfret</i>) (inner coffin)	Putnam Museum and Science Center, Davenport (AR 21190) (inner coffin)	4.1/22-23
2	Anonymous ♂ (fragment of an inner coffin box)	Atkinson Art Gallery and Library, Southport (BOOMG: 1/08/84) (fragment of an inner coffin box)	4.1/22-24
2	Ankhefenmut (<i>nh=f-n-Mwt</i>) ⁴²⁵ (inner coffin, mummy board)	British Museum, London (EA 35288) (inner coffin)	4.1/25-26
		British Museum, London (EA 35288b) (mummy board)	4.1/27
2	Ankhef (<i>nh=f</i>) ⁴²⁶ (inner coffin, mummy board) ⁴²⁷	Ivanovo Regional Art Museum, Ivanovo (A-601) (inner coffin)	4.1/28-30
		Ivanovo Regional Art Museum, Ivanovo (A-	4.1/31

⁴¹⁶ The object is significantly fragmented; at least six parts of the inner box and six parts of the inner lid are documented. Other fragments may be preserved in the Museum's storage room.

⁴¹⁷ Niwiński 1988: 109 [29]; Cooney 2007: 248-250, 462-464 [E.1]; Brech 2008: 27-29, 49; Germer, Kischkewith, Lüning 2009: 116-119.

⁴¹⁸ Egner, Haslauer 2009: 116-143; Niwiński 2010: 536-537.

⁴¹⁹ Anonymous 2019: 186-187 [316].

⁴²⁰ László 1987; Varga 1987; Liptay 2011a.

⁴²¹ The box is currently inaccessible; however, its future study may provide more information about the name of the deceased, which is discussed further below.

⁴²² Niwiński 1988: 174 [397].

⁴²³ Niwiński 1988: 167 [348], without considering the inner box; For the complete inner coffin, see Brunel-Duverger 2020: 149-151.

⁴²⁴ Niwiński attributes the object to the Macquarie University Museum of Ancient Cultures, Sydney (Niwiński 2017: 335). However, it was there only as a temporary loan.

⁴²⁵ Niwiński 1988: 154 [272]; Cooney 2018a: 317-319. The coffin of Ankhefenmut is too large for an inner coffin ("the size of the piece is confusing: if it is an inner coffin, then the outer coffin must have been quite large [...]") (Cooney 2018a: 317), and notably, its mummy board features a uniquely large footboard. Unfortunately, that part of Ankhef's mummy board has not survived, rendering a comparison with the only other mummy board associated with the group impossible.

⁴²⁶ Berlev, Hodge 1998: 8-10, 23, pls. 22-26, 51-52; Bolshakov 2020a; Bolshakov 2020b.

⁴²⁷ Ankhef's mummy board was only recently identified as part of Ankhef's funerary set (Bolshakov 2020b). The object was previously defined as a female lid (Berlev, Hodge 1988: 23, pl. 51-52), without considering its fisted hands, its dimensions, and the craftsmanship of the object, all characteristics that strongly suggest that it is a male mummy board.

	602) (mummy board)	
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4.1.3 Similarity Attribute Complexes⁴²⁸ Among the Materials⁴²⁹⁴³⁰

Some of the similarity attribute complexes observed among the lids and mummy boards (pls. 4.1/1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 22, 25, 27-29, 31) include:

1. A chevron motif between the wig and the *wsḥ*-collar;
2. A chevron motif adorning the arms;*
3. A feathered or geometric pattern adorning the bracelets on the forearms;*
4. The winged and squatting goddess Nut holding an *ʿnh* and *w3d* scepter on the central panel;*
5. A thick mat depicted beneath the goddess Nut;
6. The god Anubis with a thick tail depicted below either Nut or both elbows of the deceased;
7. Centripetally oriented winged snakes with uniquely detailed bodies depicted below the arms of the deceased; and
8. The deceased shown libating or worshipping before deities.

The similarity attribute complexes also apply to the boxes (pls. 4.1/2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20-21, 23-24, 26, 30), and some of these attributes are as follows:

9. A lack of decoration in the box interior;
10. The winged and standing goddess Maat depicted on the crown of the head sometimes alongside the god Anubis and sometimes beside *wd3t* eyes;
11. The *dd* pillar;
12. The goddesses Isis and Nephthys adorning an Abydos emblem;
13. The Judgement of the dead scene including Horus operating the balance;
14. A *sm* priest, identified as *Hr iwn n mwt=f sm n Wsir*, standing before Osiris;*
15. The mummy of Osiris laying on a funerary bed with Isis and Nephthys depicted on either side; and
16. The deceased shown libating or worshipping before Osiris.

Furthermore, three noteworthy aspects are similar among and between the lids, mummy boards and boxes (pls. 4.1/1-31):

17. The halo of greenery drooping from the table edges (for a discussion of the motif, see Chapter 2);
18. The depiction of Horus, identified alternatively as *Hr s3 Wsir*, *Hr s3 3st* or *Hr nd it=f*, depicted libating before Osiris, who, in turn, is protected by Isis or Isis and Nephthys;* and
19. The respective coffin owner's name and titulary ordered in a sequentially unique way not observed elsewhere.

Typically, the coffins of the New Kingdom and Twenty-First Dynasty feature the epithet *Wsir*, followed by the deceased's titles, if any, concluding with their name. Peculiarly, the coffins under discussion in this section exhibit the deceased's titles

⁴²⁸ Clarke 1978: 489.

⁴²⁹ See supra, n. 14. The present section presents further similarities, distinguished with an *. Refer to Chapter 2 for the discussion on the subjective nature of selecting and presenting the identified similarities and differences among the various coffins of this study.

⁴³⁰ For the coffin topography and terminology, I will follow Sousa 2017a: 2-4; Sousa 2018: 43-46. The terms left and right apply to the coffin and mummy's point of view.

before the epithet *Wsir*.⁴³¹ This odd ordering suggests a particular signature of the workshop(s), network(s) of craftspeople and/or reliance on the same model(s) by the decorators who worked on the objects.^{432*}

There is only one coffin from the discussed corpus that entirely lacks this unique sequence, and there is a plausible explanation for this deviation. The lid's footboard of Wsirfaymenuaa (pl. 4.1/15) appears, ostensibly, to exhibit the epithet *Wsir* both before and after the deceased's title. However, the second epithet *Wsir* may, in fact, form part of the deceased's name.⁴³³ If this is the case, the first epithet preceding the title may reasonably have been included by the scribe in order to clarify the deceased's name. Thus, this specific deviation more probably represents a departure from the signature sequence from the followed model(s) and not, in fact, a variation from the sequence typical of the period more generally.

Certainly, not all similarity attribute complexes are present in every coffin and coffin element under discussion, and certain motifs and attributes appear to have been more popular than others. Furthermore, a discernible chronological evolution within the group leads to variations in the number of similarities due to differences in decorative complexity, a topic that will be explored further later. It is reasonable to assume that the scenes, texts and some unique motifs may have been part of the model(s) followed by the craftspeople, even if, in some examples, particular details or specific scenes reflect the creative expression of individual craftspeople or are unique to the workshop(s) where they eventually worked. The extent of creative freedom and flexibility granted to the craftspeople in decorating the objects, as well as the level of involvement and decision-making by the owner or commissioner, which might have led to deviations from the established model(s), remains unclear.

4.1.4 Coffin Chronology

The motif of the halo of greenery drooping from the table edges of the offering tables and stands,⁴³⁴ is featured on each of the discussed lids, mummy boards and boxes (pls. 4.1/1-31).⁴³⁵ For the present purposes, considering this aspect is crucial in establishing a chronological frame among the materials. As discussed in Chapter 2, Van Walsem proposed that the motif originated in a Theban royal context, although it was also used in private settings. It first appeared during the last decade of the reign of Ramesses III,⁴³⁶ and there is evidence suggesting its use until Ramses IX, with the possibility of lasting until the last year of the reign of Ramesses XI.⁴³⁷ Relying on this understanding,

⁴³¹ An exception appears in the vertical text depicted on the lid of Hori (Varga 1987: 43 [I.c]), although the rest of the inscriptions follow the rare sequential way.

⁴³² The possibility of confusion by the craftsperson is improbable, given that the materials under discussion were likely decorated by several different craftsperson. Therefore, a confusion involving multiple craftspeople is doubtful.

⁴³³ Although there are no other examples of this name, see RPN I: 151.17 for the name of Menuaa (*Mnw-ꜥ*).

⁴³⁴ The particularity, already noted by Varga (1987: 10-11 [n. 8]), was exhaustively studied for the first time by Van Walsem (Van Walsem 2000: 337, pl. XLV). Refer to Chapter 2 for the discussion of the motif and an updated corpus of yellow coffins and cartonnages that feature it.

⁴³⁵ The only exception is observed in the fragment preserved in Southport (pl. 4.1/24); however, it is likely that the original complete object would have featured it, as discussed further below.

⁴³⁶ Van Walsem 2000: 339-340, 347-348.

⁴³⁷ Refer to Chapter 2 for a discussion of the suggestion that the motif persisted during the early years of the Twenty-First Dynasty, albeit with formal differences, before it fell out of fashion.

Van Walsem attributed the origins of some of the discussed coffins to Deir el-Medina during the middle to late Twentieth Dynasty.⁴³⁸ However, as discussed further below, a debate arose when additional coffins, considered part of the same coherent group, appeared to originate from Akhmim.

With respect to the chronology of the objects, the coffins of Sesekhneferu (pls. 4.1/3-4) and Wsirfaymenuaa (pls. 4.1/15-16) have been subjected to radiocarbon dating analysis. The wood used in the manufacture of the coffin of Sesekhneferu was found to originate from about 1110 to 1050 BCE,⁴³⁹ while the wood used for the coffin of Wsirfaymenuaa dates between 1192 to 1106 BCE.⁴⁴⁰ These findings support Van Walsem's previous dating of the coffins under his discussion.⁴⁴¹

Niwiński, however, suggests a later chronology for the coffins, specifically the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty,⁴⁴² based mainly on the inscriptions and chronological information found on the stolae on the mummies.⁴⁴³ However, stolae primarily date mummies and not the construction and adornment of the coffins,⁴⁴⁴ which may have been completed before the owner's death. Furthermore, as discussed further below, at least some of the coffins appear to have been reused and/or modified after their decoration and use at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty⁴⁴⁵ -a phenomenon that Niwiński did not take into account. For example, the redecoration mark on the lid of the coffin of Isisnofret suggests that the coffin was reused around the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty. Logically, the original decoration must precede redecoration, casting Niwiński's dating of the coffins in doubt. Thus, the later use of the coffin, which can occasionally be linked to the information presented on the stolae found on the mummies, may not necessarily correspond to the original date of decoration of the object.

⁴³⁸ Van Walsem 2000. The chronology is followed by Cooney (Cooney 2007: 248, 462-475) and Liptay (Liptay 2011a: 14).

⁴³⁹ The chronological range matches with the reigns of Ramesses XI and Smendes, the latter of which was the last king of the Twentieth and first king of the Twenty-First Dynasty (Jørgensen 2001: 56).

⁴⁴⁰ Field Columbian Museum of Chicago [Field Museum]. Accession Card No. 876 (September 30, 1904), with a note specific to the coffin analysis done in June 22, 1973, at the Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology [University of Pennsylvania].

⁴⁴¹ As discussed further below, the coffin of Sesekhneferu is likely to have been reused from a coffin of the Ramesside period, so the radiocarbon dating would not be helpful in this case. On the other hand, the coffin of Wsirfaymenuaa does not exhibit any reuse marks, which would likely appear if the coffin had been reused from a previous coffin. Around the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, coffin reuse usually shows marks of this practice, as the craftspeople were still not sufficiently adept at hiding the origins of the materials (Cooney 2019: 100-101, 104-105). Thus, it is likely that the coffin of Wsirfaymenuaa was originally constructed for her. In this case, radiocarbon dating would be more helpful to date the decoration of the coffin. New studies and a proper analysis and examination of the coffin could yield important insight about this matter.

⁴⁴² Niwiński 2017: 338, although his study does not encompass additional coffins analyzed in this section, including the coffin of Wsirfaymenuaa, for which scientific analyses on the wood were performed.

⁴⁴³ For the term, see Van Walsem 1997: 15 [n. 46]. For the representation and interpretation of the element, see Van Walsem 1997: 116-119.

⁴⁴⁴ Van Walsem 1993: 20-21, 30; Van Walsem 2000: 347-348, where he discusses the coffin of Nesiamon (see Chapter 4, Section 2), which contained a body with mummy braces featuring Ramesses XI. The presence of these braces does not necessarily provide a precise date for the construction and decoration of the associated coffin.

⁴⁴⁵ For information on the reuse and/or modification marks displayed on the coffins under discussion, see Table 4.1.4.

Furthermore, Niwiński also uses the lack of decoration of the interior of the boxes as a criterion to corroborate his dating of the coffins. However, this characteristic is typically featured on coffins from the late Twentieth Dynasty,⁴⁴⁶ even if he suggests its presence in the aforementioned coffins as an archaization phenomenon.

4.1.4.1 Chronological Evolution Within the Coffins and Coffin Elements: Differences Between the Materials of Sub-groups 1 and 2

Through a comparison of the differences observed in the coffins belonging to sub-groups 1 and 2, it is possible to discern a chronological evolution within the time period suggested by Van Walsem. Throughout this evolution, the craftspeople demonstrated innovation over time, exhibiting changes in style, layout and iconography. Specifically, the coffins of sub-group 1 likely precede those of sub-group 2. Furthermore, this comparison also allows for establishing a relative chronological order of two of the coffins within sub-group 2.

Some of the iconographic and stylistic differences between the lids and mummy boards (pls. 4.1/1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 22, 25, 27-29, 31) of sub-groups 1 and 2 are as follows:

1. The number of registers on the central panel;^{*447}
2. The presence or absence of the winged goddesses Isis and Nephthys protecting the Ta Weret totem on the first register of the central panel;^{*448}
3. The number of vertical partitions in the lower section;^{*449}
4. The presence or absence of novel solar iconography depicting winged scarabs, appearing ram-headed in some of the examples. The iconography is set within uniquely complex architecture⁴⁵⁰ in the central vertical partition of the lower section;^{*451}

⁴⁴⁶ Niwiński 2019: 61.

⁴⁴⁷ The central panel on the lids and mummy boards of sub-group 1 contains one register, while the lids and mummy board of sub-group 2 feature two registers. Ankhefenmut's lid (pl. 4.1/25) stands out as the only element in the discussed corpus, considering both lids and mummy boards, that presents three registers on the central panel.

⁴⁴⁸ The scene is missing from the artifacts associated with sub-group 1 but is present in those related to sub-group 2. Within sub-group 2, the lid of Isisnofret (pl. 4.1/22-23) and the mummy board of Ankhefenmut (pl. 4.1/31) are the only elements that do not feature this scene. Instead, these specific artifacts feature the winged goddesses protecting three scarabs holding solar disks and the enthroned Osiris navigating in the solar barque, respectively. Notably, Ankhefenmut's lid (pl. 4.1/25) is the sole example within sub-group 2 where the scene is depicted on the second register of the central panel.

⁴⁴⁹ Elements associated with sub-group 1 feature two vertical partitions, whereas elements from sub-group 2 feature three vertical partitions. The mummy board of Ankhefenmut (pl. 4.1/27) stands as the sole exception within the latter group, featuring two vertical partitions instead.

⁴⁵⁰ It consists of an open naos, or a pectoral in the form of an open naos, whose edges are decorated by block-friezes. Surmounting the shrine there is the depiction of a frieze featuring multicolored uraei with solar disks. Underneath, there is the depiction of a winged solar disk (this solar disk does not appear on the coffin of Tayukheret (pls. 4.1/17-18)). Below the shrine, an elaborate frieze with geometrical and floral motifs divides the registers.

⁴⁵¹ The scenes are absent in sub-group 1, but they are present in sub-group 2. On Ankhefenmut's mummy board (pl. 4.1/31), exceptionally, the novel solar iconography is also depicted on the first register of the central panel by Osiris navigating in the solar boat.

5. The presence or absence of a jackal in the foreground of the lower section, depicted against a background of the Ta Weret totem flanked by two *shm* scepters protected by two winged *wd3t* eyes;^{*452}
6. The presence or absence of a thin single line framing the central column of text together with thin single block bands separating the vignettes in the vertical lateral partitions;^{*453} and
7. The presence or absence of horizontal transversal bands of inscriptions with the formula *im3hy* followed by the name of divinities separating the vignettes on the vertical lateral partitions in the lower section.^{*454}

Certain iconographic and stylistic differences between the boxes (pls. 4.1/2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20-21, 23-24, 26, 30) of sub-groups 1 and 2 are as follows:

8. The presence or absence of a frieze featuring alternating cobras and feathers on the upper edge of the outside walls;^{*455}
9. The presence or absence of novel solar iconography depicting the solar boat being worshiped by baboons and towed by jackals, which is a scene related to BD chapters 136A or 15;^{*456}
10. The presence or absence of the four standing sons of Horus and, where present, directed towards the box foot; ^{*457} and
11. The presence or absence of the sacred falcon with the atef crown on the headboard, usually protected by one of: the winged goddess Isis; the winged goddess Nephthys; or the winged *wd3t* eye.^{*458}

⁴⁵² The representation is absent in sub-group 1, but is present in sub-group 2, with the exceptions of both the lid and mummy board of Ankhefenmut (pls. 4.1/25, 27), as well as the mummy board of Ankhef (pl. 4.1/31).

⁴⁵³ The details are present in sub-group 1, with the exception of the lid of Meretenakhet (pl. 4.1/9-10). However, the absence of the elements on Meretenakhet's lid (pl. 4.1/9) may be due to its state of preservation and likely modern restoration, and it is possible that it originally had those motifs. In contrast, the details are absent in sub-group 2.

⁴⁵⁴ The inscriptions are absent in sub-group 1, but they are present in sub-group 2.

⁴⁵⁵ The frieze is generally absent in sub-group 1, but it is featured on the boxes of Anet (pls. 4.1/1-2) and Huiuiipwy (pls. 4.1/5-6). On the latter, the frieze is solely formed by cobras. The individual(s) who adorned the box of Anet was confused while decorating that part. While on the left wall the feathers face the headboard, on the right wall they face the foot. The frieze is present in all the examples from sub-group 2. The only box that couldn't be accessed is that of Wsirfaymenuaa, but it is probable that her box also features the frieze.

⁴⁵⁶ The only box from sub-group 1 that features the scene is that of Khnumensanapehsu (pl. 4.1/7-8). However, the scene is more commonly found in sub-group 2, appearing at least on the coffins of Aafenhor (pl. 4.1/19-20), the anonymous box preserved in Sydney (pl. 4.1/21) and the box of Ankhefenmut (pl. 4.1/26). Unfortunately, the box of Wsirfaymenuaa couldn't be accessed, and the fragment of the box preserved in Southport represents only a small part of the original box. As a result, the iconography that would have been featured on the remaining portion of the original box remains unknown.

⁴⁵⁷ This is a deviation from their traditional depiction, as they usually appear directed towards the box headboard (Niwiński 2017: 337). The scene is present on the majority of examples from sub-group 1, with the exception of the box of Huiuiipwy (pl. 4.1/6) where it is absent. In sub-group 2, the scene is generally not depicted, except for the boxes of Tayukheret (pl. 4.1/17-18) and that of Isisnofret (pl. 4.1/22-23). Refer to previous note regarding the issues associated with the box of Wsirfaymenuaa and the fragment of the box preserved in Southport (pl. 4.1/24).

⁴⁵⁸ The characteristic is generally absent in sub-group 1, with the only exception being the box of Hori (pl. 4.1/13-14). However, it should be noted that the headboard of the box of Huiuiipwy (pl. 4.1/6) has not been located, and part of the headboard of the box of Nesaset (pl. 4.1/12) is damaged. In sub-group 2, this characteristic is more commonly found, being present on the boxes of Aafenhor (pl. 4.1/20), the anonymous box preserved in Sydney, and the boxes of Isisnofret (pl. 4.1/23), Ankhefenmut (pl. 4.1/30) and Ankhef (pl. 4.1/30). Unfortunately, the headboard of Tayukheret's (pl. 4.1/18) box is also damaged.

Several of the iconographic and stylistic differences consistent among, but distinct between, the covers and boxes (pls. 4.1/1-31) from sub-groups 1 and 2, are as follows:

12. The presence or absence of decoration on the underside of the footboard lid and exterior of the footboard box;^{*459}
13. The presence or absence of a three-sided open structure featuring a uraeus at one of the corners;^{*460}
14. The presence or absence of coiled winged snakes featuring red negative space between the coils;^{*461}
15. The presence or absence of multiple standing mummiform divinities from the *Dw3t*, likely influenced or derived from the Litany of Ra.⁴⁶² Where present, three of these divinities, presenting distinctive heads, appear consistently in all the relevant examples. The first divinity is headed with a bearded serpent, with a wig and a *m3ʿt* feather on its head; the second is headed with a large *m3ʿt* feather; and the third is headed with two bird heads facing opposite sides;^{*463}
16. The uniformity or variability of depictions of gendered clothing of the deceased;*
17. The presence or absence of a peculiar spelling “*im3hy rh*” instead of “*im3hy hr*”,⁴⁶⁴ featuring a paleography with a distinctive sign Gardiner F39 (*im3h*).^{*465}

⁴⁵⁹ The presence of decoration on those areas is highly common in sub-group 1, with the only exception being the box of Anet (pls. 4.1/1-2). Regarding the coffin of Khnumensanapehsu (pls. 4.1/7-8), while the underside of the footboard lid is decorated, the wood present on the footboard of the box is modern. Unfortunately, the coffin of Huiuiipwy (pls. 4.1/5-6) does not preserve those sections, and for the coffin of Nesaset (pls. 4.1/11-12), those areas are not available in photographs. On the contrary, it is likely that those areas remained undecorated on the objects from sub-group 2, as observed on the coffins of Tayukheret (pls. 4.1/17-18), Ankhefenmut (pls. 4.1/25-26) and Ankhef (pls. 4.1/28-30). Unfortunately, those sections have not been preserved for the coffin of Aafenhor (pls. 4.1/19-20), the lid of the coffin of Isisnofret (whose exterior footboard box is undecorated) (pl. 4.1/23), and the lid associated with the anonymous box in Sydney (whose exterior footboard is also undecorated) (pl. 4.1/21), as it has not yet been located. The information regarding those areas is also unknown for the coffins of Wsirfaymenuaa and the fragmented coffin box in Southport (pl. 4.1/24).

⁴⁶⁰ While the motif is absent in sub-group 1, it is more commonly found in sub-group 2, as exemplified by the coffins of Wsirfaymenuaa (pls. 4.1/15-16), Tayukheret (pls. 4.1/17-18), Aafenhor (pls. 4.1/19-20) and Ankhef (pl. 4.1/28-31).

⁴⁶¹ The detail is absent in sub-group 1, but it is commonly found in sub-group 2. The only exceptions are the coffins of Tayukheret (pls. 4.1/17-18) and Isisnofret (pl. 4.1/22-23). As mentioned earlier, complete information is not available for the coffin of Wsirfaymenuaa and the fragmented box in Southport.

⁴⁶² Van Walsem 2014: 21.

⁴⁶³ These divinities are absent from the materials in sub-group 1, but they are featured on the majority of materials in sub-group 2, with the exception of the coffin of Tayukheret (pls. 4.1/17-18). It is worth noting that the divinity with a bearded serpent head, wig and mAat feather on its head is not depicted on the coffin of Isisnofret. Additionally, the mummy board of Ankhef (pl. 4.1/31) only features two of these divinities: one headed with a large mAat feather and another headed with two bird heads facing opposite directions. Information regarding the presence or absence of these divinities is not available for the coffin of Wsirfaymenuaa and the fragmented box in Southport (pl. 4.1/24).

⁴⁶⁴ The distinct spelling is absent in objects from sub-group 1, while it is common in objects from sub-group 2. The coffins of Tayukheret (pls. 4.1/17-18) and Wsirfaymenuaa (pls. 4.1/15-16) are the only exceptions. Unfortunately, due to the fragmentation of the box preserved in Southport (pl. 4.1/24), it is not possible to determine that information. The coffin of Ankhef (pl. 4.1/28-31) features the two versions, suggesting a confusion by the decorator(s), or an innovative artistic mind.

⁴⁶⁵ Defined as “a backbone with spinal cord issuing from it” (Gardiner 1957: 465 [F39]). The coffins which present the unique paleography of the sign feature a very small and stylized backbone depicted with few strokes (on the box of Ankhefenmut (pl. 4.1/30), the sign is even made with a black dot). Moreover, the spinal cord issuing from the backbone is much longer and wider than usually. Thus, the two parts of the sign appear disproportionate and with a distinctive execution.

4.1.4.1.1 Relative Chronology Among the Discussed Corpus

The materials associated with sub-group 1 (see Table 4.1.1, pls. 4.1/1-14) adhere to the iconographic tradition and particularities of earlier Ramesside coffin decoration, exemplified by the depiction of the four standing sons of Horus and the absence of adornment on the upper edge of the box wall.⁴⁶⁶ Also characteristic of the earlier Ramesside coffin decoration are the scenes depicted on the coffins. Although detailed, they feature ample space between them, as well as unadorned space surrounding the figures.

Despite retaining traditional features, the materials also showcase innovations. The scale of the inscriptions is reduced, displaced by more numerous and complex figurative representations.⁴⁶⁷ Some of the boxes even incorporate novel iconography not seen before, such as scenes with the solar boat and the sacred falcon. Remarkable, these scenes persisted in the same position on the coffins into the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁴⁶⁸ Therefore, objects from sub-group 1 exhibit traditional Ramesside features while also embodying changes and innovations. This suggests that they are part of the transitional phase from the middle to late Twentieth Dynasty, informing the typical iconography and layouts of the Twenty-First Dynasty yellow coffins.⁴⁶⁹

The coffins of sub-group 2 (see Table 4.1.1, pls. 4.1/15-31) exhibit an increase in the number of registers on the central panel⁴⁷⁰ and on the vertical partitions in the lower section of the lids. This innovative and more complex layout allows for the inclusion of new textual sequences and registers featuring novel solar iconography. Simultaneously, the boxes, especially those of Ankhfenmut and, above all, Ankhef, manifest a trend toward the *horror vacui* characteristic of the Twenty-First Dynasty. Both examples feature more numerous and detailed depictions of religious scenes and a higher density of figures, with surrounding space fillers.

Furthermore, the boxes of sub-group 2 popularize the depiction of a frieze on the upper edge of the outside walls, a space that had been left unadorned in the majority of coffins of sub-group 1. The novel iconography, such as the depictions of the solar boat and the sacred falcon, which rarely feature in the boxes of sub-group 1, become more common on the boxes of sub-group 2.

In early Ramesside coffins, the four standing sons of Horus were consistently featured. However, this depiction became absent during the advancement of the Twenty-First Dynasty coffins' decoration. Therefore, the presence of the scene on the boxes of sub-group 1 and the consistent absence of the scene on the boxes of sub-group 2 suggest the likely earlier production of the coffins in sub-group 1, where the scene was universally included.

⁴⁶⁶ The box of Anet (pl. 4.1/1-2) is the only box of sub-group 1 that features decoration on the upper edge of the exterior box walls.

⁴⁶⁷ Liptay 2011a: 12.

⁴⁶⁸ In that moment, the falcon is identified as Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.

⁴⁶⁹ Varga 1987: 27; Liptay 2011a: 12; Cooney 2007: 200, 234-235, 248-250, 255-256, 266, 270-271.

⁴⁷⁰ This suggests a step towards the complexity that the central panel would achieve during the Twenty-First Dynasty (Sousa 2014: 92-93).

Furthermore, the depiction of Osiris in several scenes, along with the representation of multiple standing mummiform divinities from the domain of Osiris, the *Dw3t*, and the novel solar iconography⁴⁷¹ consistently appear together in all the coffin elements of sub-group 2. This anticipation reflects the typical iconographic program found in the yellow coffins from the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁴⁷²

The evolving transformation of these iconographic and layout features, which would later become the norm in the Twenty-First Dynasty, strongly indicates a relative chronological sequence where the coffins of sub-group 1 preceded those of sub-group 2. According to this relative chronology, the coffins of Ankhefenmut (pls. 4.1/25-27) and Ankhef (pls. 4.1/29-31), characterized by their significant *horror vacui*, would represent the latest decorated coffins, likely dating to the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty or the early Twenty-First Dynasty.⁴⁷³ These two coffins stand out as the only ones in the group presenting a one-piece mummy board within the set (pls. 4.1/27, 31) respectively), although this does not rule out the possibility of similar presentations in other coffins that may not have survived or been comprehensively identified. The respective mummy boards also exhibit a layout and decoration that anticipates the typical features found in the mummy boards of the Twenty-First Dynasty.

This intricate iconography, imbued with complex religious symbolism and observed during this period, has its roots in the social, political and economic crises of the time.⁴⁷⁴ This was an era when the use of decorated private tombs gave way to undecorated collective tombs.⁴⁷⁵ The religious iconography, traditionally depicted on tomb walls and funerary equipment, underwent a transformation as it began to be directly incorporated onto coffins and papyri.⁴⁷⁶ This shift left tomb walls unadorned.⁴⁷⁷

The coffins of Tayukheret (pls. 4.1/17-18) and Wsirfaymenuaa (pls. 4.1/15-16) emerge as transitional artifacts, being the only ones that exhibit features common to both sub-groups 1 and 2. Their boxes depict the four standing sons of Horus, along with separated scenes featuring unadorned spaces around the figures -a pattern consistent with the boxes of sub-group 1. In contrast, their lids adopt the complex layout,

⁴⁷¹ The winged scarabs depicted on the central vertical partition of the lower section of the lids appear surrounded by signs representing the *Dw3t*.

⁴⁷² The appearance of both Osirian and solar scenes on coffins is a phenomenon that has been defined by some authors, including Niwiński (1988: 307), as the *solar-osirian unity*. However, this idea has been refuted by Smith, who demonstrated how the texts and representations clearly distinguished Re and Osiris as separate deities without a permanent union between them. Of course, Smith does not deny the temporary nocturnal union of Re and Osiris, relating it instead to the term “solar-Osirian cycle” (Smith 2017: 298-299, 300, 306-322, 325, 330, 353, 546-547).

⁴⁷³ Certainly, due to the lack of additional information about the owners and the uncertainty surrounding when the coffins were commissioned and decorated in relation to the owner’s lifetime, assigning specific dates to the creation and decoration of funerary objects poses a challenge. Only preliminary efforts at establishing relative chronological orderings among subset clusters of coffins featuring similar decoration, such as the corpus under discussion, are feasible.

⁴⁷⁴ Cooney 2007: 271-272; Cooney 2011; Cooney 2014.

⁴⁷⁵ For several known caches, see Aston 2020: 31-36.

⁴⁷⁶ Niwiński 1981: 49; Niwiński 1988: 15, 17-19; Assmann 2005: 299; Cooney 2011: 4, 19. Taylor 2001: 171.

⁴⁷⁷ Theban sources from the late New Kingdom show that members of the elite were spending more money on more ornately decorated coffins and coffin sets contemporaneous with spending less money on private tombs and tomb decorations (Cooney 2007: 115, 129 [n. 123]). For some of the actual sources of the funerary literature that influenced this evolving decoration, including texts and iconography, see Niwiński 2006: 245-264; Duarte 2014: 81-90; Duarte 2017: 137-145.

iconographic innovations and pronounced *horror vacui* distinctive of sub-group 2. This implies that the coffin lids of Tayukheret and Wsirfaymenuaa might have been among the initial sites to showcase these innovations.

The proposed chronology for this group of coffins, in line with Van Walsem's suggestion, holds true under the assumption that a parallel development of iconography and layout in coffins occurred in both Thebes and Akhmim during the same period. As elaborated below, it is probable that the majority of the coffins under consideration originated from Akhmim, with two, namely those of Anet (pls. 4.1/1-2) and Ankhefenmut (pls. 4.1/25-27), possibly originating from the Theban area.

Therefore, the diverse locations of origin could have influenced the timing of the decoration of coffins following the same or similar decorative model(s). For instance, two coffins proposed to be the last ones decorated compared to the rest of the cohesive group are those of Ankhefenmut (pls. 4.1/25-27) and Ankhef (pls. 4.1/29-31), with one suggested to come from Thebes and the other from Akhmim, respectively.

The grouping of the discussed corpus of coffins based on their association with the same or similar decorative model(s) serves as evidence for the hypothetical circulation of models and craftspeople, perhaps during the time the objects were decorated, even though the specific details regarding this circulation and the precise moments involved remain unknown.

4.1.5 Identification of Individual Craftspeople or Closely Related Decorators

Subset clusters of coffins or coffin elements from sub-groups 1 and 2 exhibit identical iconographic patterns and textual sequences. The layouts depicted on these related objects include identical individual scenes, sometimes depicted at the same location, identical unique motifs, space fillers⁴⁷⁸ and details in the same style. Additionally, they share the same paleography. The first such cluster comprises the coffins of Tayukheret (pls. 4.1/17-18) and Wsirfaymenuaa (pls. 4.1/15-16); the second includes the coffins of Huiuiipwy (pls. 4.1/5-6) and Khnumensanapehsu (pls. 4.1/7-8); the third features the coffin of Aafenhor (pls. 4.1/19-20) and the anonymous female coffin box preserved in Sydney (pl. 4.1/21); and the fourth consists of the coffin of Isisnofret (pls. 4.1/22-23) and the fragment of the anonymous inner box preserved in Southport (pl. 4.1/24).

This suggests that these ensembles not only likely followed the same decorative model(s) but also probably involved an attribution to specific individual decorators. Whether these decorators were the same person, closely related individuals working together, or individuals with similar education or training (see Chapter 2 for the challenges in identifying specific hands), their influence is evident in the identical attributes among specific materials. Of course, this does not rule out the possibility that more than one pair of these subset clusters of coffins could be connected to a single craftsman, and that the same individual might have decorated additional coffins from

⁴⁷⁸ The term refers to motifs designated to fill in the empty spaces of the decoration of coffins and mummy boards. The greater the tendency toward *horror vacui*, the more frequently space fillers appear. Sousa has suggested that these motifs, described as liminal elements in his studies, were not mere accessories without symbolism but rather held a sacred and protective significance (Sousa 2018: 109-110). Examples of these space fillers include cobras, vultures, scarabs, hieroglyphs, Styx shrines, etc. For a complete repertoire of such signs, see Sousa 2018: 108-110; Sousa 2020: 16 [fig. 2.5].

the corpus at different times, given the lack of knowledge about the evolution of styles within individual decorator(s).

Moreover, the stylistic similarities noticed in both iconography and texts among the instances within each cluster strongly suggests that it is likely, if an individual decorator was responsible for the ornamentation of these coffins, that this person painted both texts and iconography on the objects.⁴⁷⁹

Certainly, each of the coffins features distinct scenes, texts and details, with similar scenes appearing in different positions, as the examples are not identical copies. The determination of whether the motivation for the iconographical and textual variations (additions, deletions, etc.) between the coffins rested with the craftsman, thereby exhibiting their creative agency, or with the individuals who commissioned each of the coffins, cannot be determined.

4.1.5.1 The coffins of Tayukheret (pls. 4.1/17-18) and Wsirfaymenuaa (pls. 4.1/15-16) (S.G. 1)

Some of the specific similarities between the coffins of Tayukheret and Wsirfaymenuaa⁴⁸⁰ are as follows:

- The headband and the cluster of lotus flowers and buds on the lids;
- The volumetry associated with the face of the lid,⁴⁸¹ including the rendering of the eyes, eyelids and eyebrows;
- The sequence of the floral collar on the lid;
- The goddess Nut, resting on a distinct mat, on the central panel of the lids, with the space under her wings displaying an identical jackal. The goddess holds the ankh and the *w3d* scepter; *dw3t* signs and coiled serpents are featured beside her head. The same *wd3t* eyes appear on the same register;
- The same rendering of the greenery motif;
- The same architecture framing the scenes on the lid. The open naos depicted on the central vertical partition on the lower section of the lid features the same terminals;
- The ram-headed scarabs on the central vertical partition of the lid; and
- The same paleography.

⁴⁷⁹ Archaeological evidence from Deir el-Medina during the Ramesside Period suggests that draftsmen usually decorated both texts and iconography in their private tombs and, furthermore, it is likely that the same practice likely occurred for most funerary objects, including coffins produced for the private market (Keller 2001: 85; Cooney 2007: 225 [229]). However, coffins could be decorated by more than one draftsman. For example, a typical division of labor between two draftsmen may have been between the iconographical scenes and the adornment of the texts. In other cases, a master and apprentice may have worked together on the same features, with the former exhibiting greater artistic skills than the latter (Cooney 2007: 148, 225, with references). A third possible division of labor between two more draftsmen may have been simply to divide the objects spatially between them. Refer to Chapter 3 for a discussion on these aspects concerning yellow coffins. The chapter emphasizes the lack of information and knowledge about these issues, making it difficult to make accurate statements.

⁴⁸⁰ As mentioned earlier, the coffin box associated with Wsirfaymenuaa (pls. 4.1/15-16) is currently inaccessible due to museographic considerations. Therefore, future access to the box will reveal new similarities between the boxes associated with these two owners.

⁴⁸¹ See *infra* for the importance of studies (see, for instance, Mainieri 2023) that consider the volumetry of yellow coffins. Such studies shed light on the production, decorative operations and the craftspeople involved in the manufacture of yellow coffins.

4.1.5.2 *The Coffins of Huiuiipwy (pls. 4.1/5-6) and Khnumensanapehsu (pls. 4.1/7-8) (S.G. 1)*

Some of the specific similarities between the coffins of Huiuiipwy and Khnumensanapehsu are as follows:

- The same rendering of the greenery motif;
- The same representation of the Ta Weret and Imy wt totems;
- The identical garments and postures of each of the deceased, the god Osiris, and the goddesses Isis and Nehphthys;
- The inclusion of an uraeus on the foreheads of the goddesses Isis and Nehphthys and also Nut, exclusively featured on these two coffins;
- The goddess Nut, resting on a distinct mat, features in the central panel of the lids, with the space under her wings displaying identical serpents. The same texts and the depiction of nfr-signs and wdjat-eyes are featured beside her head;
- The scene of the mummification of Osiris on the boxes, with blue bandages wrapping the mummy, *wd3t* eyes on both sides of Anubis and a distinct style of canopic vases and funerary bed;
- The same paleography, as exhibited, for example, by the signs Gardiner F4, R4, U38, W22, and Z7; and
- Some extracts of the texts, such as the funerary formula that surrounds the scene featuring the judgement of the dead on the boxes.

These two coffins have been dated to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. However, the iconographic innovation that appears on the coffin of Khnumensanapehsu (pls. 4.1/7-8), as exemplified by the novel depiction on the box of solar iconography featuring the solar boat, suggests that its decoration may postdate, somewhat, that of Huiuiipwy (pls. 4.1/5-6). This innovation suggests a decorative evolution over time that can occur within workshops as well as exhibited within the chronology of an individual craftsperson's work. Whether this iconographic innovation speaks to individual artistic choices made by the individual craftsperson, or whether they reflect broader changes in stylistic preferences of the individuals commissioning the coffins, cannot be determined.

4.1.5.2.1 Evidence of Decorative Coffin Activity at Akhmim

As elaborated later in this discussion, Huiuiipwy (pls. 4.1/5-6) held the title of *sš kd n pr Mnw nb Ipw*, signifying a draftsman associated with the domain of Min, the lord of Akhmim. Notably, Huiuiipwy's title stands as the sole known example of the existence of a draftsman strictly linked to, and operating in, the city of Akhmim.⁴⁸² The acknowledgement of his existence implies the presence of a community comprising draftsmen and craftspeople within the city, a notion further supported by the identification of several yellow coffins originating from Akhmim.

Van Walsem has suggested the possibility that the coffin of Khnumensanapehsu (pls. 4.1/7-8), originating from Akhmim, may have been adorned by a craftsperson from Deir el-Medina who traveled to and worked at Akhmim.⁴⁸³ In this regard, *sš kd* is the most

⁴⁸² Excavations of the ancient site of Akhmim, under the modern city, are complex and, frequently, impractical. However, new discoveries could change this partial picture of the craft activities at Akhmim.

⁴⁸³ Van Walsem 2000: 347.

common title mentioned in Ramesside documentation in the context of private funerary craft production in Deir el-Medina. This implies that craftspeople at Deir el-Medina specialized in draftsmanship and the decoration of funerary items,⁴⁸⁴ and that their work was both profitable and in high demand.⁴⁸⁵

The official employment of draftsmen, whether in service to the King or to the Temple, provided them with training, knowledge in texts and iconography, and experience and legitimization that enhanced their reputations and identities as state artisans within a formal workshop and organized infrastructure. These reputations and identities, bestowed upon them by their institutional knowledge, training and legitimation, allowed draftsmen to flourish in the private funerary sector.⁴⁸⁶

Texts indicate that craftspeople working in the private sector were never entirely independent commercial entities, but rather, consistently related to the state in an official capacity.⁴⁸⁷

Explored in Chapter 2, craftspeople from the Theban region, for reasons that remain unknown, could operate beyond their local village, as indicated by textual evidence dating from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. These records suggest that craftspeople from Deir el-Medina travelled beyond their immediate vicinity to work within the private sector. Additionally, the presence of coffins featuring the same or similar model(s) dating from that period and originating from distant locations, along with the circulation of motifs as discussed in this section and in Chapter 2, implies a likely mobility among decorators.

However, the craftwork mentioned in the textual records about craftspeople's mobility pertains to carpentry and furniture, especially beds, with no explicit reference to the manufacturing or decoration of coffins or other funerary art.⁴⁸⁸ The substantial documentation regarding carpenter mobility, and the scarcity of texts addressing draftsmen and decorator mobility, could be attributed to the higher demand for essential and more affordable objects of everyday life. Alternatively, the surviving record might be uneven, and future findings could potentially reveal more insight into this apparent asymmetry.

⁴⁸⁴ Cooney 2007: 99, 153-154, 172.

⁴⁸⁵ This conclusion derives from the fact that prices and records for painting and decoration are much more numerous than those documenting carpentry and construction (Cooney 2007: 99, 153). Furthermore, surviving documents from Deir el-Medina do not suggest that any craftspeople worked on stelae or produced faience, suggesting that other specialized and technical workshops operated in other locations, perhaps closer to the material source (Cooney 2007: 171, 59-60, 154, 171, 175). This further supports the proposition that craftspeople from Deir el-Medina specialized in decorative works. However, the asymmetry between the records of prices commanded by carpenters and decorators could also be explained by the reuse of coffins. If an older coffin was reused, woodworking was not particularly necessary, while the decoration was (Cooney 2019: 97 [n. 4]). For the diachronic reuse rate of coffins, see Cooney 2019: 108 [Table 2].

⁴⁸⁶ Cooney 2007: 130-132, 147.

⁴⁸⁷ Cooney 2007: 168-169. It is possible that independent craftspeople produced funerary art for the private sector with no direction from a state institution, producing low quality artifacts as a result of their lack of skills and/or access to materials. However, there is no textual documentation that supports this idea, even if new finds might shed light on the matter (Cooney 2007: 169).

⁴⁸⁸ See Cooney 2007: 166-168, with references.

Despite Van Walsem suggesting the mobility of decorators in relation to the coffin of Khnumensanapehsu, it remains uncertain whether an individual from outside of Akhmim decorated the coffins of Huiuiipwy and Khnumensanapehsu originating from that city. This uncertainty arises, especially considering Huiuiipwy's title, which suggests that Akhmim could have had its own decorators.

4.1.5.2.2 Decorative Practices in Private Commercial Activities: Coffins during the New Kingdom

Surviving documentation suggests that craftspeople in Deir el-Medina, given their technical expertise, may have procured materials to construct and decorate private tombs and funerary equipment for themselves and their familiars.⁴⁸⁹ While there is no documented evidence indicating a similar practice in Akhmim, it seems plausible. However, the extent to which Huiuiipwy, a draftsman, might have decorated his own coffin and potentially additional funerary items, if they ever existed, for himself and his family, including that of Khnumensanapehsu, remains unknown and speculative.

While there is no surviving textual evidence regarding private commercial activities in craft practices at Akhmim, such activities are well-documented at Deir el-Medina. In Deir el-Medina, craftspeople not only served the Pharaoh in hierarchically stratified workshops but also engaged in crafting and decorating domestic furniture and funerary material for the private sector. This supplementary commercial activity, sanctioned by the state⁴⁹⁰ and at times yielding significant income surpassing their primary roles, enabled them to commission and decorate high-quality funerary goods that would have otherwise been unattainable solely relying on their monthly state wages.⁴⁹¹

Huiuiipwy was a draftsman who officially worked for the domain of Min, providing him with the necessary knowledge and high status for success in the private funerary market. The names and titles of his paternal ancestors (father and grandfather) were featured on his coffin, and although the text is quite deteriorated, it reveals that Huiuiipwy's father was a *sš pr-ḥnh*, possibly at Akhmim.⁴⁹² His occupation as a scribe of the House of Life likely influenced Huiuiipwy's knowledge of funerary and religious texts and iconography (see Chapter 2). Assuming that the private funerary market that existed at Deir el-Medina during the Ramesside Period also existed at Akhmim during the same period, one would expect Huiuiipwy to have decorated some coffins for the private sector in that city. Given this assumption, the question arises: Who then worked on the carpentry of the coffins before their decoration?

⁴⁸⁹ Janssen 1975: 535; Romer 1994: 211; Cooney 2006: 43; Cooney 2007: 143-144, 169 [n. 143, with references], and especially 319, where the author analyses an ostrakon from the early Nineteenth Dynasty (O. Černý 19 [= HO 54,4]) that mentions the work of a draftsman of the coffin of his wife; Cooney 2008: 87. Furthermore, the surviving record exceptionally mentions draftsmen as participating as clients in the private funerary private (Cooney 2007: 285-35). For texts documenting the construction and decoration of a private tomb either within or about the village of Deir el Medina, see Romer 1994: 211; Cooney 2007: 170. The lack of surviving records, at least with respect to the tombs of craftspeople, may be explained by the fact that no commercial attestation of that work was necessary.

⁴⁹⁰ Cooney 2007: 130, 169.

⁴⁹¹ Cooney 2006: 43, considers, for example, the funerary equipment in Theban Tomb 1; Cooney 2007: 115, 129-132, 143-144.

⁴⁹² For a discussion on the House of Life, see Chapter 2.

Based on the surviving record, there is no information indicating that draftsmen also served as carpenters in the private sector in Deir el-Medina, while there is ample evidence of the role played by carpenters. This suggests that each class of worker adhered to their respective specialization.⁴⁹³ The surviving documentation indicates that the production of domestic furniture and funerary goods, including coffins, involved the collaboration of two or more craftspeople⁴⁹⁴ in sequence, with a structured division of labor. Craftspeople did not engage in private commercial activities individually; rather, they worked collectively within “informal workshops”.⁴⁹⁵ Furthermore, their collaboration was not confined to fixed locations, resembling traditional workshops, but rather involved a combination of their resources, access to materials, skills, reputations and social connections to succeed in the market.⁴⁹⁶

The surviving record attests to a large community of highly specialized craftspeople at Deir el-Medina devoted to the production required for the King. However, the surviving record related to Akhmim attests to only one craftsperson working there, namely Huiuiipwy. This reasonably reflects the divergent realities between these two communities. While the former was intentionally constructed for the purpose of production for what became the Valley of the Kings, Akhmim was a more conventional city with likely fewer craftspeople. It follows as a proposition that craftspeople at Akhmim exhibited less specialization and fewer individuated labor functions, whether for their own and their family’s funerary objects or those of private clients. This was possibly the reality for the objects under discussion that originated from Akhmim.

Future analysis, particularly focusing on the woodwork and materiality of the coffins, especially those associated with the same or closely related decorators, could offer valuable insights by discerning similarities and differences between the coffins. Specifically, determining whether the materiality indicates the involvement of one, a few, or many possible craftspeople working together in the manufacturing and decoration of some of the coffins under discussion would be especially useful in understanding whether craft practices at Akhmim followed sequential production patterns within informal workshops.

4.1.5.3 The coffin of Aafenhor (pls. 4.1/19-20) and the anonymous female coffin box preserved in Sydney (pls. 4.1/21) (S. G. 2)

Some of the specific similarities between the coffin of Aafenhor and the anonymous female coffin box preserved in Sydney are as follows:

- The sacred falcon resting on the *imnt* sign, protected by the winged *wd3t* eye on the headboard. It is important to note the rare inclusion of “*t*” signs below the *imnt* sign;
- The garments and postures of the goddesses Isis and Nehphthys;

⁴⁹³ Cooney 2007: 133, 142, 146-149. This does not mean that they were not capable of it, just that it was uncommon, at least for the private sector.

⁴⁹⁴ For the presence of more than one decorator on coffins, see *supra*.

⁴⁹⁵ Cooney 2007: 128, 133, 144-145, 147, 152, 156-157, 159, 342, with textual examples. See also Haring 2018: 200-201.

⁴⁹⁶ Cooney 2007: 132, 149, 157.

- The multicolored columns culminating with a djed pillar⁴⁹⁷ which divide some scenes;
- The solar scene motifs: the Apopis serpent under the barque, the winged *wd3t* eye on a unique podium near the serpent, and the peculiar repetition of the word *im3h* three times on the upper right corner of the scene;
- The mummy of Osiris below a winged solar disk. It is important to note the red and blue bandages wrapping the mummy as well as the *nbw* baskets on either side of the funerary bed; and
- The standing mummiform divinities from the *Dw3t* facing a large cobra at the box ends.

Some of these similarities are notably unique, suggesting a deliberate choice by the decorator rather than mere copies from a decorative model. In particular, the distinctive space fillers, such as the rare “*t*” signs and the peculiar repetition of the word *im3h*, both depicted at the same location on both boxes, hint at adornment not only by the same craftsman or related decorators, likely at the same location, but also the likelihood that the objects were produced contemporaneously. Unless the decorative model(s) used were incredibly detailed and could have been employed at different times, it cannot be ruled out that one of the boxes served as the model for the other. Had they been decorated at distant points in time, one might expect more variation between these features and their location on the boxes. Unfortunately, comparing the similarities of the lids would have been insightful, but regrettably, the lid belonging to the anonymous box preserved in Sydney has not survived or otherwise been identified.

Furthermore, the paleography of the signs is depicted using strikingly similar stroke sequences, proportions, sizing and spacing. The organization of the scenes is also notably consistent. All of this suggests that the same decorator or closely related ones, perhaps even a master decorator and apprentice, adorned both boxes, although they both feature consistently high-quality decorations.

Of note, the presence of the aforementioned attributes, 15 and 17 can be observed on four of the five coffins in sub-group 2, specifically on the coffins of Aafenhor, Ankhefenmut and Ankhef, as well as the anonymous box preserved in Sydney. These distinct and unique features, not found individually or collectively on any other surviving yellow coffin, suggests that these four coffins might be properly attributed to the same decorative model. Even if Aafenhor and the element preserved in Sydney were likely decorated by the same individual or closely related ones, it is possible that different, albeit related, decorators participated in decorating the other two objects. However, the motifs and signature styles for the elements in Paris and Sydney do not appear on the other two, perhaps implying the involvement of different decorators. Additionally, it is noteworthy that the coffin of Ankhefenmut likely has Theban origins in contrast to the others, which likely originate from Akhmim. This suggests the circulation of decorative models and perhaps the mobility of craftspeople. The origins of the objects are discussed further below.

⁴⁹⁷ This detail is also present on Ankhef's coffin box (pl. 4.1/30), indicating that these coffins were decorated using the same or very similar model(s) or by related craftspeople, possibly even the same individual. Supporting this hypothesis, both the upper parts of the lids of Aafenhor (pl. 4.1/19-20) and Ankhef (pl. 4.1/28-29), particularly below the wig of the deceased, showcase the same distinctive multicolored geometrical pattern.

4.1.6. Coffin Origin

While the coffins under discussion follow comparable iconographical and textual model(s), sometimes identical, the study of their archaeological documentation, date of acquisition, titles and names of the owners, which will be thoroughly analyzed subsequently, suggest that it is unlikely all the associated coffins originated from the same place. As mentioned earlier, Van Walsem proposed a Theban origin, specifically Deir el-Medina, for some of the coffins under his discussion. However, debate arose when some of the coffins subsequently thought to constitute a part of the same coherent group appeared to have likely come from Akhmim, as there is significant evidence supporting this finding. The fact that these coffins, sharing the same or similar model(s), were likely found in different locations (see Table 4.1.2) provides valuable insights into the circulation and transmission of models and craftspeople during the late New Kingdom and beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty.

Table 4.1.2 Suggested Provenance of the Materials Included in Table 4.1.1

Suggested provenance	Coffins (S.G. 1)	Suggested provenance	Coffins (S.G. 2)
Deir el-Medina	<i>ḥnt</i> (inner coffin)	Akhmim	<i>Wsr-f3y-Mnw-ḥ3</i> (inner coffin)
Akhmim	<i>Ssh-nfrw</i> (inner coffin)	Akhmim	<i>T3yw-ḥryt</i> (inner coffin)
Akhmim	<i>Ḥwt(-wi)-ipwy</i> (inner coffin)	Akhmim	<i>ḥ3=f-n-Ḥr</i> (inner coffin)
Akhmim	<i>Ḥnmw-n-s3-n3-ph-sw</i> (inner coffin)	Akhmim	Anonymous ♀ (inner coffin box)
Akhmim	<i>Mrt-n-ḥt</i> (inner coffin)	Akhmim	<i>3st-nfrt</i> (inner coffin)
Akhmim	<i>Nsy-3st</i> (inner coffin)	Akhmim	Anonymous ♂ (fragment of an inner coffin box)
Akhmim	<i>Ḥry</i> (inner coffin)	Deir el-Bahari	<i>ḥnḥ=f-n-Mwt</i> (inner coffin, mummy board)
		Akhmim	<i>ḥnḥ=f</i> (inner coffin, mummy board)

4.1.6.1 Coffins with Probable Origins in Akhmim

The following part explores the origins of the coffins thought to originate from Akhmim (see Table 4.1.2), including their available archaeological documentation, acquisition dates, ownership information and decoration, in order to draw conclusions about their origin.

4.1.6.1.1 Archaeological Documentation and Date of Acquisition

According to the available archaeological documentation, the coffins of Hori and Khnumensanapehsu were discovered at Akhmim.⁴⁹⁸ The records indicate that the coffin of Hori was discovered in 1884;⁴⁹⁹ however, it is silent on the date of discovery of the

⁴⁹⁸ For information regarding the coffin of Hori, see László 1987: 4, 6; Varga 1987: 28, 31. For information regarding the coffin of Khnumensanapehsu, see Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1894: 134; Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1899: 176; Germer, Kischkewitz, Lüning 2009: 116, 119; Liptay 2011a: 10.

⁴⁹⁹ László 1987: 4, 6; Varga 1987: 28, 31.

coffin of Khnumensanapehsu. Unfortunately, no other archeological documentation is available that speaks to the provenance of the other associated coffins presumably originating from Akhmim. However, information pertaining to the date of acquisition as well as biographical information regarding the first owners of the coffins, is available for the coffin of Khnumensanapehsu and eight others.

In 1884, both the coffins of the coffins of Khnumensanapehsu and Sesekhneferu were acquired.⁵⁰⁰ The coffin of Meretenakhet was obtained in 1885.⁵⁰¹ Ankhef's coffin originally belonged to the diplomat Hitrovo, the Russian Consul General stationed in Egypt between 1883 and 1886,⁵⁰² during which time he likely acquired the object. The coffin of Tayukheret was part of a large gift from Crown Princess Victoria of Sweden in 1892,⁵⁰³ the same year in which Colonel Samuel Lawrence James, the first known collector of the coffin of Wsirfaymenuaa, traveled to Egypt⁵⁰⁴ and likely acquired the object. The coffin of Huiuiipwy first belonged to Charles Edward Moldenke,⁵⁰⁵ who received a PhD in 1884 from Strasbourg University. Returning to his native United States in 1885, he later went back to Europe and the Near East in 1896, where he might reasonably have acquired the coffin. The coffin of Isisnofret formerly belonged to Baron Max Von Oppenheim, who resided in Cairo from 1896-1909, during which time he would have acquired the coffin while serving in the German diplomatic service.

The coffin of Huiuiipwy was intentionally cut into several pieces while respecting the coffin iconography. This practice was common among antiquities dealers in the Nineteenth Century, enabling them to sell multiple fragments of the same coffin to various collectors to maximize profits. However, in the case of the coffin of Huiuiipwy, it is possible, or perhaps even likely, that this was done to facilitate cheaper and easier shipping to the United States, as all the known fragments were purchased by Moldenke at the same time.⁵⁰⁶

The temporal proximity of the known discovery dates and acquisition dates of numerous coffins, which share the same or similar decorative model(s), suggests a common provenance for these objects. In addition to the known archeological information, it is important to consider that it was during the 1880s that Maspero made his major discoveries at Akhmim, lending further support to the idea that the coffins and coffin elements were discovered at that time and place.

⁵⁰⁰ Varga 1987: 31-32 [n. 48]; Liptay 2011a: 9-11; Jørgensen 2001: 56.

⁵⁰¹ Egner, Haslauer 2009: 116.

⁵⁰² Bolshakov 2020a: 195; 2020b: 145.

⁵⁰³ Sofia Häggman, personal communication (June 2020).

⁵⁰⁴ Obituary of Colonel Samuel Lawrence James, Thursday July 27th, 1894.

⁵⁰⁵ Bierbrier 2012: 378.

⁵⁰⁶ Considering that the box interior was likely undecorated, it is likely that the floorboard was not very interesting for the collector. This may explain why only the box walls have survived. As for the box headboard and footboard, which were likely decorated, perhaps they were excluded because of their poor state of preservation, although it cannot be excluded that they could simply be lost or otherwise unidentified in the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum's collection. It is also possible that Moldenke excluded the headboard due to its rounded shape, which would have made it difficult to ship. With respect to the lid, its footboard and upper part are also lost. While the footboard could have been less interesting for collectors, the upper part was surely the most valued fragment for collectors. Although it could remain unidentified, perhaps it was too difficult to disassemble into smaller pieces for shipping while maintaining its value. It is also possible that it was damaged or sold to another collector.

4.1.6.1.1.1 Excavations at Akhmim

Between 1881 and 1883, Maspero noted the circulation of ancient objects among the inhabitants of Akhmim.⁵⁰⁷ This alerted him to the likely presence of one or more local necropolises. In 1884, he initiated an excavation in which a collective necropolis, identified as Cemetery A near El-Hawawish, was discovered intact. The tombs, which spanned from the Sixth Dynasty to the Greco-Roman period,⁵⁰⁸ were excavated through 1886.⁵⁰⁹

Maspero described Cemetery A as follows:

*Jamais cimetière antique ne mérita mieux que celui d'Akhmim le nom de nécropole. C'est vraiment une ville dont les habitants se comptent par milliers et se lèvent tour à tour à notre appel, sans que le nombre paraisse en diminuer depuis deux ans. J'ai exploré la colline sur une longueur de trois kilomètres au moins, et partout je l'ai trouvée remplie de restes humaines.*⁵¹⁰

Referring to the excavation activity at Akhmim, Bouriant reported as follows: “[... A]vaient donné les résultats les plus magnifiques. Plus de deux cents cercueils de tous types, des monceaux de stèles, étaient déposés dans les magasins [...]”.⁵¹¹ Referring to the unearthed bodies, Maspero reported: “C'est à peine si une sur vingt a un cercueil ou un cartonnage et porte une inscription”.⁵¹² Considering the number of bodies found, the amount of material must have been quite substantial.

Maspero's initial excavations in Akhmim were limited to Cemetery A near El-Hawawish,⁵¹³ with explorations at other sites commencing only from 1888 onwards.⁵¹⁴ Therefore, considering the aforementioned dates of acquisition, it is likely that the coffins presented in Table 4.1.2 as coming from Akhmim originated at Cemetery A.⁵¹⁵ This likelihood is further corroborated by the official document that accompanied the coffin of Hori when it was purchased.⁵¹⁶ However, it must be acknowledged that there

⁵⁰⁷ Maspero 1893 I: 214-215. Human activity in and around Akhmim has been constant, without interruption, from the Predynastic period to modern times (Kuhlmann 1983: 56-58; McNally, Schrunck 1993: 1-11). As Maspero wrote: “derrière ces premiers plans modernes, une vieille cité égyptienne s'étend indolente et silencieuse.” (Maspero 1893 I: 214).

⁵⁰⁸ Maspero 1893 I: 215-216.

⁵⁰⁹ Although the cemetery has been located, the lack of systematic excavations generated little archaeological documentation of the site. Maspero only published a brief summary of the site and its discovery, with a general and brief description of the finds (he mentions between 8.000-10.000 mummies) and the low social status of the burials within the collective tombs (Maspero 1884: 66-68; Maspero 1886: 210-212; Maspero 1893 I: 215-216). The most extensive archaeological documentation of the site is the one offered by Kuhlmann (1983: 53-63). For the three necropolises at Akhmim, defined as Cemeteries A, B and C, see Kuhlmann 1983: 50-86.

⁵¹⁰ Maspero 1893 I: 215.

⁵¹¹ Bouriant 1889: 369.

⁵¹² Maspero 1884: 67.

⁵¹³ Kuhlmann 1983: 62; McNally, Schrunck 1993: 2.

⁵¹⁴ Kuhlmann 1983: 55, 71. Forrer also directed excavations at Akhmim in 1894 (Forrer 1895; Kuhlmann 1983: 51-60), however, the discoveries from the city likely occurred in subsequent years as well.

⁵¹⁵ According to Kuhlmann, most of Akhmim's finds come from that area (Kuhlmann 1983: 54).

⁵¹⁶ Varga 1987: 4, 6, 28, 31, with references.

were certainly illegal excavations occurring in the area around that time, leaving the question of provenance forever in some doubt.⁵¹⁷

The numerous discoveries at Cemetery A, and the influx of researchers to the site, inspired extensive, clandestine and haphazard digging in the area commencing at that time and extending into the Twentieth century. Excavated objects made their way to antiquities markets and international collections. Akhmim became a major center for illegal trade in antiquities, centered around the activities of tomb raiders, however, foreign objects were transported to, and traded at, Akhmim.⁵¹⁸ Adding even greater confusion is the reality that collectors also acquired objects elsewhere which were attributed to the excavations in Akhmim, for example in Cairo.⁵¹⁹

Clearly, there was an intense circulation of objects throughout Egypt and between Egypt and European collections. Artifacts from Akhmim were routinely transported to Luxor or even Cairo to be sold to a larger market, since there were more potential buyers there. Unfortunately, the widespread illegal activities, possibly even occurring at the Egyptian Museum of Antiquities established at Bulaq,⁵²⁰ suggest that the origins of artifacts were often arbitrarily determined or even entirely neglected by sellers. This situation has led to the loss of origin information for the majority of coffins likely associated with Akhmim and discussed in this section.

Petrie described the situation in Akhmim in 1886 as follows: “*At Ekhmim there had been great expectations two or three years before, of results from a large and undisturbed cemetery of all periods; but a French Consul [Frénay] was put there (without any subjects to represent), and he raided and stripped the place under Consular seal, which could not be interfered with.*”⁵²¹ Referring to Akhmim only a few years later, in 1889, Bouriant wrote: “*Il y a cinq ans, [...] les résultats on été merveilleux... Aujourd’hui c’est un véritable pillage qui’il est impossible de reprimer.*”⁵²² In the same year, Daressy described Akhmim as “*un centre important de fabrication d’antiquités.*”⁵²³

This unfortunate situation understandably caused great dispersion of artifacts around the world that were attributed, correctly and incorrectly, as coming from Akhmim. Thus, it is not surprising that Kuhlmann described the necropolises at Akhmim as follows: “[... *K]ann man die „Erforschung“ der Achmimer Nekropolen sicherlich nur zu den traurigsten Kapiteln in der Geschichte archäologischer Entdeckungen in Ägypten zählen*”.⁵²⁴ In the period beginning in 1884, the sheer volume of coffins arriving at

⁵¹⁷ For the illegal activities in Cemetery C, which likely started when Maspero began to excavate Cemetery A, see Kuhlmann 1983: 71. For the thefts in Cemetery B, see Kuhlmann 1983: 64. Interestingly, Newberry reports as follows: “*We were told by the natives that several hundred Arabs had been robbing this cemetery up to a few days of our arrival there*” (Newberry 1912: 99 [‡]).

⁵¹⁸ For an example of the resultant confusion in provenience, see Kuhlmann 1983: 22 [n. 81].

⁵¹⁹ The coffin of Hori, even if it probably originated at Akhmim, was likely bought in Cairo at the Egyptian Museum of Antiquities established at Bulaq or at the Egyptian Antiquities Service (Varga 1987: 4, with references). For textiles bought in Cairo but attributed to Akhmim, see O’Connell 2008: para. 8, with references.

⁵²⁰ Budge 1920 I: 84.

⁵²¹ Petrie 1932: 80.

⁵²² Bouriant 1889: 140.

⁵²³ Daressy 1926: 3.

⁵²⁴ Kuhlmann 1983: 50.

different museums and collections around the world reasonably implicate a possible Akhmimic provenance,⁵²⁵ as illustrated by some of the coffins under discussion.

Budge's writings of his experiences also provide a vivid snapshot of the bustling antiquities markets in Akhmim and Luxor during the last decade and a half of the Nineteenth century and the beginning of the Twentieth century. Both cities were important and frequented sites for the trafficking of artifacts, including coffins, from the then newly discovered necropolis at Akhmim.

Budge travelled to Egypt for the first time in December 1886, two years following the discovery of the necropolises at Akhmim. The purpose of the trip, authorized by the Trustees of the British Museum, was to travel to Aswan in order to assist General Sir Francis Grenfell's excavations there. In exchange for Budge's help, Grenfell offered the British Museum a portion of the artifacts discovered there.⁵²⁶ Budge subsequently wrote about his experience as follows: "[Grenfell] *proposes to stop at Ahmim, for he says that he knows of some good things. These will have to be purchased he thinks. But I will do my best to 'acquire' as much as I can for nothing.*"⁵²⁷ When Budge visited Akhmim, he inspected "*the mass of Graeco-Roman and Coptic antiquities and manuscripts which had been found there a short time before [he] visited the town [and he] secured some things.*"⁵²⁸ He added that "*the houses of the dealers at Luxor were filled with antiquities of all kinds, and their 'magazines' contained all the best coffins of the 'find' at Akhmim*".⁵²⁹ In Luxor he bought, among other objects, "*an unopened mummy coffin [which was] well painted [and] from Ahmim*" which was a novel addition to the British collection. He added that he was "*certain that there are a lot of very fine things in hiding here*".⁵³⁰ All of these objects he bought arrived at the British Museum in 1887.⁵³¹

In December 1887, Budge initiated a second mission to Egypt.⁵³² On this occasion, he visited Akhmim once again. He wrote of this trip as follows: "*I had plenty of time at each place to examine the antiquities which the dealers had in their houses, and to bargain for those I wanted. At Akhmim I found a very fine collection in the hands of a Frenchman [M. Frénay]*".⁵³³ His acquisitions during that mission included "*a fine coffin and mummy from Akhmim*".⁵³⁴ Budge also related that "*some very interesting objects from Akhmim were offered to [him, at Luxor] for purchase at a very reasonable figure.*"⁵³⁵

⁵²⁵ Kuhlmann 1983: 62; PM^V: 23-24. For similar events regarding textiles attributed to Akhmim, see O'Connell 2008.

⁵²⁶ Budge 1920 I: 74-75; Ismail 2011: 67-68, 70. Although Budge offered his help to Grenfell, the artifacts he was promised never arrived. Since Budge could not bring back any objects to Europe, he had to justify the expense of the trip by obtaining as many antiquities and copying as many inscriptions as possible (Budge 1920 I: 89, 116-117; Ismail 2011: 78, 83, 85, with references). The collection that Budge acquired for the British Museum in 1886-1887 contained 1482 objects (Budge 1920 I: 116 [n. 1]).

⁵²⁷ Cathcart 2004 IV: 235.

⁵²⁸ Budge 1920 I: 86-87.

⁵²⁹ Budge 1920 I: 87.

⁵³⁰ Ismail 2011: 76, with references.

⁵³¹ Budge 1920 I: 118; Ismail 2011: 84-85, with references.

⁵³² Budge 1920 I: 129.

⁵³³ Budge 1920 I: 135.

⁵³⁴ Budge 1920 I: 143, 149.

⁵³⁵ Budge 1920 I: 145.

Subsequent to these early trips, Budge travelled to Egypt several (more or less 13) more times.⁵³⁶ He visited Akhmim at least twice in 1896. He wrote of one of those trips: "*I found that a large 'find' of antiquities had been made at Akhmim, to which place I went at once*".⁵³⁷ The objects he "found" arrived with haste at the British Museum.⁵³⁸ Budge also visited Luxor from December 1900 to January 1901,⁵³⁹ which is very close in time to the recorded acquisition date of the coffin of Ankhefenmut, a discussion of which follows below.

4.1.6.1.2 Coffin Titulary

The majority of the titulary of the coffins presented in Table 4.1.2, originating from Akhmim, is related to geographically bounded religious cults specific to Akhmim (see Table 4.1.3), where contemporaneous with the cult of the primary god Min, there were two important local cults centred around Isis and Horus, respectively.⁵⁴⁰

Of note, Horus is identified in some texts as Harsiese (*Hr s3 3st*) and in others as Harendotes (*Hr nd it=f*).⁵⁴¹ With variations over time, various sources composed of both texts and iconography, from Akhmim and elsewhere, attest to the interrelationship between Min, Isis and Horus.

For the first time in the historical record, Min and Horus are mentioned together on an Eighth Dynasty false door stela from Coptos. They are presented as constituent elements of the syncretic Min/Horus figure.⁵⁴² The same stela also refers to the unnamed mother of Min (*mwt Mnw*). Subsequently, in the Eleventh Dynasty, Min's mother is identified as Isis on an inscription at Wadi Hammamat.⁵⁴³ Min, or the composite figure Min/Horus, is identified as the son of Isis and Osiris, well into the Middle Kingdom.⁵⁴⁴

This genealogy continued into the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.⁵⁴⁵ However, from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the god Min as venerated at Akhmim was also presented as the consort of Isis as well as the father of Horus. This interrelationship, for example, appears on a scene at the Temple of Medinet Habu,⁵⁴⁶ where Min, featured as "lord of Akhmim", is followed by Isis and Harsiese. This representation makes explicit the interrelationship of the gods as a triad.

⁵³⁶ Budge 1920 II: 356 [n. 1].

⁵³⁷ Smith 1994: 294, with references.

⁵³⁸ Smith 1994: 294-297, 300, with references.

⁵³⁹ Budge 1920 II: 356 [n. 1].

⁵⁴⁰ Montet 1961: 108-109; *LÄ* I: 54-55.

⁵⁴¹ For the different aspects of Horus, see Forgeau 2010.

⁵⁴² For the stela, see Habachi 1983: 211 [fig. 3]. For the syncretic Min/Horus figure, see Forgeau 2010: 161-170, 177-192.

⁵⁴³ For the stela (Inv. M 192), see Forgeau 2010: 78 [n. 165, with references].

⁵⁴⁴ The Twelfth Dynasty stela (Louvre C 30) features a hymn dedicated to the god Osiris on the recto and a hymn dedicated to the god Min on the verso; it is the latter hymn that attests to the genealogy of Min (Lichtheim 2006 I: 202-204, with references).

⁵⁴⁵ Forgeau 2010: 177, 186.

⁵⁴⁶ OIP 93 (MH VII): pl. 550.

From the New Kingdom onwards, Min as venerated at Akhmim was never mentioned in texts alone, but rather, he always appeared together with Isis. The third deity, Horus, was subsequently joined to the theretofore dyad during the Third Intermediate Period.⁵⁴⁷

This triad continued well into the Twenty-First Dynasty, as exemplified in an epigraph on the bandage of the mummy of Nesitanebetisheru,⁵⁴⁸ on the coffin of Asetemakhbit, usurped by Nesikhonsu⁵⁴⁹ and on the funerary tent of Asetemakhbit, daughter of Masaharta.⁵⁵⁰ The mention and importance of this triad was recurrent up to Roman times.⁵⁵¹

The Akhmimic conceptions of Min, Horus and Isis became so intimately associated with one another that Forgeau referred to them as an “espèce de trinité”,⁵⁵² an entity in its own right. Elias and Mekis also defined this association as a “divine corporation”.⁵⁵³ However, this idea does not exclude the fact that each god of the triad also had a separate, individual cult in Akhmim.⁵⁵⁴

The titular inclusion of the gods Min, Horus, and Isis, on the majority of the discussed coffins (see Table 4.1.3), suggests an Akhmimic provenance of the materials. The lone exception to this is the coffin of Ankhef, whose title refers only to a military role and not a local religious cult, as discussed further below.

Table 4.1.3 Coffin Titulary

Coffins and coffin elements	Titulary
Sesekhneferu (<i>Ssh-nfrw</i>)	<i>it-ntr n 3st n t3-hnrt</i> ⁵⁵⁵
Huiuiipwy (<i>Hwi(-wi)-ipwy</i>)	<i>sš kd n pr Mnw nb Ipw</i> ⁵⁵⁶ His wife: <i>nbt pr</i> His father: <i>sš pr-ḥ</i> ⁵⁵⁷ His grandfather: <i>sš [...]</i>
Khnumensanapehsu (<i>Hnmw-n-s3-n3-ph-sw</i>)	<i>imy-r ihw n pr Mnw</i> ⁵⁵⁸
Meretenakhet (<i>Mrt-n-ḥt</i>)	<i>šmḥyt n 3st, jhyt n 3st</i> ⁵⁵⁹
Nesaset (<i>Nsy-3st</i>)	<i>šmḥyt n 3st</i>
Hori (<i>Hry</i>)	<i>wḥb n 3st;</i> <i>wḥb Hr-s3-3st</i> ⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁴⁷ Forgeau 2010: 174, with references.

⁵⁴⁸ Kitchen 1973: 64 [§52].

⁵⁴⁹ JE 29199; CG 61030 (outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board). Daressy 1909: 110-133, pls. XLV-XLIX; Niwiński 1988: 115 [67].

⁵⁵⁰ JE 26276 (Maspero 1899: 584-589).

⁵⁵¹ el-Masry 2008: 232-237; Forgeau 2010: 174 [n. 145].

⁵⁵² Forgeau 2010: 177.

⁵⁵³ Elias, Mekis 2020-2021: 105.

⁵⁵⁴ Elias, Mekis 2020-2021: 85, with references.

⁵⁵⁵ Jørgensen 2001: 70-71, 87 (partially visible). The *wḥb* priest title that appears on Sesekhneferu's coffin belongs to the owner that reused the object (Jørgensen 2001: 56) during the Bubastide or Saite Period (Koefoed-Petersen 1951: 15).

⁵⁵⁶ Of note, the peculiar sequence of the titulary depicted on one of the fragments of the lid, *sš kd hwy(-wj)-jp.wy m3ḥ-hrw n pr Mnw nb Ipw*, includes the name of the deceased in the middle, rather the end, of his titulary. A similar example can be seen on the coffin of Aafenhor.

⁵⁵⁷ For a discussion of the individual, refer to Chapter 2.

⁵⁵⁸ Roeder 1924: 449 [c4]; 454 [8-9]; Niwiński 1988: 109 [29], 192 [20].

⁵⁵⁹ Egner, Haslauer 2009: 125 [D2], 137.

	His father: <i>w^cb n 3st</i>
Wsirfaymenuaa (<i>Wsir-fy-Mnw-ʿ3</i>)	<i>šm^cyt n Mnw-hr-3st m ʿIpw</i>
Tayukheret (<i>T3yw-hryt</i>)	<i>šm^cyt n 3st</i> ⁵⁶¹
Aafenhor (<i>ʿ3=f-n-hr</i>)	<i>w^cb;</i> <i>w^cb n h3t n Hr-s3-3st n pr Mnw</i> ⁵⁶²
Anonymous ♀	no titles preserved
Isisnofret (<i>3st-nfrit</i>)	<i>šm^cyt n 3st</i>
Anonymous ♂	no titles preserved
Ankhef (<i>ʿnh=f</i>)	<i>kr^c(w)</i> ⁵⁶³

The titulary of individuals such as Sesekhneferu, Meretenakhet, Nesaset, Hori and his father, Tayukheret and Isisnofret includes references to the goddess Isis. The titulary of Khnumensanapehsu and Aafenhor is associated with the cult of the god Min, while the titulary of Huiuiipwy defines him as a draftsman operating in the domain of Min. Additionally, the titulary of Hori and Aafenhor is also linked to the cult of the god Harsiese. The cults of Isis, Min and Harsiese held prominent and significant positions within the religious practices of Akhmim.

The titulary depicted on the coffins of Huiuiipwy, Wsirfaymenuaa and Sesekhneferu explicitly associates their owners with the city of Akhmim, where they held their positions. Huiuiipwy was a draftsman that officially worked in the *pr Mnw nb ʿIpw*, the domain of Min, the lord of Akhmim.

The titulary on the coffin of Wsirfaymenuaa presents the deceased as a chantress of *Mnw-hr-3st m ʿIpw*, that is, of Min-Horus-Isis at Akhmim. This titulary is remarkable as it may be one of the earliest documented examples of this position. This combination-deity composed of Min, Horus and Isis was identified as Menares during the Greek period⁵⁶⁴ and had its own cult at Coptos and Akhmim.⁵⁶⁵

Finally, the unique epithet (*ʿ3-hnrt*) following the name of the goddess Isis in the titulary on the coffin of Sesekhneferu further suggests the association of the goddess Isis, and therefore the coffin and its owner, with the city of Akhmim. Four possible meanings of the epithet have been suggested. Firstly, Varga translated the epithet as “the one in front of”, meaning the one who leads, possibly referring to the post-Amarnian name of Akhmim, *hnty Mnw*, “the one in front of Min”.⁵⁶⁶ Secondly, Varga also proposed that the epithet could refer to the goddess Isis as “the one in front of (the cult),” emphasizing

⁵⁶⁰ Varga 1987: 43 [IC, IV1], 44 [IV3, V2, V4]. Hori’s father, Paifiri (*P3y=f-iry*), who is also mentioned in the inscriptions, was also a *w^cb n 3st*. The coffin could have been reused during the Late Period to the first half of the Ptolemaic Period (Varga 1987: 28; Liptay 2011a: 9-10).

⁵⁶¹ Niwiński defines the title as “Chantress of Amun” (Niwiński 1988: 174 [397], 191 [42]), but the coffin features the title *šm^cyt n 3st*, “Chantress of Isis” above the female deceased and preceding her name (Niwiński 2017: 343 [pl. III], 345 [pl. V]).


⁵⁶² Niwiński does not mention the title (Niwiński 1988: 167 [348]), and Taylor only defines part of it (Taylor 2009: 376 [n. 11]). As already observed with respect to the coffin of Huiuiipwy, it is interesting to note the peculiar sequence of the titulary depicted on the box, *w^cb n h3t n hr-s3-3st ʿ3=f-n-hr n pr Mnw*, where the scribe included the deceased’s name in the middle of his titulary.

⁵⁶³ Bolshakov 2020a: 226-231.

⁵⁶⁴ De Meulenaere 1988: 47.

⁵⁶⁵ For the earliest priestly titles mentioning this divinity, which can be traced back to the Twentieth Dynasty, see Elias, Mekis 2020-2021: 85. For an overview of the deity, refer to Elias, Mekis 2020-2021: 84-85.

⁵⁶⁶ Varga 1987: 31. For the place name, see Montet 1961: 108-109; LGG I: 76. For the distinction of the various names related to Akhmim and its sacred area, see Claude 2017: 102-117.

Isis's centrality as the main goddess in Akhmim. This idea is supported by the presence of the determinative of a big serpent (Gardiner I12) at the end of the epithet, related to a female deity.⁵⁶⁷ Thirdly, Niwiński transcribed the epithet as ,⁵⁶⁸ *t3 hnpyt*, without specifying a precise meaning, only referring to one of the names of the serpent uraeus.⁵⁶⁹ Fourthly and finally, in recent scholarship, the epithet is translated as *t3 hnrt*, "the one of the harem,"⁵⁷⁰ referring to the Harem of the god Min, a site presumed to have existed at Akhmim.⁵⁷¹

The anonymous coffin box preserved in Sydney and the fragment of the coffin box preserved in Southport likely lack any titulary due to being part of incomplete sets. However, it is probable that they originated from the same location as the previously discussed coffins. The object in Sydney was possibly decorated by the same craftsman or closely related decorators who adorned the coffin of Aafenhor, while the fragment in Southport was likely decorated by the same craftsman or related individuals who worked on the coffin of Isisnofret.

In the case of Ankhef, his only documented title does not pertain to a priestly office related to an Akhmimic religious cult. Instead, it refers to a seemingly generic military role, *kr(w)*, that of shield bearer in relation to the crew of a chariot.⁵⁷² This title may connect not only to Thebes and Akhmim but also to numerous locations in the Nile region. Its significance lies in its deviation from the titles identified on the other coffins under discussion.

While there is no recorded provenance for the coffin of Ankhef, it was likely acquired between 1883 and 1886, during Hitrovo's posting to Egypt. Its temporal proximity to the known acquisition dates for the majority of the discussed coffins suggests an Akhmimic provenance.⁵⁷³ Additionally, although not decisive for attributing the coffin with certainty to Akhmim, the city's spatial proximity to an important military installation - a fortress in the late Twentieth and Twenty-First Dynasties, in the place now known as el-Ahaiwah-⁵⁷⁴ could explain how a militiaman like Ankhef came to



⁵⁶⁷ Varga 1987: 31 [n. 45]. For the depiction of the determinative of a big serpent on the coffin, see Jørgensen 2001: 87. For the divine determinatives, see Aronin 2008.

⁵⁶⁸ Niwiński 1988: 136 [168], 192 [28]

⁵⁶⁹ WB III 291.5; LGG 5: 751.

⁵⁷⁰ Jørgensen 2001: 60, 70, 86; Cooney 2007: 468 [E.4]; Liptay 2011a: 11. For the word, see WB III: 297.15. Although the word usually features the determinative Gardiner B1, here it features the determinative Gardiner I12. This is unsurprising since in this context the word would refer to Isis.

⁵⁷¹ Gauthier 1931: 110-112.

⁵⁷² WB V: 59.10-14; Schulman 1962: 111-114. Of note, the repetition of a unique way of presenting the title on all elements of Ankhef's funerary set suggests the contention that the craftspeople were disconnected from the context related to his title. The title consistently appears as  with one sole exception. On the box, the title appears once mistakenly written as  (Bolshakov 2020b: 165 [fig. 10.39]). In all manifestations of the title, there is no determinative accompanying the word as one would expect. Given that this title is not documented in any other surviving artifacts from Akhmim during that period, these errors and inconsistencies suggest that the scribes and/or decorators were not familiar with the title and its spelling.

⁵⁷³ This opinion diverges from that of Bolshakov, who states that the coffin set would have originated in the Theban area (Bolshakov 2020b: 145, 173-174). However, his study lacks an integrated comparative analysis of the coffin set with other potentially related objects.

⁵⁷⁴ Lacovara, Quirke, Podzorski 1989. Of note, starting in the New Kingdom, Akhmim became an important city from which members of the military elite emerged. Notable among these elite militiamen were individuals such as Yuya and Ay. Given the similarities between Yuya's titulary and Ay's titulary,

work there and perhaps be buried in Akhmim. However, there is insufficient information beyond the decorative model on the coffin and its date of acquisition to substantiate this hypothesis.

4.1.6.1.3 Coffin names

In addition to the names of the owners, also featured on some of the coffins are the names of wives and ancestors. In some cases, the names are related to the deities venerated at Akhmim or to the city itself, suggesting a relationship between those individuals and the city of Akhmim. The name of one of the coffin owners, Huiuiipwy (*Hwi(-wi)-ipwy*), means “the one from Akhmim protects me”. His coffin also features the name of his wife, Nedjemaset (*Ndmt-3st*), meaning “Isis is kind”, and two generations of his male ancestors. Although deteriorated, the name of his father was [...] *-3st*, again referencing the goddess Isis. The names and titles of his paternal ancestors (father and grandfather) were featured on his coffin and, although the text is quite deteriorated it reveals that Huiuiipwy’s father was a *sš pr-ḥ*, perhaps at Akhmim.

Some other coffins, including those belonging to Nesaset, Wsirfaymenuaa, Aafenhor, Hori and Isisnofret, present their owner’s respective name in a theophoric fashion, incorporating either Min, Isis or Horus.

4.1.6.1.4 Iconography and Associated Texts

The iconography and associated texts on the coffins feature a preponderance of Osirian imagery and a marked emphasis on the ritual roles of Isis and Horus,⁵⁷⁵ important deities at Akhmim. Specific characteristics/attributes are as follows:

1. The Judgement of the dead including Horus operating the balance;
2. A *sm* priest, identified as *Hr jwn n mwt=f sm n Wsir*,⁵⁷⁶ standing before Osiris;
3. The mummy of Osiris laying on a funerary bed with Isis and Nephthys depicted on either side, magically protecting him; and
4. Horus, identified as *Hr s3 Wsir*, *Hr s3 3st* or *Hr nd it=f*, depicted libating before Osiris, who, in turn, is protected by Isis or Isis and Nephthys.

As with the titulary, these representations were uncommon on Theban coffins of the period. The iconographic and textual references to distinct conceptions of religious deities could suggest an Akhmimic derivation and a local Akhmimic iconography. Perhaps these unique scenes refer to a specific local iteration of the funerary ritual, diverging from the dominant Theban tradition.⁵⁷⁷ These regional differences in the ritual could have influenced the iconographic and textual models used by the craftspeople when adorning the funerary objects.

as well as Ay’s evident interest in Akhmim, scholars have suggested that the two men belonged to the same military family, possibly even father and son (Aldred 1957: 33-34; Gardiner 1961: 239-240).

⁵⁷⁵ Varga 1987: 30; Liptay 2011a: 12.

⁵⁷⁶ LÄ III: 212-213.

⁵⁷⁷ Liptay 2011a: 12. It is also important to mention the inclusion of the Opening of the Mouth ritual on the coffin of Huiuiipwy (see Chapter 2), a scene not featured on Theban coffins of the period. The reasons behind the choice of this scene are, of course, unknown.

However, in this regard, it is important to note that the previously mentioned scene at the temple of Medinet Habu, featuring Min as the "lord of Akhmim" followed by Isis and Harsiese, could indeed suggest a circulation of local iconographies and beliefs from Akhmim to the Theban region. However, the origins of the textual and iconographical models, as well as the mechanisms through which they circulated, remain largely unknown. In this respect, the indication that the coffins of Anet and Ankhefenmut, which share the same or similar model(s) as the previously discussed coffins, potentially originated from the Theban area, as will be further explored below, suggests the possibility of a transmission of these models, possibly accompanied by the movement of craftspeople.

4.1.6.2 Coffins with Probable Origins in the Theban Area

4.1.6.2.1 Coffin of Anet

Considering Table 4.1.2, it is likely that two of the coffins under discussion, those of Anet and Ankhefenmut, originated from Theban locations, specifically Deir el-Medina and Deir el-Bahari, respectively.

Van Walsem posited that the coffin of Anet belonged to the same Anet mentioned on two ostraca (O. Berlin P 12343, O. Gardiner 136) from the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty, along with other individuals from Deir el-Medina. The ostraca also refer to the inner and outer coffins of Anet.⁵⁷⁸ If accurate, it follows that the coffin of Anet under discussion was likely decorated in Deir el-Medina, further supporting Van Walsem's theory regarding the origin and dating of the coffin (see *supra* for the chronology of the objects).

However, while Anet is not an especially common name, the name featured on the ostraca could perhaps be an abbreviation of a longer identity.⁵⁷⁹ Interestingly, there is another surviving yellow coffin from a similar period, originally decorated for a woman named Anetenmesu (*ʿnt-n-msw*), discovered at Deir el-Bahari.⁵⁸⁰ Niwiński suggested that the coffin of Anet under discussion belonged to a different person than the Anet mentioned in the ostraca from Deir el-Medina,⁵⁸¹ possibly referring, in an abbreviated form, to Anetenmesu discovered at Deir el-Bahari. Nonetheless, there is insufficient evidence to determine which of the two coffins actually corresponds to the name mentioned on the ostraca. It is even possible that the Anet mentioned on the ostraca refers to a third individual whose coffins have not survived or have yet to be discovered.

⁵⁷⁸ Van Walsem 2000: 348-349, followed by Cooney 2007: 126, 248-249 [n. 50], 252, 293-294, 304-306, 472, with references.

⁵⁷⁹ RPN I: 61.10–62.14. Despite variations in their written form, it is noteworthy that theophoric names incorporating the name of the goddess Anat exist. For instance, the name Anetmkheb (*ant-m-Hb*) is documented in a papyrus at the British Museum, London (EA 75018), which is associated with the corpus of the Late Ramesside Letters (Demarée 2006: 11-14, pls. 9-12). Another instance of this name can be found on a stela preserved at the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo (JE 27725), dating back to the New Kingdom. However, it is unlikely that this name refers to the same individual mentioned in the papyrus, as the stela originates from Lower Egypt (Thirion 1982–1983: 108; PM III.1: 43). Additional examples of names following a similar pattern can be found in RPN I: 69.15 and RPN II: 272.9–11.

⁵⁸⁰ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (26.3.4a, b) (PM I²: 655; Jansen-Winkel 2007: 253 [130]; Niwiński 2019: 61). The Egyptian Museum in Turin preserves a papyrus (Cat. 1853) that was originally adorned for an individual named Anetenmesu (Niwiński 1989: 371 [Turin 23]), without certainty of whether it pertains to the same person or not.

⁵⁸¹ Niwiński 2017: 340.

Unfortunately, the origins of the coffin of Anet are undocumented. Unlike other coffins under discussion, where a possible provenance can be inferred based on their date of acquisition and supported by other indications, such as the included texts (titulary and names), in the case of Anet's coffin, this information⁵⁸² does not provide any additional clues about its place of origin. Furthermore, the name Anet does not imply any possible association with specific local deities,⁵⁸³ and her titles are not inscribed on her funerary artifacts.

It has been suggested that the coffin, along with the other materials discussed in this section, exhibits scenes and texts that deviate from the typical iconography found on Theban coffins. If Anet's coffin did originate from Deir el-Medina, it is worth considering the possibility that the circulation of models and/or craftspeople from the Akhmimic region played a role in its decoration. This circulation could explain why the craftsperson or craftspeople who adorned Anet's coffin may have used a regional model commonly employed in Akhmim,⁵⁸⁴ despite the unknown factors that may have influenced their decision. While the potential origin of the coffin in Deir el-Medina cannot be definitively ruled out (although not proven), this fact should be taken into consideration alongside the additional information proposed by Van Walsem. Further discoveries may provide more clarity to this matter.

In this regard, it is important to note that conducting scientific analysis on the materials, especially when comparing them to the results obtained from the coffins believed to originate from Akhmim, would be particularly useful for a comprehensive examination of the coffins. The *Faces Revealed Project*, directed by Mainieri,⁵⁸⁵ utilizes photogrammetry to classify yellow coffins, representing a novel approach that holds great potential for further analyses of these discussed coffins.

While Anet's coffin incorporates decoration reminiscent of Akhmimic coffins, showcasing common iconographic and textual elements from the region, the volumetric features, especially the lid, predominantly reflect the rounded forms and characteristics typical of Theban coffins. The typical geometrical characteristics of Akhmimic lids include slender and squared forms, with a wig that is less voluminous on the upper part, featuring short and larger lappets curving outward. Additionally, in the female specimens originating from Akhmim, the breasts are rounded and separated from the lappets of the wig,⁵⁸⁶ an aspect not observed on the lid of Anet, where the breasts are attached to the wig following the Theban fashion.

⁵⁸² The coffin entered the Museo Gregoriano Egizio as a deposit of the collection of the Pontificio Istituto Biblico in 1982, without any other information regarding its entry into the former collection (Alessia Amenta, personal communication (October 2020)).

⁵⁸³ It is important to note that the inclusion of a theophoric name does not necessarily indicate the person's place of burial or residence.

⁵⁸⁴ Irrespective of the precise source of its associated imagery.

⁵⁸⁵ Mainieri 2023: 261-280.

⁵⁸⁶ Unfortunately, only two of the coffins (Aafenhor and Anet) in the discussed group have been examined by Mainieri using photogrammetry (Mainieri forthcoming. I am grateful to Mainieri for giving me access to the manuscript). However, the comparison lays the groundwork for future investigation, especially because this could clarify and provide more information on the possible origins of the materials, as well as the circulation of models, styles and/or craftspeople between Thebes and Akhmim.

4.1.6.2.2 Coffin and Mummy Board of Ankhefenmut

The coffin and mummy board of Ankhefenmut, while adhering to the same or similar decorative models as the other discussed objects, exhibit certain features that deviate from those identified in the majority of the remaining coffins. Notably, the materials associated with Ankhefenmut were acquired approximately fifteen years later than the other coffins, and it was designated as originating from Thebes, which aligns with the Theban titulary featured on the objects .

The date of acquisition for the materials belonging to Ankhefenmut, 1901,⁵⁸⁷ is an outlier. These items were purchased by the British Museum from R. J. Moss & Co. of Alexandria, likely acting as Budge's agent.⁵⁸⁸ The date is inconsistent with the range of available acquisition dates for the coffins under discussion – 1884 to 1892 – which suggests an Akhmimic provenance.

With regard to the documentation on the provenance of the objects associated with Ankhefenmut, its entry into the British Museum in 1901 lacked provenance information in the Museum's Registry of Acquisitions for that year.⁵⁸⁹ The first mention of the coffin of Ankhefenmut and its supposed provenance is found in Budge's record in the British Museum guide of 1904. In this guide, Budge refers to the object as originating from the Twenty-Second Dynasty and from Deir el-Bahari [Thebes],⁵⁹⁰ although the source for that information remain unknown, whether it was the origins attributed by a trafficker or the titulary. In the British Museum guide published in 1924, Deir el-Bahari is again recorded as the place of origin of the coffin of Ankhefenmut, although this time Budge dated the coffin to the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁵⁹¹

In terms of titulary, Ankhefenmut's titles make references to the cults of Amun-Ra and Mut, both commonly associated with the Theban area. His titles included *wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*, *it-ntr n mwt* and *sš*,⁵⁹² likely indicating that his career and life were centered in the Theban region, suggesting that he was likely buried there.

This information may suggest a Theban origin for the objects associated with Ankhefenmut. Additionally, as previously implied in the discussion of Anet's coffin, the volumetric characteristics of the lid and mummy board associated with Ankhefenmut, though yet to be analyzed by Mainieri, indicate a similar form to that of Anet and the typical Theban coffins. This form is distinct from the other volumetric characteristics, particularly in the area of the wig, as seen in other examples of the discussed group. Furthermore, although the materials of Ankhefenmut include the same decoration found on the coffins associated with the group, not commonly found in

⁵⁸⁷ Niwiński 1988: 154 [272].

⁵⁸⁸ Many of the antiquities that entered the collection of the British Museum through the shipping company R. J. Moss & Co. of Alexandria were bought by Budge and transferred through them. For an example of the shipping records showing this activity, see Smith 1994: 294 [n. 9]). It is unknown whether Budge acquired the coffin of Ankhefenmut from a Luxor antiquities dealer in 1900 or 1901.

⁵⁸⁹ I appreciate John H. Taylor and Marie Vandenbeusch for their assistance in providing this information.

⁵⁹⁰ Budge 1904: 78.

⁵⁹¹ Budge 1924: 61.

⁵⁹² Niwiński also attributed the title *sš n pr 'Imn* to Ankhefenmut (Niwiński 1988: 154 [272]), although this designation is not featured on the coffin.

Theban coffins (with Anet's coffin being a potential exception if originating in Thebes), the color palette of Ankhefenmut suggests a Theban derivation.⁵⁹³

Once more, following the hypothesis proposed for Anet's coffin, if the coffin of Ankhefenmut was adorned in Thebes, it is plausible that the craftsperson responsible for its decoration utilized the same or similar model(s) as those employed for decorating the other coffins discussed earlier, presumed to have originated from Akhmim. The origins of the decorator(s) who adorned these objects, whether from Thebes or Akhmim, remain unknown, given that Akhmim probably housed a community of skilled craftspeople. Moreover, the decision-making process, the reasons behind the decorative choices and the individuals involved also remain elusive.

While speculative, it is essential not to dismiss the possibility that the coffin of Ankhefenmut was unearthed in Akhmim⁵⁹⁴ (regardless of the origins of the decorator(s) and the place of decoration). It is conceivable that Ankhefenmut had a career in Thebes but maintained familial ties to Akhmim, a city closely linked to Thebes. Although ancient mobility remains poorly understood, it is plausible that an individual could have traveled frequently between regions, ultimately being buried in one location while holding titles associated with another (see Chapter 2).

The application of scientific analysis would be instrumental in the comprehensive examination of the coffins associated with Anet, Ankhefenmut and Ankhef. The information available about these individuals deviates from the general pattern observed in the owners of the remaining coffins within the group, leading to ongoing debates regarding the origins of these specific coffins. By subjecting the materials used in their construction and decoration to analyses, valuable insights could be obtained, particularly when comparing them to the results obtained from coffins believed to originate from Akhmim. Such analyses hold the potential to provide a deeper understanding of the debated coffins' original provenance. Furthermore, the outcomes of these investigations would not only contribute to clarifying the provenance and interrelationships of these objects but would also shed light on the organizational dynamics of workshops and craftspeople during the period.

4.1.7 Ancient Coffin Modification and/or Reuse and Modern Re-assembling as a Result of Trafficking Practices at the End of the Nineteenth Century in Egypt

The analysis of the coffins under discussion sheds light on the practice of reuse⁵⁹⁵ and coffin modification in the city of Akhmim during the Third Intermediate Period and the

⁵⁹³ The materials associated with Ankhefenmut do not feature the typical Theban iconography; instead, they showcase the iconography seen on the other coffins in the group, the majority of which originated from Akhmim. However, it can be suggested that the materials associated with Ankhefenmut exhibit additional variations more in line with Theban preferences. Furthermore, the materials exhibit an “eclectic” nature, featuring distinctive details not observed elsewhere, such as the unique yellow dots on top of the black line on the lower edge of the coffin box, which may be a creative choice by the decorator. Additionally, the volumetry of the footboard of the covers, as well as the size of the objects, is also peculiar.

⁵⁹⁴ Scholars typically place trust in recorded provenance, but, as argued by several researchers, there is reason to proceed with caution regarding Budge's provenances (Smith 1994: 297-299; Taylor 1999: 61, specifically regarding the funerary ensemble of Henuemehyt, attributed by Budge to Deir el-Bahari; O'Connell 2008: para. 16; Reade 2011: 451, 454-456).

⁵⁹⁵ To explore this practice further, refer to Chapter 1.

beginning of the Late Period, as well as the practice of re-assembling by traffickers in Egyptian antiquities at the end of the Nineteenth century.

As discussed below, some of the coffins are likely to have been modified and/or reused from coffins of the Ramesside period and appear not to have been modified thereafter. Other coffins are likely to have been originally constructed for the individuals mentioned on the objects and exhibit no signs of further modification and/or reuse, although in-depth studies and future scientific analysis may alter this understanding. Additional coffins display modification marks dating after their decoration at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. These signs, perhaps indicating reuse, include the addition of names and partial redecorations of the objects (see Table 4.1.4)

The majority of the discussed coffins contained a mummy upon arrival at their current locations. Fortunately, some of these mummies have been subjected to scientific analysis and examination, shedding light on their sex and date.⁵⁹⁶ With only one exception, the dates of the mummies are inconsistent with the decoration, or redecoration, of the coffins. Furthermore, of those mummies whose sex has been determined, half of them do not match the sex of the original coffin occupant, or the ancient reused coffin occupant, as the case may be. Although this might suggest a second or further reuse of the coffins, this is unlikely since in such cases one would expect coffin modification marks contemporary to the mummies within the ensembles;⁵⁹⁷ however, there are no such contemporaneous marks in any of the coffins. Furthermore, additional funerary material related to some of the mummies, such as funerary masks and cartonnage mummy trappings, are not contemporaneous to the dates of the mummies. In one such case, the cartonnage mummy trappings appear to have been manufactured in Thebes instead of Akhmim, the presumed place of origin for the coffin.

The constellation of data suggests that the mummies and their related funerary material preserved inside the coffins have likely been incorporated into ensembles during modern times, in particular at the end of the Nineteenth century. If true, this sheds light on the trading practices that occurred at Akhmim following modern discovery, when the dealer or some other intermediary in the chain between the actual finders of the coffins and the final purchasers mixed different materials at their disposal to render the artifacts as products fit for efficient and profitable sale. Put simply, the mummies, coffins and

⁵⁹⁶ For some of the mummies this information appears in older publications that did not use radiocarbon dating or modern CT scans for the scientific examination and analyses of the mummies. More recent studies, which contribute more available data allowing for greater comparing, refining, and revising of prior knowledge, has enhance our understandings of Egyptian funerary protocols. As detailed later, there is an ongoing study that reconsiders a previously suggested date regarding the mummy inside of the coffin of Isisnofret (Elias, personal communication (July, 2021)). Another example of such updates, although not part of the corpus under discussion in this section, is the mummy NFM-M5, identified in the past as Ramesses I but now thought to be an unknown person dating from the Late Period or early Ptolemaic Period (Elias, Lupton, Klales 2014: 58-60). Recent studies even reconsidered the previously accepted sex of the mummies, as seen in the scholarship considering the mummy originating from the tomb of Bab el-Gasus and now in the Albany Institute of History and Art. It had been previously identified as female, however, recent CT scans and X-Rays concluded that the mummy was male, consistent with the gendering of the coffin (Brier *et al.* 2018: 80-84; Haynes, Warne 2020: 421).

⁵⁹⁷ Although rare, reuse of coffins from earlier periods did occur during the Ptolemaic Period (Liptay 2018: 411, with references, regarding a Third Intermediate Period cartonnage from Akhmim which was reused during the Ptolemaic Period, and Dodson 2015: 10-11 [Catalogue No. 3], concerning a mid-Eighteenth Dynasty coffin that was reused during the Ptolemaic Period, likely in Thebes.

funerary materials were reconfigured to satisfy the consumer thirst for an ostensibly complete coffin set. This practice is not surprising, since the excavations at Akhmim in 1884 alone unearthed more than 20 tombs and 800 mummies,⁵⁹⁸ providing ample material for these modern mixings. This does not preclude, of course, that the mixing of objects happened in other cities along the trade route, perhaps at sites like Cairo and Luxor where some of the documented sales of the coffins occurred. This would perhaps explain the Theban origin of the cartonnage mummy trappings that covered one of the mummies of the group even if the coffin set likely originated from Akhmim.

4.1.7.1 Evidence on the Coffin Sets

The coffin set of Seseekhneferu presents the addition of a different name overtop, that of Paaenkah (*P3-ꜥ3-n-kꜥh*),⁵⁹⁹ as well as the later incorporation of a new decorated floorboard, suggesting that the coffin was modified and/or reused after being decorated for Seseekhneferu's. It is unknown whether these two modification marks relate to the same reuse⁶⁰⁰ or two separate instances of reuse.

The box floorboard of the coffin set of Seseekhneferu features an oversized mummiiform depiction of the hawk-headed god Sokar. This is a motif usually depicted in outer coffins.⁶⁰¹ The floorboard might therefore be the reuse of an outer coffin floorboard, which was resized in order to fit the inner coffin of Seseekhneferu.⁶⁰² With respect to the chronology of this reuse, assuming that it is contemporaneous with the decoration of the new floorboard, Liptay proposed that it happened at the end of Twenty-Second Dynasty.⁶⁰³ Even if this particular iconographic motif on the floorboard was introduced on some intermediary coffins in the late Twenty-Second Dynasty, ending in 720 BCE, or early Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, starting in 732 BCE, the majority of outer coffins featuring it are documented from the Twenty-Fifth and early Twenty-Sixth Dynasties.⁶⁰⁴ That the new floorboard of the coffin set of Seseekhneferu originates from an outer coffin suggests that this reuse could respond to a Saite addition, as suggested by Van Walsem,⁶⁰⁵ or even before, during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

Both Seseekhneferu and Paaenkah are male names, however, the mummy preserved in the coffin is female. Furthermore, while the coffin decoration is from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, and the redecoration is from the Twenty-Fifth or early Twenty-Sixth Dynasties, a radiocarbon analysis of the bandages of the mummy dated them from around 800 BCE,⁶⁰⁶ thereby postdating the original decoration but predating the reuse. The inconsistencies between the sexes and the chronology strongly suggest that the mummy was added to the ensemble in modern times.

⁵⁹⁸ Kuhlmann 1983: 54; Depauw 2002: 71; Germer, Kischkewitz, Lüning 2009: 113-116.

⁵⁹⁹ Koefoed-Petersen 1951: 15; Jørgensen 2001: 56.

⁶⁰⁰ Liptay 2018: 411.

⁶⁰¹ Taylor 2003: 110, 118; Sheikholeslami 2014: 453, 466.

⁶⁰² Jørgensen 2001: 90; Liptay 2018: 411.

⁶⁰³ Liptay 2018: 411, with references.

⁶⁰⁴ Taylor 2003: 110 [n. 147], 118; Sheikholeslami 2014. The examples considered by these scholars originated in the Theban area. The application of their scholarship to the present example from Akhmim assumes that the same general course of development in coffins occurred both at Thebes and Akhmim during the same time.

⁶⁰⁵ Van Walsem 2000: 338, with references.

⁶⁰⁶ Jørgensen 2001: 348.

This modern mixing practice could be further corroborated by the Theban origin of the Ptolemaic cartonnage plaques⁶⁰⁷ that cover the mummy preserved in the coffin set. These cartonnage plaques are inconsistent with the coffin origin and decoration, coffin redecoration, as well as the date of the mummy. Thus, the funerary ensemble of Sesekhneferu exhibits both ancient and modern reuse,⁶⁰⁸ the last of which likely occurred at the end of the Nineteenth century, specifically in 1884, when a dealer likely mixed these otherwise unrelated elements originating from three different burials.

The coffin set of Isisnofret also shows signs of modification. The lid (pl. 4.1/22), which is exceptional amongst the lids and mummy boards identified from the same group in that it does not feature the fully rendered crossed forearms distinctive of coffins from the late Ramesside Period to the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty, presents a partial redecoration that postdates the late Twentieth Dynasty use of the coffin by Isisnofret. The lid depicts a larger floral collar covering most of the forearms, allowing only a glimpse of a small triangular area formed by elbow joints of the arms. This decorative feature appeared from the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty onwards, reaching its ultimate expression in the late Twenty-First Dynasty wherein the increasingly larger floral collar concealed the entire forearms and arms.⁶⁰⁹ This suggests that there was a redecoration of the collar, at a minimum, on the lid of Isisnofret around the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty that covered the previously fully rendered forearms. The checkerboard pattern featured in the collar is also a characteristic typically found in collars crafted during the second half of the Twenty-First Dynasty,⁶¹⁰ a period that is consistent with the redecoration of the floral collar on the lid.

The coffin of Isisnofret contains a female mummy with a gilded cartonnage funerary mask that dates from the Thirtieth Dynasty.⁶¹¹ Similar cartonnage funerary masks, gilded in a red gold leaf, are attested to at Akhmim during that period, such as the funerary mask covering the unpublished mummy of Shepenmin at Vassar College, and the funerary mask preserved in the discussed ensemble of Hori. The pattern of triangles depicted on the collar of the mummy mask from Isisnofret's ensemble, as well as the winged beetle depicted pushing a solar disk on the wig's forehead, can also be discerned in objects that originated at Akhmim during the same period,⁶¹² such as Irtirutja's (*Irtuty-r-ty's*) coffin lid from the early Ptolemaic Period.⁶¹³

While a date around the Twenty-First Dynasty for the mummy cannot be ruled out,⁶¹⁴ it also cannot be established whether or not she came to occupy the coffin upon it being reused during the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty, when the redecoration of the lid

⁶⁰⁷ Jørgensen 2001: 349-351. See also Liptay 2018: 411, with references, for dating and a consideration of Thebes as the origin of the object.

⁶⁰⁸ Jørgensen 2001: 348. See also Liptay 2018: 411, for an additional example of a possible modern ensemble.

⁶⁰⁹ Sousa 2018: 63, 65.

⁶¹⁰ Sousa 2018: 75.

⁶¹¹ Elias 2007: 1, 11.

⁶¹² Elias 2007: 1-2, 11.

⁶¹³ Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. MMA 86.1.52a-b (Brech 2008: 296-298, 306-308 [Doc. PS 4], fig. 13).

⁶¹⁴ Although a mid-4th century BCE date and an early to mid-5th century BCE have been suggested previously, Elias has more recently suggested that the mummy could be dated from about the Twenty-First Dynasty (Elias, personal communication (July, 2021)). This latest date more closely associates the mummy with the coffin in which it was found.

occurred. Regardless, if the mummy dates from the Twenty-First Dynasty as suggested, then the mummy mask is a modern addition to the ensemble.

The coffin of Hori contains a cartonnage funerary mask, gilded in a red gold leaf, and cartonnage mummy trappings,⁶¹⁵ all of which were placed on the male mummy inside the coffin. Liptay has suggested that the mummy and cartonnage set may be dated somewhat earlier than the Ptolemaic era.⁶¹⁶ The mummy mask in the ensemble of Hori is from the Thirtieth Dynasty, the same period as the aforementioned funerary mask that covered the mummy inside the coffin of Isisnofret. Even if the chronology of these three elements of Hori's coffin set appear consistent between them, it does not necessarily follow that they originally belonged together, since modern mixing cannot be ruled out.⁶¹⁷ The coffin does not present any clear reuse marks, therefore it is possible that the mummy, mummy mask and mummy trappings don't belong to an ancient reuse of the object.

In contrast to the coffins of Seseekhneferu and Isisnofret, which were clearly modified after their original production and perhaps use, the coffins of Khnumensanapehsu, Meretenakhet, Nesaset, Ankhefenmut and Ankhef may be the result of modification and/or reuse from previous coffins.⁶¹⁸ While the coffins of Ankhefenmut and Ankhef do not contain mummies, the coffins of Khnumensanapehsu and Meretenakhet do contain mummies.

While there is no available chronological or sex information regarding the mummy in the coffin of Khnumensanapehsu,⁶¹⁹ the mummy in the coffin of Meretenakhet is male and dates to the Ptolemaic Period.⁶²⁰ However, it does not necessarily follow that Meretenakhet's coffin was reused during the Ptolemaic period, since one would expect some modification marks, such as gender modification or the addition of a new name. The mummy could therefore be a recent addition to the coffin of Meretenakhet. The same modern practice potentiality can be deduced from the coffin set of Tayukheret, which contains a male mummy from around 500 BCE or later⁶²¹ that does not correspond to the gender of the coffin nor the date of its decoration. The anonymous

⁶¹⁵ Varga 1987: 34-35 [figs. 27-29], 38, 39 [figs. 33-35]; Liptay 2018: 410 [fig. 8].

⁶¹⁶ Liptay 2018: 409, with references. Varga (1987: 37), who first published the material, dated the mummy from between the Twenty-Second and Thirtieth Dynasties, and the funerary mask to the Thirtieth Dynasty.

⁶¹⁷ Liptay 2018: 409, 411. In the first publication of the material, Varga suggested that the coffin was reused during the Ptolemaic Period (Varga 1987: 28).

⁶¹⁸ Regarding the coffins of Khnumensanapehsu and Meretenakhet: Cooney, personal communication (August 2021). The coffin of Nesaset could be the reuse of an earlier coffin manufactured for a man that was redecorated for Nesaset. This is suggested by the remaining striped wig, characteristic of male coffins (Sousa 2018: 50), with painted earrings on top. The same striped wig can be observed on the coffins of Seseekhneferu, Aafenhor, Ankhefenmut and Ankhef. For the reuse of an earlier Ramesside coffin in order to manufacture the inner coffin of Ankhefenmut, see Cooney 2018a: 317-319, 322. Although Ankhefenmut's ensemble consists of an inner coffin and a mummy board, the reuse marks are only detected on the inner coffin, as the mummy board does not show any sign of reuse (Cooney 2018: 319, 322). For the inner coffin and mummy board of Ankhef, both objects being perhaps the result of a modification of a previous female coffin, see Bolshakov 2020a: 199-201; Bolshakov 2020b: 148-149, 167-168. For the specific reuse marks on the coffins, see Table 4.1.4.

⁶¹⁹ Germer, Kischkewitz, Lüning 2009: 119. In this study, the mummy is identified as Khnumensanapehsu, thereby indirectly suggesting its chronology and sex. However, no explanation is given for that identification.

⁶²⁰ Michaela Hüttner, personal communication (July 2021).

⁶²¹ Sofia Häggman, personal communication (August 2021).

female box in Sydney contains a female mummy from around 800 BC, a chronology that is also not consistent with the decoration of the box. Again, the mummy preserved in Sydney is likely a modern addition to the ensemble.

Table 4.1.4 Mummies, Coffin Reuse Marks and Related Funerary Materials

Coffin	Mummy (sex/chronology)	Reuse marks (type/chronology)	Funerary elements
Anet (ꜥnt) (♀)	Yes (not studied)		None
Sesekhneferu (Ssh-nfrw) (♂)	Yes (female ♀, 800 BCE)	Reuse marks dating after the decoration at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty: 1) Name reuse 2) Decorative reuse (end of the Twenty-Second Dynasty-beginning of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, or Twenty-Sixth Dynasty)	Cartonnage plaques (Ptolemaic Period, of Theban origin)
Huiuiipwy (xwj(-wj)-jp.wy) (♂)	No		None
Khnumensanapehsu (Hnmw-n-s3-n3-ph-sw) (♂)	Yes (insufficient information)	Reused from a coffin of the Ramesside period: 1) Decorative reuse 2) Markers of Ramesside Period 3) Gender modification	None
Meretenakhet (Mrt-n-ꜥht) (♀)	Yes (male ♂, Ptolemaic Period).	Reused from a coffin of the Ramesside period: 1) Decorative reuse	None
Nesaset (Nsy-3st) (♀)	No	Reused from a coffin of the Ramesside period: 1) Gender modification	None
Hori (Hry) (♂)	Yes (male ♂, somewhat earlier than the Ptolemaic Period)		1) Gilded cartonnage mask (Thirtieth Dynasty) 2) Cartonnage mummy trappings (about the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period)
Wsirfymenu (♀)	No		None
Tayukheret (T3yw-hryt) (♀)	Yes (male ♂, around 500 BCE)		None
Aafenhor (ꜥ3=f-n-hr) (♂)	No		None
Anonymous (♀)	Yes (female ♀, around 800 BCE)		None
Isisnofret (Ist-nfrit) (♀)	Yes (female ♀, perhaps the Twenty-First Dynasty or thereabouts)	Reuse marks dating after the decoration at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty: 1) Decorative reuse (Mid Twenty-First Dynasty onwards)	Cartonnage mummy mask (Thirtieth Dynasty)
Anonymous (♂)	No		None
Ankhefenmut (ꜥnh=f-n-Mwt) (♂)	No	Inner coffin reused from a coffin of the Ramesside period: 1) Decorative reuse 2) Markers of Ramesside Period 3) Plaster modification	None
Ankhef (ꜥnh=f) (♂)	No	Inner coffin and mummy board reused from a coffin of the Ramesside period: 1) Gender modification	None

Chapter 4, Section 2

4.2 Yellow Coffin Decorative Models at the End of the New Kingdom.

4.2.1 Introduction

The current section examines a collection of coffins and mummy boards adorned during the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty which exhibit identical or similar decorative model(s). Employing the same methodology as detailed in Chapter 4, Section 1, the pertinent aspects under comparison encompass style, layout, iconography, texts, names of the owners and their relatives, titulary, acquisition date and archaeological contexts (if known).

While the materials present a unified decorative pattern, the examination of subtle variations in style, layout and iconography among them contributes to discerning a relative chronological sequence within the cohesive group of objects. This analysis also implies the potential identification of individual craftspeople responsible for the decoration of the materials. This study offers novel insights into the current understanding of late Ramesside coffin sets and decoration, as the identified relative chronology aims to address gaps in the iconographical development of coffins and mummy boards from the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty to the early Twenty-First Dynasty. Additionally, the recognition of modification and/or reuse marks on certain materials suggests their eventual subsequent reuse during the period when the practice of coffin reuse likely became widespread.

Furthermore, the analysis of the titulary depicted on the coffins and mummy boards provides insights into the social statuses of the titleholders, particularly males, within society. Notably, all the displayed titulary on the decoratively linked materials also indicates a connection to the professional activities of the material owners. The social status of these individuals likely influenced the choice of decoration and decorative model(s) applied to their coffin sets. This influence is further substantiated by specific decorative solutions observed on the mummy boards, which vary based on the specific roles of the owners within these related professions. This implies that coffins with the same or similar decorative arrangements were likely owned by individuals who shared some form of connection, shedding light on the impact of social status on the decoration of funerary equipment -an hypothesis that is further explored in Chapter 4, Sections 3-5.

4.2.2 Corpus of Associated Yellow Coffins and Yellow Coffin Elements

The materials listed in Table 4.2.1 share numerous and distinct stylistic, iconographic and even paleographic attributes which are analyzed further below. These similarities facilitate associating the materials with the same or similar decorative model(s). It is plausible that some of the examples originated from the same workshop and were possibly decorated by the same craftsman or closely related decorators.

The materials can be subdivided into distinct categories, namely sub-groups 1 and 2. The differentiation between these sub-groups relies on the iconography, style and layout details of the coffins, which are similar within each sub-group but vary between them. Additionally, the presence or absence of iconography on the lower part of the mummy boards contributes to this distinction. The disparities observed between the sub-groups

imply that craftspeople and, presumably, workshops innovated over time, exhibiting an progression in style, layout, and iconography, potentially influenced by specific social characteristics of the owners of the materials.

While the decoration of certain elements, especially mummy boards, within sub-group 1 may predate some elements of sub-group 2, there is a possibility that objects belonging to sub-groups 1 and 2 were adorned contemporaneously. As elaborated below, the new design that emerged on mummy boards and characterized the materials of sub-group 2 overlapped in both time and space with earlier and traditional designs and decorative solutions found on mummy boards from sub-group 1. Consequently, the selection of the decorative program for the mummy boards does not consistently establish a chronological evolution of the funerary objects within the proposed relative chronology of the materials under discussion.

The materials employed in manufacturing the supports of the mummy boards were either wood or cartonnage. Both types of supports are found in the mummy boards of both sub-groups, indicating the simultaneous use of both types during the timespan covered by the materials under discussion. The potential reasons for choosing each material will be addressed later. Additionally, at least one cartonnage mummy board under discussion follows the “two-part type” design, a feature that will also be examined concerning the object’s chronology.

A tendency towards *horror vacui* and the introduction of new iconographic scenes can be observed on the lids and boxes of the discussed coffins, indicating a chronological evolution and sequence of the material. The connection between these relatively chronologically ordered coffins and their corresponding mummy boards, defining sub-groups 1 and 2, supports the idea of overlapping the two decorative choices on the mummy boards, suggesting that they may have coexisted at some point.

The evolution of style, layout and coexistence of slightly different iconographical scenes and design choices on the objects under discussion are observed not only as a general trend within the cohesive group of objects but are also evident within a specific subset of coffins within the larger group. As suggested further below, this subset may have been decorated by an individual craftspeople or closely related individuals, possibly operating in association with the same location. The attributes of this subset of coffins also suggest that individual decorators or closely related ones may have innovated over time. Whether the motivation for the iconographic evolution among the coffins was the creative agency of the craftspeople, the leadership of the craftspeople, if it existed and regardless of the location and specifics of their organizational work, or the individuals who commissioned each coffin, cannot be known.

Table 4.2.1 Coffins and Coffin Elements Attributed to the Same or Similar Textual and Iconographical Model(s)

S.G. ⁶²²	Coffins	Location	Plates
1	Panakht-[...] A ⁶²³ (<i>P3-nht</i> -[...])	El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber	4.2/1

⁶²² Coffin-related sub-groups (S.G.).

⁶²³ Schreiber 2015a: 50-52; Schreiber 2018: 190-193 [7]. The letter A has been included in this study to avoid confusion with the mummy board of Panakht-[...] B found in the same burial chamber (the letter B has also been added in this study).

	(two-part type cartonnage mummy board)	2 (2014.Ca.007)	
1	Reru (<i>Rrw</i>) ⁶²⁴ (fragment of a two pieces? ⁶²⁵ cartonnage mummy board)	El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2 (2014.Ca.005)	4.2/2
1	Not preserved , ♀ ⁶²⁶ (cartonnage mummy board)	El-Khokha TT61, Room VIII (1.4.41)	4.2/3
1	Wennefer (<i>Wn-nfr</i>) ⁶²⁷ (fragments of a cartonnage mummy board)	El-Khokha TT61, Room VIII (1.4.40a-f)	4.2/4
1	Khamaat (<i>H^c-M3^ct</i>) ⁶²⁸ (fragment of a cartonnage mummy board)	El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2 (2014.Ca.003)	4.2/5
1	Hori (<i>hri</i>) ⁶²⁹ (wooden mummy board)	August Kestner Museum, Hannover (1977.1)	4.2/6
1	Herytubekhet (<i>hryt-wbht</i>) ⁶³⁰ (inner coffin, ⁶³¹ wooden mummy board)	Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich (ÄS 12b-c) (inner coffin)	4.2/7-8
		Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich (ÄS 12a) (mummy board)	4.2/9
1	Tabasety (<i>t3-b3-sty</i>) ⁶³² (inner coffin, wooden mummy board)	Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus (8527) (inner coffin)	4.2/10-11
		Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus (9530) (mummy board)	4.2/12
1	Tamerermut (lid) Tj[...] peramon (mummy board, partially scratched) (<i>t3-mrr-Mwt/t[...]-pr-Imn</i>) ⁶³³ (inner coffin, wooden mummy board)	Musée de Tessé, Le Mans (1822-17A) (inner coffin)	4.2/13-14
		Musée de Tessé, Le Mans (1822-17B) (mummy board)	4.2/15
2	Pa-[...] shepes-[...] (<i>P3-[...]šps-[...]</i>) ⁶³⁴ (cartonnage mummy board)	El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2 (2014.Ca.006)	4.2/16
2	Shedwyduat (<i>šd-wy-dw3t</i>) ⁶³⁵ (cartonnage mummy board)	El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2 (2014.Ca.004)	4.2/17
2	Panakht-[...] B ⁶³⁶ (<i>P3-nht-[...]</i>) (cartonnage mummy board)	El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2 (2014.Ca.015)	4.2/18
2	Henuttawy (<i>hnwt-t3wy</i>) ⁶³⁷	El-Khokha TT400, ⁶³⁸ Structure 5, chamber 2 (2014.Ca.001)	4.2/19

⁶²⁴ Schreiber 2018: 190 [5].

⁶²⁵ Schreiber defined the object as a two-part mummy board (Schreiber 2018: 192), although the only preserved fragment of this mummy board does not substantiate such a conclusion.

⁶²⁶ Schreiber 2015b: 32-33, pl. XVI [1.4.41], XXII [1.4.41].

⁶²⁷ Schreiber 2015b: 33, pls. XV, XXII.

⁶²⁸ Schreiber 2018: 188.

⁶²⁹ Kestner-Museum, 1981: 6-7 [n. 11];

⁶³⁰ Niwiński 1988: 157 [289]; Sousa 2020a: 27-42.

⁶³¹ All coffins under discussion are made of wood.

⁶³² Sousa, Nørskov 2018; Sousa 2019: 128-146; Sousa 2020b: 43-63.

⁶³³ Dautant 2014b: 153 [fig. 4D], 158; http://www.academia.edu/7667996/Dautant-Body_Cosmos_and_Eternity [25, 26].

⁶³⁴ Schreiber 2018: 190 [6].

⁶³⁵ Schreiber 2018: 188-190 [4].

⁶³⁶ Schreiber 2018: 191 [fig. 7]-192 [10]. The letter B has been included in this study to avoid confusion with the mummy board of Panakht-[...] A found in the same burial chamber.

⁶³⁷ Schreiber 2018: 187 [1].

⁶³⁸ In addition to the seven mummy boards from TT400 listed in Table 4.2.1, three more mummy boards were discovered in the same room- 2014.Ca.002, 2014.Ca.013 and 2014.Ca.014 (Schreiber 2018: 187-192 [2, 8, 9]). Descriptions indicate that they followed a similar type as the mummy board of

	(cartonnage mummy board)		
2	Khaemipet (<i>ḫꜥ-m-ipt</i>) ⁶³⁹ (wooden mummy board)	Private collection of B.P. Harris, briefly on display in the Mint Museum, in Charlotte, North Carolina.	4.2/20
2	Nesiamon (<i>Nsy-Imn</i>) ⁶⁴⁰ (inner coffin, wooden mummy board)	City Museum, Leeds (D. 426-426.a.1960) (inner coffin)	4.2/21-22
		City Museum, Leeds (D. 426-426.a.1960) (mummy board)	4.2/23
2	Panebmontu (<i>P3-nb-Mntw</i>) ⁶⁴¹ (inner coffin, wooden mummy board)	Musée du Louvre, Paris (E. 13029) (inner coffin)	4.2/24-25
		Musée du Louvre, Paris (E. 13046) (mummy board)	4.2/26

4.2.3 Similarity Attribute Complexes Among the Materials

Some of the similarity attribute complexes observed among the lids and mummy boards include:

1. The lotus flower with buds hangs from the crown of the head;
2. The headband is decorated with a band of persea tree buds below one geometrically patterned band depicting squares or, eventually, below two geometrically patterned bands depicting squares on one band and circles on the other, functioning as the “crown of justification”;⁶⁴²
3. The gendered wigs of the deceased: male funerary elements present braided and/or duplex wigs; female wigs present red binding bands depicting circles (dark or blue) bounded by horizontal strips;
4. The short collar between the lappets of the wig with horizontal bands bounded by olive leaves;⁶⁴³
5. The large winged scarab necklace over the hands. The animal is holding the sun disk with the forelegs and the *šn*-ring with the hind legs. In the majority of the examples the sun disk is flanked by *wd3t* eyes;
6. The large floral *wsh* collar displays the same sequence of floral motifs. Starting from the end of the collar, the first three registers feature lotus flowers interspersed with poppies and acacia flowers, followed by stylized persea tree buds and finally mandrake flowers or fruits.⁶⁴⁴ After this fixed sequence, the examples with larger floral collars sometimes present registers again depicting persea tree buds and mandrake flowers or fruits, and eventually a last row of olive leaves;
7. The forearms depicting beaded bracelets;

Shedwyduat, characterized by white lower sections and a varnished central column featuring text with blue or blue and red signs on a yellow background. However, these elements are not considered in this section due to the unavailability of sufficient published photographs.

⁶³⁹ Lacovara 2005: 50-51.

⁶⁴⁰ Schmidt 1919: 129, figs. 670-673; Niwiński 1988: 145 [220]; David, Tapp: 1992; Wassell 2008; Van Walsem 2000: 347-348; Cooney 2007: 470-472; Liptay 2011a: 13-14.

⁶⁴¹ Niwiński 1988: 164 [330], pl. 3B; Van Walsem 2000: 348.

⁶⁴² For an explanation of the function of the “crown of justification”, see Van Walsem 1997: 110.

⁶⁴³ For a description of the floral patterns used in the decoration of the collars, see Sousa 2018: 73-75.

⁶⁴⁴ For the depiction of mandrake flowers or fruits on collars, see Sousa 2018: 74. For insights into the significance of mandrake, see Casini 2018. An exception to the presence of the third register is noted in the mummy board of Tabasety, which is decorated with a unique sequence featuring small *wd3t* eyes intertwined with *nfr*-signs. Curiously, the last register of the *wsh* collar featured on the lid of Tamerermut also exhibits the same distinctive decoration. As discussed further below, this is likely indicative of the work of the same craftsman.

8. The forearms depict one big bracelet bounded by block friezes and featuring squatted mummiform deities facing inwards;
9. The scenes flanking the pectoral in the first register of the central panel feature Thoth offering the *wḏ3t* eye to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris on the right side and Osiris on the left side;
10. The goddess Nut, clad in a tight bead-net patterned red dress, is depicted in the second register of the central panel;
11. The deceased is shown libating or adoring and playing the sistrum before deities in the lower section;
12. The sons of Horus are depicted in the lower section;
13. The scene features Thoth facing inwards, holding the pole of the Sky or the pole of the West, in front of the goddess Neith on the right and the goddess Serket on the left, in the lower section, a scene that evokes Book of the Dead chapter 161. In one example, Thoth is depicted alone;⁶⁴⁵
14. The reversed mourning scenes feature the goddesses Isis and Nephthys on the footboards;
15. The arrangement of the lower section has two vertical partitions flanking a central longitudinal band inscribed with three columns of text on the lid and either one or two columns on the mummy board. Each partition is divided into several figurate registers by short transversal bands of texts written vertically and running from the center to the edges. Two other longitudinal bands of inscriptions run down the edges of the lids and on some of the mummy boards, with the hieroglyphs displayed horizontally, running parallel to the edges. Where preservation allows, the edges of the footboard lids are inscribed with short texts; and
16. The reverse sides of the mummy boards are painted red.

The majority of these similarity attribute complexes are not observable on the mummy boards of Reru, Wennefer, Pa-[...]shepes-[...], Panakht-[...] B and Henuttawy due to their fragmentary state. Additionally, none of their upper sections and headboards are preserved. Still, these mummy boards are attributed to the group of objects under discussion for apparent reasons. Firstly, their paleography and stylistic characteristics, identical to other objects under discussion, allow for their association with a specific craftsperson or closely related decorators. Secondly, some of these fragmented mummy boards exhibit non-figurative decorative solutions on the lower sections, consistent with other examples under discussion. All these features will be further discussed below.

The similarity attribute complexes also extend to the boxes under discussion. Some of these attributes include:

17. The performance of the god Thoth described in Book of the Dead chapter 161, depicted iconographically and/or textually on the first panel of the upper section of both exterior walls. When depicted iconographically, Thoth appears ibis-headed, holding the pole of the West or the pole of the Sky;
18. The sequence of separate scenes featuring individual standing divinities, including the four sons of Horus, on the lower section. The divinities are always directed towards the headboard;

⁶⁴⁵ In Book of the Dead chapter 161, Thoth opens each cardinal point of the sky to ensure breath and life for the deceased and the creator Ra. Simultaneously, Thoth requests the death of the turtle, Ra's antagonist during his nocturnal journey in the underworld (Colonna 2013: 48-49; Quirke 2013: 392-393).

19. The motif of the Dd pillar on the footboard, which evokes the Osirian underworld,⁶⁴⁶ depicted alternatively alone, surrounded by Isis and Nephthys, or surrounded by tit knots with rising flowers; and
20. The motif of the Dd pillar or the tit knot on the last vignette of the exterior walls.

Furthermore, three noteworthy aspects are similar among and between the lids, mummy boards and boxes:

21. The halo of greenery drooping from the table edges, usually surmounted by a lotus flower (see Chapter 2);
22. The gendered clothing of the deceased's garments;
23. The kneeling Nephthys or Isis depicted on the headboard box central panel and/or underside footboard lid,⁶⁴⁷ arms raised in joy, with outstretched wings or with big ankh signs hanging from their arms. The goddesses are featured on a *nbw* basket, and, below it, three *nfr* signs flanked by *wd3t* eyes are sometimes depicted. Eventually, some number of the four mummiform sons of Horus are depicted on the corners of the lower part of the scene; and
24. The textual program, which follows the same schemes and sequences. The inscriptions include the same recitations referencing the same gods and the same Book of the Dead chapters. The inclusion of the titles and names of the deceased is also consistent in all texts, always featured in the same positions.

4.2.4 Coffin Chronology

Various aspects concerning the discussed funerary materials, such as stylistic details, archaeological contexts, names and titulary, and the manufacture of certain elements, suggest a chronological range for the objects.

The iconographical detail of the halo of greenery drooping from the table edges of the offering tables and stands, discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4, Section 1, is prevalent on most lids, mummy boards and boxes. The presence of this motif on the objects implies a chronological context for the funerary materials, spanning from the last decade of the reign of Ramesses III,⁶⁴⁸ around the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty, and likely persisting, albeit with some variations, into the early years of the Twenty-First Dynasty.

4.2.4.1 Available Chronological Data for the Objects From Tombs TT61 and TT400 in el-Khokha

The archaeological context provided by Tombs TT61 (Rooms VII-VIII) and TT400 (Structure 5, Chamber 2) in the el-Khokha necropolis offers insights into the chronological timeframe for the cartonnage mummy boards discovered in those chambers,⁶⁴⁹ including some under discussion in this section. While Schreiber generally assigned the mummy boards to the late Ramesside period, further discussion below

⁶⁴⁶ Niwiński 1989: 55.

⁶⁴⁷ Usually one goddess is featured on the box while the other is represented on the lid. Curiously, on the coffin of Panebmontu, both areas feature the goddess Isis.

⁶⁴⁸ Van Walsem 2000: 339-340, 347-348.

⁶⁴⁹ The complete corpus of mummy boards found in those chambers, all constructed out of cartonnage, is as follows: ten mummy boards in several layers, corresponding to ten burials, in Structure 5, Chamber 2 of TT400 (Schreiber 2018: 187-192 [1-10]), one mummy board found in Room VII of TT61 (Schreiber 2006), and two in Room VIII of TT61 (Schreiber 2015b: 32-33).

suggests that some of the objects can be more accurately placed within the chronological context.

During the reign of Ramesses III, tomb TT61, particularly Room IX, served as the burial site for an individual named Amenhotep and his wife.⁶⁵⁰ Room VII in the same tomb housed the cartonnage mummy board of a woman named Tashedamun.⁶⁵¹ The use of cartonnage for the mummy board excludes an origin from the Twenty-First Dynasty when mummy boards were made of wood.⁶⁵² Examining the specifics of the formula of Nut running down from the chest⁶⁵³ and the construction of the deceased's personal name with the demonstrative pronoun *t3*, Schreiber proposed a date for the decoration of the object during the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty.⁶⁵⁴

Room VIII in TT61 contained the mummy boards of Wennefer and a woman, likely his wife, whose cartonnage mummy board did not provide her name due to its state of preservation. A rare faience canopic jar, shabtis belonging to Wennefer, and pottery from the room also suggest a late Ramesside context. Furthermore, vessels found in both Rooms VII and VIII can be dated to the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty. Considering this array of data, Schreiber suggested a date between Ramesses IV and XI for the burials of Rooms VII-VIII in TT61.⁶⁵⁵

TT400 was likely constructed during the reign of Ramesses II and originally belonged to Khamin and his wife, Raia.⁶⁵⁶ Later, reusing part of the original structure, the so-called Chamber 2 within Structure 5 accommodated several burials, and the cartonnage mummy boards from these burials are part of the group under discussion. Schreiber proposed that these interments were contemporaneous with the late Ramesside burials in TT61.⁶⁵⁷ A jar discovered in Room VIII in TT61 is comparable to a similar vessel found in TT400.⁶⁵⁸ Additionally, as discussed further below, the female mummy board from Room VIII of TT61 closely resembles that of Panakht-[...] A discovered in Chamber 2 within Structure 5 of TT400, indicating a likely contemporary decoration of both objects by the same craftsman or closely related individuals.

While Panakht-[...] A's mummy board conforms to the more traditional two-part type, the female mummy board from Room VIII of TT61 adopts the one-part type, a design

⁶⁵⁰ Schreiber 2015b: 32. The burial site of Amenhotep and his wife reused an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb (Schreiber 2006: 187).

⁶⁵¹ Inv. Reg No 2003.Ca.004 (Schreiber 2006: 187 [n. 2]), Inv. N° 1.4.42 (Schreiber 2015b: pls. XVI, XXII). For a detailed textual, iconographic and stylistic analysis of the object, see Schreiber 2006. For a color image of the object, see Schreiber 2015b: pl. XXII (Inv. N° 1.4.42).

⁶⁵² Niwiński 1988: 7.

⁶⁵³ Specifically, the inclusion of the word *dnḥwy*, in dual, not documented before the Ramesside Period, and the unconventional orthography of the verb *pd*, as found in Nut texts from the Third Intermediate Period, are features indicating an origin dating from after the Nineteenth Dynasty (Schreiber 2006: 191, with references).

⁶⁵⁴ Schreiber 2006: 191; Schreiber 2018: 194.

⁶⁵⁵ Schreiber 2015b: 32-34.

⁶⁵⁶ Schreiber 2015a: 45. While constructing TT400, the builders accidentally inadvertently penetrated an earlier burial complex from the Eighteenth Dynasty. Consequently, the burials of Khamin and his wife utilized the antechamber of this pre-existing burial complex, expanding its dimensions. The initial owners of the Eighteenth Dynasty funerary apartment were Paser and his wife (Schreiber 2015a: 46-47).

⁶⁵⁷ Schreiber 2015b: 32.

⁶⁵⁸ Schreiber 2015b: 34. For details of the late Ramesside burials in Structure 5, Chamber 2 from TT400, and their associated objects and occupants, see Schreiber 2015a: 48-52; Schreiber 2018: 187-199.

that gained prevalence from the mid-Twentieth Dynasty onward. This implies that the same craftsperson or related individuals responsible for the decoration of the objects could innovate over time, responding to their own creativity, or might simply decorate different types of funerary elements based on the workshop's overseer guidelines, if any, or the preferences of the object's commissioner.

The discovery of several objects in Chamber 2 within Structure 5 of TT400 supports a dating of the burials from the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty. These objects include pottery, shabtis and fragmentary shabti jars associated with a "Chief guardian of the treasury of the domain of Amun" (*hry s3wty pr-ḥd n pr 'Imn*) named Amenmes,⁶⁵⁹ who was likely interred in Chamber 2, even though his coffin set was not identified. An individual named Amenmes, holding the same elevated non-priest title, is mentioned during the sixth year of the reign of Ramesses VI and the seventeenth year of the reign of Ramesses IX. If these instances of the same name and titulary refer to the same person, it could confirm the chronological range for the burials in Chamber 2, with the seventeenth year of the reign of Ramesses IX as a *terminus post quem* for the burial of Amenmes.

The name and title displayed on a mummy board discovered in Chamber 2, part of the objects under discussion in this section, help support the chronological placement of the objects in the room. The owner, Pa-[...]-shepes-[...], a scribe of the Treasury [of the domain of] Amun (*sš pr-ḥd n [pr] 'Imn*), may correspond to Pamedushepesnakht, mentioned in the first and second years of Ramesses VII's reign with the same title.⁶⁶⁰ Additionally, the use of the demonstrative pronoun *p3* in his name suggests a late Ramesside Period chronology for the object, confirming a late Ramesside dating for some of the burials in Chamber 2 of Structure 5 in TT400.

Yes, this late Ramesside chronology may not be applicable to all objects discovered in Chamber 2. Specifically, the decoration of Khamaat's mummy board might have preceded the decoration of the other mummy boards in the same room. The unique features of the greenery motif on this object suggest that its decoration could have occurred earlier than the remaining mummy boards found in the same chamber, which feature the motif.

The detail comprises a halo of greenery draped over the offerings on the stands and drooping from the table edges, tapering into a triangular tip under the offering tables and stands. However, on Khamaat's mummy board, the greenery appears draped over the offerings, surrounding the tables without tapering into a triangular tip, slightly drooping from the table edge. This motif, lacking the tapering effect, is associated with a Nineteenth Dynasty innovation. During this period, offering tables were depicted surrounded by greenery,⁶⁶¹ sometimes slightly drooping from the table edges,⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁹ Schreiber 2015a: 49-50; Schreiber 2018: 194-196.

⁶⁶⁰ Schreiber 2018: 198, with references.

⁶⁶¹ Robins 1998: 961.

⁶⁶² This detail is evident, for instance, in the papyri of individuals such as Ani from the Nineteenth Dynasty, Hunefer dating to approximately the reign of Seti I, and Ahai. Additionally, this motif is portrayed as part of the mural paintings in tombs from around the reign of Ramesses II, including those of Sennedjem (TT1), Nefertari (QV66), Khamin (TT400, el Khokha) (Schreiber 2015a: 44 [fig. 4]-45), Nefermenu (TT184, el-Khokha) (Fabián 2007: 3, 5 [figs. 3-4]; Fabián, Schreiber 2009: 65, 68) and Roy (TT255, Dra Abu el-Naga) (Menéndez 2019: 29 [fig. 5]).

evolving into the greenery motif discussed in Chapter 2 during the last decade of the reign of Ramesses III.

The last decade of the reign of Ramesses III, when the motif emerged, could be the *terminus ante quem* for the decoration of Khamaat's mummy board, featuring the earlier form of the motif. This suggests that the object may have been decorated near the beginning of the reign of Ramesses III or even before, possibly during the reign of Ramesses II in the Nineteenth Dynasty. As previously discussed, TT400 was likely constructed during the reign of Ramesses II for Khamin and his wife Raia. Subsequently, reusing part of the construction, Chamber 2 within Structure 5 contained several interments, including Khamaat's. Furthermore, as elaborated further below, Khamaat's mummy board was likely decorated by a different craftsperson or group of related decorators than the one(s) who perhaps decorated the majority of the coffins and mummy boards under discussion, as evidenced by distinct paleography and style. This suggests that the mummy board of Khamaat could precede, to some extent, the other objects associated with the cohesive group, in time. The red shawl worn by the deceased also implies that the mummy board's decoration occurred before the reign of Ramesses III, as it is depicted on other objects, mainly shabti boxes, dated from the late Nineteenth Dynasty to the early Twentieth Dynasty.⁶⁶³

Given Schreiber's late Ramesside dating for Chamber 2 within Structure 5 of TT400 and its burials, it is possible that Khamaat's mummy board was either reused during that period or the deceased was reburied there along with subsequent burials of relatives and/or colleagues. Unfortunately, the degradation of the mummy board prevents determining whether it is of the two-part type, which would have supported the early Ramesside dating.

In the early Ramesside period, there were two design types of mummy boards. One type featured a one-part wood cover depicting the deceased in a white daily life festive dress, symbolizing them as a living person. The second type comprised mummy boards with two separate parts, either wood or cartonnage, adorned with iconographic scenes.⁶⁶⁴ Panakht-[...] A's cartonnage mummy board from Chamber 2 within Structure 5 of TT400 belongs to the two-part type, where the extended mask and lower part are distinct. Further discussion below will delve into the chronological implications of this design.⁶⁶⁵

The two-part type mummy boards were typically crafted using the openwork technique, allowing the bandages of the mummy underneath or a linen cloth attached to the reverse side to be visible through the mummy board.⁶⁶⁶ This technique gained popularity during

⁶⁶³ For examples, see the shabti boxes of Mutemwia, Khennem, Inhay, Henutmehyt and Tahesibehed.

⁶⁶⁴ Taylor 1989: 35-39.

⁶⁶⁵ The fragmentary condition of most mummy boards discovered in the same chamber prevents a definitive classification into one-part or two-part types. The only object for which this determination can be made with certainty is the mummy board of Shedwyduat, identified as one-part type. For details regarding the mummy board of Reru, see *supra*, n. 13.

⁶⁶⁶ Taylor 1989: 37-38; Sousa 2020a: 42. For information on Ramesside types of mummy boards, see Cooney 2007: 23-24. For openwork mummy boards, see Taylor 1999. For a technical description of the two-part mummy board type, see Cooney 2007: 197-199. These pieces typically received a glossy varnish (Schreiber 2006: 192), enhancing the contrast between the decoration and the textiles beneath the mummy board. For an exploration of the potential ritual symbolism of varnish and the necessity for systematic studies on this aspect, see Chapter 2.

the reign of Ramesses II,⁶⁶⁷ although instances have been reported in Theban contexts that could date back to the late Nineteenth Dynasty or early Twentieth Dynasty, possibly extending to the reign of Ramesses III.⁶⁶⁸ Although Panakht-[...] A's mummy board does not feature the openwork technique, the white background of the religious scenes resembles the appearance of mummy bandages or a linen cloth seen through the openwork technique.⁶⁶⁹ Hence, the object may suggest an early Ramesside origin.

Considering the presence of the greenery motif, which emerged in the last decade of the reign of Ramesses III, on Panakht-[...] A's mummy board, it likely underwent decoration towards the end of this king's rule. Consequently, the object may serve as a transitional piece bridging the early Ramesside mummy boards, as it follows the two-part type with a slight reminiscence of the openwork technique, and the subsequent one-part type characteristic of late Ramesside examples. Notably, the name Panakht-[...], found in two other cartonnages within the chamber, besides being constructed with the demonstrative pronoun *p3*, includes the component "Panakht", which frequently appears in male names during the late Ramesside Period.⁶⁷⁰

Much of the available evidence suggests a chronological context for the interments in the tombs at el-Khokha, predominantly aligning with the late Ramesside period. This assertion holds true for the majority of the mummy boards, with the exception of Khamaat's, which might slightly predate the others. This determination is based on stylistic details and deduced chronological data derived from specific objects linked to the burials. Furthermore, this chronological data is pertinent to other materials attributed to the discussed group. Considering the numerous similarities among materials within this group, following the same or similar decorative models -some potentially decorated by the same individual or closely related craftspeople- the same late Ramesside chronology can be applied to the associated funerary materials within the cohesive group.

4.2.4.2 Available Chronological Data for the Coffin Sets of Tabasety and Nesiamon

Other funerary containers under discussion, although lacking a known origin, have also been subject to suggested chronological assessments. The coffin and mummy board of Tabasety, along with the human remains it contains, underwent radiocarbon dating analysis. Regrettably, the analysis yielded a broad chronological range for the coffin

⁶⁶⁷ Taylor 1989: 37; Taylor 1999: 65; Schreiber 2006: 192, with examples in n. 35; Cooney 2007: 197-199; Schreiber 2018: 186. During the reign of Ramesses II, mummy boards featuring the openwork technique were produced alongside those portraying the deceased in their living form, with the former being more prevalent.

⁶⁶⁸ For examples, see: Bruyère 1926: 173, 176-177, particularly an instance belonging to a man who lived at the end of the reign of Ramses II and during that of Ramses III; Schreiber 2015b: 31, pl. XXIII [1.4.39], specifically several fragmented remains of an openwork wooden mummy board discovered in Room IX from TT61. This room served as the burial chamber for Amenhotep and his wife Mutemkhebet during the reign of Ramesses III. These findings provide a foundation for extending the chronology of this type of mummy board to the early Twentieth Dynasty. Certainly, while it is true that some individuals were buried with openwork mummy boards during the reign of Ramesses III, these objects might have been manufactured and decorated before his reign.

⁶⁶⁹ On the contrary, lids associated with the discussed group consistently showcase iconography against a yellow background. This difference in background coloration may be intentional, as the white background featured on the mummy boards possibly imitated the earlier and more traditional openwork technique.

⁶⁷⁰ Schreiber 2018: 198, with references.

and human remains, placing the wood used for the coffin's construction between 1301-1035 BCE and the human remains between 1320-910 BCE.⁶⁷¹ Therefore, it is evident that stylistic criteria derived from coffin decoration may offer a more precise means of dating than the conducted technical analysis.

The mummy discovered inside Nesiamon's coffin set, without archaeological context, was found equipped with stolae⁶⁷² depicting Ramesses XI, even though the coffin set's manufacture and/or decoration might predate his reign.⁶⁷³ A person named Nesiamon appears in the Turin Taxation Papyrus⁶⁷⁴ from the twelfth year of Ramesses XI's rule. Among other details, the papyrus document the receipt of cereals in Thebes from the domain of Montu by the scribe of the accounts (*sš hsbw*) of the estate of Amon-Ra Nesiamon, under the authority of the *hm-ntr* of Montu.⁶⁷⁵ Notably, the Nesiamon linked with the Leeds funerary set held various titles,⁶⁷⁶ including scribe of the cattle accounts of the estate of Amun-Ra, King of the gods, Mut and Khonsu; *wꜥb*-priest; and scribe of the temple of Montu. Although he also held the title *it-ntr*, the specific deity is not specified.

The Nesiamon connected with the Leeds funerary set was under the authority of the *hm-ntr* of Montu, potentially indicating a link to the individual mentioned in the Turin Taxation Papyrus. However, in rt, col. 4.11 of the Papyrus, Nesiamon's title is expanded as *sš hsbw it*, scribe of the accounts of grain, which does not appear on the Leeds objects. Even if the scribe of the temple and *it-ntr* could exceptionally deliver goods,⁶⁷⁷ it cannot be assumed that the Nesiamon from the Turin Taxation Papyrus is the same as the one associated with the Leeds funerary set. Nevertheless, the chronological information from the stolae on Nesiamon's mummy aligns with the late Ramesside burials in TT61 and TT400, as suggested by Schreiber, placing it in the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty.

4.2.4.3. Innovations Towards the End of the Ramesside Period: Relative Chronology for the Discussed Mummy Boards

Some of the iconographic and stylistic differences between the mummy boards of sub-groups 1 and 2 are as follows:

1. The presence or absence of a red band encircling the floral *wsh* collar;
2. The presence or absence of red lines on a white background, representing the pleated sleeves of a festive linen garment, on the arms;
3. The presence or absence of figurative decoration on a white background on the lower section; and
4. The presence or absence of white nonfigurative decoration on the lower section.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷¹ Sousa, Nørskov 2018: 209; Sousa 2019: 135; Sousa 2020b: 62.

⁶⁷² For the term "stola", see Van Walsem 1997: 15 [n. 46]. For the representation and interpretation of the element, see Van Walsem 1997: 116-119.

⁶⁷³ Stolae only date mummies, not coffins (Van Walsem 1993: 20-21, 30; Van Walsem 2000: 347-348).

⁶⁷⁴ Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 + 2107/407.

⁶⁷⁵ rt, col. 3.1-3.2. The same person with the same title, *sš hsbw*, appears in rt, col. 4.6, 5.5, 5.8 and 5.10.

⁶⁷⁶ For the complete titulary of Nesiamon, see *infra*.

⁶⁷⁷ Haring 1997: 232.

⁶⁷⁸ Regarding Nesiamon's wooden mummy board, the lower section was originally painted white (Osburn 1828: 2, pl. I; David, Tapp 1992: 90-91; Wassell 2008: 8). Unfortunately, it suffered severe damage from a bomb blast in 1941 during WWII hostilities, leading to subsequent black paint

The mummy boards from sub-group 1 adhere to the iconographic tradition and characteristics of early Ramesside models, showcasing traditional iconography and style. The imagery on the lower section, portraying the deceased making libations or worshipping before deities, the Sons of Horus, Thoth opening the sky, and Isis and Nephthys, evokes the figurative mummy boards and lids of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Additionally, the direction of writing on the transversal bands of the mummy boards is also typical of that period.

The majority of the mummy boards display the deceased's forearms, largely undecorated without bracelets covering the surface. This feature, along with the stylized tunic sleeves on their arms, is reminiscent of the pleated festive garment characteristic of the early Ramesside festive-type coffins. Additionally, the tresses flanking the face resemble ceremonial wigs with braiding motifs, reminiscent of the aforementioned Ramesside festive-type coffins.⁶⁷⁹ The white background of the scenes creates a contrast with the use of varnish, sometimes selectively applied on the deities, the floral collar, the hands of the mummy board and the inscriptions, but never on the background. This contrast between varnished areas and the unvarnished white background may aim to replicate the earlier Ramesside openwork mummy boards, as discussed previously. All these characteristics evoke earlier decorative styles.

Despite retaining traditional early Ramesside features, mummy boards of sub-group 1 also exhibit innovations. They lack the openwork technique, and the red band encircling the *wsh*-floral collar, a characteristic seen on mummy boards dated from the late Ramesside Period, is present.⁶⁸⁰ The red band is not featured on earlier mummy boards.

These innovative features, resulting from the complex interaction between appeals to tradition and the attractions of innovation, support the late Twentieth Dynasty chronology for most of the mummy boards in sub-group 1. However, as discussed earlier, the decoration of the mummy boards of Khamaat and Panakh-[...] A may well predate the rest of the mummy boards under discussion, with the former being the earliest and the latter occurring around the last years of the reign of Ramesses III.

In contrast to the mummy boards of sub-group 1, those from sub-group 2, all of which are of the one-piece type, present elaborate iconography, often varnished, solely on the upper section and central panel. Their lower section adopts an alternative and innovative style, lacking iconography and painted white, with only a varnished inscription running from the chest to the foot.⁶⁸¹ The positioning of the hands, the omission of feet and the simulation of the white mummy cloth on the lower section suggest that the mummy boards represent the transfigured dead as a *sꜥh*, adorned with the garment of the *mꜣꜥ*-

application, presumably to conceal the damage. For a pre-war photograph of the object, see David, Tapp 1992: 91 [fig. 25].

⁶⁷⁹ Bettum 2018: 286-287; Sousa 2018: 48 [n. 282]; Sousa 2020a: 42.

⁶⁸⁰ Sousa 2018: 76. This characteristic may be reminiscent of a documented practice seen on actual floral funerary collars from the New Kingdom, as exemplified by those found in the embalming cache of Tutankhamun (KV 54). The three largely intact floral collars discovered there, now preserved at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (09.184.214, 09.184.215, 09.184.216), are backed by sheets of sewn-together papyrus and sometimes bound with an edging of red cloth (Winlock 1941: 17). The depiction of the red band encircling the floral collars on some of the mummy boards attributed to sub-group 1 may correspond to this funerary practice.

⁶⁸¹ One of the mummy boards from sub-group 2, specifically that of Shedwyduat, portrays red stolae in the form of two lappets hanging from the chest, a symbol indicating deification (Schreiber 2018: 194).

hrw. In this state, the deceased appears elevated to a divine status, akin to Osiris.⁶⁸² The mummy board of Tashedamun presents a slight variation in this design, with the lower section depicting the deceased wearing the bead-net patterned dress characteristic of Osiris.⁶⁸³

The simplified styles characterizing the mummy boards of sub-group 2 emerged during the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty, a fact substantiated by the mummy boards of Panakht-[...] B from TT400 and Tashedamun from TT61. The white-type decoration persisted until the end of the New Kingdom, as evidenced by the mummy boards of Nesiamon, Panebmontu and Khaemipet, all likely decorated during the reign of Ramesses XI or perhaps a bit earlier. In contrast, the bead-net patterned design continued to be depicted on wooden mummy boards, extending up to and including the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁶⁸⁴

The exact moment of the emergence of this decorative innovation is unknown, but the cartonnage mummy board of Pa-[...]-shepes-[...], discovered in Chamber 2 within Structure 5 in TT400, may serve as a transitional object representing an earlier step towards the new design. Its lower section features novel white compartments segmented by vertical and horizontal red bands without texts. These bands, traditionally a decorative feature found on both lids and mummy boards, typically exhibit texts and emulate bandages, signifying the transfigured state of the deceased.⁶⁸⁵ The owner of the mummy board, Pa-[...]-shepes-[...], identified as a scribe of the Treasury [of the domain of] Amun (*sš pr-ḥd n [pr] Imn*), could be the Pamedushepesnakht documented in the first and second years of the reign of Ramesses VII.⁶⁸⁶ Considering that this mummy board may be a transitional piece, the beginning of the reign of Ramesses VII could be the *terminus post quem* for this innovative decorative design illustrated by mummy boards from sub-group 2.⁶⁸⁷ Once the white-type decoration without red bandages appeared, it coexisted contemporaneously with the figuratively decorated mummy boards until about the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, as will be discussed further below.

Interestingly, this innovative non-figurative design is only featured on mummy boards. The only lids under discussion that are related to mummy boards featuring this new decorative solution are those of Nesiamon and Panebmontu, both of which showcase traditional, figurative iconography covering the entire surface of the objects. This suggests that perhaps mummy boards were the elements of the coffin sets that first showed innovations. The dearth of coffins⁶⁸⁸ associated with mummy boards featuring

⁶⁸² Schreiber 2018: 192.

⁶⁸³ In the decoration of specific tombs from the Ramesside period, like TT59, Osiris is depicted wearing a long red shroud adorned with the same reticulate pattern (Schreiber 2006: 195).

⁶⁸⁴ Niwiński 1988: 82, with examples. Of note, the decoration of the lower section covered either with white painting or featuring a reticulate pattern imitating a bead-netting shroud does not vary depending on the gender of the deceased.

⁶⁸⁵ Schreiber 2018: 194.

⁶⁸⁶ Schreiber 2018: 198, with references.

⁶⁸⁷ Shabtis belonging to Amenmes, likely buried in Chamber 2 within Structure 5 of TT400, feature decoration that is consistent with the non-figurative white decoration of the lower sections of the mummy board of Shedwydwat as well as the transitional mummy board of Pa-[...]-shepes-[...]. (Schreiber 2015a: 50 [fig. 14]; Schreiber 2018: 196). For the *termini post quem* for the burials of Amenmes and Pa-[...]-shepes-[...], see *supra*.

⁶⁸⁸ Only small fragments belonging to the anthropoid wooden coffins once buried in Structure 5, Chamber 2 in TT400, all of which were heavily looted, have since been recovered (Schreiber 2015a: 50; Schreiber

this unique decoration perhaps indicates that they were reused during the economically recessive period following the New Kingdom.⁶⁸⁹ Thus, the arrangement and decoration on the lower section of the lids, associated with the rest of mummy boards attributed to sub-group 2, whether they followed the traditional design or exemplified the innovative design, cannot be known as none have survived or been identified. Considering this potential coffin reuse, one may wonder why the mummy boards survived. Was there less reuse of mummy boards, or was the cartonnage a material much more difficult to recycle, perhaps?

During the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty, there was a continuous evolution in the decoration of mummy boards, introducing new designs that coexisted with earlier Ramesside iconographies. The manufacturing of these mummy boards also exhibits variability, employing both wood and cartonnage contemporaneously for the creation of one-part or two-part type mummy boards. However, the two-part design did not persist beyond the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. The simultaneous presence of multiple divergent designs and decorative solutions for mummy boards during this period echoes the diversity and complexity observed in coffins from the Second Intermediate period, about 500 years prior.⁶⁹⁰

Miniaci, utilizing a theoretical sociological approach inspired by De Martino, has linked the “multiplication of types of anthropoid coffins during the Second Intermediate Period” to the political and economic crises of the time. This resulted in a weakening of strong centralized control, leading to a “crisis of presence” and abandonment.⁶⁹¹ These crises influenced the production of funerary materials due to the decline in the availability of imported resources and raw materials, potentially limiting access to training⁶⁹² for craftspeople. Consequently, in such circumstances, craftspeople may have had more freedom to deviate from traditional canons and experiment with unusual and innovative designs. They reinvented, remodeled and transformed old conceptual categories and Ramesside iconographies. Therefore, the differentiation between mummy board types could directly result from the vocational circumstances of the craftspeople who decorated the objects. However, as discussed in more detail below, the social status of the owners might also have influenced the variations in mummy boards decorations.

4.2.4.3.1 Chronological Evolution Within the Coffins and Coffin Elements: Differences Between the Materials of Sub-groups 1 and 2 and Establishment of a Relative Chronological Sequence of the Materials

As previously mentioned, the discussed lids feature traditional, figurative iconography. All mummy boards, whether belonging to sub-groups 1 or 2, display iconography on the upper section and central panel. The distinctions within the central panels establish a relative chronological evolution and sequence of the materials. Additionally, the differences in iconography between all lids and the figurative mummy boards attributed

2018: 194). For the reuse of the coffins once buried in Room IX from TT61, belonging to Amenhotep and his wife, see Schreiber 2015b: 31. No coffins associated to the mummy boards of Tashedamun and Khaemipet have been discovered.

⁶⁸⁹ Niwiński 1988: 13; Cooney 2011: 31-36; Cooney 2017b.

⁶⁹⁰ Miniaci 2018: 252-257.

⁶⁹¹ Miniaci 2018: 256-257. For De Martino’s sociological theory, see De Martino 1959.

⁶⁹² Cooney 2015: 278.

to sub-group 1 contribute valuable insights. Furthermore, the iconography on the boxes aids in establishing a relative chronological sequence among the coffins and mummy boards under discussion. The design of the mummy board support also plays a role in establishing a relative chronology of the objects. The relationships between these relatively chronologically ordered coffins and their respective mummy boards suggest the coexistence, at some point in time, of the two decorative typologies of the mummy boards defining sub-groups 1 and 2.

Some of the differences between the coffin lids and mummy boards are as follows:

1. The presence or absence of novel solar iconography depicting the solar boat, which is a scene related to Book of the Dead chapter 136A or 15, depicted on the first register of the central panel;
2. The presence or absence of a naophoric pectoral⁶⁹³ on the first register of the central panel. Where it is present, the pectoral includes a symmetrical composition with a scarab at the center holding the solar disk with the forelegs. Two squatted mummiform gods, facing inwards, usually flank the animal. Sometimes, the scene is depicted on the sacred bark;
3. The materiality of the mummy board, whether wood or cartonnage;
4. The design of the mummy board support, whether the one-part type or the two-part type; and
5. Various degrees of *horror vacui*.

As discussed earlier, the design and decoration of the mummy boards of Khamaat and Panakht[...] A indicate a relative chronological sequence within the mummy boards under discussion. Their decoration likely predates the rest of the mummy boards, with the mummy board of Khamaat being the earliest.

The lower sections and footboards of the lids attributed to both sub-groups 1 and 2 and mummy boards from sub-group 1 feature similar traditional iconography and arrangements consistent with the early Ramesside Period yellow coffins. The lower sections of the lids include scenes such as the deceased adoring, libating or playing the sistrum in front of deities, the four sons of Horus and Thoth opening the sky. The footboards of the lids include the scene of the mourning goddesses. However, some lids include iconographical innovations, aiding in establishing that their decoration occurred during the late Twentieth Dynasty. These innovations also suggest a relative chronological sequence of the materials under discussion.

On the lower section of the lids of Tabasety, Tamerermut and Nesiamon, these innovations include the depiction of the god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris fully in avian form and the sacred ram. Some lids also feature an intensification of *horror vacui*, exemplified by the inclusion of more figures in the scenes. In contrast to the lids of Herytubekhet and Tabasety, the lid of Nesiamon features a greater amount of figures, while the lids of Tamerermut and Panebmontu feature even more figures. Both the more detailed scenes and the trend towards *horror vacui* are enhanced by the presence of a vaulted shrine decorated with cobra friezes on the edges, sometimes flanking the mummiform depiction of the falcon-headed god Sokar framing some of the vignettes.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹³ For the typical layout of the pectoral, see Sousa 2018: 100.

⁶⁹⁴ As will be discussed further below, this characteristic may point to a single individual craftsman or closely related decorators responsible for adorning these objects.

This unique depiction of a vaulted shrine is featured on the lid of Tabasety, the coffin set of Tameremut and both lids and boxes of Nesiamon and Panebmontu. The constellation of novel characteristics on the lids under discussion suggests that the decoration of the coffin of Herytubekhet, which features a more traditional iconography and layout on the lid, may precede the rest in time. The coffin of Tabasety may follow the coffin of Herytubekhet in this internal relative sequence within the objects under discussion.

Regarding the iconography of the central panel, the presence of a naophoric pectoral on the first register of the central panel on both lids and mummy boards indicates a more traditional iconography, consistent with later examples of proto-yellow-type coffins.⁶⁹⁵ The only mummy boards that deviate from this feature are the those of Hori and Panebmontu.

On Hori's mummy board, the central panel features a *dd* pillar being adored by several figures, positioned below a winged scarab. It is noteworthy that Hori's mummy board does not include the typical depiction of the winged goddess in the central panel. The incorporation of this unique iconography may reflect the creativity of the owner and/or the craftsperson responsible for decorating the object.

In the case of Panebmontu's mummy board, the first register of the central panel displays a scarab being adored by two winged goddesses. Interestingly, the lid also lacks a naophoric pectoral in that position. Instead, the lid showcases a detailed scene with several figures, characterized by a high degree of *horror vacui*. As discussed in more detail later, Panebmontu's coffin might be one of the last coffins from the group under discussion to undergo decoration. Therefore, the introduction of this novel iconography on the first register of the central panel anticipates the innovations that would become characteristic of the iconography seen on the yellow coffins from the Twenty-First Dynasty.

The mummy board preserved at Le Mans and that of Nesiamon feature a naophoric pectoral on the first register of the central panel. However, their associated lids showcase a more innovative iconography in that position, specifically, a scene with the solar barque. This distinction between the coffin elements suggests that these coffins may be considered as transitional objects. Finally, both the lids and mummy boards of Herytubekhet and Tabasety feature the more traditional inclusion of the naophoric pectoral on the central panel, indicative of their relative, earlier sequence within the materials under discussion, as elaborated further below.

The depictions of naophoric pectorals exhibit differences between them. For example, the mummy board of Khaemipet depicts a *wd3t* eye on a *nb* basket and *nfr* signs on each side of the pectoral. In contrast, other examples, such as the mummy board of Nesiamon, feature more detailed and crowded scenes in that position, displaying additional elements and, therefore, a greater tendency towards *horror vacui*. This suggests a relative chronology between these mummy boards, with the decoration of Khaemipet's likely preceding that of Nesiamon.

⁶⁹⁵ Sousa 2018: 38, 99 [n. 524].

The mummy boards discussed here demonstrate a gradual shift over time towards the use of wood in their construction. By the Twenty-First Dynasty, wood became the exclusive material for manufacturing these objects. Although all mummy boards found at el-Khokha, including some within the group under discussion, are made of cartonnage, their associated coffins may have been constructed with wood. However, the mummy boards of Hori, Herytubekhet, Tabasety, Tj[...]peramon, Khaemipet, Nesiamon⁶⁹⁶ and Panebmontu are crafted from wood. As detailed later, considering that the coffins linked to the mummy boards of Tj[...]peramon and Panebmontu were likely the latest to be decorated, these wooden mummy boards represent transitional objects at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, foreshadowing the exclusively wooden mummy boards of the Twenty-First Dynasty.

Considering that wood was likely more expensive than cartonnage,⁶⁹⁷ the choice between the two materials might have been influenced by the higher economic class or status of the owner.⁶⁹⁸ Although the titulary associated with the owners of the materials is discussed more thoroughly below, it is noteworthy that both Panakht-[...] A and Hori held the title of *hry sdm-š n pr Imn*. This strongly suggests that they belonged to the same high class. However, while the mummy board of Panakht-[...] A is made of cartonnage, that of Hori is made of wood. Therefore, status or class may not have always determined the materials selected; specific individual preferences, variations in chronology or other unknown factors may have played a decisive role. Regarding the coffin sets of Panakht-[...] A and Hori, only their mummy boards have been preserved. It is possible that other objects in the coffin sets would have featured additional titles, presenting Hori as belonging to a higher status or class despite sharing one title in common with Panakht-[...] A. The only certainty is that the inhabitants of tombs TT400 and TT61, whose funerary materials have been attributed to the group under discussion, were buried with cartonnage mummy boards, for reasons that remain unknown. Additionally, it should be noted that their associated coffins, at least for those found in TT400, were made of wood, as confirmed by fragments found in that tomb.

In conclusion, the aforementioned characteristics and key markers displayed on the lids and mummy boards suggest a relative chronological sequence for these materials. This relative sequence is proposed by considering both traditional elements and innovations featured on the materials, with the latter pointing towards sequences typically observed in the early Twenty-First Dynasty. As discussed further below, the same order in the relative sequence detected on the lids and mummy boards is also reflected in their associated boxes. This suggests that all the elements of the coffin sets, including lids, mummy boards and boxes, underwent innovations contemporaneously.

Some of the iconographic differences between the boxes of sub-groups 1 and 2⁶⁹⁹ are as follows:

⁶⁹⁶ David, Tapp 1993: 84; Wassell 2008: 1, 8. Both sources describe the mummy board as being made of wood. However, in her 2007 study, Cooney refers to the object as a cartonnage mummy board (Cooney 2007: 18, 28), while also acknowledging it as a wooden example (Cooney 2007: 470 [n. 46]) and labeling it as “cartonnage (?)” (Cooney 2007: 471).

⁶⁹⁷ Cooney 2007: 198-199.

⁶⁹⁸ Availability and access to high quality materials may have been restricted (Cooney 2011: 32).

⁶⁹⁹ Only the boxes associated to the coffin sets of Tabasety, Herytubekhet, Nesiamon and Panebmontu have survived, likely because of the practice of reuse. For a discussion about the lack of materials for the other sets, see *supra*.

6. The presence or absence of lateral headboard panels featuring a striped pattern, usually representing wigs;
7. The presence or absence of lateral headboard panels featuring a vignette;
8. The presence or absence of decorative elements on the upper edge of the walls, whether friezes or inscriptions;
9. The presence or absence of monochromatic decoration of the box interiors;
10. The presence or absence of figurative decoration of the box interiors;
11. The presence or absence of the juxtaposition of the *wḏt* eye on a checkered *nb* basket resting on a pedestal on one wall of the box with the depiction of Anubis in jackal-form extended on a decorated sacred pedestal/shrine on the opposite wall;
12. The presence or absence of novel solar iconography depicting the solar boat, a scene related to Book of the Dead chapter 136A or 15, juxtaposed with the adoration of Osiris on the opposite wall.

Despite originating in the late Twentieth Dynasty, the boxes exhibit a combination of traditional and innovative iconography, foreshadowing the characteristics of early Twenty-First Dynasty yellow coffins. Distinct iconographical variations among the discussed boxes contribute to establishing an organic sequence and evolution. Some boxes feature modern and novel iconographic scenes and motifs, displacing traditional elements, and at times coinciding with a trend toward *horror vacui*. This implies a relative chronology and sequential order for the materials, as elaborated below.

The decoration on Herytubekhet's box suggests a late Twentieth Dynasty origin, supported by several features: the monochromatic decoration of the box interior,⁷⁰⁰ the scenes featured on the exterior walls with narrow vignettes and single figures,⁷⁰¹ the presence of a Dd pillar on the footboard (which will sometimes be depicted on the otherwise undecorated interior of subsequent coffins),⁷⁰² and an undecorated upper edge of the outside walls. Additionally, the scenes on the exterior of the box include traditional Ramesside motifs and iconographic scenes and elements typical of the black coffins, such as the striped pattern on the lateral panels of the headboard, the scene featuring Thoth holding the pole of the West (alluding to Book of the Dead chapters 151 and 161), the juxtaposition of a winged *wḏt* eye on the right wall with the depiction of Anubis on the opposite wall, and the representation of the four Sons of Horus.⁷⁰³ Regarding the scene alluding to Book of the Dead chapters 151 and 161, despite being featured on the upper section of the box, the same scene reappears in the last vignette of the lower section, consistent with the traditional decoration of black coffins. Finally, the absence of a depiction of the deceased in the iconographic scenes is also a traditional decorative aspect.

However, unlike the decoration found on black coffins, the lower section of Herytubekhet's box incorporates some innovations. Alongside the typical traditional motifs and iconographic scenes, it introduces the depiction of several underworld

⁷⁰⁰ This feature is usually exhibited on coffins from the end of the Ramesside period (Niwinski 1988: 93-94).

⁷⁰¹ Niwinski 2019: 61.

⁷⁰² During the Twenty-First Dynasty, the footboard of the box would typically remain undecorated.

⁷⁰³ Sartini 2019: 32. For an in-depth analysis of the black type coffins, including iconography, phases of decoration, and classification, see Sartini 2015.

deities, likely drawn from the repertoire of the Book of Adoring Re in the West.⁷⁰⁴ This inclusion, not commonly seen on coffins decorative programs, became more prevalent on yellow coffins towards the end of the Ramesside Period.⁷⁰⁵ Finally, the multicolored decoration on a yellow background aligns with the typical arrangement seen on yellow coffins, contrasting with the pigments used for the black coffins.

The provided key chronological markers suggest that the exterior walls of Tabasety's box feature both traditional motifs, indicating a potential date from the end of the Ramesside Period, and innovative iconography. In addition to new deities associated with the Book of Adoring Re in the West, Tabasety's box includes innovations not present on Herytubekhet's box, such as scenes depicting the deceased, Thoth introducing the deceased before Osiris enthroned on the double-stepped hill with other divinities (on the right wall), the deceased playing the systrum in front of Ra Horakhty, and a depiction of Horus as the *avenger of his father* before Osiris, accompanied by Isis and Nephthys. These innovations replace the more traditional vignettes of the udjat eye and Anubis found on Herytubekhet's box. Furthermore, Tabasety's box repeats the scene related to Book of the Dead chapters 151 and 161. However, in Tabasety's box, contrary to what has been mentioned for Herytubekhet's box, the scene is only iconographically depicted on the last vignette of the lower section, featuring Thoth holding the totem of the sky, while the upper section includes only the textual reference.

The box of Tabasety also introduces a longitudinal block-frieze spanning the entire upper edges of the outside walls. All of these innovations would later characterize Theban yellow coffins in the early Twenty-First Dynasty. This box serves as a transitional object foreshadowing the typical iconography seen on yellow coffins of the Twenty-First Dynasty.

In comparison, the boxes of Tamerermut, Neysamun and Panebmontu display traditional iconography for some scenes but showcase even more innovations than Herytubekhet and Tabasety's boxes. Unlike the latter two, which feature the striped pattern of 14 black bands painted on a yellow background on the lateral headboard panels, the boxes of Le Mans, Nesiamon and Panebmontu incorporate figurative scenes in that position, suggesting a chronological evolution. This trend towards the inclusion of more scenes contributes to greater *horror vacui*. Additionally, while the boxes of Herytubekhet and Tabasety include the traditional repetition of the scene related to Book of the Dead chapters 151 and 161, this scene on the lower section is absent on the boxes of Tamerermut, Nesiamon and Panebmontu. These three objects can also be considered transitional, leaning more towards the typical arrangement of decoration on yellow coffins from the early Twenty-First Dynasty, indicating a likely later chronological origin than the materials associated with Herytubekhet and Tabasety.

The inclusion of decoration on the upper edge of the walls and the box interior also holds chronological significance. Both are innovations that became typical of yellow coffins from the Twenty-First Dynasty. Tamerermut and Panebmontu's boxes feature decoration on the upper edges of the walls, in line with Tabasety's box. Notably, Panebmontu's box is the only one that includes decoration on the interior.

⁷⁰⁴ Darnell, Manassa Darnell 2018: 61-127.

⁷⁰⁵ Sousa 2020b: 62.

The exterior of Panebmontu's box features the iconographic depiction of two novel complementary scenes, each featured on opposing walls. On the right side, there is the solar barque ruled by Ra-Horakhty-Atum above a representation of the giant snake Apophis, related to either Book of the Dead chapters 136A or 15. On the left side, Osiris is shown enthroned and accompanied by multiple divinities, all depicted above the double-stepped hill. Complementing each scenes, and preceding each of them, is a depiction of the adoring deceased. The increasing frequency with which the deceased is depicted in the box decoration is another iconographic innovation. The novel decoration of the interior includes the winged goddess Nut standing on a *nbw* sign. The ends of her wings are painted on the interior side walls of the box, symbolizing the embrace and protection of the goddess towards the mummy of the deceased.⁷⁰⁶

The iconography displayed on the box of Tamerermut vividly represents the characteristic *horror vacui* and iconography seen on yellow coffins from the early Twenty-First Dynasty. Among the boxes discussed, this example features the highest number of figures and vignettes, showcasing a strong inclination towards *horror vacui*. Specific iconographic scenes are already positioned in definite, fixed locations on the coffin walls, a characteristic defining Twenty-First Dynasty yellow coffins. On the left side of the coffin box, vignettes depict the cosmological composition with Geb and Nut, the judgement scene and the cow emerging from the mountain. The right side includes vignettes with Osiris enthroned on the double-stepped hill,⁷⁰⁷ a second cosmological composition with a large circle containing two small discs joined by dotted lines and small figures holding a hoe, and the scene with the goddess of the sycamore. The box also includes numerous figures representing the deceased, participating in scenes or depicted in isolation.

The innovative iconography on the boxes of Tamerermut and Panebmontu suggests that they were likely the last coffins to be decorated, possibly at the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty. Unlike Panebmontu's box, Tamerermut's does not include iconography on its interior. Additionally, unlike Tamerermut's box and the others, Panebmontu's box is unique in featuring decoration on both the exterior upper edges and the interior. Since both of these attributes became standard in Twenty-First Dynasty yellow coffins, the presence of one or the other in each box does not indicate the relative chronological sequence. However, it is evident that both coffins serve as transitional objects, bridging the styles of the preceding and succeeding periods.

As discussed earlier, the mummy inside Nesiamon's coffin included stolae depicting Ramesses XI, even though his coffin set could have been decorated before his reign. Considering the similarities between the coffin sets of Nesiamon and Panebmontu,⁷⁰⁸ as well as between their mummy boards and the mummy board of Khaemipet, a similar chronology can be proposed for the decoration of the funerary equipment of all three individuals.⁷⁰⁹ Taking into account the innovative iconography featured on the lid and, particularly, on the box of Tamerermut, the decoration of this coffin and mummy board

⁷⁰⁶ Niwiński 1989: 53-54; Niwiński 2018: 36.

⁷⁰⁷ This scene represents the lower part of the universe, that is, the kingdom of Osiris. It is usually accompanied by a complementary scene on the opposing wall depicting Geb and Nut, symbolizing the upper and visible part of the universe, which corresponds to the kingdom of Re. Together, these two cosmological scenes link the coffin to the representation of the entire universe (Niwiński 2011).

⁷⁰⁸ Niwiński 1988: 164 [330]; Van Walsem 2000: 348.

⁷⁰⁹ Although the coffin of Khaemipet has not been identified, it might have displayed very similar iconography and stylistic attributes to the coffins of Nesiamon and Panebmontu.

may be dated to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, marking the transition to the early Twenty-First Dynasty. Finally, based on all the characteristics observed on the rest of the materials, it is likely that all the other coffins and mummy boards predate the decoration of the ensembles of Khaemipet, Nesiamon, Panebmontu and Tamerermut.

The establishment of this relative sequence among the coffins necessitates a revision of the chronologies suggested by Niwiński for certain objects. While he dated the coffin of Nesiamon to around the late Twentieth Dynasty,⁷¹⁰ he also dated the mummy board of Hori to the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty, the coffins of Herytubekhet and Panebmontu to the early Twenty-First Dynasty,⁷¹¹ and the coffin of Tabasety to the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁷¹² The chronology attributed to all of these materials must be pushed back,⁷¹³ as they likely date from around the end of the New Kingdom.⁷¹⁴ Regarding the coffin preserved at Le Mans,⁷¹⁵ this study suggests a chronology for the first time. This particular ensemble, presenting a mummy board that likely reused an early Ramesside wooden support, will be further discussed below.

⁷¹⁰ Niwiński 1988: 145 [220].

⁷¹¹ PM I²: 639 refers to the object as dating from the New Kingdom and incorrectly attributes it to Bab el-Gasus. The object reached its present location prior to the discovery of Bab el-Gasus. The confusion may stem from another coffin, currently at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, sharing the same name, which indeed originated from Bab el-Gasus (Daressy 1907: 12, 35 [A. 133]; Niwiński 1988: 131 [144]).

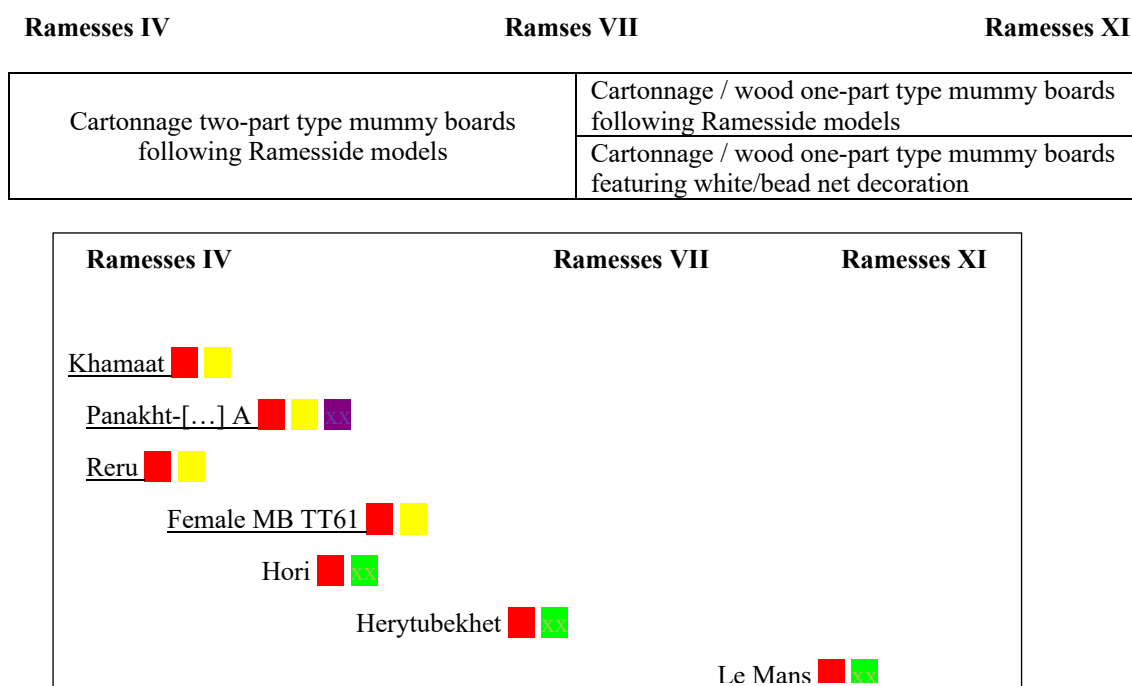
⁷¹² Niwiński 1988: 104 [1], although a “(?)” appears after his suggested chronology for the object. Sousa has suggested a revision of Niwiński’s chronology. He dates the decoration of the coffin from sometime between the late Ramesside period and early Twenty-First Dynasty (Sousa, Nørskov 2018: 215; Sousa 2019: 144; Sousa 2020b: 43, 61-62).

⁷¹³ Van Walsem has already suggested pushing back the chronology for at least one coffin, that of Panebmontu (Van Walsem 2000: 348). Considering the “the cover of [Panebmontu] is analogous to the cover in Leeds” (Niwiński 1988: 164 [330]), and the later cannot be dated after the reign of Ramesses XI, the coffin of Panebmontu should be dated from before the Twenty-First Dynasty. The same chronology should be attributed to the mummy board of Khaemipet, as it is very similar to the mummy boards of Nesiamon (as already suggested in Cooney 2007: 470 [n. 46]), and Panebmontu.

⁷¹⁴ Cooney dates Khaemipet’s mummy board to sometime between the late Twentieth and early Twenty-First Dynasties (Cooney 2007: 248 [n. 48], 470 [n. 46], 484).

⁷¹⁵ Dautant 2014b: 153 [fig. 4D], 158; [http://www.academia.edu/7667996/Dautant-Body Cosmos and Eternity](http://www.academia.edu/7667996/Dautant-Body_Cosmos_and_Eternity) [25, 26]). However, the scholar does not suggest a chronology for the coffin.

Figure 4.2.1 Relative Chronological Sequence of the Materials



■ Mummy boards from sub-group 1

■ Mummy boards from sub-group 2

■ Cartonnage mummy boards

■ Wooden mummy boards

■ Two-part type mummy boards


4.2.5 Identification of an Individual Craftsperson or Closely Related Decorators

A subset cluster of coffins under consideration stands out due to their interconnected decoration. These coffins exhibit layouts that, in some instances, include strikingly similar motifs, scenes and details exhibiting a consistent style. The associated ensembles also display uniform paleography.

This suggests that the decorator(s) likely followed the same textual and iconographical model(s), pattern(s) and sequences while adorning the materials. These similarities may indicate the involvement of a specific individual craftsperson or closely related decorators, possibly collaborating in the same location. Examining the relative chronology of the materials under discussion, as proposed earlier, reveals how the individual craftsperson or related decorators innovated within their lifetime.

Moreover, these similarities strongly imply that if a single decorator was responsible for the ornamentation of these coffins, this person likely adorned both the texts and iconography. Nevertheless, variations exist, featuring slightly dissimilar scenes and texts. Additionally, certain similar scenes occupy different positions on each coffin, indicating that they are not copies of one another. As discussed in Chapter 4, Section 1, the reasons behind the iconographical and textual differences among these closely related coffins, whether driven by the craftsperson's creative agency or the commissioners, remain undetermined.

The funerary materials associated with same individual decorator or closely related ones include: the mummy boards of Khaemipet, Panakht-[...] A, Reru, Wennefer, and the female from TT61; and the sets of Tabasety, Herytubekhet, Tamerermut, Nesiamon, and Panebmontu. Some of the specific similarities between the materials are as follows:

1. Where present, the short transversal bands on the lids and mummy boards include the unique heading sequence , featuring the same paleography and orthography, and followed by the name and epithet(s) of specific gods. Other similar paleographical signs between the materials also exist;
2. The greenery motif;
3. The gendered garments and postures of each of the deceased and divinities, including Osiris, Isis and Nephthys, Thoth, and individual deities on the boxes;
4. The crowns and royal scepters sometimes worn or held by the gods;
5. The terminals of the naophoric pectorals on the first register of the central panel between the lids of Tabasety, Herytubekhet, and the mummy board preserved in Le Mans, featuring a large floral band depicting lotus flowers intertwined with poppies and acacia flowers, and between the mummy boards of Tabasety and Khaemipet, featuring a frieze depicting *dd* pillars and tit knots;
6. The *nbw* basket below Isis and Nephthys, decorated with horizontal lines in its central part, and vertical lines in the corners. This scene is sometimes complemented with three *nfr* signs flanked by *wd3t* eyes underneath;
7. The mummiform sons of Horus, following the same order⁷¹⁶ on almost all of lids and figurative mummy boards, standing and wearing red belts adorned with rosettes, or, alternatively, squatted on a divine standard and grasping the *nhh* scepter;
8. The *dd* pillars adorned with long red belts on the exterior of the boxes of Tabasety, Herytubekhet and Nesiamon;
9. A combination of the *wd3t* eye and the *nfr* and *nb* signs depicted in the last register of the mummy boards of the female from TT61, Tabasety, and Herytubekhet;⁷¹⁷
10. The winged *wd3t* eyes featured on the boxes of Herytubekhet and Panebmontu;
11. The circular loaves under the divine standards on the lids of Hory and Tabasety;
12. The unique depiction of *wd3t* eyes decorating one of the rows of the *wsj* collar on the mummy board of Tabasety and on the lid of Tamerermut;
13. The depiction of squatted mummiform sons of Horus above a divine standard, with identical offerings below the standard, on the lids of Nesiamon and Panebmontu;
14. The Ramesside duplex wig featured on the lid and mummy board of Nesiamon and on the mummy boards of Khaemipet and Panebmontu;⁷¹⁸
15. The short collar between the lappets of the wig and the *wsj* collar on the lids and mummy boards of Khaemipet, Nesiamon and Panebmontu;

⁷¹⁶ From right to left: Imsety, Duamutef, Qebekhsenuf, and Happy. The only object that shows a different order is the mummy board of Panakht-[...] A. Furthermore, the only object that does not feature the sons of Horus as being mummiform is the mummy board from Le Mans.

⁷¹⁷ These motifs exclusively appear in that position on female mummy boards. This may be a mere coincidence, or it could be that they were incorporated when there was limited remaining space for decoration. Unfortunately, the mummy board preserved at Le Mans lacks the end of its lower section; consequently, it cannot be determined whether the object also exhibited these motifs.

⁷¹⁸ These three funerary sets exhibit striking similarities. The shared attributes between two of them, namely the coffins of Nesiamon and Panebmontu, have been previously documented (Niwinski 1988: 164 [330]; Van Walsem 2000: 348). These resemblances strongly indicate that all three sets were likely decorated concurrently.

16. The exact same iconographic program and arrangement on the lower sections of the mummy boards of Panakht-[...] A and the female from TT61;⁷¹⁹ and
17. The vaulted shrine decorated with cobra friezes on the edges, sometimes flanking the mummiform depiction of the falcon-headed god Sokar framing some of the vignettes, on the lid of Tabasety, the coffin set of Tamerermut and both lids and boxes of Nesiamon and Panebmontu.

The fragmented mummy boards of Reru and Wennefer can also be attributed to the same craftsperson or closely related ones responsible for decorating the mummy boards of Khaemipet, Panakht-[...] A and the female from TT61; as well as the sets of Tabasety, Herytubekhet, Tamerermut, Nesiamon and Panebmontu. Regarding the fragmented mummy board of Reru, the use of black pigment for the inclusion of the titulary, the style of the *wd3t* eye positioned below the wing of the goddess, the paleography of the signs D4 and Z7 and the block-frieze framing the object establish a connection with the mummy board of Panakht-[...] A. As for the mummy board of Wennefer, the arrangement and style of its surviving decoration and texts, including the titulary, along with its contemporaneous chronology with the female mummy board found in the same burial chamber -likely belonging to his wife-⁷²⁰ suggests that they could have been decorated by the same craftsperson or closely related decorators.

In addition to the coffin decoration, certain particularities of the supports and carpentry style observed on certain wooden mummy boards are valuable in establishing connections between the materials and potentially identifying the same craftsperson or group of craftspeople collaborating. The mummy boards of Herytubekhet, Tabasety and Hori exhibit a distinctive feature -they are deeply hollowed and remarkably thin.⁷²¹ This feature suggests the possibility that the same craftsperson or closely related ones prepared the supports for these objects. This leads to the question of whether the decorator also manufactured the support, or if a different craftsperson, specifically a carpenter, collaborated with the decorator within the same traditional workshop or an informal setting.⁷²² A comprehensive examination of the technical aspects of the coffins and wooden mummy boards attributed to the same individual(s) in terms of decoration would likely provide new insights on this matter. This comprehensive study should encompass analyses of the wooden supports, including the unique volumetrically signatures displayed by the faces on the lids and mummy boards, as well as an exploration of the preparatory layers -determining, for instance, whether linen was present or absent beneath the pictorial layers.

⁷¹⁹ Schreiber 2018: 193.

⁷²⁰ Schreiber 2015b: 32.

⁷²¹ Sousa 2020a: 38; Sousa 2020b: 56.

⁷²² Informal workshops have been identified in Deir el-Medina during the Ramesside period (Cooney 2007: 128, 133, 144-145, 147, 152, 156-157, 159, 342, with textual examples). For the definition and contextual understanding of an informal workshop, see Cooney 2007: 149. Further insights into the organization of labor related to yellow coffins and the necessity for comprehensive comparative analyses, not limited to decoration but also encompassing the materiality of the objects, can be found in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, Section 1.

4.2.6 Ancient Coffin Modification and/or Reuse

The examination of certain materials under discussion sheds light on the practice of coffin modification and/or reuse during the late Twentieth Dynasty.⁷²³ Some of the coffins are likely to have been redecorated coffins from an earlier period. There is no apparent evidence of modification following their reuse in the late Twentieth Dynasty. On the other hands, other coffins are likely to have been initially constructed for the individuals mentioned on the objects and show no signs of additional modification and/or reuse. It is important to note that in-depth studies and future scientific analysis may potentially alter this understanding.

4.2.6.1 Evidence on the Coffin Sets

With respect to the cartonnage mummy boards discovered at TT400 and TT61, the majority do not show any visible signs of modification and/or reuse. There is only one example of possible modification and/or reuse, that of the cartonnage mummy board of Panakht-[...] A. Schreiber wrote that it “was made of recycled pieces of textile, quite evidently taken from an older mummy-board.”⁷²⁴ However, Schreiber did not present any additional evidence relevant to reuse that supported his finding.

As discussed above, the associated wooden coffins for the mummy boards originating from TT400 and TT61 were likely reused after they were buried there. Only very few remains of these coffins have been found in the tombs, in contrast with the large amount of cartonnage mummy boards that survived. This raises the question of whether mummy boards were reused less frequently or if cartonnage mummy boards, in particular, were less frequently reused because of the nature of their materiality.

Concerning the other coffins and mummy boards under discussion, only two examples suggest modification and/or reuse: the coffin of Panebmontu and the coffin and mummy board preserved at Le Mans. In the case of the former, evidence of modification and/or reuse is suspected based on circumstantial evidence, while in the later, modification and/or reuse is plainly evident.

In the lid and box of Panebmontu, the backside of the inner coffin lid bears a thick layer of black pitch, and the interior of the inner coffin box has black pitch on the bottom with an overcoat of red paint. The red paint aligns with coffin decoration of the late Twentieth Dynasty, while the black pitch is typical of an earlier period. This suggests the modification of an earlier coffin that was likely redecorated for Panebmontu without first removing the earlier black pitch decoration on some surfaces.

Regarding the female coffin set preserved at Le Mans, its three associated surviving elements -inner lid, inner box and mummy board- arrived together at their current location. These elements were likely decorated very close in time or even contemporaneously within the same location and perhaps by the same decorator(s), as corroborated by similar paleography and other stylistic similarities. This suggests that, despite not knowing the original location of the materials, the associated coffin elements likely originate from the same individual burial.

⁷²³ Refer to Chapter 1 for an explanation of the challenges linked to the practice of reuse and the definition of the so-called reuse marks.

⁷²⁴ Schreiber 2018: 192.

However, while the inner coffin -both lid and box- features the name Tamerermut, the mummy board depicts the name of a different woman, Tj[...]peramon. The name on the mummy board is only partially visible due to intentional scratches inflicted on each area where it was written. The subsequent blank space was never inscribed with a new name (see Chapter 2, Chapter 4, Sections 4 and 5 for some insights into coffins featuring blank spaces). Therefore, the appearance of two different names between the mummy board and coffin of an associated set points toward a modification and/or reuse of some of the objects.

This raises the question of why the name on the mummy board was removed. This might suggest that the mummy board originally decorated and inscribed for Tj[...]peramon underwent modification, reuse or usurpation by Tamerermut, the owner of the coffin and possibly a member of the same family⁷²⁵ as Tj[...]peramon. If accurate, the operation involved only the scratching of the name of Tj[...]peramon, without the addition of a new one.

This raises the additional question of whether Tj[...]peramon ever used her mummy board and whether Tamerermut, whose coffin was likely decorated in the same location and possibly by the same decorator(s) who contemporaneously adorned the mummy board, died before Tj[...]peramon, subsequently usurping her funerary mummy board before it was ever used. Alternatively, it is possible that the mummy board was used for a different burial than the coffin, and in modern times, both objects arrived together at the present location.

Future analyses of the materials may provide insights into this matter, as various explanations exist for the unique particularities featured on the elements of this coffin set. Furthermore, the coffin arrived at the present location containing a mummy.⁷²⁶ Although unpublished, future studies might reveal more about the identity of the individual within.

The reuse marks associated with the name featured on the mummy board preserved in Le Mans are not the sole evidence pointing towards the reuse of this object. In contrast to the other covers under discussion, this mummy board deviates from the typical depiction where the forearms of the deceased are crossed on the chest, one on top of the other, positioned above the floral *wsh* collar. Instead, it adopts a new style that emerged at the beginning of the Ramesside Period.⁷²⁷

During this period, instead of simulating the Osirian mummiform appearance and shrouded *sḥ*-form, some lids and mummy covers presented the deceased in a living image,⁷²⁸ adorned in the “festal dress” or “daily dress” -a ceremonial pleated and fringed white garment resembling the attire of the living. This attire reveals the contours of the body and even the feet of the deceased,⁷²⁹ presenting them as a pure *ḥ* soul after rebirth and transformation into an eternal being.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁵ For a deeper understanding of the concept that coffin reuse predominantly occurred within the family context, see Chapter 1.

⁷²⁶ Dautant 2014b: 158.

⁷²⁷ Sousa 2018: 34-35.

⁷²⁸ For examples, see Cooney 2009: 105-108; Sousa 2018: 32-37.

⁷²⁹ Taylor 2017: 542. The representation of the dead as living people also influenced the design of shabtis (Taylor 1989: 39). This resulted in hybrid coffins, with the lid representing a living person and the case

In this brief phase of maximal anthropomorphisation of the coffin,⁷³¹ these lids and mummy boards distinctly reveal the gender of the deceased.⁷³² Female covers may depict the deceased holding ivy or convolvulus leaves, with one arm bent against her breasts and the other lying flat on her thigh. Male examples may appear bare-chested, with arms displayed along the body or crossed on the chest. Both genders were represented wearing ceremonial wigs⁷³³ crafted in a realistic fashion, featuring relief-carved hair texture and braiding motifs, along with carefully rendered individual tresses.⁷³⁴

Another technical innovation introduced in the festive-type dress is the use of selectively applied shiny yellowish varnish on the lids.⁷³⁵ This technique recreates the divine gilded flesh of the deceased, portraying them as a justified god radiating sunlight.⁷³⁶

The female mummy board preserved at Le Mans follows the same manufacture and style, evident in the position of the arms with fistled hands and the meticulously carved hair, showcasing detailed individual tresses framing the deceased's face. Moreover, the wig binding bands and the headband are intricately carved. Unfortunately, the lower part of the mummy board has not survived, preventing knowledge of whether the piece originally displayed the carved feet of the deceased.

Unlike examples from the Nineteenth Dynasty, this object does not feature the “festal dress” but rather depicts the typical iconography of the late Ramesside Period. The tunic sleeves depicted on the arms evoke the white garment of the festive-type dress. Consequently, the object is likely a Nineteenth Dynasty mummy board that underwent redecoration⁷³⁷ during the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty, probably for Tj[...]*peramon*. With the updated decoration, the original depiction of the festive-type dress vanished, but certain older style elements were retained, including the arm position and the delicately carved wig and its details, characteristic of the much older Nineteenth Dynasty style.⁷³⁸

adhering to the traditional Osirian scheme. For the first time in coffin decoration, the lid and the case became conceptually independent from each other (Sousa 2018: 35).

⁷³⁰ Cooney 2009: 106-107; Cooney 2008: 18-19.

⁷³¹ Van Walsem 1997: 359.

⁷³² For the inclusion of both male and female elements on the coffins, a duality which was required for rebirth pursuant to New Kingdom beliefs, see Cooney 2009: 108, 113-114; Taylor 2017: 542.

⁷³³ Introduced during the reign of Akhenaton in both royal and private coffins (Sousa 2018: 26, 34, 271 [pl. 4]), they were ceremonial wigs worn by the living during religious festivals.

⁷³⁴ Cooney 2009: 106.

⁷³⁵ The varnish was applied on the skin, collar, wig and accessories (Sousa 2018: 35-37).

⁷³⁶ Sousa 2018: 36, 47. For the potential ritual significance of the varnish, refer to Chapter 2.

⁷³⁷ In the original decoration, the deceased was probably depicted holding ivy or convolvulus leaves. For examples of this earlier depiction, see the mummy boards of Iset (Cooney 2009: 122 [fig. 4]) and Weretwahset, the later reinscribed for Bensuiptet (Bleiberg, Cooney 2008: figs. 124-125).

⁷³⁸ Cooney proposed that the lid of Tamutmutef (Turin Cat. 2228; CGT 10119.a) was originally crafted during the Nineteenth Dynasty, as it depicts the deceased in the manner of a living person. This is evident from the positioning of her arms and the detailed carving of her feet. According to Cooney, the lid underwent reuse and redecoration, aligning with the prevalent Osirian iconography of the mid-Twenty-First Dynasty yellow coffins (Cooney 2011: 34-36; Cooney 2017b: 106-107; Cooney 2018c: 74 [n. 230]; Cooney 2019: 104, 106 [fig. 67]). In contrast, Niwiński categorized such female covers under his type IVc, which includes covers contemporaneously manufactured and decorated during the Twenty-First Dynasty deliberately featuring earlier styles as a trend towards archaization (Niwiński 1988: 79-80). Following this perspective, Niwiński dates the coffin of Tamutmutef to the end of the Twenty-First

As discussed earlier (see Chapter 1), the practice of coffin modification and/or reuse during the Twentieth and early Twenty-First Dynasties typically did not effectively⁷³⁹ conceal the original construction of the support,⁷⁴⁰ nor did it commonly involve the removal of the older decoration before applying a new pictorial lawyer. The coffin of Panebmontu serves as an illustrative example.

Reuse, as demonstrated by the example from Le Mans, sometimes involves a mix of styles and multiple interventions on the same object, complicating efforts in typological seriation.⁷⁴¹ Fortunately, in the case of the mummy board preserved at Le Mans, it is possible to establish both its original creation date and the subsequent changes and redecoration during a likely second use. As mentioned earlier, the deliberate scratch of the name of Tj[...]peramon suggests a third use of the object, following its initial modification and/or reuse from an earlier mummy board and subsequent redecoration for her.

Archaeometric analyses, including stratigraphic studies and C14 radiocarbon analysis, can provide valuable insights in this regard. Specifically, regarding the example from Le Mans, scientific analysis could help determine whether older decoration layers exist beneath the current decoration or if the craftsperson removed them before applying the newer decoration.

All the discussed coffins were decorated under commission, evident from the consistent application of iconography and inscriptions linking the elements to the specific deceased. Furthermore, each component within the individual coffin sets was likely decorated simultaneously (see Chapter 2 for objects representing the opposite scenario) and for the same owner, with one exception being the mummy board preserved at Le Mans. Although commissioned for a specific individual, it was initially intended for different individual than the one later associated with it.

The significant attention to detail in including names and titles of the deceased, both in the main inscriptions and small captions accompanying the vignettes, is a distinctive feature across all examples. This personalized approach to coffin decoration aligns with the numerous representations of the deceased on the vignettes. This particular focus on the owner of the materials corresponds with coffin decoration and production of the late Ramesside Period.⁷⁴² From the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty onwards, there is a

Dynasty (Niwiński 1988: 172 [384]; Niwiński 2004: 124-125), without acknowledging that the support perhaps originates from a much earlier period. However, as explored in Chapter 4, Section 4, even if the carving echoes earlier styles, the decoration is argued to be typical of the high status of its time, not archaizing, despite the coffin being a lower quality version of the trends among the elite (Sousa, Vilaró-Fabregat forthcoming). Of course, a thorough analysis, including proper scientific scrutiny, is essential to assess the date of the wood associated with the object and its possible modification and/or reuse at a later time.

⁷³⁹ Despite the dearth of skills and training to hide reuse, the modification of the support may have sometimes demanded more wood modification than the owner's time and/or money would allow. This fact constrained the craftsperson to retaining the old wood modelling in a redecorated piece.

⁷⁴⁰ The mummy board preserved at Le Mans does not, however, show the contours of the female body modelled out of the surface wood, as one would expect from a Nineteenth Dynasty carved mummy board. The craftsperson who reused the mummy board during the late Ramesside Period may have modified the lower section with plaster, thereby updating it, so that it was not so out of fashion. It is also possible that the object might have been crafted to emulate earlier styles for reasons that are currently unknown.

⁷⁴¹ Cooney 2018c: 74.

⁷⁴² Sousa 2021: 157.

shift away from this trend, and coffins become more anonymous, suggesting a departure from specific individual commissions (see Chapter 2 for examples). As a result, the personal association of the owner with the object started to diminish.⁷⁴³

4.2.7 Coffin Titulary

The titulary featured on the discussed coffins and mummy boards (see Table 4.2.2) provides insights into the social statuses of the material owners. While the female titulary includes honorific and generic titles, the male titulary reveals the relationships between the deceased individuals and their official roles, along with their institutional affiliations in the northern area of Karnak. The preponderance of evidence indicates that, due to various crises towards the end of the New Kingdom, some of these deceased individuals eventually came to be buried together. Therefore, the individuals interred in tombs TT61 and TT400 at el-Khokha were not necessarily, although it is also probable, members of the same family but shared common institutions and social classes. As suggested below, their social classes might have influenced the decorative solutions exhibited on their respective mummy boards.

Table 4.2.2 Coffin Titulary

Coffins and Coffin Elements	Titulary	Translation
Panakht-[...] A (<i>P3-nht-[...]</i>)	<i>hry sdm-š n pr Imn</i>	Chief workman of the domain of Amun
Reru (<i>Rrw</i>)	<i>hry sdm-š n pr Imn</i>	Chief workman of the domain of Amun
Not preserved, ♀	<i>šmꜣyt n Imn</i>	Chantress of Amun
Wennefer (<i>Wn-nfr</i>)	<i>hry sftw n [...]; [...] Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw hry sdm-š;</i> ⁷⁴⁴	Chief butcher of [...] [...] of Amun-Ra king of the gods Chief workman
Khamaat (<i>Hꜥ-M3ꜥt</i>)	<i>Nbt pr; šmꜣyt n Imn Mwt Hnsw</i>	Mistress of the house Chantress of Amun, Mut and Khonsu
Hori (<i>hri</i>)	<i>hry sdm-š n pr Imn</i>	Chief workman of the domain of Amun
Herytubekhet (<i>hryt-wbht</i>)	<i>šmꜣyt n Imn</i>	Chantress of Amun
Tabasety (<i>ṭ-b3-sty</i>)	<i>Nbt pr; šmꜣyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i>	Mistress of the house Chantress of Amun-Ra king of the gods
Tamerermut/Tj[...] peramon (<i>ṭ-mrr-Mwt/t[...]-pr-Imn</i>)	<u>Coffin:</u> <i>Nbt pr; šmꜣyt n pr Imn nsw ntrw; šmꜣyt n Hnsw m W3st Nfr-ḥtp</i> <u>Mummy board:</u> <i>Nbt pr; šmꜣyt n pr Imn m Ipt-swt [...]; šmꜣyt n pr Imn-Rꜥ [...]</i>	Mistress of the house Chantress of Amun king of the gods Chantress of Khonsu in Thebes Neferhotep ⁷⁴⁵ Mistress of the house Chantress of the domain of Amun in Karnak [...] Chantress of the domain of Amun-Ra

⁷⁴³ Sousa 2021: 149, 159.

⁷⁴⁴ The small fragments of his mummy board which have survived feature the titles *hry sftw n [...]*, and *[...] Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*. Two shabtis, found in the same room that contained the cartonnage, exhibit the name Wennefer, alongside the title *hry sdm-š*, suggesting a likely relationship between the shabtis and the cartonnage (Schreiber 2015b: 33). For the discussed shabtis, see Schreiber 2015b: pl. XII [1.4.7, 1.4.8].

⁷⁴⁵ For this epithet, see Villar 2015: 21-22, with references.

		[...]
Pa-[...]shepes-[...] (<i>P3-[...]šps-[...]</i>)	<i>sš pr-ḥd n [pr] 'Imn</i>	Scribe of the Treasury [of the domain of] Amun
Shedwyduat (<i>šd-wy-dw3t</i>)	<i>Nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜣyt n 'Imn</i>	Mistress of the house Chantress of Amun
Panakht-[...] B (<i>P3-nht-[...]</i>)	<i>[...] pr 'Imn</i>	[...] domain of Amun
Henuttawy (<i>ḥnwt-t3wy</i>)	<i>šmꜣyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i>	Chantress of Amun-Ra king of the gods
Khaemipet (<i>ḥꜥ-m-ipt</i>)	<i>sš w3ḥ ḥtp n ntrw nbw</i>	Scribe who presents offerings to all the gods
Nesiamon (<i>Nsy-'Imn</i>)	<i>it-ntr;</i> <i>it-ntr mry;</i> <i>wꜥb n Mntw-Rꜥ (nb) w3st;</i> <i>sš ḥwt-ntr n Mntw-Rꜥ nb Wꜥst;</i> <i>sš ḥwt-ntr n Mntw-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš w3ḥ ḥtp n ntrw nbw Mḥw šmꜣw;</i> <i>sš ḥsb k3w n pr 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i> <i>Mwt ḥnsw</i>	God's father God's father, god's beloved Wab-priest of Montu-Ra, (lord of) Thebes Scribe of the temple of Montu-Ra, lord of Thebes Scribe of the temple of Montu-Ra, King of the Gods Scribe who presents offerings to all the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt Scribe of the Accounts of the Cattle of the Domain of Amun-Ra King of the Gods, Mut and Khonsu
Panebmontu (<i>P3-nb-Mntw</i>)	<i>it-ntr mry-ntr;</i> <i>it-ntr mry-ntr n Mntw-Rꜥ nb W3st;</i> <i>wꜥb ꜣwy;</i> <i>wn ꜣwy m st wrt;</i> <i>ḥry sš3 m išd šps;</i> <i>ḥry-ḥb tpy n Mntw nb W3st</i>	God's father, god's beloved God's father, god's beloved of Montu-Ra, Lord of Thebes The one with pure hands One who opens the doors in the great place ⁷⁴⁶ Master of secrets of the noble Ished tree ⁷⁴⁷ First lector-priest of Montu, lord of Thebes

4.2.7.1 Coffins Owners: Familial Bonds and/or Professional Affiliations?

The female titles found on the artifacts under discussion include either *nbt pr*, denoting the mistress of the house, or *šmꜣyt*, indicating a chantress. The title *nbt pr* is an honorific and generic designation for the civil status of any married woman.⁷⁴⁸ Conversely, *šmꜣyt* is a purely honorific title⁷⁴⁹ likely associated with female chorus singers who performed in temples dedicated to specific gods. Unlike professional musicians and priestesses, they should be regarded as auxiliary female priesthood staff who joined the activities of the temple due to their personal piety.⁷⁵⁰ On the materials under discussion, the title *šmꜣyt* appears related with the god Amun-Ra in all examples. This titulary suggests that

⁷⁴⁶ The “great place” refers to the sanctuary of a temple (Wb 4, 7.8-12).

⁷⁴⁷ The “Ished tree” refers to the sacred tree in Heliopolis (WB I: 136.13).

⁷⁴⁸ Naguib 1990: 19, 236.

⁷⁴⁹ Graefe 1981: 48

⁷⁵⁰ For the title “*šmꜣyt*”, see Naguib 1990: 235-239.

the activity of these women was likely related to the area of Karnak. On the coffin preserved at Le Mans, in addition to the god Amun-Ra, the title was also related to Khonsu.

In contrast, male titles associated with the burials of tombs TT400 and TT61 at el-Khokha, as well as the majority of the male funerary materials under discussion, provide valuable insights into the official roles of the deceased individuals. For example, Khamin, buried with his wife Raia in tomb TT400 during the reign of Ramesses II, held significant positions. His titles, such as “Scribe of the Treasury of the domain of Amun” (*sš pr-ḥd n pr Imn*), “Scribe of the divine offerings of the domain of Amun” (*sš ḥtpw-ntr n pr-Imn*), and “Prophet of Maat” (*ḥm-ntr n M3ʿt*), establish his role in the Treasury and his association with the high clergy. Notably, the main local temple devoted to Maat⁷⁵¹ once stood in the vicinity of the Treasury, institutions located in the northern part of Karnak.⁷⁵²

Shortly after the interment of Khamin and Raia, likely during the Nineteenth Dynasty, their burial chamber, corresponding to Structure 6/A within the tomb, was converted into a group burial for at least eight people. This is suggested by the discovery of eight two-part openwork mummy boards made of wood or cartonnage found in the chamber.⁷⁵³ Within this burial group, at least one individual, Suty, held the position of a *wʿb* priest in the temple of Maat, which is the same temple where Khamin held the post of *ḥm-ntr*.⁷⁵⁴

As previously mentioned, a second intrusive group burial dating to the late Ramesside period was discovered within TT400, specifically in Structure 5, Chamber 2. Some of the ten mummy boards found in that chamber have been attributed to the group under discussion. Amenmes, even though his coffin set has not been identified, was likely buried there based on the existence of funerary items associated with the individual in Chamber 2. His titulary associates him with the Treasury and the Domain of Ptah.⁷⁵⁵ The titulary of Pa-[...]-shepes-[...], the owner of one of the mummy boards discovered in the same chamber, also relates the owner to official duties linked to the Treasury. Interestingly, the domain of Ptah was another institution situated on the northern border of the domain of Amun-Ra in Karnak.

The remaining fully intact male titulary featured on the mummy boards found in Chamber 2 is associated with Reru and Panakht-[...] A. Both men held the title of “Chief workman of the domain of Amun”.⁷⁵⁶ Although their titulary does not explicitly mention the institution(s) where they operated, workmen and chief workmen were known to be involved in all major departments of the domain of Amun, including the Treasury⁷⁵⁷ and the memorial temples.⁷⁵⁸ This suggests that TT400 served as the burial

⁷⁵¹ For images exhibiting Khamin’s titulary, see Schreiber 2015a: 44 [figs. 2-4].

⁷⁵² Schreiber 2018: 186.

⁷⁵³ Schreiber 2018: 186.

⁷⁵⁴ Schreiber 2018: 187.

⁷⁵⁵ The religious titles of Amenmes, “God’s father” and “Prophet of Amun of the domain of Ptah”, are featured on a block statue in Karnak that has been related to him (Schreiber 2018: 196-198, with references).

⁷⁵⁶ Schreiber 2015a: 50; Schreiber 2018: 189-192 [5, 7].

⁷⁵⁷ Helck 1958: 190.

⁷⁵⁸ Haring 1997: 126-127, 197-198, 368.

site for officials affiliated with the same associated institutions located in the northern part of Karnak.⁷⁵⁹

There is no surviving information about the family ties that may have existed between the occupants of TT400, as the genealogy and filiation of the deceased are not typically inscribed on Ramesside coffins and mummy boards.⁷⁶⁰ However, the inscriptions related to Amenmes mention his father and sister,⁷⁶¹ though nothing related to them has been found in the tomb. This suggests that the tomb was not intended to be a family tomb but rather for individuals belonging to the same socio-economic and institutional stratum in Theban society, with related professional roles and/or affiliations. Regarding the females buried in tomb TT400, in the absence of any contrary evidence, it is suggested that they were likely the spouses of the men buried there.

Therefore, it is likely that Khamin and the owners of the materials found in the two intrusive Ramesside burial groups that reused his funerary structure originated from the same socio-economic class of Theban society. Some decades likely passed between the original burial of Khamin around the reign of Ramesses II and the addition of the late Ramesside burials in Structure 5, Chamber 2 of TT400. Hence, the burial equipment found in TT400 exemplifies the evolution of funerary material decoration in terms of composition and style over that period. The group of mummy boards found in Structure 5, Chamber 2, when compared to the earlier Ramesside examples, testifies to a notable shift in style and iconography. For example, openwork was abandoned, and cartonnage was the exclusive material used for the manufacture of mummy boards.

Concerning TT61, the titulary associated with some of the burial owners is helps establish a patterned use of the tomb. Amenhotep, interred in the tomb with his wife during the reign of Ramesses III, held the positions of chief physician and priest of Mut (*wꜥb n Mwt*). Similar to the observations made in tomb TT400, TT61 underwent reused toward the end of the New Kingdom with the addition of new burials. Wennefer's late Ramesside cartonnage mummy board, found in Room VIII of tomb TT61 and attributed to the group of objects under discussion, reveals his titulary. Wennefer served in the priesthood of Amun-Re, held the role of chief workman (*hry sdm-ꜥš*) -similar to Reru and Panakht-[...] A buried in tomb TT400- and also held to the title of chief butcher (*hry sftw*). The latter title is associated with the ritual slaughter of cattle for the temple, involving the responsibility of providing meat offerings. To ensure the ritual purity of the sacrificed cattle, such ritual slaughters were overseen by a *wꜥb* priest or a priest of Sekhmet.⁷⁶² Given the shared functions between the priests of Sekhmet and Mut, a connection between Wennefer and Amenhotep may have existed.⁷⁶³ Therefore, individuals reusing tomb TT61 during the late New Kingdom, buried in Rooms VII-VIII, might have been Amenhotep's colleagues and associates, although additional ties, including familial ones, cannot be ruled out.⁷⁶⁴

The end of the New Kingdom witnessed social unrest, economic crisis and restricted access to resources. While the elite continued to commission elaborate coffin sets and

⁷⁵⁹ Schreiber 2015a: 52; Schreiber 2015b: 32; Schreiber 2018: 198-199.

⁷⁶⁰ Schreiber 2015a: 50.

⁷⁶¹ These inscriptions appear on the aforementioned block statue in Karnak.

⁷⁶² Haring 1997: 126, 368; Känel 1984: 239-240.

⁷⁶³ Schreiber 2015b: 33

⁷⁶⁴ Schreiber 2015b: 32.

funerary materials, only a few could afford to construct a new tomb or gain ownership rights over an existing one. Starting in the mid-Twentieth Dynasty, the elite reduced spending on the construction and decoration of private tombs. During this period, a new common practice emerged as an economic solution, where long-term tomb ownership was shared among individuals not necessarily linked by family ties but by the same social cluster in Thebes. This provided burial access to a broader stratum of society, with these burials being collective rather than individual. The economic crisis is supported by the decreasing number of pottery vessels and valuable goods for the afterlife in burials from the end of the New Kingdom in both TT61 and TT400.⁷⁶⁵ This situation, differing from early Ramesside burials, became typical in the early Third Intermediate Period.

Although lacking chronological data and archaeological context for the remaining coffins and mummy boards under discussion, the analysis of male titulary indicates potential relationships and ties among the owners of the discussed materials. The title on Hori's mummy board, *hry sdm-š*, reflects the same professional activities and official positions as some of the deceased individuals buried at el-Khokha -namely, Reru and Panakht-[...] A in TT400, and Wennefer in TT61.

The majority of the titles depicted on the coffin sets of Nesiamon and Panebmontu are associated with official services in the temple of Montu, located in the northern part of Karnak. Their titulary places them in the same official area where individuals buried in tombs TT400 and TT61 also served officially. The mummy board of Khaemipet features the title *sš w3h htp n ntrw nbw*. This same title was held by Nesiamon, suggesting a potential relationship between these two individuals. Although the titulary of Khaemipet may have been more extensive, only his mummy board has been preserved or otherwise identified. Decorated around the same time, the mummy board of Khaemipet and the coffin sets of Nesiamon and Panebmontu exhibit striking similarities, indicating the possibility that they were decorated by the same craftsman or closely related decorators. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that Khaemipet shared more titles consistent with those of Nesiamon and even Panebmontu.

4.2.7.2 *Influence of Owners' Social Status on Coffin Decoration*

The male titulary of the late Ramesside burials in el-Khokha, along with that of the owners of the remaining materials under discussion, provides insights into their social status and roles within Theban society, including those of their wives. These individuals held positions ranging from mid to high-level officials. Among the late Ramesside group in TT400, Amenmes⁷⁶⁶ stood out as the most socially elevated, holding the title of "Chief Guardian of the Treasury of the domain of Amun" (*hry s3wty pr-hd n pr Imn*) and potentially a "God's father and Prophet of Amun of the domain of Ptah".⁷⁶⁷ His elevated social status may explain the absence of elements from his coffin set, perhaps

⁷⁶⁵ In TT400, a substantial collection of late Ramesside ceramic vessels, probably utilized in funerary rituals, was discovered in the tomb forecourt. In contrast, a minimal number of these vessels were included in the late Ramesside burials themselves (Schreiber 2018: 194, Schreiber 2015a: 50; Schreiber 2015b: 33-34). Similarly, a scarce amount of pottery associated with the late Ramesside burials has been recognized in TT61 (Schreiber 2015b: 33).

⁷⁶⁶ Schreiber 2015a: 49.

⁷⁶⁷ Schreiber 2018: 196-198, with references.

including a wooden mummy board, which might be attributed to their eventual perceived value and attractiveness for looters or reuse.

Pa-[...]-shepes-[...], another individual in TT400, held the high position of a scribe of the Treasury [of the domain of] Amun (*sš pr-ḥd n [pr] Imn*). Reru and Panakht-[...] A, also from the same late Ramesside group burial in TT400 (Structure 5, Chamber 2), were “Chief workm[e]n of the domain of Amun”. While the title denotes a crew leader, they held middle-ranking positions subordinate to higher officials.⁷⁶⁸ Wennefer, whose fragmented mummy board was in Room VIII from TT61 along with some fragmented shabtis, and Hori, whose mummy board lacks any archaeological context, were also chief workmen (*ḥry sdm-š*).

Khaemipet and Nesiamon had scribal titles related to religious offerings. Nesiamon also held roles associated with scribal activities in the temple of Montu and with the scribal accounts of the cattle for the domain of Amun. Panebmontu possessed titles associated with various institutions, including the temple of Montu. However, compared to Khaemipet and Nesiamon, Panebmontu likely held higher-ranking priestly titles, such as *ḥry-ḥb tpy n Mntw nb W3st*, that is, “First lector-priest of Montu”.

Interestingly, upon analyzing the titulary of male owners and comparing it to the decoration on their associated mummy boards (see Table 4.2.3), it turns out that the mummy boards that once belonged to males with the title of “Chief workman” -namely Reru, Panakht-[...] A, Wennefer and Hori- all adhere to the decorative style defining sub-group 1. This aligns them more closely with traditional early Ramesside iconography and layout. In contrast, males with higher-ranking titulary whose official duties were linked to scribal practice -including Pa-[...]-shepes-[...], Khaemipet, Nesiamon and Panebmontu- were interred with mummy boards featuring the distinctive decorative style of sub-group 2. Panakht-[...] B’s mummy board, consistent with sub-group 2, only displays the last part of the owner’s title, [...] *pr Imn*, preventing a clear determination of the owner’s social status.

The decoration of Amenmes’s mummy board, holding the highest status among those buried in Structure 5, Chamber 2 of TT400, remains unknown and would provide valuable insights.

As previously mentioned, it is likely that the same craftsperson or closely related decorators participated in decorating both types of co-existing mummy boards. The continuity of a craftsperson between coffins implies that the determining factor between variables was external to the craftsperson. This constellation of data raises the question of whether the decorative choices for the lower sections of the mummy boards could be linked to the social status of the owner (see Table 4.2.3). If so, were the elements from sub-group 2 more innovative and perhaps associated with higher-status individuals who were the first to request or be subject to experimentation and/or innovation with their funerary equipment? Did this choice influence the social rituals and display practices during the funerary procession? Of course, it is possible that this is just a coincidence, and the decision regarding the decorative solution of the lower sections of the mummy boards was simply determined by preferences expressed by the respective owners. If the male mummy board titulary indeed corresponds to the social status of the deceased, the

⁷⁶⁸ Schreiber 2015a: 50.

decorative solution on the lower part of female mummy boards likely aligns with the social status of their respective husbands.

As suggested in the following sections (Chapter 4, Sections 3-5), status likely played a role in the decoration and inclusion of specific figurative scenes and texts on the funerary containers. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 3, the white background on “yellow” coffins, as observed with one of the outer coffins associated with Butehamon, created a visual effect that explicitly conveyed the high status of the individual interred within the coffins to any potential audience.

Table 4.2.3 Titulary of Male Owners Classified Based on the Decoration on Their Associated Mummy Boards

Male individuals associated with mummy boards attributed to sub-group 1		Male individuals associated with mummy boards attributed to sub-group 2	
Owner	Preserved titulary	Owner	Preserved titulary
Reru	<i>hry sdm-ꜥꜥ n pr ꜥmn</i>	Pa-[...]-shepes- [...]	<i>sꜥ pr-ḥꜥ n [pr] ꜥmn</i>
Panakht-[...] A	<i>hry sdm-ꜥꜥ n pr ꜥmn</i>	Khaemipet	<i>sꜥ wꜥḥ ḥtp n ntrw nbw</i>
Wennefer	<i>hry sftw n [...]; [...] ꜥmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw; hry sdm-ꜥꜥ⁷⁶⁹</i>	Nesiamon⁷⁷⁰	<i>it-ntr; it-ntr mry; wꜥb n Mntw-Rꜥ (nb) wꜥst; sꜥ ḥwt-ntr n Mntw-Rꜥ nb Wꜥst; sꜥ ḥwt-ntr n Mntw-Rꜥ nsw ntrw; sꜥ wꜥḥ ḥtp n ntrw nbw Mḥw šmꜥw; sꜥ ḥsb kꜥw n pr ꜥmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw Mwt ḥnsw</i>
Hori	<i>hry sdm-ꜥꜥ n pr ꜥmn</i>	Panebmontu⁷⁷¹	<i>it-ntr mry-ntr; it-ntr mry-ntr n Mntw-Rꜥ nb Wꜥst; wꜥb ꜥwy; wn ꜥwy m st wrt; hry sꜥtꜥ m iꜥd šps; hry-ḥb tpy n Mntw nb Wꜥst</i>

⁷⁶⁹ The title *hry sdm-ꜥꜥ* is featured on two shabtis that have been attributed to Wennefer.

⁷⁷⁰ The titles *it-ntr mry* and *wꜥb n Mntw-Rꜥ (nb) wꜥst* are also attributed to Nesiamon but are only featured on his coffin and not on his mummy board.

⁷⁷¹ The title *hry-ḥb tpy n Mntw nb Wꜥst* is also attributed to Panebmontu but is only featured on his coffin and not on his mummy board.

Chapter 4, Section 3

4.3 The Litany of Ra as a Social Status Indicator on Yellow Coffins and Papyrus from the Late New Kingdom to the Early Twenty-First Dynasty

4.3.1 Introduction

During the New Kingdom, the institution of the Tomb (*p3 hr*) was an administrative unit responsible for overseeing all operations related to the royal tombs in Western Thebes, including their construction, decoration and preservation. The activities of some of its associated workers, and, specifically, the highest-ranking active scribes, have been extensively studied as reflected in the vast amount of graffiti and dipinti carved in the Theban necropolises.

While the professional activities of the tomb workers and their close associates are well known, few objects associated with their funerary equipment have survived. This section offers an overview of some of the coffins belonging to some of these high-ranking civil servants who lived during the transition from the late New Kingdom to the early Twenty-First Dynasty. These coffins are preserved in multiple institutions around the globe.

The exterior of their boxes feature a unique decoration that originates from the Litany of Ra. Curiously, this same iconography can also appear on specific coffins from the same period, particularly those associated with high-status individuals, notably those directly associated with the family of the High Priest of Amun. In this context, it suggests that the roles held by certain workers within the Institution of the Tomb, as well as high-ranking civil servants operating within the same context and time frame, granted to them sufficient prestige that may have infused them with a unique understanding and knowledge of the cultural and religious significance of these specific iconographies and texts. This knowledge could have motivated them to access and incorporate these particular iconographic and textual models employed by the elite of that period into their own funerary equipment, thereby solidifying their position within the elite strata of society.

A similar pattern emerges when examining specific papyri from the same period, which once more display the iconography associated with the Litany of Ra. These papyri, too, are linked to individuals who occupied high-status positions within society.

Furthermore, some of the discussed coffins not only feature the same or similar iconographical and textual models, but also exhibit palaeographical and stylistic resemblances. These similarities suggest the possibility that they were decorated in the same facility, or perhaps even by the same craftsman or close related decorators.

The section will comprise a comprehensive analysis of the titulary of these interconnected individuals, providing insights not only into their roles and positions but also into the advancements in their careers and *cursus honorum*. This investigation reveals the significance of social factors related to the owners of these coffin, factors that granted them access to specific iconographic and textual models that could be used to decorated their funerary materials. This concept facilitates new analytical insights into the operational dynamics and organizational structure of manufacturing and

decoration facilities during the transition from the New Kingdom to the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period.

Table 4.3.1 Coffins and Coffin Elements Attributed to the Same or Similar Textual and Iconographical Model(s)

Coffins	Location	Plates
Butehamon (<i>Bw-th-Imn</i>) ⁷⁷² (outer box, outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board)	Art & History Museum, Brussels (E. 5288) (outer box)	4.3/3-4
	Egyptian Museum, Turin (Cat. 2236; CGT 10101.a, CGT 10101.b) (outer coffin)	4.3/1-2, 7
	Egyptian Museum, Turin (Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.a, CGT 10102.b) (inner coffin)	4.3/5-7
	Egyptian Museum, Turin (Cat. 2237; CGT 10103) (mummy board)	4.3/7
Heramunpenaef (<i>hr-n-Imn-pn^c=f</i>) ⁷⁷³ (inner coffin, mummy board)	Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh (Inv. 22266-3b/d) (inner coffin)	4.3/8-10
	Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh (Inv. 22266-3c) (mummy board)	4.3/10
Horemkeniset (<i>hr-m-ḳni-3st</i>) ⁷⁷⁴ (inner coffin, mummy board)	City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol (H.641) (inner coffin)	4.3/11-13
	City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol (H.641) (mummy board)	4.3/13
Tjanefer (<i>t3-nfr</i>) ⁷⁷⁵ (inner coffin)	Musée du Louvre, Paris (E. 18843 (Guimet 1334)) (inner coffin)	4.3/14-16
Sutymes (<i>sty-msyw</i>) ⁷⁷⁶ (outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board)	Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 2609) (outer coffin)	4.3/17-18
	Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 2610) (inner coffin)	4.3/19-21
	Musée du Louvre, Paris (N. 2611) (mummy board)	4.3/22
Shedsuamon (<i>šd-sw-Imn</i>) ⁷⁷⁷ (outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29678 (CG 6200, 6201)) (outer coffin)	4.3/23-24, 27
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29678 (CG 6202, 6203)) (inner coffin)	4.3/24-26
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29678 (CG 6204)) (mummy board)	
Taudjatra (<i>t3-wd3t-R^c</i>) ⁷⁷⁸ (outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29737 (CG 6278, 6279)) (outer coffin)	4.3/28-29, 33
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29737 (CG 6280, 6281)) (inner coffin)	4.3/30-33
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29737 (CG 6282)) (mummy board)	4.3/33
Hatshepsut (<i>h3t-špswt</i>) ⁷⁷⁹ (inner coffin)	Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble (3572 (1); 3572 (2)) (inner coffin)	4.3/34-35

⁷⁷² Capart 1905: 80-81; Speleers 1923: 76-77 [288-289]; Seeber 1976: 214 [13-14]; Niwiński 1984: 136-138; Niwiński 1988: 112 [47], 172-173 [385]; Niwiński 2004: 21-61, 151-157, 189-194, 210-212 [pls. A-C], pls. I-VII; Guérin 2008; Guérin 2010: 586-648; Jamen 2012: 184-188 [110]; Ciccopiedi 2019: 80-87.

⁷⁷³ Patch 1990: 68-69 [55]; Demarée 2003: 250.

⁷⁷⁴ Niwiński 1988: 112 [45]; Taylor 1995: 61-66; Dawson 2002; Taylor 2002; Spencer 2002.

⁷⁷⁵ Niwiński 1988: 165 [336].

⁷⁷⁶ Niwiński 1988: 166 [341]; Guichard 2018: 132-133 [Cat. 61]; Siesse 2019: 210-212.

⁷⁷⁷ Daressy 1907: 6, 23 [A. 30]; Niwiński 1988: 126 [116].

⁷⁷⁸ Daressy 1907: 13, 17, 37 [A. 144]; Niwiński 1988: 131 [143].

⁷⁷⁹ Kueny, Yoyotte 1979: 83-86 [108]; Niwiński 1988: 142 [203]; Guichard 2018: 130-131 [Cat. 60].

4.3.2 The career of Butehamon and his association with the institution of “the Tomb” (*p3 hr*)

Butehamon was a civil servant of elevated rank who worked for the institution of “the Tomb” (*p3 hr*)⁷⁸⁰ during the latter part of the Twentieth Dynasty and the initial phase of the Twenty-First Dynasty, specifically serving under the auspices of Ramesses XI and Smendes.⁷⁸¹ This institution was an administrative unit responsible for overseeing all operations related to the royal tombs in Western Thebes, including their construction, decoration and preservation.⁷⁸²

The highest-ranking active necropolis scribe affiliated with the institution was conferred with the title of “senior scribe of the Tomb” (*sš nsw n p3 hr*),⁷⁸³ a professional position attained by Butehamon over the course of his life. The reconstructive analysis of Butehamon's professional career is based on a wide array of inscriptions that reference this individual (see Table 4.3.2), including various document types, with the majority of these inscriptions comprising graffiti and dipinti present in the Theban mountain region, scattered among the majority of its necropolises.

These documents provide evidence of Butehamon's journeys in the area, sometimes with companions such as family members or fellow workers affiliated with the same institution. This information sheds light on the official visits and inspections associated with the surveillance and preservation of royal tombs, exploratory visits for possible burials and the search for ancient tombs, as well as their possible implication on the official transfer and reburial of the royal mummies alongside with their still existing funerary equipment in appropriate caches after their “osirification”, this is, their restoration and rewrapping in workshops that existed specifically for this purpose. Some other inscriptions record simple inspections and inventory purposes of tombs that had been previously robbed or damaged.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸⁰ *P3 hr* is the abbreviated form of “The great and noble Tomb of millions of years of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity and health, in the west of Thebes” (*sš p3 hr 3 šps ʿnh wd3 snb m hhw n [rnpwt n] Pr-ʿ3 ʿnh wd3 snb m Imnt W3st*), extended version encountered in a graffito (Spiegelberg 1921: 16 [136]). For a discussion of the institution and its terminology, see Černý 1973: 1-28; Häggmann 2002: 52-56.

⁷⁸¹ While Niwinski (1984; 2003) initially postulated the existence of three scribes named Butehamon, who were sons of various Djehutymes, Jansen-Winkel (1994) and Davies (1997) have refuted this idea, demonstrating that there was only one individual with such a title and genealogy.

⁷⁸² In contrast with the institution of “the Tomb” (*p3 hr*), the “Place of Truth” (*st m3ʿt*) referred to a significantly larger geographical unit, denoting the vast necropolises, and even the entire west bank of Thebes (Černý 1973: 35-40, 59-67; Ventura 1986: 38-63; Häggman 2002: 56-57). Conversely, the designation *3ht nhh* refers to the King's tomb (Černý 1973: 74-79), and the *pr dt* is equivalent to the *p3 hr* (Černý 1973: 80-81). All of these terms are documented in connection with the titles and the wide range of activities undertaken by Butehamon.

⁷⁸³ Černý 1973: 225. The term “senior scribe” was already used in Davies 1999 and Peden 2001. The senior scribes also managed the materials controlled by the institution, an important responsibility that sometimes earned them the title of “Overseer/Superior of the double treasury of the Lord of the two lands in the Place of Truth” (*imy-r prwy hd n nb t3wy m st m3ʿt*), as observed in the case of Butehamon. Another way to interpret Butehamon's unusual title as “Treasurer” is to consider that the tombs essentially served as a sort of treasury, and given Butehamon's role in clearing old tombs, he likely had a special responsibility related to this (Jansen-Winkel 1995: 73-74). For other responsibilities of the senior scribes associated with “the Tomb”, who can be described as true state accountants, see Černý 1973: 226-229.

⁷⁸⁴ Peden 2001: 238-265. For the association of Butehamon with the “osirification” (lit. “to restore the Osiris” (*r rdit Wsir*)) of Ancient pharaohs, see Reeves 1990: 243 [n. 94]; Jansen-Winkel 1995: 73-74; Taylor 2016: 362; Betrò 2021: 85, 87-89; Guérin 2010: 34, 169, 206-207, 319, although Butehamon's

The reason of these journeys of the workmen in the Theban mountain mainly respond to the problems encountered in the royal necropolises, which began at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. These issues included tomb looting and the resurgence of tomb profanations, leading to a dramatic situation that affected the Theban west bank.⁷⁸⁵

Butehamon belonged to an important family associated with the Egyptian administration, and he was part of the lineage of senior scribes associated with the institution of “the Tomb” that lasted at least for six generations, from the beginning of the Twentieth Dynasty to the end of the first reign of the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁷⁸⁶

Butehamon’s father, Djehutymes, is first documented as a scribe (*sš*) in year 8 of Ramesses XI.⁷⁸⁷ During this ruler’s era, Djehutymes underwent a significant advancement in his professional career, ultimately ascending to the position of senior scribe. Djehutymes’s last mention dates from the 1st month of Shemu, day 29, presumably in year 10 of the wHm mswt, which corresponds to year 28 of the reign of Ramesses XI.⁷⁸⁸

Butehamon is first attested as a scribe (*sš*) in year 2 of the wHm mswt, which corresponds to year 20 of Ramesses XI.⁷⁸⁹ In between years 20 and 28 of Ramesses XI, Butehamon likely worked alongside his father as an assistant, as well as being his deputy tomb scribe while his father, senior scribe, was away from Thebes.⁷⁹⁰

The possibility of Djehutymes and Butehamon concurrently holding the position of senior scribe⁷⁹¹ close to the time of the transfer of the office remains ambiguous, given the fact that both individuals are linked to the title of *sš nsw* in some graffiti where they are mentioned together.⁷⁹² However, the aforementioned title may have been employed

presence during those operations is only confirmed for the case of Ramesses III, which is corroborated by the inscriptions on his mummy’s shroud (Maspero 1889: 563-565, fig. 19, pl. XVII [B]). For the practice of “osirification” of the monarchs, a term adopted by Kitchen (1973: 418-419 [§382.25], 420 [§386.41-41]), see Thomas 1966: 257; Reeves 1990: 115, 228, 230-231, 249, 251-252, 267 [n. 301], 277; Bickel 2021: 74-75.

⁷⁸⁵ These problems are perceived in several documents, such as a graffiti (Černý 1956: 27, pl. 77 [1396]) and the so-called tomb robbery papyri (Peet 1930).

⁷⁸⁶ Bierbrier 1975: 42.

⁷⁸⁷ P. Turin Cat. 2018, which refers to grain accounts during years 8 to 10 of Ramesses XI. For the mention of Djehutymes in the document, see KRI VI: 852.16, 853.10, 855.8, 859.6, 860.15.

⁷⁸⁸ Late Ramesside Letter N° 28 (Černý 1939: 44-48, with the date in Černý 1939: 48.4; Wentz 1967: 59-65). For the chronology of the letter, see Wentz 1967: 12, 16, and for that of Djehutymes, see Bierbrier 1975: 41-42.

⁷⁸⁹ P. Turin Cat. 2094, which refers to a Journal-Fragment (Bierbrier 1975: 130 [n. 215]; Davies 1999: 138). For the mention of Butehamon in the document, see KRI VI: 867.7-8, 10, 868.1, 3, 5-6. For the chronology of the individual, see Bierbrier 1975: 42.

⁷⁹⁰ Bierbrier 1975: 41-42. Djehutymes travelled both north and south, in the latter case to support the general Payankh and his military expedition against Panehesy in Nubia (Wentz 1967: 9-15; Černý 1973: 377).

⁷⁹¹ Niwiński 1984: 151.

⁷⁹² For the graffiti, see Spiegelberg 1921: 7 [43]; Spiegelberg 1921: 85-86 [1018]; Spiegelberg 1921: 86 [1021a]; Černý, Sadek 1970 III/I: pl. XXXVI [1870]; Černý, Sadek 1970 IV/I: 22 [1870]; Guérin 2010: pl. XIX [Gu. 129 / CE = 1573]; Černý 1956: 17 [1285b]; Černý 1956: 20 [1308]. Davies (1999: 135-137, 140) provided evidence for the coexistence of two senior scribes during the reign of Ramesses X, a practice which may have originated during the reign of Ramesses IX. This practice definitely persisted until year 19 of Ramesses XI, after which the office was likely occupied by Djehutymes alone, coinciding with the last years of his career, and afterwards his successors would have held the office in solitary. A

as a posthumous and honorary designation, as evidenced by certain inscriptions including some of the aforementioned graffiti, where individuals reference their deceased ancestors.⁷⁹³ Such a practice raises the possibility that Butehamon may have officially assumed the position of senior scribe following his father's death,⁷⁹⁴ continuing the longstanding tradition of hereditary succession within both the office and his family, a customary practice during the Twentieth Dynasty.⁷⁹⁵

The earliest dated inscription featuring Butehamon as a senior scribe (*sš nsw*) is from a graffiti dated to the 4th month of Akhet, day 28, of a year 10.⁷⁹⁶ The inscription begins with a reference from Butehamon to his father, implying that Butehamon sought to perpetuate Djehutymes's name and memory. The document is significant, as Butehamon's father is known to have been alive at least until day 29 of the 1st month of Shemu, presumably in year 10 of the *wHm mswt*, which is equivalent to the 28th year of Ramesses XI's reign.

Considering this information, it is unlikely that the graffiti featuring Butehamon as a *sš nsw* can be dated to the year 10 of the *wHm mswt*, as in its day 28 of the 4th month of Akhet, Djehutymes would still be alive. In this scenario, both Butehamon and Djehutymes held the position of *sš nsw* simultaneously. However, it is more likely that the discussed inscription belongs to year 10 of Smendes' reign. Even if it is the first known attestation of Butehamon with the title of *sš nsw*, it is highly probable that he had already assumed this office prior to the inscription's creation, likely right after his father's death. Butehamon's first attestation after Djehutymes's disappearance is in a graffiti dated to the 2nd day of the 2nd month of Peret in the 1st year of probably Smendes,⁷⁹⁷ where he is referred to as a *sš*, perhaps an abbreviation for the title *sš nsw*.⁷⁹⁸

The information provided by a graffiti suggests that Butehamon served as *sš nsw* until at least day 15 of the 2nd month of Akhet in year 14 of an unmentioned king, likely Smendes, date that marks his latest official mention.⁷⁹⁹ However, it is plausible that he remained in office until year 16 of the same monarch, given that his son Ankhefenamon is first officially attested as a *sš nsw*, this is, as the successor to his father's office, in a graffiti dated to day 1 of the 2nd month of Shemu in the 16th year of the reign of Smendes. Notably, Ankhefenamon is mentioned alongside the high priest of Amun Masaharta.⁸⁰⁰ It is also plausible that Ankhefenamon accessed the office prior to year 16, but after day 5 of the 2nd month of Akhet in year 14 of likely Smendes, when Butehamon is last documented.

scribe may have also assisted his father in his official responsibilities and utilized his father's scribe title when performing duties on his behalf (McDowell 1990: 69-70).

⁷⁹³ Davies 1997: 67.

⁷⁹⁴ Guérin 2010: 39-40, 205, 210.

⁷⁹⁵ Romer 1984² (1998): 49. See also Whale 1989: 239; Dorman 2003: 30-41.

⁷⁹⁶ Černý 1956: 17-18 [1285b-d, 1286].

⁷⁹⁷ Černý 1956: 19 [1301a-b].

⁷⁹⁸ There are documents referring to Butehamon as a simple *sš*, even though he had already assumed the position of *sš nsw* at that time.

⁷⁹⁹ Spiegelberg (1921: 75-76 [914]) initially transcribed the date of the graffiti as a Year 13, but it should be read as Year 14 (Černý 1973: 373; Davies 1997: 65 [n. 116]).

⁸⁰⁰ Bierbrier 1975: 42 [n. 224]; Kitchen 1973: 419 [§383. 28]; Guérin 2010: pl. XIX [Gu. 128 / Ce. 1572].

Regarding the career of Butehamon within the Egyptian administration, his position as a scribe (*sš*) and his association with the high-status office of the senior-scribe (*sš nsw*) of the institution of "the Tomb" (*p3 hr*), the "Place of Truth" (*st m3t*) and the "Horizon of Eternity" (*pr dt*) are the functions most frequently mentioned in his associated documentation. However, Butehamon also held other responsibilities. In the religious and funerary sphere, a graffito associates him with the title of "*wcb*-priest of Amun, King of the Gods" (*wcb (n) Imn nsw [ntrw]*),⁸⁰¹ while his set of coffins features the titles "Great one who lays out the offerings for all the gods of the sacred land" (*3 w3hy htpw ntrw nbw t3 dsr*) and "One who opens the doors of the Duat of Amun" (*wn 3wy m dw3t Imn*), the latter also featured with the variant "One who opens the doors in Rosetau (Necropolis)" (*Wn 3wy m R3-st3w*). The designation of "One who opens the doors" (*wn 3wy*) may refer to Butehamon's importance and his access to open, enter, inspect and evacuate the tombs in the Theban necropolises.⁸⁰²

Additionally, there are further high-status titulary associated with Butehamon that provide information about his *cursus honorum*.⁸⁰³ Among these titles, stand out those associated with the management of goods, architectural works, and even individuals. For instance, the title of "Overseer of the double treasury of the lord of the two lands in the Place of Truth" (*imy-r prwy hđ n nb t3wy m st m3t*) is mentioned in the reliefs from his house in Medinet Habu. A variant of the title, that of "Overseer of the treasury of the ladies and lords (?) of the two cities (?) in the palace" (*imy-r pr hđ n nbwt nbw niwty (?) m pr nsw*), is featured on his set of coffins.⁸⁰⁴ Other designations are those of "Scribe of the commands in the Place of Truth" (*sš shnw m st m3t*), which is featured on the so-called lintel "Luxor A",⁸⁰⁵ likely also originating from his house in Medinet Habu, and those of "Supervisor of the cattle" (*hry iht*), "Overseer of the recruits" (*imy-r nfrw*) and "Overseer of the works" (*imy-r k3wt*), which are featured on his coffin set.

Other than his high-status position as a senior-scribe, the enormous quantity of graffiti and dipinti associated with Butehamon curiously do not mention any of his other important titles and designations, as the majority of them only refer to his quality as a scribe. Instead, his additional prestigious roles and functions are prominently featured on monumental supports such as architectural reliefs and his set of coffins. This suggests that these objects served as a means of presenting an overview of his important career functions.

⁸⁰¹ Spiegelberg 1921: 86 [1021a]. The author incorrectly associated the inscription to a year 21, afterwards interpreted as a year 11 (Wenig 1967: 137-138). For the differences between the numerals 10, 20 and 30 in hieratic, see Jansen-Winkel 1994: 39; Davies 1997: 54-55. The graffito 1021a, where Butehamon is also designated as *sš nsw*, provides the following date: day 13, 2nd month of Akhet, year 11, which likely corresponds to the reign of Smendes. Notably, the inscription records an inspection "of the mountains" in the presence of the High Priest of Amun Panedjem I.

⁸⁰² Jansen-Winkel 1995: 73-74.

⁸⁰³ See *infra* with respect to the title *sđm-š* and the unlikely association of the designation with Butehamon.

⁸⁰⁴ While speculative, Jansen-Winkel proposed a connection between the title "*pr-hđ n nb t3wy m st m3t*" found in Butehamon's house in Medinet Habu and Butehamon's involvement in clearing old tombs. These tombs, in essence, served as a form of treasury for which Butehamon held particular responsibility. Jansen-Winkel's suggestion is that "*nb t3wy*" refers to Amun rather than the king (Jansen-Winkel 1995: 73-74). However, the author overlooked the variant of the title featured on the coffin set of Butehamon, that of "Overseer of the treasury of the ladies and lords (?) of the two cities (?) in the palace", which seems to refer to the king's entourage.

⁸⁰⁵ Kitchen KRI VII: 399-400; Kikuchi 2002: 362.

The surviving decoration in his associated house, including the lintels believed to have originated from the same location, as well as the decoration on his set of coffins, must have been executed after Butehamon assumed the position of senior-scribe (*ss nsw*), a role that is frequently mentioned on these documents. However, this does not rule out the possibility that the beginning of the construction of the house and the manufacturing of the coffin began before he assumed this position.

When considering the residence associated with Butehamon and Djehutymes's family, situated within the precinct of Medinet Habu, specific Late Ramesside Letters could potentially contain information regarding the house. Late Ramesside Letter N° 5⁸⁰⁶ refers to construction activities that may have been related to either the initial construction of the house or its renovation; however, it cannot be excluded that they refer to a different house. The exact purpose for these activities, whether for the construction or renovation of the house, remains unknown. On the other hand, Late Ramesside Letter N° 12⁸⁰⁷ implies that Djehutymes and his family may have had a house that was relatively small or had unfavorable conditions. Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether these letters refer to the house in Medinet Habu or a different one, or if each letter relates to separate houses.

Both of the discussed documents are dated to the 6th year of the *whm mswt* period.⁸⁰⁸ This suggests that the construction or renovation of Butehamon and Djehutymes's family house, whether it was the one preserved in Medinet Habu or a different one, took place during this period. Consequently, during the *whmt mswt* period, Butehamon's family inhabited a substantial residence, which even included stone elements in some parts—an uncommon feature in private houses of the time.⁸⁰⁹ Moreover, as gathered from the letters, the household included a staff of individuals.

4.3.2.1. *The coffin sets of Butehamon*

Regarding the decoration of Butehamon's set of coffins, it's worth noting that he is exceptionally connected to an outer and inner coffin, as well as a mummy board held in Turin, and, additionally, remnants of an outer box preserved in Brussels.⁸¹⁰ What's particularly intriguing is that the stylistic features of the outer box in Brussels align with those of the inner coffin and mummy board in Turin, implying that they were originally decorated as a coherent set.

There remains uncertainty surrounding whether the outer coffin preserved in Brussels, despite its preparation as part of Butehamon's burial equipment, was ultimately set aside due to unknown circumstances, leading to its replacement with a new outer coffin for Butehamon. Was the outer coffin preserved in Brussels perhaps utilized by another individual prior to Butehamon's death? Furthermore, which of the two outer coffins was adorned first? If the outer coffin preserved in Turin received its decorations after the

⁸⁰⁶ Černý 1939: 9-11a; Wente 1967: 27-31.

⁸⁰⁷ Černý 1939: 23-24; Wente 1967: 44-45.

⁸⁰⁸ Wente 1967: 16. With respect to Late Ramesside Letter 12, Demarée has recently suggested a datation of the document to year 6 of the *wHm mswt* (2003: 248).

⁸⁰⁹ Romer 1984: 185; 1984² (1998): 225.

⁸¹⁰ Capart 1905: 80-81; Speleers 1923: 76-77 [288-289]; Seeber 1976: 214 [13-14]; Niwiński 1984: 136-138; Niwiński 1988: 112 [47], 172-173 [385]; Niwiński 2004: 21-61, 151-157, 189-194, 210-212 [pls. A-C], pls. I-VII; Guérin 2008; Guérin 2010: 586-648; Jamen 2012: 184-188 [110]; Ciccopiedi 2019: 80-87.

one preserved in Brussels, could this indicate a deliberate decision to commission a new outer coffin with updated and more contemporary decorations?

Did this decision, whether made by Butehamon or someone else, correlate with a subsequent change in Butehamon's status? Might a shift in ritual and religious beliefs, occurring during a period when rites and funerary customs were evolving, have influenced this decision? Could it have been driven by Butehamon's personal preferences, impacting the choice to decorate a new outer coffin based on his own opinions?

In this regard, the decoration of the outer coffin preserved in Turin, whether it was adorned before the other associated coffins and the mummy board of Butehamon or not, may offer valuable insights. It has been proposed that Butehamon played a role in orchestrating the reburials of some New Kingdom pharaohs. This hypothesis gains support from the presence of several New Kingdom pharaohs and their families on the decoration of the outer lid, all of whom were indeed reburied during that period.⁸¹¹ While we have definitive contemporary documentation confirming Butehamon's participation in the reburial of Ramesses III, it is plausible that Butehamon also had involvement in other reburials, either directly or under his supervision.

An intriguing aspect in this context is the inclusion of Amenhotep I in the decoration of Butehamon's outer lid. Specifically, he is depicted as the first figure in front of Butehamon on the initial vignette of the lateral partition on the lower section of the left side of the object, suggesting a relative significance of this vignette. This depiction aligns with references to Amenhotep I's reburial found in the texts associated with the "Opening of the mouth" on the underside of Butehamon's inner lid and mummy board, both preserved in Turin.⁸¹² While not directly conclusive, this accumulation of data may suggest that Butehamon had a role in that reburial, possibly in an organizational capacity.

Amenhotep I was reburied twice. The event associated with the second documented reburial of Amenhotep I, which is documented in a docket featured on his coffin, occurred in Year 16, during the 4th month of Peret, on the 11th day of Smendes I's reign.⁸¹³ Considering the last documented mention of Butehamon, it is unlikely that he was present physically during this event, even if he may have had organized some aspects beforehand.

Therefore, the decoration featured on the outer lid of Butehamon and associated with the reburial of Amenhotep I might refer to his first documented reburial, with again the possibility that Butehamon played an active role in its organization. The event, again recorded on a docket featured on Amenhotep I's coffin, occurred in Year 6, during the 4th month of Peret, on the 7th day of Smendes' reign.⁸¹⁴

⁸¹¹ Reeves 1990: 243 [n. 94]; Taylor 2016: 32.

⁸¹² Schiaparelli 1882-1890; Niwiński 1984: 140.

⁸¹³ Maspero 1889: 536-537; Reeves 1990: 236 [Table 10/4, N° 23]. The reburial, commanded by the High priest Masaharta, was done by the scribe of the treasury and scribe of the temple Penamun, son of Sutymes.

⁸¹⁴ Maspero 1889: 536-537; Reeves 1990: 235 [Table 10/3, N° 14]. The reburial, commanded by the High priest Panedjem I, was done by the overseer of the treasury Pa[...].

The presence of the king and his family on Butehamon's coffin can be attributed to the scribe's participation in Amenhotep's initial reburial during Year 6 of Smendes' reign. This association could have impacted the timing of the decoration on the outer coffin preserved in Turin, and it's conceivable that the potentially original outer coffin preserved in Brussels was subsequently replaced, resulting in the decoration of a new one.⁸¹⁵ Nevertheless, it's crucial to acknowledge that these assertions are speculative and the chronological order of decoration for the outer coffins remains uncertain. In this respect, and regarding the decoration of the objects, it's worth noting that Butehamon lived during the transition from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-First Dynasty. As a result, even if it is impossible to determine the exact timing of when his associated coffin set(s) were decorated, his funerary equipment incorporates traditional elements alongside certain innovations.

The fate of the outer coffin preserved in Brussels, of which only the outer box remains, is a mystery.⁸¹⁶ It's unclear whether it was repurposed by someone else or simply abandoned. An alternative possibility arises when considering the dimensions of these objects, suggesting that Butehamon might have had a comprehensive coffin set consisting of the outer coffin preserved in Turin, an intermediate coffin, whose box is preserved in Brussels, and an inner coffin and a mummy board, which are preserved in Turin.⁸¹⁷ However, this hypothesis doesn't explain why the intermediate coffin ended up in Brussels, nor has the lid of this potentially intermediate coffin been identified, which is a subject that warrants further investigation.

In conclusion, Butehamon's various titles suggest a multifaceted identity for Butehamon, encompassing both religious and administrative roles within ancient Theban society. Their presence on graffiti and dipinti underscores his significance in the historical and cultural context of Thebes. As a figure with diverse responsibilities and a tangible presence in inscriptions, Butehamon provides valuable insights into the dynamics of life and governance in Thebes during the transition from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-First Dynasty.

⁸¹⁵ In this regard, it's worth mentioning that Butehamon's outer coffin preserved in Turin shows signs of having been reused by Butehamon from a prior coffin that was repurposed and redecorated (Cooney 2023).

⁸¹⁶ Regarding the acquisition dates of the materials, Butehamon's funerary ensemble preserved in Turin was discovered in Western Thebes around 1817-1818. It was part of the Drovetti collection, who excavated the tomb of Nakhtmin (TT 291). This tomb was possibly reused by Butehamon and his family, making it a likely place for the discovery of his funerary ensemble (Bruyère, Kuentz 1926: 56-62; Niwiński 1984: 138; Niwiński 2004: 45). As for the outer box preserved in Brussels, its origins remain unknown. It was discovered around 1818 by Belzoni (Capart 1905: 80; Niwiński 1984: 138). However, it is unclear whether all these materials were discovered together or not.

⁸¹⁷ Bruyère, Kuentz 1926: 59; Černý 1973: 374; Guérin 2010: 619, 639, 641-642. However, this is an exceptionally unique characteristic for its time, with Hori being the only known individual, so far, to possess such a feature. Hori, the son of the High Priest Menkheperre, was equipped with a nesting gilded set consisting of an outer coffin, an intermediate coffin, and an inner coffin (Mostafa 2020). Although there are examples from other periods (Guérin 2010: 640-641), they remain exceptional.

Table 4.3.2 Documents and Titles Associated with Butehamon

Individual	Title	Translation	Document(s)
Butehamon	<i>Bw-th-[mn n p3] hr;</i> <i>sš;</i> <i>sš nfr;</i> <i>sš n p3 hr;</i> <i>sš n p3 hr (hnw-)hnrt;</i> <i>sš p3 hr 3 šps;</i> <i>sš p3 hr 3 šps nh w3 snb m hhw n [rnpwt n] Pr-</i> <i>3 nh w3 snb m Imnt W3st;</i>	Buteha[mon of the] Tomb Scribe Perfect scribe Scribe of the tomb Scribe of the tomb of (a part of) the Theban Necropolis Scribe of the great and noble tomb Scribe of the great and noble tomb, life, prosperity and health trough millions (of years) of the Pharaoh, life, prosperity, and health, in the west of Thebes Scribe in the Place of Truth Scribe in the Place of Truth(,) of the tomb Scribe in the Place of Truth of the great and noble tomb of the Pharaoh	181 graffiti and dipinti ⁸²¹
	<i>sš m st m3t;</i> <i>sš m st m3t n (p3) hr;</i> <i>sš m st m3t (n p3) hr 3 šps m Pr-3;</i>	Scribe in the Place of Truth Scribe in the Place of Truth(,) of the tomb Scribe in the Place of Truth of the great and noble tomb of the Pharaoh	
	<i>sš m st m3t (m) imnt w3st m 3ht (nhh);</i>	Scribe in the Place of Truth in the west of Thebes in the Horizon (of Eternity)	
	<i>sš m st m3t m 3ht (nhh);</i>	Scribe in the Place of Truth in the Horizon (of Eternity)	
	<i>sš m st m3t (m) pr dt;</i>	Scribe in the Place of Truth (in) the Domain of Eternity	
	<i>sš m pr dt;</i> <i>rh t3 st nhh;</i> <i>sš nsw;</i> <i>sš nsw m3 mr=f;</i> <i>sš nsw (n p3) hr;</i> <i>sš nsw (n) p3 hr (m) W3st;</i> <i>sš nsw m st m3t;</i>	Scribe in the Domain of Eternity He who knows the place of eternity Royal scribe Truly royal scribe, his beloved Royal scribe of the tomb Royal scribe of the tomb in Thebes Royal scribe in the Place of Truth	

<i>sš nsw m st m3^ct n p3 hr;</i> <i>sš p3 m3^c;</i> ⁸¹⁸ <i>[sš m st m3^ct Bw-th-Imn] m hry tp?;</i> <i>hry wpwtyw (m) h3st nbt;</i> ⁸¹⁹ <i>W^cb (n) Imn nsw [ntrw]</i> <i>m3^c m W3st?</i> ⁸²⁰	Royal scribe in the Place of Truth(,) of the Tomb Scribe of the workforce [Scribe in the Place of Truth Butehamon], the superior? The superior of the messengers in all the country Wab-priest of Amun, king [of the gods] The righteous in Thebes?	
<i>sš n (p3) hr</i>	Scribe of (the) Tomb	Ostrakon O. Louvre inv. N°. 698 ⁸²² Date: After the 2nd year of the wHm mswt, which corresponds to the 20th year of Ramesses XI. This is the

⁸²¹ Reeves, Wilkinson 1996: 205. These documents are only attested on the Theban West bank. For the graffiti and dipinti associated with Butehamon, all of them featuring at least one title associated with the individual, see Guérin 2010: 50-163. Twenty graffiti feature a date, although they are never associated with a specific reign. For the latter, see Guérin 2010: Annexe 9, although the last 3 examples of the list should not be considered, as their associated dates are not linked to Butehamon. The great majority of titles featured on the graffiti and dipinti only refer to Butehamon's association with the scribal office, specially (royal) scribe in the place of Truth and (royal) scribe of the tomb (Guérin 2010: 240-241). The exceptions are the graffiti mentioning Butehamon as "Buteha[mon of the] Tomb (Guérin 2010: pl. XV [Gu. 100 / Ch. 93III), "He who knows the place of eternity" (Spiegelberg 1921: 7 [49]), "The superior"? (Sadek 1973: 197 [3492]; Sadek, Shimy 1973: pl. CCXLVII [3492]), "The superior of the messengers in all the country" (Niwiński 2003: Ni= E.4), "Wab priest of Amun, king [of the gods] (Spiegelberg 1921: 86 [1021a]) and "The righteous in Thebes"? (Guérin 2010: pl. XXV [Gu. 175 / [Ce 1555]).

⁸¹⁸ The title (for the inscription containing it, see Reeves 1990: 234 [Table 10/2, N° 4, with references]) has often been misunderstood as "scribe of the troops", implying a military role for Butehamon (Kitchen 1973: 418 [§381.7]; Reeves 1990: 77 [a], 234 [Table 10/2, N° 4]; Reeves, Wilkinson 1996: 204; Černý 1973: 372 [n. 2]; Häggman 2002: 228 [n. 1523]). Nevertheless, considering the title's appearance within the context of a royal tomb, it implies that it relates to Butehamon's role within the tomb's team and workforce (*m3^c*), signifying his position within that specific context. There is no recorded evidence of Butehamon's involvement with the general's army, and the available documentation never indicates that he was summoned to join his superior on the battlefield. This is in contrast to his father Djehutymes, who was enlisted alongside Payankh in year 10 of the *whm mswt* in Nubia (Wente 1967: 9-15; Černý 1973: 377). Moreover, Niwiński erroneously references the title *imy-r m3^c* as appearing on Butehamon's coffin preserved in Turin (Niwiński 2004: 46, translated as "Comandante militare"), which is a misunderstanding on the part of the author, as this title is not present on Butehamon's coffin set. This misconception is also present in Guérin 2010: 618.

⁸¹⁹ The title (Niwiński 2003: Ni= E.4)), though found in an inscription lacking a specific date, clearly refers to the significant role the scribe played in the tenth year of the *whm mswt*. Butehamon played a crucial role in facilitating communication between Theban institutions, notably the Tomb, and high-ranking officials from Thebes who were stationed in Nubia, including his father Djehutymes and the general Paiankh. He accomplished this by employing messengers as intermediaries, who were placed directly under Butehamon's authority (Guérin 2010: 165-166, 239).

⁸²⁰ This designation of Butehamon is made by his son (Guérin 2010: pl. XXV [Gu. 175 / [Ce 1555]). Therefore, it is unknown whether it should be considered a formal title or a more familial form of address, possibly as a homage designation.

⁸²² Černý, Gardiner 1957: 22, pl. LXXX-LXXXA.

			point when Butehamon is first mentioned as sS n pA xr. ⁸²³
	sš	Scribe	Ostrakon CGC 25744; JE 50247 ⁸²⁴
	sš m st m3ʕt	Scribe in the Place of Truth	Mummy shroud of Ramesses III ⁸²⁵ Date: Year 13 of Smendes, commanded by the High Priest Panedjem I.
	sš; sš n p3 hr; sš n p3 hr ʕ3 šps; sdm-ʕš m st [m3ʕt] ⁸²⁶	Scribe Scribe of the tomb Scribe of the great and noble tomb Servant in the Place of Truth	Late Ramesside Letters Nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 28, 29, 30, 31, 43, 45, 50, 52 (= LRLC I), 53, LRLC III, P. BM 75017, P. BM 75020, P. BM 75021 ⁸²⁷
	sš nsw m 3ht nhh; sš nsw m 3ht nhh m W3st; sš nsw m st m3ʕt; nty m3ʕt ⁸²⁸	Royal scribe in the Horizon of Eternity Royal scribe in the Horizon of Eternity in Thebes Royal scribe in the Place of Truth	House of Butehamon's family in Medinet Habu ⁸²⁹

⁸²³ Papyrus Turin 2094.

⁸²⁴ Černý 1935: 75, 90*, pl. XCII.

⁸²⁵ Maspero 1889: 563-565, fig. 19, pl. XVII [B].

⁸²⁶ The title, which is featured in Late Ramesside Letter N° 43 - P. Bibliothèque National 197 VI, is associated with an unknown sender, as the area with this information is damaged (Černý 1939: 64.3). However, it has been suggested that the letter was written by Butehamon (Wente 1967: 13, 17), although one wonders why he would be referred as a *sdm-ʕš*, a designation that does not appear anywhere else. With respect to this title, Guérin incorrectly associates Butehamon with the designation *sdm-ʕš m W3st* (Guérin 2010: Annexe 7) based on the inscriptions featured in Graffiti Nos 354a-b (Spiegelberg 1921: 31-32 [354]), assumption afterwards used by Jamen when suggesting that Butehamon evolved professionally from *sdm-ʕš* to *sš* (Jamen 2021: 54). However, Spiegelberg already suggested that graffito No 354a should be read as [n] k3 [n] *sdm-ʕš m st m3ʕt h3-m-W3st mʕ3-hrw*, while graffito No 354b simply refers to Butehamon as *sš n p3 [hr]*. Therefore, it is unknown if Butehamon was associated with the title *sdm-ʕš*, as there are not any documents that identifies the individual as such.

⁸²⁷ Černý 1939: 1-74 (Late Ramesside Letters Nos 1-50); Janssen 1991: 11-24, pls. 1-12 (LRL 52 (= LRLC I), LRL 53, LRLC III); Demarée 2006: 10-11, 19-24, 40-41 [pls. 7-8], 50-57 [pls. 17-24] (P. BM 75017, P. BM 75020 and P. BM 75021).

⁸²⁸ The word in question might not be a formal title but rather a designation used as an homage to Butehamon.

	<i>imy-r prwy ḥd n nb t3wy m st m3ꜥt</i>	Honest witness Overseer of the double treasury of the Lord of the two lands in the Place of Truth	
	<i>sš shnw m st m3ꜥt</i>	Scribe of the instructions/commands) in the Place of Truth	So-called lintels “from Luxor”: A ⁸³⁰
	<i>sš m3ꜥt m 3ḥt nhḥ; sš m st m3ꜥt m W3st; sš m3ꜥt m st m3ꜥt</i>	Honest scribe in the Horizon of Eternity Scribe in the Place of Truth in Thebes Honest scribe in the Place of Truth	So-called lintels “from Luxor”: B ⁸³¹
	<i>sš</i>	Scribe	Dipinto (funeral speech) from TT 291 ⁸³²
	<i>sš nsw; sš nsw m st m3ꜥt; sš nsw m pr dt; sš nsw m 3ḥt nhḥ; ꜥ3 w3ḥy ḥtpw ntrw nbw t3 dsr; imy-r nfrw; imy-r nfrw m st m3ꜥt; imy-r nfrw m 3ḥt nhḥ; imy-r nfrw m pr dt; imy-r k3wt m pr dt; imy-r k3wt n ḥwt wr(t); imy-r pr ḥd n nbwt nbw niwty? m pr nsw; ḥry iht n pr dt;</i>	Royal scribe Royal scribe in the Place of Truth Royal scribe in the Domain of Eternity Royal scribe in the Horizon of Eternity Great one who lays out the offerings for all the gods of the sacred land Overseer of the recruits Overseer of the recruits in the Place of Truth Overseer of the recruits in the Horizon of Eternity Overseer of the recruits in the Domain of Eternity Overseer of the works in the Domain of Eternity Overseer of the works of the great mansion (lawcourt)? ⁸³³ Overseer of the treasury of the ladies and lords (?) of the two cities (?) in the palace	Outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board (Turin) ⁸³⁴

⁸²⁹ KRI VII: 401-403; Kikuchi 2002: 358-361.

⁸³⁰ Kitchen KRI VII: 399-400; Kikuchi 2002: 362.

⁸³¹ Kitchen KRI VII: 400; Kikuchi 2002: 362-363.

⁸³² Bruyère, Kuentz 1926: pl. IX. From the end of the New Kingdom onward, although Deir el-Medina gradually fell into disuse in favor of a new settlement within and near Medinet Habu (Peden 2001: 256-257), some tombs in Deir el-Medina still accommodated burials, often reusing existing structures. It is possible that Butehamon was buried in TT291. Additionally, in the chapel of a neighboring tomb, TT 290, a second hieratic inscription records the signature of the "scribe Butehamon" (Bruyère, Kuentz 1926). This inscription may have been executed during an inspection visit or could have been made to mark the acquisition of this burial concession by Butehamon and his family (Bruyère, Kuentz 1926: 75-76; Valbelle 1985: 225, n. 11).

⁸³³ WB 3: 4.7-10.

⁸³⁴ With respect to the titulary that the autor mentions as featured on the coffin set associated with Butehamon and preserved in Turin (Niwiński 2004: 46), one must add the titles *sš nsw m pr dt*; *sš nsw m 3ḥt nhḥ*; *ꜥ3 w3ḥy ḥtpw ntrw nbw t3 dsr*; *imy-r nfrw m st m3ꜥt*. As mentioned before, Niwiński mentions the title *imy-r m3ꜥ* as featured on the coffin set, title which does not appear.

	<i>ḥry iḥt n nb t3wy;</i> <i>wn ʕ3wy m dw3t Imn</i>	Supervisor of the cattle of the Domain of Eternity Supervisor of the cattle of the lord of the two lands One who opens the doors of the Duat of Amun	
	<i>sš nsw m st m3ʕt</i> <i>sš nsw [m 3ḥt] nḥḥ (n p3) ḥr</i> <i>Wn ʕ3wy m R3-st3w</i> <i>sš nsw</i> <i>ḥry [...]</i> <i>Imy-r nfrw (m) pr dt</i>	Royal scribe in the Place of Truth Royal scribe [in the Horizon] of Eternity (of the) tomb One who opens the doors in Rosetau (Necropolis) Royal scribe The superior [...] Overseer of the recruits (in) the Domain of Eternity	Outer coffin box (Brussels) ⁸³⁵
	<i>sš</i> <i>sš nsw</i> <i>sš nsw m 3ḥt nḥḥ</i>	Scribe Royal scribe Royal scribe in the Horizon of Eternity	Phylactery (Turin Cat. 1858) ⁸³⁶
	<i>sš m st m3ʕt</i>	Scribe in the Place of Truth	Mummy shroud of Ramesses III ⁸³⁷

⁸³⁵ Speleers 1923: 76-77, 288-289.

⁸³⁶ Demichelis 2000.

⁸³⁷ Maspero 1889: 563-565, fig. 19, pl. XVII [B].

4.3.3 Ankhefenamon, the son of Butehamon and his successor to the office of the senior scribe

While the absence of any remaining artifacts from Ankhefenamon's burial poses a significant challenge, the study of documents related to him remains important. These shed light not only on his *cursus honorum* but also on the hierarchical structure and progression of roles within the administration of the necropolis. Furthermore, they offer insights into the titles and duties that individuals aspiring to become senior scribes held before officially entering the office, illustrating the developmental stages of their careers as they rose within the hierarchy. In this manner, historical documentation contributes to our understanding of the ancient practices and societal structures of that time. As elaborated further below, Ankhefenamon held certain titles linked to the institution of Medinet Habu that were similarly held by other individuals whose coffins, featuring the Litany of Ra, have been preserved.

As previously stated, it is probable that Ankhefenamon officially assumed the role of *sš nsw* during the 16th year of Smendes' reign, or possibly even as early as the 14th year of the same monarch, following Butehamon's disappearance. Despite his access to the office, Ankhefenamon continued to use the title *sš nsw* in reference to his father.⁸³⁸

Before Ankhefenamon's affiliation with the office of the senior scribe,⁸³⁹ he is mentioned in several undated graffiti as a "*wꜥb*-priest of Amun United with eternity" (*wꜥb n 'Imn hnmt nhḥ*) and as a "scribe" (*sš*).⁸⁴⁰ These inscriptions consistently place Ankhefenamon's title of *wab*-priest ahead of his title of scribe.⁸⁴¹

In this respect, this may indicate that Ankhefenamon prioritized his role as a priest, although it could also imply a more senior role as opposed to a new office, that of

⁸³⁸ Several graffiti mention both Ankhefenamon and his father Butehamon as *sš nsw* (Spiegelberg 1921: 34 [401]; Černý 1956: 15 [1260]; Guérin 2010: pl. XIX [Gu. 128 / Ce. 1572]). The reason for their joint appearance could be similar to what was previously mentioned for the graffiti featuring both Butehamon and his father Djehutymes as *sš nsw*. This similarity may suggest an intention to pay homage and show reverence to his deceased ancestor.

⁸³⁹ Ankhefenamon is mentioned alongside Butehamon in several graffiti of years 11-13 of Smendes (Bierbier 1975: 42 [n. 222]).

⁸⁴⁰ Spiegelberg 1921: 83-84 [1006], 84 [1011], 84-85 [1012a], 85 [1016], 85-86 [1018]; Černý 1956: 3 [1099]; Spiegelberg 1921: 82 [980b]; Černý 1956: 19 [1306]; Spiegelberg 1921: 7 [43]; Černý 1956: 15 [1260]; Guérin 2010: pl. XXV [Gu. 175 / Ce. 1555], pl. XXV [Gu. 176 / Ce. 1556].

In Graffito No. 1006, the title "*wꜥb n 'Imn hnmt nhḥ*" is followed by "*m hwt nsw*," (in the royal temenos) signifying the temple. In Graffito No. 1555, the designation "scribe" is accompanied by "true". Meanwhile, in Graffiti Nos. 1006, 1011, 1012a, 1016, 1018, 1099, 1306, 1260 and 1556, the title "scribe" is extended to "in the Place of Truth". In Graffito No. 1556, a third title is added for Ankhefenamon, that of "*wꜥb*-priest of Amun (in) the Place of Truth in the West."

Apart from the previously mentioned documents, other graffiti (Černý 1956: 17 [1285c], 24 [1359a]; Spiegelberg 1921: 6 [41]) present Ankhefenamon as holding the titles of both *wꜥb*-priest and scribe, although without any additional epithets following these designations.

⁸⁴¹ Djehutymes also had a son named Ankhefenamon, who was the brother of Butehamon. This son is likewise mentioned in a graffito bearing the titles "*wꜥb*-priest of Amun United with eternity" and "scribe" (Spiegelberg 1921: 84-85 [1012a]). Within this document, Djehutymes's son is referenced alongside Butehamon's son of the same name. However, Ankhefenamon, Butehamon's brother, likely passed away early in life, as he is notably absent from subsequent documents. This absence could possibly explain why Butehamon chose to name one of his sons Ankhefenamon, perhaps in remembrance of his deceased brother (Guérin 2010: 174). The sequence "Amun United with eternity," referring to the tutelary deity of the funerary temple of Ramses III (Medinet Habu), which is also mentioned in Ramesses III's shroud, is very present in the documents associated with Butehamon and his family (Černý 1973: 378 [n. 4]).

scribe, that he was just beginning to learn. Perhaps Ankhefenamun's initial role as a scribe referred primarily to his function as a substitute scribe for the senior scribe. In this context, a graffito⁸⁴² places Ankhefenamon's titles in a specific order, with "*wꜥb*-priest of Amun United with eternity" occupying the first position, and "royal scribe in the Place of Truth" following thereafter. The graffito also highlights Ankhefenamon's lineage as the son of the late royal scribe in the Place of Truth, Butehamon. Given that Ankhefenamon is first presented as a *wꜥb*-priest, it could be suggested that the inscription was created during a transitional period shortly after Butehamon's death. During that time, Ankhefenamon, as the eldest son, likely officially assumed the role of senior scribe.⁸⁴³

In one of the graffiti mentioning Ankhefenamun,⁸⁴⁴ he is initially referred to as a *wꜥb*-priest, and this is followed by his designation as a scribe. The document is dated to the 28th day of the 4th month of Akhet, during the 10th year, presumably under Smendes' rule. As previously suggested, this could imply that before assuming the role of a senior scribe, Ankhefenamun held a priestly position.

It is worth noting that in two graffiti likely authored by Ankhefenamun, which include homage to his grandfather Djehutymes,⁸⁴⁵ Djehutymes is designated, among other titles, as a "*wꜥb*-priest of Amun in Karnak" (*wꜥb n 'Imn m 'Ipt swt*). This reference underscores the extent of influence and significance that the Tomb workers, in this case, connected to the temple of Karnak, held as priests. Interestingly, in these graffiti, the priestly title attributed to Djehutymes is placed at the forefront of his titulary sequence. This placement might indicate the initiation or commencement of Djehutymes's career. Given that Ankhefenamun likely authored these inscriptions, and he himself held a priestly office at that moment, it raises the possibility that he used Djehutymes's priestly titles as a means to establish a connection between them.

Additionally, Butehamon also held a *wꜥb*-priest title and had religious duties, even though this aspect is not prominently highlighted in the documentation. More specifically, in a graffito dated to the 11th year, 2nd month of Akhet, day 13th, presumably of the reign of Smendes I,⁸⁴⁶ Butehamon is not only referred to as a royal scribe but also as "*wꜥb 'Imn nsw [ntrw]*," underscoring once again the priestly influence wielded by the Tomb workers. Curiously, in the graffiti, the priestly designation once more precedes that of the royal scribe, and it is likely that Ankhefenamun was also the author of the inscription.⁸⁴⁷

Concerning the status of individuals holding the title "*wꜥb*-priest of Amun United with eternity," it's vital to consider that this title likely marked the initial step in their professional ascent within the Tomb Institution, much like Ankhefanmun's case. In the aforementioned dated graffito, among other individuals, Paihayoudjat is mentioned as "*wꜥb*-priest of Amun [United with eternity]." This graffito records an inspection that likely took place in the presence of the High Priest of Amun Panedjem I. This

⁸⁴² Černý 1956: 15 [1260].

⁸⁴³ Häggman 2002: 332.

⁸⁴⁴ Černý 1956: 17 [1285c].

⁸⁴⁵ Spiegelberg 1921: 85-86 [1018]; Guérin 2010: pl. XXV [Gu. 176 / Ce. 1556].

⁸⁴⁶ Spiegelberg 1921: 86-87 [1021a-e]. The author originally interpreted the graffito as dated to a year 21, later correct to year 11 (Kitchen 1973: 20 [§16, n. 89], 38 [§34, n. 159], 418 [§382, 17]).

⁸⁴⁷ Guérin 2010: 177.

underscores Paihayoudjat's significant role in being there and suggests that individuals associated with the temple of Medinet Habu were actively involved in these inspections, holding connections with higher authorities. It highlights the close ties between these individuals, the inspections, and the Tomb Institution.

In any case, starting from the 16th year of Smendes' reign, Ankhefenamon is officially documented as a *ss nsw* until the 20th or 21st year of the same monarch's rule. At this point, another of Butehamon's sons, Nebhepetra, assumed the office.

In conclusion, examining Ankhefenamon's career progression and official titles is essential for understanding his *cursus honorum* and the extent of influence and responsibilities held by individuals affiliated with the Tomb Institution. The study of documents related to Ankhefenamon also provides valuable insights into the influence of tomb workers and the development of their careers within associated institutions. Perhaps future discoveries will yield objects from Ankhefenamon's burial equipment, offering us a more comprehensive view of his societal status and roles. These potential findings could enhance our understanding of his place in ancient society and shed further light on his life and career.

4.3.4 Nebhepetra, the son of Butehamon and Ankhefenamun's successor to the office of the senior scribe

Following Ankhefenamon, commencing in the 20th or 21st year of what is likely Smendes' reign, another of Butehamon's sons, Nebhepetra, assumed the role of royal scribe. In a graffito dated to the 20th year, 2nd month of Shemu, on the 6th day, during presumably Smendes' reign, Nebhepetra is solely mentioned as a scribe.⁸⁴⁸ There is no mention of Ankhefenamon on the document, possibly indicating his absence. This could be attributed to his passing, as there are no dated graffiti mentioning Ankhefenamun from that point onwards, or other reasons.⁸⁴⁹ The following year, Nebhepetra is indeed confirmed as a royal scribe.⁸⁵⁰

Concerning the titulary of Nebhepetra, while the graffiti only mention his role as a royal scribe of the tomb, his associated funerary equipment provides a broader perspective on the functions that Nebhepetra would have held during his lifetime. In addition to emphasizing his position as a royal scribe in the Place of Truth, his mummy board also mentions his roles as “Overseer of the recruits in the Place of Truth” and the “Horizon of Eternity”, as well as “Overseer of works in the House of Eternity”. His Book of the Dead also refers to Nebhepetra as a priest, although it is unclear whether he held this position before gaining access to his scribe's office, as suggested for Ankhefenamon, or at a different time. Nevertheless, it is worth considering that this title may not necessarily pertain to Nebhepetra himself, as discussed further below.

Furthermore, his Book of the Dead also underscores his connection to the offices of “Overseer of recruits” and “Overseer of works”, in addition to his roles as a scribe (“Royal scribe” and “Scribe of the Place of Truth”, the “Horizon of Eternity”, and “the

⁸⁴⁸ Černý 1956: 22, pl. 63 [1337].

⁸⁴⁹ NebhepetraNebhepetra may have served as Ankhefenamon's assistant (Niwinski 1984: 153), although this cannot be confirmed due to the probable inconsistent use of various titles at different times (Davies 1997: 67).

⁸⁵⁰ Černý 1956: 24 [1359].

Tomb”). Finally, his associated shabti box, due to limited space for inscriptions, only mentions Nebhepetra’s status as a “Royal scribe in the Place of Truth” and “Overseer of works in the Horizon of Eternity”. The titles in his lineage's history clearly indicate the overlap of similar roles held by his male ancestors.

The timing of the decoration of Nebhepetra's associated funerary objects remains unknown. While Nebhepetra's original coffin has not yet been discovered, his mummy board bears identifying titles, including that of *sš nsw*," which is also mentioned in his shabti box and his Book of the Dead. As previously mentioned, Nebhepetra likely assumed that position around the 20th or 21st year of probably Smendes' reign. Based on the titulary found on these objects, it can be inferred that they were likely decorated after that period.

Concerning the Book of the Dead, it is important to note several indications suggesting that Nebhepetra's name and some of his titles may have been added to certain columns at a later stage. This is clearly evident when examining the ink used for the inclusion of his name and some of his titles. It's evident that his information was inscribed later due to the distinct appearance of the ink, which seems to have been applied after the surrounding text was already in place, making Nebhepetra’s information stand out from the surrounding texts. The only titles that seem coherent with the rest of the texts are that of *wꜥb* and *sš*. Additionally, one column conspicuously contains a blank space where Nebhepetra's information should have been inscribed but was left vacant.

Furthermore, it becomes apparent that some of Nebhepetra's information, including his name and part of his titulary, occupies an area on the papyrus that seems to have been washed or altered in some way. This observation raises the possibility of Nebhepetra reusing a previously decorated papyrus.

However, it is also possible that the papyrus could have been initially prepared as part of a serial production for individuals holding the titles *wꜥb* and *sš*, somehow generic titles, as they are the only titles that are consistent with the rest of the inscriptions. Therefore, considering the potential scenarios of reuse or serial production, it becomes challenging to determine the specific timeframe for the original creation and decoration of the papyrus. This information can only be determined for the subsequent inclusion of Nebhepetra’s information.

Another plausible hypothesis is that the papyrus was initially prepared for Nebhepetra while he was still a *wꜥb* and a *sš*, before he assumed some of his more high-status titles and responsibilities, and was later reinscribed and modified to reflect his evolving career.

Taking into account these various possibilities, the presence of the *wꜥb* title on the papyrus provides additional complexity, as it is the only document associated with Nebhepetra that features this specific title. Again, this could suggest several scenarios: the papyrus was initially prepared in advance for any *wꜥb* and *sš* without a specific individual owner, it was originally intended for Nebhepetra during an earlier phase of his life when he held the titles of *wꜥb* and *sš* and was later altered to incorporate his updated titles reflecting his *cursus honorum*, or it may have been repurposed from an earlier *wꜥb* and *sš*. Some of the hypotheses are not mutually exclusive but can coexist, adding layers of complexity to our understanding of the papyrus's origin and purpose.

This intricacy underscores the need for further investigation in future studies to uncover more details about the circumstances surrounding the creation and modification of the papyrus.

After Nebhepetra's access to the office of royal scribe, information about Butahemon's family gradually vanishes, although the office of scribe certainly continued during the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁸⁵¹ However, it underwent a gradual dismantling and dissolution alongside the Tomb Institution over time. They seem to have fallen into disuse due to violence and looting in the Theban necropolis, ultimately leading to the disappearance of the Tomb Institution and the Senior Scribes of the Tomb.⁸⁵² By the Twenty-First Dynasty, royal tombs were no longer being excavated in the Valley of the Kings, making the necropolis even more vulnerable to tomb robbery and necessitating enhanced security measures.

Significantly, Nebhepetra incorporated the Litany of Re into his papyrus, indicating that his prestigious roles and positions granted him access to this restricted iconography, as will be elaborated upon in subsequent discussions.

⁸⁵¹ Bierbrier 1975: 42 [n. 226].

⁸⁵² Guérin 2010: 40.

Table 4.3.3 Documents and Titles Associated with Nebhepetra

Individual	Title	Translation	Document(s)
Nebhepetra	<i>sš</i>	Scribe	Graffiti N° 911, ⁸⁵³ 1316, ⁸⁵⁴ 1337 ⁸⁵⁵ Datation: 20th year, 2nd month of Shemu, on the 6th day, during presumably Smendes' reign (for Graffito N° 1337; unknown for the rest).
	<i>sš nsw n pr hr</i>	Royal scribe of the tomb	Graffito N° 3945 = 1359 ⁸⁵⁶ Datation: 21st year, 1st month of Akhet, on the 20th day, during presumably Smendes' reign.
	<i>sš nsw m st m3t;</i> <i>sš nsw m [...?];</i> <i>imy-r nfrw m st m3t;</i> <i>imy-r nfrw m 3ht nh;</i> <i>imy-r k3wt n pr dt</i>	Royal scribe in the Place of Truth Royal scribe in [...?] Overseer of the recruits in the Place of Truth Overseer of the recruits in the Horizon of Eternity Overseer of the works of the Domain of Eternity	Mummy board (E. 13047) Datation: unknown
	<i>W^cb;</i> <i>sš nsw;</i> <i>sš m st m3t;</i> <i>sš m 3ht nh;</i> <i>sš n pr hr;</i> <i>imy-r nfrw m st m3t;</i> <i>imy-r nfrw m 3ht nh;</i>	Wab priest Royal scribe Scribe in the Place of Truth Scribe in the Horizon of Eternity Scribe of the Tomb Overseer of the recruits in the Place of Truth Overseer of the recruits in the Horizon of Eternity Overseer of the works in/of the	Book of the Dead. ⁸⁵⁷ Datation: Unknown

⁸⁵³ Spiegelberg 1921: 75 [911].

⁸⁵⁴ Černý 1956: 21 [1316].

⁸⁵⁵ Černý 1956: 22, pl. 63 [1337].

⁸⁵⁶ Černý 1956: 24 [1359].

⁸⁵⁷ Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 1768); Niwiński 1989: 365 [Turin 1].

	<i>imy-r k3wt n/m pr dt</i>	Domain of Eternity	
	<i>sš nsw m st m3t;</i> <i>imy-r k3wt n 3ht nhh</i>	Royal scribe in the Place of Truth Overseer of the works in the Horizon of Eternity	Shabti box 2435 Datation: Unknown

4.3.5 Heramunpenaef

The analysis of the dates associated with the documents mentioning an individual named Heramunpenaef (refer to Table 4.3.4 below), along with their respective titles, suggests the possibility that these inscriptions could be referring to one, two or even three individuals who shared the same name and were affiliated with the Tomb Institution during the late New Kingdom and the early Third Intermediate Period. The information from the documents highlights the uncertainty and ambiguity surrounding the individual.

Heramunpenaef is the worker-artisan/controller mentioned most frequently in the Late Ramesside Letters⁸⁵⁸—eight times, with specific titles mentioned in five of those instances. This suggests that the individual had close connections to Butehamon, Djehutymes and the political environment associated with Paiankh and the *whm mswt*.

Late Ramesside Letters Nos. 1, 4, 16 and 28, dating between years 6-7 and 10 of the *whm mswt*, present a Heramunpenaef as a *rmt ist*, a simple workman affiliated with the administration of the necropolis. Late Ramesside Letter N° 11, also dated during the *whm mswt*, although its precise dating has not been suggested, designates a Heramunpenaef as a *rwd [p3] h[r]*, a controller/administrator of the Tomb. Assuming these documents refer to the same individual, this suggests a professional advancement for Heramunpenaef.

Furthermore, as some of the Late Ramesside Letters suggest, Heramunpenaef may have played an important role as a messenger and intermediary in relation to some of the correspondence. This could potentially explain his promotion from *rmt ist* to *rwd [p3] h[r]*. If this is the case, Late Ramesside Letter No. 11 should be dated after Year 10 of the *whm mswt*, as it is at least until this date that Heramunpenaef is designated as *rmt ist*.

Late Ramesside Letters Nos. 16 and 28 provide specific dates (both from the presumed 10th year of the *whm mswt*): 1st month of Shemu, day 20, the 1st month of Shemu, days 18, 20 and 29, respectively. Therefore, Late Ramesside Letter No. 11, should be dated after the 1st month of Shemu, day 29. This is because in Late Ramesside Letter No. 11, Heramunpenaef is associated with a promotion that is not visible in the other dated letters, suggesting a later date of Late Ramesside Letter No. 11. However, the letter should be dated before Djehutymes's death, as the document was addressed to Djehutymes, who is presumed to have still been alive when the letter was prepared. Djehutymes is known to have been alive at least until the 1st month of Shemu, day 29, of likely the 10th year of the *whm mswt*, although the exact date of his death is unknown.

If the Late Ramesside Letters refer to two different individuals with the same name, it is unclear whether they would have simultaneously held their respective roles as *rmt ist* and *rwd [p3] h[r]*, as the precise date of Late Ramesside Letter N° 11 remains undetermined. However, given that Heramunpenaef is a unique anthroponym and is only found in the few documents mentioned further below, it's likely that the individual referred to in the Late Ramesside Letters is the same person. This cannot be confirmed,

⁸⁵⁸ Guérin 2010: 535.

and it's also plausible that they are two distinct individuals, both of whom were associated with Butehamon and Djehutymes's circle.

A Heramunpenaef, once again defined as *rwḏ*, is mentioned in Seti I's coffin docket. Although he could be the same Heramunpenaef mentioned in Late Ramesside Letter N° 11 as *rwḏ* [p3] ḥ[r], the dating of the docket raises some issues in this regard.

The document records an event in year 6, when Herihor ordered the reburial of Seti I. If this year aligns with the *whm mswt* era, it suggests that the documents mentioned so far likely pertain to at least two individuals sharing the same name. If we accept the notion that the Heramunpenaef mentioned in the Late Ramesside Letters is the same individual who experienced a change in status and office, one Heramunpenaef would be the one mentioned in those letters as *rmṯ ist* during the years 6-7 and 10 of the *whm mswt* era, and later, after the 1st month of Shemu, day 29 of the 10th year of the *whm mswt* era, as *rwḏ*. Conversely, if the docket on Seti I's coffin was inscribed in the 6th year of the *whm mswt* era, its inscription would refer to a second Heramunpenaef, also holding the title *rwḏ*. Considering these timelines and the titles documented, it is reasonable to suggest that these references likely pertain to two distinct individuals. It is improbable that the same person would be designated as *rwḏ* and subsequently as *rmṯ ist*, as this would imply a devaluation of his professional positions.

Nonetheless, Häggmann has proposed the idea that certain workers of the institution of the Tomb might have laid claim to this title during specific activities, such as the "osirification" of ancient pharaohs.⁸⁵⁹ In such a scenario, the docket could be referring to the same Heramunpenaef mentioned in the Late Ramesside Letters. If this hypothesis is accurate, Heramunpenaef would have held the title of *rmṯ ist* during the years 6-7 and 10 of the *whm mswt* era, with a mention as *rwḏ* during Seti I's "osirification" in the 6th year of the same era. Subsequently, he would have ascended to that rank, as indicated by Late Ramesside Letter N° 11, at an unspecified time, likely after the 1st month of Shemu, day 29 of the 10th year of the *whm mswt* era. This change in status would probably have been influenced by his position within the inner circle of Butehamon and Djehutymes and, perhaps, his involvement in the "osirification" of Seti I, a significant event attended by only a select group of individuals.

However, as previously discussed, given the rarity of the name Heramunpenaef, it is improbable that two individuals holding the same title, *rwḏ*, existed in such close temporal proximity or concurrently. Consequently, it is reasonable to suggest that the documents do, indeed, refer to the same individual.

Another possibility is that Late Ramesside Letter N° 11⁸⁶⁰ and the docket referred to the same individual, a first Heramunpenaef, while the other Late Ramesside Letters referred to a second Heramunpenaef. In this scenario, two individuals with the same name, connected to Butehamon and Djehutymes, as well as the Tomb institution, would have coexisted, even if they would have held different positions and ranks within that context.

⁸⁵⁹ Häggman 2002: 352-353 [n. 2391].

⁸⁶⁰ In this letter, Heramunpenaef no longer appears in the capacity of a messenger, in contrast with some of the other letters where a Heramunpenaef does serve in that function.

Another hypothesis that could suggest that all the previously discussed documents do indeed refer to a single individual is to reconsider the dating of this year 6 mentioned in Seti I's docket. Instead of placing it during the *whm mswt* era, one might propose dating it to the reign of Smendes/Herihor.⁸⁶¹ In this case, once again, one could hypothesize that we are, in fact, dealing with a single Heramunpenaef. He would have ascended in rank after the 1st month of Shemu, day 29 of the 10th year of the *whm mswt* era, a position he would have maintained, at least until the 6th year of Smendes/Herihor's reign, as suggested by Seti I's docket.

Another subsequent issue in this discussion revolves around the information presented in Graffito No. 2138, which is dated to year 20 and has been associated with the reign of Smendes. In this inscription, Heramunpenaef is identified as *wꜥw n ist*, a lower-ranking title linked to a "team worker."⁸⁶² If the dating is accurate, this may suggest the existence of at least two distinct individuals with the same name. If Heramunpenaef indeed accessed the position of *rwd* at an unspecified point after the 1st month of Shemu, day 29 of the 10th year of the *whm mswt* era (whether temporarily holding that rank during the 6th year of the *whm mswt* era, during the reburial of Seti I) and potentially retained it until the 6th year of Smendes, it seems implausible for the same person to be designated with the lower *wꜥw n ist* title in Year 20. If Graffito No. 2138 refers to a second Heramunpenaef, this once again suggests that the other mentioned documents may indeed refer to the same individual. Another plausible scenario is that the graffito likely refers to the same individual mentioned in the Late Ramesside Letters 1, 4, 16 and 28 as *rmt ist*, although this hypothesis cannot be definitely proven.

Finally, it is probable that the individual referred to as *rwd* in Seti I's docket and Late Ramesside Letter No. 11, whether he is the same person mentioned in the other documents or not, would have found his final resting place in the preserved coffin at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History in Pittsburgh. Within this funerary set, which includes an inner coffin and a mummy board, one can find, among other titles, the designation *rwd ꜥ3 n p3 hr* (Chief controller/administrator of the Tomb). Considering the presence of the title *rwd* in both the docket and Late Ramesside Letter No. 11, this implies a potential advancement in Heramunpenaef's career, although the timing of such advancement remains unknown.

Of course, another possibility is that this coffin was associated with the second Heramunpenaef, identified as *wꜥw n ist* in Graffito 2138, and that he might have been later promoted, eventually attaining the rank of *rwd ꜥ3*. This would imply the existence of two individuals sharing the same name and holding similar positions, that of *rwd* and *rwd ꜥ3*. Nevertheless, this scenario appears to be improbable.

Regarding the date of the coffin's decoration, it is important to consider that the title *ꜥ3 n ist* appears on the coffin. Another individual, Horemkeniset, whose discussion will follow, held the same title at least until the year 20 of Smendes, as evidenced by Graffito 2138. If the dating of the graffito is accurate, it can be suggested that the

⁸⁶¹ Reeves 1990: 234 [Table 10/2, N° 5]; Reeves, Wilkinson 1996: 138. Lull has proposed that the date might be connected to the reign of Smendes or possibly Herihor's. Herihor might have used his own regnal years, even if they coincided with Smendes', as both began their rule after the conclusion of the *wHm mswt* period and the death of Ramesses XI (Lull 2006: 107, 128, 322).

⁸⁶² It's worth noting that the graffito documents an examination of Seti II's tomb valley, emphasizing the significance of the context linked to this individual.

decoration of Heramunpenaef's coffin, whoever its owner may have been, would have occurred after that date and after Horemkeniset's death, unless two individuals held the office of *ʿ3 n ʾst* simultaneously. This scenario raises the possibility of concurrent existence of two individuals holding the title *ʿ3 n ʾst*, a matter that needs further investigation within the historical context surrounding Heramunpenaef and his contemporaries.

Regarding the remaining titles inscribed on the coffin, it's worth mentioning *wʿb n ʾImn-ḥtp* and *wʿb dsr-k3-Rʿ Imn-ḥtp*, which do not appear in any of the other preserved documents associated with Heramunpenaef. These titles once again suggest the possibility of priestly roles that some Tomb workers might have held, but it remains unclear when Heramunpenaef would have assumed this role. In this context, the specific reference to a role within the cult of Amenhotep I implies that the position held significance and exclusivity, potentially accessed by Heramunpenaef due to his connections with higher authorities.⁸⁶³ Establishing whether Heramunpenaef had any involvement in the reburial of Amenhotep I is challenging, given his position within the cult, and the precise location of this cult remains uncertain.

In brief, the documents under discussion may refer to two distinct individuals bearing the name Heramunpenaef, and in the case that the Late Ramesside Letters refer to two different individuals, it could be as many as three Heramunpenaefs. Nevertheless, the latter scenario appears improbable. Alternatively, it's conceivable that all these documents refer to the same individual for straightforward reasons. Various rank titles could coexist within the titulary of a single person, and they could be employed independently. Consequently, at different times and in different documents, irrespective of the rank titles, the individual could be arbitrarily addressed with one title or another. Hence, the fact that a person may have advanced in status does not necessarily preclude the continued use of their previous titles in certain instances, possibly for reasons that remain unclear, if any reasons exist at all.⁸⁶⁴

These frequent mentions in the Late Ramesside Letters underscore Heramunpenaef's significant role within the context of the *whm mswt*, where he played a crucial part in administrative and work-related matters. His repeated presence in the letters suggests a level of trust and importance in his responsibilities, and it aligns with the idea that he was closely associated with key figures like Butehamon and Djehutymes, who held influential positions in the political landscape of the time. Further examination of Heramunpenaef's role and interactions within the *whm mswt* would provide valuable insights into the dynamics and organization of this institution during the late Ramesside period.

In conclusion, while there are several hypotheses and possibilities to consider when interpreting these documents, it is clear that the true nature of Heramunpenaef's role and titles remains a complex puzzle. It is essential to examine all available evidence carefully and consider various scenarios, including the possibility of multiple individuals named Heramunpenaef, to piece together a more accurate understanding of

⁸⁶³ There are inscriptions linked to a *hm-ntr* of Amenhotep (Guérin 2010: 522) and another *wʿb* of Amenhotep (Spiegelberg 1921: 60 [743]; Guérin 2010: 256-257). Both of these documents are dated to the same period and are connected to individuals associated with Butehamon and his entourage, highlighting the status of those associated with this particular cult.

⁸⁶⁴ Davies 1997: 67.

this historical figure and the context in which these documents were created. In any event, the elevated status of the owner of the coffin preserved in Pittsburgh would have granted him access to the iconographic representations containing the Litany of Ra. This iconography was then included on the exterior of his coffin box.

Table 4.3.4 Documents and Titles Associated with Heramunpenaef

Individual	Title	Translation	Document(s)
Heramunpenaef	<i>rmt ist n p3 hr</i> ⁸⁶⁵	Workman ⁸⁶⁶	Late Ramesside Letters Nos. 1, 4, 16, 28, ⁸⁶⁷ epistolary correspondence between Djehutymes and Butehamon. Suggested dates: Years 6-7 of the <i>whm mswt</i> (Late Ramesside Letter N° 1), ⁸⁶⁸ Year 10 of the <i>whm mswt</i> (Late Ramesside Letters Nos 4 ⁸⁶⁹ , 16 (mention of 1 Shemu 20) ⁸⁷⁰ and 28 (mention of 1 Shemu 18, 20, 29)) ⁸⁷¹
	<i>rwd [p3] h[r]</i>	Controller/administrator of the Tomb ⁸⁷²	Late Ramesside Letter N° 11, ⁸⁷³ epistolary correspondence probably written by Heramunpenaef and sent to Djehutymose while he was away from home. ⁸⁷⁴ Suggested date: Unknown year of the <i>whm mswt</i> . ⁸⁷⁵
	<i>rwd</i>	Controller/administrator	Docket on Seti I's coffin, informing that Heramunpenaef directed the reburial of Seti I under the command of Herihor. ⁸⁷⁶

⁸⁶⁵ The term "*n p3 hr*" appears exclusively in Late Ramesside Letter No. 1, and it refers to the entire group of mentioned workmen, thereby suggesting that the designation also alludes to Heramunpenaef.

⁸⁶⁶ WB I: 127.19; WB II: 423.20-22; Lesko, Lesko 1982² (2002-2004): 46.

⁸⁶⁷ Černý 1939: 1-2 [LRL 1], 7-8a [LRL 4], 31-33 [LRL 16], 44-48 [LRL 28]; Wente 1967: 18-19 [LRL 1], 24-27 [LRL 4], 49-51 [LRL 16], 59-65 [LRL 28]; Guérin 2010: 330-334 [LRL 1], 344-348 [LRL 4], 393-398 [LRL 16], 399-407 [LRL 28], with references. Heramunpenaef is also mentioned, although without any titulary, in Late Ramesside Letters Nos. 8, 9, 15, 30 (Černý 1939: 13-17 [LRL 8]; 17-21 [LRL 9], 28-30a [LRL 15], 50-51 [LRL 30]; Wente 1967: 33-37 [LRL 8], 37-42 [LRL 9], 47-49 [LRL 15], 65-67 [LRL 30]; Guérin 2010: 359-363 [LRL 8], 364-371 [LRL 9], 388-392 [LRL 15], 412-415 [LRL 30], with references). The individual is also mentioned in O. Cairo CG 25574 (Černý 1930: 27, 49*, pl. XXXVIII), alongside with the names of additional workmen. Late Ramesside Letter N° 30 underscores Heramunpenaef's significant associations with Paiankh. He not only received servants ahead of the other individuals mentioned in the letter but also received them directly from Paiankh. Furthermore, his role related to copper, as a messenger for the general, further emphasizes his prominent connections.

⁸⁶⁸ Wente 1967: 5-7, 16; Davies 1997: 62-63. See also Bierbrier 1975: 35-36, and, specially, 127 [n. 146]; Häggman 2002: 352 [n. 2389], for a challenge to Wente's datation of the document.

⁸⁶⁹ Wente 1967: 12-13, 16; Davies 1997: 57 [n. 50].

⁸⁷⁰ Wente 1967: 10-11, 16.

⁸⁷¹ Wente 1967: 10, 16; Reeves, Wilkinson 1996: 204-205.

⁸⁷² For the title, see Černý 1973: 255-259.

⁸⁷³ Černý 1939: 22-23; Wente 1967: 43-44.

⁸⁷⁴ Wente 1967: 15. Previously, Černý ascribed the letter to Djehutymose (Černý 1939: xxiii).

⁸⁷⁵ Wente 1967: 17.

⁸⁷⁶ Maspero 1889: 553; Černý 1973: 114; Reeves 1990: 234 [Table 10/2, N° 5].

			Date: Year 6, 2 nd month of Akhet, day 7 (linked to the <i>whm mswt</i> or potentially during the reign of Herihor-Smendes) ⁸⁷⁷
	<i>wꜥw</i> ⁸⁷⁸ <i>n ist</i>	Team worker	Graffito 2138 ⁸⁷⁹ Date: Year 20, 2nd month of š[<i>mw</i>] (Smendes I?) ⁸⁸⁰
	<i>wꜥb n Imn-ḥtp</i> ; <i>wꜥb dsr-k3-Rꜥ Imn-ḥtp</i> ; <i>ꜥ3 n ist m st m3ꜥt</i> ; <i>ꜥ3 n ist n p3 hr</i> ; <i>rwd ꜥ3 n p3 hr</i>	Wab priest of Amenhotep Wab of Djeserkara Amenhotep Chief workman in the Place of Truth Chief workman of the Tomb Chief controller/administrator of the Tomb	Coffin. ⁸⁸¹ Date: unknown, but at least after the year 20 of Smendes, when Horemkeniset was still documented as <i>ꜥ3 n ist</i> , unless there were two <i>ꜥ3 n ist</i> simultaneously.

⁸⁷⁷ Reeves 1990: 234 [Table 10/2, N° 5]; Reeves, Wilkinson 1996: 138; Lull: 107, 128, 322.

⁸⁷⁸ Meaning also “lower-ranking officer” in a military context (WB I: 280.3-8).

⁸⁷⁹ Černý, Sadek 1970 IV/1: 42 [2138]; Černý, Sadek 1970 III/2: pl. LXXVI [2138]; Taylor 1995: 18; Häggman 2002: 351. The graffito also makes reference to other individuals, who will be discussed in more detail below. Specifically, the document mentions *Hr-m-ḥn-3st* (Horemkeniset), who held the titles of “*wꜥb n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*” (Wab priest of Amun-Ra, king of the gods) and “*ꜥ3 n ist n st m3ꜥt*,” Chief Workman of the Place of Truth, along with the “*wꜥw n ist*” Heramunpenaef, *Kni-Imn* (Qenamun) and *swt-p3-ꜥnh* (Sapaankh), all operating under the direction of Horemkeniset. Heramunpenaef is also mentioned in a close graffiti dated to Year 12, 4 akhet day 17 (Smendes I?), although he is not associated with any titulary (Černý, Sadek 1970 IV/1: 42 [2137]; Černý, Sadek 1970 III/2: pl. LXXVI [2137]; Peden 2001: 244 [n. 745]).

⁸⁸⁰ For the date of the document during Smendes I, see Peden 2001: 243 [n. 737]-244, although Häggman (2002: 351) associates the year with Panedjem I.

⁸⁸¹ Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh (Inv. 22266-3b/d (inner coffin); 22266-3c (mummy board)) (Patch 1990: 68-69 [55]; Demarée 2003: 250).

4.3.6 Horemkeniset

Given the rarity of the name Horemkeniset and the associated dating and context in the presented sources that mention the individual, it is plausible to propose that all the documents mentioning an individual named Horemkeniset (see *infra*, Table 4.3.5) pertain to a single person. As suggested further below, it is conceivable that Horemkeniset experienced advancements in his career during his lifetime. As the other coffins under discussion, Horemkeniset's coffin includes the Litany of Ra on the exterior decoration of the box.

In graffito 3121a, which is dated to year 2, presumably during the reign of Smendes, Horemkeniset is documented as a Scribe. This is the same title mentioned in Graffito 1012c, although the specific date for that graffito is unknown. Additionally, Horemkeniset is referred to as a Scribe in Graffito Carter No. 1557, for which the date is also unknown. Nevertheless, a *terminus ante quem* can be inferred for both graffiti, as elaborated further below.

Regarding Horemkeniset's priestly offices, he is mentioned in several documents as a *wꜥb*-priest of Amun. In one of these documents, Graffito 1313, whose date remains unknown, it is specified that he served in this capacity at the temple of Karnak. The exact timing of when he assumed this role, whether before or after his position as a scribe (*ss*), remains uncertain. Nevertheless, he likely still held the position of *wꜥb*-priest of Amun-Ra King of the Gods during the year 20, likely during Smendes' reign, as suggested by graffito 2138.

In his role as a priest, besides his association with Amun at Karnak, Horemkeniset is also linked to the position of *wꜥb*-priest of the front (row)/*wꜥb*-priest at the front⁸⁸² of Amun in "United with Eternity," the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. This title is only referenced on his coffin, though it is uncertain when he assumed this role, so it's unclear whether it was acquired later in his career or not. As explained below, it is probable that Horemkeniset's coffin was decorated after the 11th year of Smendes' reign. Consequently, even if speculative, perhaps Horemkeniset may have assumed the position of *wab* priest of the front (row) after that year as well.

With respect to this title, its association with Horemkeniset corresponds with an earlier hypothesis concerning the documentation associated with the senior scribes Djehutymes, his son Butehamon and his grandson Ankhefenamon. Djehutymes held the title of *wꜥb*-priest of Amun in Karnak, and Butehamon also possessed a *wꜥb*-priest title. Furthermore, before Ankhefenamon assumed the role of senior scribe, he served as a "*wꜥb*-priest of Amun United with Eternity," likely marking his initial step in professional advancement within the Tomb Institution. The same title was associated with another son of Djehutymes, also named Ankhefenamon, who is recorded as both scribe and a *wꜥb*-priest of Amun United with Eternity. In contrast to the other mentioned individuals, he never reached the office of senior scribe, likely due to his premature death.

⁸⁸² The title likely refers to the privilege held by one of the priests who carried the shrine containing the god's statue during the annual festival procession, serving as the leader of the bearers (for more details on the title, refer to Paganini 2014: 193; 2017: 351).

Other individuals, such as Paihayoudjat, and Nebnefer, as mentioned further below, also bore the same title. Each of these individuals assumed significant and proactive roles within the Tomb Institution and/or maintained affiliations with higher-ranking authorities. It is plausible that Horemkeniset belonged to this group of *wꜥb*-priests linked to the Medinet Habu temple, enjoying a distinct societal status.

In this context, Horemkeniset wasn't simply a *wꜥb* within that institution; he held the more prestigious title of *wꜥb n ḥꜣt*, the *wꜥb*-priest of the front (row). Although the exact moment when Horemkeniset assumed this position remains uncertain, it might have granted him access to the various ranks and titles that will be discussed later. Interestingly, a comparable position was already held by Horemkeniset's father, Huysheri (?), who was a *wꜥb (n) Imn hnmt nhḥ*.⁸⁸³ This suggests that Horemkeniset's priestly role may have been semi-hereditary, as he followed in his father's footsteps as a *wꜥb*-priest.

Continuing to trace Horemkeniset's career and advancement through his *cursus honorum*, graffito 2138 reveals that he ascended to a more senior role as *ꜥꜣ n ist n st mꜣꜥt*, a chief workman in the Place of Truth. This title is concurrently featured on the graffiti alongside his position as a *wꜥb*-priest of Amun-Ra King of the Gods. This indicates that Horemkeniset fulfilled both roles simultaneously. The graffito is dated to year 20, likely during the reign of Smendes,⁸⁸⁴ suggesting that earlier graffiti that only referred to Horemkeniset as a *wꜥb* (Graffiti 1313, 1322 and 1343) were possibly created before this year. This new reference to his more senior position underscores his evolving status and responsibilities.

When considering the timing of Horemkeniset's assumption of the role of *ꜥꜣ n ist*, it is worth noting the information featured in graffito 3123a, dating back to year 2, likely during the reign of Smendes. The document features Horemkeniset mentioned as a *sš*, and he appears alongside the *ꜥꜣ n ist n st mꜣꜥt*, Nebnefer. Similarly, graffito Carter 1557, which also refers to Horemkeniset as a *sš*, mentions him in conjunction with Nebnefer, again holding the title *ꜥꜣ n ist n st mꜣꜥt*.

In addition to these two graffiti, Nebnefer's name appears in six other graffiti.⁸⁸⁵ Considering their dating, it can be inferred that Nebnefer likely held the position of *ꜥꜣ n ist n st mꜣꜥt* between the years 2 (Graffito 3123a) and 11 (Graffiti 48 and 1021a) of Smendes' reign. Subsequently, it is plausible that he was succeeded by Horemkeniset,

⁸⁸³ Horemkeniset's father's information appears in Graffiti 1012c and 1343.

⁸⁸⁴ This graffito offers the latest known date, derived from rock graffiti, for official activity within the East Valley of the King's Valley during the Twenty-First Dynasty (Peden 2001: 243 [n. 737]). Instances of rock graffiti referencing actual work in the King's Valley during the Twenty-First Dynasty are infrequent (for examples, see Peden 2001: 244 [n. 745]).

⁸⁸⁵ Spiegelberg 1921: 7 [48] (Note that Spiegelberg incorrectly interpreted the year mentioned in the graffito as year 31; however, it should be interpreted as year 11. The graffito also mentions Nebnefer's father, Bakenmut (?). There is the existence of a "chef d'équipe" named Bakenmut (perhaps referring to the same individual, which may suggest that the position had some hereditary aspects) at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (Černý 1973: 311)); Spiegelberg 1921: 83 [998], 86 [1021a] (see *supra* for the date of the document); Černý 1956: 15, pl. 38 [1262], 24 [1358] (including the mention of a year 6, probably of Smendes' reign (Černý 1973: 372; Kitchen 1973: 418 [§381.11]); Sadek 1972 IV/3: 150 [2946]).

The individual under discussion should not be confused with the homonymous individual mentioned in Spiegelberg 1921: 4 [18], who is described as *ist*, the son of the *ḥry Ist st mꜣꜥt Pn-pꜥ-rꜥy*. This information once again hints at the possibility that the position of *ist* may have been hereditary.

who would have assumed the position starting from year 11 and continued until at least year 20 of Smendes, which is the last documented date for Horemkeniset.

This assumption can only be supported by recognizing that the same position could not have been held by two individuals simultaneously. Accordingly, this hypothesis suggests that Graffito Carter No. 1557 (and, by extension, perhaps Graffito 1012c), where Horemkeniset is mentioned solely as *sš*, should be dated to a period prior to year 11 of Smendes' reign.

Notably, Graffito 2946, which references Nebnefer, links the individual with both the titles *hry ist m st m3t Nb nfr (p^c) hr* and *w^cb (n) Imn-r^c nsw ntrw hnm^t nh^h*. This, once again, underscores the extent of influence that individuals holding the priestly title associated with Medinet Habu would have wielded within the context of the late New Kingdom.

Nebnefer is mentioned in three graffiti alongside Butehamon, all of which provide specific dates, particularly in years 6 (Graffito 1358) and 11 (Graffiti 48 and 1021a), likely during the reign of Smendes. The latter graffito also includes references to Panedjem I and the Wab Priest United with Eternity, Paihayoudjat. This is significant in terms of the status of all these individuals who accompanied the High Priest of Amun.

The dates and the individuals mentioned in these graffiti support the contemporaneity and professional relationships between Nebnefer and Butehamon, and consequently, between Butehamon and Horemkeniset. Both Nebnefer and Horemkeniset, as members of Butehamon's entourage and the higher echelons, embarked on their careers at roughly the same period, taking over certain roles from their respective fathers, and both exercised their high-status functions during the reign of Smendes I.

If Horemkeniset succeeded Nebnefer at some point after the 11th year of Smendes' reign,⁸⁸⁶ a position that would have lasted until at least the 20th year of the same reign, Horemkeniset would have collaborated with the senior scribes of the tomb Butehamon, Ankhefenamon and Nebhepetra.

Considering the titulary on his coffin, which includes the title *3 n/hry ist (n) st m3t*, it can be inferred that the coffin was decorated no earlier than the 11th year of Smendes' reign.⁸⁸⁷ Horemkeniset's coffin also references his association with the position of *sš shn m 3ht nh^h*, a scribal role linked to the King's tomb. This was an important position associated with significant responsibilities, a title that was also held by Butehamon in association with the Place of Truth. Since the coffin of Horemkeniset is the sole document that specifies this function, it remains unknown when he would have assumed that role.

⁸⁸⁶ The Nebnefer under discussion must not be confused with the *hry ist* Nebnefer, succeeded by his son Neferhotep, who was an *3 n ist m st m3t*, both of whom are mentioned in a Graffito [Spiegelberg 1921: 83 [1999]]. The inscription should be attributed to the reign of Ramesses II (Guérin 2010: 171). For information about these two individuals, see Bierbrier 1975: 21-23; Černý 1973: 285-291.

⁸⁸⁷ This hypothesis holds true under the assumption that the coffin and its inscriptions were decorated simultaneously, rather than at two distinct points in time. In this regard, Taylor mentioned that the coffin features blank spaces where the name should be included, although this characteristic is only present in the final left vignette. It remains uncertain whether this was because the name was the last inscription to be added in the decoration, or if the coffin was prepared in advance and subsequently filled with Horemkeniset's information.

Moreover, the coffin also lists his priestly positions and his high-status office of *ḥrj nṯw* (*ist (n) st m3't*). Considering that the coffin bears the most comprehensive collection of Horemkeniset's titles, it was likely intended to include the positions he held during his career.

Horemkeniset's coffin was discovered either late in 1904 or early in 1905 in the funerary temple of King Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari.⁸⁸⁸ The coffin was found as an undisturbed secondary burial in "Tomb 7," situated in the rear wall of the pillared hall or ambulatory on the west side of the temple's platform. This area comprised six shrines, each dedicated to one of Mentuhotep's wives or ladies of the royal harem, positioned above the burial chamber of the corresponding queen.⁸⁸⁹

Originally associated with queen Sadeh, Tomb 7 contained Horemkeniset's coffin.⁸⁹⁰ With respect to the mummy, which was found intact, the excavation report mentions garlands, stalks of papyrus, and several sticks with leaves, but it can be confidently asserted that the mummy inside the coffin was indeed that of Horemkeniset. This certainty arose from the identification of his name on the mummy bandages.⁸⁹¹

In summary, these pieces of information position Horemkeniset's career within a timeframe that stretches from the reign of Ramesses XI, the final pharaoh of the Twentieth Dynasty, to the period when Panedjem I ruled Upper Egypt during Smendes' reign. Horemkeniset was closely linked to the activities of high-ranking officials associated with the Tomb institution. Although none of the graffiti mentioning him are directly linked to Butehamon's activities, it is plausible that he was part of Butehamon's circle and may have been involved in the last stages of consolidating the caches of royal mummies that occurred at the time of Panedjem I, and perhaps in the official and unofficial search for earlier royal tombs.

The dating of the documents mentioning Horemkeniset and the titles associated with him indicate that he experienced career advancement, eventually reaching the position of Chief workman of the Place of Truth. In this role, he was responsible for overseeing the workmen tasked with maintaining the entire necropolis, including the Valley of the Kings and Queens on the west bank of the river. During Horemkeniset's era, the workmen team, likely reduced in size, had relocated from their traditional village at Deir el-Medina to a more secure administrative complex within the high precinct walls of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. Additionally, Horemkeniset held the position of a scribe, a member of the educated elite.

The titles inscribed on Horemkeniset's coffin offer valuable insights and provide a succinct overview of the nature of his professional engagements, his social standing, and his affiliations. They serve as a clear indicator of his position within the societal hierarchy during his era. It remains uncertain whether, at the time of his coffin's decoration, which includes the Litany of Ra as a reflect of his high-status position, Horemkeniset still occupied some of the roles mentioned on the artifact, or if the titulary primarily serves as a comprehensive record of his career.

⁸⁸⁸ Naville 1907: preface [vii].

⁸⁸⁹ Clarke 1910: 6-9; Winlock 1942: 35-46.

⁸⁹⁰ Hall, Ayrton 1907: 47, although their report incorrectly identified the coffin as belonging to a female occupant at first.

⁸⁹¹ Spencer 2002: 54 [fig. 4.22].

Table 4.3.5 Documents and Titles Associated with Horemkeniset

Individual	Title	Translation	Document(s)
Horemkeniset ⁸⁹²	<i>sš</i>	Scribe	Graffito 3123a ⁸⁹³ Date: Year 2 (probably the reign of Smendes, under the pontificate of Panedjem I)
	<i>sš</i>	Scribe	Graffito 1012c ⁸⁹⁴ Date: unknown, likely before year 11 of Smendes
	<i>sš</i>	Scribe	Graffito Carter n° 1557 ⁸⁹⁵ Date: unknown, likely before year 11 of Smendes
	<i>Wꜥb n 'Imn (m) 'Ipt-swt</i>	Wab priest of Amun in Karnak	Graffito 1313 ⁸⁹⁶ Date: unknown, likely before year 20 of Smendes
	<i>Wꜥb n 'Imn</i>	Wab priest of Amun	Graffito 1322 ⁸⁹⁷ Date: unknown, likely before year 20 of Smendes
	<i>Wꜥb (n) 'Imn</i>	Wab priest (of) Amun	Graffito 1343 ⁸⁹⁸ Date: unknown, likely before year 20 of Smendes
	<i>Wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw ꜥ3 n ist</i> ⁸⁹⁹ <i>n st mꜥt</i>	Wab priest of Amun-Ra, king of the gods Chief workman of the Place of Truth	Graffito 2138 Date: Year 20, likely of the reign of Smendes

⁸⁹² For the graffiti mentioning Horemkeniset, see Taylor 1995: 16-20, fig. 8. Additionally, there exist graffiti bearing only Horemkeniset's name, albeit lacking any accompanying titulary (Spiegelberg 1921: 79 [946e]; Spiegelberg 1921: 80 [957b]). Spiegelberg dated them to the Nineteenth Dynasty, although no apparent reason is provided.

⁸⁹³ Sadek 1972 IV/3: 160 [3123a]; Peden 2001: 259 [n. 825]. The graffiti also mentions the *ꜥ3 n ist st mꜥt*, *Nb-nfr*.

⁸⁹⁴ Spiegelberg 1921: 85 [1012c]. The graffiti includes the mention of Horemkeniset's father, Hwyl[-Sri?], albeit without any titulary. The area featuring the name is quite damaged, being [-Sri?] a reconstruction by Spiegelberg. The graffiti is associated with graffiti mentioning the *šs st mꜥt dḥwtj-ms mꜥ3-ḥrw*, *sꜥ=f wꜥb n 'Imn ḥnmt nhḥ sš ḥ=f-n-Imn mꜥ3 ḥrw*, *sꜥ=f Bth-(Imn)*, *sꜥ=f wꜥb n 'Imn ḥnmt nhḥ sš st mꜥt ḥ=f-n-Imn mꜥ3-ḥrw*, *sš pꜥ iry* (Graffito 1012a) and the *sš ḥ=f-n-Imn (pꜥ) ḥr* (Graffito 1012b) (Spiegelberg 1921: 84-85 [1012a-b]). On the right of the previous inscriptions, Horemkeni's information was included.

⁸⁹⁵ Peden 2001: 265 [n. 862]. The graffiti also mentions the *ꜥ3 n ist*, *Nb-nfr*.

⁸⁹⁶ Černý 1956: 20 [1313], pl. 58. Of note, in the valley of the royal cache, textual rock graffiti that do not mention Butehamon or a member of his family are unique (Peden 2001: 252). The only exceptions are Graffiti 1313 and 908 (Spiegelberg 1921: 75 [908]).

⁸⁹⁷ Černý 1956: 21 [1322], pl. 60.

⁸⁹⁸ Černý 1956: 22 [1343], pl. 60. The graffiti includes the mention of Horemkeniset's father's title, that of *wꜥb (n) 'Imn ḥnmt nhḥ* [...], “*wꜥb*-priest (of) Amun of Medinet Habu” (*ḥnmt nhḥ* meaning, literally, “the one who joins eternity”), although his name is not specified.

⁸⁹⁹ WB I: 127.18. There is an extra graffiti (Sadek, Shimy 1983 IV/6: 246 [3898]) that includes the title *ꜥ3 n ist* [...] alongside the name *ḥr-n-Ist?*, possibly referring to the same individual.

	<i>hry ist (n) st m³t;</i> <i>³3 n ist n st m³t;</i> <i>w³b n ḥ3t n 'Imn m hnmt nhḥ;</i> <i>w³b n 'Imn-R³ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš shn m 3ḥt nhḥ</i>	Supervisor of the workmen (of) the Place of Truth Chief workman of the Place of Truth <i>W³b</i> -priest of the front (row)/ <i>W³b</i> -priest at the front of Amun in "United with Eternity" (Medinet Habu) <i>W³b</i> -priest of Amun-Ra, king of the gods Scribe of the commands in the Place of Truth	Coffin ⁹⁰⁰ Date: unknown, likely after year 11 of the reign of Smenides.
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⁹⁰⁰ Niwiński 1988: 112 [45]; Taylor 1995: 61-66; Dawson 2002; Taylor 2002; Spencer 2002.

4.3.7 Tjanefer

Regarding Tjanefer, only his coffin has been preserved, with no other documents associated with the individual. However, his title associated with Medinet Habu, where he held the position of *it-ntr* of Amun, holds significant importance. This title likely links him to the tomb's crew, as it is consistently associated with individuals involved in the operations of the institution of the Tomb. Supporting this assumption, his roles as a lector priest in the Necropolis and in "all the temples" provide further insight into his responsibilities. His position and access to this entourage would have facilitated his acquisition and access to specific religious texts and iconographies, including the Litany of Ra, which were incorporated on the exterior decoration of his coffin box. Ultimately, his distinctive title as "The one who knows how to proceed," which stands alone without any known parallels, implies a singular and exclusive designation.

Table 4.3.6 Documents and Titles Associated with Tjanefer

Individual	Title	Translation	Document(s)
Tjanefer	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn hnm̄t nh̄h;</i>	God's father of Amun in Medinet Habu	Coffin
	<i>hry-h̄b šs̄3 m R3-st3w;</i>	Lector priest in the Necropolis	
	<i>rh̄ st d̄rt=f;</i>	The one who knows how to proceed	
	<i>hry-h̄b (š̄3/š̄s̄3) m h̄wt-((ntr) nb(w))</i>	Lector priest in all the temples	

4.3.9 Shedsuamon

Regarding Shedsuamon, his funerary ensemble was part of the burials within Bab el-Gasus.⁹⁰¹ His extensive collection of titles and their various iterations provides valuable insights into his social standing. Firstly, his title of "Great favorite," along with its multiple variations, strongly suggests Shedsuamon's affiliation with the elite class. This connection is explored further below, in parallel with the example of Taudjatra. In one notable instance, this designation extends to "son of the favorites of Thebes," reinforcing the notion that Shedsuamon was a member of an exclusive circle within the high-status class. This assertion gains additional support from his specific roles as a scribe. Shedsuamon held prestigious positions, including that of being the scribe to the second prophet of Amun, that of being responsible for recording commands within the temple of Amun, as well as overseeing the temple's treasury and managing recruits. Some of these positions were also held by Butehamon, suggesting a similar context for both individuals.

Furthermore, Shedsuamon's priestly titles are quite remarkable. He is officially recorded as a *wꜥb*-priest of Amun, holding the distinguished position of "*wꜥb n h̄3t*" in Amun's cult, a role he also maintained in relation to the god Montu. Additionally, he occupied the post of "*wꜥb*-priest with access to (the temple of) Amun in Karnak" and "*wꜥb*-priest with access to (the temple of) Amun wherever he is." Members of this priestly class exercised significant influence, especially during festivals and

⁹⁰¹ For the elements associated with the funerary set of the individual, see Daressy 1907: 6, 17, 23 [A. 30]; Aston 2009: 168 [TG 703]. The mummy included mummy braces marked with the signs of the *hm-ntr tpy n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*, Panedjem. The body also included a red wax plaque on the left side. The burial included a shabti box (Daressy 1907: 7 [B. 47], although it has not been yet identified.

processions, where they played a crucial role in seeking oracles from the gods. As bearers of sacred images, they likely managed their movements, believed to be the conveyors of divine will. Finally, his title as the "Lord of the step (of Amun?) wherever he is" could also be indicative of his position within the temple hierarchy.

Considering Shedsuamon's wide array of positions, which included esteemed roles in both priestly and scribal offices, along with his designation as a "Great favorite," it is highly probable that he had both the social access and the knowledge required to incorporate the Litany of Re onto his coffins. As a result, individuals associated with the High Priest of Amun's family are once again evident.

Table 4.3.7 Documents and Titles Associated with Shedsuamun

Individual	Title	Translation	Document(s)
Shedsuamun	<i>ḥsy ʕ3 m rḥ ʿImn s3 ḥsyw n W3st;</i> <i>ḥsy ʕ3 s3 ḥsy s3 ḥsyw n W3st ʿImn;</i> <i>ḥsy ʕ3 n ntr=f;</i> <i>ḥsy ʕ3 n nbw W3st ʿImn Mwt ḥnsw;</i> <i>ḥsy ʕ3 n W3st ʿImn;</i> <i>p3 ḥsy ʕ3;</i> <i>ḥsy ʕ3 [...] ʿIpt swt;</i> <i>ḥsyw m pr-ʿImn;</i> <i>sš n p3 ḥm-ntr 2-nw n ʿImn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš šḥnw n pr ʿImn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš pr-ḥd n pr ʿImn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš nfrw n pr ʿImn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš n pr ʿImn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš n ʿImn-Rʕ nsw ntrw</i> <i>wʕb n ʿImn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>wʕb n ḥ3t n ʿImn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>wʕb n ḥ3t n Mntw (m) W3st;</i> <i>wʕb n Mntw nb W3st</i> <i>wʕb ʕ3 ʕk n ʿImn m ʿIpt swt;</i> <i>wʕb ʕ3 ʕk n ʿImn m st=f nb</i> <i>nb nmtt m st=f nb</i> ⁹⁰²	<p>Great favorite in the knowledge of Amun, son of the Favourites of Thebes Great favorite, son of the favorite, son of the favorites of Thebes, of Amun Great favorite of his god Great favorite of the lords of Thebes, of Amun, Mut and Khonsu Great favorite of Thebes, of Amun The Great favorite Great favorite [...] Karnak One of the favorites in the domain of Amun</p> <p>Scribe of the second prophet of Amun-Ra, king of the gods Scribe of the commands of the domain of Amun-Ra, king of the gods Scribe of the treasury of the domain of Amun-Ra, king of the gods Scribe of the recruits of the domain of Amun-Ra, king of the gods Scribe of the domain of Amun-Ra, King of the gods Scribe of Amun-Ra, King of the gods</p> <p>Wʕb-priest of Amun, king of the gods Wʕb-priest of the front (row)/Wab-priest at the front of Amun, king of the gods Wʕb-priest of the front (row)/Wab-priest at the front of Montu (in) Thebes Wʕb-priest of Montu, lord of Thebes Wʕb-priest with (free) acces to Amun in Karnak Wʕb-priest with (free) acces to Amun wherever he is</p> <p>Lord of the step (of Amun?) wherever he is</p>	Coffin ⁹⁰³
	<i>wʕb ʕ3 ʕk n pr ʿImn (m) ʿIpt swt</i> <i>sš pr-ḥd n ʿImn</i>	<p>Wʕb-priest with (free) acces to the domain of Amun (in) Karnak Scribe of the treasury of Amun</p>	Funerary shroud ⁹⁰⁴
	<i>Wʕb;</i>	Wʕb-priest	Amduat papyrus ⁹⁰⁵

⁹⁰² WB II: 271.10; WB IV: 6.2-3; LGG III: 662.

⁹⁰³ Daressy 1907: 6, 23 [A. 30]; Niwiński 1988: 126 [116].

⁹⁰⁴ SR 14378[C] (Abdalla 1988: 160 [1], pl. XXI [1]).

⁹⁰⁵ S.R.IV. 1530 (Niwiński 1989: 272 [Cairo 53]).

	<i>sš pr-ḥd n 'Imn</i> <i>sš pr-ḥd (n) pr 'Imn</i> <i>wꜥb n ḥ3t n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i>	Scribe of the treasury of Amun Scribe of the treasury (of) the domain of Amun <i>Wꜥb</i> -priest of the front (row)/Wab-priest at the front of Amun, king of the gods	
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4.3.10 Taudjatra

Considering the documentation associated with Taudjatra, only the surviving artifacts found within her burial in Bab el-Gasus shed light on her life and status.⁹⁰⁶ Her funerary equipment was adorned with lavish elements, indicating her elevated position in society. Among these were a silver hawk's pectoral and two *wd3t* eyes made of carnelian and limestone forming a bracelet. Furthermore, following Daressy's notes, the mummy was intricately wrapped and adorned with multicolored bands, and her hair was meticulously arranged, framing her face beautifully. Notably, the presence of a silver hawk's pectoral in her funerary ensemble is significant. Such objects were restrictively incorporated on the mummies of individuals holding high-status titles or those closely associated with the high priest of Amun.

This is further supported by the titles associated with her belongings. Apart from the titles related to her roles in the cult of Mut in the quality of the prestigious title of "*hsyt 3t*," Great Singer, which distinguishes her from a regular singer, there are other titles of greater significance. For example, her distinct title designating her as *šmꜣyt n p3 grg wꜣb n Pth*, this is, the "Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah," is an exclusive position likely achievable by only a select few. In fact, as of now, there is no other recorded instance of an individual holding this title.

Moreover, her titles as "*hsyt 3ꜣt*," meaning Great Favorite, "*hsyt 3t n n3w nbw w3st Imn Mwt hnsw*," signifying Great Favorite one by the lords of Thebes, Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, and "*špst 3t*," denoting Great Noble, hold significant importance. Particularly noteworthy is the latter designation, "*špst*," which is commonly associated with prominent females from the high priest of Amun's family, strongly implying Taudjatra's esteemed position within the high priest's lineage. What sets her apart is not just being a "*špst*" but holding the specific designation of "*špst 3t*" and "*špst 3t n niwt=st*," which translates to Great Noble and Great Noble of her city. This unique titulary suggests that she might have held an even more pivotal position concerning inheritance or her role within the High Priest of Amun's hierarchy. Additionally, it's worth mentioning that she is referred to in the documentation as "*mrt n hwt-hr wsrt*," meaning Beloved of Hathor, the powerful one.

Taudjatra's Book of the Dead papyrus offers genealogical insights, particularly by tracing her maternal lineage to her mother, Tayukheret. Interestingly, a Tayukheret was discovered buried in a coffin in DB 320,⁹⁰⁷ and was identified as the spouse of the High Priest Masaharta. This discovery hints at a potential familial connection between these individuals,⁹⁰⁸ possibly linking Taudjatra to the High Priest of Amun's family as well.

However, the early style and iconography displayed on Taudjatra's coffin, which bears resemblance to those of Butehamon, Horemkeniset, Heramunpenaef and Tjanefer, cast doubt on the possibility of Taudjatra being the daughter of Tayukherit, the wife of Masaharta. Notably, Tayukherit's coffin from DB 320 exhibits a style that likely postdates that of Taudjatra. It's worth considering the possibility that Taudjatra's coffin might have been reused from a previous owner, although there isn't sufficient information to confirm this theory. Furthermore, if Taudjatra were indeed the daughter

⁹⁰⁶ Daressy 1907: 13, 37 [A. 144]; Aston 2009: 192 [TG 817]; Aubert 1998: 91 [39].

⁹⁰⁷ JE 26196/CG 61032 (Daressy 1909: 171-196 [61032]).

⁹⁰⁸ Niwiński 1979: 56 [B].

of Masaharta, one might expect her to make mention of her connection to him as the High Priest of Amun.

Hence, in line with Niwinski's hypothesis,⁹⁰⁹ it's conceivable that Taudjatra might have been the mother of the Tayukheret found in DB 320, suggesting a generational transition. According to Niwinski's viewpoint, this would imply the existence of a Tayukheret A, who would be Taudjatra's mother as mentioned on her papyrus. Subsequently, Tayukheret's name could have been passed down to her granddaughter, the daughter of Tajudatra, as was customary during that era.

This theory corresponds to the early style of Taudatra's coffin, which is likely dated to the time of Panedjem I, during the transitional phase from the late New Kingdom to the early Twenty-First Dynasty. This dating aligns with the coffins discussed in this chapter, as well as with the presence of the greenery motif on the tables of offerings, which was characteristic of the late New Kingdom and potentially extended into the early twenty-First Dynasty. Both the coffin and the papyrus of Taudjatra feature this motif. The unchanged and still original traditional form of the motif on the papyrus and the coffin indicates an early date for these materials. Additionally, Taudjatra's depiction on the papyrus includes a dress adorned with a band of green leaves, a characteristic commonly seen in the very early Twenty-First Dynasty papyri and observed on coffins as well. Furthermore, Taudjatra's mummy included mummy braces with the name of Panedjem, possibly Panedjem I, indicating a *terminus ante quem* for her burial.

Of course, it's also possible that Tayukherit from DB 320 was neither Taudjatra's mother nor daughter, and that there is no familial relationship between the Tayukherit from DB 320 and Taudjatra. However, the placement of Taudjatra's coffin within the burial chambers of Bab el-Gasus, rather than in the corridors, strongly suggests her affiliation with the High Priest's family. This aligns with her extensive titulary, particularly the unique titles mentioned, which signify her high rank. Furthermore, despite having been robbed in antiquity, the originally gilded parts of her coffin, including the face and hands on the lids and mummy board, hint at her elevated status and likely affiliation with the family of the High Priest. The intricately detailed relief tresses on the wigs featured on the covers, typically flat and painted, reveal the skilled craftsmanship involved on the preparation of her coffin set, further indicative of her high status and access to resources.

Lastly, as elaborated upon later, Taudjatra's associated papyri, including a Book of the Dead and an Amduat papyri, are remarkably extensive. The first one measures 32cm x 4,32m, and the second one 28cm x 3,80m. This implies substantial wealth and resources. Notably, Taudjatra's Amduat papyrus includes the litany of Ra, providing additional evidence to reinforce the idea that this particular iconography and textual content, along with their originating models, were exclusively reserved for and accessible to the immediate family of the High Priest and his innermost circle, underscoring its exclusivity.

⁹⁰⁹ Niwiński 1979: 56 [B], 61); Lull 2006: 139. It's worth noting that in a subsequent publication (Niwiński 1988: 46 [B]), Niwiński dated Taudjatra's coffin to the early pontificate of Panedjem II. However, this dating seems unlikely, given the early style of the coffin, specific mentioned characteristics, and its connection to other owners who share a similar decoration on their coffins. Regarding the early style, Niwiński proposed that it might be the result of deliberate archaization, although he didn't provide a detailed explanation for this hypothesis.

Table 4.3.8 Documents and Titles Associated with Taudjatra

Individual	Title	Translation	Document(s)
Taudjatra	nbt pr; šmꜥyt n ꞓmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw; šmꜥyt n pꜣ grg wꜥb n Pth; šmꜥyt n ꞓmn m Wꜣst; ḥsyꜥt ꜥꜣt n Mwt nbt pt; ḥsyꜥt ꜥꜣt n Mwt m Ṛsrw; ⁹¹⁰ ḥsyꜥt ꜥꜣt n Mwt mrt wrs(t); ḥsyꜥt n pꜣ ꜥ n Mwt wrt nbt Ṛsrw; ḥsyꜥt n pꜣ ꜥ ꜥꜣt whbt n Mwt wrt nbt Ṛsrw; ḥsyꜥt n pꜣ ꜥ n Mwt m Ṛsrw; ḥsyꜥt ꜥꜣt n nꜣw nbw wꜣst Imn Mwt ḥnsrw; ḥsyꜥt ꜥꜣt m dit ms=s (?) mrt n ḫwt-ḥr wsrt; špswt; špswt ꜥꜣt; špswt ꜥꜣt n niwt=st; Genealogy: ms n tꜣyw-ḥryt ⁹¹¹	Lady of the house; Chantress of Amun-Ra, king of the gods; Chantress of the Pure foundation of Ptah; Chantress of Amun in Thebes; Great singer of Mut, lady of the sky; Great singer of Mut in Isheru; Great singer of Mut, beloved by the powerful one (?); Singer of the choir of Mut, the great one, lady of Isheru; Singer of the great choir of the place of appearance of Mut, the great one, lady of Isheru; Singer of the choir of Mut in Isheru; Great favorite one by the lords of Thebes, Amon, Mut and Khonsu; Great singer in "she who gives birth"?; Beloved by Hathor, the powerful one; Noble; Great noble; Great noble of her city;	Book of the Dead Papyrus ⁹¹²
	nbt pr; šmꜥyt n ꞓmn; šmꜥyt n pꜣ grg wꜥb n Pth	Lady of the house Chantress of Amun Chantress of the Pure foundation of Ptah	Papyrus of the Amduat ⁹¹³
	nbt pr; šmꜥyt n ꞓmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;	Lady of the house Chantress of Amun-Ra, king of the gods Chantress of the Pure foundation of Ptah	Funerary shroud ⁹¹⁴

⁹¹⁰ The epithet refers to Mut's sacred lake and precinct at Karnak.

⁹¹¹ This genealogy is mentioned only once in the document.

⁹¹² S.R.VII.11496 (Piankoff, Rambova 1957: 133-142 [pap. 15]; Schott 1965: 191; Seeber 1976: 212; Niwiński 1989: 295 [Cairo 118]). The papyrus was enclosed in an Osiris wooden statue (JE 29314).

⁹¹³ S.R.VII.11500 = JE 34033 (Piankoff 1964: 84-97, 147-157; Niwiński 1989: 297 [Cairo 122]).

⁹¹⁴ Daressy 1907: 37.

	<i>šmꜣyt n pꜣ grg wꜣb n Pth</i>		
	<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜣyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i> <i>šmꜣyt n pꜣ grg wꜣb n Pth</i>	Lady of the house Chantress of Amun-Ra, king of the gods Chantress of the Pure foundation of Ptah	Coffin ⁹¹⁵

⁹¹⁵ Daressy 1907: 13, 17, 37 [A. 144]; Niwiński 1988: 131 [143].

4.3.11 Hatshepsut

The enigmatic owner of this coffin, who lacks any association with surviving documentation, is solely identified as *nbt pr* and *šmꜣyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*. Consequently, there are no other designations or additional documentation to hint at the relationships she may have had in her lifetime.

What adds to the intrigue is the presence of the Litany of Ra decorating the exterior of her coffin. As demonstrated, this iconography was exclusively reserved for high-status individuals directly linked to the High Priest's family or those connected to the institution of the Tomb either directly or indirectly, individuals who played significant roles in endeavors related to the ruling family during the transition from the end of the New Kingdom to the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty.

Additionally, it's worth noting a striking resemblance between the coffin of Hatshepsut and the inner coffin of Butehamon. This resemblance goes beyond the mere adoption of a similar model; it suggests the possibility that these coffins were either decorated by the same skilled decorator or by closely connected individuals who collaborated in their creation. This similarity is not solely rooted in small design details but also draws upon paleographical evidence. For instance, consider the distinctive signature of the "iot" sign, where the termination of the central part of the sign exhibits a linear extension not encountered elsewhere. This might suggest a signature feature of the scribe who decorated the coffins. However, it's essential to note that this evidence alone is insufficient to definitively conclude that it is indeed the same individual.

Such parallels in craftsmanship and style further indicate the contemporaneity of Hatshepsut with Butehamon and imply her affiliation with the same circles, environment, and historical context. To substantiate this connection, archaeometric analyses like pigment analysis, wood composition, and manufacturing techniques can provide helpful new information on the decoration practices of these coffins and provide additional evidence supporting the relationship between these objects and their creators, determining if the materials used for the decoration layers and the manufacture support are similar or not.

This constellation of data suggests that Hatshepsut may have had some form of association with these individuals, possibly within the family of some of these workers. If she were indeed part of the High Priest's family, one might expect additional titles or designations on the coffin. However, in this case, her name "Hatshepsut," meaning "the foremost of the nobles," strongly hints at her elevated status, shedding some light on her place within this enigmatic social hierarchy.⁹¹⁶

Hatshepsut's high status becomes even more apparent not just from the presence of the Litany of Ra on her box but also due to a unique decoration adorning the exterior of the inner lid. While the upper section of the lid adheres to the typical and standard arrangement seen on yellow coffins, following the so-called basic scheme,⁹¹⁷ the decoration on the lower section stands out as entirely distinctive.

⁹¹⁶ No other female individuals with this name have been documented on other coffins or papyri from the late New Kingdom to the Twenty-First Dynasty.

⁹¹⁷ Sousa 2018: 99.

The lower section begins with an horizontal strip of red paint, reminiscent of a type of shawl-like garment that is frequently represented in depictions of individuals from that era. Whether such elements were worn in reality or held symbolic significance remains uncertain. These shawls are occasionally featured in depictions from the New Kingdom, including the yellow coffin decorations dated to the late New Kingdom and beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty, which often include representations of the deceased. What makes this red shawl distinctive is that it exclusively drapes over the upper portion of the body, overlaying another garment that envelops the entire body of the deceased.⁹¹⁸

On the coffin lid, the red band, depicted to imitate real fabric, comes to an end near the upper body, transitioning to a yellow background that continues throughout the rest of the decoration. Above this red band, extending across the entire lower section, there are depictions of green ivy or convolvulus leaves on both sides of the lid. Additionally, in the central portion of the lower section, there is a single column of inscriptions, flanked on either side by representations that bear a resemblance to elements of a fringed dress.

Another distinctive feature of the lid lies in its carved depiction of the feet. This representation of the feet, along with the presence of a dress and the depicted leaves, is reminiscent of the "daily-life type," a stylistic trend that emerged during the early Ramesside Period.⁹¹⁹ During this era, instead of adopting the traditional Osirian mummiform appearance and shrouded *sḥ*-form, some coffin lids and mummy covers featured a lifelike portrayal of the deceased.⁹²⁰

In this representation, the deceased appeared completely clad in the "festal dress" or "daily dress," a ceremonial pleated and fringed white garment resembling the attire of the living. This attire not only displayed the contours of the body but also featured the feet of the deceased.⁹²¹ Consequently, the deceased was depicted as a pure *ax* soul following rebirth and transformation into an eternal being.⁹²² During this brief phase of maximal anthropomorphism in coffin design,⁹²³ these lids and mummy boards clearly indicated the gender of the deceased.⁹²⁴

In some instances of this type, female covers portrayed the deceased holding ivy or convolvulus leaves, with one arm bent against her breasts and the other resting flat on her thigh. Both male and female lids featured ceremonial wigs⁹²⁵ crafted in a realistic fashion, featuring intricately carved hair texture and braiding motifs, with carefully rendered individual tresses.⁹²⁶

⁹¹⁸ Hatshepsut herself is depicted in this manner on the pectoral of the central panel.

⁹¹⁹ Sousa 2018: 34-35.

⁹²⁰ For examples, see Cooney 2009: 105-108; Sousa 2018: 32-37.

⁹²¹ Taylor 2017: 542. The representation of the dead as living people also influenced the design of shabtis (Taylor 1989: 39). This resulted in hybrid coffins, with the lid representing a living person and the case adhering to the traditional Osirian scheme. For the first time in coffin decoration, the lid and the case became conceptually independent from each other (Sousa 2018: 35).

⁹²² Cooney 2009: 106-107; Cooney 2008: 18-19.

⁹²³ Van Walsem 1997: 359.

⁹²⁴ For the inclusion of both male and female elements on the coffins, a duality which was required for rebirth pursuant to New Kingdom beliefs, see Cooney 2009: 108, 113-114; Taylor 2017: 542.

⁹²⁵ Introduced during the reign of Akhenaton in both royal and private coffins (Sousa 2018: 26, 34, 271 [pl. 4]), they were ceremonial wigs worn by the living during religious festivals.

⁹²⁶ Cooney 2009: 106.

The female lid in question shares a similar manufacturing style in the lower section, but the upper section diverges significantly. This distinction is evident in the iconography and the positioning of the deceased's forearms, crossed over the chest one atop the other, alongside the presence of the floral *wsh* collar beneath. Furthermore, the object departs from the representation of the traditional "festal dress" seen in examples from the Nineteenth Dynasty. Instead, it offers a reinterpretation of this motif. The use of red color at the beginning of the lower section suggests the representation of a dress, but it lacks the typical tunic sleeves found in the festive-type dress. While the original depiction of the festive-type dress has disappeared, remnants of an older style, such as the leaves, harken back to the much older style of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Hence, it is more plausible to consider that this lid features a distinct type of decoration rather than the reuse of an earlier lid with a redecorated upper section. While the possibility of wood reuse cannot be entirely ruled out, the decoration should be attributed to the time of Hatshepsut. This attribution is supported by the resemblance of the depicted leaves to representations of the deceased on her funerary materials, the presence of part of the red shawl typical of that period (which is never featured on festive-type dresses), and the clear divergence of the lid from the Ramesside daily dress style.

This lid serves as a compelling example of creative innovation, representing a reinterpretation of traditional elements in a fresh and inventive manner. It underscores the unique nature of Hatshepsut, who had the ability to own a lid that deviated from established norms and was able to access something distinct beyond the usual conventions. The decorators behind this work displayed a deep understanding of tradition as they reimagined previous motifs, such as the festive-type dress, to create something novel that was closely associated with the elite of the era, in this case Hatshepsut. In examples like this, where different styles blend on a single object, simultaneously drawing from tradition and innovation, it adds complexity to the task of typological seriation.⁹²⁷

A similar notion applies to coffins linked with Niwinski's Type IV classification, which have been sometimes regarded as having an archaizing decoration or reused. In reality, these artifacts are closely tied to high-status individuals, including those connected with the family of the High Priests of Amun. The artisans that decorated these coffins reinterpreted traditional forms to craft something entirely fresh and unique, tailored for a specific segment of the elite and society.

In this particular context, it is crucial to consider the outer lid of Butehamon preserved in Turin. This lid features a distinctive iconography, not only set against a white background but also featuring depictions of the kings and queens from the New Kingdom era who were restored and reburied during Butehamon's time. It's worth noting that this unique iconography sets it apart from any other coffin of its kind. This further implies that Butehamon likely commissioned a lid that deviated from traditional norms.

While we can't definitively conclude whether the inclusion of the New Kingdom kings and queens in the iconography is directly linked to Butehamon's role and involvement

⁹²⁷ Cooney 2018c: 74.

in reburial practices, it undeniably highlights Butehamon's significant influence and access to the decoration process. However, it's important to consider that the highly knowledgeable and skilled artisans responsible for these decorations might have also played a substantial role in influencing and shaping the design choices for Butehamon's unique coffin.

The presence of rare and exclusive iconography on the coffins suggests a desire to align oneself with the highest echelons of society and to emphasize connections with the ruling class. This competitive spirit likely extended to the skilled artisans who executed these designs, as they competed to produce the most exceptional and visually striking coffins for their elite clientele. In this context, the coffins themselves became powerful symbols of social standing and a testament to the splendor of the deceased's burial rites.

This observation aligns with the broader concept of social display and social competition during the funerals of these high-status individuals.⁹²⁸ The elaborate and innovative decorations found on these coffins, such as the reinterpretation of traditional motifs and the incorporation of unique iconography, reflect not only the individuality and high status of the deceased but also the competitive nature of the social environment during their funerals. In ancient Egyptian society, funerals were not just religious affairs but also opportunities for individuals and their families to assert their prestige and prominence. The inclusion of distinctive elements in coffin designs allowed these high-status individuals to stand out and solidify their place among the elite.

⁹²⁸ Graeber 2001. With respect to papyri, see Stevens 2019: 180.

4.3.12 Papyri featuring the Litany of Ra

In the previous section, an examination of the individuals associated with the coffins adorned with the Litany of Ra on their surfaces led to a significant conclusion. It became evident that this specific iconography and its associated models were privileges reserved for a distinct segment of society. This exclusive circle predominantly comprised individuals linked to the High Priest's family, those devoted to serving the Institution of the Tomb, and those closely aligned with their social circles. The exclusivity of this access was contingent on both knowledge and decorum, underscoring the stringent limitations imposed on this particular iconography. This section analyzes the papyrus featuring the same iconography (see Table 4.3.9), where a comparable conclusion can be discerned. It becomes increasingly evident that iconographical models, such as the Litany of Ra, are inherently bound by societal norms and constraints, reinforcing the notion that they served as expressions of status, spirituality and affiliation exclusively reserved for a privileged elite within the context of ancient Egyptian society.⁹²⁹

4.3.12.1 Identities of the owners

When considering the identities of the owners of the presented papyri, it becomes evident that we are delving into the lives of individuals who occupied the upper echelons of the Twenty-First Dynasty's elite. The individuals can be categorized into two sub-groups: those with direct familial ties to the High Priest and those whose titulary lacks such an association, though a familial connection cannot be entirely ruled out.

The first sub-group comprises the individuals Tjanefer, Henuttawy, Taudjatra and Nauny. Tjanefer was married to Gautseshen, the daughter of the High Priest Menkheperre.⁹³⁰ Tjanefer's papyrus titulary highlights his significant roles, including the position of third prophet of Amun and prophet of Montu and Khnum. The simultaneous devotion to multiple deities, as well as the reference to unique titles, suggests his considerable influence.⁹³¹ This is further corroborated by his function as Overseer of the cattle in the domain of Ra in the temple of Amun. Additionally, Tjanefer held important titles, such as the Master of Secrets and the One who opens the doors of the sky in Karnak. It is worth noting that Tjanefer's papyrus also includes mention to his wife Gautseshen, another member of the High Priest family who is also notable for her title associated with the harem of Amun and Montu.

Regarding the individual, it's noteworthy to mention that his coffin set provides additional titles beyond those found on the previously discussed papyrus. Notably, these titles include "*wr m3w n R'-Itm n W3st*" and "*stm n 3ht nhḥ*." The former associates Tjanefer with another exclusive position, that of the "Greatest of the seers of Ra-Atum in Thebes," signifying the highest rank within the cult of the god Ra-Atum. Furthermore, his role as an "*stm*-priest" linked to the King's tomb offers insights into the environment and relationships he would have had during his lifetime.

⁹²⁹ Stevens 2019: 175-176.

⁹³⁰ Lull 2006: 208-211, 214.

⁹³¹ Stevens 2019: 163-165, 169.

Henuttawy, potentially the daughter of Ramesses XI and the wife of Panedjem I,⁹³² emerges as another prominent figure within this group. Her extensive titulary includes affiliations with both the king and the High Priest. Furthermore, she held the prestigious title of *ḥsyt ʿ3t*, signifying "Great Favorite," and her connections extended to the cults of Khonsu,⁹³³ Onuris and Mut. Additionally, she held significant responsibilities within the harem.

Regarding Taudjatra, while her associated titles and designations do not explicitly identify her as a mother, wife, or daughter of the High Priest, as previously suggested, the documents associated with her strongly suggest that she held a prominent position and connection within his family. This inference is drawn from specific characteristics found in her funerary equipment and her distinctive titulary linked to the cult of Ptah, a designation also referenced in the discussed papyrus. Notably, her papyrus, like her coffin, features the iconography of the Litany of Ra.

Lastly, with respect to Nauny, she was perhaps the granddaughter of Herihor.⁹³⁴ She is mentioned in her papyrus with the titles *ḥsyt*, denoting "Favorite," as the king's daughter, and as "*špst*." As previously mentioned, "*špst*" is a title typically associated with females connected to the High Priest of Amun. It is noteworthy to emphasize that Nauny's coffin, even though it was reused from the one prepared for her mother Tjenetnaubekhenu, was originally adorned with gold leafing on specific parts, such as the faces of the covers.

The second sub-group of papyrus owners, while not definitively documented as part of the High Priest of Amun's immediate family, consists of the following individuals: Nesiamonnesuttawy, Ahaneferamun (called Pakharu), Userkhatmes, Mutemwia, Imenmes, Nesipakheran, Paser, Nebhepetra and Shedsuamon. Of particular interest is Nesiamonnesuttawy's titulary, which intriguingly includes the unique title "*ʿ3 n mw pr ʿImn-Rʿ nsw ntrw*,"⁹³⁵ suggesting a specialized role, possibly related to the sacred lake and the cult of Amun within the precincts of Karnak.

Akhaneferamun held significant roles, including that of *ḥry sštʿ m 3ḥt nhḥ* and *stm m 3ḥt nhḥ*, which are closely associated with the king's tomb. Furthermore, he bore the title *wn ʿ3wy nw pt m ʿlpt swt*. These designations exhibit resemblances to some of Tjanefer's titles. Akhaneferamun's coffin includes additional titulary, such as *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp n ʿImn*, signifying "Chief lector priest of Amun," *ḥm-ntr n ʿImn*, meaning "Prophet of Amun," *m3w n ḥnsw m W3st*, denoting "Seer of Khonsu in Thebes," and *stm m pr Rʿ*, translating to "Sem-priest in the temple of Ra." Once more, these positions, including that of seer, sem-priest, and temple service in Ra's temple, connect him with Tjanefer. This suggests a diverse array of roles for Akhaneferamun and underscores his significant connections within higher circles, granting him access to specific iconographies for his funerary ensemble, as evident on his papyrus. This finding offers valuable insights into the influence and potential societal significance of individuals holding such titles and roles.

Userkhatmes, bearing the designation of *sš prwy ḥd*, meaning "Scribe of the Treasury," stands out as another notable individual with an important scribal title linked to the

⁹³² Lull 2006: 181.

⁹³³ For the cult of Khonsu during the Twenty-First Dynasty, see Villar Gómez 2015.

⁹³⁴ Lull 2006: 149-152, 192, 206, 323, 337.

⁹³⁵ Strudwick 2017; Siesse 2019: 199, 205-207.

treasury. This designation of “Scribe of the Treasury” is also shared by individuals whose coffins were adorned with the Litany of Ra, such as Butehamon and Shedsuamun. However, it is remarkable that Userkhatmes' coffin⁹³⁶ features his complete scribal title, while only a short part is featured on the papyrus. The complete title is *sš prwy ḥd n t3 ḥryt wrt ḥnrt tpyt n Imn*, signifying "Scribe of the Treasury of the First Chief of the Harem of Amun." This designation reinforces his close association with the upper echelons of society, although it remains uncertain if he was part of the High Priest's family. Additionally, Userkhatmes held the esteemed position of *wꜥb n ḥ3t n Mwt nbt pt*, a high-status role associated with the cult of Mut. Notably, his burial equipment included a wooden stela,⁹³⁷ a distinctive feature considering the owners of Bab el-Gasus, further suggesting his elevated status.

In regards to Mutemwia, regrettably, her papyrus provides only a limited titulary, featuring her title as *nbt pr*, and there is no information about any other items or inscriptions associated with her. Nevertheless, as previously proposed in the case of Hatshepsut, the inclusion of the Litany of Ra on Mutemwia's funerary papyrus implies her likely affiliation with an influential family, whether through marriage or direct lineage, even though her specific roles are not mentioned on the papyrus.

As for Imenmes, similarly as Userkhatmes, he is associated with the title *sš pr-ḥd n pr Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*, signifying a comparable societal role that likely granted them access to specific iconographical models for inclusion on their papyri.

Regarding Nesipakheran, he also held a scribal role in the temple of Amun, specifically associated with the divine offerings. Additionally, he was affiliated with the cult of Maat *s3t-Rꜥ*, a rare and highly exclusive and limited position. In his case, his funerary equipment, notably his coffin, provides further titulary for him, including the titles of *sš šnwy (n) pr Imn* and *wꜥb n ḥnsw*. Thus, he held a wide range of positions, showcasing his influence not only within the sphere of the scribal office but also within the priestly office.

Among the various titles mentioned in Paser's papyrus, it's noteworthy to mention his significant role as an incense bearer, specifically holding the title of "Supervisor of the censer bearers at the front of Amun." This was a unique and indicative position within the temple's hierarchy. His coffin reveals additional titles, including *ḥsy s3 ḥsyw n W3st*, *ḥsy 3 m rh Imn*, *irt Rꜥ* and *ḥry sšt3*. Once again, these inscriptions emphasize his designation as the "Favorite, son of the Favorites in Thebes" and the "Great Favorite in the knowledge of Amun." Furthermore, Paser also had a scribal role associated with Amun and the temple of Karnak, specifically focused on the management of divine offerings, similar to Nesipakheran.⁹³⁸ His position as *ḥry sšt3* also establishes connections with individuals mentioned previously. This wealth of information reflects Paser's societal standing and his associations with influential circles.

Concerning Nebhepetra, his identity and connection to the esteemed role of senior scribe and his involvement in the Institution of the Tomb have been addressed previously. His position would have granted him the privilege of using the Litany of Ra in his papyrus, along with other iconographic elements. Unfortunately, his coffin

⁹³⁶ Daressy 1907: 11, 30 [A. 105]; Niwiński 1988: 123 [104].

⁹³⁷ Daressy 1907: 17.

⁹³⁸ Of note, also Butehamon had a similar position associated with the divine offerings.

remains undiscovered, with only the mummy board being documented. Finally, with respect to Shedsuamon, his figure has been previously discussed. It is crucial to emphasize that he incorporated the Litany of Ra in both his coffin set and papyrus.

When considering the material aspect of these papyri, the remarkable length of certain specimens further suggests a probable connection between the Litany of Ra and a distinct segment of society. This connection is supported by the previous analysis of the titles of their owners. It has been postulated that during the era characterized by the use of yellow coffins, the length of the papyri carried a specific significance,⁹³⁹ possibly signifying the privileged access of the elite to such documents.

In the case of the first sub-group of papyri, their dimensions are as follows: Tjanefer - 25cm x 4m, Henuttawy - 33.5cm x 1.43m, Taudjatra - 28cm x 3.80m, and Nauny - 30cm x 2m (approx). Conversely, the second sub-group's papyri measurements are as follows: Nesiamonnesuttawy - 22.5cm x 1.57m, Akhaneferamun - 22.5cm x 1.64m, Userkhatmes - 23cm x 2.15m, Mutemwia - 22cm x 1.93m, Imenmes - 23.5cm x 1.59m, Nesipakheran - 24cm x 2.44m, Paser - 37cm x 1.86m, and Nebhepetra - 23cm x 3m.⁹⁴⁰ This data suggests that the first sub-group typically possessed longer papyri, which aligns with their elite status as members of the family of the High Priest of Amun. However, the second sub-group, despite having shorter papyri, had access to an elite iconographic and textual repertoire.

Examining the coffins, it becomes evident that those belonging to the elite closely affiliated with the High Priest and the Institution of the Tomb possessed unique knowledge and had access to models employed by the highest echelons of society. These individuals actively participated in the context associated with the creation of exclusive iconographies, which they integrated into their own funerary equipment and decorations. Nevertheless, distinctions do exist among these high-ranking elites who utilized the Litany of Ra.

Regarding coffins, gilding is exclusively found on those associated with individuals within the High Priest's family, as exemplified by Taudjatra. It's possible that gilding was out of reach for certain individuals, potentially due to economic limitations or matters of decorum. An illustration of this can be found in the case of Buthehamon, who, despite likely having the means to commission a new outer coffin reflecting his societal status, either chose not to or was unable to include a gilded face in his funerary ensemble, whether due to economic reasons or considerations of decorum. When it comes to papyri, a specific longer length was also reserved for members of the High Priest's family.

This underscores the significance of access and knowledge in the context of these objects, highlighting the complexities of the use of specific iconographies and representations within this elite society. Even if a high-ranking elite group had access to specific iconographies, it's important to recognize that there are also certain aspects that remained inaccessible for a subset within this high elite cluster. Further exploration of these dynamics could yield valuable insights.

⁹³⁹ Stevens 2019: 176. The average length of the surviving papyri from around the Twenty-First Dynasty is approximately 2 meters.

⁹⁴⁰ The measurements of the papyrus of Shedsuamon are unavailable.

Table 4.3.9 Papyri Featuring the Litany of Ra

Individual	Title	Translation	Document
Tjanefer (<i>t3-nfr</i>)	<i>it-ntr mry;</i> <i>hry sšt3 m pt t3 dw3t;</i> <i>Wn ʕwy nw pt m ʔpt swt;</i> <i>hm-ntr 3-nw n ʔmn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>hm-ntr n Mntw nb W3st;</i> <i>hm-ntr n hnmw nb rnpt 3bdw?;</i> <i>imy-r iḥw n pr Rʕ tp ḥwt pr ʔmn</i> <i>Wife (G3wt-sšn):</i> <i>wrt ḥnrt n ʔmn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>wrt ḥnrt n Mntw nb W3st</i>	God's father, beloved Master of secrets of the sky, earth and Duat One who opens the doors of the sky in Karnak Third prophet of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods Prophet of Montu, Lord of Thebes Prophet of Khnum, lord of Supervisor of the cattle of the domain of Ra on the temple of the domain of Amun Wife (Gautseshen): Great one of the harem of Amun-Ra, King of the gods Great one of the harem of Montu, Lord of Thebes	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.IV.952) ⁹⁴¹
Henuttawy Duathuthor (<i>dw3t-ḥwt-ḥr ḥnt-t3wy</i>)	<i>s3t nsw;</i> <i>s3t ḥmt nsw;</i> <i>Mwt nsw n nbt t3wy;</i> <i>ḥmt nsw wrt tpy n ḥm=f;</i> <i>Mwt n ḥmt-ntr n ʔmn;</i> <i>Mwt n ḥmt-ntr n ʔmn m ʔpt-swt (ʕr. Mwt n dw3t ntr n ʔmn-rʕ nsw ntrw);</i> <i>Mwt n ḥmt nsw wrt n nbt t3wy;</i> <i>Mwt n p3 ḥm-ntr tpy n ʔmn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>Mwt n p3 imy-r mšʕ wr n Mḥw šmʕw;</i> <i>ḥsyṯ ʕ3t n ʔmn m W3st;</i> <i>ḥsyṯ ʕ3t n nbw w3st ʔmn Mwt ḥnsw;</i> <i>ḥsyṯ ʕ3t m [...] r ms st?;</i> <i>ḥmt-ntrt n ʔmn-Rʕ nbwt?;</i> <i>Mwt ntr n ḥnsw p3-ḥrd;</i> <i>Mwt ntr n ḥnsw p3-ḥrd tpyt n ʔmn;</i>	King's daughter King's wife's daughter Mother of the king, Lord of the two lands King's wife, Mother of the Prophetess of Amun Mother of the Prophetess of Amun in Karnak Mother of the King's wife, Lord of the two lands Mother of the High priest of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods Mother of the General in chief of Upper and Lower Egypt Great favorite of Amun in Thebes Great favorite of the Lords of Thebes, of Amun, Mut and Khonsu Prophetess of Amun-Ra God's mother of Khonsu the child God's mother of Khonsu the child	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.IV.992/JE 95887) ⁹⁴²

⁹⁴¹ Daressy 1907: 38 [A. 151]; Piankoff 1964: 98-109, 158-164; Niwiński 1989: 251 [Cairo 33].

⁹⁴² Mariette 1871-1876 III: pls. 19-21 [pap. 23]; Niwiński 1989: 269-270 [Cairo 47].

	<i>hmt-ntrt n hnsu m W3st nfr-htp;</i> <i>ʕ3t n pr n hnsu nfr-htp;</i> <i>hmt-ntrt n Iny-ht-šw s3-Rʕ;</i> <i>hmt-ntrt n Mwt wrt nbt Išrw;</i> <i>hryt mnʕwt n Mwt nbt Išrw;</i> <i>wrt hnrtp tpyt n Imn</i>	God's mother of Khonsu in Thebes Neferhotep Great one of the domain of Khonsu Neferhotep Prophetess of Onuris-Shu, son of Ra Prophetess of Mut, the Great one, Lady of Isheru Supervisor of the wet nurses First of the great ones of the harem of Amun	
Taudjatra (<i>t3-wd3t-Rʕ</i>)	<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmʕyt n Imn;</i> <i>šmʕyt n p3 grg wʕb n Pth</i>	Lady of the house Chantress of Amun Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.VII.11500 = JE 34033) ⁹⁴³
Nauny (<i>N3wny</i>) <i>s3 tnt-n3w-bhnnw</i>	<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmʕyt n Imn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>hsyt n nbw W3st Imn Mwt hnsu;</i> <i>špswt;</i> <i>s3t nsw</i>	Lady of the house Chantress of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods Favorite of the Lords of Thebes, of Amun, Mut and Khonsu Noble one King's daughter	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (30.3.32) ⁹⁴⁴
Nesiamonnesuttawy (<i>Nsy-Imn-nst-t3wy</i>)	<i>It-ntr n Imn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>ʕ3 n mw pr Imn-Rʕ nsw ntrw</i> Genealogy: <i>s3 hr</i>	God's father of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods Great one of the water of the domain of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods Genealogy: son of Hori	Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (P.3153) ⁹⁴⁵
Ahaneferamun, called Pakharu (<i>ʕh3-nfr-Imn, dd.n=f P3-h3rw</i>)	<i>It-ntr n Imn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>hry sšt3 m 3ht nhh;</i> <i>Wn ʕ3wy nw pt m Ipt swt;</i> <i>stm m 3ht nhh</i>	God's father of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods Master of secrets of the Horizon of Eternity One who opens the doors of the sky in Karnak Sem-priest of the Horizon of Eternity	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.IV.979/JE 95878) ⁹⁴⁶
Userkhatmes (<i>Wsr-h3t-ms</i>)	<i>Wʕb n Imn-Rʕ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš prwy hd</i>	<i>Wʕb</i> -priest of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods Scribe of the Treasury	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.VII.10225/JE 34023) ⁹⁴⁷
Mutemwia (<i>Mwt-m-wi3</i>)	<i>Nbt pr</i>	Lady of the house	British Museum, London (10006) ⁹⁴⁸

⁹⁴³ Daressy 1907: 37 [A. 144]; Piankoff 1964: 84-97, 147-157; Niwiński 1989: 297 [Cairo 122].

⁹⁴⁴ Winlock 1930: 19-20, fig. 25; Piankoff 1964: 114-118, 170-172; Niwiński 1898: 348 [New York 14].

⁹⁴⁵ Kaplony-Heckel 1986: 42; Niwiński 1989: 251 [Berlin 26].

⁹⁴⁶ Daressy 1907: 11, 15, 31-32 [A. 115]; Piankoff 1964: 66-71, 133-137; Niwiński 1989: 267-268 [Cairo 42].

⁹⁴⁷ Daressy 1907: 30 [A. 105]; Piankoff 1964: 120-128, 173-175; Niwiński 1989: 275 [Cairo 62].

⁹⁴⁸ Lanzzone 1882: pl. CCXXXXV; Mengedoh 1892: 151-152; Piankoff 1964: 72-77, 138-141; Niwiński 1898: 327 [London 28].

Imenmes (<i>Imn-ms</i>)	<i>W^cb</i> ; <i>sš pr-ḥd n pr 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i>	<i>W^cb</i> -priest Scribe of the Treasury of the domain of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods	British Museum, London (10011) ⁹⁴⁹
Nesipakheran (<i>Nsy-P3-ḥr-^cn</i>)	<i>W^cb</i> ; <i>sš w3ḥy ḥtp-ntr n pr 'Imn</i> ; <i>it-ntr n M3^ct s3t-R^c</i>	<i>W^cb</i> -priest Scribe who lays out the divine offerings of the domain of Amun God's father of Maat, daughter of Ra	Bodleian Library (no number?), Oxford ⁹⁵⁰
Paser (<i>P3-sr</i>)	<i>'It-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i> ; <i>it-ntr mry n 'Imn m 'Ipt swt</i> ; <i>ḥry t3yw sḥtpy [ḥr(y)]⁹⁵¹ ḥ3t (n) 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i>	God's father of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods God's father, beloved of Amun in Karnak	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (158-161) ⁹⁵²
Nebhepetra (<i>Nb-ḥpt-R^c</i>)	<i>W^cb</i> ; <i>sš nsw</i> ; <i>sš m st m3^ct</i> ; <i>sš m 3ḥt nḥḥ</i> ; <i>sš n pr ḥr</i> ; <i>imy-r nfrw m st m3^ct</i> ; <i>imy-r nfrw m 3ḥt nḥḥ</i> ; <i>imy-r k3wt n/m pr dt</i>	<i>W^cb</i> -priest Royal scribe Scribe of the Place of Truth Scribe of the Horizon of Eternity Scribe of the Tomb Overseer of the recruits in the Place of Truth Overseer of the recruits in the Horizon of Eternity Overseer of the works of/in the Domain of Eternity	Museo Egizio, Turin (Cat. 1768)
Shedsuamon (<i>šd-sw-'Imn</i>)	<i>W^cb</i> ; <i>sš pr-ḥd n 'Imn</i> <i>sš pr-ḥd (n) pr 'Imn</i> <i>w^cb n ḥ3t n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i>	<i>W^cb</i> -priest Scribe of the Treasury of Amun Scribe of the Treasury (of) de domain of Amun <i>W^cb</i> -priest of the front (row) of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (S.R.IV. 1530) ⁹⁵³

⁹⁴⁹ Piankoff 1964: 78-83, 142-146; Niwiński 1898: 329 [London 32].

⁹⁵⁰ Daressy 1907: 6, 24 [A. 35]; Blackman 1918; Niwiński 1898: 349 [Oxford 3].

⁹⁵¹ Seen on the coffin.

⁹⁵² Piankoff 1964: 165-169; Niwiński 1898: 351-352 [Paris 8].

⁹⁵³ Daressy 1907: 6, 17, 23 [A. 30]; Niwiński 1989: 272 [Cairo 53].

Chapter 4, Section 4

4.4 Decorative Models and Social Significance: Investigating the Interconnected Relationships among Coffins, Funerary Equipment, and High-Status Individuals associated with the High Priests of Amun from Bab el-Gasus

4.4.1 Introduction

The coffins outlined in Table 4.4.1 exhibit numerous shared attributes within their lids, boxes and mummy boards. These characteristics indicate a connection among the artifacts, suggesting the use of a common or similar iconographical model(s) by an interconnected group or groups of decorators. This connection persists regardless of whether these decorators were associated with the same location where the items were adorned or operated independently. Importantly, certain resemblances among these objects may even hint at the potential involvement of a single decorator in decorating some of them or, at the very least, a common place of origin.

Two sets of coffins under consideration were associated with the daughters of a High Priest of Amun, whereas the majority of other sets within the same group remained anonymous. Nevertheless, the funerary equipment accompanying these anonymous coffins reveals the titulary of their owners, implying a significant status for them. This indicates that the model used in adorning these coffins enjoyed favor within an elite network of craftspeople and high status individuals. This hypothesis gains additional support from the inclusion of rare and distinctive iconography depicting royal scenes on these objects.

The great majority of the coffins in the mentioned group originated from Bab el-Gasus.⁹⁵⁴ A thorough analysis of their known associated A. Numbers reveals that, despite the high social status of their owners, none of these individuals were buried in the funerary chambers of the tomb. This sheds light on the social organization of the tomb, a phenomenon further underscored by the intriguing observation that individuals of elevated status were laid to rest in anonymous coffins.

The examination of the funerary equipment linked to the sets of coffins underscores the importance of understanding the interconnected nature of these items. This encompasses not only the coffins themselves but also associated materials such as papyri, shrouds, shabti boxes and amulets. In the case of the latter items, it is crucial to take into account their material composition. This comprehensive and holistic approach is essential for grasping the details and acquiring insights into the status of the deceased, the utilization of distinctive iconographical and textual models, as well as the value and accessibility of these items within a specific segment of society.

⁹⁵⁴ There is only one instance, the fragmented box currently preserved in Baltimore (see Table 4.4.1), whose origins are unknown. However, it will be suggested that it likely originated from Bab el-Gasus.

Table 4.4.1 Coffins and Coffin Elements Attributed to the Same or Similar Textual and Iconographical Model(s)

Coffins ⁹⁵⁵	Location	Plates
Anonymous woman ⁹⁵⁶ (outer lid)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29622) (outer lid)	4.4/1-3
Anonymous woman ⁹⁵⁷ (outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board)	Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne, (JE 29647; E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10)) (outer coffin)	4.4/4-6
	Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne, (JE 29647; E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10)) (inner lid); Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (JE 29647; ÄS 6267b) (inner box)	4.4/7-9
	Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne, (JE 29647; E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10)) (mummy board)	4.4/10
Meritamon A (<i>Mrt-Imn</i>) ⁹⁵⁸ (outer box, inner coffin, mummy board)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Basement, C. 13) (outer box)	4.4/11-12
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Basement, L. 31, C. 47) (inner coffin)	4.4/13-18
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Basement, MC. 2) (mummy board)	4.4/19-20
Meritamon B (<i>Mrt-Imn</i>) ⁹⁵⁹ (inner coffin, mummy board)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29704 + 29734 (CG 6176, 6175) (inner coffin)	4.4/21-24
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29704 + 29734 (CG 6197)) (mummy board)	4.4/25
Anonymous woman (not preserved?) (outer lid) ⁹⁶⁰	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Basement, L. 13) (outer lid)	4.4/27
Amenhotep (<i>Imn-htp</i>) ⁹⁶¹ (outer lid, inner coffin, mummy board)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Basement, L. 14) (outer lid)	4.4/28-30
	National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington (154959) (inner coffin)	4.4/31-33
	National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington (364999) (mummy board)	4.4/34
Tjenetpaherunefer (<i>tnt-</i>	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29699 (CG 6218, 6219 (outer coffin)	4.4/35-38

⁹⁵⁵ Details about the owners' information can be found in Table 4.4.8. It is important to note that this table offers a broad identification of the set without delving into the specifics of individual elements or the particular characteristics surrounding the inclusion or omission of names for the anonymous sets.

⁹⁵⁶ Niwiński 1988: 119 [85]. Its Daressy's A. Number still eludes identification. However, a later discussion delves into the potential location of the lid within Bab el-Gasus.

⁹⁵⁷ Daressy 1907: 9, 20, 28 [A. 74]; Niwiński 1988: 111 [40], 177 [415]; Küffer, Siegmann 2007: 66-70; Küffer 2017: 252-253.

⁹⁵⁸ Niwiński 2021: 363 [fig. 5], 364. The reasons behind differentiating between Meritamon A and B, denoted by the added letters by the present author, will be elaborated upon in the subsequent discussion. While Niwiński has proposed that the two sets associated with Meritamon belonged to a single individual, it will be proposed that they, in fact, pertain to two distinct individuals sharing the same name.

⁹⁵⁹ Daressy 1907: 9, 14, 28 [A. 71]; Niwiński 1988: 128 [128]; Niwiński 2021: 364. Of note, in the latter publication, Niwiński erroneously characterizes the set as anonymous (2021: 364 [n. 31]). However, the inner lid features the name Meritamon associated with the designation Spswt.

⁹⁶⁰ Niwiński 2021: 362-363, 365. Niwiński attributes the object to set A. 71 (Meritamon B). However, his hypothesis will be challenged and refuted in the upcoming discussion. I would like to express my gratitude to Niwiński for granting me access to examine the photographs of this lid, along with the other unpublished items (re)discovered in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, which are mentioned further below.

⁹⁶¹ Daressy 1907: 6, 15, 20, 24-25 [A. 39]; Niwiński 1988: 179 [426] (logically, without taking into account the recently (re)discovered outer lid associated with the same set); Niwiński 2021: 367.

<i>p3-hrw-nfr</i> ⁹⁶² (outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29699 (CG 6177, 6178 (inner coffin))	4.4/39-43
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29699 (CG 6179 (mummy board))	4.4/44
Anonymous man ⁹⁶³ (outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29653 (CG 6205, 6207) (outer coffin))	4.4/45-47
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29653 (CG 6206, 6171) (inner coffin))	4.4/48-50
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29653 (CG 6172) (mummy board))	4.4/51
Anonymous man ⁹⁶⁴ (outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29680 (CG 6043, 6044)) (outer coffin)	4.4/52-56
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29680 (CG 6041, 6042)) (inner coffin)	4.4/57-60
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29680 (CG 6045)) (mummy board)	4.4/61-62
Anonymous woman (not preserved?) (mummy board)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Basement MC. 1)	4.4/63-64
Anonymous woman (not preserved?) ⁹⁶⁵ (right wall of an inner box)	Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (62.2)	4.4/65
Fragments of an outer box	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Basement C. 32, C. 33)	4.4/66
Floorboard of an outer box	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Basement C. 28)	4.4/67-68
Fragments of an (outer?) lid	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Basement L. 26)	4.4/69
Fragments of a lid or a mummy board	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Basement L. 21)	4.4/70

Some of the iconographic and stylistic similarities among the lids and mummy boards discussed in this section are as follows:

1. Unique decorations found on the female wigs, likely exhibiting the high status of their owners. These distinctive ornaments include: checkered wigs, symbolizing the stylization of golden hair rings encircling individual tresses; the rare and atypical incorporation of intertwined floral bands and/or ribbons affixed to the lower part of the wig headband, which might suggest the presence of embroidered cloth or the adaptation of a three-dimensional crown into the wig.⁹⁶⁶ Occasionally, this depiction also features flowers within the spaces between the bands. All of these motifs appear on top of checkered wigs; and, in one instance,⁹⁶⁷ the vulture headdress, a divine attribute of Mut, is depicted atop the checkered wig;

⁹⁶² Daressy 1907: 5, 23 [A. 17]; Niwiński 1988: 128 [126] (without considering that the name Tjemetpaherunefer is inscribed on the inner box of the ensemble).

⁹⁶³ Daressy 1907: 8, 19 [A. 61]; Niwiński 1988: 122 [98].

⁹⁶⁴ Daressy 1907: 10, 15, 29 [A. 85]; Niwiński 1988: 126 [118]. Niwiński 1995: 6–22, pls. I.2–IV.

⁹⁶⁵ Niwiński 1988: 107 [17].

⁹⁶⁶ The latter assumption arises from the depiction of a crown with similar characteristics on a relief linked to Herihor on the temple of Khonsu. This relief portrays Queen Nedjemet and Princess Sequeteb (OIP 100 I: pl. 28). For the translation of the scene's texts, refer to OIP 100 I: 14–15.

⁹⁶⁷ Specifically, on the inner lid associated with Meritamón A. Notably, the inner lid connected to Meritamón B also showcases the stylization of bird wings above the checkered wig and below the intertwined floral bands, possibly imitating a falcon or a vulture.

2. A row of blossomed flowers encircles a portion of the face on female covers. These same flowers are occasionally incorporated on the headband of these objects;
3. Figurative motifs are prominently featured in the lappets of the female wigs. The central marker of this representation typically consists of a sacred scarab with its forelegs holding a solar disk, occasionally accompanied by the depiction of a pendant uraeus. The scarab is often flanked by a vulture, which can sometimes be portrayed atop a shetyt shrine or a *nbw* sign. Among other motifs found within the lappets, all drawn from the repertoire of space fillers, are the following: 'nh signs, vultures, shetyt shrines, winged uraeus and cartouches flanked by a winged uraeus;
4. Striped wigs featured on male covers;
5. A vulture, or vultures, as the primary deity in the central panel registers. These vultures are depicted either in addition to or as substitutes for the more common representation of a squatting goddess with outstretched wings;
6. The central panel typically features, as its central marker, a sacred scarab with its forelegs holding a solar disk with a pending uraeus. Below the uraeus, there is usually depictions of tit knots and djed pillars, 'nh or w's signs. Surrounding this scene are various space fillers.⁹⁶⁸ These include vultures on top of *nbw* signs, ba birds, shetyt shrines, and occasionally the representation of enthroned Osirian gods. When present in the object's layout, the central partition of the lower section echoes these same representations. Its central marker typically includes a sacred scarab, although at times, the *sh*m scepter or the Ta Weret totem are also depicted;
7. The depiction of Horus, a vulture, or an uraeus, all with outstretched wings, depicted at the end of the lower section;
8. In instances where the lower section is integrated into the object's layout, the initial vignette typically features the enthroned Osiris, while the subsequent ones depict various mummiform Osirian divinities. Towards the lower part, there are depictions of the four sons of Horus, usually in the final vignettes. All of these representations are contained within shrines;
9. Figurative ornamentation on a red background adorns the underside of the objects. Typically, this scene consists of a first register featuring a male deity crowned with a solar disk, followed by a second register featuring a Dd pillar;
10. An inscription containing the words *ink* or *ink nsw* featured on the underside of the covers;
11. Prevalence of representations featuring the deceased as a bA bird, instead of depicting the deceased in human form;
12. The inscriptions included on the central columns of the lower section, the footboard, and the transversal edges of female covers, typically consist of yellow signs on a blue background;

The iconographic and stylistic similarities also extend to the exterior of the boxes. These similarities are as follows:

1. The representation of a *tit*-knot flanked by *imntt* signs on the headboard;

⁹⁶⁸ Space fillers encompass various representations, signs and symbols utilized to occupy empty spaces within a composition, design or layout.

2. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is featured in the initial vignette on the walls. The deity can be represented as a falcon atop a pedestal, as seated mummiform god with falcon head, or a human;
3. The *nšmt* barque carries a primary Osirian divinity, typically in a mummiform form, enclosed within a shrine. Occasionally, this divinity may be accompanied by other gods and/or venerating bA birds;
4. The goddess Hathor represented as a cow and emerging from the mountain is featured at the end of the left wall. While this is a common representation⁹⁶⁹ and is often found in that location of the box, within the elements associated with this group, the animal's back is adorned with a red cloth featuring black dots. Furthermore, other than Hathor's representation as the main figure, the scene typically includes the following fixed elements: a pyramidion with a vertical inscription in black ink; venerating bA birds; a winged uraeus; and other divinities, sometimes accompanied by a depiction of the deceased in human form;
5. Several divinities engaged in the ritual of presenting multiple crowns as offerings;
6. The deceased actively participating in the scenes, accompanying the gods; and
7. In specific instances, the unique inclusion of the representation of a coiled serpent on the underside floorboard.

The iconographic and stylistic similarities also extend to the interior of the boxes. These similarities are as follows:

1. The winged bA bird on the headboard;
2. Vignettes depicted against a red background, occasionally adorned with small white stars in the spaces between the figures on the floorboard;
3. The Ta Weret totem is typically depicted on the second register of the floorboard, often flanked by the mourning goddesses Isis and Nephthys or Osirian mummiform gods situated below vultures or uraeus;
4. Four registers on the walls, featuring standing or seated mummiform divinities from the Litany of Ra. Typically, these divinities are depicted in front of offering stands. In cases where they are seated, the divinities often hold coiled serpents;
5. A coiled serpent on the last register of the walls;
6. The djed pillar flanked by *imntt* signs on the footboard interior.

Finally, there are aspects that are similar among and between the lids and mummy boards and boxes:

1. Divinities featured inside shrines;
2. A long blue *pt* sign featuring yellow stars which divides the registers and the vignettes;
3. Osirian scenes constitute the primary iconographic repertoire, encompassing the following scenes and depictions: squatted, seated or standing mummiform gods, typically situated atop intricately adorned shrines, holding scepters, and occasionally accompanied by adoring bA birds and/or winged divinities; recumbent Osiris lying on the embalming bed; and Osiris on a throne, either

⁹⁶⁹ For the scene, see Liptay 2003; Van Walsem 2018: 51, with references.

receiving offerings or receiving protection or adoration from winged divinities, the bA form of the deceased or standing mummiform gods. When it comes to the representation of mummiform gods, they may allude to underworld deities, potentially linked to the Litany of Ra. These deities are often distinguished by their serpent heads, which can be single or double. However, these divinities are sometimes depicted with vulture heads, crocodile heads (usually adorned with two feathers), hare heads, benu-bird heads, or jackal heads, among other variations;

4. Evident *horror vacui*, with space fillers covering the entire remaining surface of the scenes after accounting for the main elements and figures. The repertoire is represented by bA birds, uniquely decorated shetyt shrines and vultures, among others; and
5. The anonymity of the majority of the elements, lacking any reference to their owners. This phenomenon might indicate an early decoration of the material, predating the commission and potentially preceding the establishment or recording of certain details or ownership information (for a detailed discussion on this aspect, see *infra*).

The presence of unique, individualized characteristics, combined with the presence of identical motifs and details executed in a consistent style on the majority of these materials, gives rise to intriguing questions regarding a possible link between the material and specific decorators in certain cases. Some of these details are as follows:

1. The interior of the boxes features solar disks and *ꜥnh* signs with red paint applied inside them;
2. The lateral bands and floorboard of the interior of the boxes features divinities seated on thrones composed of squares and lines;
3. In the scene depicting Hathor emerging from the Theban mountain, the pyramidion door features the same lines and a unique design;
4. A distinctive representation of shetyt chapels and pedestals is marked by the use of dots and red lines; and
5. On the inner lids and mummy boards associated with Meritamón B and Tjenetpaherunerfer, the collars feature rows of vultures paired with uraei, scarabs, bees, scarabs accompanied by pending uraei, falcons, uraei adorned with solar disks and cartouches. These motifs deviate from the typical floral patterns and rows.

The central question revolves around the complexity of these features and whether they were originally part of the model or not, as well as the level of precision and detail involved in these templates. Specific motifs found exclusively on coffins conforming to the same model, and not found elsewhere, could either originate from the model itself or serve as distinct signatures of a workshop, if they existed, or individual decorator(s), whether operating independently or collaboratively. This leaves open the possibility that it could also be a recurring motif employed by a diverse range of individuals, even if in this case the motifs were only featured on objects adhering to the same template. Comprehensive investigations are necessary, encompassing stylistic analyses and archaeometry studies, in order to offer valuable insights into this subject.

4.4.2 Remarks about the A. Numbers of the ensembles

The substantial lack of information regarding the owners of the majority of the coffin sets linked to the group under discussion poses challenges that necessitate addressing through a comprehensive study of the objects associated with these sets. To achieve this, a thorough investigation into the often unclear A. Numbers of the ensembles is required. This investigation aims to unveil the identity of the individuals buried within these ensembles, shedding light on how their social status influenced the decision to incorporate specific decorative models for the adornment of their funerary containers.

Moreover, an examination of the A. Numbers linked to these sets sheds light on the social organization of these particular ensembles within Bab el-Gasus. This challenges the conventional notion that implied only the most significant high-status individuals were interred within the funerary chambers of the tomb—an assumption further scrutinized in the subsequent discussion.

4.4.2.1 Outer lid attributed to an anonymous woman (Cairo, JE 29622)

4.4.2.1.1. The fate of the elements related to the outer lid JE 29622: Selected for a gift or sold at the Cairo Museum shop?

The anonymous outer lid JE 29622, which has no attributed CG number, is currently preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.⁹⁷⁰ The hands and face of the anthropomorphized lid, which were originally gilded, were stripped out at an unknown moment in time. The other elements originally completing the same set have not been yet identified. Traditionally, it has been suggested that, due to specific characteristics of the object, this lid, along with other elements attributed to the same coffin set, was part of a group of coffins from Bab el-Gasus that were intended to be gifted following their discovery.

The associated Bab el-Gasus coffin group is popularly exemplified by the coffins of Hori, son of the High Priest Menkheperre (A. 143), his sister Gautseshen (A. 152), both of which were originally gilded in part, and the set A. 146, which belonged to the Fourth Prophet of Amun Panedjem. That none of these three coffin sets have attributed CG numbers led Niwiński to suggest that these sets were offered to the Khedive himself as a gift.⁹⁷¹ Niwiński proposed that the Khedive likely chose set A. 146, which probably had its gilded parts intact, because those elements have not been yet been identified.⁹⁷² Although speculative, this could explain why the sets attributed to Hori and Gautseshen remained complete and in the possession of the Cairo Museum.

⁹⁷⁰ Niwiński 1988: 119 [85], 202 [Table III]. In the table, originally compiled by Brunton & Guéraud in 1941, the owner of the lid is misidentified as “Maut n khonsu,” as the authors associated one of the individual’s titles, that of *mn’t hnsu p3-hrd*, with her name. The lid is anonymous, featuring a blank space in the area where the name should be written, although it was never inscribed.

⁹⁷¹ Niwiński 1991: 42; Niwiński 2002: 866-867.

⁹⁷² Niwiński 1991: 42; Niwiński 2021: 360. Regarding the owner's information, Daressy and Lieblein provide slightly different details about the owner's ancestry. Daressy attributed the set to Panedjem, the son of Tjanefer (Daressy 1907: 13), while Lieblein identified the owner as Panedjem, an *it-ntr n Imn*, and the son of Masaharta (Lieblein 1892: 1003). The absence of access to the original material makes it impossible to resolve the confusion surrounding Panedjem's father.

The elements originally linked to the outer lid JE 29622 may have suffered a similar fate as set A. 146, as they too have not been subsequently identified. These may have been gifted or perhaps more likely sold in the Cairo Museum shop. The inner lid and mummy board once related to the outer lid JE 29622 were probably also partly gilded, although those parts would likely not have been intact when the tomb was discovered. This phenomenon is exhibited in all the covers (outer lid, inner lid and mummy board) attributed to the set of Gautseshen (A. 152) and in some of the elements attributed to the set of Hori (A. 143). In the latter, only the outermost lid retains its intact gilding, perhaps in order to give a false perception that the set had not been plundered when placed in the funerary chambers of Bab el-Gasus.⁹⁷³ Considering that the outer lid JE 29622 no longer had its gilded decoration, it is highly probable that its related inner lid and mummy board would not have had the gilded parts intact either at the moment of discovery.

Given the absence of ostentatious gilded faces and hands in the materials upon discovery, it would have been strange that the sets related to the outer lid JE 29622 and Gautseshen (A. 152) were selected or offered as feasible gifts. If the intention was to strengthen relations with influential individuals, or compensate or bribe them, it would have been odd to do so with coffins that had been stripped of their important artistic, and highest value, elements.⁹⁷⁴ It is perhaps more plausible that the selection of these materials were instead destined for sale at the Museum shop. Although speculative, this could explain, the absence of CG numbers associated with these materials.⁹⁷⁵

Certainly, the absence of CG numbers might simply be an oversight, with no clear, logical explanation for this situation. However, it is curious that all objects without CG numbers were part of originally gilded sets. Another possibility could be that these unidentified objects remain in storage in Cairo and may be (re)discovered in the future. It seems also improbable that these objects lack any CG number because they were originally intended to be part of one of the lots from Bab el-Gasus that were sent to

⁹⁷³ The same pattern is observed in set A. 132 (JE 29612; CG 6286-6289, 6283). While its outer lid retains its original gilding, the areas that were initially covered with gold leaf and featured on the inner lid were removed during antiquity. It's worth noting that the mummy board was never gilded. The face and hands, which were prepared for such a lavish finish with the necessary white preparation layer to support the gold leaf, were left unfinished. Another funerary ensemble with a similar situation, where it was intended to be gilded but the face and hands remained unfinished, with the preparation layer still visible, is set A. 122 (29691, 29695; CG 6073-6074).

⁹⁷⁴ For instance, when considering a few of the still-unidentified coffin sets from the funerary chambers of Bab el-Gasus, like A. 107, A. 127 and A. 146, whose funerary equipment was likely luxurious (Daressy 1907: 30-31, 33-34, 37), it is plausible that sets of this nature, and given their current unknown locations, may have been potential candidates for gifting. Naturally, it remains uncertain whether they were adorned with gold leaf. The forthcoming publication of the coffins (re)discovered in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo from Bab el-Gasus, along with a thorough examination of the missing sets cross-referencing Daressy's records, will provide insights into this aspect.

⁹⁷⁵ Certain items with their origins traced back to Bab el-Gasus were privately sold at the Egyptian Museum's shop in Cairo. Some of the examples are as follows: the inner box attributed to Ankhefenmut (A. 68) at the Albany Institute of History and Art (1909.18.1b) (Haynes, Warne 2020)); the mummy board (A. Number unidentified, although Sousa suggested that it could be related to set A. 23 (Sousa 2020: 71)) at the Bohusläns Museum in Uddevalla (without inv. N°); the inner box of Tayukhenet (A. Number unidentified) at the Bolton Museum and Art Gallery (BOLMG:1930.69.1); the mummy board (A. Number unidentified) at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Chartres (1905.6924.1-4); and probably the coffin (A. Number unidentified) that Anthony Drexel purchased in Cairo in 1895, whose inner box -it is not certain if the box was bought with a lid- is at the Rosicrucian Museum (RC 1830), and the fragment of an inner box (A. Number unidentified) at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (62.2).

various countries. In that case, one would anticipate that the elements associated with the outer lid 29622 should have been properly identified in some other manner. Furthermore, the majority of objects that left Egypt were also documented with a JE and CG numbers. Therefore, the exact reasons for this phenomenon remain unknown.

4.4.2.1.2 The relevance of the spatial location of the outer lid JE 29622 and its related elements placed outside of the funerary chambers of Bab el-Gasus

The anonymous outer lid JE 29622 has not been attributed to any specific A. Number. The object contains two labels, one on each breast, one of which would ordinarily feature a specific A. Number. However, the label on the right breast is empty and the left one is badly damaged with only a few remains of unidentifiable surviving digits.⁹⁷⁶ Helpfully though, unique features of the object provide valuable insights into the original placement of the set within Bab el-Gasus.

The uncommon initial gilding on parts of the outer lid JE 29622 strongly indicates the high status of the owner. This high status is further confirmed by the owner's titulary featured on the object, which defines her as *s3t n hm-ntr tpy, nbt pr, šmꜣyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* and *mnꜥt hnsu p3-hrd*. The titulary and gilding suggest that the set was included in one of the two burial chambers of Bab el-Gasus, traditionally believed to be reserved for high status individuals, especially those related to the family of the High Priests of Amun. This presumably would narrow the possible range of A. Numbers for the object; however, this is not the case for this object because, in fact, the object was likely never placed in the funeral chambers to begin with.

Some of the identified coffin sets from the two burial chambers (A. 133-A. 153) lack outer lids.⁹⁷⁷ However, this does not necessarily mean they have been lost to time; it's possible they never had them in the first place. Among these sets, none matches the characteristics of the outer lid JE 29622 in terms of sex, titulary and size. Furthermore, there is only one set, A. 146, from those chambers that remains unidentified and unlocated;⁹⁷⁸ whether it included an outer lid is unknown. As mentioned, A. 146 belonged to the Fourth Prophet of Amun, Panedjem.⁹⁷⁹

Assuming that the coffins associated with the burial chambers of Bab el-Gasus are correctly identified, which is a reasonably fair assumption based on current knowledge, the JE 29622 outer lid would not have originally been placed in the chambers of Bab el-

⁹⁷⁶ The current available pictures of the object do not allow for the identification of the number, and the museography of the object, as currently displayed, does not enable proper viewing of that specific area. However, access to high-quality documents in the future may prove helpful in this regard.

⁹⁷⁷ These sets include A. 137, a female coffin attributed to Tashedkhonsu; A. 141 and A. 145, both attributed to male owners, Djedkhonsuiefankh and Tjanefer, respectively; and A. 153, which belonged to an anonymous female child. The latter coffin, measuring 0.24 x 0.65 meters (Chassinat 1909: 57 [6019a-b]), is undecorated. Notably, unlike the outer lid JE 29622, these mentioned coffins were not gilded. Sets A. 137, A. 145, and A. 153 have attributed CG numbers, and probably A. 141 as well, although the elements of the latter set are currently lost.

⁹⁷⁸ Until recently, it was believed that set A. 138 (Niwiński 1988: 181 [434]), also originating from the funerary chambers, was lost. However, this set, attributed to Tashedkhonsu, has been recently (re)discovered and identified in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. For more information about this set, see Niwiński 2021: 365. Additionally, there is an unpublished design of its inner box, created by Philippe Virey shortly after the discovery of Bab el-Gasus (Virey 1892: folios 30-32). I am grateful to Dautant for allowing me access to the unpublished document.

⁹⁷⁹ Daressy 1907: 13, 37 [A. 146]; Niwiński 1988: 181 [435].

Gasus due to insufficient space. Its exact position, likely in the corridors, is currently unknown. Future studies may alter this understanding, especially if the remains of the A. Number on the object's label are eventually ascertained, suggesting a more precise position of the set within the tomb.

The placement of the outer lid JE 29622 outside the burial chambers reveals the distribution of some sets attributed to individuals with high social statuses within the tomb.

Traditionally, it has been accepted that the funerary chambers, which are typically the most important and restricted areas in tombs, were reserved for those with the highest social status. Until now, there was only evidence of one originally gilded set, A. 132, that was not placed inside the burial chambers. This coffin set belonged to Maatkara, the daughter of the High Priest Panedjem II.⁹⁸⁰ Given Maatkara's status and the original gilding of her set, one might have expected it to be buried inside the burial chambers. However, it was not found there.

It is possible that when the coffin was transferred to Bab el-Gasus from its original burial place, which was likely located elsewhere, there was no longer available space inside the burial chambers. Consequently, the set was placed at the end of the main corridor, as close as possible to the chambers. Naturally, it remains unclear whether the tomb of Bab el-Gasus was filled in one continuous action or over several moments spanning an extended period of time. Additionally, the origin, purpose, and potential logical arrangement of the coffins within the tomb are still unknown.

A recently (re)discovered coffin set found in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo mirrors the same phenomenon. This gilded coffin set is attributed to an individual named Meritamon (Meritamon A in the present study), whose A. Number is currently unknown; however, I suggest it could be A. 70, as discussed further below. In line with the previous discussion, this set was also placed outside the burial chambers. Like Maatkara, Meritamon was the daughter of an unknown High Priest (*s3t n ḥm ntr tpy n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*).⁹⁸¹

Until Meritamon's A gilded set was (re)discovered, it had been suggested that the set traditionally associated with Meritamon (Meritamon B in this study) (A. 71), was placed outside the main chambers, despite her high status,⁹⁸² because it was not partially gilded. Therefore, according to the earlier thinking, those who directed the placement of the coffins in the tomb left hers outside the burial chambers because they had not

⁹⁸⁰ For information regarding its gilding characteristics, see *supra*. The name Maatkara appears solely in monochrome blue pigment on both the outer and inner lids, filling a space that was previously empty. It has been suggested that Maatkara reused a previously decorated coffin for another individual, as the name Ankheseniset is featured on the outer box, although no reuse marks are present on that object.

⁹⁸¹ The connection between this set and the one associated with Meritamon B, the daughter of Menkheperrea, traditionally identified with the High Priest of Amun though lacking concrete evidence of that affiliation, will be discussed in more detail below.

⁹⁸² Her elevated status is *only* defined by the association of the owner with the title *špst*, typically associated with female members of the family of the High Priest of Amun. While the set has been linked to the daughter of the High Priest of Amun, Menkheperrea, this information is not present on any of her associated elements. The sole connection to a Menkheperrea is on her papyrus, where Menkheperrea is not linked to any titulary. This issue will be further discussed below.

properly observed her real status.⁹⁸³ However, subsequent to the (re)discovery of her actual gilded set, which had also been placed outside of the burial chambers, casts doubt on the thesis that simple confusion explained the positionality. This implies that those responsible for arranging the coffins within the tomb were likely not confused, and there may be other motivations behind these actions.

The coffin's state of preservation is quite poor, whether it was already damaged before its transfer to Bab el-Gasus, looted after being incorporated there, or subject to modern deterioration. While speculative, considering the first possibility, it's plausible that the originally gilded coffin set was placed outside the burial chambers due to the extent of its damage, rendering it unsuitable for placement within the sacred chambers. Alternatively, as previously suggested regarding A. 132, it's possible that there was simply no longer any available space inside.

Therefore, the gilded set of Meritamon A, even though she was the daughter of a High Priest with a gilded coffin, had to be positioned close to but not within the funerary chambers. As discussed further below, I propose that the set should be identified as A. Number 70, considering the fact that A. 70 has not yet been identified, its proximity to the funerary chamber, and its association with set A. 71, which is also linked to a Meritamon. This connection could suggest a familial relationship between the owners and/or a common place of origin.⁹⁸⁴ The positioning of the set at the beginning of the transversal corridor is intriguing. One might question why the sets, encompassing both those of Meritamon A and B -both belonging to high-status individuals- were not situated at the end of the main gallery, which is even closer to the burial chambers, similar to the placement of set A. 132. Could it be that the designated area was already occupied?

Consistent with the unexpected placement of the coffins sets of Maatkara and Meritamon A, the once gilded outer lid JE 29622 (A. Number unknown) was also included outside of the funerary chambers. Considering that the lid does not appear as damaged as the gilded set attributed to Meritamon, perhaps it was not placed within the funerary chambers because there was insufficient space. Its exact position within Bab el-Gasus is unknown, although future studies may shed light on the eventual A. Number for the object.⁹⁸⁵

In conclusion, and contrary to what one would expect, at least three originally gilded sets attributed to individuals that were direct relations of the High Priest were buried outside of the most sacred funerary chambers of Bab el-Gasus. Considering that inside

⁹⁸³ Niwiński 2021: 364. Further discussion below will address the criticism of Niwiński's notion that Meritamon is connected with two distinct sets, with one serving as a substitute for the other.

⁹⁸⁴ To observe instances of homonymous owners being grouped together, potentially indicating a familial relationship, refer to sets A. 58-59 (Daressy 1907: 8).

⁹⁸⁵ The following A. Numbers remain unidentified: A. 21, A. 34, A. 50, A. 57, A. 70 (although I suggest its association with the gilded set of Meritamon A), A. 90, A. 92, A. 98, A. 101, A. 103, A. 104, A. 107, A. 112, A. 116, A. 118, A. 127, A. 129, A. 146. Some of these sets have been previously discussed. Of course, the outer lid JE 29622 might potentially be the outer lid of an already identified set. Considering that the outer lid is anonymous, the information about the owners as reported by Daressy and Lieblein, and the expectation that it should be close to the funerary chambers, it could be suggested that it was part of set A. 127, which had an associated rich funerary equipment (Daressy 1907: 33-34) consistent with the status of a daughter of a High Priest. However, this remains speculative.

the main chambers there were non-gilded sets⁹⁸⁶ belonging to individuals from the family of the High Priest, the fact that some gilded coffins were left outside the chambers is a strange phenomenon that compels further investigation. The most logical reason for their final location could be due to a lack of space in the chambers upon transfer. However, it is curious that in all three surviving examples the owners of the materials were *daughters* of the High Priest. If it is not simply coincidence, perhaps they were excluded from the funerary chambers for other, perhaps gendered⁹⁸⁷ or otherwise unknown social status hierarchical reasoning.

4.4.2.1.3 The coffin set of Gautseshen preserved in Leiden: (Re)Considering its original A. Number and spatial location at Bab el-Gasus

Insight flowing from the A. Number of the complete coffin set attributed to Gautseshen (F 93/10.1a-c),⁹⁸⁸ preserved at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, increases the understanding on the placement of specific coffins within the Bab el-Gasus tomb. Gautseshen's coffin set was partially gilded in the facial area of all three covers (outer lid, inner lid, mummy board), and gold leaf probably covered the hands of the outer lid as well. The coffin elements were stripped of all of these gilded parts in Antiquity.

Gautseshen is designated on the materials as *nbt pr, šmꜣyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw, ḥsyt n pꜣꜥ n Mwt wrt nbt Išrw* and *špst*.⁹⁸⁹ The exact meaning of the title *špst* is unknown but it appears to be an honorary title associated with high-ranking women of the families of the High Priests.⁹⁹⁰ Gautseshen's exact position within her family is unknown, although it has been speculated that she was the daughter of the Third Prophet of Amun Menkheper B (A. 147), son of Tjanefer A and Gautseshen A (A. 152).⁹⁹¹ Gautseshen A was the daughter of the High Priest Menkheper A. This suggestion would situate

⁹⁸⁶ A. 134, A. 135, A. 136, A. 141, A. 142, A. 149 and A. 150, as already pointed out by Niwiński (2021: 357 [n. 11]). However, Niwiński's list omits sets A. 145 and A. 153. Furthermore, Niwiński refers to the coffin set A. 137 as a non-gilded set, although, as discussed in more detail below, there is enough information to suggest that set A. 137 is actually the originally gilded set now in Leiden. Finally, it should be noted that the coffin A. 146 was likely gilded, although this idea remains speculative.

⁹⁸⁷ On the contrary, Gautseshen, the daughter of the High Priest Menkheper B, was located inside the funerary chambers.

⁹⁸⁸ Boeser 1916: 4-6, pls. V-IX; Niwiński 1988: 146 [228] (the latter marked by confusions surrounding the name on the box and its related titulary, as discussed later. These confusions, which were already present in Daressy's notes, were later pointed out by van Walsem (Van Walsem 1997: 20 [n. 68])). For additional remarks on the object, see Greco, Weiss 2018: 39-42, 46-47. For the technical details of the coffin set, see Geldhof 2018: 54-57, 60-62, 65-67. Regarding its eventual reuse, see Cooney 2018: 78-81.

⁹⁸⁹ Her complete titulary is exclusively featured on the outer coffin. The inner lid only mentions the owner as a *nbt pr* and *šmꜣyt n Imn*, while the inner box and mummy board do not bear any titulary inscriptions. Gautseshen's name is solely present on the outer lid. On the outer box, there exists a blank space where the name of the deceased should have been inscribed, and the remaining components of the set remain anonymous. The inner lid did not preserve its footboard; therefore, the possibility of a name being originally located in that area cannot be definitively ruled out. However, considering the remnants of the decoration on the inner lid's footboard and its eventual reconstruction, when compared to the corresponding section on the complete mummy board of the same set (compare figs. 13 and 14 in Greco, Weiss 2018: 41-42), which features an identical design, it appears unlikely that a name would have been included in that missing portion of the inner lid.

⁹⁹⁰ Naguib (1990) does not mention the title, and Troy (1986: 186, with references) only refers to its - apparently- variants *ḥry špswt* and *ḥnwt špswt*. Future studies will provide insights into the meaning of this designation.

⁹⁹¹ For information about the possible ancestry of Gautseshen, see Niwiński 1979: 55. In the paper, the author attributes the set in Leiden to Gautseshen, although he mistakenly mentions that its A. Number is lost.

Gautseshen as a great-granddaughter of the High Priest Menkheper A. Gautseshen's rank associated with the title *špst* is further manifested by the specific gilded parts of her set.

The identification of the A. Number of Gautseshen's coffin has proven challenging in past research. The shipping list that accompanied the objects from Bab el-Gasus sent to the Netherlands ascribes to Gautseshen's coffin set the Numbers JE 29617 and A. 39. Daressy mentioned that the set A. 139, which originated from the burial chambers of Bab el-Gasus, was part of Lot 11 sent to the Netherlands.⁹⁹² Therefore, A. Number 39 mentioned in the shipping list is a typographical-type error intending to indicate A. 139,⁹⁹³ but missing the first digit. Unfortunately, there is no surviving label on, or associated with, the outer lid of the set, which would likely confirm the A. Number.⁹⁹⁴

In his report, Daressy related the set A. 139 (JE 29617, JE 29621) to two different owners, who used elements of the same set at different points in time. Daressy attributed the box to Nesiamon(neb)nesuttawy and the lid to Gautseshen,⁹⁹⁵ the latter of whom would have reused the materials previously decorated for Nesiamon(neb)nesuttawy. The same owner information was repeated by Lieblein, who also referred to some of their respective titles.⁹⁹⁶ However, none of this information is consistent with the set currently preserved in Leiden, where only Gautseshen is mentioned.

On the contrary, the information provided by Daressy and Lieblein is coherent with an alternative, non-gilded, originally complete set preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 29621; CG 6013-6016).⁹⁹⁷ Curiously, this set has retained its label with the numbers 139 and 164, corresponding to A. and B. Numbers respectively.⁹⁹⁸ If these

⁹⁹² Daressy 1907: 13, 20.

⁹⁹³ Weiss 2018: 46. The coffin set in Leiden cannot be identified as set A. 39, as set A. 39 belonged to an individual named Amenhotep (Daressy 1907: 6, 20, 24-25). Additionally, the outer lid of that set, with its intact label bearing the number 39, has recently been (re)discovered in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (Niwiński 2021: 362-363, 367). Interestingly, the object was originally intended for shipment to the United States as part of Lot 10 (Daressy 1907: 6, 20).

⁹⁹⁴ The label had already disappeared when the object was first published (Boeser 1916: pl. X).

⁹⁹⁵ Daressy 1907: 13.

⁹⁹⁶ Lieblein 1892: 1002.

⁹⁹⁷ Chassinat (1909: 34-35 [6010-6013], pl. III) attributed the A. Number 139 to the ensemble; Niwiński (1988: 119 [84]) did not attribute any A. Number to the set. The inner box associated with the set has not yet been located. The outer coffin was originally decorated for a man, likely Nesiamon(neb)nesuttawy, and was later reused by Gautseshen. The inner lid originally featured a blank space reserved for the name of the deceased, which was subsequently filled with the name and titulary of Gautseshen. The mummy board is anonymous.

⁹⁹⁸ It's important to mention that there is another complete set preserved at the Art & History Museum in Brussels (E. 5879, E. 5885, E. 5908), and its outer lid still bears a label with the following numbers: 29615, 139, 156, which correspond to the JE Number, A. Number and B. Number, respectively. Although Daressy mentioned that set A. 139 was shipped to the Netherlands (Daressy 1907: 13, 20), in the same report, he also (mistakenly) indicated that set A. 139 was sent to Belgium (Daressy 1907: 21). There is substantial evidence to suggest that the inclusion of Number 139 on the label of the coffin in Brussels was a mistake. The set preserved in Brussels belonged to an anonymous individual; the outer lid, outer box and inner lid all feature a blank space reserved for the name of the deceased that was never filled, while the inner box and mummy board are also anonymous. This characteristic does not align with the information related to the owner(s) of set A. 139. Furthermore, the numbers JE 29615 and B. 156, also included on the label, actually correspond to A. Number 131 (Daressy 1907: 13), intended to be shipped to Belgium (Daressy 1907: 13). Daressy's report only mistakenly listed Number 131 as 139 in the summary of the objects sent to Belgium (Daressy 1907: 21), not in the general list. This incorrect number

numbers are accurate, the original gilded set of Gautseshen would have been placed outside of the funerary chambers at Bab el-Gasus.

However, there is sufficient information to conclude that the label featured on the coffin set in Cairo contains the wrong digits and that A. 139 should be attributed to the set in Leiden. This mistake is the result of the confusion caused by two funerary sets that at one point belonged to two separate but identically named individuals, that is, two individuals named Gautseshen.⁹⁹⁹

Daressy provided a description of the distinctive funerary equipment initially associated with set A. 139, which included a shroud that identified the deceased as *šmꜣyt n ꜥmn*, Gautseshen. Among the documented funerary equipments from Bab el-Gasus, set A. 139 stands out for its rich and most delicate funerary objects. This set is particularly notable for its extensive collection of funerary items, some of which are unique.¹⁰⁰⁰

Exceptionally, there are three papyri attributed to the set A. 139. The first one (JE 95846),¹⁰⁰¹ decorated for an anonymous woman,¹⁰⁰² is a small hieratic magical papyrus that was likely placed in front of the mummy's neck.¹⁰⁰³ The second papyrus (S.R.IV.1001; JE 29636), a Book of the Dead that was probably originally enclosed in an Osiris figure, was decorated for Gautseshen, identified as *nbt pr* and *šmꜣyt n ꜥmn*.¹⁰⁰⁴ The third one (S.R.VII.10221) is an Amduat papyrus that was probably found between the legs of the deceased, Gautseshen, who is identified on the object as a *nbt pr*, *šmꜣyt n ꜥmn* and *špst*.¹⁰⁰⁵ The same titulary is featured on a wooden funerary stela, now in Cairo (JE 29308), and also attributed to Gautseshen.¹⁰⁰⁶ The object, likely from Bab el-Gasus, should be attributed to the funerary equipment of set A. 139, although Daressy did not mention the stela in his report from 1907.¹⁰⁰⁷

was also written on the label of the outer lid, now in Brussels. However, the correct A. Number of the set should be A. 131. Additionally, although Daressy's list for the Belgian Lot (Lot 15) only referred to four sets of coffins (Daressy 1907: 21), the Museum actually received six sets (Delvaux 2021: 342-343). This once again highlights the confusion that arose when the coffins from Bab el-Gasus left Egypt.

⁹⁹⁹ This implies that the labels affixed to the outermost coffin lids of the ensembles were not added by Daressy on-site, that is, during his documentation of the objects, but at a later time when the objects were already in Cairo. The correspondence in paleography of the numbers with that of Brugsch, who was not present in Cairo at the moment of the discovery, lends support to this hypothesis.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Daressy 1907: 36; Jansen-Winkel 2007: 190-191 [19]; Aston 2009: 190 [TG 812]. Both Jansen-Winkel and Aston report incorrect CG numbers for the coffin set. As for the shabtis associated with the set, see Aubert 1998: 90.

¹⁰⁰¹ Niwiński 1989: 301-302 [Cairo G]; Golenischeff 1927: 5-9, pl. II [58002]; Lenzo 2021: 226 [29]. Regarding the distinctive textual content found on the papyrus, see Černý 1942: 118-133.

¹⁰⁰² Niwiński identified the owner as Gautseshen, whereas Golenischeff remarked that the papyrus does not feature any particular name. Nevertheless, the papyrus was adorned for a female, as evidenced by the presence of feminine suffixes (Golenischeff 1927: 5 [n. 1]).

¹⁰⁰³ Daressy 1907: 36.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Niwiński 1989: 271 [Cairo 51], without mention of the JE number.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Niwiński 1989: 273-274 [Cairo 58]; Sadek 1985, pp.159-162, pls. 30-31 [C.19].

¹⁰⁰⁶ A. Zayed 1968: 152-153, pl. 8 A.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Daressy, in his initial report on Bab el-Gasus, noted the discovery of eight wooden stela (Daressy 1900: 144). However, in his 1907 report, he only attributed six of them to specific individuals (Daressy 1907: 17), and none of these were associated with Gautseshen. JE 29308 may potentially be one of the two stela that Daressy did not mention in his later report.

Several inconsistencies can be identified when comparing the information featured on the set in Cairo, which has a label including the number 139, with the information featured on the papyri, the stela and the characteristics of the funerary equipment.

Firstly, the set did not have any gilded parts, which is unusual for someone with the title *špst*¹⁰⁰⁸ and the rich funerary equipment of set A. 139, which included objects related to the royal sphere, many golden objects and likely a wooden stela, the latter of which is an unusual type of object in terms of those originating from Bab el-Gasus. Considering the individual's high status, her relationship with the High Priest's family, and the typology, number and characteristics of the objects originating from her funerary equipment, one would expect a partially gilded coffin for set A. 139.

Secondly, none of the elements of the set preserved in Cairo identifies the deceased as *špst*, even though it would have been one of the most important designations of the deceased. On the contrary, on the set preserved in Cairo the deceased is designated as *nbt pr, šmꜣyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw, hnmitt n hnsu p3 hrd* and *hsyt n p3 ꜣ n Mwt*. The latter two titles are not featured on any of the funerary objects associated with set A. 139. Furthermore, the title *hnmitt n hnsu p3 hrd* has been associated with priestesses with a lower status than the deceased here.¹⁰⁰⁹

Thirdly and finally, the set preserved in Cairo presents characteristics which identify its last owner, Gautseshen, with someone likely placed outside the higher spheres of power. As previously mentioned, Gautseshen's coffin set was constituted in part by materials previously decorated and likely used by a male individual, Nesiamon(neb)nesuttawy. When the outer coffin was adapted for Gautseshen, the male individual originally depicted in the vignettes was neither deleted nor replaced with depictions of Gautseshen. In multiple areas, his name and titulary were not even erased. In addition, both the inner lid and the mummy board feature lower quality decoration. The mummy board, probably also reused from an even earlier burial, does not contain any information related to Gautseshen. All of this information suggests that this set was prepared, perhaps hastily, for someone that did not have access to significant resources.¹⁰¹⁰

One might be tempted to propose that this set could be a second non-gilded set, which replaced an earlier, possibly destroyed, original gilded set for Gautseshen when she was transferred to Bab el-Gasus.¹⁰¹¹ However, this hypothesis would not explain the absence of the title *Spswt* amongst the titulary in Gautseshen's eventually new second set; instead, the titulary reflects a much lower status for Gautseshen. This fact effectively rules out the hypothesis that the set preserved in Cairo is a second set originally belonging to a member of the High Priest's family. It is rather more likely that the set contained the body of an alternative, lower status, individual also named Gautseshen.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Exceptions can be observed, as exemplified by Meritamon B (A. 71), who bore the title *špst* but lacked a gilded inner lid and mummy board. However, unlike Gautseshen, the precise relationship between Meritamon B and the family of the High Priest, if any, is unknown.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Villar 2015: 69, 140, 146.

¹⁰¹⁰ The original male owner's titulary is still present on the outer box.

¹⁰¹¹ As proposed by Niewiński regarding the (second?) sets assigned to Meritamon and Tashedkhonsu (for a discussion of this idea, which will be critiqued, see below).

The set in Leiden, however, features the characteristics that one would expect to find in the set A. 139. Firstly, it originally featured gilded areas. Secondly, the owner, Gautseshen, is identified, among other titles, as *špst*.¹⁰¹² Thirdly, the set features high quality decoration and carpentry, and the decoration of the multiple elements is consistent between them. This suggests that the set A. 139 mentioned by Daressy should be attributed to the set preserved in Leiden, whose owner would be Gautseshen, a descendant of the High Priest Menkheper A. If correct, this hypothesis would suggest that there was a confusion between the coffins in Cairo and Leiden, both decorated for homonymously named women.¹⁰¹³ This confusion started when Daressy published the names that he (erroneously) attributed to set A. 139, alongside the double JE numbers that he attributed to the set.¹⁰¹⁴ This confusion resulted in the creation of the label with the incorrect number 139 on the set preserved in Cairo, and this error was subsequently perpetuated in Lieblein's 1892 list all the way through to Niwiński's volume published in 1988.

If accurate, this hypothesis suggests that the A. Number attributed to the set preserved in Cairo, as well as its original placement within Bab el-Gasus, is unknown, and the originally gilded coffin set preserved in Leiden (A. 139) can no longer be said to have been originally positioned outside the funerary chambers of Bab el-Gasus. Therefore, the only confirmed examples of individuals buried in gilded coffins and placed outside the burial chambers of Bab el-Gasus are Maatkara, Meritamon A and the owner of the set whose outer lid was JE 29622.

The factors and possible errors and confusions that continue to present challenges to the proper and conclusive identification and correct placement of coffins within the tomb, as well as the attribution of the Bab el-Gasus materials to specific owners, remain insufficiently researched areas begging for further investigation. The implications of these lines of inquiry reach beyond coffin studies and includes individual funerary materials and papyri. Future research is required to confirm the hypothesis advanced in this section as well.

4.4.2.2 *Complete coffin set attributed to an anonymous woman (Berne, Vienna)*

The complete anonymous set A. 74; B. 97; JE 29647 presents another example of the confusion that frequently occurred when the lots containing materials from Bab el-Gasus left Egypt. In his report, Daressy twice specified that set A. 74 (JE 29647) was part of Lot 9,¹⁰¹⁵ and the shipping list that accompanied Lot 9 to Switzerland refers to, amongst other objects, coffin 29647.¹⁰¹⁶ While the outer coffin, inner lid and mummy

¹⁰¹² The title is present in both elements of the outer coffin. However, whereas the outer lid associates all the included titles with Gautseshen, the outer box contains a blank space after the titles, which was never filled with any name. The reasons for such practice in this specific example are unclear.

¹⁰¹³ As previously pointed out by van Walsem (Van Walsem 1997: 20 [n. 68]).

¹⁰¹⁴ It appears that Daressy assigned a double JE number to specific sets when these sets shared a name with additional sets, resulting in objects with homonymous names and potentially causing confusion when he was writing the report. However, further research is necessary in this direction to either support or dismiss this hypothesis.

¹⁰¹⁵ Daressy 1907: 9, 20.

¹⁰¹⁶ This shipping list, along with other documents related to the Bab el-Gasus objects given to the Swiss government in 1893/94, is preserved at the Bundesarchiv Bern (CH-BAR_E84_1000-1163_139). I would like to express my gratitude to Alexandra Küffer for providing me with this information and granting me access to these archival documents.

board attributed to set A. 74 reached their intended destination and are today preserved at the Bernisches Historisches Museum in Berne (E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10)), the inner box was erroneously shipped to Vienna, where it remains at the Kunsthistorisches Museum (ÄS 6267b). Only recently did stylistic comparisons between these materials allow for the association of this inner box to set A. 74, whose inner box was theretofore thought to have been lost.¹⁰¹⁷

It must be noted that this inner box in Vienna has a label featuring the number 29744, JE that refers to A. 68, a set that was supposed to have been shipped to Austria.¹⁰¹⁸ Only the inner lid of A. 68 arrived at Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, ÄS 6267a), probably on top of the erroneously associated inner box that actually belonged to set A. 74. The remaining elements attributed to A. 68 never arrived in Vienna. Its mummy board is preserved at the British Museum in London (EA 24797)¹⁰¹⁹ and its inner box is preserved at the Albany Institute of History and Art in Albany, New York (1909.18.1b).¹⁰²⁰ This last object was sold privately in 1909, alongside a mummy. Again, this emphasizes the errors and fragmentation that occurred following the discovery of Bab el-Gasus.

Today, the outer lid of set A. 74 does not preserve the label with the A. Number, although traces of an original label are still present.¹⁰²¹ Considering Daressy's notes, which mention twice that set A. 74 (JE 29647) was decided to be shipped to Switzerland,¹⁰²² and the shipping list, which includes a mention of set A. 74, there is no reason to doubt the attribution of the materials in Berne and Vienna to set A. 74. Furthermore, and as discussed further below, the rich funerary objects attributed to set A. 74,¹⁰²³ some of which associate the coffin owner with royalty and the family of the High Priests of Amun, are usually associated with sets that feature the same style and iconography as exhibited on the discussed set. This demonstrates the correct attribution of the set in Berne to the set A. 74.

4.4.2.3 Coffin sets attributed to Meritamon (Cairo)

Niwiński has recently suggested that Meritamon, traditionally interpreted as the daughter of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperra,¹⁰²⁴ owned two coffin sets.¹⁰²⁵ His

¹⁰¹⁷ Küffer 2017: 252-253.

¹⁰¹⁸ Daressy 1907: 9, 18.

¹⁰¹⁹ Niwiński 1988: 177 [416]. It is noteworthy that, while Niwiński mentions an inner box in the entry, it is unclear to which specific object the author was referring, as no inventory number was provided.

¹⁰²⁰ Haynes, Warne 2020.

¹⁰²¹ The coffin was restored in 1977, possibly resulting in the removal of the label. Access to archival pictures from before the restoration may help confirm the A. Number that was originally written on the label.

¹⁰²² Daressy 1907: 9, 20.

¹⁰²³ Daressy 1907: 28.

¹⁰²⁴ As discussed in more detail below, there is no definitive documentation that explicitly identifies Meritamon as the daughter of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperra. While this notion has traditionally been accepted (Kitchen 1973: 67-68 [E], defining Meritamon as one of the last daughters of Menkheperra, buried during the reign of Psusennes III; Niwiński 1979: 54; 2021: 364), it originates from information provided by Daressy and Lieblein (Daressy 1907: 9 [A. 71]; Lieblein 1892: 997 [71]). However, their idea cannot be substantiated through surviving documented evidence, suggesting that the authors may have amalgamated information from various surviving sources that did not necessarily pertain to the same individual.

¹⁰²⁵ Niwiński 2021: 364. In accordance with this concept, Niwiński also suggested that both sets A. 137 and A. 138 belonged to the same individual, namely, Tashedkhonsu (2021: 365).

idea derives from the fact that part of a set associated with a Meritamon (Unknown A. Number, although I previously suggested that it could be associated with set A. 70) has recently been (re)discovered in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.¹⁰²⁶ The documented inner lid and mummy board of this coffin set were originally gilded, but the set was plundered and partially destroyed by robbers at an undetermined point in time. Niwiński suggested that this operation gave rise to the construction and decoration of a second, substitute non-gilded coffin set (A. 71, preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, which also features the name Meritamon) for the same deceased once her remains were transferred to Bab el-Gasus. In accordance with his proposal, the fragmented elements of the first set were also transferred to Bab el-Gasus alongside the new coffin set that contained the mummy of Meritamon until discovery.

Following Niwiński's assumption, he suggested that the gilded mummy board attributed to Meritamon's first set was placed inside Meritamon's second set when she was transferred to Bab el-Gasus, functioning as an amulet-value remnant.¹⁰²⁷ To corroborate this idea, he pointed out that set A. 71 was given two JE numbers (JE 29704 and JE 29734),¹⁰²⁸ perhaps indicating this fact.¹⁰²⁹

During this section, Niwiński's hypothesis, which is purely speculative, will be challenged in light of the concrete data found on the materials connected to the individual(s) named Meritamon and the documentation from the discovered tomb. This examination leads to the conclusion that there are, at least, two individuals sharing the name Meritamon who owned coffin sets originating from Bab el-Gasus. Consequently, the hypothesis regarding the existence of substitute sets needs to be reevaluated, opening up new avenues for understanding the historical context and significance of these Meritamons within the broader narrative of the discovered tomb.

4.4.2.3.1 Gilded set associated with Meritamon (defined as Meritamon A)

The originally gilded set attributed to Meritamon A, plundered in Antiquity and also likely degraded in modern times due to improper storage, likely constitutes an outer box (C. 13),¹⁰³⁰ an inner lid (L. 31), an inner box (C. 47) and a mummy board (MC. 2). Each of these elements mention Meritamon along with her titulary (see Table 4.4.2). Among her titles stand out the designations *špst* and *s3t n ḥm ntr tpy n 'Imn-R' nsw ntrw*. The latter title identifies her as the daughter of a High Priest, though he remains unidentified.

The inner lid is the only component of the set that, before Meritamon's name, solely features the designation of *nbt pr*. Considering that the item was gilded and the owner's name, thereby linking the object to the other elements associating Meritamon A with the

¹⁰²⁶ Niwiński 2021: 363 [fig. 5], 364-365. I would like to express my gratitude to Niwiński for granting me access to examine the photographs of these materials.

¹⁰²⁷ Niwiński 2021: 364.

¹⁰²⁸ Daressy 1907: 9.

¹⁰²⁹ Niwiński 2021: 364. Nonetheless, there are additional sets in Daressy's list that are linked to double JE numbers (A. 22, A. 33, A. 35, A. 42, A. 58, A. 62, A. 88, A. 114, A. 139, A. 140, A. 141, A. 147), which complicates the confirmation of Niwiński's hypothesis. The issue of double numbering requires more in-depth research. Moreover, if Niwiński's assertion is accurate, it would be reasonable to anticipate that Daressy would have commented on the rarity of having two mummy boards within the same set.

¹⁰³⁰ Its associated outer lid has not yet been identified. The identified outer box, as discussed further below, could also be associated with a different Meritamon, specifically Meritamon B.

daughter of the High Priest, this lone designation appears peculiar. However, it should be noted that the inner lid is highly fragmented, and it cannot be ruled out that originally, additional titles, possibly including high-status ones, might have been present on the object, perhaps on its missing footboard.

It is worth noting that all the information related to Meritamon, this is, her name and titulary, is depicted using multicolored pigments on the objects, which aligns with the overall style of the additional inscriptions.¹⁰³¹ This could suggest a likely connection between these elements as part of the same set.

However, considering the spelling of the name Meritamon, it is intriguing that its orthography featured on the outer box does not align with the consistency seen in the rest of the elements. Furthermore, the outer box lacks specific information related to the owner, such as her identity as the daughter of the High Priest, although as already mentioned for the inner lid, this outer box is also very fragmented, and it remains uncertain whether additional titulary was originally present on the object. It's worth noting that the discussed outer box remained unfinished.

One might speculate, though not conclusively, that the box was created at a different time by a different individual, as it is not uncommon for the same name to be spelled differently within the same coffin set. On the contrary, perhaps this outer box may not have originally belonged to the same set but rather to another high-status individual named Meritamon, Meritamon B, who is discussed further below.

In this regard, the (re)discovered gilded inner lid features the scant remains of a disappeared label. Complete sets only feature one or more labels on the outer lid.¹⁰³² The label(s) would usually contain their A. Number, sometimes alongside their JE and B. Numbers. Given the suggestion that the outer box might belong to a distinct set, the presence of a label on the inner lid could reinforce this hypothesis.¹⁰³³

However, if the outer box actually belonged to the gilded set of Meritamon A, constituting an originally complete set, there could be an explanation for the presence of a label on the inner lid. This could imply that the original outer lid, likely gilded, either never arrived at Bab el-Gasus,¹⁰³⁴ or if it did, it was likely too damaged and fragmented upon discovery and/or during its transportation to have a label attached to the object.¹⁰³⁵

¹⁰³¹ This differs from the coffin set associated with Meritamon B, where her information is rendered in a monochrome blue pigment.

¹⁰³² A thorough investigation of the extant labels on the coffins from Bab el-Gasus has not yet been conducted. This presents a challenge as many labels were removed in modern times, necessitating access to archival pictures. Despite this obstacle, there seems to be a consistent pattern of affixing labels to the outermost lids of the ensembles. This practice holds the potential to offer insights into the original organization of the sets.


¹⁰³³ It's worth noting that it would indeed be quite unusual if Meritamon A did not have an outer coffin, given that she was the daughter of a High Priest. Future discoveries may shed light on this aspect.

¹⁰³⁴ Taking into account the fragmented condition and damage evident on the elements of the set, it's possible that the outer lid was completely destroyed by ancient tomb robbers. If it did survive, perhaps it was too fragmented to be labeled once it reached the museum, assuming it ever made it there. If such fragments do exist, they have not yet been identified.

¹⁰³⁵ In this context, it is important to note the information provided by Daressy when describing the tomb, indicating that a lid from one of the sets was utilized as a ladder to access the funerary chambers of the tomb (Daressy 1900: 142). However, nothing is known about the object or the original set to which this lid belonged, as Daressy did not include this information in his subsequent reports. It must be

Because the label on this inner lid is lost, it is impossible to know if it contained a number or if it remained empty as in the case of the label of the set associated to Meritamon B (A. 71), discussed further below.

4.4.2.3.2 Non-gilded set associated with Meritamon (defined as Meritamon B)

Meritamon's B non-gilded set (A. 71) is detailed by Daressy as follows:  (𓁿𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏); [...] *Les couvercles des cercueils représentent une femme tenant une guirlande de lierre*. [...] ¹⁰³⁶ The name of the deceased and the description of the covers are consistent with a specific inner coffin and a specific mummy board, both of which are preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The name of Meritamon and her title *špst* (see Table 4.4.2) are featured between the carved feet of the inner lid, both of which were rendered in a monochrome blue pigment filling in a previously blank space reserved for the deceased's information. ¹⁰³⁷ This suggests that at least the lid was decorated in advance, leaving a blank space for the name and eventual titulary of the deceased that would come to occupy the object, information that was likely included on the coffin lid after the decoration process was completed. The space was preceded by an original multicolored inscription featuring the general titles *nbt pr* and *šmꜣyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*. The inner box and mummy board, both anonymous, were decorated for a woman and are related to the inner lid by stylistic characteristics. It is noteworthy that none of the objects bears the designation *s3t ḥm-ntr tpy Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ*, as provided by Daressy.

In the description of set A. 71, Daressy mentioned the words “couvercles” and “cercueils”, however, the identified elements of Meritamon's non-gilded set are only an inner coffin and a mummy board. Since the inner lid features a label, the original set likely did not have an outer coffin. ¹⁰³⁸ Therefore, Daressy inspired a longlasting confusion by referring to the inner lid and mummy board as “couvercles”, and to the set as constituted by “cercueils”. Curiously, the label attached to the inner lid was left empty, implying that some confusion existed surrounding the set. However, Daressy's descriptions and the information featured on the set, which relates the material with Meritamon, likely suggests that it is set A. 71.

However, it is also conceivable, especially when taking into account the variations in the spelling of the name Meritamon, that the aforementioned outer box previously associated with the gilded set of Meritamon A may have actually been part of this non-gilded ensemble. Once more, the presence of a label on the inner lid might suggest that the corresponding outer lid, which, considering Daressy's description, could have depicted “*une femme tenant une guirlande de lierre*” was either too damaged, never

acknowledged that this lid would likely have been significantly damaged due to its practical use as a ladder. Hence, it might not have been considered during the documentation of materials, possibly because its original location was not investigated.

¹⁰³⁶ Daressy 1907: 9, 28. Daressy also associated the ensemble with numbers B. 94 and JE 29704, JE 29734. For the existence of two JE numbers associated with individual sets, see *supra*.

¹⁰³⁷ It's important to highlight that in one of his publications (Niwiński 2021: 364 [n. 31]), Niwiński incorrectly defines the set as anonymous.

¹⁰³⁸ Recently, Niwiński connected a (re)discovered outer lid found in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (L. 13) with the set of Meritamon B (A. 71). However, for reasons that will be specified later, I have associated the outer lid with a different set.

reached the museum for reasons unknown, remaining unidentifiable, or has not yet been located.

It's also plausible that this outer lid, if it ever existed, was gifted or sold, and therefore, when the labels were affixed to the coffins, that particular object was no longer in the museum's possession. However, if that outer box corresponds to set A. 71, it should be noted that the rendering of the name appears different. The outer box features the information of Meritamon in multicoloured pigments, while the inner lid associated with set A. 71 features the information in monochrome blue pigment. Nevertheless, this difference alone is insufficient to rule out their connection, as they could have been decorated at different times and locations by different individuals.

Future studies of Daressy's activities and *modus operandi* when he discovered the tomb, as well as the investigation of the exact moment in which the labels featuring the A. Numbers were attached to the material, will provide insight as to why the aforementioned label was left empty, which is a rare phenomenon.

4.4.2.3.3 How Many Individuals? Meritamon's funerary equipment

Taking into account the titulary of the discussed sets, both the gilded and non-gilded ones, there is no conclusive evidence to support the hypothesis that they belonged to the same individual. Therefore, it cannot be definitively established that the non-gilded set served as a substitute set decorated after the gilded one was damaged. It is more likely that there are two distinct Meritamons who held high elite status, as both shared the designation *špst*. One of them was further designated as the daughter of the High Priest, while the other simply bore the title of *Spswt*, suggesting an association with the High Priest's family,¹⁰³⁹ although the details remain unknown.

The examination of specific funerary materials traditionally attributed to Meritamon B,¹⁰⁴⁰ which were presumably found within set A. 71, adds weight to the argument that the sets belonged to two different individuals. Furthermore, the study of this funerary equipment suggests that the traditionally accepted idea of the existence of a Meritamon as the daughter of High Priest Menkheperra appears to be a misinterpretation originating from Daressy and Lieblein's notes.

Following Daressy's notes on the funerary equipment associated with set A. 71, among other objects lacking inscriptions, it included an Amduat papyrus (JE 95836)¹⁰⁴¹ which identifies Meritamon as *s3t Mn-hpr-R^c*,¹⁰⁴² *nbt pr, šm^cyt n Imn-R^c nsw ntrw, ḥsynt n p3^c n Mwt wrt nbt Išrw and mn^ct n ḥnsw p3-hrd*. Lieblein reported these titles when he mentioned set A. 71.¹⁰⁴³

¹⁰³⁹ While not definitive evidence to further dismiss the notion of both sets being linked to the same individual, it's worth noting that the spelling of the name Meritamon also varies between the sets.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Daressy 1907: 28 [A. 71]; Jansen-Winkel 2007: 189 [16]; Aston 2009: 175-176 [TG 744]. For the shabtis, already mentioned by Daressy (Daressy 1907: 14-15), see Aubert 1998: 68 [16], pl. VII, although both authors associated them with the same individual (A. 71), despite the existence of two different types with two distinct spellings for the name.

¹⁰⁴¹ Niwiński 1989: 263 [Cairo 31]; Sadek 1985: 145-150, pls 26-27 [C.16]. The spelling of the name is consistent with Meritamon's B set.

¹⁰⁴² Without specifying who this Menkheperra was.

¹⁰⁴³ Unlike Daressy, who typically recorded only information found on the coffins in his A. List, Lieblein occasionally associated individual A. Numbers with information derived from the funerary equipment,

The issue that arises in both Daressy's and Lieblein's reports is that these authors, quite possibly relying on information from the papyrus, connected set A. 71 with the daughter of the *High Priest* Menkheperra, even though this information is not mentioned on the papyrus itself. Menkheperra, the father of Meritamon, is not described as a High Priest in the papyrus. Consequently, it's probable that there was a mix-up and confusion between the details presented on the sets and associated materials linked to the homonymous individuals Meritamon A and Meritamon B.¹⁰⁴⁴

In this context, it is significant that in the case of set A. 71, Daressy documented the presence of two incision amulets: one crafted from gilded wood and another composed of gilded and silvered bronze.¹⁰⁴⁵ This occurrence is exceedingly rare, as typically mummies possess only one incision amulet. The mention of two different materials for the same amulet is not merely confusion and repetition but actual evidence suggesting that two amulets, likely belonging to two separate mummies, were both associated with set A. 71. This apparent confusion or mistake likely stems from the mix of information and items related to two distinct funerary ensembles linked to two separate individuals, possibly both named Meritamon (A and B), which caused Daressy's confusion.

It's also possible that due to the richness of the contents within set A. 71 and the presence of the title *Spswt* for Meritamon B, Daressy and Lieblein assumed that the mentioned individual on the papyrus, Menkheperra, should be associated with the High Priest, even though there isn't sufficient information to support this claim. Of course, it's also conceivable that additional documents and materials, which have been lost over time, contained such information.

Regarding the titulary featured on the Amduat papyrus, it is intriguing to observe that Meritamon's only high status title is that of *mnṯ n ḥnsw P3-ḥrd*, a designation which also appears on the outer lid JE 29622, which belonged to a daughter of a High Priest. However, the papyrus does not report the title *špst*, as one would expect considering its associated set. This absence may suggest that the papyrus was created prior to Meritamon attaining that position. In that case, of course, there is always the possibility that the mentioned Menkheperra is indeed the one that became High Priest, implying that he had not yet assumed this office at the time of the papyrus's creation.

It is also possible that in Lieblein's and Daressy's reports, due to a confusion, they associated with set A. 71 (Meritamon B) the papyrus that was actually found associated with the gilded set of Meritamon A. In that case,¹⁰⁴⁶ if the discussed Amduat papyrus should be related to the set of Meritamon A, where she is mentioned as the daughter of an unnamed High Priest on the coffin, then the papyrus likely had to be decorated prior to Menkheperra's access to his position of High Priest, as one would expect it to be

though often without specifying the exact source of the information. This discrepancy can lead to confusion when comparing the respective lists compiled by Daressy and Lieblein, as the information is not always consistent between them.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Specifically, there was a mix of the information found on the papyrus associated with the set of Meritamon B (identifying the owner as a *s3 Mn-ḥpr-Rṯ*) with the information on the gilded mummy board linked to the set of Meritamon A (identifying the owner as a *s3t n ḥm ntr tpy*). It is likely that both documents belonged to different sets.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Daressy 1907: 28.

¹⁰⁴⁶ The orthography of the name featured on the papyrus matches that found on the coffin set of Meritamon B, although it could have been prepared by different decorators than the ones who worked on the coffin.

mentioned on the papyrus, as well as a higher titulary for Meritamon. This hypothesis would prove that the High Priest Menkheperha had a daughter named Meritamon.

Finally, especially when considering the titulary, it is also plausible that the papyrus belonged to another Meritamon, possibly Meritamon C. Further research and additional data are needed to fully unravel the details surrounding this intriguing historical connection and for a more conclusive understanding of these materials.

The mummy of Meritamon likely found in set A. 71 contained a shroud with her name¹⁰⁴⁷ and the title *šmꜣyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*. Again surprisingly, no higher titulary was included on the shroud. Although the spelling does not correspond to that of the mummy's associated elements, it could suggest a different place of origin and decoration.

Remarkably, among the discoveries at Bab el-Gasus, there were four canopic jars -the only type of these objects documented and identified so far as originating from the tomb.¹⁰⁴⁸ They are associated with Meritamon, although Daressy did not mention them in his report from 1907. However, he did note in his report from 1900 that 16 canopic jars were discovered, without specifying the names of their owners.¹⁰⁴⁹ These canopic jars are intriguing because, given Daressy's lack of specific mention, it remains uncertain whether they are related to Meritamon A or B. The publication in which the objects are referenced labels them as related to the "Royal favorite," although the original inscription that gave place to that translation is unknown. Since this designation does not conclusively attribute them to a specific individual, considering the rarity of these objects within the tomb, it is reasonable to speculate that they likely belonged to the daughter of the High Priest, possibly Meritamon A, although this remains conjectural.

To further corroborate the existence of two Meritamons, one must consider the shabtis discovered in the tomb. Shabtis attributed to Meritamon can be categorized into two distinct typologies based on the writing of the deceased's name,¹⁰⁵⁰ their chronological dating and their workshops of origin. The first group dates back to the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty, while the second group is dated toward the end of the same Dynasty.¹⁰⁵¹ The clear distinction between these two groups of shabtis suggests that each corresponds to one of the two Meritamons, namely, Meritamon A and Meritamon B.

The cross-reference of information associated with the objects part of the funerary equipment with the details featured on the previously discussed sets, it implies that there are, in fact, at least two individuals named Meritamon. This distinction becomes particularly significant when examining the inscriptions and details on the various objects. It is crucial to note that the Book of the Dead associated with set A. 71, along with the papyri associated with Meritamon A, have not been discovered, which could have offered additional insights into the identities of the individual(s).

¹⁰⁴⁷ Daressy 1909: 28.

¹⁰⁴⁸ PM I²: 642 (Ex MacGregor and Keiller collections (Sotheby's Sale Catalogues June 26–July 6, 1922 [nos. 1508–1510] [MacGregor], June 1 1939 [no. 123] [Keiller])).

¹⁰⁴⁹ Daressy 1900: 144.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Already noted by Daressy (1907: 14-15), although he included both to the same set A. 71.

¹⁰⁵¹ Aubert 1998: 68.

Table 4.4.2 Information Included on the Elements Associated with the Originally Gilded Set of Meritamon A and the Non-gilded Set of Meritamon B

Owner	Element	Name	Titulary
Meritamon A or B	Outer box		<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜥyt n 'Imn;</i> <i>špswt</i>
Meritamon A	Inner lid (originally gilded)		<i>nbt pr</i>
	Inner box		[...] <i>n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>s3t n ḥm ntr tpy n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>špswt</i>
	Mummy board (originally gilded)		<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜥyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>s3t n ḥm ntr tpy n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>špswt</i>
Meritamon B	Inner lid		<i>Nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜥyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i> (multicoloured, original); <i>špst</i> (monochrome blue, added later)
	Inner box	Anonymous ♀	<i>Nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜥyt</i> (original)
	Mummy board	Anonymous ♀	-
Likely Meritamon B	Amduat papyrus		<i>s3t Mn-ḥpr-rꜥ;</i> <i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜥyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>ḥsy t n p3 ꜥ n Mwt wrt nbt 'Isrw;</i> <i>mnꜥt n ḥnsw p3-hrd</i>
Likely Meritamon B	Funerary shroud		<i>šmꜥyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i>
Likely Meritamon A	Canopic jars	Meritamon ¹⁰⁵²	<i>Nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜥyt n 'Imn;</i> “Royal favourite” ¹⁰⁵³
Meritamon A or B	Shabtis (Group 1)		-
Meritamon A or B	Shabtis (Group 2)		-

There isn't enough data to suggest that both discussed coffin sets belonged to the same individual, primarily due to the absence of an exact match in the titles that appear on

¹⁰⁵² The actual spelling of the name is unknown, as the publication refers to the owner as “Meryt-Amen”, without providing the transcription of the original inscription.

¹⁰⁵³ It remains unclear what these words exactly refer to in terms of titles and designations, as there is no transcription or transliteration of the actual inscription featured on the object.

their elements. Therefore, Niwiński's suggestion of the existence of substitute sets, at least in this instance, cannot be substantiated. Furthermore, when considering Daressy's descriptions of the materials found in the tomb, it is reasonable to assume that if he had discovered specific empty coffins without mummies, it would have been such a unique phenomenon that Daressy would likely have noted it in his report.¹⁰⁵⁴

In relation to the discussed funerary equipment, it seems there were some confusions, as evidenced by both the information in the reports and the absence of a number written on the label attached to the lid of Meritamón B. These confusions likely arose from the presence of coffins with homonymous names. This could explain why the label remained blank, as once the material reached Cairo, there may have been uncertainty about which number to assign to the objects due to multiple coffins associated with the same names.

As a result, it remains uncertain whether some of the objects associated with set A. 71 actually belonged to Meritamón A in origin. Apart from the shabtis and, perhaps, the discussed funerary papyrus, there is a lack of known associated funerary elements to that set, mummy, and any information related to them. Future discoveries may associate funerary equipment with the gilded set linked to Meritamón A, which has only recently been (re)discovered.

Furthermore, apart from Daressy's assumption, there is no data to confirm that any of the documented Meritamons was indeed the daughter of the High Priest Menkheperá, as there are no documents providing evidence of such a designation. The only certain fact is the existence of two Meritamons. The first one is Meritamón A, the owner of a gilded set, who was the daughter of a High Priest, although the specific High Priest's identity remains unknown. The second one is Meritamón B. If the discussed papyrus of the Amduat is indeed associated with the latter, the only information available is that she was the daughter of a Menkheperá, albeit without a specific titulary. The actual association of this papyrus with one or the other set would significantly impact our understanding of the true identity of the High Priest of Amun mentioned in one of the sets.

The presence of multiple high-status individuals named Meritamón within the same archaeological context raises intriguing questions about their relationships and roles. Further investigation and analysis of the newly (re)discovered gilded set, along with previously known objects attributed to Meritamón, will be essential in unraveling the complexities of this intriguing historical puzzle. Many sets from Bab el-Gasus remain unidentified, and the known materials in the tomb are far from complete. Therefore, new data will undoubtedly emerge in the future, shedding light on the lives and social dynamics of these two Meritamons. As suggested below, both Meritamons had access to similarly decorated coffin sets, indicating the influence of their social status on the access to specific iconographic and textual models for their afterlife materials.

¹⁰⁵⁴ In this respect, however, Daressy never specified that Hori (A. 143) constituted a unique set, despite having six elements associated with the coffin: an outer coffin, an intermediate coffin and an innermost coffin. What adds intrigue is that he also mentioned in his report that “le dématillotement [of A. 143] n’a pas été terminé,” (Daressy 1907: 36-37) once again highlighting the uncertainties associated with the discovery of Bab el-Gasus, its documentation and the treatment of the objects upon their arrival in Cairo. Therefore, considering that Daressy did not highlight the uniqueness of the set associated with Hori, it’s possible that he might not have necessarily mentioned it if specific coffins had remained empty.

4.4.2.3.4 Observations regarding the A. Number of the sets associated with Meritamon A and Meritamon B

The mentioned confusions likely arose due to the presence of homonymous names in different coffin sets. However, another factor that might have contributed to these confusions is the close spatial proximity of the sets to each other. This hypothesis suggests that the gilded set of Meritamon A was likely situated physically near that of Meritamon B,¹⁰⁵⁵ designated as A. 71. It is possible that both sets¹⁰⁵⁶ were opened in close succession during the inspection of the tomb and also their associated mummies, resulting in information being mixed in the reports.

The set of Meritamon B, identified as A. 71, was placed at the beginning of the transversal gallery of Bab el-Gasus. Interestingly, set A. 70, positioned above set A. 71 in the tomb,¹⁰⁵⁷ has not yet been identified, which suggests that it could potentially refer to the gilded set of Meritamon. This hypothesis gains further support when considering its proximity to the funerary chambers, the presence of gilding on the set, and the titulary and social position of Meritamon A.

Both Daressy and Lieblein describe set A. 70 as anonymous.¹⁰⁵⁸ This information contradicts the information featured on the gilded set of Meritamon, which displays the name of the deceased. Whether the set was incomplete, lacking an outer lid, or not, the first element of the set that Daressy would have encountered was its fragmented and deteriorated inner lid. On this element, the only preserved title is that of *nbt pr.* Meritamon's name, although mentioned several times, appears only on the lateral vignettes. Due to the hasty emptying of the tomb, Daressy may not have observed these scenes and associated texts. Combined with the poor preservation state of the set, he may have reasonably described it as anonymous.¹⁰⁵⁹

If Meritamon's gilded set corresponds to set A. 70, its preservation state at the time of its discovery suggests (though not necessarily) that it would have been positioned above A. 71.¹⁰⁶⁰ Nevertheless, as previously discussed concerning the originally gilded outer

¹⁰⁵⁵ If accurate, this scenario would be comparable to the two side-by-side sets associated with Tashekhonsu (A. 137 and A. 138), which Niwiński once more proposed belonged to the same individual (2021: 365). However, they are likely connected to two individuals sharing the same name. Another instance is the two side-by-side sets connected to individuals likely named Ikhy (A. 58, 59). This close connection between individuals with homonymous names could potentially indicate that their coffins arrived together in the tomb. It raises the possibility that they may have originated from the same original tomb, hinting, although speculatively, at the notion that they were likely related members of the same family.

¹⁰⁵⁶ It's intriguing that in Daressy's report, specifically in the section where he specified information about the funerary sets associated with the coffins, there is nothing in the entries that allows for a connection between any specific funerary equipment and the set of Meritamon A, regardless of its A. Number. This is unusual considering the rich equipment that a daughter of a High Priest would typically have included in her set. However, Daressy's report remained incomplete, and not all the funerary equipments were described.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Daressy 1900: 147 [Appendice II]; Niwiński 1988: Table 1.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Daressy 1907: 9 [A. 70]; Lieblein 1892: 997 [A. 70].

¹⁰⁵⁹ It is evident that there was some confusion with the information presented on that set, and it is likely that Daressy did not record it. Otherwise, one would have expected two entries in Daressy's report associated with individuals named Meritamon; however, there is only one.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Certainly, the current poor state of preservation could also result from transportation and subsequent deterioration due to inadequate storage conditions. However, it is impossible to determine precisely when

lid JE 29622, the gilded set of Meritamon A was likely also located outside the funerary chambers of Bab el-Gasus. This possibility raises new questions and lines of investigation regarding the presence of gilded sets outside the funerary chambers.

4.4.2.4 Outer lid attributed to an anonymous woman (Cairo, L. 13)

Niwiński attributed the non-gilded outer lid (L. 13) to the set of Meritamon B (A. 71).¹⁰⁶¹ However, there are several reasons to invalidate this association. Firstly, Niwiński linked this outer lid with Meritamon's B inner lid due to the striking similarity of the rare and atypical decoration of the wig observed on both lids.¹⁰⁶² However, a very similar wig decoration is also featured on covers from other sets, such as the inner lid and mummy board attributed to set A. 74 (anonymous woman), and the inner lid of set A. 17. This unique wig decoration could be specific to a model, a group of interconnected craftspeople operating in the same location or independently, or even an individual craftsperson. It likely served to indicate the high status of the owner of the object.¹⁰⁶³ The similarities between the outer lid L. 13 and some elements of sets A. 71, A. 74 and A. 17 are not surprising, since all of them feature the same iconographical model discussed in this section. The same model is also featured on the other elements attributed to the same group under discussion. They all exhibit iconographical and stylistic similarities that could relate the material to a common origin, perhaps the same workshop or even the same craftsperson, or to interconnected networks of decorators.

Secondly, although the outer lid was decorated for a female, it does not feature any information, name or titulary, whether Meritamon's or any other woman. Since the object is incomplete,¹⁰⁶⁴ however, that information may have originally been featured on the element. Future discoveries and access to high resolution pictures may shed light on the matter.

Thirdly, as previously discussed, the inner lid attributed to Meritamon B (A. 71) retains a label, which likely precludes the possibility that the set originally had an associated outer coffin. If accurate, the label would have been attached to the outer lid and not to the inner lid, unless the outer lid was too damaged to be considered. The outer lid L. 13 features a label, which likely excludes the possibility that it was associated to set A. 71. Curiously, as happened with the lid of Meritamon B (A. 71), the label attached to the outer lid L. 13 is also empty. Therefore, its original A. Number is lost. This characteristic suggests that it remained empty because there were confusions on the attribution of the sets when they arrived to Cairo.

Fourthly and finally, the anthropomorphic outer lid L. 13 is inconsistent with the "femme tenant une guirlande de lierre" description recorded by Daressy for the covers of set A. 71 and identified in both the inner lid and the mummy board of Meritamon's B set. For all of these reasons, the outer lid L. 13 was likely not an original part of set A. 71, although future studies may provide more information in this regard.

the deterioration began, worsened, or whether it is a result of the combination of various factors dating back to antiquity and persisting into modern times.

¹⁰⁶¹ Niwiński 2021: 362-363 [n. 28], 364 [fig. 6], 365.

¹⁰⁶² Niwiński 2021: 362-363 [n. 28], 365.

¹⁰⁶³ For the status of the individuals, see *infra*.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Some of the decoration is damaged, and the footboard, which might have contained information about the deceased, is missing.

In light of stylistic similarities, Niwiński related the outer lid L. 13 with other fragments (re)discovered in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo: L. 26 (fragments of an outer lid), C. 28, C. 33 and C. 32 (fragments of an outer box).¹⁰⁶⁵ The attribution of all of these elements to a single outer coffin cannot be proven, since both the fragments of the outer lid (L. 26) and the fragments of the outer box (C. 28, C. 33 and C. 32) may not have necessarily been part of the same ensemble to which the outer lid L. 13 belonged. Specific inscriptions confirming their relationship are absent, with their association relying solely on stylistic similarities. Therefore, they could be fragments of several outer coffins.

It's also possible that the outer lid L. 13 was originally associated with the previously discussed outer box (C. 13), although there is no certainty about this possibility. If this were the case, it would suggest the existence of a Meritamon C. This is because this outer coffin cannot be linked to the set of Meritamon A due to its lack of gilding, and it cannot be associated with the set of Meritamon B for the reasons just discussed.

In conclusion, the present study does not consider the non-gilded outer lid (L. 13) as part of Meritamon's B set (A. 71). Although the owner of the lid was likely not Meritamon, it surely belonged to a high status woman close to the High Priest's family, as will be discussed further below.

4.4.2.5 Coffin set attributed to Amenhotep (Cairo, Washington)

The National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, in Washington D.C., preserves an inner coffin and a mummy board (Inv. N. 154959 and 364999, respectively) which have been attributed to set A. 39. This set is described in both Daressy and Lieblein's publications as that of Amenhotep.¹⁰⁶⁶ His set was shipped to the United States as part of Lot 10,¹⁰⁶⁷ as attested to by Daressy as well as the surviving associated report kept at the Smithsonian Institution. The latter includes a brief description of the set as follows: "N. 39, 43. Big coffin of the priest Amenhotep Scribe."¹⁰⁶⁸ Contrary to the records of Daressy and the Smithsonian Institution, neither the name Amenhotep nor his titulary is featured on any of the elements attributed to the set preserved in Washington D.C.¹⁰⁶⁹ The elements preserved there were decorated for a male occupant, to be sure, but an anonymous one.¹⁰⁷⁰

4.4.2.5.1 The "dispersal" of set A. 39 between Washington D.C. and Cairo

If Daressy attributed set A. 39 to Amenhotep, his name should be found on at least one of the elements of his set. The inner lid does not feature any label, which suggests that it either disappeared or that the object was originally inside an outer coffin which may

¹⁰⁶⁵ Niwiński, personal communication.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Daressy 1907: 6, 15, 20, 24-25 [A. 39]; Lieblein 1892: 995 [A. 39].

¹⁰⁶⁷ Daressy 1907: 20 [10e Lot].

¹⁰⁶⁸ I would like to express my gratitude to Carrie Beauchamp (Museum Specialist/Collections Data Manager, Department of Anthropology (National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C)) for granting me access to the documentation related to Lot 10 from Bab el-Gasus, preserved in the mentioned institution.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Already pointed out by Niwiński (2021: 367).

¹⁰⁷⁰ Of note, the inner lid does not preserve the footboard, an area that could have included information about the deceased. It is unknown whether that part of the object was already destroyed at the time of the tomb's discovery or not.

have exhibited one or more inscriptions identifying Amenhotep.¹⁰⁷¹ The report that arrived at the Museum together with Lot 10 defines set A. 39 as a “big coffin”, terminology that suggests that the set was complete.

Fortunately, an outer lid with a label featuring the digits 39 and 43, corresponding to numbers A. 39 and B. 43 respectively, was recently (re)discovered in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (L. 14). This confirms that set A.39 was originally complete.¹⁰⁷² This outer lid, decorated for a male individual who is depicted in the lateral vignettes, contains an originally blank space that was subsequently decorated with Amenhotep’s information, including his name and titulary. The pigment used to incorporate his name and titulary was a monochrome blue pigment, distinct from the multicolored pigments used for the original inscriptions on the lid.

The titles featured on the outer lid in Cairo appear to be those of *w^cb* and *sš mš^c*.¹⁰⁷³ Although abbreviated, they are consistent with the titles reported by Lieblein and Daressy when they recorded the titulary featured on some of the funerary objects attributed to set A. 39. Daressy mentioned an Osirian shroud placed on the mummy associated with the set, that identifies Amenhotep as *it-ntr ḥq^{si}c n ’Imn-R^c nsw ntrw, sš n3w mnḥ n p3 mš^c* and *w^cb n Mwt n pr ’Imn*.¹⁰⁷⁴ Lieblein, building on Daressy’s records, identified Amenhotep as *it-ntr n ’Imn-R^c nsw ntrw* and *sš n3w mnḥ n p3 mš^c*, although he did not mention the third title that Daressy reported, that of *w^cb n Mwt n pr ’Imn*.¹⁰⁷⁵

Daressy also attributed to set A. 39 some shabtis¹⁰⁷⁶ and a papyrus.¹⁰⁷⁷ However, two papyri attributed to the set have been subsequently identified. The first one is an Amduat papyrus (JE 95648), probably enclosed in an Osiris figure,¹⁰⁷⁸ which identifies Amenhotep as *it-ntr n ’Imn* and *sš mš^c*. This papyrus also mentions the name of Amenhotep’s mother, Iset. The second papyrus, a Book of the Dead (JE 95646) likely placed between the legs of the deceased,¹⁰⁷⁹ identifies Amenhotep as *it-ntr n ’Imn-R^c nsw ntrw* and *sš n3w mnḥ n p3 mš^c*. It is important to note that in the title *sš n3w mnḥ n p3 mš^c*, the sign *mš^c* (Gardiner A12) is preceded by sign Gardiner F20. This orthography is a variant of the word *mš^c* that occasionally appears as part of that title.¹⁰⁸⁰ The titles featured on the outer lid, shroud and the papyri are consistent with each other, albeit with minor variations (see Table 4.4.3), strongly suggesting that all of these objects

¹⁰⁷¹ Unlike Lieblein, Daressy typically only reported the owner’s information featured on the outer coffin, the first element he encountered while examining the tomb.

¹⁰⁷² The associated outer box remains unlocated. It may still be unidentified in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, or perhaps in another institution, or maybe it is lost.

¹⁰⁷³ I appreciate Niwiński for providing me access to the photographs of the object. However, high-quality pictures of the object were not accessible, and therefore, it is unknown if additional titulary is depicted on the element.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Daressy 1907: 24-25.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Lieblein 1892: 995.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Daressy 1907: 15. See also Aubert 1998: 54 [5], pl. II.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Daressy 1907: 25. Furthermore, a shabti box apparently bearing the name Amenhotep, discovered in close proximity to set A. 39 (Daressy 1907: 8 [B. 45]), strongly suggests that both objects belonged to the same owner. Unfortunately, the shabti box has not been located.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Piankoff, Rambova 1957: 189–191 [26]; Niwiński 1989: 257 [Cairo 12]; Aston 2009: 170 [TG 712].

¹⁰⁷⁹ Niwiński 1989: 256 [Cairo 9]; 2021: 367 (with the wrong inventory number).

¹⁰⁸⁰ WB II: 156.1. It is also possible that the title actually refers to the *imy-r mš^c*, that is, the general. This hypothesis wouldn’t be surprising, given the elevated status linked to Amenhotep. However, one might question why this specification was not present on the other elements featuring Amenhotep’s titulary.

belong to the same set. As already mentioned, none of these titles appear on the inner coffin or the mummy board.

Table 4.4.3 Information of Amenhotep in his associated funerary set (A. 39)

Element	Name	Titulary
Outer lid	Amenhotep	<i>w^cb;</i> <i>sš mš^c</i>
Inner coffin	Unknown (see supra)	Unknown (see supra)
Mummy board	-	-
Shroud	Amenhotep	<i>it-ntr ḥd^{sic} n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš n3w mnḥ n p3 mš^c;</i> <i>w^cb n Mwt n pr 'Imn</i>
Book of the Amduat	Amenhotep and his mother Iset	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn;</i> <i>sš mš^c</i>
Book of the Dead	Amenhotep	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš n3w mnḥ n p3 mš^c</i>
Shabti box	Amenhotep	Unknown (see supra)
Shabtis	Amenhotep	<i>W^cb;</i> <i>sš</i>

In terms of decorative style of set A. 39, the outer lid is inconsistent with its associated inner coffin and mummy board, although these latter elements are consistent between themselves. This suggests that a different craftsman or team of craftspeople decorated the outer lid, the only element that features the information of the deceased, perhaps even at a different point in time than the decoration of the other elements. This might reasonably suggest that the inner coffin and mummy preserved in Washington D.C., were erroneously linked in modern times with set A. 39, however, as will be discussed, this is not likely the case.

The funerary objects attributed to set A. 39, which are very rich¹⁰⁸¹ and some of which relate to royalty and the family of the High Priests of Amun, are typically associated with sets that feature the same style and iconography as depicted on the inner coffin and mummy board preserved in Washington D.C. This proves the correct attribution of those funerary elements to set A. 39, and their originally link to the recently (re)discovered outer lid, which features an etiquette with number 39, even if they don't share stylistic characteristics.

In conclusion, although the complete A. 39 coffin set was supposed to have been shipped to the United States, for unknown reasons only the inner coffin and the mummy board reached their intended destination. The outer coffin was left behind, and only its outer lid has been recently identified in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

4.4.2.5.2 The original inner lid of Amenhotep, reused by his son Padiamon (A. 34)?

An inner lid (L. 5) was recently identified in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo that may be indirectly related to set A. 39. The object features the name Padiamon and his titulary, *w^cb n 'Imn-R^c* and *ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-ḥtp*, in blue pigment on a yellow

¹⁰⁸¹ Daressy 1907: 24-25. For the funerary equipment of the discussed sets, see infra.

background. These decorative layers cover previous inscriptions underneath, suggesting that Padiamon either reused this inner lid or that the object was at least modified and redecorated.

One of the inscriptions featuring Padiamon's information has partially degraded, exposing part of one of the original inscriptions underneath, which refer to a different individual, likely a previous owner. The original inscription, which is also partially damaged, features the following information: *sš n n3w [mnḥ? n] p3 mšc*.¹⁰⁸² The existence of the *mšc* sign led Niwiński to suggest that this inner lid originally belonged to the same Amenhotep who was buried in set A. 39.¹⁰⁸³ Niwiński suggested that Padiamon was Amenhotep's son who died prior to his father's death. According to this theory, Amenhotep would have already had the object prepared for himself, but never used it, preferring instead to have his son Padiamon use it upon his premature death.¹⁰⁸⁴ This theory cannot be verified, however, as discussed further below, there is a philological detail in the aforementioned inscription that supports the suggestion that the inner lid L. 5 was originally decorated for Amenhotep.

As previously discussed, the Book of the Dead papyrus attributed to set A. 39 contained an unusual spelling of the word *mšc*. The *mšc* sign (Gardiner A12), which is part of one of Amenhotep's titles, is preceded by sign Gardiner F20. Interestingly, the same unique spelling of the word *mšc* appears in the original title featured on the inner lid L. 5. Although Amenhotep's name has not yet been identified on the object, there are no other individuals buried in Bab el-Gasus, at least among those individuals documented thus far, with a title related to the troops (*mšc*). The fact that the two spelling unique variants of the title are featured on the two objects, the papyrus and the inner lid, suggests that they are related to each other. All of the extant information suggests that the inner lid L. 5 was initially decorated for the same Amenhotep buried in set A. 39, however, future discoveries as well as future studies of the original inscriptions of the inner lid, perhaps employing new technologies,¹⁰⁸⁵ may provide further information in this regard.

The inner lid L. 5 does not contain any label, although Niwiński attributes it to set A. 34, the location of which remains unknown. According to Daressy, sets A. 34 and A. 39 were discovered side by side. Niwiński's speculative view is that the two sets attributed to Amenhotep (A. 39) and his possible son Padiamon (L. 5/A. 34), respectively, were transported to Bab el-Gasus in antiquity from the same family tomb. Both Daressy and Lieblein refer to set A. 34 as anonymous. Considering that Daressy would have likely recorded the name and titulary of Padiamon as featured on the inner lid L. 5 had he viewed the object, it is possible, or perhaps even likely, that the inner lid was originally inside an outer coffin, probably anonymous, whose location remains unknown or has otherwise been lost. As discussed previously, the inner lid does not have a label, which lends further support to this hypothesis.

¹⁰⁸² I appreciate Niwiński for providing me access to the photographs of the object.

¹⁰⁸³ Niwiński also mentioned that remnants of the name Amenhotep are visible on the object (Niwiński 2021: 367), although the present author has not identified these signs in the material. Direct access to the object might shed more light on this issue.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Niwiński 2021: 367.

¹⁰⁸⁵ The application of new imaging technologies could reveal all the titles and/or even the name that might be situated beneath the pictorial layers containing the information linked to Padiamon. This advancement could aid in confirming or refuting the suggested hypothesis.

Assuming that the inner lid L. 5 was originally decorated for Amenhotep, it is helpful to compare it stylistically and typologically with his final set A. 39. Typologically, the inner lid L. 5 corresponds to Sousa's "basic scheme"¹⁰⁸⁶ typical of yellow coffins from the end of the New Kingdom to the mid Twenty-First Dynasty. The lid shows several typical elements of this typology, such as: a winged scarab as the central marker featured on the chest; fully visible arms and forearms; a floral collar with clasps depicted; a reduced number of bands of the floral collar (four) including large mandrake fruits; two registers displayed on the central panel; an absence of a figurative central partition in the lower section; a low density of the decorative elements; and an absence of space fillers.

Contrary to the typology of inner lid L. 5, that of the outer lid attributed to set A. 39 corresponds to Sousa's "classical scheme"¹⁰⁸⁷ exhibited by coffins from the mid Twenty-First Dynasty. Consistent with Sousa's type, the object exhibits the following characteristics: a large floral collar without clasps, partially covering the forearms while leaving the elbows and part of the forearms visible, and with an increased numbers of bands (thirteen); a central panel containing three registers; a lower section featuring three lateral partitions; a higher density of the decorative elements; and a significant quantity of space fillers, including shetyt chapels, vultures, *nb* bowls, coiled cobras, hieroglyphic signs and squatted mummiform divinities, which are concentrated on the central panel.

The inner lid and mummy board attributed to set A. 39 are consistent with Sousa's "complex scheme,"¹⁰⁸⁸ exhibited by coffins dating from the second half of the Twenty-First Dynasty. On the covers of both elements, the central panel is extended towards the footboard, encroaching on the space left by an absent lower section. The density of decorative features is high, and the presence of space fillers is further increased, pervading all the compositions on the lid. Furthermore, the size of the space fillers almost equals the main figures, making them the dominant elements in the compositions.

According to the "complex scheme" ideal type, the floral collar typically covers the forearms completely. However, the elbows are visible on the mummy board, and the elbows and the forearms are represented on the inner lid. These inconsistencies may be related to the modification and/or reuse of the materials. While the lower section of both elements is identical, likely decorated by the same decorator, the headboard and upper sections, including the floral collars, are completely different. This suggests that, at a minimum, the inner lid was modified. Its lower section was likely redecorated consistent with the "complex scheme", a recent innovation at that moment, while the upper section, which features a more conservative and earlier typology, was not redecorated. It is unclear whether these modifications are associated with the actual reuse of the object or not.

This idea reflects that the modification of objects, which often feature decorations from different time periods within the same item, complicates efforts to establish clear typologies for these coffins. These artifacts exhibit multiple historical layers, creating a complex puzzle that is challenging to categorize. Organizing them into specific

¹⁰⁸⁶ For the definition of the "basic scheme," see Sousa 2020: 15, 20-25.

¹⁰⁸⁷ For the definition of the "classical scheme," see Sousa 2020: 15, 20-25.

¹⁰⁸⁸ For the definition of the "complex scheme," see Sousa 2020: 16, 20-25.

classifications becomes difficult due to the diverse aspects that need consideration, including the various influences and moments represented within a single object.

In conclusion, the inner lid L. 5 may have originally been decorated for Amenhotep, since it is the element that features the earliest design and typology among all of the discussed objects. This inner lid is of a lesser quality than the other elements associated with set A. 39. This suggests that Amenhotep had, at least, the inner lid L. 5 produced early in his career, before attaining a higher social status and/or acquiring more resources to spend on his funerary equipment. His ultimate set, A. 39, is of a higher quality and exhibits a more modern typology and design.¹⁰⁸⁹ This set was perhaps created following the death of his son, Padiamon, who reused his first set, although it is possible that it was produced in order to reflect his subsequently attained seniority and higher status in society, corresponding to his advanced professional career. This idea is consistent with the rich funerary equipment related to set A. 39, which will be discussed further below.

Certainly, it is also plausible that the inner lid L. 5 was originally associated with an undocumented individual connected to the military environment, distinct from Amenhotep. Further investigation of these objects will help to clarify the identity of the individual(s) mentioned on the inner lid L. 5 and any potential links of one of them to the military context. Evidence is needed to either confirm or deny the speculations regarding the relationships, if any, between Padiamon, Amenhotep, and the potential connection between the inner lid L. 5 and sets A. 34 and A. 39. These investigations will shed light on these intriguing historical connections and contribute to the understanding of the individuals and their roles in the past.

4.4.2.6 Complete coffin set attributed to Tjenetpaherunefer (Cairo)

This complete set preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, although its outer lid does not feature any label, has been attributed to set A. 17 due to its identified JE number, 29699, which is mentioned by Daressy as related to set A. 17. As already mentioned for sets A. 74 and A. 39, considering the rich funerary equipment related with set A. 17, as well as the iconographic and textual model used for the decoration of the elements, which will be discussed further below, the association of the set with A. 17 and the funerary materials is likely correct. All the elements of the set are consistent with each other in terms of style, paleography and details.

Daressy defines set A. 17 as belonging to an anonymous woman, an opinion followed by Lieblein, who defines the owner as a *šmꜣyt* “sans nom”. The outer lid, inner lid and mummy board, all decorated for a woman, feature a blank space intended to contain the information of the owner, although the space was never filled. This characteristic may be what Lieblein intended to imply when he referred to the set as “sans nom,” as he didn’t use the term “anonymous” This blank space is preceded, in all three covers, with the designations *nbt pr* and *šmꜣyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*. The outer box, anonymous, does not feature any titles. Decorated for a woman, she is included in one of the vignettes. Furthermore, one of the inscriptions reads *dd=s*, referring to a female owner. The inner box, also decorated for a woman featured in one of the vignettes on the left wall behind a female divinity, features the female name Tjenetpaherunefer, preceded by the

¹⁰⁸⁹ It is unknown whether earlier elements were redecorated or if new elements were manufactured and decorated.

designation nbt pr. These references are included on the pyramidion of the scene with Hathor emerging from the sacred mountain, which is the last vignette on the left side of the box. It is not surprising that the name was not mentioned by Daressy, since it is only mentioned once and as a detail of a bigger scene, not being very visible. He likely did not see it, and the name is not mentioned in the more recent Niwiński's publication either.¹⁰⁹⁰ In any case, it could be suggested that the owner of the set was Tjenetpaherunefer.

With respect to the rich funerary equipment attributed to set A. 17,¹⁰⁹¹ among various objects Daressy mentioned a papyrus. Although he did not report any featured names, Niwiński identified it as a Book of the Dead (JE 95861) that would have been likely placed between the legs of the mummy. Niwiński linked the object to Asetemakhbit, a *šmꜣyt n Imn*,¹⁰⁹² although the papyrus actually depicts an anonymous male on the initial etiquette. This highlights the never ending confusions regarding the material of Bab el-Gasus, in this case regarding set A. 17. Recently, Stevens has also linked a second document, and Amduat papyrus (JE 95639), anonymous and without titulary, with the same set, although the reasons are unknown.¹⁰⁹³ Certainly, it's also plausible that the mentioned papyrus is accurately linked to the set, indicating it might have been reused by a male individual in that scenario.

4.4.2.7 Complete coffin set attributed to an anonymous man (Cairo, JE 29653)

Considering Daressy's notes, the complete coffin set JE 29653 can be attributed to A. 61. Indeed, its outer lid features a label with the number 61. Although the set is at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, according to Daressy the set was part of the Lot 7 shipped to Germany.¹⁰⁹⁴

Daressy defines the set as anonymous,¹⁰⁹⁵ although Lieblein attributed it to the *it-ntr n Imn* Imenemipet, which is probably a confusion. After the visual observation of the set, it can be concluded that all the coffin elements are anonymous, although the majority of them were decorated for a man. The outer lid, inner lid and mummy board feature male marks, and the outer box depicts a male deceased on its vignettes. The inner box is the only element that lacks any male marks or representations of the deceased.

Lieblein could have reported an information that was featured on the funerary equipment attributed to set A. 61, although the name Imenemipet is not featured on any of those objects. Daressy reported, among other objects, two papyri related to set A. 61,

¹⁰⁹⁰ It is mentioned, however, in Aston 2009: 166 [TG 690].

¹⁰⁹¹ Daressy 1907: 23; Aston 2009: 166-167.

¹⁰⁹² Niwiński 1989: 267 [Cairo 40]; The reasons why Niwiński associated a papyrus decorated for Asetemakhbit with set A. 17 remain unknown.

¹⁰⁹³ Stevens 2018: 227. For the papyrus, see Niwiński 1989: 286 [Cairo 93] (although associated with an unknown A. Number); Sadek 1985: 193-195, pls.38-39 [C.27].

¹⁰⁹⁴ Daressy 1907: 8, 19. The original documents associated with the German lot have not yet been located. As a result, it remains unclear whether these documents, particularly the so-called shipping list that likely arrived in Germany, would specify set A. 61 as part of the lot or not. Such information would either confirm or refute whether the object was intended to arrive there, potentially shedding light on whether Daressy's inclusion of it in his report was a mistake or not. Regardless, this situation underscores the ongoing confusion surrounding the materials and shipments of objects from Bab el-Gasus to foreign destinations.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Daressy 1907: 8, 19.

corresponding to a Book of the Dead (JE 95855),¹⁰⁹⁶ probably enclosed in an Osiris figure, and a Book of the Amduat papyrus (S.R.VII. 11506).¹⁰⁹⁷ Both were decorated for Panebenkemetnekhet, an *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw* and *sš pr-ḥd n nb t3wy n pr 'Imn*. The same name is featured on a shabti box (JE 29282) found next to set A. 61,¹⁰⁹⁸ as well as on shabtis originating from the tomb,¹⁰⁹⁹ one of which defines the deceased as *it-ntr n 'Imn*, corresponding to one of the titles featuring on the papyrus. If the association of the papyri with set A. 61 is correct, considering the number of objects linked with Panebenkemetnekhet, it can be suggested that they all belonged to the same individual and that Panebenkemetnekhet was buried inside set A. 61. Therefore, in that case, Lieblein could have been mistaken when he reported the name of the deceased as Imenemipet.¹¹⁰⁰

When Daressy classified some of the sets in his A. List as anonymous, Lieblein sometimes provided names and titles for the same ensembles that ultimately appeared on the materials attributed to their funerary equipments. Unfortunately, he did not specify the exact source of the information. For instance, in the case of set A. 61, there is no knowledge of where he obtained the information he reported, as no objects from Bab el-Gasus have been documented (yet) featuring the name Imenemipet. Given this, it is likely that Lieblein was confused when he mentioned this information for set A. 61.

4.4.2.8 Complete coffin set attributed to an anonymous man (Cairo, JE 29680)

The complete coffin set JE 29680, preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, according to Daressy's notes, has been associated with set A. 85. Corroborating this, its outer lid still bears its original label. While this set was decorated for a male individual, all the elements associated with it remained anonymous, a detail highlighted by both Daressy and Lieblein. Each of the three covers displays male attributes, and the boxes feature depictions of the male deceased in the vignettes. It's worth noting that the deceased is identified as *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c* only on two occasions, both of which occur on the inner box.

The owner's identity can be determined through the discovery of the Book of the Amduat (S. R. VII. 10273) placed between the legs of the deceased, which is adorned for an *it-ntr n 'Imn* and *ḥm-ntr n sbk* named Psusennes.¹¹⁰¹ This same individual has been recognized in shabtis found within the tomb.¹¹⁰²

¹⁰⁹⁶ Niwiński 1989: 265 [Cairo 35]; Aston 2009: 174 [TG 734]).

¹⁰⁹⁷ Niwiński 1989: 299 [Cairo 128]. Piankoff, Rambova 1957: 186-188 [25].

¹⁰⁹⁸ Daressy 1907: 8 [B. 80]); Aston 1994: 31; PM I²: 641.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Daressy 1907: 15, although he does not clearly associate them with any particular set. See also Aubert 1998: 63 [12], pl. VI.

¹¹⁰⁰ The mistake persisted in the subsequent publications by Niwiński (1988: 122 [98]), Aston (2009: 174 [TG 734]) and Stevens (2018: 183). Notably, Aston erroneously links the coffin set A. 61 with particular coffins preserved at the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin (ÄM 11984-11985). However, these numbers are associated with an inner coffin and a mummy board belonging to a distinct set from an anonymous woman, whose A. number remains unknown. Aston's confusion likely stems from the fact that set A. 61 was supposed to be sent to Berlin but never was.

¹¹⁰¹ Niwiński 1989: 289 [Cairo 102]; Sadek 1985, pp. 176-179, pls. 33-34 [C.23]. Daressy had previously mentioned the object but suggested the second title be read as *ḥm-ntr n 'Inpw* (Daressy 1907: 29). Sadek, based on the hieratic sign on the papyrus, which seems to refer to the divinity, chose to translate the title as *ḥm-ntr n sbk* (Sadek 1985: 176). For details on the funerary equipment, see Aston 2009: 178; Jansen-Winkel 2007: 105 [39]. Another Book of the Amduat, the papyrus S. R. VII. 10241 (Niwiński 1989: 280-281 [Cairo 78]; Sadek 1985: 209-212, pl. 42 [C. 29]), also decorated for Psusennes, could potentially

Remarkably, the underside floorboard of the outer box is decorated with the depiction of a coiled serpent, a scene that will be discussed in more detail below. This exceptional characteristic aligns with the opulent burial equipment associated with the set, implying that the owner held a prominent position in society's upper echelons. His social status probably influenced the iconography and textual elements incorporated into his set.

4.4.2.9 Mummy board attributed to an anonymous woman (Cairo, basement, MC. 1)

This mummy board, recently (re)discovered in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (MC. 1), cannot be attributed to a specific A. Number. The object appears to be anonymous, although due to its fragmentation, the name may not have survived.¹¹⁰³ It is one of the few mummy board among the coffin elements from Bab el-Gasus (re)discovered in the basement, which is surprising considering the large number of mummy boards from the tomb that have not been located,¹¹⁰⁴ as well as the amount of new coffin elements that have been recently found in the basement.

The reason for the absence of these unlocated objects could be that they were the easiest elements to sell. Their anthropomorphic shape and smaller, less heavy size compared to the lids made them more likely candidates for sale at the Egyptian Museum shop. It is possible that this mummy board may belong to one of the discussed fragmented sets, the mummy board of which has not yet been identified. However, it is uncertain since perhaps only this mummy board from the complete set it belonged to has survived, while the other objects were sold, are missing, remain unidentified in the basement, or are in private collections or other museums. Future studies may uncover the exact origin and placement of this mummy board within the tomb.

4.4.2.10 Fragmented objects

4.4.2.10.1 Inner box (Baltimore (62.2))

In Baltimore, the preserved right wall of an incomplete inner box attributed to a woman lacks any preserved name or title. It is possible that a name or titulary might have once adorned the remaining, as-yet-unidentified fragments of the object or related elements within the same set. This fragment was acquired in 1926,¹¹⁰⁵ and although definitive

be related to the same individual. However, this cannot be confirmed as the papyrus lacks titulary, and its origin from Bab el-Gasus is uncertain. Sadek asserted that the execution of the vignettes on both papyri is very similar and suggested they may have been decorated by the same "artist or school," which further supports their connection to the same burial. If this is indeed the case, the second papyrus likely would have been found within an Osirian statuette. Notably, Daressy does not mention the existence of two papyri for this burial. Still, this lack of mention is not surprising, considering Daressy's inconsistency in documenting funerary equipment associated with the sets from Bab el-Gasus. Regardless, it would have been unusual for an individual to possess two copies of the Amduat papyrus.

¹¹⁰² Daressy 1907: 15; Aubert 1998: 65 [14]; Aston 2009: 178 [TG 758].

¹¹⁰³ I appreciate Niwiński for providing me access to the photographs of the object.

¹¹⁰⁴ Daressy never mentioned the total number of mummy boards discovered in Bab el-Gasus, as he only documented the quantity of complete (outer and inner coffins) or incomplete sets (inner coffins). However, one might reasonably expect that nearly all sets would have an associated mummy board.

¹¹⁰⁵ Niwiński 1988: 107 [17] (with the incorrect acquisition date). I express my gratitude to Lisa Anderson-Zhu for providing information about the object's acquisition date. The item was acquired from Dikran Kelekian and was dispatched from Kelekian in New York to Henry Walter's gallery in Baltimore, arriving on 29 July 1926. Unfortunately, there are no further details about its preceding history. In some

proof is currently lacking, it is highly likely that, given the origins of the other objects discussed in this section, all of which come from Bab el-Gasus, and the notable similarities between the objects, this fragment might also have originated from there. It's plausible that it was sold at the Egyptian Museum shop in Cairo.¹¹⁰⁶

4.4.2.10.2 Outer box (Cairo, basement (C. 32, C. 33))

These fragments (headboard and part of the left wall) likely belong to the same outer box and are in a significantly deteriorated and dirty condition. Despite appearing anonymous, the extent of their deterioration leaves room for the possibility that they once featured a name, which could also be featured on another unidentified or destroyed part of the same box. With the available information, it remains uncertain whether these fragments are part of an independent set not previously mentioned or are associated with the same set as some of the objects mentioned earlier.

In the latter scenario, the object could potentially be associated with MC.1, the outer lid L. 13, the fragmented outer lid L. 26 or the fragmented floorboard (C. 28), the latter two of which will be discussed below.

4.4.2.10.3 Outer box (Cairo, basement (C. 28))

This fragmented floorboard from an outer box has been associated with the same group due to its resemblance to the decoration found on the underside footboard of the outer box from set A. 85. This decoration, featuring the snake motif on the floorboard, is unique and documented solely thus far in the cases of Tjanefer, a direct member of the High Priest's family (A. 151), and Psusennes (A. 85), whose owner, as discussed in more detail below, is highly likely to have been directly related to the High Priest. It is reasonable to propose that this distinctive feature is indicative of high-status individuals.

As mentioned in the case of the previous fragmented outer box (C. 32, C. 33), it is uncertain whether this floorboard belongs to an independent set not previously mentioned or is part of the same set as some of the objects discussed earlier.

In the latter scenario, these fragments could potentially be associated with MC.1, outer lid L. 13, outer lid L. 26 (discussed below), the fragmented exterior walls of Meritamon's A or B outer box (C. 13),¹¹⁰⁷ or fragments C. 32 and C. 33. However, if it were linked with fragments C. 32 and C. 33, any association with C. 13 would be automatically dismissed, as fragments C. 32 and C. 33 exhibit incompatible decorations

instances, Kelekian cites the source for numerous objects as "Maison de Caire," "Maison du Caire," "Maison Egypte," without providing specific details for these designations.

¹¹⁰⁶ Additional items from Bab el-Gasus, which were also sold at the same shop, made their way to the United States years after the tomb's discovery. For instance, there's the inner box from set A. 68, which was sold in 1909 (Haynes, Warne 2021).

¹¹⁰⁷ The design of the serpent on the underside of C. 28 exhibits a resemblance to the serpents depicted in both the interior and exterior of C. 13, and the interior decoration of the floorboard of C. 28 is stylistically associated with the interior walls of C. 13. These similarities are not unexpected, as it is likely that these objects followed the same model and possibly originated from interconnected networks of craftspeople or even the same workshop, potentially decorated by the same craftsman. The only distinguishing factor that may challenge the idea that these fragments were originally part of the same object is that the interior floorboard of C. 28 features a red background, whereas the background of the interior walls of C. 13 is yellow.

with C. 13. To elaborate, the fragmented outer box C. 13 exhibits a serpent motif on the top frieze, while fragments C. 33 and C. 32 feature inscriptions in that particular area.

4.4.2.10.4 Outer lid (Cairo, basement (L. 26))

These small fragments from an outer lid adhere to the same iconographic model observed on the other discussed covers. Nevertheless, due to their highly fragmented condition, it remains uncertain whether they were part of a separate lid or belonged to some of the previously mentioned sets, such as L. 13 or MC. 1. There is also the possibility that they originally formed part of the outer lids originally associated with the sets of Meritamon A and B, which, as previously mentioned, may have been destroyed or severely damaged. However, this remains speculative at this point.

Direct access to these fragments and the aforementioned ones is crucial for comprehending potential connections between objects. Future direct access to the objects may enable the proper fitting and alignment of these (re)discovered fragments, offering additional insights into their exact spatial location within Bab el-Gasus and potential correspondences with other materials.

4.4.2.10.5 Lid or mummy board (Cairo, basement (L. 21))

The fragment representing the right side of a cover is severely damaged and fragmented, making it challenging to determine whether it was originally part of an outer lid, inner lid or perhaps a mummy board. Despite its condition, it has been linked to the objects under discussion due to shared characteristics with other items within the group. Unfortunately, there is no preserved information about the owner, posing a challenge in associating this object with any of the previous sets or establishing it as part of a new one.

4.4.3 Information about the Owners of the Coffin Sets

The upcoming discussion involves an analysis of the identities of the coffin owners, which considers their titulary inscriptions on both their coffins and within their funerary equipment. Furthermore, it incorporates a study of the types and materials of funerary objects they included in their burial equipment for their journey into the afterlife (Tables 4.4.4-4.4.6). This investigation aims to establish connections between the types of objects chosen and the individuals' titularies and status. Through this comprehensive examination, a compelling conclusion emerges: all these individuals shared a common attribute—they all occupied exceptionally high social statuses.

Among these individuals, some can be unequivocally linked to the High Priest's family, while for others, a plausible connection with the High Priest can be proposed. The influence of their elevated statuses on the selection of specific models and motifs for their coffins becomes apparent, establishing a direct correlation between social status, the decoration of their funerary equipment, and the inclusion of particular objects in their burial. This sheds light on ancient Egyptian funerary practices and the role of social factors in shaping them.

Furthermore, the argument is posited that the discussed model, along with its specific iconographies and texts, which encompass distinct religious significances, was

accessible and could only be chosen by a select few within the elite, effectively conveying their elevated status. However, it is intriguing that, despite this iconographical and textual model being employed by individuals of high status, the majority of the coffins remained anonymous or featured blank spaces that were never filled. This suggests that such "blank spaces" were a distinctive characteristic of particular models, and potentially, specific workshops and craftspeople responsible for adorning these coffins.

This choice implies that the coffins were likely part of an advanced production and decoration process, even when associated with a high-status workshop closely linked to the elite of that era. Therefore, it should be emphasized that the anonymity and the presence of "blank spaces" should not be misconstrued as indicative of a lack of status—a point that can be substantiated. There may be additional, presently unknown meaningful reasons for the inclusion of these blank spaces, perhaps related to a ritual decision or choice.

The question arises: why did the owners or decorators choose not to prominently display their social status by inscribing their titles on their coffins, or at least, not in all cases? Why, in some instances, did they not even include their names? What is evident is that there was no absolute necessity to include their personal information on the coffins, as the chosen model alone likely sufficed to attest to their high status. This assertion gains further support from the prevailing anonymity characterizing the coffins under discussion. It is only the detailed examination of their associated objects and distinct iconographies which reveals their true status.

The anonymity of certain objects may have stemmed from a lack of necessity to display detailed information or titles. It is plausible that during ceremonial displays and ancient rituals, merely by observing the depicted models and the specific iconographies and motifs, people could readily discern the identities, high status, and even relationships to the High Priest. The participants already possessed the requisite knowledge. In such cases, visibility played a crucial role, allowing individuals to grasp essential details without the need for explicit titulary or additional information. For instance, examining a decorated floorboard, specific scenes, or perhaps the mummy adorned with funerary equipment and amulets could convey this information. Conversely, the information was primarily integrated into the funerary equipment, possibly because, in that scenario, those objects lacked specific aspects that would associate them with high-status ownership.

This sheds light on the intricate and multifaceted aspects of status and identity within the funerary context of ancient Egypt, particularly during the social competitions associated with funerals and rituals, the details of which remain unknown.

4.4.3.1 Names

The majority of sets under examination in this section, with the exceptions of the set of Meritamon A and perhaps the inner box of Tjenetpaherunefer, were originally prepared as anonymous sets (see Table 4.4.8). This anonymity can be expressed in various ways.

Firstly, there are elements that exhibit a blank space where the name and eventual titulary of the deceased should have been inscribed, although this information was never included.

Secondly, there are originally anonymous objects that also featured a blank space initially, but unlike the previous group, the space was subsequently filled with the information of the deceased. In this manner, the object became associated with a specific individual and lost its original anonymity. The new inscription was applied using a different pigment than the rest of the inscriptions on the objects, indicating that the new signs were added at a later stage when the decoration for the originally anonymous coffin element was already completed.

Thirdly, some elements did not incorporate any space reserved for the information of the deceased. However, in these objects, the markings on the anthropomorphic lid and the sexualized representation of the deceased in certain vignettes on both lids and boxes attribute these individual objects to either an anonymous male or female individual.

The suffix pronouns in the inscriptions can also provide evidence of the sex of the deceased for whom the object was prepared. For instance, the outer box of set A. 17, decorated for an anonymous woman, features the female suffix pronoun in one of the inscriptions (*dd=s*). However, there are two objects, the outer box of set A. 71 and the inner box of set A. 61, which lack any sexualized markings in both the vignettes and the texts. The rest of the elements attributed to the same set were decorated for an anonymous woman and man respectively, although the discussed boxes were not sexualized.

As shown in Table 4.4.8, the various criteria used to identify a funerary item as anonymous do not necessarily need to be consistent across all the elements associated with the same set and individual. Different alternatives can coexist within the materials that make up the same set.

The only elements under discussion that originally featured information about their owners¹¹⁰⁸ – that is, they were not prepared anonymously – are the coffin set of Meritamon A and, potentially, the inner box of Tjenetpaherunefer. In the case of the first example, the set was likely custom-made and adorned specifically for Meritamon, as evidenced by the gilded portions and the inclusion of her name and titulary, using the same palette and paleography as the rest of the inscriptions and decoration on the set.

In the second example, the name and titulary of Tjenetpaherunefer appear only once, in a small and secondary location—the pyramidion atop the chapel depicted in the scene of the cow Hathor emerging from the Theban mountain on the inner box. This inscription was added in black ink,¹¹⁰⁹ which differs from the multicolored palette used for the rest of the inscriptions on the set. Due to this technical difference, it is unclear whether the

¹¹⁰⁸ In this specific context, "originally" means that the inclusion of the deceased's information was carried out concurrently with the rest of the visible inscriptions on the object, implying that they were both inscribed at the same time, possibly alongside the decorative elements. Certainly, this terminology does not consider the possibility of earlier decorations that might have been removed or concealed by subsequent decorative layers.

¹¹⁰⁹ This concise column featuring a black ink inscription remains consistent across the same scene included in the boxes under consideration in this section. The inner box of set A. 17 is the only instance where information regarding the deceased is included within that inscription.

craftsperson who originally decorated the other multicolored inscriptions on the set was responsible for adding Tjenetpaherunefer's information.

The fact that the remaining elements associated with the same set are anonymous, with some featuring unfilled blank spaces, suggests that Tjenetpaherunefer's information on the inner box may have been likely added at a later time and perhaps by a different craftsperson than the one who initially adorned the ensemble. In light of this, one might wonder why the blank spaces on the more visible areas of the three covers (outer lid, inner lid and mummy board) were not filled instead.

The identities of the individuals buried in ultimately anonymous coffin sets, whether or not they feature a blank space for the deceased's information, can be ascertained through the information found in the papyri, shrouds, or other funerary equipment associated with the same sets, which later reveal the owners. However, it's worth noting that there are sets whose original owners remain unidentified because their associated funerary equipment has not yet been discovered or located.¹¹¹⁰

4.4.3.2 Titles

The titulary of the owners of the analyzed sets was not consistently present on their funerary containers. Firstly, there are anonymous elements that lack any titulary. Secondly, there are anonymous objects that bear titulary, which is logically not associated with any specific individual. Thirdly, there are objects that include original titulary before a blank space, whether this space was later filled with the actual titulary and name of the deceased or not. Interestingly, all the objects featuring a blank space also contain original titulary preceding that space.

The *original* titulary found in some of the elements, except for the outer lid JE 29622 and the set of Meritamon A, is quite generic and lacks distinctiveness. For materials associated with female owners, the featured titles are *nbt pr* and *šmꜣyt n ꜥImn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* (A. 71, A. 17), and for materials linked to male owners, the titles include *it-ntrw n ꜥImn-Rꜥ*, although this title is only found on the inner box of set A. 85.

The utilization of standard titulary aligns with the idea that these coffins were likely prepared in advance, as discussed in more detail below. Anonymous coffin elements, whether they feature blank spaces or not, and contain generic titulary, could be suitable for use by a wider range of individuals, even if high-status ones. The ultimate owner would then have the choice to include or omit their information on the materials that had blank spaces.¹¹¹¹

Interestingly, two notable exceptions are observed: the set for Meritamon A and the outer lid JE 29622, both of which display *original* and highly specific high-status titulary. This aligns with the fact that both sets originally had gilded parts. In the case of

¹¹¹⁰ In this context, Daressy displayed inconsistency when describing the funerary equipment associated with the coffins. Some sets and their associated materials were not even mentioned, and for those he did mention, there was a failure to report all the funerary equipment, resulting in a lack of information. For example, he omitted mention of all the inscribed mummy braces present in the sets (compare, for instance, Daressy 1907 and Prada 2017).

¹¹¹¹ In the sets being discussed, the information was predominantly incorporated into the funerary materials.

the first example, Meritamon's name and her attributed high-status titulary (including *s3t n hm ntr tpy n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw* and *špst*) were likely included during the initial decoration of the set. This suggests that the set was likely prepared on commission, rather than in advance, unlike the majority of objects under discussion.

Conversely, the outer lid JE 29622 displays specific titles, namely *s3t n hm-ntr tpy* and *mn^ct n hnsu p3-hrd*,¹¹¹² written before a blank space that remained unfilled. While the lid was undoubtedly prepared for an individual of the high elite,¹¹¹³ the presence of the blank space suggests that the object was commissioned, constructed and decorated in advance, at a time when the decorators were not yet aware of the eventual owner.

This implies that this practice and the presence of blank spaces was not necessarily associated with low-quality materials intended for low-status individuals. Even though the prospective beneficiary of the outer lid JE 29622 belonged to a specific and exclusive circle, during the object's decoration, there were likely multiple prospective candidates either bearing or destined to bear those titles who could have used the coffin. The decorators simply did not know the ultimate owner's name at the time of the object's decoration.

Considering the anonymous sets, with the exception of the outer lid JE 29622, which likely featured at least part of the real titulary of its potential owner, the specific titles of the individuals buried in these anonymous sets are again determined through their associated funerary materials, particularly their papyri and shrouds.

In conclusion, apart from the set for Meritamon A, which was explicitly created and adorned for her, the remaining items under consideration were probably produced in advance, without prior knowledge of the eventual occupant. This practice accounts for the absence of owner-specific information during the initial creation and decoration of these items. Instead, it would have been in a subsequent phase, after the materials were already decorated, that specific ownership was ascribed to some of the objects. Consequently, the information of the deceased would have been added to the blank spaces, if such spaces existed.

Regarding the titulary introduced, along with the names, at a later stage, which filled the blank spaces on certain elements with a monochrome pigment, it can be inferred that in these cases, the designations were not arbitrary. Instead, they were rather specifically tailored to the final owners of the objects.

4.4.3.3 Status of the owners

Setting aside the general titulary on some coffins, which doesn't precisely determine the real social status of their owners, the titles that specifically identify the owners on some coffin elements suggest a high status within the elite. This social standing is also evident in their funerary equipment and in the partial gilding of certain sets, as

¹¹¹² Alongside those of *nbt pr* and *šm^cyt n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw*.

¹¹¹³ Niwiński hypothesized that the style of the object corresponds to the period of Psusennes' pontificate, which occurred during the late Twenty-First Dynasty. This hypothesis suggests that the owner of the coffin might have been the daughter of the High Priest Panedjem II (Niwiński 1979: 56 [8.C]; 1988: 46). In contrast, Jansen-Winkel (2007: 245 [112]), possibly due to insufficient evidence, does not suggest the identity of the ruler mentioned in the inscription.

discussed in more detail below. Complementary titles of the coffin owners are typically found on the funerary equipment, mainly papyri.

In terms of female titles, they can be categorized as follows: *s3t n hm-ntr tpy* (found on the outer lid JE 29622 and Meritamon's A set), *mn^ct hnsu p3-hrd* (found on the outer lid JE 29622 and Meritamon's B set) and *špst* (found on both Meritamon's A and B sets).

The titles *s3t n hm-ntr tpy* and *špst* are associated with individuals closely connected to the High Priest of Amun. As for the designation of *mn^ct hnsu p3-hrd*, Naguib suggested that it is typically linked to low-ranking priestesses.¹¹¹⁴ However, this concept may not accurately apply to individuals of the Twenty-First Dynasty. During this Dynasty, there are only four documented females with the *mn^ct hnsu p3-hrd* title: Meritamon B and the owner of the outer lid JE 29622, both of whom were daughters of a High Priest, possessed non-stola yellow coffin sets. The other two females had stola sets,¹¹¹⁵ objects likely dating to the end of the Twenty-First Dynasty or the beginning of the Twenty-Second Dynasty.

Considering the high status of Meritamon B and that of the owner of the outer lid JE 29622, the association of the title *mn^ct hnsu p3-hrd* with individuals of low status, although possibly accurate for other time periods, should be dismissed and reevaluated for at least part, if not all, of the Twenty-First Dynasty.¹¹¹⁶

Concerning male titulary, notable titles include *sš n3w mnḥ n p3 mš^c* (Amenhotep), *sš pr-hd n nb t3wy n pr Imn* (Panebenkemetnekhmet) and *hm-ntr n sbk* (Psusennes), all of which are linked to high-status positions.

Amenhotep's designation as a scribe of the army suggests a possible connection to the High Priests' family and perhaps even the High Priest.¹¹¹⁷ During the Twenty-First Dynasty, the military's influence became increasingly significant, a trend that had already begun before the Third Intermediate Period. The power and influence of the High Priests of Amun in the Twenty-First Dynasty rested primarily on their military authority and influence. Notably, individuals like Paiankh and Herihor, despite holding the title of High Priest of Amun (*hm-ntr tpy n Imn-R^c nsu ntrw*), lacked a documented priestly cursus honorum. They emerged from the military ranks, likely originating from Libyan tribes.¹¹¹⁸ Their rise to prominence within the Egyptian military hierarchy is exemplified by their important title *imy-r3 mš^c wr*, meaning “generalissimo.” This title granted them access to the highest political and religious echelons, ultimately leading them to become High Priests. Pindujem I, son of Paiankh, along with Masaharta and

¹¹¹⁴ Naguib 1990: 229; Villar 2015: 140.

¹¹¹⁵ These are Dimuteriudu (Niwinski 1988: 108 [24]; Villar 2015: PDB46) and Tjenetshedmut (Niwinski 1988: [342], although only the inner coffin is mentioned. It was originally related, at associated, at least, with an outer coffin, which is now lost (Dautant, Jamen 2017: 133 [76])).

¹¹¹⁶ The existence of the title *hryt mn^cwt n Mwt* (as borne by Nodjmet and Henuttawy A, the wives of Herihor and Panedjem I, respectively (Villar 2015: 192)), suggests the existence of hierarchies among these female wet-nurses, at least within the cult of Mut. In a similar context, one might anticipate the presence of a comparable leading figure within the female hierarchy of Khonsu. The absence of prominent female leaders above these *mn^cwt* during the Twenty-First Dynasty may be attributed to the fragmented nature of the available historical evidence. Based on the available information, it remains unclear whether there was a higher-ranking position that oversaw and supervised them (Villar 2015: 146).

¹¹¹⁷ There is also the possibility that the title refers to Amenhotep's role as a scribe of the General, meaning the High Priest of Amun.

¹¹¹⁸ von Beckerath 1968: 32-33; Lull 2006: 39, 61-63, 69, 90.

Menkheperra, brothers and sons of Pindujem I, as well as Nesubanendjed and Pindujem II, brothers and sons of Menkheperra, were also associated with the title *imy-r mšꜥ wr*. These High Priests likely followed a similar career trajectory, commencing as soldiers and culminating in Thebes as High Priests (and sometimes kings), achieving total control over Upper Egypt.¹¹¹⁹ This military context is likely where Amenhotep should be placed. Interestingly, there are no other documented individuals buried in Bab el-Gasus associated with military-related titles.¹¹²⁰

Outside the context of Bab el-Gasus, the only documented yellow coffins featuring military titles belonged to the following individuals:¹¹²¹ the High Priests of Amun Masharta (*imy-r mšꜥ wr nw Mḥw šmꜥw*; *imy-r mšꜥ wr n t3 dr=f*)¹¹²² and Pindujem II (*imy-r mšꜥ wr*),¹¹²³ Seramun (*imy-r mšꜥ*),¹¹²⁴ Iutefamun (*krꜥw n p3 imy-r mšꜥ*)¹¹²⁵ and Ankhef (*krꜥw*).¹¹²⁶ In the case of the latter two examples, Iutefamun and Ankhef held practical roles as shield bearers, without administrative or political responsibilities. However, the rest of the individuals were part of the high echelons.

Masaharta and Panedjem II served as High Priests, while Seramun was undoubtedly a member of the highest elite (see Chapter 4, Section 3). His roles included that of a royal scribe, a *wꜥb* with a wide array of functions related to Amun and Mut, an *imy-r* in multiple sectors, and a *ḥm-ntr*.¹¹²⁷ His versatility and extensive sphere of influence indicate his involvement in various religious, administrative, and other responsibilities.

Amenhotep's association with the army and even the High Priest, and his significant responsibilities suggest that he was connected to the upper echelons of society and held an important position.

Amenhotep also held the titles of *it-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* and *wꜥb n Mwt n pr 'Imn*. While these positions were not consistently reserved for high-status individuals, they indicate that Amenhotep had both military and priestly roles. These priestly roles were associated with the worship of two different deities, Amun and Mut. This suggests that Amenhotep was involved in diverse spheres, typically accessible only to individuals with specific training and elevated status.

The greater number of distinct titles emphasized a higher rank and position within society for men. Furthermore, there were only a few *wꜥb* priests associated with the

¹¹¹⁹ Lull 2006: 148.

¹¹²⁰ For an overview of military titles and their associated hierarchy, see Schulman 1964: 102-110, 257-267; Chevereau 1994.

¹¹²¹ In these instances, it is important to exclude Butehamon, who has been traditionally linked with the title *imy-r mšꜥ*. This title does not pertain to a military context; instead, it signifies Butehamon's role within the tomb's team and workforce (*mšꜥ*), indicating his position within that specific context (refer to Chapter 4, Section 3 for more details).

¹¹²² Niwiński 1988: 114-115 [63].

¹¹²³ Niwiński 1988: 115 [65].

¹¹²⁴ Niwiński 1988: 111 [41].

¹¹²⁵ Niwiński 1988: 161 [314].

¹¹²⁶ See Chapter 4, Section 1 for a discussion about the coffin, which likely originated from Akhmim.

¹¹²⁷ The complete titulary featured on his coffin set is as follows: *ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ḥpr(w) r ḥ3t-ḥb*; *sš nsw m3ꜥt mr=f*; *wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*; *wꜥb ḥry ḥ3wt n pr 'Imn*; *wꜥb n ḥ3t n Mwt nbt pt*; *wꜥb n ḥ3t n Mwt wrt nbt i3rw*; *wꜥb 3 3 k n 'Imn m Tpt swt*; *imy-r nfrw n pr 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*; *imy-r iḥw n p3 mdw šps 3 n 'Imn*; *imy-r k3wt n mnw nbw wrw n 'Imn Mwt ḥnsw*; *imy-r k3t n k3t^{ic} n nb wr n 'Imn Mwt ḥnsw*; *imy-r mšꜥ*.

goddess Mut,¹¹²⁸ most of whom were already connected with other deities. This implies that the position within the cult of Mut was exclusive, limited to only a select few individuals.

Furthermore, while it remains speculative, Niwiński has proposed the possibility that Padiamon, who perhaps (re)used the inner lid initially adorned for Amenhotep, might have been his son, potentially interred within set A. 34. Padiamon held the titles of *wꜥb n 'Imn(-Rꜥ)* and *ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-ḥtp*. The distinct title of *ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-ḥtp* suggests a high status, which could have been inherited from his familial lineage.

As for Panebenkemetnekhet, his association with the treasure of the domain of Amun and his priestly roles as an *it-ntr* of Amun place him in a position of responsibility, both politically and administratively. This appointment is likely to have been made for someone connected to the circle of the High Priests.¹¹²⁹

Lastly, Psusennes held the titles of *it-ntr n 'Imn* and *ḥm-ntr n sbk*. His connection to both Amun and Sobek suggests a high status and position that would have granted him access to these two gods. His affiliation with Sobek, a regional deity, is particularly noteworthy. Individuals linked to deities beyond the Theban triad, or in addition to it, form a relatively small group outside the conventional norm.¹¹³⁰ These regional associations with specific and distinctive deities might indicate lineage or kinship connections beyond the Theban region. This, in turn, could underscore an elevated social status and a broader sphere of influence and control for the individual. This practice was a regular occurrence for individuals affiliated with the High Priest. These individuals frequently occupied significant roles outside the city of Thebes, strategically positioning themselves to exert both political and religious authority over other regions. This expansion of influence beyond Thebes allowed them to extend the reach of their power and strengthen their control in various areas.¹¹³¹

In summary, the individuals interred within the analyzed sets, for whom specific titles are documented, all held significant religious and/or administrative positions. This strongly suggests their elevated social status, and it's plausible that many were connected to the High Priest's family, as proven in the case of at least two of the High

¹¹²⁸ For the coffins featuring the title *wꜥb n Mwt*, see Niwiński 1988: 121 [95], 123 [104], 127 [123] (although not mentioned by Niwiński), 145 [223], 174 [398], 177 [416] (also not mentioned by Niwiński). For the coffins featuring the higher rank *wꜥb n ḥꜣt n Mwt*, see Niwiński 1988: 111 [41], 123 [104], 127 [123] (not included in Niwiński's publication), 132 [150], 177 [413]). For the papyri associated with the priesthood of Mut, see Stevens 2018: 176.

¹¹²⁹ For individuals linked to the Treasury who included the Litany of Ra in the decoration of their coffins -an iconography closely tied to the upper echelons- refer to Chapter 4, Section 3.

¹¹³⁰ For papyri related to this specific subgroup of individuals, refer to Stevens 2018: 167, 169. It's worth noting that Stevens' interpretation of Psusennes (Pasebkhaenet in the publication) as a God's father of Anubis is inaccurate.

¹¹³¹ The ruling high priests of Amun used a strategy to consolidate power and ensure stability in Upper Egypt, as well as loyalty and independence from the kings of Lower Egypt. Prominent members of their families held important titles not only in Thebes but also in the provinces of Upper Egypt, including Akhmim. Such was the case of Asetemakhbit D, daughter of Menkheperre and sister and wife of Pinedjem II, high priest of Amun-Re at Karnak. She held titles in many locations in Upper Egypt, including Akhmim, where she was a prophet of Min, Horus and Isis. Her stepdaughter Nestanebetisheru inherited some of her titles, including the Akhmimic one (Kitchen 1973: 275-276 [§232]). As a further example, Horhotep, who was the intendant for Maatkara A in Thebes, was also a priest of Min, Horus and Isis, likely in Akhmim (Jansen-Winkel 2007: 81).

Priest's daughters. However, because of the lack of information regarding the A. Number attributed to some of the other sets, it is currently impossible to identify their respective funerary equipment or determine the identity and roles of their owners, as the majority of the sets remained anonymous. As for set A. 74, although its specific spatial location within Bab el-Gasus is known, the papyri associated with it, which likely contained information about its owner, remain unidentified. The association of these individuals with a high-status social group can also be inferred from the examination of their unique attributed funerary equipment, a topic explored further below.

4.4.4 The Funerary equipment attributed to the sets: typologies and materiality

Regarding the funerary equipment attributed to sets from Bab el-Gasus, Daressy's report is only partial. For reasons unknown, he did not publish information about the funerary materials for all of them,¹¹³² and some of the entries remained incomplete.¹¹³³

Regarding the discussed coffin sets, Daressy published the related funerary equipment for some of the burials with known A. Numbers (see Tables 4.4.4-4.4.6), though some of it is undoubtedly incomplete. Subsequent studies identified additional objects associated with the sets. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, there are sets discussed in this section for which there is a lack of information about their funerary equipment, which likely existed. The future identification of their associated A. Number will provide further insights, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the sets presented here.

The funerary equipment documented for the sets under discussion exhibits remarkable quality, including fine linens and amulets crafted from luxurious materials such as gold, silver, bronze¹¹³⁴ and gilded wood. Additionally, some of the typologies associated with these funerary items are unique, including the presence of pectorals and uraei commonly associated with royalty and individuals of high status, possibly within the circle of the High Priest. The collective analysis of this information strongly indicates the high status of the individuals who owned these coffin sets, despite not being interred within the funerary chambers—an aspect explored in this section.

4.4.4.1 Incision amulets

When considering the amulet positioned on the flank of the mummy, specifically atop the incision made during the mummification process, it typically takes the form of an *wd3t* eye. This amulet has been identified within six sets among the ensembles discussed in this section, as recorded by Daressy in the publication of their funerary equipment. In terms of the materials for crafting these amulets, at least four of them were made from luxurious materials, including A. 74 (gilded silver), A. 71 (gilded wood; gilded and silvered bronze), A. 39 (gilded, silvered and painted bronze) and A. 85 (gilded bronze) (see Table 4.4.4). Regarding the other two, one was crafted from wax (A. 17), and for the amulet associated with set A. 61, only its rounded shape is known, as the material used was not documented.

¹¹³² He only mentioned the funerary equipment of 93 sets (Daressy 1907: 22-38). Of course, the remaining sets were not all empty, but it is unknown why he did not include them in his publication.

¹¹³³ He mentions it explicitly for the coffin of Hori (A. 143) (Daressy 1907: 36-37). In the case of other sets, subsequent object identifications expanded the initially mentioned funerary equipment.

¹¹³⁴ Occasionally, some of these materials may have been gilded, silvered or even both.

In the broader context of Bab el-Gasus, the incision amulet under discussion was documented in 45 mummies.¹¹³⁵ The materials used for crafting these amulets is very variable, encompassing both modest and luxurious materials. Among the 45 documented amulets, only four were fashioned from precious materials: silver (A. 74) and bronze (A. 71,¹¹³⁶ A. 39, A. 85). Interestingly, all of these precious amulets were found within sets examined in this section. This reinforces the idea that the uniform iconographic and textual model featured on the coffins may be associated with a group of individuals of high status.

In six additional burials from Bab el-Gasus, more modest materials such as wax, leather and wood were employed. However, notably, these materials were subsequently coated with silver or gold, resulting in a more luxurious appearance and indicating the high social status of their owners. Four of these amulets are associated with coffins originating from funerary chambers, likely belonging to individuals of significant importance within the High Priest's circle.

Table 4.4.4 compiles information on all ten sets, detailing their respective spatial positions within Bab el-Gasus. Interestingly, of the four sets analyzed in this section that included opulent incision amulets in their funerary equipment, none of them were located within the funerary chambers of Bab el-Gasus. Conversely, among the six individuals whose sets were not associated with the coffins under discussion but still included lavish incision amulets, four were interred inside the funerary chambers, and at least two of these sets were gilded (A. 133, A. 148).¹¹³⁷ A. 133, attributed to Herytuben, the daughter of Asetemakhbit, and likely Panedjem II,¹¹³⁸ was one such set. Therefore, in most cases, a correlation between social status and the material and/or finishing of these amulets can be established. Interestingly, the material of the opulent amulets linked to the sets under discussion was superior to that of those found within sets inside the funerary chambers.

The spatial distribution of these sets becomes particularly informative when considered alongside the opulence of their associated funerary equipment. As previously discussed, it should not be assumed that only the sets placed within the funerary chambers represented the most prominent figures in society or held positions within the microcosm of Bab el-Gasus. While conventionally, it has been asserted that individuals interred within the funerary chambers were directly linked to the High Priest, specific findings challenge this notion.

Demonstrably, gilded coffins were also placed outside of the funerary chambers for reasons yet unknown, and the group of high-status individuals under consideration was also situated outside. Consequently, the social dynamics within Bab el-Gasus appear to encompass multiple layers. It is conceivable that diverse familial factions and distinct familial affiliations or social divisions within the community of the High Priests existed,

¹¹³⁵ Daressy 1907: 22-38.

¹¹³⁶ For this particular set, Daressy noted the existence of two incision amulets: one made from gilded wood and another from gilded and silvered bronze (Daressy 1907: 28). As mentioned earlier, this confusion or mistake likely arose from the mix of information and items related to two separate funerary equipments associated with two distinct sets, each belonging to an individual named Meritamon (A and B).

¹¹³⁷ Regrettably, set A. 141 remains unidentified as it has been lost to time, leaving us uncertain whether it was originally gilded or not.

¹¹³⁸ Lull 2006: 265, 285.

which influenced burial practices, preventing specific individuals from being interred within the funerary chambers. The specific reasons and details regarding this hypothesis and these distinctions, whether rooted in social, familial, or other considerations, remain elusive, underscoring the complexity of the tomb and its occupants, and the need for further exploration and research to shed light on this intriguing aspect.

It can be posited that these opulent, or at the very least lavishly coated amulets, were components of the funerary equipment of significant individuals who were not necessarily interred within the funerary chambers. They serve as indicators of the high status held by these individuals, as signified by the presence of such amulets.

Table 4.4.4 Sets Which Included Rich Incision Amulets and Their Location Within Bab el-Gasus

Set ¹¹³⁹	Characteristics of the incision amulet	Bab el-Gasus location
A. 74*	<i>wḏ3t</i> (gilded silver)	Beginning Transversal Gallery
A. 71*	Gilded wood; <i>wḏ3t</i> (gilded and silvered bronze)	Beginning Transversal Gallery
A. 39*	Bronze, with the <i>wḏ3t</i> gilded, silvered and painted	Main gallery
A. 85*	Gilded bronze	Transversal Gallery
A. 54	<i>wḏ3t</i> (wax, painted in black and silvered)	Main gallery
A. 98	<i>wḏ3t</i> (red wax, wDA raised in silver and black paint)	Transversal Gallery
A. 133 (gilded)	Gilded leather	Funerary chambers
A. 134	Gilded wood	Funerary chambers
A. 141 (unidentified)	<i>wḏ3t</i> (gilded wood)	Funerary chambers
A. 148 (gilded)	<i>wḏ3t</i> (gilded leather)	Funerary chambers

4.4.4.2 Pectorals

Regarding the sets under discussion for which there is documentation of the funerary equipment, all of them, except one (A. 61), included a falcon-shaped pectoral positioned atop the mummy. In all five documented instances, these pectorals were crafted from luxurious materials, including gilded silver (A. 74), gilded bronze (A. 71, A. 85), bronze (A. 17)¹¹⁴⁰ and gold (A. 39). Considering the symbolic language of Egyptian kingship and the ornamental motifs associated with its ideology, the presence of such an object on the mummy conferred a distinct status upon the deceased, typically associated with the divine Horus falcon, symbolizing divine protection and the king's role as the embodiment and manifestation of the god.¹¹⁴¹

The motif of the divine falcon in the form of a pectoral that spreads its wings protectively above the deceased was also included in some of the interments from Bab el-Gasus. In the general context of these interments, the falcon-shaped pectoral was

¹¹³⁹ The asterisk (*) indicates that the sets are examined in this section. Sets A. 17 and A. 61 were omitted from the list due to their respective incision amulets being made of wax (A. 17) and an unidentified material (A. 61).

¹¹⁴⁰ Daressy's definition lacks clarity regarding whether the pectoral, primarily composed of an unknown material, was adorned with a bronze disk or if the pectoral itself, made of bronze, featured a disk (Daressy 1907: 23). Regardless, bronze was employed in the crafting of the pectoral, either wholly or in part.

¹¹⁴¹ Wilkinson 2003: 201-202.

reported on 19 mummies, including the five originating from sets examined in this section. All the examples can be observed in Table 4.4.5.

The materials used in crafting these pectorals consistently lean towards opulence. There is, however, a solitary exception: the falcon-shaped pectoral found in set A. 32, which was crafted from copper. Among the 19 examples, when making comparisons, certain amulets originating from sets analyzed in this section stand out once more. Set A. 39 is the sole documented set from Bab el-Gasus featuring a pectoral made of gold, while set A. 74 stands as the singular documented set adorned with a pectoral made of gilded silver. This underscores the exceptional quality of the funerary equipment and the high status of the individuals who owned such items.

Regarding the symbolic significance of the falcon-shaped pectoral, it's crucial to emphasize other unique iconographic elements found in the decoration of the coffin sets. These elements may align with an idea of high status, exclusivity, and restriction. For instance, the consistent presence of vultures on the covers of the sets, which could signify a distinctive motif associated with privileged models. Additionally, the incorporation of prominent royal symbols such as bees, on some of the floral collars of the covers (A. 71 and A. 17), as well as the inclusion of vulture wings on Meritamun A's wig (A. Number unknown), clearly indicating her status and connection with the High Priest. Moreover, the decoration mimicking a distinct shawl and the intricate floral motifs on the headboard of certain examples all contribute to this intricate tapestry of symbolism, suggesting the high status of the individuals under discussion.

Revisiting the specific spatial positions of the sets containing the falcon-shaped pectoral within Bab el-Gasus, out of the 19 sets, ten held significant locations within the tomb. Two of them (A. 71 and A. 74) were situated at the beginning of the transversal corridor, in proximity to the funerary chambers. Another three (A. 124, A. 126, A. 127) occupied positions at the end of the main corridor, once again in close proximity to the funerary chambers. Lastly, five sets (A. 133, A. 139, A. 144, A. 146, A. 150) were located inside the burial chambers themselves.

Among these sets, at least three were originally gilded: A. 133, A. 139 and A. 144. However, three coffin sets - A. 107, A. 127 and A. 146 - remain unidentified, leaving open the possibility that they too were originally gilded.¹¹⁴² Taking all of this information into account, along with the quality and significance of the pectoral, it is evident that all of these sets including the amulet must have been associated with individuals who had connections to the high-ranking circles, potentially even within the High Priest's family. This proposition is confirmed, at the very least, for sets A. 133 (belonging to Herytuben) and A. 139 (belonging to Gautseshen).

Table 4.4.5 Sets Which Included Falcon-shaped Pectorals and Their Location Within Bab el-Gasus

Set ¹¹⁴³	Characteristics of the falcon-shaped pectoral	Bab el-Gasus location
A. 74*	Gilded silver	Beginning Transversal Gallery

¹¹⁴² It has traditionally been accepted that set A. 146 might have been partially gilded (refer to the earlier discussion, although there is uncertainty regarding this matter).

¹¹⁴³ The asterisk (*) indicates that the sets are examined in this section.

A. 71*	Gilded bronze	Beginning Transversal Gallery
A. 39*	Gold	Main gallery
A. 17*	Crowned with a bronze disk	Main gallery
A. 85*	Gilded bronze with its wings outstretched	Transversal Gallery
A. 32 (only the outer coffin is known)	Copper	Main gallery
A. 33	Bronze ¹¹⁴⁴	Main gallery
A. 54	Bronze	Main gallery
A. 91	Bronze	Transversal Gallery
A. 98	Head surmounted by a disk, in bronze, partially gilded	Transversal Gallery
A. 107 (unidentified)	Gilded bronze	Transversal Gallery
A. 124 (only the outer coffin is known)	Gilded bronze	End main corridor
A. 127 (unidentified)	Gilded bronze	End main corridor
A. 133 (gilded)	Gilded bronze	Funerary chambers
A. 139 (gilded)	Silver	Funerary chambers
A. 144 (gilded)	Silver	Funerary chambers
A. 146 (unidentified)	Bronze	Funerary chambers

4.4.4.3 Uraeus

Regarding the sets under discussion in this section, one of them, set A. 85, featured a small gilded bronze uraeus on the mummy's front. This is a remarkable item, specifically associated with royalty. The uraeus was a favored protective symbol of many kings and could only be worn by them as a distinctive symbol of their royal status. Typically, it adorned the forehead of a deceased king, along with the royal vulture, symbolizing Upper and Lower Egypt. For example, the uraeus can be observed on the decoration of the coffin set of Panedjem I, albeit damaged.

Regarding the documented burial equipment from the sets in Bab el-Gasus, only 7 mummies, including the one whose coffin is examined in this section, have been reported with an actual uraeus-shaped amulet or its representation on top of plaquettes (see examples in Table 4.4.6). These amulets were typically placed on the front of the mummies, with one exception, A. 43, which was positioned on the face.

Table 4.4.6 Sets Which Included Uraeus Amulet and Their Location Within Bab el-Gasus

Set ¹¹⁴⁵	Characteristics of the uraeus amulet	Bab el-Gasus location
A. 85*	Uraeus in gilded bronze (on the forehead)	Transversal Gallery
A. 33	Plaquette engraved with an uraeus (on the forehead)	Main Gallery
A. 43	Uraeus in blue enamel (on the face, with other amulets)	Main Gallery
A. 98	Cut-out gold plaquettes featuring a vulture and an uraeus; uraeus in carnelian (on the forehead)	Transversal Gallery
A. 127 (unidentified)	Long snake in copper, with gilded head (on the forehead)	End main corridor

¹¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, Daressy noted that, apart from the bronze pectoral, there were also two “yeux mystiques” on the chest of the mummy -one crafted in gold and the other in green enamel (Daressy 1907: 24). It is probable that he was referring to amulets representing the *wd3t* eye.

¹¹⁴⁵ The asterisk (*) indicates that the sets are examined in this section.

A. 139 (gilded) ¹¹⁴⁶	Uraeus in green enamel (on the forehead); enamel plaquette representing an uraeus (above the left eye).	Funerary chambers
A. 151 (gilded)	Uraeus in carnelian (on the forehead, with other amulets)	Funerary chambers

Among this group of amulets, only A. 85 had the uraeus in gilded bronze. Regarding the use of rich materials for crafting the amulets, the mummy associated with set A. 98 had plaques in gold representing a vulture and a uraeus, in addition to an uraeus in carnelian, while set A. 127 included a copper uraeus with a gilded head. This further underscores the exceptional status of the owner of set A. 85, considering not only the significance of the amulet but also the material in which it was crafted.

In terms of the spatial location within Bab el-Gasus of the sets containing these unique amulets, A. 127 was located at the end of the main corridor, very close to the burial chambers, while both A. 139 and A. 151, both of which were gilded, were found within the burial chambers. Therefore, out of the 7 sets, 1 was located very close to the chambers, 2 were inside the chambers, and 4 were outside. This once again suggests that high-status individuals may have also been placed outside of the funerary chambers, including those related to the High Priest, as has been demonstrated, so far, for Maatkara, Meritamon A and the anonymous outer lid JE 29622.

With respect to the identities of the owners of these sets, while that of A. 127 remains unidentified (as discussed above, although likely associated with the High Priest), A. 139 belonged to Gautseshen, and A. 151 to Tjanefer, the husband of Gautseshen A, who was the daughter of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperra.

Concerning set A. 98, the individual was associated with various titles.¹¹⁴⁷ On the shroud, he is mentioned as *hm-ntr n Imn* and *imy-r nfrw n pr-Imn*.¹¹⁴⁸ On his coffins (JE 29664; CG 6166-6170), he was associated with positions such as *wꜥb n Imn*, *it-ntr n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*, *wꜥb n ḥꜣt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*, *wꜥb n ḥnsw*, *it-ntr n ḥnsw*, *it-ntr n ḥr*, *sš ntr n prwy Imn* and *imy-r nfrw n pr Imn*. On his papyri, his titles included *it-ntr mrt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*, *it-ntr mry*, *it-ntr n Mwt*, *imy-r nfrw n pr Imn* and *ḥry sšꜥ m pt tꜣ dwꜣt*.¹¹⁴⁹ His diverse roles in both administrative and religious capacities, serving multiple gods, suggest a very high status for the deceased. Furthermore, the presence of a falcon-shaped pectoral and the wax incision plaque raised in silver and black paint among his funerary equipment (see Tables 4.4.4-4.4.5) adds to his prestigious associations.

The owner of A. 43¹¹⁵⁰ held the titles of *it-ntr n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* and *imy-r pr-ḥꜣ n pr dwꜣt-ntr n Imn*, which were also featured on his coffin and papyrus. His association with the position of Overseer of the treasury suggests his high status in society, possibly linking him with the High Priest.

¹¹⁴⁶ For the confusions associated with set A. 139 and its likely original gilding, see *supra*.

¹¹⁴⁷ For the funerary ensemble, see Aston 2009: 180-181 [TG 771], although he did not identify the coffin set associated with the owner.

¹¹⁴⁸ Daressy 1907: 28.

¹¹⁴⁹ Moreover, his genealogy is mentioned, indicating that he was the son of an *it-ntr n Imn* and *imy-r nfrw n pr Imn*, implying a hereditary aspect to some of these roles.

¹¹⁵⁰ For the funerary ensemble, see Aston 2009: 171-172 [TG 716].

The owner of A. 33¹¹⁵¹ held titles including *it-ntr n^{sic} nsw ntrw* on the shroud, and those of *it-ntr n Imn*, *hry sšt3 n pr Imn*, *w^cb ʕk n (pr) Imn m Ipt swt* and *w^cb ʕ3 ʕk n (pr) Imn m Ipt swt* on his coffins. Additionally, he possessed a bronze falcon-shaped pectoral on his chest (Table 4.4.5), indicating his high status.

The potential identity of the owner of set A. 85, which will be discussed further below, reinforces the notion that individuals who possessed coffin sets under analyses in this section had access to specific iconographic and textual model reserved for high-status individuals.

Furthermore, the high status of all these individuals is also evident in other components of their respective funerary assemblages. These included luxurious fine linens (A. 74, A. 85), a gilded wooden scarab (A. 71) and a wig (A. 17). Certainly, future discoveries are likely to reveal additional objects linked to these sets.

In conclusion, examining the materiality and typology of funerary elements is crucial for understanding the social status of the individuals associated with these artifacts. Nonetheless, it's worth emphasizing that the funerary equipment of many burial sets in Bab el-Gasus remains incomplete, leaving us in the dark regarding their exact contents and the significance they held for their owners. This underscores the pressing need for further research and exploration in order to identify any missing objects that could shed more light on the coffin sets whose owners remain unidentified. The discovery and identification of their funerary equipment would provide valuable insights into their societal positions and roles in antiquity.

Continuing the observed pattern, it can be anticipated that the sets under discussion, for which the funerary equipment details remain unknown, would likely include opulent elements. These elements could offer valuable insights into the societal dynamics of the upper class during the Twenty-First Dynasty, shedding light on both funerary practices and ritual customs of that period.

4.4.4.4 Decorated Underside Floorboards of Coffin Boxes: A Connection to the Family of the High Priest of Amun?

An exceptional aspect related to distinct sets under examination in this section is the decoration of the underside floorboard of their outer boxes. Set A. 85 features an underside floorboard of the outer box adorned with a coiled serpent. A similar decoration is visible on the underside floorboard of the fragmented outer box (C. 28) recently found in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, although it lacks an attributed A. Number (for more information on the object and its potential A. Number assignment, see *supra*).

This unique feature is exceptional among the documented objects from Bab el-Gasus.¹¹⁵² Interestingly, both examples are linked to the discussed group of high-status individuals. Apart from these two instances, the presence of decoration on the underside floorboard of boxes has only been documented for one other set from Bab el-Gasus, namely set A. 151, which was prepared for Tjanefer, the husband of Gautseshen A, who

¹¹⁵¹ For the funerary ensemble, see Aston 2009: 169 [TG 706].

¹¹⁵² This particular area on the coffin boxes is rarely photographed or visible from the display cases; hence, there might be additional examples currently unknown.

was the daughter of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperra. In his set, both the inner and outer boxes present decoration in that area. The underside floorboard of the inner box features a representation of a coiled serpent, while the underside floorboard of the outer box displays a representation also associated with royalty, featuring a male divinity on top of the representation of the *sm3-t3wy*. This clearly indicates that the presence of decoration on the exterior floorboard of the boxes was strictly associated with high-status individuals. It is unknown whether the fragmented outer box C. 28 belonged to a male or female, but in both examples, A. 85 and A. 151, they belong to males.

Regarding the presence of a coiled serpent on the discussed examples, albeit speculative, it may be a reinterpretation or reminiscence of the serpents associated with royal iconographies, such as those represented on some sarcophagi of New Kingdom pharaohs.¹¹⁵³ For comparison, the upper section of the outer box (C. 13), associated with Meritamon,¹¹⁵⁴ features a frieze alternating between feathers and uraeus. Below the frieze, in the area that almost always includes a horizontal inscription running along the edges of the object, the box features a long serpent. This suggests the possibility of artistic creativity, as it constitutes a unique feature that could be attributed to a high-status workshop housing exceptional decorators who displayed ingenious skills. This creativity can also be observed in the presence of decoration on the underside floorboard, an aspect of uniqueness that may have lacked reference models.

The decorators of these objects likely possessed a deep understanding of tradition and ancient models, including representations in older artifacts. It's possible that they reinterpreted the serpent motif, incorporating it in various ways into objects decorated for the highest echelons of society. The Twenty-First Dynasty saw the reopening and inspection of New Kingdom pharaohs' tombs,¹¹⁵⁵ making it plausible that distinct workshops and skilled and important craftspeople were well-acquainted with old representations, symbols and iconographies.

Perhaps the connection between these objects under discussion and their ancient counterparts, notably the sarcophagi of the kings, served as a link among high-status individuals. The fact that individuals like Meritamon, who included a unique representation of a snake on their coffins, held high-status positions and were associated with royalty, further supports this notion.

In this context, it is crucial to note that set A. 85 not only featured a representation of a coiled serpent on the underside floorboard of the outer box but also contained a mummy adorned with a falcon-shaped pectoral. Most significantly, the set included a gilded bronze uraeus placed on the mummy's forehead, another attribute and symbol commonly associated with royalty. This aligns with the concept of restricted iconography and objects reserved for individuals of great significance. It underscores

¹¹⁵³ Examples encompass the lids of the mid sarcophagus of Merenptah, preserved in situ at KV 8 (Sourouzian 1989: 181-182; Brock 1992: 126-127), and the lid of the sarcophagus of Ramesses III, held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (E.1.1823). These artifacts exhibit serpents encircling their edges, likely signifying apotropaic symbolism.

¹¹⁵⁴ For the object's association with either Meritamon A or B, see *supra*.

¹¹⁵⁵ In this context, the inner sarcophagus of Merenptah was repurposed in Tanis by Psusennes (Montet 1951: 111-125; Sourouzian 1989: 182-183; Brock 1992: 127-128), indicating that the society of the Twenty-First Dynasty was aware of traditional royal representations and iconography, particularly those belonging to the upper echelons.

the deliberate and selective use of specific symbols representing power, authority and/or religious significance within a particular cultural context, emphasizing their importance.

Finally, it's crucial to note that one of the common features found on the lids under discussion is the presence of an inscription containing the words *ink* or *ink nsw*, which is featured on the underside of the covers. This distinct attribute, along with the associated terminology, might be indicative of a specific societal status held by the owners of these materials. The association between the inclusion of these words and whether they are tied to ritual practices or had implications and consequences for social competition remains uncertain.

4.4.4.4.1 Who was the owner of set A. 85?

The mysterious identity of the owner of set A. 85 is intriguing, particularly given his probable connection with the High Priest. As mentioned earlier, his associated titles include *it-Ntr n 'Imn* and *hm-ntr n sbk*. The fact that he held the position of Prophet associated with the distinctive deity Sobek implies a privileged status within society. Additionally, the name Psusennes further reinforces this notion, as specific names were typically linked to exclusive, high-status families.

In this regard, a stela from Abydos¹¹⁵⁶ mentions one of the sons of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperra, who is identified as Psusennes, along with his titles (see Table 4.4.7).¹¹⁵⁷ However, it is unlikely that the documents refer to the same person.

Table 4.4.7 Titulary Associated With the Son of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperra

Titles and designations	Translation
<i>s3 n hm ntr tpy n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw Mn-hpr-R^c</i>	Son of the High Priest of Amun-Ra, king of the gods, Menkheperra
<i>'It-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i>	God's father of Amun-Ra, king of the gods
<i>3 k^c</i>	? ¹¹⁵⁸
<i>hm ntr Mnw hr 3st Gbtw</i>	Prophet of Min, Horus and Isis of Coptos
<i>hm ntr n 'Imn hr n m^c hri</i>	Prophet of Amun Herenmakher
<i>hm ntr n 'Imn tny</i>	Prophet of Amun of Thinis
<i>h3wtj</i>	The leader

The stela stands out due to its exceptional size and distinctive material. It significantly surpasses the dimensions of several other contemporary creations, and it was carved from stone, a departure from the prevailing use of wood for Theban stelae during that period.¹¹⁵⁹ Additionally, it features royal attributes. This object was discovered inside the shaft of tomb D22 in Abydos. Its ample surface area allowed for the display of all the individual's titles, thus certifying the prestige of the person.

¹¹⁵⁶ Randall-MacIver, Mace 1902: 94, pls. XXXI [D 22], XXXIV [8]; Lull 2006: 213; Damarany, Cahail 2016: 18-21.

¹¹⁵⁷ For a discussion of the individual, see Jamen 2012: 261-262 [152].

¹¹⁵⁸ Maybe directly linked to the earlier designation of *it-ntr*.

¹¹⁵⁹ Leahy 2009: 418.

In addition to the stela, shabtis inscribed with the name of the divine father of Amun, Psusennes, were also discovered in the same location. All of his functions suggest significant political influence, not only in Thebes but also in locations beyond it.

The structure in Abydos could either be a tomb or a cenotaph for the individual. The location may indicate the significance of Abydos during the Twenty-First Dynasty, possibly in connection with the son of the High Priest of Amun Psusennes,¹¹⁶⁰ who might have played a significant role in the city.

While the stela bears an extensive titulary for Psusennes, the papyrus associated with an individual by the same name from Bab el-Gasus features the titles *it-ntr n 'Imn* and *hm-ntr n sbk*. Given the size of the stela dedicated to the High Priest's son, and the amount of featured titulary, one would expect the title of *hm-ntr n sbk* to be included if it referred to the same person interred in Bab el-Gasus. This suggests that these documents might refer to two distinct individuals, and the son of the High Priest Menkheperra mentioned on the stela, whether buried in Abydos or not,¹¹⁶¹ may not be the same person as the individual interred at Bab el-Gasus. Future discoveries associated with both individuals¹¹⁶² may provide additional titulary or references to clarify this matter.

A compelling question arises: why did the mummy in A. 85 bear a uraeus on the forehead, a feature absent in other specimens, despite the absence of a gilded coffin and its placement outside the funerary chambers of Bab el-Gasus? What could this uraeus symbolize, and what significance does it hold? The uraeus's presence on this individual, along with the decoration of the underside floorboard, his titulary and the additional objects from the funerary equipment, strongly suggests a familial connection to the High Priest. Given the name's implications, it's plausible that this individual is an unidentified son of a High Priest,¹¹⁶³ akin to the situation with the aforementioned owner of set A. 71, Meritamon B.

In this regard, it's crucial to highlight that the shabtis linked to A. 85 exhibit a distinctive trait among shabtis, with "mains opposées comme chez les Rois libyens ou les Grands prêtres hérakléopolitains à la XXII^e dynastie."¹¹⁶⁴

¹¹⁶⁰ Regarding this matter, it's worth highlighting that fragments of a red granite anthropoid sarcophagus, which was modified and redecorated with the High Priest Menkheperra's name and titles at a certain point, have been discovered in Abydos (Damarany, Cahail 2016). However, no further information is available about the burial of this High Priest of Amun or the specific location of his final resting place. It is also unclear whether this discovery is connected to the actual tomb of the High Priest or not, as nothing else is known about his burial equipment.

¹¹⁶¹ There is no confirmation that the structure unearthed in Abydos was his tomb, as no body, coffin, or sarcophagus has been discovered, which, naturally, could have been damaged or destroyed due to common deterioration in the area (Leahy 2009: 418).

¹¹⁶² For example, concerning set A. 85, only its associated Amduat papyrus has been identified, while the Book of the Dead papyrus and its associated information, including the owner's titles, remain unidentified, if it indeed existed. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that a Book of the Dead would have been included in the original set.

¹¹⁶³ Possibly, his affiliation with another familial faction might have influenced his position within Bab el-Gasus and the absence of a gilded coffin.

¹¹⁶⁴ Aubert 1998: 65, 109 [14].

4.4.5. Why Were High-Status Individuals Buried in Originally Anonymous Coffins?

Taking into account all the provided information, including aspects such as materiality, titulary, unique iconographies and funerary equipment, it is intriguing that the majority of these high-status individuals were interred in anonymous coffins. The only exception appears to be the gilded coffin set of Meritamon A, which appears to have been specially decorated upon commission, distinguishing it from the rest of the anonymous coffins which feature generic titulary. Even the outer lid, JE 29622, although gilded and adorned for a daughter of a High Priest of Amun, retained its anonymity.

This observation suggests that the daughters of the High Priest received "personalized" coffins, particularly in terms of their titulary, and in the case of Meritamon, her name was included as well. Notably, these are the coffins that were also gilded. It remains uncertain whether this distinction is linked to a distinct workshop or craftsman or the use of a slightly different iconographic and textual model than those used for the rest of the discussed individuals.

Tjenetpaherunefer's information on the inner box holds significant implications in this context. It raises questions about why, despite the associated covers remaining anonymous with unfilled blank spaces in visible areas, the name Tjenetpaherunefer was added in a small secondary area on the box. The inscription aligns with the same inscriptions found on other boxes within the same cohesive group of coffins (although those lack names), indicating that the name was added concurrently with the decoration of the object. If Tjenetpaherunefer was indeed the original owner of the ensemble, one could propose that the inclusion of her name represents a creative touch by the decorator, an attempt to leave a mark of the actual owner of the object. This observation might imply that these materials weren't necessarily pre-prepared without knowledge of the future owner, and their anonymity could have been intentional.

Were the spaces intended for the deceased's information deliberately left empty? Could this practice hold significance related to an unknown ritual associated with these high-status individuals? Were these vacant spaces subsequently filled in by a decorator as part of the decoration process, or was the name added later as part of a ritual? This potential explanation might shed light on why the spaces were initially left blank.

The suggestion that blank spaces imply a serial production¹¹⁶⁵ of coffins may hold true for lower-quality coffins displaying this characteristic. However, the presence of such blank spaces on high-quality objects, which were clearly not decorated in a serial manner (given their variations even while adhering to the same or similar models), raises questions. Although it's possible that coffins associated with high-status individuals were prepared in advance without knowledge of the eventual owner, it implies that the existence of blank spaces could be linked to distinct circumstances, situations and contexts, each potentially signifying different things considering the diverse commissioners and owners of these socially significant objects.

¹¹⁶⁵ The concept of serial production implies a systematic and repetitive manufacturing process, often done in advance to ensure efficiency and consistency. However, not every element produced in advance follows the systematic patterns associated with serial production. While items may be prepared ahead of time, serial production specifically involves the organized and sequential creation of identical or similar items in a continuous manner. The distinction is vital in understanding the nuances of manufacturing processes and the varied approaches to production planning.

Why were these coffins left anonymous with a generic titulary? Was the initial inclusion of a general titulary on the coffin intentional? While anonymous coffins with general titulary could theoretically be suitable for a wide range of individuals, in the case of the coffins under discussion, they were consistently used by members of the high elite. Could this be because they were prepared in advance, with the creators anticipating that the eventual owner would possess highly specific titulary that could vary considerably? Therefore, they may have chosen to prepare coffins with a general titulary.

When examining the associated funerary objects that accompany these coffins, one typically encounters the deceased's titulary inscribed on papyri. It's plausible that the presence of a general titulary on the coffins stemmed from the expectation that the more "personalized" titles, the ones that identified the deceased, would appear on other elements of the funerary equipment. Therefore, it's conceivable that an elite workshop produced and decorated high-status objects that were intentionally left "unpersonalized," reserving the specific information about the deceased for inclusion in associated elements from the funerary equipment.

This practice isn't surprising, considering the significant importance placed on the mummy during this period. This notion implies the possibility of differing significance and importance attached to the coffin in terms of ownership and its relationship to the identity of the deceased, but such a hypothesis remains speculative.

Certainly, one of the most crucial questions that still eludes understanding concerns the individuals responsible for determining the decoration of the coffin, selecting the iconographic and textual models for the coffin, and overseeing the entire process. It is unclear to what extent the owners themselves were deeply initiated into the Egyptian religious system that was integrated into these coffins.

The anonymity of the majority of the discussed coffins may also be attributed to the fact that personalization might not have been necessary, primarily because the use of restricted iconography effectively conveyed the intended meaning and the social status of the deceased during funeral ceremonies that served as a platform for social competition. The specific decorations alone were sufficient indicators of the owners' status, which could be further accentuated, for instance, through gilding. Egyptian society had a strong tradition of associating specific symbols or objects with important figures and/or particular roles, a tradition deeply rooted in their history. Therefore, the materiality of symbols and objects conveyed messages without the need for additional inscriptions displaying the titles of the deceased.

By limiting the use of certain symbols, iconographic and textual models to significant individuals, a critical role was played in preserving cultural continuity and maintaining the significance of these symbols. This approach ensured that their importance and messages were effectively communicated to the wider society.

4.4.5.1 High Status Identities versus Gilding

Considering the high-status titulary of the individuals and their associated funerary objects, it is curious that only Meritamon A and the anonymous owner of JE 29622, both daughters of a High Priest, had gilded coffins. This raises the question of whether a similar connection with the High Priest can be made for the other individuals, as their

coffins lacked personalized decoration and gilding. However, some of the coffins featured very unique characteristics, such as set A. 85, while others were owned by individuals related to the High Priest of Amun's family, like set A. 71, owned by a *špst*, which is a title linked to the High Priest's family.¹¹⁶⁶

One might then wonder why the coffins under examination were not consistently gilded. It's possible they were not gilded because their owners were not part of a specific faction within the High Priest's family. Alternatively, they may not have been related to him at all, despite their high status. There is no definitive confirmation of such relationships, even though the distinctive characteristics of their coffins suggest otherwise.

However, it is also conceivable that, given the prevalence of anonymous coffins among these significant individuals, the absence of gilding and anonymity may have been a deliberate choice aimed at concealing the identity, wealth and richness of the associated funerary items and the mummy. This could have been a defensive measure intended to prevent the risk of destruction, looting or attacks targeting the coffins and mummies. Consequently, the decision to leave the coffins ungilded, anonymous and with blank spaces may have been a strategic maneuver to discourage theft or maintain the secrecy of the individuals' identities. One might also question whether this was an intentional defense mechanism, considering the widespread reuse of coffins during that period.

4.4.5.2 High Status Identities versus Spatial Location within Bab el-Gasus

None of the analyzed coffins, regardless of their owners' high status, were interred within the burial chambers of Bab el-Gasus. This raises questions about the reasons behind this pattern. It has been suggested that spatial limitations might have played a role, as in the case of the gilded coffins of Meritamón A and the anonymous owner of JE 29622. However, this leaves us wondering about the non-gilded coffins. Were they excluded from the funerary chambers because they lacked gilding? Or could their exclusion be linked to their affiliation with a different faction of the High Priest's family, which might also explain the absence of gilding? Alternatively, it's possible that the coffin owners had connections to an entirely different family altogether.

The decision to place these coffins outside the burial chambers raises further questions. Could they have been positioned outside intentionally to conceal their identity? Or was their placement outside a result of those responsible for the interment not knowing the occupants' identities due to their anonymity? Another possibility is that these coffins originated from a different tomb and were placed randomly within Bab el-Gasus based on available space.

¹¹⁶⁶ In the latter scenario, Niwiński proposed the concept of a substitute set to account for the absence of gilding, but this proposition has been rejected. Additionally, the substitution of coffins alone would not elucidate the presence of the lavish equipment accompanying these sets and the apparent preservation of the mummies in an intact state at the moment of their discovery. Daressy did not indicate any signs of disturbance for these mummies associated with the sets under discussion in his reports. Of course, while he occasionally noted such occurrences, the consistency of his reporting on this matter remains unclear. Given the state of preservation of certain objects, such as the set of Meritamón A, even though the specific A. Number for the set is unknown, one could assume that the mummy was plundered. While it is conceivable that the mummies might have been reburied as well, which would explain the quality of their funerary equipment, this remains a speculative hypothesis.

Upon analyzing the spatial locations of sets with known A. Numbers, it becomes apparent that their positioning displayed significant variability (see Image 4.4.1). However, it is intriguing to note the close proximity of set A. 74 to set A. 71. It remains unclear whether this holds any significance, such as the possibility that they originated from the same tomb or had familial connections, given that the same model is used in both sets. While it is uncertain whether the coffin set of Meritamon A corresponds to A. 70, if that were the case, it would establish a subset of clusters of coffins in close proximity, potentially indicating the relationship between their owners who shared a similar status, coffin iconography, and location within Bab el-Gasus. This once again underscores their high social status, particularly as they were situated in close proximity to the funerary chambers.

4.4.5.3 High Status versus Iconographical innovation. Sets A. 71 and A. 17: Archaization or Reuse?

The inner lids and mummy boards associated with sets A. 71 and A. 17 exhibit a unique feature: the comprehensive representation of both the arms and forearms of the deceased. Moreover, in the case of the inner lids, this attention to anatomical detail extends to the carving of the feet, marking a clear resemblance to the typical coffin craftsmanship of the Nineteenth Dynasty Ramesside period. These Ramesside artifacts adhere to the so-called "festive-type dress type" (refer to Chapter 4, Section 2 for more details). This traditional representation of the deceased's as they were alive, with meticulous rendering of specific body parts on such covers and attire in a "living ceremonial dress," is notably accentuated on Meritamon B's and Tjenetpaherunefer's mummy boards, where the deceased is depicted wearing a white dress. Notably, in contrast to the traditional style, this example lacks carved feet.

Coffin lids from the Twenty-First Dynasty adorned with these distinctive Ramesside marks, such as the ones under discussion, fall into Niwiński's Type IV classification,¹¹⁶⁷ which the author associates with an archaization of the decorations on these objects. In contrast, Cooney¹¹⁶⁸ proposes that these objects do not represent archaization but rather the repurposing of previously manufactured items that were subsequently redecorated during the Twenty-First Dynasty. While the possibility of wood reuse cannot be completely dismissed,¹¹⁶⁹ the decorations, despite being applied on traditional forms of carving, exhibit an exceptional degree of uniqueness and complexity.

These artifacts bear a close association with high-status individuals, including those connected to the High Priests of Amun's family. It is probable that skilled craftspeople responsible for adorning these coffins skillfully adopted and combined traditional forms, particularly Ramesside styles, and totally reinterpreted them, creating something entirely fresh customized for an exclusive segment of elite society. This decoration process was a complex and distinctive endeavor, combining well-learned traditions with profoundly innovative iconographic elements of the Twenty-First Dynasty's latest designs. This transformation demonstrates a profound mastery of the visual conventions

¹¹⁶⁷ Niwiński 1988: 78-80.

¹¹⁶⁸ Cooney 2018: 74 [especially n. 230].

¹¹⁶⁹ Scientific analyses have not yet been conducted on the materials, and further examination could provide insights into whether they were reused or not, contributing to the understanding of the historical context and material composition. Additionally, the question of whether the current visible pictorial layer is situated atop an earlier one remains unknown.

and resources within the Theban coffin tradition. Only highly skilled craftspeople and decorators, or the thinkers behind the models, could undertake such a task.

In this context, it becomes evident that the creativity of these individuals played a significant role in reshaping and challenging established artistic conventions.

The lids currently under examination, as an example, adhere to traditional forms while incorporating the innovative model associated with the rest of covers under analysis. However, they introduce additional unique elements that are uncommon for the Twenty-First Dynasty materials and diverge significantly from typical representations. Some of these distinctive characteristics can also be observed in other components linked to the same cohesive group of materials, even when they don't adhere to the traditional Ramesside forms. The reason behind why some elements maintain traditional forms while others do not remains uncertain, possibly linked to the possibility of reuse, if it indeed occurred, or other yet unknown factors.

These unique characteristics are as follows:

- The collar deviates from the conventional rows of flowers and instead features a shawl-like design adorned with rows of vultures paired with uraei, scarabs, bees, scarabs accompanied by pending uraei, falcons, uraei adorned with solar disks, and cartouches. This substitution of the typical floral rows with vivid depictions of these elements may reflect artistic creativity. The presence of these exceptionally unique elements, sharing a consistent style across the sets, suggests the possibility that there might not have been a predefined model, but rather, this innovation stemmed from the creative vision of a single decorator who could have applied this distinctive motif to both sets;
- The wig is exquisitely adorned with a complex headband and intertwined floral bands and ribbons, intricately attached to the wig. Notably, in the case of Meritamon's B inner lid and mummy board, these representations are situated atop what appears to bear a resemblance to falcon wings, symbolizing the elevated status of the deceased;¹¹⁷⁰
- The presence of a white lower section on the mummy boards, which adheres to the typical Ramesside arrangement for this portion of the body. However, the upper part of the discussed examples from the Twenty-First Dynasty undergoes a complete redecoration following yellow coffin standards, including two pectorals in the case of Meritamon B, which is a rarity and may respond again to a creative mind. Furthermore, the inclusion of a red belt on the white dress depicted on the mummy boards is a departure from the conventional Ramesside festive dress type, presenting itself as an innovative reinterpretation.
- The inner lid of Meritamon B features an extended central panel that fully encompasses the lower section, extending down to the footboard. This departure from the classical tripartite scheme of the central panel is noteworthy, as it introduces new registers, underscoring the special significance of this section. Consequently, while the manufacture of the object follows Ramesside forms, the decoration stands in stark contrast to what is typically associated with the Ramesside style. Conversely, in the case of A. 17's lid, instead of a fully extended central panel, there is a more Twenty-First Dynasty yellow coffins approach with the presence of a lower section represented by three lateral

¹¹⁷⁰ As seen for Meritamon A and Maatkara.

partitions. This variation presents the model and the objects themselves as a creative play or reinterpretation with multiple options, although the identity of the creative mind behind it remains unknown.

These unconventional materials shed light on how a Theban decorator, group of interconnected craftspeople or even a workshop catering to the elite class¹¹⁷¹ achieved innovative results by building upon traditional coffins. The concept of 'archaization' serves as a backdrop for displaying strongly innovative compositions. Were these innovations influenced by the elevated status of the coffin owners? Did the utilization of traditional Ramesside forms hold ritual, political, or religious significance? Were these creative innovations a means of competing socially and demonstrating access to new concepts and innovations while reminiscing about old forms? This dual commitment to honoring tradition while embracing innovation underscores the remarkable complexity of these artifacts, revealing the adaptability and mastery of skilled craftspeople as well as the creative minds of those behind these creations.

¹¹⁷¹ A simpler version with a very much lower degree of quality, although sharing a similar layout, can be observed on the coffin set of Tamutmutef (Cat. 2228; CGT 10119.a-b, CGT 10120) (Museo Egizio, Turin). This highlights the aspiration of individuals from lower social strata to replicate what was happening in higher ranks, albeit with a noticeable reduction in the quality and status of the deceased. In the case of Tamutmutef, who held the title of Smayt n Imn, this contrast in quality becomes apparent. The lower quality of the coffin is not limited to the repetitive iconography and texts; it also manifests in orthographic mistakes, such as the use of "*im3h rh*" instead of "*hr*."

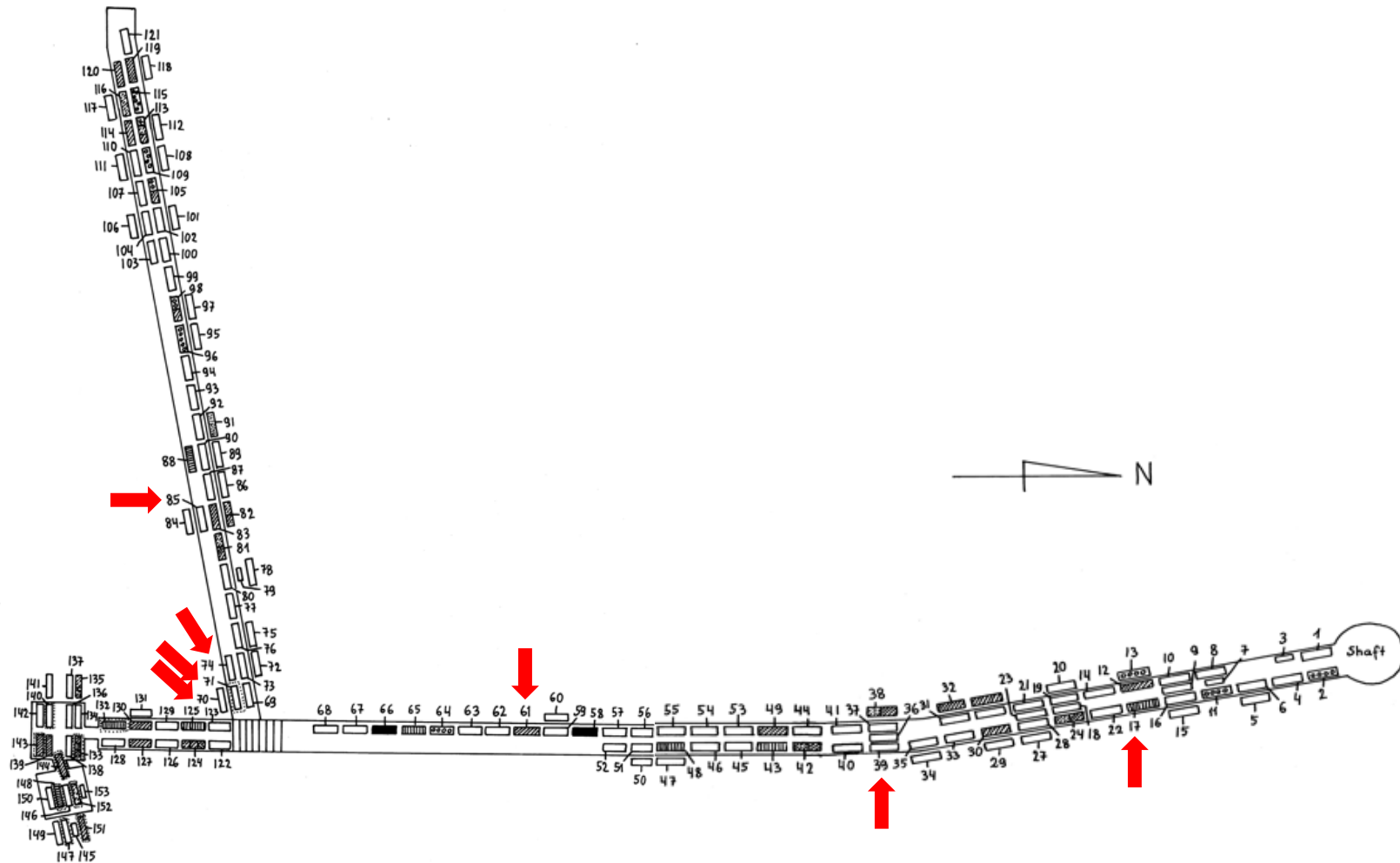


Image 4.4.1 Spatial Locations of the Sets Under Examination with Known A. Numbers (Image from Niwiński 1988: table 1, modified by the present author)

Table 4.4.8 Coffin Sets and Coffin Elements Included in Table 4.4.1, Including their Owner's Information and Associated Funerary Amulets

Associated owner ¹¹⁷²	Item ¹¹⁷³	Owner's identity	Titulary	Funerary amulets associated with a high status of the deceased ¹¹⁷⁴			
				Incision amulet	Falcon-shaped pectoral	Sacred cobra	Other important funerary equipment and remarks about the decoration of the coffin floorboard
Anonymous ♀ (JE 29622, A. Number unknown)	OL	Blank space	<i>s3t n ḥm-ntr tpy;</i> <i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜣyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>mnꜥt ḥnsw p3-ḥrd</i> (original)	Unknown			
Anonymous ♀ (JE 29647, A. 74)	OL	Anonymous ♀ (not preserved?)	-	wd3t (gilded silver)	Gilded silver	-	Fine linen with blue edges. One of the bands features a representation of a seated Isis
	OB	Anonymous					
	IL	Anonymous ♀					
	IB						
	MB						
Meritamon A (JE unknown, A. 70?)	OB*	Meritamon (original)	<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜣyt n Imn;</i> <i>špswt</i> (original)	Unknown			
	IL		<i>nbt pr</i> (original)				
	IB		[...] <i>n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>s3t n ḥm ntr tpy n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>špswt</i> (original)				

¹¹⁷² When the background of the entries is yellow, it indicates that the object was gilded.

¹¹⁷³ OL = outer lid; OB = outer box; IL = inner lid; IB = inner box; MB = mummy board; PA = Papyrus of the Amduat; S = Shroud; CJ = Canopic jars; BD = Book of the Dead papyrus; SB = Shabti box. Items specifically marked with an asterisk (*), connected to the sets of Meritamon A and B, lack clarity regarding their set association due to some mixing between the sets.

¹¹⁷⁴ For space reasons, the table only features a selection of the most rich and unique funerary equipment attributed to the sets. For the discussion of some of the funerary objects associated with the sets, see supra. For the complete funerary equipment of the sets, see Daressy 1907: 28 [A. 71, A. 74], 24-25 [A. 39], 23 [A. 17], 27 [A. 61], 29 [A. 85]; Aston 2009: 175-176 [TG 744] (A. 71), 176 [TG 747] (A. 74), 170-171 [TG 712] (A.39), 166-167 [TG 690] (A. 17), 174 [TG 734] (A. 61), 178 [TG 758] (A. 85).

	MB		<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜣyt n ꜥmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>s3t n hm ntr tpy n ꜥmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>špswt</i> (original)				
Meritamon B (JE 29704, 29734, A. 71)	IL	Meritamon (filling a blank space)	<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜣyt n ꜥmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i> (original) <i>špswt</i> (filling a blank space, referred to Meritamon)	Gilded wood; <i>Wd3t</i> (gilded and silvered bronze). ¹¹⁷⁵	Gilded bronze		On the chest, gilded wooden scarab with outstretched wings, holding a red disc between its front legs; Heart scarab in stone, featuring a human head
	IB	Anonymous ♀	<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜣyt</i> (original)				
	MB		-				
	PA*	Meritamon	<i>s3t Mn-hpr-Rꜥ;</i> <i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜣyt n ꜥmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>ḥsyꜥt n p3 ꜥ n Mwt wrt nbt ꜥšrw;</i> <i>mnꜥt n ḥnsw p3-hrd</i>				
	S		<i>šmꜣyt n ꜥmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i>				
	CJ*		<i>nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜣyt n ꜥmn;</i> “Royal favourite”				
Anonymous ♀ (JE and A. Number unknown) (L. 13)	OL	Anonymous ♀ (not preserved?)	-	Unknown			
Anonymous ♂ (JE unknown, A. 39)	OL	Amenhotep (filling a blank space)	<i>Wꜥb;</i> <i>sš mšꜥ</i> (filling a blank space, referred to Amenhotep)	Bronze, with <i>wd3t</i> gilded, silvered and painted	Gold	-	Heart scarab in schist
	IL	Anonymous ♂ (not preserved?)	-				
	IB	Anonymous ♂	-				
	MB		-				
	S	Amenhotep	<i>it-ntr ḥdꜥꜥ n ꜥmn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš n3w mnḥ n p3 mšꜥ;</i> <i>wꜥb n Mwt n pr ꜥmn</i>				
PA	<i>it-ntr n ꜥmn;</i>						

¹¹⁷⁵ For clarification on the confusion and mixing of information regarding the incision amulets associated with the sets of Meritamon A and B, refer to the earlier discussion.

	BD		<i>sš mšꜥ</i> <i>it-ntr n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš n3w mnḥ n p3 mšꜥ</i>				
Tjetpaserunefer (JE 29699, A. 17)	OL	Blank space	<i>Nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜥyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i> (original)	wDAṯ (wax)	Crowned with a bronze disque	-	Wig; Large shroud
	OB	Anonymous ♀	-				
	IL	Blank space	<i>Nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜥyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i> (original)				
	IB	Tjetpaserunefer	<i>Nbt pr</i> (original?)				
	MB	Blank space	<i>Nbt pr;</i> <i>šmꜥyt n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i> (original)				
	BD	Asetemakhbit / Anonymous ♂ ¹¹⁷⁶	<i>šmꜥyt n Imn</i> / -				
Panebenkemetnekhet (JE 29653, A. 61)	OL	Anonymous ♂	-	Round shape (unidentified material)	-	-	Heart scarab noir
	OB						
	IL						
	IB	Anonymous					
	MB	Anonymous ♂					
	BD		?				
	PA	Panebenkemetnekhet	<i>it-ntr n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw;</i> <i>sš pr-hd n nb t3wy n pr Imn</i>				
	SB		?				
Psusennes (JE 29680, A. 85)	OL	Anonymous ♂		Gilded bronze	Gilded bronze, with its wings oustretched	Small uraeus in gilded bronze (mummy's forehead)	Three blue amulets on the neck; Very fine linen; Heart scarab in green basalt; Underside floorboard of the outer box decorated
	OB		-				
	IL						
	IB		<i>it-ntr n Imn-Rꜥ</i> (original)				
	MB		-				

¹¹⁷⁶ For the confusions related to this papyrus assigned to set A. 17, refer to the earlier discussion.

	PA	Psusennes	<i>it-ntr n Tmn; hm-ntr n sbk</i>				
Anonymous ♀ (JE and A. Number unknown) (MC. 1)	MB	Anonymous ♀ (not preserved?)	-	Unknown			
Anonymous ♀ (probably from Babel-Gasus) ((JE and A. Number unknown) (62.2)	IB	Anonymous ♀ (not preserved?)	-	Unknown			
Anonymous (JE and A. Number unknown) (C. 32, C. 33)	OB	Anonymous (not preserved?)	-	Unknown			
Anonymous (JE and A. Number unknown) (C. 28)	OB	Anonymous (not preserved?)	-	Unknown			Decorated underside floorboard of the outer box
Anonymous (JE and A. Number unknown) (L. 26)	OL?	Anonymous (not preserved?)	-	Unknown			
Anonymous (JE and A. Number unknown) (L. 21)	L/MB ?	Anonymous (not preserved?)	-	Unknown			

Chapter 4, Section 5

4.5 Yellow Coffin Decorative Models During the Twenty-First Dynasty

4.5.1 Introduction

Table 4.5.1 presents a group of coffin sets (complete or incomplete), the majority of whose associated elements share numerous and distinct stylistic, iconographic, and textual characteristics. Considering this broader group of materials, it becomes evident that the related objects share the same or resembling textual and iconographical model(s). Their affinities suggest that they were likely contemporaneously decorated by one or multiple interconnected networks of craftspeople, and it is possible that some of these materials originated from the same location and/or workshop. In specific instances, it is conceivable that the same individual craftspeople participated in the decoration of subset clusters of coffins. In this regard, subjecting these coffin sets to comprehensive scientific analyses of the physical materials involved, such as pigments, plaster and wood, is crucial to gain a deeper understanding of their material composition and eventual shared origins.¹¹⁷⁷

A significant characteristic of most of the elements under examination is their inherent anonymity. Initially, the majority of these materials were decorated without specific names or titles of the deceased, and only later were some of them filled in with such details. This trait provides insights into the production processes of these materials and underscores the potential significance of the blank spaces reserved for the information of the deceased. This prevailing feature of yellow coffins also yields insights into the decorative practices, craftspeople and artistic networks that were active during the Twenty-First Dynasty.

On the contrary, for the sole individual whose titles and names were originally inscribed on his respective objects, an examination of his social status sheds light on the social dimension and its influence on the selection, utilization and modification of the specific iconographic and textual model(s) under discussion. It also offers insights into why, within the context of the materials under discussion, certain individuals could have their names inscribed on their funerary sets while others did not. Through comparison, this facilitates the proposal of a spectrum of social statuses for the remaining individuals associated with the discussed coffins.

Upon analyzing the titles held by the majority of coffin owners, particularly the males, a noticeable pattern emerges—common professional affiliations and a similar social status. This commonality and similarity likely played a role in their choice of the same or similar iconographic and textual model(s) for their funerary containers, regardless of the location where these materials were decorated. While the existence of familial ties

¹¹⁷⁷ As part of an ongoing research initiative started by the Vatican Coffin Project, extensive scientific analyses have been conducted on numerous yellow coffins to gain insight into their production and manufacturing techniques (Amenta 2014; Asensi Amorós 2017; Brunel-Duverger 2020; Guichard, Pagès-Camagna, Timbart 2017: 170-173, 178 [Table 1]; Pagès-Camagna; Guichard 2017; Prestipino 2017; Geldhof 2018). For additional studies of technical and material aspects related to yellow coffins, consider, for instance, Medina Sánchez's work (2017), which focuses on certain coffins from Bab el-Gasus that were sent to Spain. Additionally, Dawson's study (2018) delves into those aspects of the coffin of Nespareshfyt, held in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (E.1.1822).

among them remains uncertain, it's worth noting that the female owners of the coffins examined in this section, in line with convention, lack specific titles that would define their social status. Nevertheless, by comparing them to their male counterparts, who all feature the same models on their coffins, it becomes possible to propose a range of potential statuses for the female individuals as well.

Furthermore, the investigation delves into the origins of these coffins, with some of them originating from Bab el-Gasus. For these coffins, the study addresses knowledge gaps related to the organization of the tomb, its archaeological context and the many unidentified coffins found within it. Specifically, in the context of this section, the spatial location of one particular set -the coffin of Ikhy-, is being examined. This examination aims to provide a suggested location for the set, as its placement has been unknown until now.

The findings indicate that common patterns and standardization in coffin decoration, characterized by the presence of the same or similar model(s) on subsets of yellow coffins, are not random occurrences. Instead, they appear to be closely connected to the social status, knowledge and access of exclusive circles within society. These circles may have had specific decorative models at their disposal for adorning their funerary containers. The model(s) under discussion possessed distinct characteristics and/or were linked to a particular decorating method. This is evident from the fact that the majority of the coffins under discussion were initially decorated anonymously, suggesting a unique decoration process for these items.

The study also emphasizes the significance of further research, offering new perspectives and guiding future research directions for the study of Bab el-Gasus, particularly concerning the arrangement of its contents. By combining analytical and comparative studies with comprehensive historical documentation, a deeper understanding of the tomb can be achieved. This also provides insights into the broader context of funerary practices during that era.

Table 4.5.1 Coffins and Coffin Elements Attributed to the Same or Similar Textual and Iconographical Model(s)

Owners ¹¹⁷⁸	Location of the materials	Plates
Anonymous woman ¹¹⁷⁹ (inner coffin, mummy board)	Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (ÄM 11984) (inner coffin)	4.5/1-3
	Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (ÄM 11985) (mummy board)	4.5/4
Nesypakaswty (<i>Nsy-p3-ḳ3-šwty</i>) ¹¹⁸⁰	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29641 (CG 6018, 6061)) (outer coffin)	4.5/5-6
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29641 (CG 6062, 6086)) (inner coffin)	4.5/7-9

¹¹⁷⁸ Details about the owners' personal information can be found in Table 4.5.2. Table 4.5.1 only provides general identification of the sets and elements without delving into the specifics of each object or the particular characteristics of anonymity.

¹¹⁷⁹ Erman 1894: 134; 1899: 176; Roeder 1924: 456; Niwiński 1988: 110 [35]. Although the coffin originates from Bab el-Gasus and it was part of the Lot VII shipped to Germany (Daressy 1907: 19), its Daressy's list A. number has not been yet identified.

¹¹⁸⁰ Daressy 1907: 7, 23 [A. 43]; Niwiński 1988: 121 [94]; Chassinat 1909: 45-50 [6014a-b, 6015], pl. III (outer coffin and inner lid. For the table of concordance between Chassinat's numbers and CG numbers, see Niwiński 1995: IX-XII); Niwiński 1995: 122-125, pl. XXII.1 (inner box and mummy board). In his publications, Niwiński associates an outer box (Chassinat 1909: 51-54 [6016], pls. IV-VI; Schmidt 1919: 133-134 [figs. 688-692]) with set A. 43. However, the object likely originated from a different set, as there were some confusions regarding its identification number, as noted by Chassinat (1909: 51 [n. 1]).

(outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29641 (CG 6087)) (mummy board)	4.5/10
Ikhy (<i>lh</i>) ¹¹⁸¹ (outer coffin, mummy board)	Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City (MV 25035.3.1-2) (outer coffin)	4.5/11-13
	Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City (MV 25035.3.3) (mummy board)	4.5/14
Anonymous woman ¹¹⁸² (inner box)	Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City (MV 25016.2.2) (inner box)	4.5/15-16
Anonymous woman ¹¹⁸³ (outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board)	Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (8524) (outer coffin)	4.5/17-19
	Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (8528) (inner coffin)	4.5/20-22
	Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence (9534) (mummy board)	4.5/23
Djedkhonsuiuefankh (<i>dd-hnsw-iw=f-nh</i>) ¹¹⁸⁴ (outer coffin, inner coffin, mummy board)	Musée du Louvre, Paris (E 10636, AF 9593; JE 29626; AF 98) (outer coffin)	4.5/24-26
	Musée du Louvre, Paris ((E 10636; AF 86; JE 29688) (inner lid), (E 10636; AF 95; JE 29688) (inner box))	4.5/27-29
	Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (H 2322; Loan from the Musée du Louvre E 10637; AF 102) (mummy board)	4.5/30
Padikhonsu (<i>P3-di-hnsw</i>) ¹¹⁸⁵ (inner coffin, mummy board)	Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (H 2320) (inner coffin)	4.5/31-34
	Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (H 2321) (mummy board)	4.5/35-36
Ankhefiah (<i>nḥ=f-(n)-iḥ</i>)? ¹¹⁸⁶ (probably an outer box)	Deir el-Bahari storeroom (D/III.5) (probably an outer box)	4.5/37

¹¹⁸¹ Daressy 1907: 21 [without A. Number, although an association with set A. 58 is suggested in this study]; Marucchi 1899: 118-120 [126, 127], 158 [140a]; Niwiński 1988: 175 [403], erroneously attributing the inner box MV 25021 and a second female lid (Marucchi 1899: 125 [128], 131 [129]) to the same set; Gasse 1996: 81-96 [7-9], pls. XIII 1-2, XIV 1, XV 2, XVIII 1-2, LXIII 1, incorrectly classifying the outer coffin as an inner one.

¹¹⁸² Marucchi 1899: 115-116 [124]. Niwiński (1988: 176 [405]), without sufficient evidence, associated the object with an inner lid (Marucchi 1899: 171 [143a]) and the mummy board MV 25022 (Marucchi 1899: 143-144 [131a], mistakenly presented as an inner lid). Later on, Gasse associated the inner box (1996: 112-114, 117-120 [13], pls. XXIV 3, XXVII 1-2) with the inner lid MV 25016.2.1 (1996: 110-111, 115-116 [12], pls. XXIII, XXIV 1-2), again without any basis. Considering all the confusions and the lack of evidence for the association of the objects (as they are different in style and the owner's personal information is not written on the objects), only the inner box has been included in Table 4.5.1. Although the object was part of the Lot XVII sent to the Vatican City (Daressy 1907: 21), its A. number is unknown. However, an association with the material of Ikhy, therefore with set A. 58, is suggested further below. For information about the technical details of the inner box, see Amenta 2014: 489, 492, 493, 496; Asensi Amorós 2017: 45-47; Prestipino 2017: 397 [n. 7], 403-404; Grenier 1993: 23.

¹¹⁸³ Daressy 1907: 5, 19, 22-23 [A. 15]; Niwiński 1988: 139 [190] (outer and inner coffins), 140 [194] (mummy board). For the recent rearrangement of the coffin set, see Sousa 2018: 24-113, 520-522, 526-529, 532. For the eventual ancient reuse of the set, see Cooney 2018: 503-504, 506.

¹¹⁸⁴ Daressy 1907: 5, 18, 22 [A. 8] (Of note, there are some confusions between the identifications of set A. 8 and the homonymous set A. 141, and new studies are necessary to clarify the matter); Niwiński 1988: 166-167 [349 (outer coffin), 344 (inner lid), 345 (inner box)], 179-180 [427 (mummy board, listed among the "location unknown" artifacts, although it has recently been identified in Lyon)]; Dautant 2014: 152-154; Dautant, Escobar Clarós, Jamen 2017: 125; Dautant, Jamen 2017: 132 [31, 53], 133 [52, 60, 61]; Brunel-Duverger 2020: 140, 141 [fig. 41], 142 [fig. 42] (inner box), 152, 153 [fig. 49], 154 [fig. 50] (outer coffin). For the recent rearrangement of the material, see Rigault 2021: 405-408.

¹¹⁸⁵ Jamen 2016; Jamen 2017; Dautant, Jamen 2017: 132 [30]; Tarasenko 2019: 97.

¹¹⁸⁶ Niwiński 1985: 200, 203, 206 (fig. 3a-b), 207 [Cercueil N° 2], identifying the object as part of an outer coffin; Niwiński 1988: 138 [179], identifying the object as part of an inner coffin. For a recent discussion on the object, referring to it as an outer box believed to originate from tomb MMA 60, refer to Kamrin 2000: 814-815. Kamrin considers unpublished material from Winlock preserved at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (TCThebes 797-799) and suggests tentative associated materials with the box. However, due to the lack of specific evidence supporting such attribution, only the box has been included in Table 4.5.1.

Diwamun (<i>diw-'Imn</i>) ¹¹⁸⁷ (inner coffin, mummy board)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29727 (CG 6054, 6053)) (inner coffin)	4.5/38-40
	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 29727 (CG 6057)) (mummy board)	4.5/41
Anonymous man ¹¹⁸⁸ (fragmented outer box)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Basement, C.12) (two fragmented walls of an outer box)	4.5/42-43
Anonymous man ¹¹⁸⁹ (mummy board)	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE unknown (CG 6047)) (mummy board)	4.5/44

4.5.2 Iconographical and Textual Heterogeneity Among Elements Associated With the Same Set

While certain coffin sets included in Table 4.5.1 exhibit elements that conform to the same or similar iconographical and textual model(s) under discussion, other elements within the same coffin sets clearly deviate from it. The latter aspect can be observed in the case of the outer box associated with the complete set of Nesypakaswty (pls. 4.5/8-9), the inner coffin and mummy board preserved in Florence (pls. 4.5/20-23) and nowadays associated with a complete set that belonged to an anonymous woman, and the inner lid (pls. 4.5/31-32) and mummy board (pls. 4.5/35-36) associated with the set of Padikhonsu.

This suggests that specific elements currently associated with the same coffin set do not consistently adhere to uniform iconographic and textual model(s) for the covers and boxes. Consequently, it is possible that the materials belonging to the same set were decorated at different times or by different craftspeople, each following distinct and diverse iconographic and textual models. Alternatively, certain elements associated with the same set might have adopted diverse iconographical and textual solutions owing to the deceased's access to additional distinct model(s). This latter possibility can be suggested for the materials associated with Padikhonsu, as discussed further below.

¹¹⁸⁷ Daressy 1907: 6, 24 [A. 31]; Niwiński 1988: 130 [138]; Niwiński 1995: 41-45.

¹¹⁸⁸ I am thankful to Niwiński for providing me with access to his photographic material of these fragments from Bab el-Gasus (A. Number unknown), which were recently (re)discovered in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. For more information about the corpus of (re)discovered objects from Bab el-Gasus, refer to Niwiński 2021: 355-371.

¹¹⁸⁹ Niwiński 1988: 133 [153]; Niwiński 1995: 24-26, who associated the mummy board with an inner lid (CG 6046, Niwiński 1995: 23-24) and an inner box (CG 6021, Chassinat 1909: 55-57 [6018]). The specific A. and JE numbers associated with these materials, which originated from Bab el-Gasus, are currently unknown. There are significant stylistic differences among these three elements, and while the lid and mummy board's decorations associate the objects with a man, the box is associated with a woman. This suggests the possibility of reuse or repurposing. In fact, upon visual examination, it appears that the inner lid may have originally been decorated for a woman, as there are indications of removed breasts and the subsequent redecoration of the that area. Similarly, the original female lappets on the wig were painted over when the object was likely repurposed for a man (or more precisely, a child, as suggested by De Morgan (1892: 272 [1139]) and Chassinat (1909: 55 [n. 2]) upon observations of the modification of the box). These remarks are contingent on all the three elements being originally together. The mummy board also reveals alterations to the wig, yet without any change in gender. Beneath the present layer of decoration, one can discern that the wig was initially adorned with striped lines, which are typically associated with male wigs. This gives rise to the possibility of a shift in design or intention.

The association between these three elements is not mentioned by De Morgan or Chassinat, but is derived from Brunton and Guéraud's list from 1941 (Niwiński 1988: 27, 202-204 [Table III]). Due to these inconsistencies, including the substantial stylistic and gender discrepancies among the three elements, the lack of information regarding the owner(s) of the objects, and the inability to establish a connection with any of Daressy's notes, there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that these three elements originally belonged together. Consequently, only the mummy board is included in Table 4.5.1. Further examination and study of the objects is necessary to provide clarity on this matter.

Additionally, the practice of reuse and/or repurposing could also contribute to the observed heterogeneity and differences among elements, as some may have originally belonged to separate sets but were later utilized together. Moreover, it is worth considering that some elements may have been mistakenly attributed to the same coffin set in modern times due to transportation errors and mistakes that occurred after their discovery.¹¹⁹⁰ The lack of comprehensive documentation to track the original arrangement of the coffins has perpetuated these errors throughout time.

In this context, it is highly probable that the latter scenario occurred to a set listed in Table 4.5.1. This presumed complete set, preserved in Florence, comprises an outer coffin (pls. 4.5/17-19), inner coffin (pls. 4.5/20-22) and mummy board (pl. 4.5/23) nowadays associated with set A.15 and attributed to an anonymous woman. However, while the outer coffin conforms to the iconographic and textual model(s) under discussion, the inner coffin and mummy board deviate significantly from them. Given the historical inaccuracies and confusions surrounding objects from Bab el-Gasus, it is plausible that the inner coffin and mummy board were not originally intended to be linked with the outer coffin they are currently associated with.¹¹⁹¹

The anonymity of these elements and the lack of consistent information about the deceased on all elements linked to the presumed original set introduce complexity when attempting to confirm the attribution of elements to the same set, especially when specific similar characteristics are absent. The diversity observed in styles, iconographies, texts, and the inconsistent information within elements thought to belong to the same set underscores the intricate nature and complexity of these materials.

4.5.3 Iconographical and Textual Heterogeneity Among Elements Associated With the Same or Similar Model(s)

While the scenes and texts that will be mentioned may originate from a shared or resembling “fixed” model(s), there exist minor variations in their depictions. These variations are essential to consider, even though the religious or symbolic meanings conveyed through the representations were achieved regardless. For instance, the same god can be represented in different forms, either human or animal, and secondary deities, though not the central focus of the scenes, can vary from one object to another. Additionally, specific details that complement the scenes may be added on some objects while omitted on others, and the epithets of the same gods can differ from scene to scene.

These variations not only add aesthetic appeal but also speak to the dynamic nature of artistic traditions, where innovation and personal interpretation were likely valued alongside adherence to established conventions and traditions. They suggest a

¹¹⁹⁰ This practice can be traced back to periods when systematic excavations were not yet commonplace, and instances of trafficking and dealing were prevalent. In an attempt to assemble complete or better-preserved sets, traffickers engaged in the strategy of creating “fake” ensembles by combining objects from various sets from different contexts. This practice is exemplified in artifacts originating from Akhmim, as documented in Chapter 4, Section 1. Conversely, in the case of objects from Bab el-Gasus, the unintentional mixing and errors within coffin sets have been identified as a recognized practice. This perspective underscores the importance of contextual understanding in interpreting the original configuration of coffin sets.

¹¹⁹¹ Similarly, for the possibility of object mixing between Lots V and XIV, see *infra*. Further research may offer additional insights into this matter.

significant degree of artistic creativity, flexibility, experimentation, and personal interpretation by the craftspeople and/or commissioners involved in creating the decorative programs or interpretive details within the established framework and model(s). Despite the existence of a common sequence and established iconography, these variations indicate that artists and commissioners were granted creative freedom and individuality to adapt and modify certain aspects, likely tailoring the imagery to specific contexts, beliefs, or personal preferences. Craftspeople could infuse their unique styles and artistic choices into the depicted scenes, incorporating iconographic elements and varied compositions. In this sense, these variations contribute to the rich artistic diversity within the cultural and religious framework. This dynamic individual artistic expression serves as a testament and highlights the vibrant and ever-evolving nature of artistic expression within the given context.

Certainly, it is also possible that the observed divergences could have been influenced by the combined and concurrent utilization of multiple models, which, while similar, each possessed its own unique characteristics and biases. Additionally, subtle chronological disparities between the materials could have further contributed to specific variations.

Certainly, this raises the intriguing question of the extent to which these models were detailed, their inherent nature, and the key figures responsible for overseeing the variation processes. Specifically, one might consider whether it was the decorator, the commissioner, or a conceptualizer who played a pivotal role in shaping these variations. Delving into these aspects could provide valuable insights into the creative and decision-making dynamics behind these models.

Coffin Similarity Attribute Complexes

Building upon iconographic and textual analyses, a range of similarity attribute complexes can be identified between the coffins and coffin elements under consideration. Examining these similarities provides grounds for suggesting analogies among the majority of the objects, some of which are explored further below.¹¹⁹²

Covers (pls. 4.5/1, 4, 7, 10-11, 14, 17, 24, 27, 30, 38, 41, 44)

The wigs depicted on the lids and mummy boards indicate the gender of the deceased, with striped wigs adorning the covers associated with male owners (pls. 4.5/7, 10, 24, 27, 30, 31, 35, 38, 41, 44), while multicoloured binding bands cover the monochrome lappets on female covers. (pls. 4.5/1, 4, 11, 14, 17) The objects feature a large pectoral on the chest, sometimes depicting a scarab (pls. 4.5/1, 4, 10, 30, 38, 41), occasionally winged, or a heart amulet flanked by cobras (pls. 4.5/7, 11, 14, 17, 24, 27, 44), all of them featuring solar disks on top. The latter configuration of the pectoral is rarely found on yellow coffins, suggesting that this characteristic may have been associated with a particular model or the work of a creative decorator. The arms on both lids and mummy boards are typically neither carved nor depicted.¹¹⁹³

¹¹⁹² For the coffin topography and terminology, I will follow Sousa 2017: 2-4; Sousa 2018: 43-46. The terms left and right apply to the coffin and mummy's point of view.

¹¹⁹³ Two exceptions stand out: the mummy board preserved at the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin (ÄM 11985) (pl. 4.5/4), associated with an anonymous woman, and the mummy board of Djedkhonsuiefankh preserved at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon (H 2322) (pl. 4.5/30). This deviation from the general

The central panel of the covers typically contains two or three registers. The first register usually features a scarab as the central marker, flanked with Osiris on a throne on each side, protected by divinities, occasionally winged (pls. 4.5/1, 4, 7, 10, 11, 14, 17, 24, 27, 38, 44). This scene may also include other gods and the representation of the deceased as a ba bird. In certain configurations, the figure of Osiris is absent (pls. 4.5/30, 41). At times, the top of the register is adorned with the representation of a winged sun disk (pls. 4.5/7, 17, 24, 27). The second register usually features the goddess Nut (pls. 14.5/, 4, 7, 10, 11, 14, 24, 38, 41, 44) and occasionally a winged falcon (pls. 4.5/17, 27, 30). If present, the third register mirrors the first one (pls. 4.5/1, 7, 14, 38, 44), with a very similar arrangement.

The lower section is divided into three longitudinal partitions for the lids (pls. 4.5/1, 7, 11, 17, 24, 27, 38) and two for the mummy boards (pls. 4.5/4, 10, 14, 30, 41, 44). Their lateral partitions maintain symmetry, with lids typically having three registers and mummy boards four, displaying similar iconography. In the first register, the enthroned Osiris is usually depicted (pls. 4.5/1, 4, 10, 14, 17, 27, 30, 38, 41, 44), the second features a falcon god (pls. 4.5/1, 4, 10, 14, 27, 30, 38, 41, 44), and the third depicts the ba bird on a pedestal (pls. 4.5/1, 10, 14, 27, 30, 38, 41, 44).¹¹⁹⁴ These representations may occasionally include the deceased and protective winged deities or a standing mummiform god. On mummy boards, a fourth register, not commonly found on lids, features a mummiform divinity standing or kneeling (pls. 4.5/4, 10, 14, 30, 41), occasionally holding feathers, and exceptionally, the representation of a *wꜣt* eye (pl. 4.5/44).¹¹⁹⁵ Exceptionally, the first register featuring Osiris and the deceased may appear in more than one register (pls. 4.5/7, 11).

The central partition, present solely on the lids (pls. 4.5/1, 7, 11, 17, 24, 27, 38), consists of three or four registers. In the first register, a scarab usually serves as the central marker, flanked by mummiform seated gods holding feathers, each figure adorned with sun disks on top. The second register features the Ta Weret totem (emblem of Abydos), the *shꜣm* scepter or occasionally the ba bird, while the third register replicates the same content as the first one. In cases where a fourth register is incorporated (pls. 4.5/1, 38), the *shꜣm* scepter is featured.

Lastly, on the sides of the footboard of the lids,¹¹⁹⁶ a diversity of iconography can be observed, featuring underworld divinities and the ba bird, or the representations of Isis and Nephthys, sometimes accompanied with the Ta Weret totem and winged divinities.

pattern may suggest a reuse or modification of the support for unknown reasons, although the possibility of the objects being decorated at different times cannot be ruled out, despite featuring the same iconographical and textual patterns as their associated elements. Instances of deviations, like these, underscore the inherent difficulty and challenge in constructing typologies for yellow coffins. The complexities arise from their multifaceted nature, as they may have undergone various phases, transformations and adaptations over time in ways that are not immediately apparent. These instances exemplify the nuanced biographies that these materials can possess, often making it intricate to discern a clear and linear chronological progression.


¹¹⁹⁴ Remarkably, the outer lid preserved at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Florence (8524) (pl. 4.5/17) feature a seated mummiform divinity with a baboon head in the second register and a seated mummiform divinity with a falcon head in the third register.

¹¹⁹⁵ In one mummy board (pl. 4.5/4), the mummiform divinities are depicted in both the third and fourth registries, with the representation of the ba bird omitted. This observation underscores the artistic variations and adaptability of the decorators, emphasizing that objects adhering to the same patterns can exhibit distinct and original characteristics.

¹¹⁹⁶ The inner lid associated with Djedkhonsuiuefankh (pl. 4.5/27) lacks preservation in this area.

It is worth noting the prevalence of the low relief decoration technique, known as *pastiglia*,¹¹⁹⁷ as it is commonly observed on the majority of the discussed covers but absent on the boxes. This technique implies a more intricate and thoughtful approach to decoration, possibly indicating a greater investment of resources by the commissioners, as well as the engagement of highly skilled artisans. This observation also leads to the possibility that certain techniques may be exclusive to specific artistic networks or craftspeople, or linked to specific model(s).

Regarding the arrangement of textual inscriptions, the lids typically have texts on the longitudinal bands, the footboard, and short transversal inscriptions in between the registers of the lateral partitions on the lower section. Occasionally, although rarely, one column of inscription may be found on each side of the central partition (pls. 4.5/1, 24, 38). Generally, the longitudinal bands feature formulas referring to Geb and Nut respectively, while the footboard contains the information of the deceased, if any, along with the formula of protection of Nut. Sometimes, the formula associated with the ascending to the skies is also present, indicating the deceased's celestial journey in the divine bark of Re. The short transversal inscriptions usually only refer to epithets of the represented gods, and the central inscriptions feature formulas associated with Osiris and Ra-Horakhty or occasionally Osiris and Ptah Sokar Osiris.

Regarding the texts featured on the mummy boards, there are one or two columns of inscriptions between the lateral partitions. These inscriptions may include formulas associated with Osiris and Ra-Horakhty, Osiris and Isis, or the formula of protection of Mut and the aforementioned deceased's celestial journey. It is noteworthy that some of the speeches are introduced by the particle  (*dd mdw [i]n [...] h[3]*) (pls. 4.5/10, 14, 44), which is unique to these objects and therefore to the used model(s), although the possibility of association with a specific workshop, decorator or closely related group of decorators cannot be ruled out. The registers on the lower section are also framed with short transversal inscriptions referring to the represented divinities.

*Boxes*¹¹⁹⁸ (pls. 4.5/2-3, 8-9, 12-13, 15-16, 18-19, 25-26, 28-29, 33-34, 37, 39-40, 42-43)

The boxes also exhibit iconographic and stylistic similarity attribute complexes. The iconography and textual program follow identical or closely related scenes and textual sequences.

The external decoration of the objects maintains a consistent pattern, typically symmetrical between both walls of the box, and features individual scenes separated by columns of text. When decorated, the headboard features a *tit*-knot as the central marker, flanked by mummiform divinities with serpent heads and feather headdresses (pls. 4.5/12, 18, 28). In one example (pl. 4.5/15), the *tit* knot is substituted by a djed pillar, accompanied by the same divinities. The side panels of the headboard display Ptah Sokar Osiris alone or accompanied by protective deities. Occasionally, standing mummiform figures facing the god are also depicted.

¹¹⁹⁷ Geldhof 2018: 61-62.

¹¹⁹⁸ Of note, the box associated with Ankhefiah (pl. 4.5/37) and the fragmented outer box preserved at the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (C.12) (pls. 4.5/42-43) do not include the complete headboard, footboard and floorboard.

In the upper section of the boxes, Thoth is depicted in association with Spell 161 of the Book of the Dead, complementing the subsequent scene, which usually presents a symmetrical vignette with the *sh̄m* scepter as the central marker (pls. 4.5/2, 8, 15, 18, 28, 33, 39), flanked by Osiris or other underworld gods. Some instances of the scene may include the Ta Weret totem (pls. 4.5/37, 42) or the representation of gods under an architectural element (pls. 4.5/8, 12, 18). Protective divinities may be depicted alongside these motifs.

The lower section of the boxes features four scenes. The first one depicts the deceased either as a human or as a ba bird.¹¹⁹⁹ The second vignette is divided into two registers. The first register shows the solar barque with a divinity atop it, while the second register typically includes the representation of Apopis as a coiled serpent, symbolizing Spell 15 of the Book of the Dead (pls. 4.5/2, 8, 15, 18, 28, 33, 39). The corresponding scene on the opposite wall is usually also divided into two registers. The first register features the solar barque with a divinity on top, and the scene below depicts the awakening of Osiris (pls. 4.5/12, 18, 25, 37, 42), represented on his back and accompanied by a divinity on each side. These complementary scenes on both sides of the box may not always be present, but in some instances, the same scene is featured on both walls. When two different scenes are depicted, there is no consistent rule about whether they should be placed on the right or left sides, and they can be featured interchangeably.

The third scene in the lower section features three mummiform underworld divinities standing on a coiled serpent, possibly connected with spell 18 of the Book of the Dead (pls. 4.5/2, 8, 12, 15, 18, 25, 28, 37, 39).¹²⁰⁰ This scene might be present on both walls, only on one side, or it can be absent (pls. 4.5/33, 42).¹²⁰¹ In the latter case, it is substituted by a repetition of the previously mentioned scene featuring the *sh̄m* scepter surrounded by divinities, or the representation of the Ta Weret totem. Regardless of the chosen iconography, all representations hold a clear connection and significance to the underworld realm. The fourth and final scene in the lower section typically consists of two different but interconnected vignettes, each featured on one end of the box walls. The first one displays the sacred sycamore tree with a divinity providing water to the ba, representing spells 59 and/or 63 of the Book of the Dead (pls. 4.5/2, 8, 12, 15, 25, 28, 33, 37, 39, 42). On the opposite side of the box, the complementary scene features Hathor emerging from the Theban mountain, associated with spell 186 of the Book of the Dead (pls. 4.5/2, 8, 12, 15, 28, 33, 39, 42).¹²⁰² Similar to the second scene of the lower section, there is no consistent rule about whether these scenes should be placed on the right or left sides; they can be featured interchangeably. In one example (pls. 4.5/18), one wall shows the scene with Hathor, while the other features two seated mummiform gods. Occasionally, the scene is preceded by the representation of the deceased in human form or ba form and may sometimes include a seated underworld divinity or the Ta Weret totem. The footboard exterior remains undecorated.

Regarding the inscriptions, the boxes feature columns of texts separating the scenes and sometimes a long horizontal inscription along the upper edge of the walls (pls. 4.5/12, 18, 25, 28, 33, 37, 42). The objects contain the same or similar speeches and formulas

¹¹⁹⁹ The scenes featuring Ptah Sokar Osiris, Thoth, the symmetrical vignette, and the scene depicting the deceased, are depicted on both walls of the boxes, always in the same order.

¹²⁰⁰ For the scene, see Niwiński 1988b: 309-314.

¹²⁰¹ The causes and individuals behind this variability remain unidentified.

¹²⁰² For the scene, see Liptay 2003, Van Walsem 2018: 51, with references.

referencing Book of the Dead spells, offering formulas and presentations of the gods, including: presentations of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Thoth opening the sky (an action associated with spell 161 of the Book of the Dead),¹²⁰³ the reference to gods of eternity and the Duat, the mention of the Great Ennead, Hefetkhernebes and specific texts associated with hymns to the sun god and the Hall of the Double Maat. The epithets associated with the represented gods, which may appear in the texts columns as well as within the scenes, are identical for some examples.

The iconographic similarity attribute complexes among the discussed objects reveal significant consistency within the interior of the boxes as well, as the surfaces consistently adhere to similar layouts and iconography. The headboard typically displays the winged ba bird, occasionally accompanied by coiled serpents. The walls usually include three registries each, and occasionally four (pl. 4.5/40). Each register features one to four underworld mummiform divinities, predominantly depicted standing and with either human heads or underworld demonic faces.¹²⁰⁴

The floorboard is divided into three registries. The first register features a sun disk which includes the representation of a scarab (pls. 4.5/3, 9, 16, 40) or the ba bird in its interior (pls. 4.5/13, 19, 26, 29). The sun disk is depicted on top of a mountain representing the Axt symbol, and the scene is occasionally encircled by one or two coiled serpents. Some instances substitute the Axt with two sphinxes emulating a similar shape (pls. 4.5/13, 19, 26), suggesting a display of creative imagination.

The second register occupies the majority of the surface of the floorboard and features a divinity surrounded by liminal elements. In most boxes, the goddess Imentet is depicted (pls. 4.5/3, 9, 16, 29, 34, 40), holding ankh signs or feathers, usually positioned on top of the *nbw* sign. In three examples (pls. 4.5/13, 19, 26), the representation shifts to Osiris depicted as a djed pillar with the Hemhem crown, again placed on top of the *nbw* sign. Intriguingly, the representation of Osiris is found only on the outer boxes of the group (the ones that have preserved their floorboard), which are also the boxes that include the sphinxes in the first register. This suggests a connection to a creative mind that introduced changes to certain iconographies. It is also possible that the original pattern for the outer box design was intended to include Osiris as a djed pillar rather than the goddess Imentet, and to incorporate the variant of the Axt with the sphinxes. If true, this suggest that decorators used different iconographies depending if the object was an outer box or an inner box.

The third register features the Ta Weret totem (associated solely with the goddess Imentet) (pls. 4.5/3, 16, 40) or an ouroboros with a square shape (linked to either Osiris or Imentet) (pls. 4.5/9, 13, 19, 29). Inside the ouroboros, the *sh**m* scepter is featured, or one or two underworld divinities holding feathers or salamanders, sometimes placed on a *nbw* sign. The footboard interior remains uniformly decorated in red, without any representations.

The registers are typically separated by the sign of the sky with stars on its interior, adding a distinct visual division to the decoration. The background of the scenes is monochrome red. Interestingly, the inner box of Padikhonsu (pls. 4.5/33-34) exclusively features the goddess Imentet on the floorboard, with feathers in her hands, featured on

¹²⁰³ For the scene, see Colonna 2013.

¹²⁰⁴ In the example with four registers, (pl. 4.5/40) the final register features a coiled serpent.

top of the *nbw* sign. The box lacks any further decoration, which is an intriguing characteristic considering the status of the owner, as discussed below.

Covers and boxes

Specific characteristics and similarly attribute complexes are consistently found on both covers and boxes. For instance, both elements share common elements in their repertoire, including the prominent use of vultures and cobras holding an ankh sign and *w's* scepter, *nb* bowls, shetyt shrines and scarabs as space fillers. Additionally, certain specific motifs present in the vignettes exhibit the same arrangement and style, such as the depiction of tables of offerings, the arrangement of surrounding offerings and architectural elements like columns and pedestals that organize the scenes.

Another shared characteristic is the inherent anonymity of the elements (see Table 4.5.2), as the great majority of the objects initially lacked any textual information identifying the deceased. Nevertheless, these elements can be associated with male or female owners due to the inclusion of representations of the deceased in certain scenes on both boxes and covers, as well as the gender-specific marks featured on the anthropomorphic covers.

The majority of the boxes maintain an anonymous nature, with no designated space reserved for information such as the name and title(s) of the deceased. In contrast, lids and mummy boards typically incorporate a designated area for such information. This information is consistently positioned within the columns on the lid's footboard and at the beginning of the inscribed columns on the mummy boards' lower section.

Notably, this space might appear blank due to its lack of filling. However, in other instances, this space was filled at a later stage with a monochrome pigment after the decorative work was completed. This allowed the new information associated with the deceased to be distinguished from the surrounding multicolored inscriptions. Importantly, none of these examples display original titulary preceding the blank space. The inclusion of the information subsequent to the completion of the initial decoration is further supported by the fact that, in certain cases, the details about the deceased are positioned on top of the varnish. All the information regarding the deceased individuals featured on these elements can be referenced in Tables 4.5.2 and 4.5.3. The sole exception to this anonymity¹²⁰⁵ is found in Padikhonsu's coffin (pls. 4.5/31-36), which is discussed further below.

In conclusion, the consistent use and repetition of texts, iconographies and details across different artifacts indicate a deliberate and significant connection between the objects. This uniformity in religious and symbolic representation suggests the use of a shared model(s) or resembling one(s).

¹²⁰⁵ See *supra* for clarification regarding the coffin set of Nesypakaswty (pls. 4.5/5-10) and the box associated with Ankhefiankh (pl. 4.5/37).

Table 4.5.2 Personal Information of the Deceased Included on the Coffin Elements

Coffins	Personal Information of the Deceased Included on the Coffin Elements ¹²⁰⁶				
	OL	OB	IL	IB	MB
Anonymous woman (Berlin)			Anonymous ♀ (blank space)	Anonymous ♂/♀ ¹²⁰⁷	Anonymous ♀ (blank space)
Nesypakaswty ¹²⁰⁸	Anonymous ♂ (blank space filled with name and titulary?)	Not considered ¹²⁰⁹	Anonymous ♂ (blank space filled with name and titulary?)	Anonymous ♂	Anonymous ♂
Ikhy	Anonymous ♀ (blank space filled with name)	Anonymous ♀			Anonymous ♀ (blank space filled with name)
Anonymous woman ¹²¹⁰ (Florence)	Anonymous ♀ (blank space)	Anonymous ♀	Not considered		
Anonymous woman (Vatican)				Anonymous ♀	
Djedkhonsuiuefankh	Anonymous ♀ (blank space)		Anonymous ♂ (blank space?) ¹²¹¹	Anonymous ♂	Anonymous ♂ (blank space filled with name and titulary)
Padikhonsu			Not considered	Padikhonsu, alongside with titulary	Not considered
Ankhefiankh		Ankhefiankh? ¹²¹²			

¹²⁰⁶ When the space associated with an element of the set remains unfilled, it is either due to its lack of preservation or, in the case of outer lids and boxes, the possibility that the set never included such elements.

¹²⁰⁷ For further clarification regarding the coexistence of male and female genders on the same box, see *infra*.

¹²⁰⁸ Regarding the elements associated with Nesypakaswty (pls. 4.5/5-10), I have been able to verify the information present on the inner box (pls. 4.5/8-9) and mummy board (pl. 4.5/10). However, for the remaining objects linked to this set, I had access solely to Chassinat's descriptions and lower-quality black and white images of the materials. While the outer box has not been considered, as it features a different iconographic and textual model than the materials under discussion, Chassinat's account does not clarify whether the name and titles of Nesypakaswty, which appear on the footboard of both the outer and inner lids (Chassinat 1909: 46 for the outer lid, 50 for the inner lid), were originally applied or added at a later time. This lack of clarity is not surprising, as systematic attention to this characteristic on yellow coffins has been limited. The available images of the elements likely suggest that the name is located within a previous blank space, using monochrome pigment, consistent with the majority of the objects associated with this group that feature personal information about the owners of the materials. A future examination of high-resolution images of the objects may provide additional insights and a more thorough verification.

¹²⁰⁹ For additional clarification regarding the usage of the term, see *supra*.

¹²¹⁰ The title Smayt n Imn and the name Djedmutiuesankh was found on the shroud associated set A. 15 (Daressy 1907: 22-23), although it remains uncertain which elements of the currently assumed set A. 15 originally constituted the set (see *supra*).

¹²¹¹ The footboard is not preserved (pl. 4.5/27), which is where the name is located on the majority of the covers included in Table 4.5.1. Therefore, it is impossible to determine whether the object was originally anonymous, featured a name, or had a blank space on the footboard. However, considering the prevailing trend on the objects associated with the group, one would expect a blank space in that area. This space might have either remained blank or been filled at a later time with the information of the deceased, likely using monochrome pigment. This latter option is the most feasible, as it would be consistent with the practice observed on the rest of the covers associated with Djedkhonsuiuefankh.

¹²¹² I have been unable to independently verify the specifics of the name and must solely rely on published drawings. Consequently, uncertainty surrounds whether this name was originally part of the coffin decoration or filled a previously empty space. Niwiński's publication lacks this information, as well as original pictures of the materials, and the designs do not account for such details.

Diwamun			Anonymous ♂ (blank space filled with name and titulary)	Anonymous ♂	Anonymous ♂ (blank space filled with name and titulary)
Anonymous man (Cairo, C.12)				Anonymous ♂ ¹²¹³	
Anonymous man (Cairo, CG 6047)					Anonymous ♂ (blank space filled with particle Ax pw maA xrw) ¹²¹⁴

Table 4.5.3 Titulary Included on the Coffin Elements

Coffins	Titles of the Deceased				
	OL	OB	IL	IB	MB
Anonymous woman (Berlin)			None		
Nesypakaswty	<i>it-ntṛ n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw; imy-r pr-hd n pr dw3t-ntṛ n 'Imn</i>			None	
Ikhy	None				None
Anonymous woman (Florence)	None			Not considered	
Anonymous woman (Vatican)				None	
Djedkhonsuiuefankh	<i>'It-ntṛ n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i>	None	None		<i>'It-ntṛ n 'Imn</i>
Padikhonsu			Not considered	<i>w^cb; hry-hb n pr 'Imn; wty n pr 'Imn</i>	Not considered
Ankhefiankh		1215			
Diwamun			<i>'It-ntṛ n 'Imn- R^c nsw ntrw</i>	None	<i>'It-ntṛ n 'Imn</i>
Anonymous man (Cairo, C.12)				1216	
Anonymous man (Cairo, CG 6047)					None

4.5.4 Social Status versus Personalized Coffins and Distinct Decoration

Considering the individualization and personalization of these objects, it becomes clear that they were all originally decorated as anonymous elements, except for the coffin of Padikhonsu (pls. 4.5/31-36). This instance is the only confirmed case¹²¹⁷ within the group of coffins under examination in this section where the coffin set was not originally anonymous. This exceptional case featured the name and titulary of its owner as part of the original decoration.

As for the names and titles of the remaining individuals, all of their personal information, when present, was added at a later time to fill previously undecorated

¹²¹³ Considering that the object is incomplete (pls. 4.5/42-43), there may be additional information missing. However, the fact that the majority of inscriptions on the object are preserved supports the likelihood that the element was originally anonymous.

¹²¹⁴ For this unique inscription and its characteristics, see *infra*.

¹²¹⁵ The object is incomplete.

¹²¹⁶ The object is incomplete.

¹²¹⁷ As previously mentioned, the materials associated with Nesypakaswty (pls. 4.5/5-11) and Ankhefiankh (pl. 4.5/37) require further verification, particularly concerning the inclusion of their titulary and name, in order to fully understand their specific characteristics and decoration process(es).

spaces. As mentioned earlier, there is no original titulary preceding these blank spaces on the objects under discussion.

When it comes to the titles of the owners, among those whose titulary is indicated, examples include the coffin sets of Nesypakaswty, Djedkhonsuiuefankh, Padikhonsu and Diwamun. Interestingly, in terms of their roles, apart from Padikhonsu, it's noteworthy that all of the remaining individuals held the title of *it-ntr n 'Imn(-R^c nsw ntrw)*.¹²¹⁸ Of note, in addition to this title, Nesypakaswty also held the position of *imy-r pr-ḥd n pr dw3t-ntr n 'Imn*. Padikhonsu, on the other hand, possessed multiple titles: *w^cb, hry-ḥb n pr 'Imn* and *wty n pr 'Imn*.

Examining these titles within the context of the discussed coffins reveals a diverse range of social statuses within the group. Most of these objects were originally decorated without specific owner information, this is, anonymously, and were later linked to specific individuals bearing the title *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw*. However, Padikhonsu (pls. 4.5/31-36) stands out as a significant exception, possessing a coffin originally adorned with his personal information as well as personalized decoration that reflect his high-status roles.

Regarding the female owners, the lack of their titles and/or designations do not provide information to determine their specific social status. In considering this information, it becomes evident that a notable exception exists within the corpus of yellow coffins, where females, contrary to the norm, lack any specific designation. Typically, female owners of yellow coffins are identified, at the very least, as *nbt pr* and/or *šm^cyt n 'Imn*. The absence of such designations in this particular context raises questions. The reasons behind this deviation, or the deliberate choice to omit designations, remain elusive. Speculatively, this departure from the established pattern could be attributed to the model or template used, as well as to space constraints. Yet, the exact motivations behind this deviation await further exploration and analysis.

However, given the consistency among the majority of the titles of the other individuals, it is possible to suggest that these female owners were likely part of the same social circle as the male individuals under discussion, although the existence of any familiar ties between them remains unknown.

This examination not only provides insights into the production processes and their consequences but also underscores the substantial impact of social status on object decoration and personalization. Despite their shared reliance on the same or similar iconographic and textual model(s), variations in the degree of individualization of these objects become evident, primarily driven by disparities in social standing and resource accessibility. These observations offer valuable insights into the interplay of these factors within this specific context.

¹²¹⁸ In regards to the outer coffin of Djedkhonsuiuefankh (pls. 4.5/24-26), it appears to have been reused or, at the very least, modified from a coffin belonging to a previous female owner, as evidenced by the preserved designations on the object, which include *nbt pr*, *šm^cyt n 'Imn-R^c* and *ḥs* [...]. However, the identity of this prior female owner and her connection to Djedkhonsuiuefankh remain unknown.

4.5.4.1 *The coffin of Padikhonsu* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, H 2320, H 2321) (pls. 4.5/31-36)

Specific characteristics of the materials linked to Padikhonsu offer valuable insights into his social standing. Every component within the set, comprising an inner lid (pls. 4.5/31-32), inner box (pls. 4.5/33-34), and mummy board (pls. 4.5/35-36), originally displayed Padikhonsu's personal information, rather than having it added later in monochrome pigment. These inscriptions unmistakably connect the elements to the same set and owner. This implies that Padikhonsu's information was integrated into the initial decorative plan and scheme, potentially indicating his elevated social status and capacity to allocate resources for customization. Padikhonsu's high-status roles as a *w'ḥb, ḥry-ḥb n pr 'Imn* and *wty n pr 'Imn* suggest that his significant position within the clergy and powerful circles may have afforded him individualized materials, featuring his personal information.

In terms of iconography and texts, while the box follows the same or resembling model(s) as the boxes under discussion, the inner lid and mummy board feature a different decorative arrangement than the rest of the covers under analysis in this section. It is plausible that Padikhonsu's privileged status granted him access to specific decorative model(s), influencing the unique adornment of some of the elements of his funerary equipment.¹²¹⁹ This plausible explanation could account for the remarkable decoration on the lid and mummy board. The background for their decoration features white paint, a characteristic that can be associated to individuals of elevated status, as exemplified by the outer lid of Butehamon (see Chapter 3). Furthermore, both covers associated with Padikhonsu exhibit unique inscriptions covering the entire underside of the objects, an area typically left unadorned.¹²²⁰

Considering the owner's access to the distinct texts featured on the underside of both the lid and mummy board, the lack of complementary iconography on the floorboard (see *supra*), associated with more complexity and ritual iconographical value, is striking. Although speculative, perhaps the commissioner used more resources for the texts on the covers rather than the iconographical decoration. Although the box follows the same model as the rest of materials, the lesser space fillers compared to the other objects from the group, the lack of a decorative frieze on the upper edges of the inner box, and the lesser quality and detail of the decoration compared to the other examples, suggests a voluntarily emphasis on specific parts of the funerary equipment at the expense of others. This reflects that a lesser quality object does not always reflect the status of the deceased, who could focus resources to more important and valuable things for the deceased, in this case unique texts and iconographical solution for the covers, as well as the inclusion of the personal information of the deceased on the objects.

The same principle is reflected in the absence of decoration using the *pastiglia* technique on the covers associated with Padikhonsu (see *supra*). Despite the likelihood that this technique required more resources from the commissioners and greater skill from the decorators, and even though Padikhonsu's status surpassed that of other owners of the associated coffins who incorporated the technique into their decorations, Padikhonsu's coffin does not feature it. Whether this decision was made by the

¹²¹⁹ Niwiński 1988: 63. For a similar distinction in papyrus content based on social status, see Stevens 2019: 162-228.

¹²²⁰ Jamen 2016: 22-23, pls. 8-12, 16-17.

commissioner, perhaps Padikhonsu himself, or the decorator remains unknown. As suggested, it is possible that the commissioner allocated resources to enhance other decorative aspects of the coffin set.

Furthermore, one should consider that the final decisions regarding the texts, decoration and specific elements may have been influenced by the desire to convey the owner's high status during the funeral rituals, which likely involved a form of social competition. Given the presence of a white background on both the inner lid and the mummy board of Padikhonsu, along with the inclusion of his personal information and the lengthy, unique texts on the underside of the covers, it might not have been deemed necessary for Padikhonsu or whomever commissioned the material to invest additional resources in techniques like the *pastiglia* or additional box decoration and iconographic details, as the primary means of conveying status were already in place.

However, this remains speculative, and more comprehensive analyses of similar coffins are needed to draw firm conclusions.

The distinct characteristics of Padikhonsu's coffin suggest that within the coffins under examination in this section, whether the objects originated from the same workshop or not, there existed differences in social status and the ability to afford or use individualized coffins. This is evident in the case of Padikhonsu, whose titulary held a higher rank than that of the others in the group. While this idea is not universally consistent (as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4), the presence of blank spaces for the coffins under discussion in this section likely indicates a lower social status or, at the very least, the use of fewer resources for the materials. These materials may have been pre-decorated before the identity of the final owner was known. This raises the question of whether such characteristics, like the existence of blank spaces, were specified in the model or not.

In Padikhonsu's case, it is conceivable that multiple models were employed when decorating his set, including the sources for the texts featured on the underside of the covers. It remains uncertain whether the owner played a role in this choice or if it was influenced by the decorators' access to specific sources or knowledge.

4.5.5 Anonymity of Objects and Blank Spaces: Reuse, Decoration in Advance or Serial Production?

Cooney has proposed that coffins featuring a blank space for the information of the deceased could have been designed and decorated as short-term use objects,¹²²¹ given the economic decline at the end of the New Kingdom and throughout the Twenty-First Dynasty. This economic downturn likely facilitated and increased the practice of reusing coffins. As Cooney discusses, despite the scarcity of coffins from the Twentieth Dynasty,¹²²² there is evidence of a significant increase in coffin reuse during that era, a trend¹²²³ that persisted throughout the Twenty-First Dynasty.

¹²²¹ Cooney 2012: 30.

¹²²² Cooney 2019: 99. For a catalogue of the Ramesside coffins and mummy boards, see Cooney 2007: 397-484. For the Ramesside coffins originating from Memphite necropolises, see Cooney 2017a.

¹²²³ For the prevalence of coffin reuse, see Cooney 2019: 98 [table 1], 108 [table 2].

Concerning yellow coffins, there are instances where spaces originally intended for the inclusion of the deceased's information were left blank, while in other cases, these spaces were filled in at a later time. In the latter scenarios, the information occasionally appears over the varnish layer, as observed on the mummy board associated with Ikhy. Cooney has suggested that this peculiarity allowed for the name and associated titles, if any, to be easily removed without harming the underlying decoration, which is preserved beneath the varnish and well-protected.

While the practice of superimposing two names on yellow coffins is not uncommon,¹²²⁴ suggesting potential coffin reuse or modification over time, there is no known instance featuring the superposition of three different names or any remnants thereof. This suggests that the practice of removing and reinscribing names multiple times may not have been prevalent. However, it is also possible that the removal of previous names did not leave any visible marks of previous inscriptions.

Furthermore, a comprehensive stratigraphic analysis of the areas featuring two names in relation to the positioning of the varnish, if present, has not yet been conducted. Thus, there has been no examination to determine whether, in cases where the superposition of names occurs, both names are situated above the varnish, both are positioned below it, or if one name is above and the other beneath it.¹²²⁵ Future analyses will shed light on these aspects, including the practice of reuse, and provide valuable insights into the various scenarios involved, thereby potentially confirming or refuting Cooney's hypothesis.

In this regard, not all the elements associated with the same set exhibit identical characteristics regarding the stratigraphical position of the name in relation to the varnish. For instance, the outer lid of Ikhy (pls. 4.5/11-13) no longer retains a layer of varnish, which was likely removed during an earlier restoration.¹²²⁶ However, the presence of the name Ikhy on the footboard, filling a blank space, suggests that originally, if varnish was applied to the coffin, the name would have been beneath it. This information implies that the name was inscribed before the varnish was added to the object. Conversely, as previously mentioned, the name Ikhy on the mummy board is positioned above the varnish (pl. 4.5/14), indicating that it was applied after the inclusion of the varnish layer.¹²²⁷

With respect to the outer lid of Ikhy, although there are no visible remnants of a previous name,¹²²⁸ RTI analysis conducted on the area where the name is located on the

¹²²⁴ Whether the previous name filled a blank space or not, it is not uncommon for the first name to appear scratched or overwritten.

¹²²⁵ Cooney 2017: 104, where she notes, although without exact evidence, that re-inscribed names were frequently re-varnished, presumably to harmonize them with the overall yellow coffin decoration.

¹²²⁶ Buscaglia *et al.* 2021: 536.

¹²²⁷ Cooney 2017: 104; Cooney 2021: 133; Buscaglia *et al.* 2021: 537.

¹²²⁸ Cooney interpreted the sequence *m dd(t)* featured at the end of the inscriptions on the lower lid's seams of the outer lid (pl. 4.5/11) as the name of a previous owner (Cooney 2012: 26-27; 2014: 64; 2016-2017: 13; 2017: 104; 2021: 133. The hypothesis was also followed by Hiramoto (2017: 216)). However, a comparison of the inscription on the left side with other examples featuring it suggests that the sequence could be part of a distinct funerary formula which is part of an expression found after the typical offering formula. The inscription, which reads *hwt nb(w)t nfr(w)t bnr(w)t n Wsir m dd(t) (n) pt km3(t) t3*, can be translated as "everything good and sweet for the Osiris, consisting of what heaven gives and the earth creates" (WB I: 491[4]; WB V: 35[7-8]; WB V: 213[13]; Jones 2000: 55 [267], 194 [728]).

outer lid revealed “some traces with horizontal trend.”¹²²⁹ This suggests a potential scratching of the surface, although conclusive evidence is lacking. This could indicate an attempt to scrape off an older name from the surface. There is no information about the same area on the mummy board, as analyses were not conducted in that location.

There are examples of coffins that do not exhibit a superposition of names but rather display damage to the name added on top of the varnish, filling an original blank space. In these cases, an alternative explanation could be that the damage was not intentional, but rather it might be attributed to the lack of sufficient protection provided by the varnish, since the information was applied directly on top of the varnish. Over time, handling and exposure to environmental factors could have resulted in this damage, as opposed to it being a deliberate and destructive action.

Regardless, Cooney's concept of short-term use and repeated reuse for objects initially designed with blank spaces fails to offer an explanation for why (and when) certain coffins, which were ultimately interred and used for the last time, lack information about, at the very least, their last owner, as one might anticipate. Furthermore, it does not address the issue of why some of the blank spaces seem to have remained unfilled. This serves as an indication of the complexity associated with this feature.

Another plausible explanation for the existence of these blank spaces is that some coffins might have been mass-produced or prepared in advance, when the decorators still did not know the owner's identity. Later, the name of the deceased who would ultimately use the object could have been easily added. However, this hypothesis doesn't clarify why certain blank spaces remained vacant. It's conceivable that, for unknown reasons—whether economic or ritual in nature—the inclusion of the owner's name was deemed unnecessary, even when the eventual owner took possession of the object.

Regarding the notion of serial production, it appears improbable. Despite adhering to the same or similar model(s), all the discussed objects exhibit distinct features, indicating a lack of uniformity that contradicts the expectations for mass-produced items. In a genuine serial production scenario, one would anticipate identical coffins in terms of scenes, texts, and details throughout.

The systematic inclusion of blank spaces and anonymous elements within these coffin sets could imply that the used model(s) by the decorators incorporated this feature deliberately.¹²³⁰ This might have resulted from their intended use within a consistent coffin production process, where the coffins were prepared in advance without knowledge of their eventual owners. Consequently, certain workshops might have specialized in decorating items in this manner, anticipating their later use (see also Chapter 4, Section 4).

In relation to this perspective, an intriguing example is the anonymous box associated with a woman (pls. 4.5/2-3), currently preserved at the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin (ÄM 11984) and included in Table 4.5.1. Typically, even when the coffin elements lack

¹²²⁹ Buscaglia *et al.* 2021: 537.

¹²³⁰ Certainly, exceptions and variations were not uncommon, and different objects, even those adhering to the same model(s), could display differences in this regard, as exemplified by the coffin of Padikhonsu (pls. 4.5/31-36).

inscriptions regarding the personal details of the owners, the objects are usually gender-specific due to the incorporation of the deceased in the vignettes and the gender markers on the covers. This can be observed on the lid (pl. 4.5/1) and mummy board (pl. 4.5/4) associated with the box in question. Both of them exhibit female gender markers, with the lid also featuring the representation of a female deceased. However, the box presents an unusual scenario. On its right side, the object depicts deceased individuals of both male and female genders within different scenes. On the contrary, on the left side, only the representation of a female deceased is found in two individual vignettes.

This gender combination is unusual for the non-stola yellow coffins and even within the discussed model, potentially indicating uncertainty about the ultimate owner's identity during the coffin's decoration. It could, of course, suggest a mistake by the decorators or even a deliberate choice to include depictions of both husband and wife, although this is a rare occurrence for non-stola yellow coffins. Alternatively, there might be unknown reasons behind this combination. However, it's possible that this was a deliberate choice to depict two different-gendered deceased individuals because the object was prepared in advance, and the final sex of the owner—clearly indicated on the covers—was still undetermined.

Further supporting this notion, the anonymous male mummy board (pl. 4.5/44) preserved at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 6047), which is also a subject of the present section, exhibits an intriguing feature. In the right column, a multicolored inscription reads *Wsir 3h pw mꜣ hrw*,¹²³¹ while in the left column, *Wsir* appears in multicolored signs, followed by an initially empty blank space that was later filled with monochrome text reading *3h pw mꜣ hrw*, and finally, a repetition of *mꜣ hrw* in multicolored script. This inconsistency suggests that the original intent in the first column was to designate the owner as a generic masculine entity ("this akh"), essentially presenting the designation as a form of "serial" name rather than a specific one. This might imply that the object was intended for use by a wider range of male individuals.

On the contrary, the initially empty left column may have been intended for adding an actual name at a later time. However, for unknown reasons, the decorator duplicated the general information from the other column instead of inserting a name. It remains uncertain when this occurred and whether the decorator who created the multicolored signs was the same person responsible for the addition of the monochrome inscription or if it was done at different times by different decorators.

This is a unique case, and the discovery of new examples exhibiting this practice could provide valuable insights into the reasons behind this characteristic. It might either support or contradict the idea of advance preparation of the materials.

4.5.6 Remarks About the Origins of the Objects

The coffin sets and coffin elements being examined originate from various tombs (see references in Table 4.5.4), with a significant portion of them traced back to Bab el-Gasus. As previously suggested, these items may have been used by individuals whose status and titulary were similar in some instances. This reiterates the notion that

¹²³¹ The columns start with the typical aforementioned sequence for the group: *dd mdw [in] [...] h[3]*.

iconographic and textual models were influenced by sociological factors, and the status of the owners likely played a role in determining which models were included on their coffins. However, despite these objects following similar or shared model(s), the diverse tomb origins suggest that the workshop(s) and decorators, whether connected or not, responsible for the coffins' decoration, produced materials intended for various burial contexts rather than being strictly associated with a single tomb. The full extent of the influence of specific coffin models on burial practices has yet to be fully understood. All of these factors raise intriguing questions about the nature of the connections between the individuals under discussion.

In the context of the Twenty-First Dynasty tombs, the relationships between individuals buried in the same tomb remain uncertain. These connections could involve familial ties, professional associations, or a combination of both. Some individuals may have been buried together with less discernible patterns for reasons not yet fully understood, especially in collective tombs like Bab el-Gasus. Additionally, the nature of these connections may have varied from one tomb to another. Hence, the precise nature of the relationships among the individuals interred within the sets analyzed in this section remains unknown, and additional research is essential to elucidate these aspects of burial practices in the Twenty-First Dynasty.

For the coffins originating from Bab el-Gasus and examined in this section, those whose A. Numers are known were positioned at the first part of the main corridor within the tomb. However, the sets are not confined to a specific section (see Image 4.5.1 below). This implies that these coffins may have been relocated from multiple original tombs. This diversity in placement hints at the complex history of the usage of Bab el-Gasus, as well as the relationships between individuals of comparable social standing. This complexity adds layers to our comprehension of the connections among the deceased individuals and the motivations for including these particular coffin sets in their specific spatial positions within Bab el-Gasus.

Regarding the funerary equipment associated with the discussed sets, unfortunately, information is lacking about the accompanying funerary materials for the materials preserved in Berlin (pls. 4.5/1-4), the coffins of Padikhonsu (pls. 4.5/31-36) and Ankhefiankh (pl. 4.5/37), the inner box preserved at the Vatican (pls. 15-16)¹²³² and the anonymous materials preserved in Cairo (pls. 4.5/42-44). These contextual details, such as the positioning of the coffins within the tomb (particularly in the case of those originating from Bab el-Gasus) and the nature of their associated grave goods are crucial for gaining insights into the social status and roles of the individuals. The absence of this information makes it challenging, at present, to draw conclusions about the specific status and societal positions of these individuals solely based on the coffin sets themselves. Comprehensive archaeological evidence is necessary to provide a more complete understanding of these burials and the individuals interred within them.

Table 4.5.4 Documented Origins of the Objects Included in Table 4.5.1

Coffins	Origin
Anonymous woman (Berlin)	Bab el-Gasus (A. Number unknown)
Nesypakaswt	Bab el-Gasus (A. 43)

¹²³² To explore its potential connection with the coffin set of Ikhy (pls. 4.5/11-14) or the outer coffin preserved in Florence (pls. 4.5/17-19), see *infra*.

Ikhy	Bab el-Gasus (A. 58? ¹²³³)
Anonymous woman (Florence)	Bab el-Gasus (A. 15 ¹²³⁴)
Anonymous woman (Vatican)	Bab el-Gasus (A. Unknown)
Djedkhonsuiuefankh	Bab el-Gasus (A. 8)
Padikhonsu	Unknown
Ankhefiankh	MMA 60
Diwamun	Bab el-Gasus (A. 31)
Anonymous man (Cairo, C.12)	Bab el-Gasus (A. Unknown)
Anonymous man (Cairo, CG 6047)	Bab el-Gasus (A. Unknown)

4.5.6.1 Nesipakaswty (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, A. 43) (pls. 4.5/5-10)

Daressy identified set A. 43 as belonging to Nesipakaswty (pls. 4.5/5-10), information also recorded in Lieblein's list. According to Lieblein, the owner held the titles *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw* and *imy-r pr ḥd n pr dw3t-ntr n 'Imn*. In terms of funerary equipment, Daressy documented a funerary shroud (SR 14381)¹²³⁵ inscribed with the name and titles consistent with Lieblein's records.

The papyri linked to the owner comprise a copy of the Book of Amduat, positioned between the legs of the deceased (S.R.VII. 10272),¹²³⁶ and a copy of the Book of the Dead (S.R.IV. 994/JE 95889),¹²³⁷ possibly enclosed within an Osiris figure. Both papyri bear the same aforementioned two titles. This suggests that Lieblein's information likely originated from the funerary equipment associated with the set, rather than directly from the coffins themselves, which aligns with Lieblein's typical publication practices concerning the objects from Bab el-Gasus and their owners.

Additionally, there is a shabti box preserved at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden (F.93/10.5)¹²³⁸ inscribed with the titles *it-ntr n 'Imn* and *imy-r pr ḥd n pr dw3t n 'Imn*, which are associated with Nesipakaswty. It's worth noting that Daressy did not categorize this shabti box among the objects included in the so-called B List, highlighting the inconsistencies in the documentation of these items during the emptying of Bab el-Gasus.¹²³⁹

The funerary equipment of set A. 43 also included an enameled blue scarab placed on the chest of the deceased and four enameled blue amulets on the face: a *dd*, Thoth, an uraeus and a *w3d*. Additionally, there was a "serviette" that featured the following inscription, mentioning additional, unknown individuals: *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw; it-ntr n Mntw; m^c3t mry [...] m^c3 ḥrw; šm^cyt n 'Imn 'Ist-m-3ḥbyt m^c3 ḥrw*. The function and origin of this object, as well as the individuals mentioned in its inscription and their potential relationship with Nesipakaswty, remain uncertain.

¹²³³ Refer further below for the proposed attribution of this A. Number to the ensemble.

¹²³⁴ Refer further below for the argument proposing that the current arrangement of the coffin elements is the result of a modern error, potentially impacting the precise determination of their spatial positioning within Bab el-Gasus, specifically their A. Numbers.

¹²³⁵ Abdalla 1988: 160 [3].

¹²³⁶ Niwiński 1989: 289 [Cairo 101]; Sadek 1985: 130-133, pls. 18-19 [C. 11].

¹²³⁷ Niwiński 1989: 270 [Cairo 48].

¹²³⁸ Aston 1994: 31-32, 45 [Type VI], 52 [pl. 5.4]; Aston 2009: 172 [TG 716], 368-369.

¹²³⁹ The original B List has not yet been located, and the references to this numeration in Daressy's 1907 publication are inconsistent.

4.5.6.2 *Ikhy* (Museo Gregoriano Egizio in Vatican City, A. 58?) (pls. 4.5/11-14)

With regard to Lot 17 shipped to the Vatican City, the contents of which became part of the Egyptian collection of the Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Daressy described it as containing only two sets, those attributed to *Ihy* and *ḥḥt*.¹²⁴⁰ Unfortunately, he did not specify the A. Number for these two sets, so their exact position in the tomb appears to have been lost to history. This was not the only confusion in Daressy's report concerning Lot 17. Although he only mentioned the sets of *Ihy* and *ḥḥt*, they were not the only funerary containers from Bab el-Gasus gifted to the Vatican; the shipment contained many other coffin items, most of them anonymous.

The reasons behind Daressy's omission of these A. Numbers remain unknown. Notably, Lot 17 is the final lot referenced in his 1907 report, following his specification of the sets allocated to the Museum of Alexandria. This sequence of events suggests that the information concerning Lot 17 was added to Daressy's notes concerning Bab el-Gasus shipments at a later stage, possibly alongside the decision to dispatch materials to the Vatican. Consequently, there may have been confusion regarding the identification of objects designated for the Vatican, potentially resulting in the exclusion of A. Numbers of those objects.

This also clarifies why Daressy only mentioned two sets as being shipped to the Vatican, whereas all other lots are associated with at least four sets. In reality, numerous additional objects arrived at the Vatican,¹²⁴¹ albeit lacking any contextual information. The motivations for Daressy's omission of the majority of these objects in his report are perplexing. It is conceivable that Lot 17 was hastily assembled with spare objects, given that most of them lack an associated set. Could this have been a last-minute decision to send materials to the Vatican?

A new analysis of Daressy's documents and the shipping lists that accompanied specific Lots when they left Egypt, combined with an analysis of the material itself, now points towards a precise position of *Ikhy*'s funerary ensemble in the corridors of Bab el-Gasus. As elaborated later in this section, the A. Number suggested for the attribution of *Ikhy*'s funerary ensemble preserved at the Museo Gregoriano Egizio is A. 58.

The starting point of this assumption is the nature of *Ikhy*'s materials. *Ikhy*'s name appears on both the outer lid (pl. 4.5/11) and the mummy board (pl. 4.5/14). Even though there is some slight damage to the signs on the outer lid's footboard,¹²⁴² they remain easily identifiable. Considering the presence of the name on the outer lid, it would have been challenging for Daressy to miss the name when he documented the coffins in the tomb. An indication that he indeed noticed it is its mention within the objects part of Lot 17. Under this assumption, it's likely that Daressy included *Ikhy*'s set

¹²⁴⁰ Daressy 1907: 21.


¹²⁴¹ A similar situation occurred with Lot XV, which was shipped to Belgium. The country received more coffins than originally intended (Delvaux 2021: 343).

¹²⁴² This damage could be intentional (see *supra*) or it could also be a result of the characteristics of the pigment and binder used to create the inscription filling the original blank space, which differ from the surrounding multicolored inscriptions. The timing and circumstances of when the name was added remain unknown.

in his comprehensive A. List of coffins, where he typically linked the A. Numbers of sets to the name on the outermost coffin, if it was present.¹²⁴³

In his A. List, Daressy assigned sets A. 51 and A. 58 to individuals named Ikhy.¹²⁴⁴ There are sufficient indications suggesting that A. 58 should be associated with the material of Ikhy, which is nowadays preserved at the Vatican.

4.5.6.2.1 A. 51: Coffin Set Preserved at the Art & History Museum in Brussels (pls. 4.5/45-47)

Daressy identified set A. 51 as having been shipped to Belgium and associated with Ankhefenamun (*ḥf=f-n-Imn*), despite the name Ikhy being inscribed “sur les pieds”.¹²⁴⁵ This information aligns with an outer lid (pl. 4.5/45) and box (pls. 4.5/46-47) currently held at the Musée Art & Histoire in Brussels.¹²⁴⁶ Consistent with Daressy’s notes, on the underside of the outer lid’s footboard, there is a vertical inscription in black ink that runs to the bottom of the box’s underside footboard. The inscription,  identifies the deceased as Ikhy, a *šmꜣyt n Imn*. However, again consistent with Daressy’s notes, the outer lid was decorated for Ankhefenamun, a *wꜣb n Imn-Rꜣ nsw ntrw* and *sš n pr Imn*, who is also depicted in the vignettes. The outer box, although anonymous, was also decorated for a male individual featured in some vignettes. Consistent with Daressy’s notes, the outer lid bears two labels, one next to another. The first one features the digits 51 and 72, corresponding to the A. and B. Numbers respectively, and the second one features the number 29642, corresponding to the JE Number, all corresponding to the numbers assigned to the set by Daressy. All evidence points to the conclusion that set A. 51 was indeed shipped to Brussels.

¹²⁴³ On the contrary, Daressy did not systematically document the names that could appear on other elements of a set when they were inside the outermost coffin, whether it was a complete set or only formed with an inner coffin and a mummy board. As a result, Daressy never reported certain names featured on inner coffins and mummy boards contained in a complete set or on mummy boards within a coffin set formed only by an inner coffin and a mummy board. These names sometimes differed from those on the outer elements, either due to reuse or because the outermost elements were anonymous while the innermost elements were not. As a result, some coffin sets are reported in Daressy’s records as anonymous because the outer coffin is anonymous, even though the inner coffin featured a name that he did not specify. Some of these inner coffins, not included in Daressy’s list, are now decontextualized, as they were originally inside anonymous outer coffins. This is one of the reasons for the majority of confusions regarding the materials from Bab el-Gasus. This explains why, unlike the Ikhy set, it is not possible to suggest any A. Number for the preserved inner coffin associated with Takhibat, since her name does not appear in Daressy’s A. list. Takhbitat’s name is quite visible on both elements of the inner coffin; therefore, had Daressy seen it, he would likely have included it in his list. This suggests that originally, Takhibat’s inner coffin was within an outer coffin that could have been anonymous, featured a different name than Takhibat, or had a blank space. Future studies and discoveries may provide more information on this matter.

¹²⁴⁴ Significantly, the close spatial proximity of the two sets within the main corridor of Bab el-Gasus, along with their shared homonymous names, which are not observed in other coffin sets from the tomb, suggests that both sets may have belonged to closely related individuals, possibly even family members. This proximity also implies that the coffin sets originated from the same, potentially familial tomb and were brought to Bab el-Gasus at a similar time, although the exact details of their relationship with other nearby sets remain unknown.

¹²⁴⁵ Daressy 1907: 8, 21. The information is consistent with that provided by Lieblein. Based on Daressy’s comments, he attributed set A. 51 to the *šmꜣyt n Imn, Ihy* (Lieblein 1892: 996). The shipping list that arrived in Belgium, specifying all the materials included in Lot XV, has not yet been identified.

¹²⁴⁶ E. 5887. For the coffin, see Capart 1905: 75; Speelers 1923: 77-78 [N° 290]; Köhler 1975: 98, 125-126, 150, 239; Aston 2009: 73 [TG 724]; Delvaux, Therasse 2015: 98-101.

Ankhefenamun was likely the original owner of the coffin, which was subsequently reused by Ikhy.¹²⁴⁷ During this reuse, the original information or depictions of Ankhefenamun remained intact, and only the upper section of the lid was partially modified. This is evident in the anthropomorphic lid's depiction of female characteristics, such as the inclusion of earrings and flat hands.¹²⁴⁸ Further confirmation of this reuse comes from the likelihood of a female mummy being discovered inside the set.¹²⁴⁹

4.5.6.2.2 A. 58: A. Number Wrongly Attributed to a Set at the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid

Daressy mentioned set A. 58 as part of Lot 13, which was shipped to Spain.¹²⁵⁰ He defined the set as being associated with Ikhy and, among the funerary items within the set, Daressy noted that the mummy's shroud featured the titles *nbt pr* and *šmꜣyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*, associated with the name Asetemakhbit.¹²⁵¹ The same name was inscribed on a black basalt scarab that was also part of the same set.

Daressy also made reference to two papyri associated with the set, albeit without providing details about the texts contained within. One of these papyri has been located at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (S.R.VII.11490/14.7.35.1).¹²⁵² It bears the name Asetemakhbit and her titles, *nbt pr* and *šmꜣyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*. Collectively, this information suggests that set A. 58 should be attributed to Asetemakhbit, who is occasionally referenced by the abbreviated version of her name, Ikhy.

However, this information is inconsistent with the details provided in the so-called shipping list submitted by the Egyptian Government regarding the objects of Lot 13. The documentation received in Madrid does not include set A. 58 as part of the Lot,¹²⁵³ and none of the information associated with set A. 58 corresponds to the objects from Bab el-Gasus preserved at the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid,¹²⁵⁴ as none of them feature the name Ikhy.

This suggests that set A. 58, associated with Ikhy, did not arrive in Madrid but was likely shipped, at least its outer coffin and mummy board, to the Vatican City. It should be identified with the elements attributed to Ikhy at the Museo Gregoriano Egizio (pls. 4.5/11-14). This highlights the confusion surrounding the coffins designated for shipment outside of Egypt, those intended to remain in the country, and the information provided by Daressy compared to the details in the shipping lists regarding the objects that ultimately reached the various countries. The potential discovery of additional

¹²⁴⁷ It's also possible that, for reasons unknown, Ankhefenamun never utilized the coffin, and instead, it was used by Ikhy.

¹²⁴⁸ The original male beard might have been left intact, although it could be a modern repair (Delvaux, Therasse 2015: 98).

¹²⁴⁹ Daressy 1907: 26.

¹²⁵⁰ [A.] 58. [B.] 84. [JE] 29640, 29689. Lot 13 [Spain]. *Thy* (Daressy 1907: 8, 20).

¹²⁵¹ Daressy 1907: 26. Lieblein, based on Daressy's comments, associated the box with Ikhy, a *šmꜣyt n 'Imn*, and the mummy to Asetemakhbit (*3st-m-3hbyt*), a *šmꜣyt n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* (Lieblein 1892: 996).

¹²⁵² Niwiński 1989: 293 [Cairo 112].

¹²⁵³ Pérez-Die 2021 : 327 [fig. 1].

¹²⁵⁴ For a recent discussion of Lot 13, see Pérez-Die 2021, who also addresses the issue regarding set A. 58 that was intended for shipment to Spain (2021: 314-315).

coffins from Bab el-Gasus, given that the complete corpus from the tomb is far from complete, could certainly alter this interpretation.

4.5.6.2.3 The Inner Box at the Museo Gregoriano Egizio in Vatican City (25016.2.2) (pls. 4.5/15-16): Was it Originally Associated with the Coffin Set of Ikhy?

Only the outer coffin and mummy board preserved at the Vatican have been traditionally associated with a coffin set belonging to Ikhy. Notably, the outer box of Ikhy does not contain any mention of her personal information. As detailed in Table 4.5.2, this absence of information on boxes is not an uncommon occurrence, as not all elements within a set necessarily include the deceased's information. The depiction of the female owner on the object (pl. 4.5/11), who is very similarly depicted to the one represented on the outer lid (pls. 4.5/15), along with the shared style, color palette,¹²⁵⁵ paleography between the objects, and their alignment, strongly suggests that this outer box corresponds to the outer lid of Ikhy.

One would assume that originally, the set was complete, consisting of five elements. This assumption is based on the absence of instances where sets are solely comprised of an outer coffin and a mummy board, in which an inner coffin was never made for the set. Furthermore, it is logical, considering the position of the mummy within the set, to assume that Ikhy's original set included an inner coffin.

Considering the iconographic and textual relationships between coffins and coffin elements presented in Table 4.5.1, which includes an anonymous female inner box preserved at the Museo Gregoriano Egizio in Vatican City (MV 25016.2.2) (pls. 4.5/15-16) that lacks any associated elements, it could be suggested that this inner box was originally part of Ikhy's coffin set. Future studies, including precise measurements of the elements, could provide further insights into this hypothesis. As for the lid associated with this inner box, there is currently no available information. These observations underscore the inconsistencies and knowledge gaps not only in the general finds of Bab el-Gasus but also within specific collections, highlighting the challenges in understanding how the lots were assembled, managed and layered within one another when they arrived to their current locations.

Another plausible option for the association of the inner box preserved in the Vatican with its original set should also be considered. It has been suggested that set A. 15 is currently associated with an outer coffin (pls. 4.5/17-19), inner coffin (pls. 4.5/20-22) and mummy board (pl. 4.5/23) that likely were not originally together. Given the similarities between the outer coffin nowadays associated with set A. 15 and the inner box preserved at the Vatican, it could also be possible that this inner box was originally associated with the outer coffin preserved in Florence. However, this hypothesis would leave the mummy board unlocated. In any case, it is not uncommon for elements originating from Bab el-Gasus and associated with the same set to have been fragmented and sent to different locations without proper documentation when the multiple lots were created.

This multifaceted scenario raises questions about the original composition and arrangement of Ikhy's burial ensemble. While the evidence suggests that the outer coffin

¹²⁵⁵ Scientific analyses have revealed the presence of the same materials and identical technical aspects within all three objects as well (Buscaglia *et al.* 2021: 535).

and mummy board were consistently part of her funerary set, the presence or absence of an inner coffin remains intriguing. Detailed measurements of these elements in future studies may offer clues regarding their original association, as well as whether other pieces from her set are yet to be identified.

4.5.6.3 *Anonymous woman (Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Florence, A. 15)* (pls. 4.5/17-23)

Daressy classified set A.15 as belonging to an anonymous female individual. According to the author, the set was part of Lot 5, which was shipped to Italy. Lieblein, on the other hand, referred to this set as associated with a "*šmꜣt* sans nom," potentially suggesting the presence of an empty space intended for the deceased's information on the coffin set. Had the coffin not possessed this feature, Lieblein might have likely used the term "anonymous" instead. This hypothesis aligns with the presence of an empty space reserved for the information of the deceased on the outer lid associated to this set.

However, the funerary shroud that accompanied this burial ensemble featured an inscription containing the deceased's name and her associated titulary: Djedmutiuesankh, a Smayt n Imn. Daressy also noted the presence of eight garments among the linens that covered the body. Unfortunately, no further details are available regarding the individual's exact social status, role in society, or her connection to the other individuals discussed. Nevertheless, considering the iconographic and textual model included on the outer coffin, a potential relationship, whether in terms of social status or familial ties with the rest of the individuals, cannot be ruled out.

The presence of associated papyri in the discussed burial remains unknown. As mentioned earlier, it is probable that the inner coffin (pls. 4.5/20-22) and mummy board (pl. 4.5/23) currently linked to the outer coffin (pls. 4.5/17-19) under discussion were not originally part of this set (see *supra*). Additionally, the possibility that the inner box MV 25016.2.2 preserved at the Museo Gregoriano Egizio in Vatican City (pls. 4.5/15-16) belonged originally to the same set as the mentioned outer coffin cannot be definitively confirmed or denied at this time. Further research is required to explore and substantiate this hypothesis.

4.5.6.4 *Diwamun (Egyptian Museum in Cairo, A. 31)* (pls. 4.5/38-41)

Daressy attributed set A.31 to Diwamun, but he also noted that the mummy inside the coffin lacked any accompanying funerary equipment. Lieblein associated Diwamun with the designation *it-ntr n Imn*. Since there was no apparent funerary equipment associated with the set, Lieblein reported the titulary found on the coffin set. This once again highlights an inconsistency in Lieblein's methodology and approach when reporting the information about the individuals buried within Bab el-Gasus. He typically derived titles from the funerary objects associated with the sets, although he usually didn't specify the exact source of information. However, in this specific case, it seems that the information came directly from the coffin, even though Lieblein did not clearly indicate the source. This can lead to confusion and uncertainty, especially in instances involving unidentified coffin sets or sets where the complete funerary equipment has not been located. Similar challenges have been encountered in the case of the coffin sets of Meritamun A and B (see above), where the origin of the information provided by Lieblein remains unknown, as well as in the case of set A. 61 (see above).

Beyond this, there is limited additional information available regarding Diwamun's burial and the identity of the individual, identified as an *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw* based on the inscriptions on his coffin (pls. 4.5/38-41). Given his roles during his lifetime, it has been proposed that his social status and position granted him access to the specific model he used for his funerary equipment, as a significant number of males who employed the same model also held the title of *it-ntr n 'Imn*.



4.5.6.5 Djedkhonsuiuefankh (A. 8) (pls. 4.5/24-30)

Regarding set A. 8, there is considerable ambiguity in differentiating it from set A. 141, prompting the need for additional investigation for a comprehensive understanding. The source of confusion stems from data provided by Daressy, the shipping lists, Virey's illustrations, newly (re)discovered materials in the Egyptian Museum's basement in Cairo and the artifacts currently associated with sets A. 8 and A. 141, some of which have unfortunately been lost over time. Moreover, the presence of a third individual, also named Djedkhonsuiuefankh, and buried within Bab el-Gasus (A. 107), further complicates matters, as his coffin set has not yet been identified.

4.5.6.5.1 Set A. 8, shipped to France

With respect to set A. 8, Daressy's documentation identifies it by JE 29688 and B. Number 8, attributing it to Djedkhonsuiuefankh and noting its inclusion in Lot 1, shipped to France.¹²⁵⁶ Daressy's account lacks details regarding the funerary equipment associated with the set. Following Daressy's records, Lieblein designates set A. 8 as belonging to the *it-ntr n 'Imn* Djedkhonsuiuefankh.¹²⁵⁷

Discrepancies arise in the shipping list concerning the information about the objects that arrived in France.¹²⁵⁸ The list references set A. 8 but introduces JE 29626, differing from Daressy's notation. The description of the likely complete set emphasizes only the outer box (pls. 4.5/25-26), featured in Table 4.5.1 and preserved at the Louvre (E 10636, AF 9593). The connection between this object and the outer lid (pl. 4.5/24) is established due to the intact label with the numbers 8 and 8 on the latter object, referring to A. and B. Numbers respectively (of note, potential visible evidence suggests a vanished second label, likely containing the JE number). Stylistic considerations link the outer coffin to the inner coffin (pls. 4.5/27-29), and ultimately, all these artifacts are associated with the mummy board (pls. 4.5/30) preserved in Lyon, unified by the presence of Djedkhonsuiuefankh's name on the latter object.¹²⁵⁹


However, it is crucial to note that Daressy's entry records the name as , while Lieblein mentions it as . It is unclear whether these names originate from distinct sources or if there were errors when Lieblein transcribed

¹²⁵⁶ Daressy 1907: 5, 18.

¹²⁵⁷ Lieblein 1892: 1003. The source of this information may stem from the coffin set itself, given that the present outer lid and mummy board connected to set A. 8 exhibit the title *it-ntr n 'Imn*, continuing onto the outer lid as *-R^c nsw ntrw*. However, this remains speculative, as Lieblein occasionally incorporated titulary, in his report, found on funerary equipment associated with the sets. Unfortunately, this has not been identified for set A. 8, leaving the titulary it would contain unknown.

¹²⁵⁸ Dautant 2014: 151 [fig. 2]; Dautant, Escobar Clarós, Jamen 2017: 123 [fig. 1].

¹²⁵⁹ Aston (2009: 165 [TG 681]) highlighted uncertainties regarding the identification of coffins linked to A. 8 and referenced in PM I², already pointing out the confusion surrounding the set.

Daressy's notes. Intriguingly, the mummy board (pl. 4.5/30) linked to set A. 8, the sole object associated with the set featuring a name, presents it as . The discrepancy in spelling suggests the possibility that Daressy observed a different coffin element of set A. 8, challenging the current understanding of the elements associated with set A. 8. Alternatively, Daressy may have been confused with objects linked to a different set belonging to a homonymous individual, or he may have recorded the name differently than how it appeared on the object(s) associated with set A. 8. Certainly, it is plausible that he documented a name found on the funerary equipment of set A. 8, especially considering that, if the current elements linked to A. 8 are accurate, the name is solely present on the mummy board.

4.5.6.5.2 Set A. 141, apparently shipped to Russia

The issue arises concerning the JE number referenced in the shipping list upon arrival in France, specifically JE 29626. Upon revisiting Daressy's list, it becomes apparent that this JE number is one of the two (JE 29626 and JE 20620) linked by Daressy to set A. 141/B. 166. He attributes the set to Djedkhonsuiuefankh, son of Shedsuhor,¹²⁶⁰ incorporating it into Lot 6.¹²⁶¹ Daressy notes shabtis as part of this set.¹²⁶² Lieblein also identifies set A. 141 as belonging to the *it-ntr n Imn* Djedkhonsuiuefankh.¹²⁶³

Regarding the funerary equipment, Daressy delves into some details,¹²⁶⁴ referencing shroud, pieces of fabric, a garment and amulets. Notably, a winged scarab in gilded wood with vitrified paste inlays is highlighted, implying the elevated status of the deceased, fitting for his position within the funerary chambers. Daressy additionally mentions a papyrus, though without specifying any inscription associated with the funerary equipment that pertains to the deceased.

It is unclear whether Lieblein's information is susceptible to confusion or if he was indeed referencing set A. 141, given that he provided the same information for set A. 8. Regrettably, as the coffin elements linked to set A. 141 remain undiscovered, it is impossible to verify this information. The title is present among the materials associated with set A. 141 (refer to Table 4.5.5), although it is unclear why Lieblein chose to single out that particular title, especially considering the numerous unique titles featured on the materials associated with set A. 141.

Considering the aforementioned information, it seems clear that there were certain confusions apparent in the data included on the shipping list that arrived in France. Specifically, there seems to be a discrepancy, at least during the organization of the lots, as the French shipping list refers to the A. Number of set A. 8, while the JE number corresponds to set A. 141. It seems plausible that there could have been confusion between the coffins, given that their owners were homonymous individuals.

¹²⁶⁰ The identity of Djedkhonsuiuefankh's father, Shedsuhor, potentially identifiable among individuals interred in the funerary chambers of Bab el-Gasus, is elaborated upon in more detail below.

¹²⁶¹ Daressy 1907: 13, 19, with the latter page including only the mention of Djedkhonsuiuefankh, omitting his father.

¹²⁶² Daressy 1907: 17.

¹²⁶³ Lieblein 1892: 1003.

¹²⁶⁴ Daressy 1907: 36. Refer to Aston 2009: 191 [TG 814] for details about the funerary set, though the author does not mention a second papyrus connected to the set, which is further discussed below.

The shipping list linked to Lot 6 dispatched to Russia¹²⁶⁵ references the set of Djedkhonsuiuefankh, son of Shedsuhor, associating it with JE 29620—one of the two JE Numbers that Daressy linked to set A. 141.¹²⁶⁶ Consequently, uncertainty persists. Even if the set sent to France bears a label featuring the number A. 8 (pl. 4.5/24), the shipping list features the JE number affiliated with A. 141. Considering that the labels were likely not originally placed inside the tomb but added later, following Daressy's now-lost notes, confusion arises regarding sets belonging to homonymous individuals.¹²⁶⁷ Consequently, correctly identifying which coffin was sent to each country poses certain challenges.

The challenge arises from the fact that set A. 141 has not been located, making it impossible to verify its information against the actual material.¹²⁶⁸ Regarding the source(s) of genealogical information, it could potentially originate from the funerary equipment associated to set A. 141 (refer to Table 4.5.5). However, Daressy typically provides details about the owners that are featured on the coffin set, while Lieblein focuses on information that originates from the funerary equipment; however, neither of them specifies the exact sources of the provided information.

Notably, set A. 141 was discovered within the funerary chambers, the section serving as the final resting place for the entourage of the High Priest of Amun (although not exclusively, and not all of them, as some members were also outside).¹²⁶⁹ Members of this social group are more likely to include genealogy on their coffin sets, unlike the rest of the yellow coffin corpus, where finding genealogical information about its owners is very rare. Hence, it wouldn't be surprising if the information mentioned by Daressy was also featured on the coffin itself. In this scenario, given that the coffins in France lack genealogical details, it could be speculated that set A. 8 is the one that arrived in France. However, this remains purely speculative.

4.5.6.5.3 Virey's designs of JE 29620 and JE 29626 (pl. 4.5/48)

The complexity deepens when examining Virey's designs, who illustrated specific scenes originating from coffins in Bab el-Gasus before their shipment to various countries.¹²⁷⁰ In his manuscript, folios 10 and 11-12 depict two objects under JE 29620 and JE 29626, respectively (pl. 4.5/48). Folios 11-12 illustrate two vignettes on the left

¹²⁶⁵ Krol 2018: 304 [fig. 6.1].

¹²⁶⁶ Interestingly, there is no reference to its A. Number, hinting at potential confusion regarding the accurate attribution of the object.

¹²⁶⁷ See *supra*, for challenges concerning the identification of set A. 139.

¹²⁶⁸ The inner coffin was reportedly once part of the collection housed at the M. F. Sumtsov Kharkiv Historical Museum in Járkov (No inv. Number) (Niwiński 1988: 142-143 [208], although mistakenly referencing a different location; Tarasenko 2019: 45-47). Based on Derevytskyi's description, the individual entrusted with matters concerning the placement and fate of the Khedive's gift, Tarasenko speculated that the item was an inner coffin. Despite its current loss, there is a mention of a picture/design of one of the walls of the box existing somewhere (Tarasenko 2019: 47), and efforts are being made to locate it to ascertain its authenticity, as well as to identify any name and titles of the deceased featured on the object. Importantly, the number JE 29620 is not listed in Derevytskyi's report. According to Tarasenko (personal communication), a mummy board currently housed at the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg (DV 8722) (Niwiński 1988: 148 [242]; Tarasenko 2019: 41-42) might be part of this ensemble. However, the current author has been unable to obtain any information about this object, and thus, the iconography and details featured on the object remain unknown.

¹²⁶⁹ For this organisation, see *supra*, Chapter 4, Section 4.

¹²⁷⁰ I appreciate Dautant for granting me access to this unpublished manuscript.

side of the outer box currently preserved in Paris. However, confusion persists because, even if set A. 8 was apparently sent to France, it remains unclear why both the shipping list and Virey's references point to the JE of set A. 141.

Furthermore, the figure depicted in these illustrations is a woman, introducing further complexity. It is uncertain whether this could be an additional error. The object, despite being mentioned in the shipping list description and Virey's design, might have originally belonged to a woman and was subsequently repurposed by Djedkhonsuiuefankh. However, his information was never added to the object. Another hypothesis is that the object may have originally been part of a different set and mistakenly linked with set A. 8 -a detail that remains unknown.

Folio 10 illustrates an object under JE 29620, leading one to assume it is among the objects shipped to Russia, likely part of set A. 141. Despite the objects linked to set A. 141 remaining unidentified, Virey's design for the object in question never left Cairo and has recently been (re)discovered in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (pls. 4.5/49-50).¹²⁷¹ The issue lies in the fact that this object, associated with an outer box, again depicts an unknown female owner.¹²⁷² It suggests that, at the very least, the original owner of the object depicted by Virey was a woman. While it's conceivable that it was reused, as seen with the outer box apparently connected to A. 8, the fact that this particular object was never dispatched from Cairo, possibly due to its state of preservation (though damage could have occurred later), raises the possibility that Virey may have been mistaken when assigning the JE Number to the object. It is plausible that it was not, in reality, connected to set A. 141. However, this speculation is complicated by the fact that Folio 10 is right before the designs associated with JE 29626, indicating a relationship between the objects. In any case, this further complicates the understanding of the identity (or identities) of the owners of sets A. 8 and A. 141, the potential reuse of the objects, and the uncertainty about which objects were sent to which countries.

4.5.6.5.4 The unlocated set A. 107

Daressy references a third set, A. 107/B. 130, which he links to Djedkhonsuiuefankh (Daressy 1907: 11). However, he notes that the coffin set appears to be anonymous, with the shroud on the mummy bearing the individual's name associated with the title "*wꜥb n 'Imn*" (Daressy 1907: 30). Interestingly, he does not assign any JE number to the ensemble. Consequently, if the set is indeed anonymous, locating it becomes challenging, and the lack of identification may be due to the absence of additional references and inventory numbers. Lieblein, without specifying the information's source, associates set A. 107 with the "*wꜥb n 'Imn*" Djedkhonsuiuefankh.¹²⁷³

It's noteworthy that, as discussed later, Daressy mentions an identified papyrus associated with the set. Furthermore, there are specific shabtis that can be associated

¹²⁷¹ The illustration represents a section of a wall associated with an outer coffin. The corresponding wall has also been identified in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (Temporary numbers C. 23, C. 3), despite both objects being fragmented (pls. 4.5/49-50). I am grateful to Niwiński for granting me access to his photographic material concerning the discussed fragments.

¹²⁷² The object appears to be anonymous, but a more thorough examination of pictures and direct access to the fragmented objects would be necessary to confirm this.

¹²⁷³ Lieblein 1892: 1000.

with set A. 107, even though the shabtis that Daressy mentioned in connection with Djedkhonsuiuefankh were attributed by the scholar to set A. 141,¹²⁷⁴ possibly because they were found in proximity to that set. Regardless, set A. 107 includes a falcon-shaped pectoral crafted from gilded bronze, indicating the high status of the individual. The lavish element features iconography and significance associated with royalty (for further details, see above, Chapter 4, Section 4).

Fortunately, Daressy's designation of the set as anonymous and the mummy as belonging to a *wꜥb*-priest implies that, at least, the mummy board and outer lid currently linked with set A. 8 and featuring the title of *it-ntr n Imn* were not misattributed and originally belonged to set A. 107. Nevertheless, there remains the possibility that some elements currently associated with set A. 8 may have initially belonged to set A. 107, given their anonymity—although this is purely speculative, as they share a coherent style.

4.5.6.5.5 The Funerary equipment associated with sets A. 8, A. 107 and A. 141

Regarding the funerary equipment linked to sets A. 8, A. 107 and A. 141, there is a notable absence of information in Daressy's records regarding the contents of the former, leaving the set's details largely unknown. In contrast, Daressy's section covering the funerary equipment of sets from Bab el-Gasus mentions sets A. 107 and A. 141.¹²⁷⁵ Set A. 141 has been associated with two papyri, two shabti boxes¹²⁷⁶ and various shabtis.¹²⁷⁷ Additionally, three other papyri bear the name Djedkhonsuiuefankh, with one linked to set A. 107, while the provenance of the other two from Bab el-Gasus is uncertain but likely, topics to be explored further. Consequently, a total of five funerary papyri containing the name Djedkhonsuiuefankh likely originated from Bab el-Gasus (see Table 4.5.5).¹²⁷⁸ The analysis of these artifacts aims to uncover more information about these individuals and the uncertainties surrounding their identification.

¹²⁷⁴ Daressy 1907: 17.

¹²⁷⁵ Daressy 1907: 30-31 [A. 107], 36 (A. 141, though the description does not mention all the objects that are currently identified as part of the set).

¹²⁷⁶ JE 29286, JE 29287. The items are yet to be published, and there are currently no available pictures, rendering it impossible for the present author to verify these objects.

¹²⁷⁷ Aubert 1998: 105 [51], although a possible relationship of the objects to set A. 107 cannot be excluded, as discussed further below.

¹²⁷⁸ For the collection of papyri from the Twenty-First Dynasty bearing this name, dispersed across Egyptological collections globally and reflecting the fashion and commonality of the name during the period, refer to Niwiński 1989: 401-402. However, only those considered likely to have originated from Bab el-Gasus and those likely associated with the discussed sets are considered in this study, especially considering their featured titulary, as discussed further below. It should be noted that the possibility exists for new material from the tomb to surface or for some of the papyri not discussed to have originated from Bab el-Gasus, given that not all provenances for the papyri featuring the name are known, although, in some cases, their acquisition dates precede the discovery of Bab el-Gasus. In this context, the papyrus housed in Minneapolis (Niwiński 1989: 343 [Minneapolis], with references) has been excluded from the study due to a lack of access to the object. However, it cannot be ruled out that the papyrus may indeed have originated from Bab el-Gasus, considering it was purchased in 1916 from the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia. Drexel is recognized for acquiring objects from the Egyptian Museum shop in Cairo that originated from Bab el-Gasus (I am grateful to Matthew Lyons to grant me access to the accession catalog created in the 1890s by the first curator of the Drexel University Museum, Mary MacAlister).

Regarding set A. 141, its associated Mythological papyrus (S. R. VII. 10266= 14/7/35/4)¹²⁷⁹ bears the name Djedkhonsuiuefankh, who is associated with the titles of Overseer of the double granary (*imy-r šnwty*) and Great Scribe of Amun-Ra, king of the gods (*sš wr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw*).

The papyrus features unique scenes that contribute to the high status of the owner (see *supra* for the funerary equipment). These scenes include the offering of royal insignia, including a crown (refer to Chapter 4, Section 4), and the representation of figures possibly associated with the Litany of Ra (also elaborated in Chapter 4, Section 3). Noteworthy is the extraordinary length of the papyrus, measuring 7.14 meters, a remarkable aspect considering the typical dimensions of papyri during the Twenty-First Dynasty.¹²⁸⁰ Consistent with the suggested status of the owner is his titulary, very unique for the individuals of the Twenty-First Dynasty.

In reference to the Book of the Amduat associated with set A. 141 (S. R. VII. 11498 = 14.7.35.2),¹²⁸¹ the titles mentioned are those of Great praised one in the knowledge of Amun (*hsy ʕ m rh 'Imn*), God's father of Amun-Ra, King of the gods (*it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw*), Overseer of the double granary (*imy-r šnwty*), Great steward (*imy-r pr*) and Great scribe of Amun-Ra, King of the gods (*sš wr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw*).¹²⁸² Additionally, this is where the genealogy of Djedkhonsuiuefankh, mentioned by Daressy, surfaces, indicating Djedkhonsuiuefankh as the son of Shedsuhor. Whether this information would also appear on the coffins remains unknown. It is also plausible that the title *it-ntr n 'Imn*, referenced by Lieblein as associated with set A. 141,¹²⁸³ originated from this papyrus, as it is absent on other elements linked to the owner.¹²⁸⁴ However, the reason Lieblein (or Daressy, if he was copying his notes) chose this common title instead of unique ones for proper identification of the individual remains uncertain. Notably, the papyrus is remarkably lengthy, measuring 6,15 meters.

These documents have been associated with set A. 141 due to the consistency between the genealogical information mentioned by Daressy for set A. 141 and the same information featured on one of the papyrus, along with the matching titles between the two documents,¹²⁸⁵ albeit the Book of the Amduat features a greater number of designations. Furthermore, given the elevated status indicated by the titulary on the papyri, encompassing high positions and significant designations such as that of *hsy ʕ*

¹²⁷⁹ Piankoff, Rambova (1957: 171-176 [22]); Niwiński 1989: 287 [Cairo 95]. It is noteworthy that regarding this particular funerary papyrus, Aston references a distinct inventory number, exchanged with the other papyrus also linked to set A. 141, which is not considered by the author. For consistency, I have adhered to Niwiński's inventory numbers, which are also referenced in Lenzo 2021: 232 [64], along with additional citations.

¹²⁸⁰ The average length of all known papyri from the Twenty-First Dynasty is 2 meters (Stevens 2018: 176).

¹²⁸¹ Sadek 1985: 196-208, pls. 39-41 [C. 28]; Niwiński 1989: 296 [Cairo 120].

¹²⁸² The title of Great Scribe immediately follows that of Great Steward. It is possible that, due to space constraints, the scribe and/or decorator omitted the epithet of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods in reference to Djedkhonsuiuefankh's position as Great steward. This is because it was already incorporated in the following title of Great Scribe, and it could account for both designations.

¹²⁸³ Lieblein 1892: 1003.

¹²⁸⁴ The title might have its origins in the shabti boxes (see *supra*), and, naturally, it could also be featured on the coffin set whose location is currently unknown.

¹²⁸⁵ Moreover, there may be some labels or references in certain papyri that associate them with specific sets, although such associations remain uncertain in these examples.

m rh Imn, it corroborates its likely association with set A. 141, located within the funerary chambers and characterized by the richness of its funerary equipment.

Regarding set A. 107, there has traditionally been a single papyrus linked to this set. Specifically, it is a Book of the Amduat (S. R. IV. 932 = JE 95835)¹²⁸⁶ bearing the title *wꜥb n Imn*. Given that the mummy shroud connected to set A. 107 also displays the title *wꜥb n Imn*, it is probable that the correlation between the papyrus and the set is accurate.

A papyrus from the Book of the Dead, likely originating from Bab el-Gasus (S. R. IV. 557 = JE 95659)¹²⁸⁷ and associated with Djedkhonsuiuefankh, featuring the titles *wꜥb n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* and *ḥsy ʕ3 imntt W3st*, might also have connections to set A. 107. The unique designation of Great Favorite for this individual aligns with the inclusion of specific artifacts within his funerary equipment associated with the high spheres, such as a gilded bronze falcon-shaped pectoral. Further details about the coffin, even if anonymous (refer to Chapter 4, Section 4 for anonymous coffins related to high status individuals), could shed light on the identity of the individual.

Lastly, an extra papyrus from the Book of the Amduat, associated with Djedkhonsuiuefankh (S. R. VII. 10267),¹²⁸⁸ perhaps from Bab el-Gasus, stands out for its remarkable length of 3.54 meters. This papyrus is linked to the titles of *wꜥb*-priest of Amun-Ra, king of the gods (*wꜥb n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*), God's Father of Djehuty, Lord of the Ogdoad (*it-ntr n ḏḥwty nb ḥmnyw*) and Scribe (*sš*). If it originates from Bab el-Gasus, the presence of the title *wꜥb n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* could suggest a connection to set A. 107, although it would be unusual for a set to have two Amduat papyri. Associating it with set A. 8 is improbable, as set A. 8 features the title *it-ntr n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw* rather than that of a *wꜥb*-priest. However, this is speculative, and the papyrus might belong to another Djedkhonsuiuefankh from the tomb whose identity is unknown or an individual not buried in Bab el-Gasus. The reasons for the potential connection of this papyrus and the previously discussed Book of the Dead to Bab el-Gasus, as suggested by Niwiński, remain unknown.

Table 4.5.5 Papyri Bearing the Name Djedkhonsuiuefankh and Likely Linked to Sets Originating from Bab el-Gasus

Papyrus	Titulary	Associated set
Mythological papyrus (S. R. VII. 10266= 14/7/35/4)	<i>imy-r šnwty</i> ; <i>sš wr n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i>	A. 141
Book of the Amduat (S. R. VII. 11498 = 14.7.35.2)	<i>ḥsy ʕ3 m rh Imn</i> ; <i>it-ntr n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntr</i> ; <i>imy-r šnwty</i> ; <i>imy-r pr</i> ; <i>sš wr n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i>	A. 141

¹²⁸⁶ Niwiński 1989: 263, pl. 42a-b [Cairo 30]. However, the author does not include the title mentioned in the document. Only the images published by Niwiński have been examined, making it uncertain whether additional titles are present on the remaining part of the 1.38-meter papyrus.

¹²⁸⁷ Niwiński 1989: 260 [Cairo 20].

¹²⁸⁸ Piankoff, Rambova 1957: 156-162 [19]; Niwiński 1989: 287 [Cairo 96]. Niwiński erroneously linked the titles Overseer of the double granary (*imy-r šnwty*) and Great scribe of Amun-Ra, King of the gods (*sš wr n Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw*) to the object. However, these titles are not present on the object and cause confusion with the items associated with set A. 141.

	Genealogy: son of Shedsuhor	
Book of the Amduat (S. R. IV. 932 = JE 95835)	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn</i> ; others?	A. 107
Book of the Dead (S. R. IV. 557 = JE 95659)	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i> ; <i>ḥsy ʕ imntt W3st</i>	A. 107?
Book of the Amduat (S. R. VII. 10267)	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ nsw ntrw</i> ; <i>it-ntr n dhwtj nb ḥmnyw</i> ; <i>sš</i>	?

Regarding the shabtis connected to Djedkhonsuiuefankh, Daressy identified them as part of set A. 141.¹²⁸⁹ However, multiple shabtis bearing different titulary and associated with Djedkhonsuiuefankh exist. Some display the title *wꜥb n 'Imn*,¹²⁹⁰ implying a connection to set A. 107. Conversely, there are other shabtis featuring the title of *imy-r šnwty*, indicating an association with set A. 141.¹²⁹¹

4.5.6.5.6 Was the father of Djedkhonsuiuefankh (A. 141) also buried in Bab el-Gasus?

Additional support for the connection between two of the discussed papyri and set A. 141 comes from a potential link between set A. 141 and set A. 134, owned by Shedsuhor. This individual could indeed be the Shedsuhor identified as the father of the owner of set A. 141 in his Book of the Amduat. Set A. 134 appears to have been sent to Greece as part of Lot XII,¹²⁹² materials that are today preserved at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. While Daressy (and also Lieblein)¹²⁹³ refers to the set as anonymous, its associated equipment was comprised of elements bearing the name of the owner, such as a shroud and shabtis with the name Shed(su)hor,¹²⁹⁴ as well as the Amduat papyrus bearing the name Shedsuhor.¹²⁹⁵ While the coffins in Athens have not been published, access to pictures allowed for the rearrangement of specific entries under Niwiński's volume, shedding light on the original configuration of set A. 134, which was a complete set.¹²⁹⁶

Furthermore, concerning the identification of the coffin elements, the inner lid associated with set A. 134, displays a blank space that appears to be filled with the name of Shedsuhor, although only remnants of the "*ḥr*" are clearly visible (pls. 4.5/51), along with the remains of a title ending with "*Imn*." The other coffin elements likely associated with the set do not feature any name. However, direct access to the objects is essential to corroborate the information of the owner featured on the object and to understand if there may have been confusion with this set as well.

¹²⁸⁹ Daressy 1907: 17, information followed by Aston (2009: 191 [TG 814]).

¹²⁹⁰ Aubert 1998: 105 [51].

¹²⁹¹ For example, consider the recently sold shabtis by J. Bagot Arqueologia – Ancient Art. For shabtis from the Third Intermediate Period sharing the same name, see Aubert 1998: 105 [51].

¹²⁹² Daressy 1907: 12, 20.

¹²⁹³ Lieblein 1892: 1002.

¹²⁹⁴ Daressy 1907: 17.

¹²⁹⁵ Daressy 1907: 35. For details on the associated funerary equipment, refer to Aston 2009: 189 [TG 807].

¹²⁹⁶ Specifically, the entries found in Niwiński 1988: 106 [11, 12] pertain to the same set. It's crucial to highlight that Niwiński erroneously labeled entry 11 as comprising an inner coffin and a mummy board, whereas it is, in fact, an outer coffin and a mummy board that correspond to the inner coffin presented in entry number 12. Refer to earlier on Chapter 1 for the confusions within Niwiński's volume, arising from the lack of access to the original material during the publication preparation. I extend my gratitude to Kousoulis for providing access to the archival photographic material associated with these objects.

Additional information supporting the connection between Shedsuhor, the owner of set A. 134, and Djedkhonsuiuefankh, the owner of set A. 141, likely father and son, includes their close spatial proximity within one of the funerary chambers of Bab el-Gasus, their similar status,¹²⁹⁷ and the analogous titulary both individuals held (see Table 4.5.6).

Among various objects, set A. 134 comprised a Book of the Dead (S. R. VII. 11494)¹²⁹⁸ with titles such as God's father of Amun-Ra, King of the gods (*it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw*), Overseer of the double granary (*imy-r šnwty*) and Great Scribe of Amun (*sš wr n 'Imn*), notable for its remarkable length of 5.23 meters. Additionally, it included a Book of the Amduat (Cairo S. R. VII. 11499)¹²⁹⁹ with titles like God's father of Amun-Ra, King of the gods (*it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw*), Great steward of Amun-Re, King of the gods (*imy-r pr wr 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw*) and Great scribe of Amun-Ra, King of the gods (*sš wr 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw*), also notable for its remarkable length of 4.45 meters. Furthermore, the set included two shabti boxes (JE 29288 and JE 29289), which have not been accessible to the present author, and the information they contain is currently unknown.

Table 4.5.6 Titles of Shedsuhor (A. 134) and Djedkhonsuiuefankh (A. 141), Likely Father and Son

Material	Djedkhonsuiuefankh (A. 141)	Material	Shedsuhor (A. 134)
Book of the Dead (S. R. VII. 11494)	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i> ; <i>imy-r šnwty</i> ; <i>sš wr n 'Imn</i>	Mythological papyrus (S. R. VII. 10266=14/7/35/4)	<i>imy-r šnwty</i> ; <i>sš wr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i>
Book of the Amduat (S. R. VII. 11499)	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i> ; <i>imy-r pr wr 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i> ; <i>sš wr 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i>	Book of the Amduat (S. R. VII. 11498 = 14.7.35.2)	<i>ḥsy ʕ3 m rḥ 'Imn</i> ; <i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i> ; <i>imy-r šnwty</i> ; <i>imy-r pr</i> ; <i>sš wr n 'Imn-R^c nsw ntrw</i> Genealogy: <i>s3 šd-sw-ḥr</i>

The shared possession of distinctive titles, including Overseer of the double granary, Great scribe of Amun and Steward, indicates a likely connection between the two individuals. There's a possibility of a familial relationship, potentially that of a father and son, as supported by genealogical information associated with set A. 141. This further emphasizes the notion that these prestigious titles were transmitted across generations.

In summary, sets A. 8, A. 107 and A. 141 exemplify the complexities in the current organization of coffins and their related funerary equipment within Bab el-Gasus. This complexity is heightened when dealing with materials linked to individuals sharing the

¹²⁹⁷ The opulent accompanying items linked to the sets correspond to certain elements found in the equipment associated with coffin sets located within the funerary chambers. It's important to note that high-status individuals were not necessarily interred within the funerary chambers (refer to earlier in Chapter 4, Section 4).

¹²⁹⁸ Niwiński 1989: 294-295 [Cairo 116].

¹²⁹⁹ Niwiński 1989: 296-297 [Cairo 121].

same name, a challenge amplified by the absence of documentation and primary information from the tomb's initial discovery. Obtaining primary access to the materials is essential to further comprehend and address this issue.

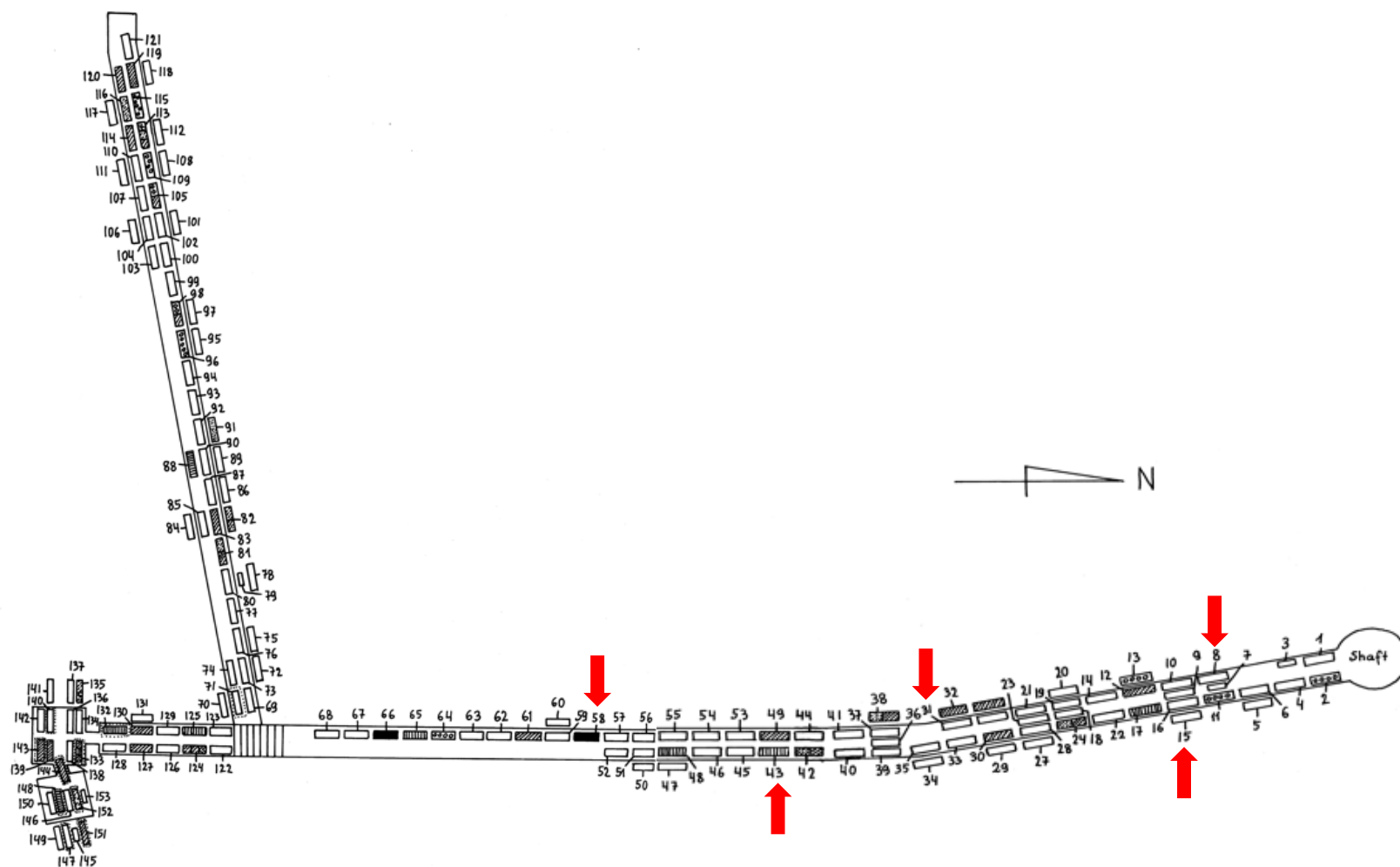


Image 4.5.1 Spatial locations of the Sets Under Discussion with known A. Numbers (Image from Niwiński 1988: table 1, modified by the present author)

Conclusions

Chapter 1 explores the main challenges associated with the study of the yellow coffins and presents strategies in which they can be mitigated. It establishes the methodology employed in the study, which encompasses the population and utilization of a computer-aided electronic database designed to cover the entire population of yellow coffins under investigation. The primary goal of the tool is to systematically collect and organize the various features displayed on, and associated with, the non-stola yellow coffins under investigation. It is designed to structure and interconnect all kinds of data, facilitating a comprehensive comparative analysis of the yellow coffins in a coherent manner while addressing specific research needs.

This approach considers multiple levels of information, including historical, biographical, textual and iconographical aspects that can be interconnected. It involves comparisons with other materials, both within and across sets. Cross-referencing various types of data enables researchers to conduct complex multivariable analyses, aiding in addressing specific questions regarding the nature of yellow coffins. Additionally, it helps overcome or mitigate several challenges discussed in the chapter that researchers encounter when studying yellow coffins.

By employing this contemporary data-driven comparative methodology, the study moves beyond mere visual description and indexing of what is represented and inscribed on the non-stola yellow coffins. It goes beyond viewing the material as a result and instead considers it as a process. The study integrates the examination of modern history with analyses of some of the ancient material themselves, contributing to the reconstruction of the ‘lost’ origin of the materials and reestablishing their connection to their original place in time and space.

The investigation seeks to shed light on the social implications inherent in the ornamentation of yellow coffins. Given the lack of documentation directly detailing the specifics and process(es) of their decoration, the artifacts themselves stand as the sole evidence. The primary objective of the study is to discern shared or similar decorative patterns on the objects, delving into the prospect of standardization in decorations among specific groups of yellow coffins, thereby hinting at the existence of decorative models, a subject extensively discussed in various sections of Chapter 4. The goal is to shed light on potential relationships within subsets of yellow coffins, offering information into the social context of their adornment. An essential aspiration is to investigate whether owners of materials adorned in a similar manner shared any social connections.

The study focuses on comprehending the purpose(s) of non-stola yellow coffin decorative models, notable for their symbolism and social significance, and the motivations behind their presence on specific comparable coffins. The identification and analysis of ownership information, decorative patterns and specific motifs amongst coffins are not concluded; it can be expanded with new materials and further refinement. Given the extensive volume and diversity of data points, there is potential for further exploration through multivariable comparative analysis, aiming to gain

insights beyond the immediate scope of this study. The suggested approach may prove valuable for other diverse studies on yellow coffins.

It is worth mentioning that the subgroups of yellow coffins discussed in Chapter 4, despite sharing identical or similar decorative model(s), have yet to undergo contemporary scientific material analysis. The potential future adoption of a multidisciplinary approach will incorporate considerations regarding manufacturing techniques and materials. Investigating potential correspondences not only in the decoration but also in materiality will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of these artifacts, including potential common origins.

Chapter 2 delves into the production and decoration of yellow coffins, with a specific focus on the challenges and limits associated with establishing specific criteria for identifying subsets of yellow coffins and attributing objects to a shared decorative “origin.” This origin encompasses a decorative model, an individual decorator and a specific location. The exploration of the notion of a “workshop” within the context of yellow coffins involves a thorough examination of the intricacies and challenges encountered when comparing these coffins. The chapter also delves into the definitions of “models” and “copies”.

Adopting the methodology of the “New Philology” or “Material Philology,” the study seeks to investigate coffins as intricate processes and a dynamic entities. It delves into a comprehensive understanding of the intellectual and material roles played by their creators. This perspective signifies a shift from perceiving the objects merely as static artifacts to comprehending them as evolving entities shaped by the dynamic interplay of intellectual and material practices.

The defined criteria are applicable across various levels of identification, encompassing individual craftspeople at the micro-level to the broader context of decorative models at the macro-level. These levels of identification are interconnected, and, as elaborated, both decorative models and craftspeople may exhibit circulation. The greater the number of criteria shared by a specific subset or cluster of coffins, the closer it brings the researcher to the potentially identifying a specific decorator. However, even in cases where it is possible to suggest and identify decorative model(s) or even a decorator’s distinctive style, determining their association with specific or interconnected workshops, if they indeed existed, can be challenging. The same craftspeople could operate in different places and regions, and the same holds true for models, which may circulate. Consequently, the identification of workshops proves exceedingly challenging, and it is only possible to suggest the recognition of similar decorative models and interconnected craftspeople, whether affiliated with the same hypothetical “location” or not. In any case, while these criteria hold theoretical promise, their practical application is hindered by incomplete knowledge, and every assumption remains speculative.

Furthermore, none of the presented arguments and criteria should be employed without careful consideration and reservation. The mere identification of these criteria in isolation within a group of coffins does not automatically imply that the objects

originated from the same spatial location. Identifying objects that share a common textual and/or iconographical model does not guarantee that they were adorned in the same place or by the same individual. However, if these objects not only share the same decorative model but also exhibit additional similarities, such as stylistic and paleographic characteristics, the probability of them being decorated by the same individual increases, progressing from less likely to more probable. This, however, does not imply that the objects were adorned in the same location. The accumulation of criteria serves as an indicator and enhances the credibility of the hypothesis. Conversely, with fewer criteria, the likelihood of the scenario diminishes.

The chapter also explores the roles of ancient Egyptian institutions in preserving and facilitating the circulation of knowledge pertaining to the religious components that could potentially be incorporated into the decoration of yellow coffins. In this context, archaeological evidence indicating the existence of decorative coffin templates is examined. The documents stress the significance of comprehending both the intellectual and material processes involved in the production and decoration of inscribed three-dimensional artifacts. Additionally, the importance of understanding the education, experience and working conditions of the scribes and/or decorators engaged in copying texts and decorating yellow coffins is emphasized.

The chapter further enhances the understanding of the mobility of craftspeople and the circulation and transmission of decorative models and motifs within the context of yellow coffins, as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 1. This is achieved through a comparative analysis of the iconographic features present on the yellow coffins. The chapter contributes novel insights to contemporary scholarship by exploring the circulation and the transmission of a specific iconographic motif among the relevant artistic networks and craftspeople. While the movement of craftspeople around Egypt may or may not have consistently facilitated this circulation, it undoubtedly played a significant role in the process of diffusing decorative innovations.

A specific focus within the chapter is given to the so-called “greenery motif.” It suggests a reevaluation of the chronological framework surrounding the usage of this detail and presents an update corpus of additional yellow coffins featuring the motif. This reexamination sheds light on its formal evolution and contributes to the understanding of its distribution. The motif’s presence in different locations across Egypt indicates its popularity in coffin decoration and the motif’s inclusion in the decorators’ repertoire.

Chapter 3 attempts to comprehend the social organization and temporal considerations involved in the production of yellow coffins and their elements. The examination of specific sets raises several questions regarding the chronology of their associated components, the contextual nuances of their creation, the potential influence of the owner's career progression on the decoration process, the selection of titulary and typology, and the constraints imposed by the available surface area for displaying information about the deceased.

While the exact motivations and reasoning behind the chosen titulary and typologies, as well as potential chronological differences between elements, remain somewhat obscure, some insights can be inferred from the presented examples. Upon closer examination of the materials, the observed variation in typologies and titularies, reflecting chronological evolution in the former and career progression/status changes in the latter, among elements within the same coherent coffin set implies distinct production moments for the various elements and funerary equipment associated with a single set and a traceable sequence in the decoration of these elements.

This implies that, for some individuals, coffins might have been decorated over an extended period of time. It seems that these decisions and variations among elements associated with the same set were influenced by the contemporary status of the deceased at the time of commissioning the elements.

Certainly, it is plausible that the intentional pursuit of diversity in titulary and typologies among elements associated with the same set occurred, with an absence of clear indications of an internal production sequence within the same set. Moreover, it is likely that a variety of other factors contributed to the observed diversity among the elements and the decisions associated with their commission. This underscores the limitation of understanding derived solely from the analysis of coffin sets, especially when other associated funerary materials are not thoroughly considered, either due to oversight or lack of identification. This highlights the restricted nature of defining and comprehending an owner's position solely based on information derived from the coffins, as a wealth of additional titles may be present on other elements within the set. Undertaking a comprehensive comparative study of all the yellow coffins and their respective titulary, along with investigations into their relative chronology and spatial location of specific titles, and comparisons with other elements of the funerary equipment, is crucial to gaining deeper insights into these aspects.

Chapter 3 also explores the intricate dynamics of yellow coffin decoration by considering the potential involvement of various decorators in adorning elements associated with the same set or even within the same element, shedding light on labor organization derived from the analysis of stylistic variations in coffin elements. The narrative is further complicated by subsequent redecorations within specific elements, adding further intricacies to the understanding of the organization and division of labor. However, these questions lack definitive answers, and the variables at play may have varied depending on specific elements, the object's context, the commissioners involved and the level of the owner's engagement or decision-making authority -dimensions that remain beyond our current knowledge.

The chapter concludes by examining the corpus of non-stola yellow coffin sets that include at least one associated element with a blank space reserved for the information of the deceased, whether left unfilled or subsequently inscribed with a name. This widespread practice sheds light on certain social aspects linked to the production of yellow coffins, sparking ongoing debates about its implications. Questions arise, such as whether these blank spaces indicate materials produced without specific commissions, if they existed for easier reuse during that period, or both. Notably, Chapter 4, Section 4

delves into a group of yellow coffins associated with the high elite of the period, with one defining characteristic being the presence of blank spaces on some associated elements. The same phenomenon is exemplified in the group of coffins examined in Chapter 4, Section 5.

Interestingly, this practice was rarely uniformly applied across all elements within the same set. Diverse methods of including the owner's information could coexist within a single coffin set, and the reasons for this variation remain elusive. Additionally, there is a discernible trend towards individualization and identification of the deceased through the covers rather than the boxes. This underscores the importance of considering historical, social and cultural contexts in analyzing material artifacts and the processes involved in their production, use and reception.

Chapter 4 employs a comparative analysis of coffin similarity attribute complexes, facilitating the identification of specific groups of related coffins that share the same or similar decorative model(s). Subsequently, the owners' status is scrutinized, considering associated documents such as funerary elements and inscriptions that shed light on their roles during their lifetime. This analysis reveals the distinct societal positions of these individuals within the hierarchy of their time. The final step involves examining whether individuals with similarly decorated coffins also shared social connections, including roles or, as observed in Chapter 4, Section 4, belonging to the same family. This implies that social status played a role in shaping the decoration of their coffin sets, particularly evident in those discussed in Chapter 4, Sections 2-5. In contrast, Chapter 4, Section 1 explores a group of coffins that, despite sharing the same or similar decorative model(s), exhibit a broader range of titles. This divergence may be attributed to the fact that the majority of objects, as discussed further below, originate from Akhmim, a regional area where workshops, if they existed, or craftspeople were not specialized to a subset group of society, allowing for a wider incorporation of decorative models across different social strata.

Chapter 4, Section 1 delves into the ongoing debate surrounding the provenance of a distinctive group of yellow coffins and mummy boards dating from the middle to late Twentieth Dynasty/early Twenty-First Dynasty. This group of objects, characterized by adhering to the same or similar iconographical and textual model(s), has been expanded by the inclusion of additional coffins and mummy boards. Through a comprehensive analysis considering titulary, iconography, style, texts and acquisition dates and circumstances, the section offers new insights into the origins of these artifacts. The materials are suggested to have diverse origins, with some likely originating from the Theban area and the majority of them from Akhmim. The possibility that these coffins originated from different locations around the same time provides new perspectives on the transmission of models at the conclusion of the New Kingdom and the beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty in Upper Egypt. These findings contribute valuable knowledge about artistic practices, iconographic traditions and cultural exchanges during this transitional period.

By comparing their style, layout and iconography, a relative chronological sequence within the group is established. This highlights that the craftspeople innovated over

time, demonstrating an evolution of style, layout and iconography on the objects. This comparative analysis also suggests the potential identification of individual craftspeople or closely related decorators who contributed to the adornment of these artifacts. Looking ahead, contemporary scientific analyses that focus on the physical materials, including pigments, plaster and wood, could further enhance understanding of the materiality and shared origins of these artifacts.

Additionally, the examination of the coffins and their associated mummies and funerary equipment not only sheds light on the dynamics of coffin modification and/or reuse practices during the Third Intermediate Period and the early Late Period in Akhmim but also reveals contemporary reuse practices. In this latter aspect, the study, which integrates the examination of modern history with analyses of ancient materials, provides a comprehensive framework for tracking the methods employed by traffickers in the late Nineteenth century, reflecting the cultural and historical context of the time. Concerning the objects originating from Akhmim, the dispersion of these materials across more than ten different countries exemplifies the scattering of objects from a single location at the end of the Nineteenth century, resulting in the formation of Egyptological collections worldwide.

Prospective discoveries of coffins featuring these same or similar decorative model(s), whether from Akhmim, the Theban area or even further afield, alongside thorough analyses, hold the promise of additional considerations.

Chapter 4, Section 2 delves into a collection of yellow coffins and mummy boards from the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty, which have been associated with the same or similar decorative model(s). Within the corpus of yellow coffins, objects from this period are notably scarce, likely due to potential reuse and redecoration of these coffins or other reasons.

The comparative analysis of their style, layout and iconography provides insights into distinctive iconographic and stylistic innovations that emerged in the decorative schemes of Theban coffins toward the end of the New Kingdom. This marks the decorative evolution of funerary containers during the transitional period from the mid/late Ramesside Period to what would characterize the yellow coffins adorned in the early Twenty-First Dynasty.

Examining specific iconographies and the inclination toward *horror vacui* in the materials implies a relative chronological sequence for the materials, proposing how the decoration of a cohesive group of objects exhibited a nearly constant evolution, supporting various decorative solutions that, in some cases, may have coexisted. This evolution showcases the creative adaptation and modification of the decorative repertoire over time.

An analysis of the titulary, social statuses of the owners and the common provenances and archaeological contexts documented for some objects offers insight into the specific owners of the coffin sets. Additionally, it sheds light on burial practices toward the end

of the New Kingdom, indicating that social status may have influenced the decoration of funerary materials.

Specifically, the male titulary displayed on the materials indicates a shared professional background among the owners. All these individuals served in the same areas in the northern part of Karnak, and in some cases, for the same institutions and/or temples, where a few held priestly positions. The fact that their coffins and mummy boards exhibit the same or similar decorative model(s), whether originating from the same location or not, and perhaps in some cases even decorated by the same individual craftsman or closely related decorator(s), suggests that these model(s) and the associated location using these patterns catered to a specific clientele associated with a distinct social group professionally related to a particular area of Karnak.

It is likely that all the mentioned officials and religious individuals, belonging to the same professional group, obtained the decoration of their coffins, as well as those of their wives, in a similar manner. Some of these individuals were interred together, sometimes alongside their wives. Considering that the female burials in these tombs were the wives of the men, it is also suggested that, in some instances, couples received the decoration of their coffins from the same location, given the impact of the male's status on that of his immediate family. The study sheds light on the current understanding of late Ramesside coffin sets and decoration, filling in the gaps of the iconographical development of coffins and mummy boards between the reigns of Ramesses IV and XI -an evolution that has not been studied extensively.

Chapter 4, Section 3 analyzes prominent figures within the Institution of the Tomb (*p3 hr*), a group that included the Litany of Ra on the exterior of their coffin boxes, a rare decorative program not typically found on the exterior of these materials. The section explores shared connections and similar or identical status among these individuals who lived around the late New Kingdom and beginning of the Twenty-First Dynasty, especially in terms of their professional roles and, in some cases, familial bonds – as exemplified by Butehamon and his son. These individuals appear to have formed a unique socio-professional network within ancient society, likely revolving around specialized roles related to religious or administrative functions, as well as familial ties. This network created a web of influence that extended beyond the bounds of a typical social hierarchy.

Expanding on this notion, it is possible that the roles and statuses of these individuals, closely tied to high hierarchies and involving activities such as overseeing new tombs, inspecting old ones and handling and relocating deceased remains, granted them the knowledge and access to specific texts and iconographies that influenced the decoration of their funerary equipment, specially coffins and papyri. These characteristics were primarily associated with the high elite, evident even among individuals related to the family of the High Priests. This concept finds support in the analysis of funerary papyri from the same period, which featured similar decorative programs, as well as through the examination of the statuses of the materials' owners.

Accessing these elements may have been a means of reflecting their elevated status, obtaining unique texts and iconographies, as individuals recognized the symbolic power associated with these iconographies and texts. In doing so, they aimed to reinforce their positions in society and secure their legacy for future generations. The shared iconographies and texts among the high elite and those linked to the High Priests' families suggests a concerted effort to maintain and display a particular status.

Furthermore, these individuals might have sought access to these unique elements not only for personal prestige but also for religious or spiritual reasons. Funerary practices and beliefs often played a central role in the lives of ancient Egypt, and having access to specific iconographies and texts could have been seen as a means of ensuring a more favorable afterlife or connection to the divine.

This raises a fundamental question: Did the funerary rituals vary based on the social status of the deceased? The connection between social status and the choice of specific iconographic and textual elements on the funerary materials suggests that the very nature of the rituals themselves may have varied across different social classes. This could imply that the belief systems, customs and practices surrounding death and burial evolved or adapted according to the social standing of the deceased. Unfortunately, there is no textual evidence that shed light on the rituals and beliefs associated with different segments of society during this transitional period.

The individuals linked through professional and familial ties shared a common status that provided them with access to exclusive iconographies and texts for their funerary equipment, in this case the Litany of Ra. Their roles within the social hierarchy, combined with their connection to the High Priests' families, likely facilitated this access. This not only served to elevate their social standing but may have also held religious or spiritual significance, ensuring a lasting impact on the cultural and spiritual landscape of their time.

Chapter 4, Section 4 analyzes a group of coffins and coffin elements associated with the same or similar decorative models, shedding light on the patterns adopted for the direct family or individuals associated with the High Priest of Amun, who were interred in Bab el-Gasus. This investigation sheds light into the social significance that influenced the decoration of these coffins and the production of their unique associated funerary equipment.

The presence of elevated symbolic content embedded within these artifacts underscores the distinctive social status of their owners, suggesting their access to a more costly and specialized ritual knowledge held by experts. This knowledge surpassed that of the standard craftspeople responsible for creating more conventional and standardized items in terms of content.

This distinction is also evident through their specific and high-status titulary, as well as the symbolic materiality present in their funerary equipment, including the types of amulets found in their burials. This information is particularly noteworthy because, typically, there is limited information about the mummies and funerary equipment

associated with yellow coffins; however, in this case, even partial information is available. Therefore, these individuals chose to express their unique social positions through the composition and materiality of their coffins and funerary equipment.

The section further explores the examination of the positions of the coffins within Bab el-Gasus. This information about their location not only provides insights into the organization of the tomb but also highlights the challenges that arose after the discovery, including the lack of information for certain specimens. In this regard, the notion of the existence of substitute sets within the tomb -meaning several sets that belonged to the same individual at different moments- has been reconsidered in light of all the known information associated with this individual(s), specifically Meritamun, for whom this practice was suggested.

Furthermore, a noteworthy feature of the majority of the coffin elements is that, even when associated with high-status individuals, most funerary containers were originally anonymous, lacking information about the deceased, which typically comes from the associated funerary equipment. This phenomenon sheds light on the practice of decorating of coffins and the organization principles behind it.

The analysis of the documents indicates that restricted iconography and materiality serve as reflections of the hierarchical structures within societies. By limiting access to and the utilization of specific and exclusive models, certain motifs and symbols, rare funerary compositions, rich materials and artifact typologies solely to high-status individuals, these practices further reinforced social distinctions. This visual communication effectively conveyed who occupied positions of authority and/or privilege. This phenomenon was closely tied to social competition and the display of these iconographies and materials.

The concept of restricted iconography and objects reserved for significant individuals underscores the deliberate, strategic and culturally significant use of symbols and artifact. It mirrors the intricate interplay between symbols, status, culture and communication, all of which contribute to how societies perceive and commemorate their most prominent individuals. This concept also sheds light on the multifaceted influences that shaped the decoration and utilization of coffins and funerary equipment.

Chapter 4, Section 5 explores the correlation between coffins and coffin elements, examining identical or similar iconographic and textual model(s). When cross-referenced with the identities and titularies of their owners, the findings strongly imply that social status played a pivotal role in determining the selection of decorative models for funerary equipment.

Notably, these coffins share an initial stage of decoration characterized by inherent anonymity, shedding light on the decorative practices employed during their creation. An exception to this prevailing pattern emerges with the higher-titled owner, Padikhonsu, suggesting that individuals with slightly different social statuses could access the same model. However, they introduced distinctive variations in specific decorations absent on other coffins, hinting at a possible combination of one or several

decorative models. In this case, social status not only influenced the choice of models and access to unique texts and decorative elements but also played a significant role in customizing the coffins. Consequently, social status contributed to the individualization of specific coffins, differing from others that may have been prepared in advance without prior knowledge of the future owner.

It is noteworthy that the coffins within the same group originated from various locations. This suggests that the same or similar models were used by different individuals, and while it is uncertain whether they were somehow connected, they were ultimately interred in different places, albeit with the majority eventually finding their way to Bab el-Gasus. In the latter examples, the study of their funerary equipment has yielded further insights into their roles.

Finally, there have been suggestions concerning the precise positioning of the outer coffin and mummy board linked to Ikhy within the context of Bab el-Gasus. There is speculation regarding one of the discussed inner boxes, which, despite having no established connection to any known sets within the corpus of yellow coffins, is considered a potential part of Ikhy's set. The identification of elements from the same set, details lost to time due to insufficient documentation, introduces complexities and challenges to the understanding of the materials from Bab el-Gasus.

This section highlighted the errors that occurred during the shipment of objects from Bab el-Gasus, significantly complicating the study of these materials. These unaddressed errors underscore the ongoing nature of research in this field and emphasize the importance of persistent exploration and inquiry into the gaps in our knowledge about Bab el-Gasus and its materials. This reinforces the imperative need for meticulous cataloging, precise measurements and interdisciplinary approaches.

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Plates

Chapter 2

Nebhepet (mummy board)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(E. 13047, CM 32, MHN)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Pl. 2.1



Masaharta (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 26195; CG 61027)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Masaharta (outer box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE 26195; CG 61027)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 2.3



Masaharta (inner lid)
Mummification Museum, Luxor
(JE 26195; CG 61027)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Mummification Museum, Luxor)



Masaharta (inner box, exterior)
Mummification Museum, Luxor
(JE 26195; CG 61027)
Photos by the author
(© Mummification Museum,
Luxor)



Masaharta (mummy board)
Mummification Museum, Luxor
(JE 26195; CG 61027)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Mummification Museum, Luxor)



Gautseshen A (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29635)
Photos by the author
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Gautseshen A (outer box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29635)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Gautseshen A (outer box, interior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE 29635)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 2.9



Gautseshen A (inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29635)
Photos by the author
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Gautseshen A (inner box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29635)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Gautseshen A (inner box, interior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE 29635)

Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Gautseshen A (mummy board)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29635)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Maatkara A (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
26200 (CG 61028)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Maatkara A (outer box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

26200 (CG 61028)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 2.15



Maatkara A (outer box, interior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

26200 (CG 61028)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 2.16



Maatkara A (inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
26200 (CG 61028)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Maatkara A (inner box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
26200 (CG 61028)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Maatkara A (inner box, interior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

26200 (CG 61028)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 2.19



Maatkara A (mummy board)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
26200 (CG 61028)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 2.20

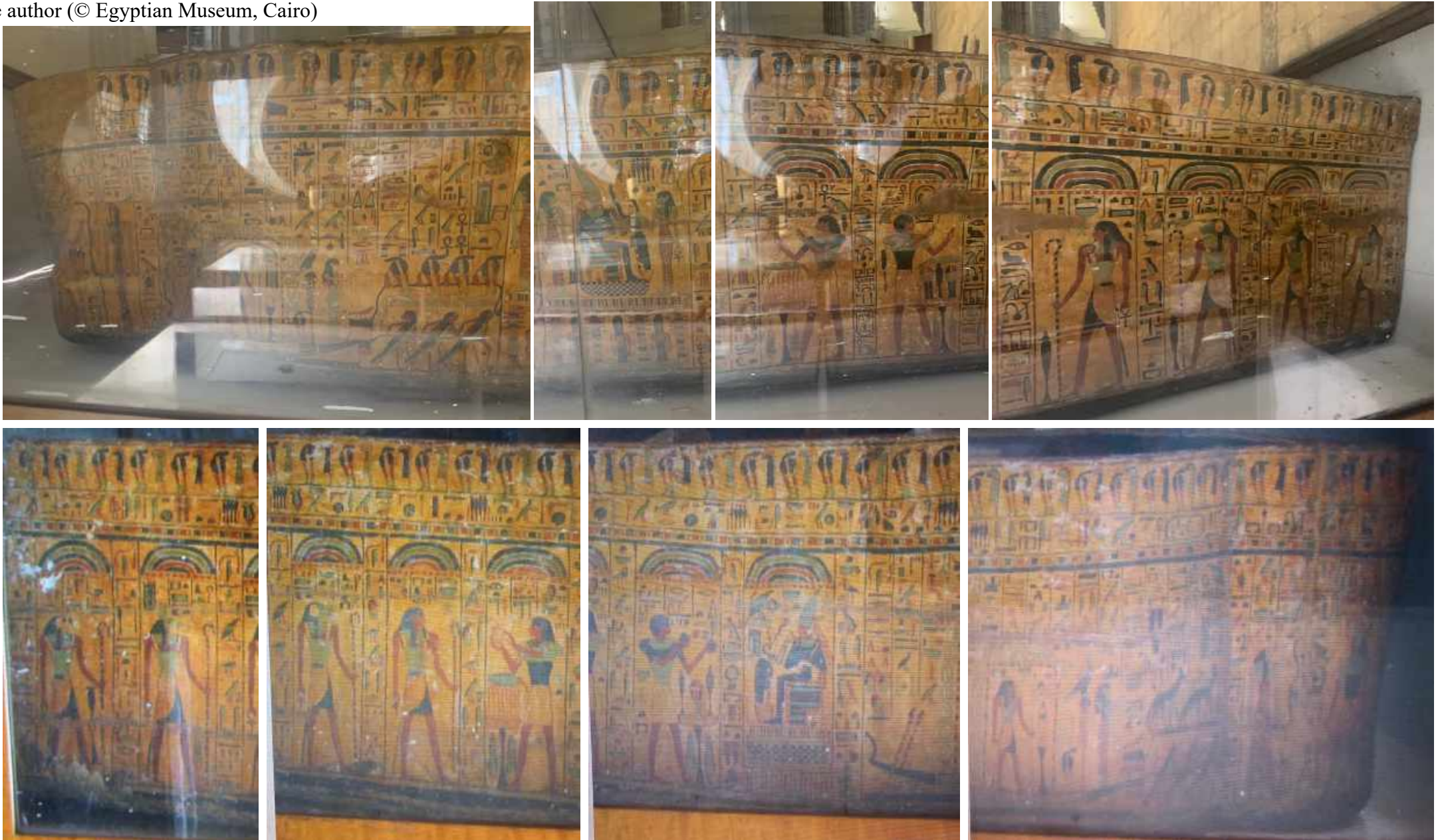


Chapter 3

Ankhefenmut (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29692; CG 6109; A. 16)
Photos by the author
(© Egyptian Museum,
Cairo)



Ankhefenmut (outer box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29692; CGC 6110; A. 16)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Ankhefenmut (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29692; CG 6110; A. 16)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 3.3



Ankhefenmut (inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29692; CG 6098; A. 16)
Photos by the author
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Ankhefenmut (inner box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29692; CG 6099; A. 16)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Ankhefenmut (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29692; CG 6099; A. 16)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

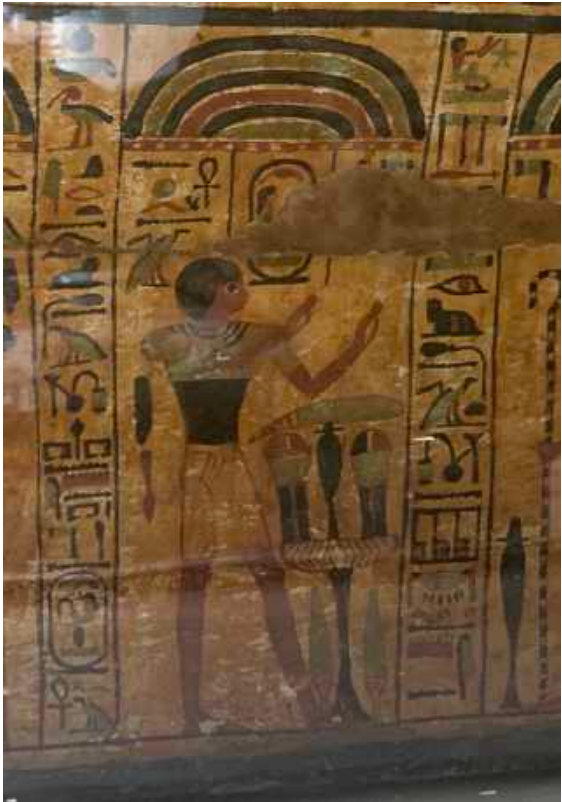


Ankhefenmut (mummy board)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29692; CG 6100; A. 16)
Photos by the author
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)





Outer lid



Outer box



Inner lid



Inner box



Mummy board

Nespawershefyt (outer lid)
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
(E.1.1822)
Photos courtesy of Helen Strudwick
(© Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)



Nespawershefyt (outer box, exterior)
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
(E.1.1822)

Photos courtesy of Helen Strudwick (© Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)



Nespawershefyt (outer box, interior)
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
(E.1.1822)
Photos courtesy of Helen Strudwick (© Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)



Nespawershefyt (inner lid)
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
(E.1.1822)
Photos courtesy of Helen Strudwick
(© Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)

Pl. 3.12



Nespawershefyt (inner box, exterior)

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

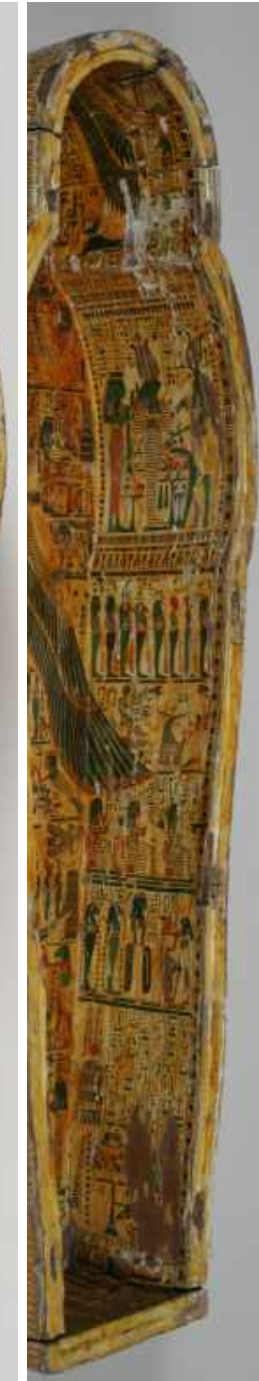
(E.1.1822)

Photos courtesy of Helen Strudwick (© Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)



Nespawershefyt (inner box, interior)
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
(E.1.1822)

Photos courtesy of Helen Strudwick (© Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)



Nespawershefyt (mummy board)
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
(E.1.1822)
Photos courtesy of Helen Strudwick
(© Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)



Butchamon (outer lid)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2236; CGT 10101.a)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila
(© Museo Egizio, Turin)

Pl. 3.16



Butchamon (outer box, exterior)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2236; CGT 10101.b)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)



Butchamon (outer box, interior)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2236; CGT 10101.b)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila
(© Museo Egizio, Turin)

Pl. 3.18



Butchamon (outer box, exterior)
Art & History Museum, Brussels
(E. 5288)

Photos by the author (© Art & History Museum, Brussels)

Pl. 3.19



Butchamon (outer box, interior)
Art & History Museum, Brussels
(E. 5288)
Photos courtesy of Luc Delvaux
(© Art & History Museum, Brussels)



Butchamon (inner lid)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.a)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)



Butchamon (inner box, exterior)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.b)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)

Pl. 3.22



Butchamon (inner box, interior)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.b)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila
(© Museo Egizio, Turin)



Pl. 3.23



Butchamon (mummy board)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2237; CGT 10103)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila
(© Museo Egizio, Turin)



Tjanefer (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29682; CG 6250; A. 69)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



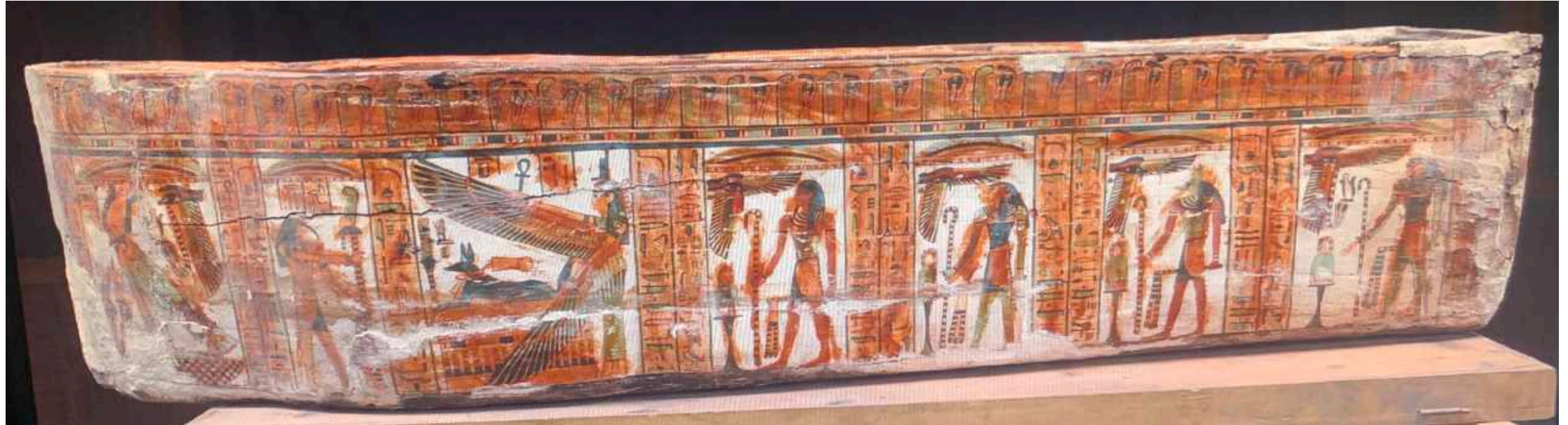
Columns in the footboard
including the information of the
deceased

Tjanefer (outer box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE 29682; CG 6249; A. 69)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Tjanefer (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29682; CG 6249; A. 69)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Tjanefer (inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29682; CG 6251; A. 69)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Tjanefer (inner box, exterior)

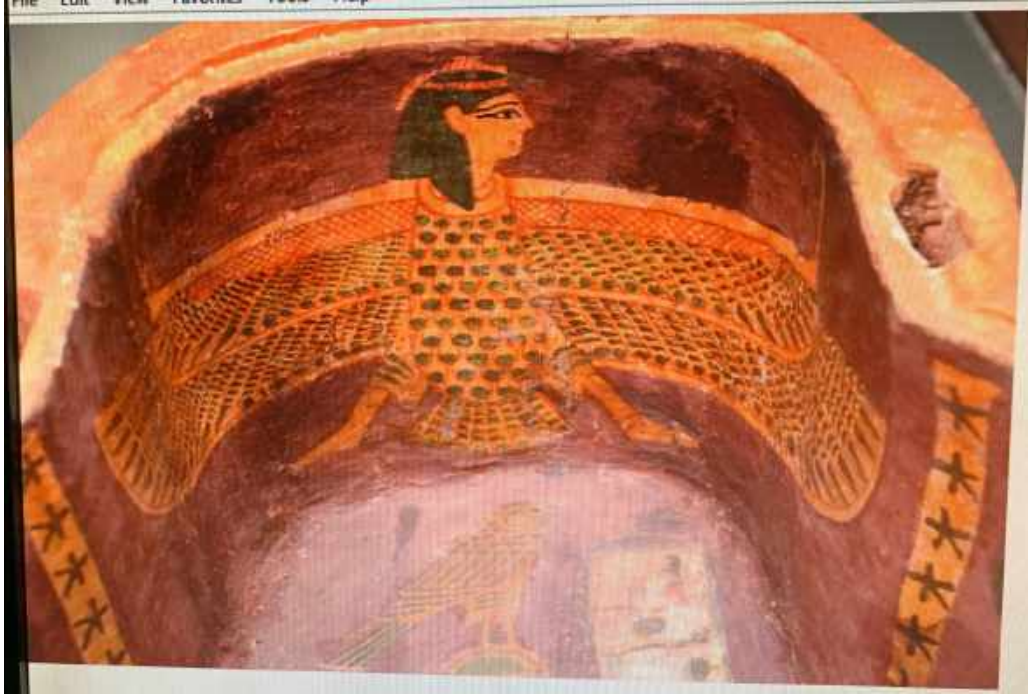
Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE 29682; CG 6253; A. 69)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Tjanefer (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29682; CG 6253; A. 69)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Tjanefer (mummy board)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29682; CG 6252; A. 69)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)





Outer lid



Inner lid



Mummy board



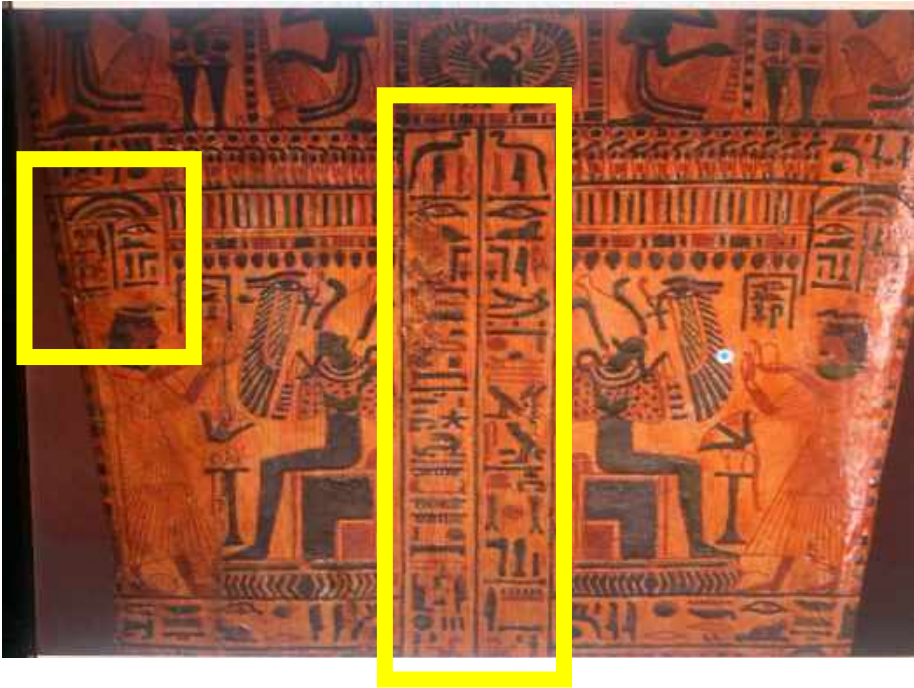
Outer lid



Inner lid



Inner box



Mummy board

Panedjem (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29637; CG 6105; A. 55)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

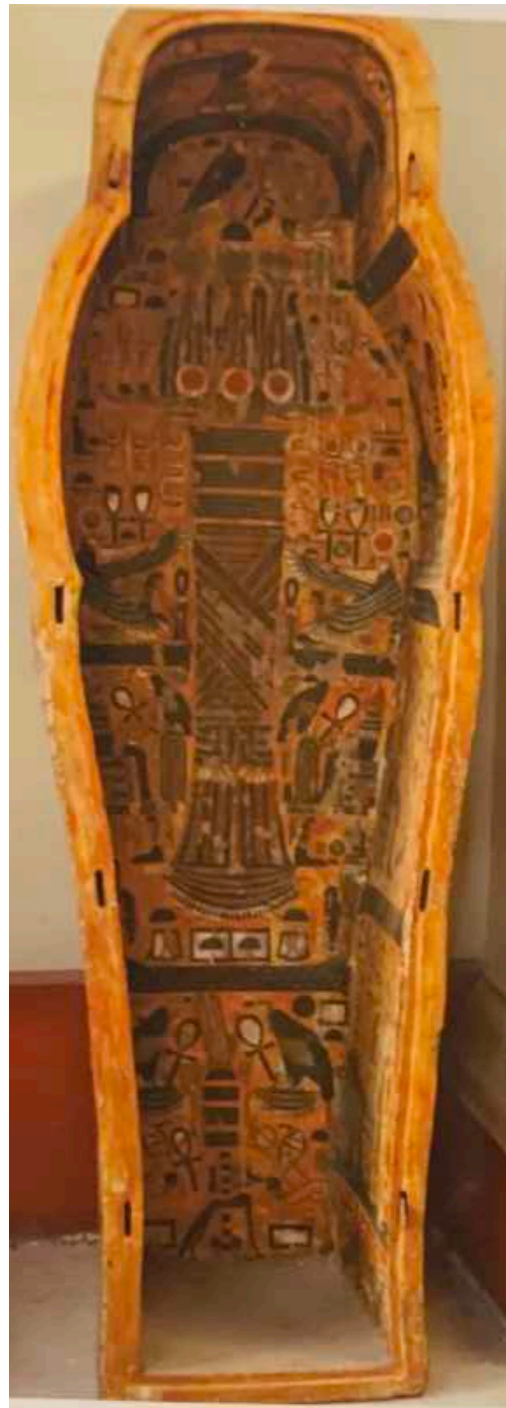


Panedjem (outer box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29637; CG 6106; A. 55)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 3.35



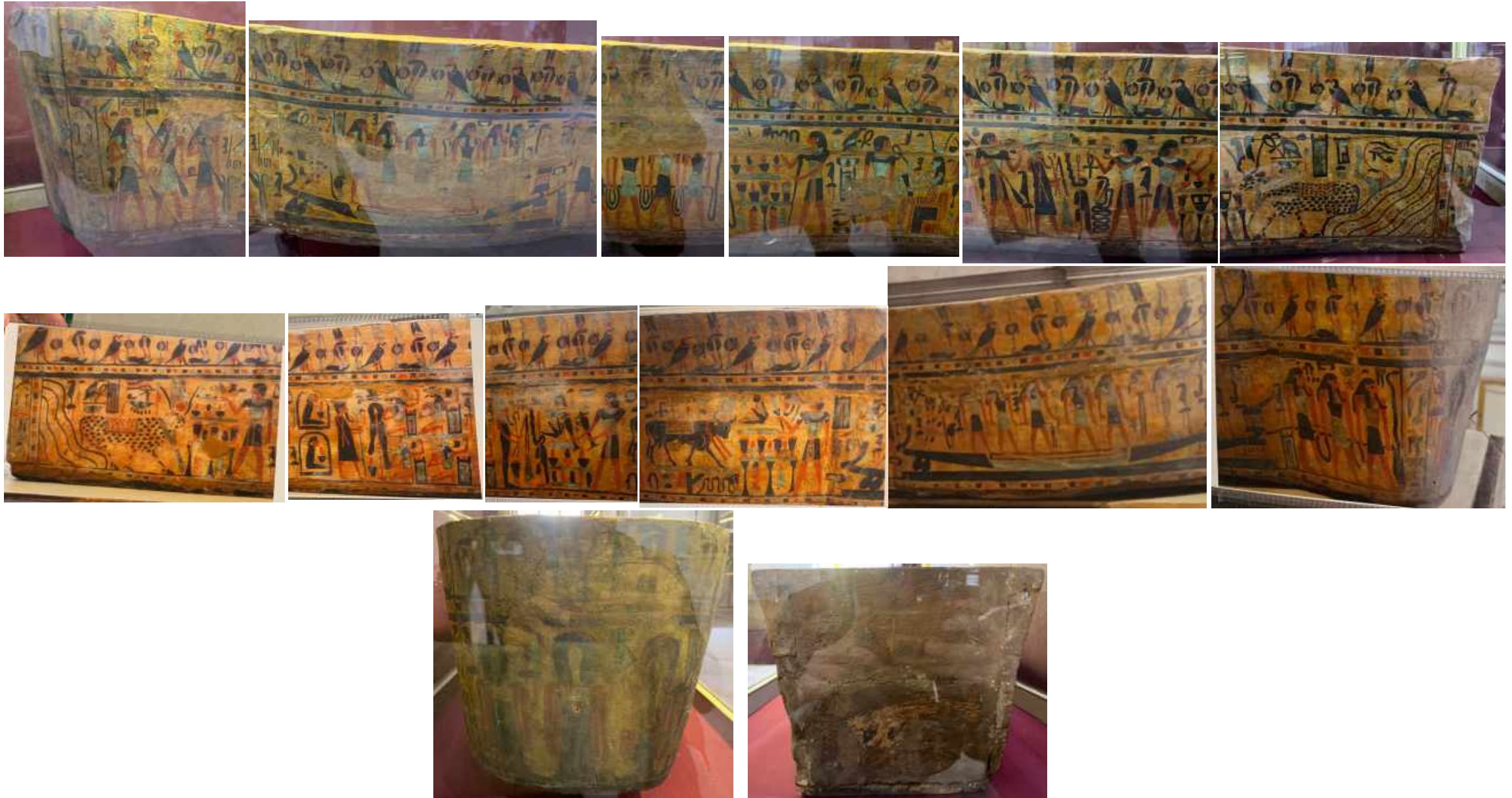
Panedjem (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29637; CG 6106; A. 55)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Panedjem (inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29637; CG 6103; A. 55)
Photos by the author
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Panedjem (inner box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29637; CG 6104; A. 55)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

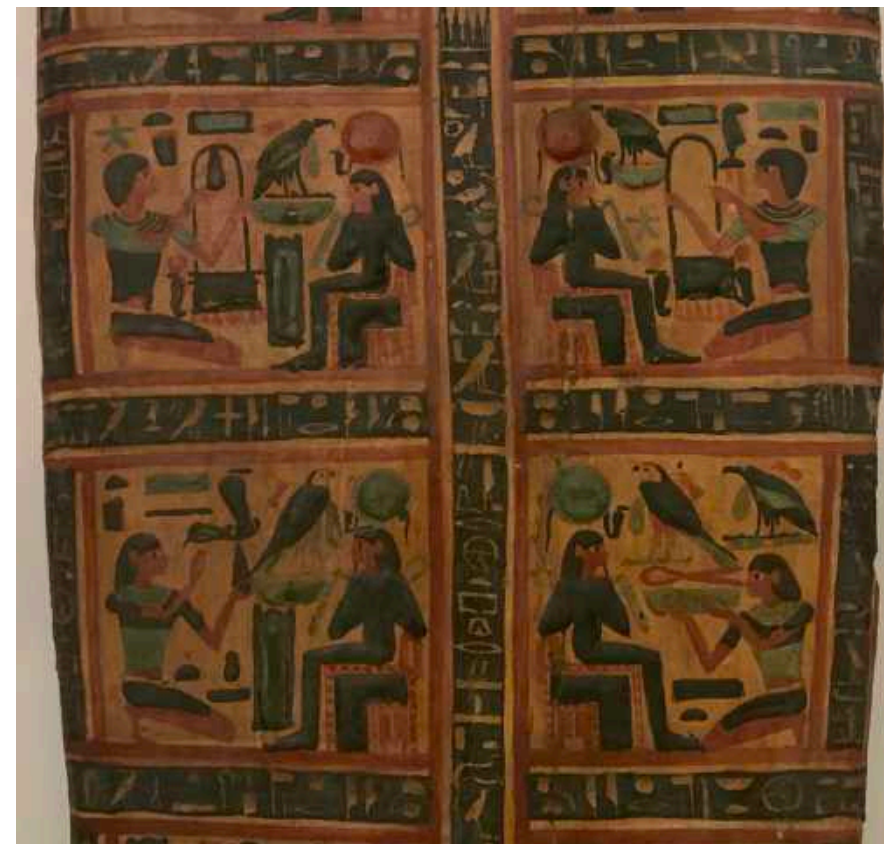


Panedjem (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29637; CG 6104; A. 55)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 3.39

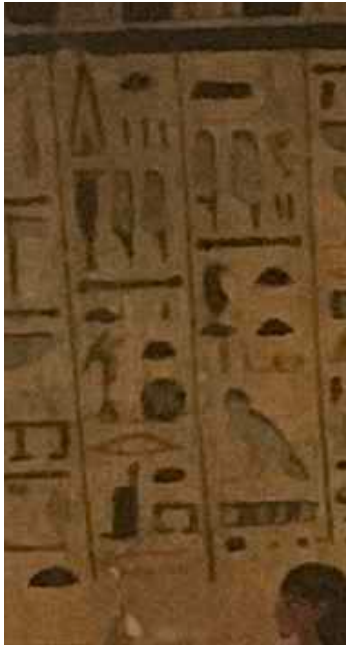


Panedjem (mummy board)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29637; CG 6063; A. 55)
Photos by the author
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)





Outer lid



Outer box



Inner lid



Mummy board



Shedsukhonsu?, reused for Butharkhonsu (outer lid)
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
(ÄS 6271; JE 29646; A. 52)
Photos courtesy of Michaela Huettner
(© Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)



Shedsukhonsu, reused for an anonymous? woman (inner lid)
Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva
(7363bis; JE 29646; A. 52)
Photos courtesy of Susana Garcia
(© Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva)



Shedsukhonsu (inner box, exterior)
Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva
(7363; JE 29646; A. 52)
Photos courtesy of Susana Garcia
(© Musée d'Art et d'Histoire,
Geneva)



Shedsukhonsu (inner box, interior)
Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva
(7363; JE 29646; A. 52)
Photos courtesy of Susana Garcia
(© Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva)





Outer lid



Inner lid



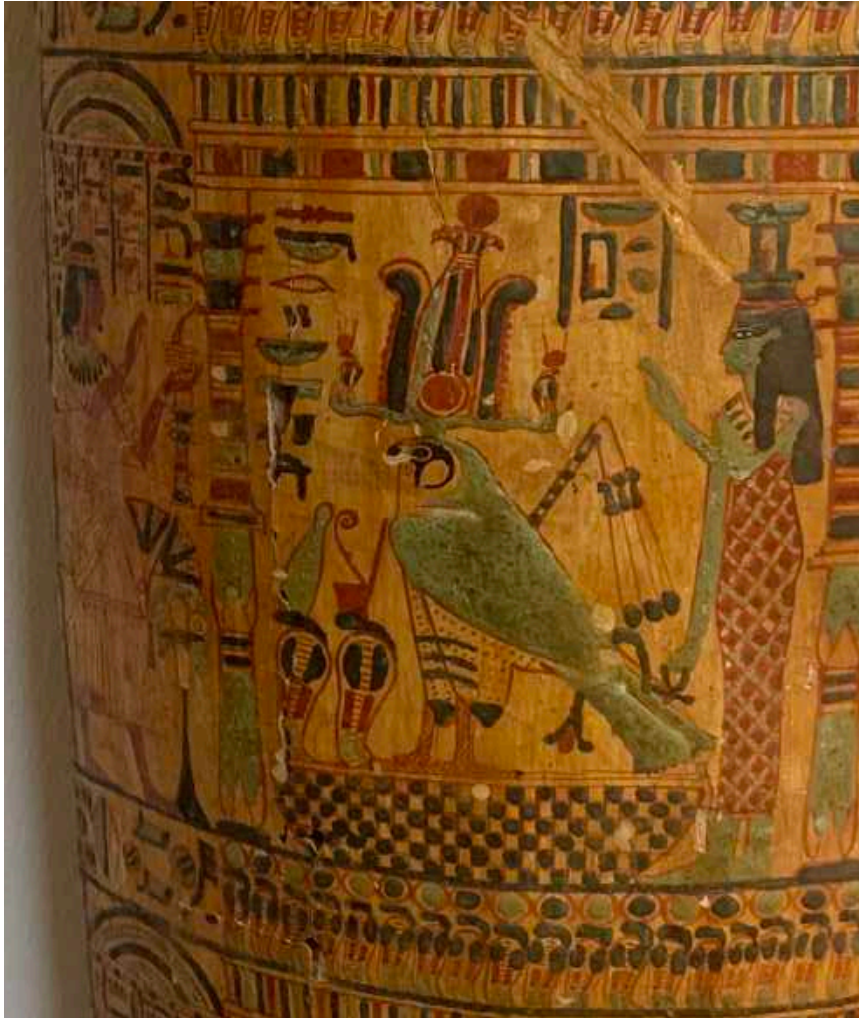
Inner box

Anonymous woman, probably reused for an anonymous man (mummy board)
Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva
(12454; JE 29646?; A. 52?)
Photos courtesy of Susana Garcia
(© Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva)

Pl. 3.47

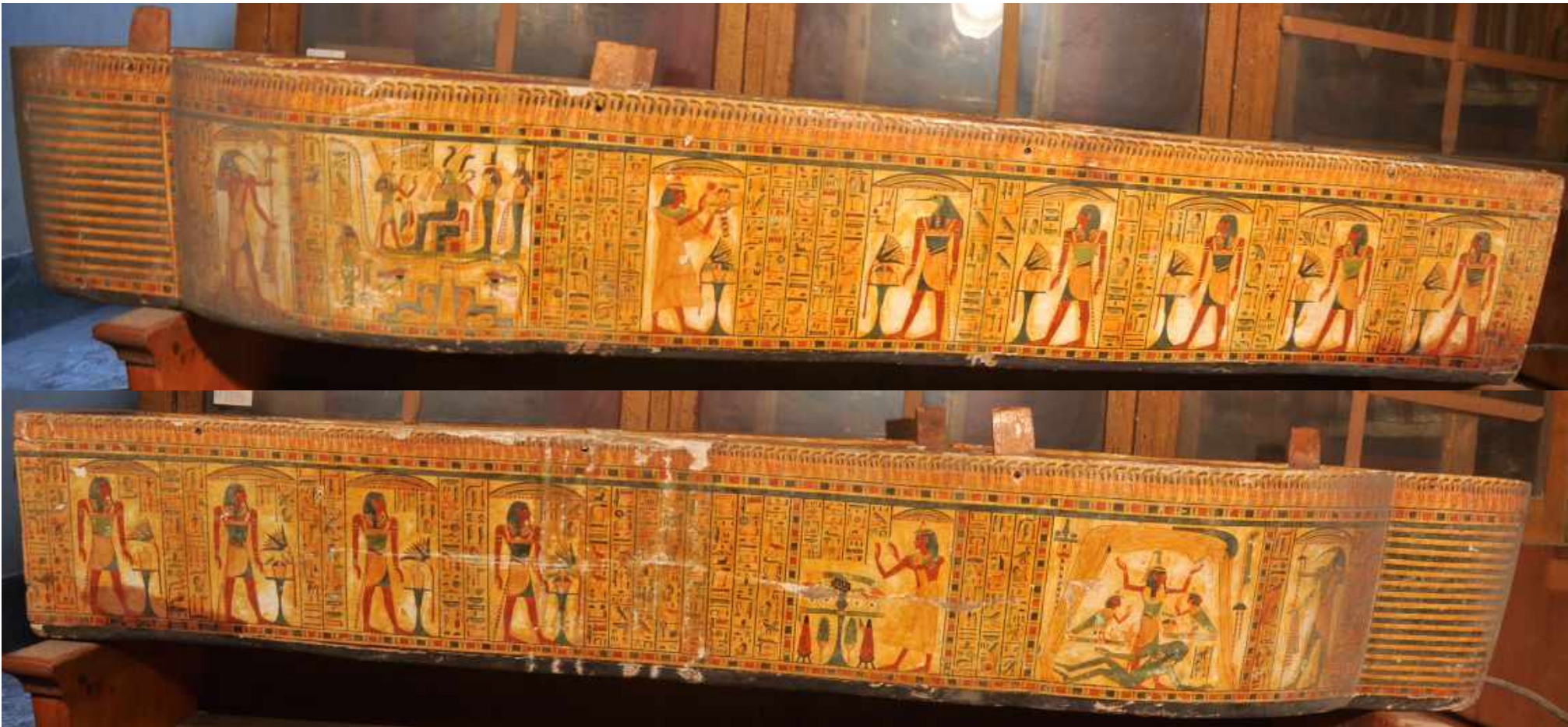


Amenniutnakht (inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29649; CG 6174; A. 81)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Amenniutnakht (inner box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29649; CG 6173; A. 81)
Photos: Sameh Abdel Mohse (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 3.49



Amenniutnakht (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29649; CG 6173; A. 81)
Photos: Sameh Abdel Mohse (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 3.50



Amenniutnakht (mummy board)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29649; CG 6196; A. 81)
Photos: Sameh Abdel Mohse
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)





Inner lid



Inner box



Mummy board

Padiamun (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29623; CG 6107; A. 24)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Padiamun (outer box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29623; CG 6108; A. 24)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 3.54



Padiamun (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29623; CG 6108; A. 24)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Padiamun (inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29623; CG 6102; A. 24)
Photos by the author
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

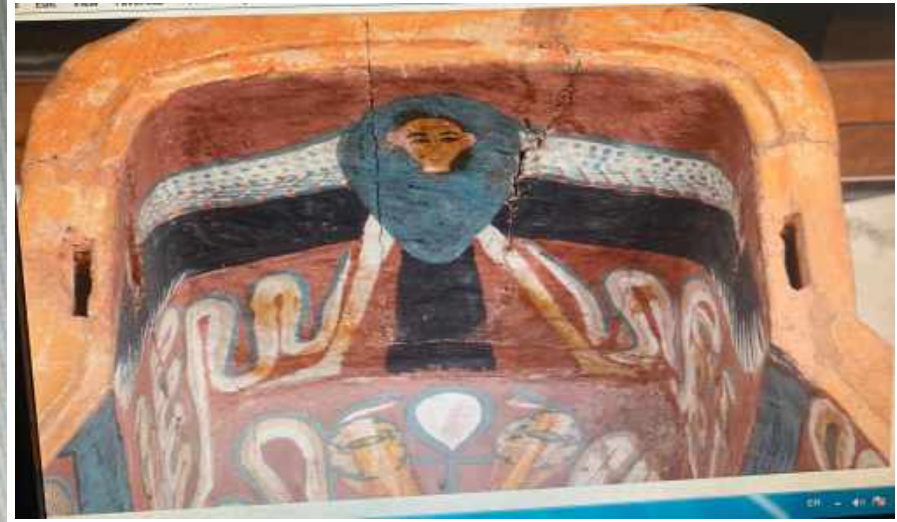


Padiamun (inner box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29623; CG 6101; A. 24)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 3.57



Padiamun (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29623; CG 6101; A. 24)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Padiamun (mummy board)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29623; CG ?; A. 24)
Photos by the author
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)





Outer lid



Outer box



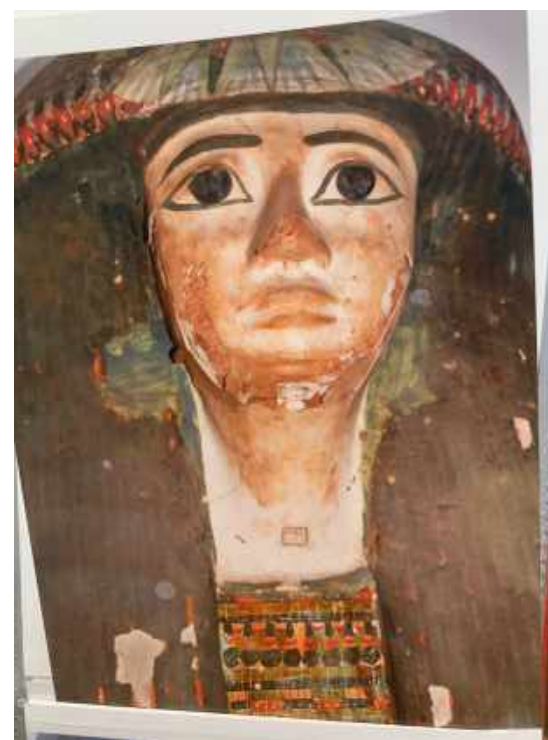
Inner lid



Mummy board

Usermontu (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29691 + 29695; CG 6073; A. 122)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

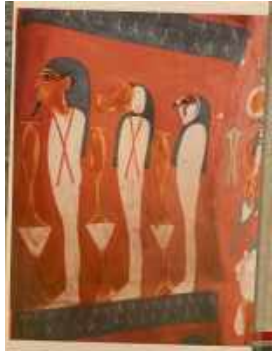
Pl. 3.61



Usermontu (outer box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29691 + 29695; CG 6074; A. 122)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Usermontu (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29691 + 29695; CG 6074; A. 122)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



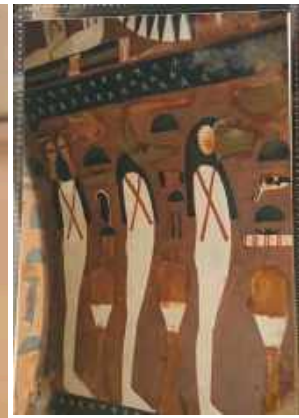
Maatkare (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29612; CG 6286; A. 132)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Maatkare (outer box, exterior)
 Egyptian Museum, Cairo
 (JE 29612; CG 6287; A. 132)
 Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Maatkare (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29612; CG 6287; A. 132)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

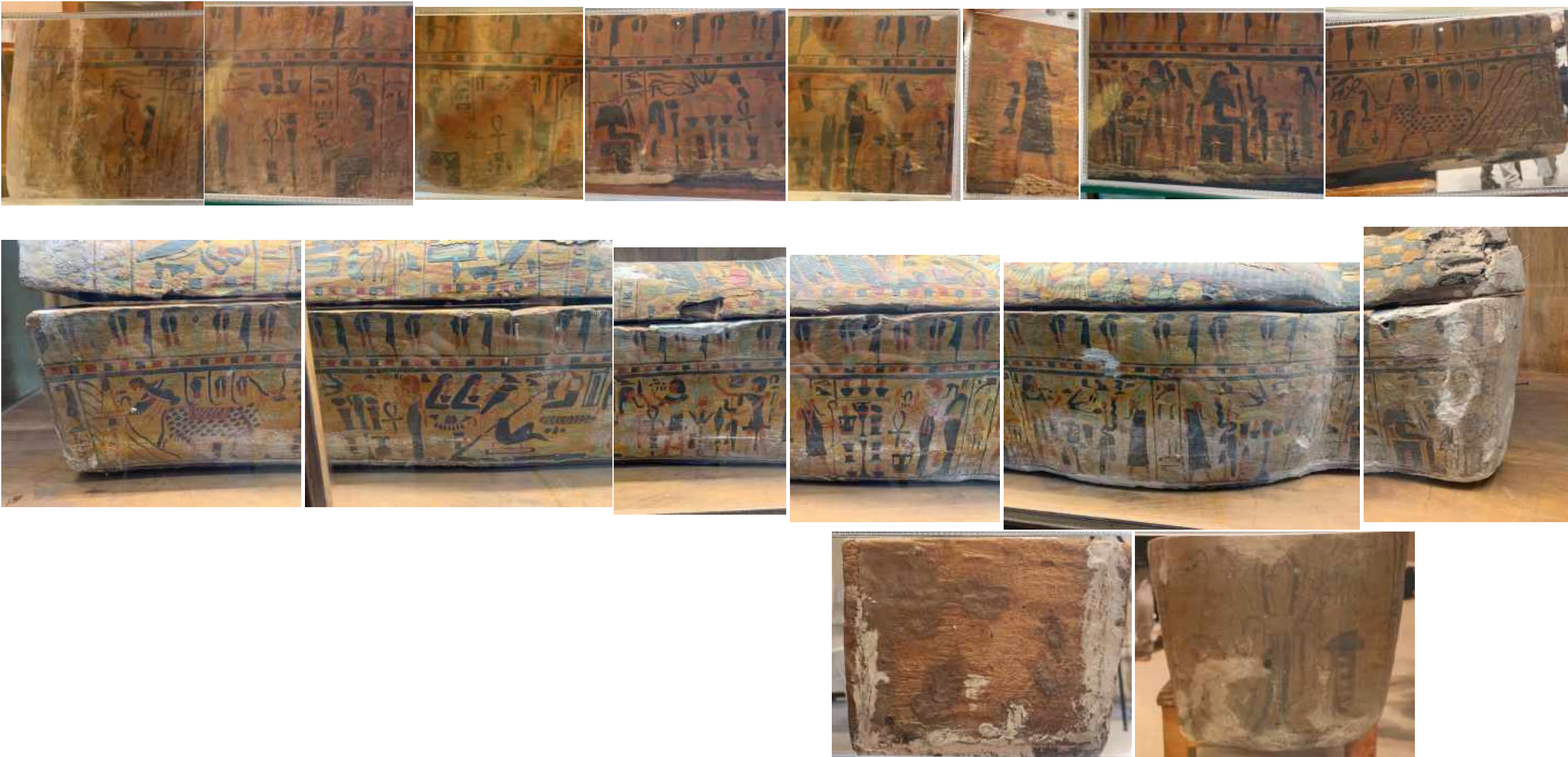


Maatkare (inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29612; CG 6288; A. 132)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

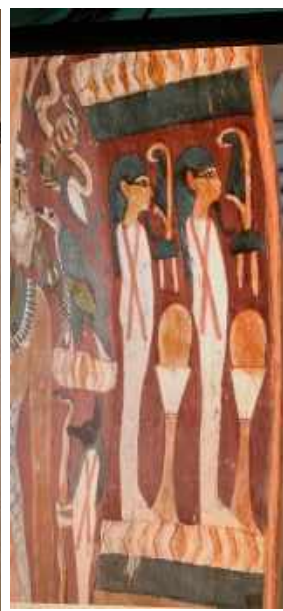


Maatkare (inner box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29612; CG 6289; A. 132)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 3.68



Maatkare (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29612; CG 6289; A. 132)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Maatkare (mummy board)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29612; CG 6283; A. 132)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

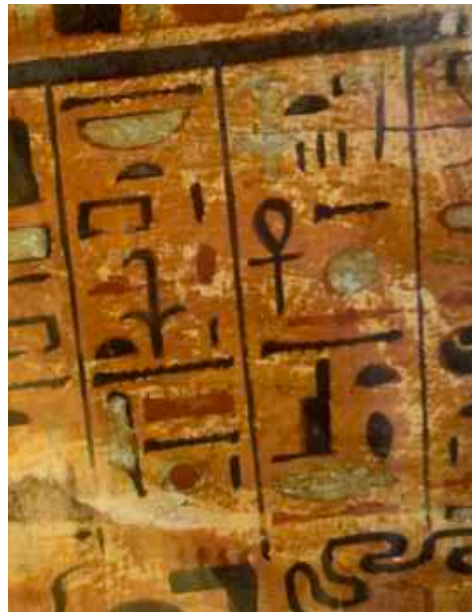


Maatkare (comparison of his associated coffin elements)
Photos by the author; courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 3.71



Outer lid



Outer box



Inner lid

(E. 5884; A. 18)

A long, narrow, rectangular wooden coffin with a curved front and back, decorated with hieroglyphs and painted scenes of the deceased in various activities. The coffin is made of dark wood and features a series of hieroglyphs along the top edge. The main body of the coffin is decorated with several panels of painted scenes, including the deceased in various activities, such as standing, sitting, and holding objects. The paint is in various colors, including red, yellow, and black. The coffin is shown from a side-on perspective, highlighting its length and the detailed decoration.



Anonymous woman (inner box, interior)
Art & History Museum, Brussels
(E. 5884; A. 18)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Art & History Museum, Brussels)



Pl. 3.73

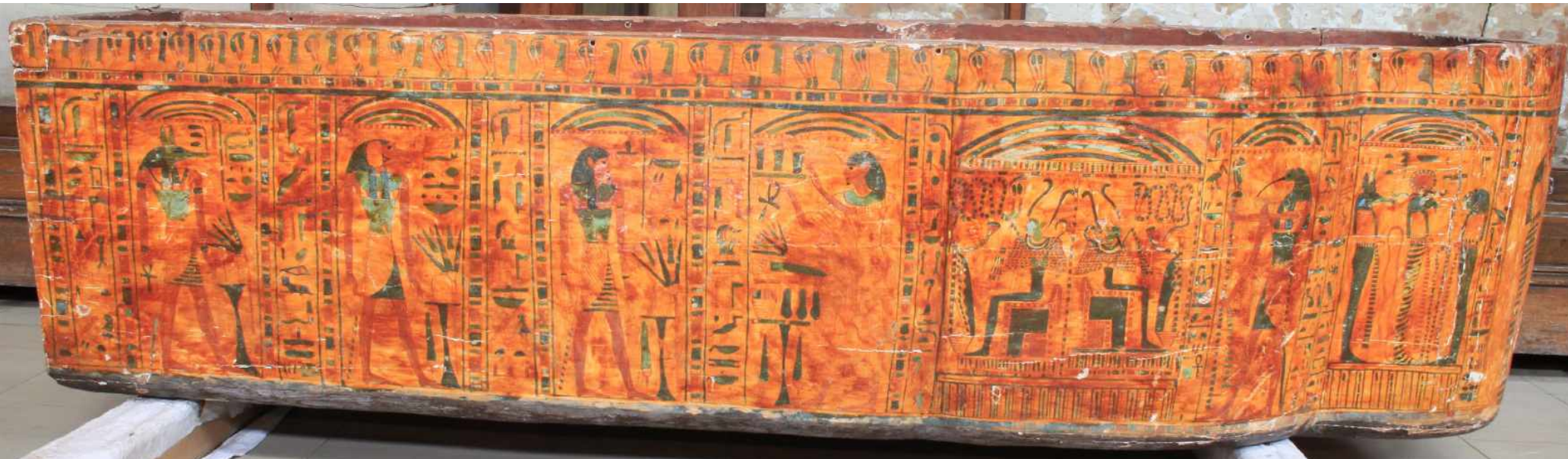


Pinudjem II (outer box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE 29197; CG 61029)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Pinudjem II (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29197; CG 61029)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)





Outer box, right side



Outer box, left side



Outer box,
right side



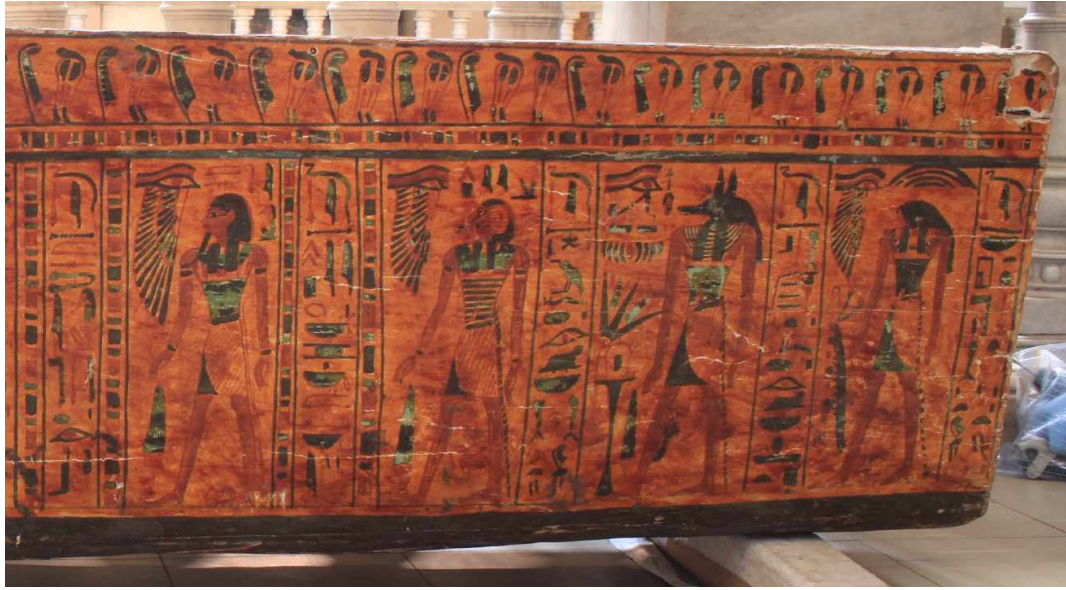
Outer box,
left side



Outer box,
right side



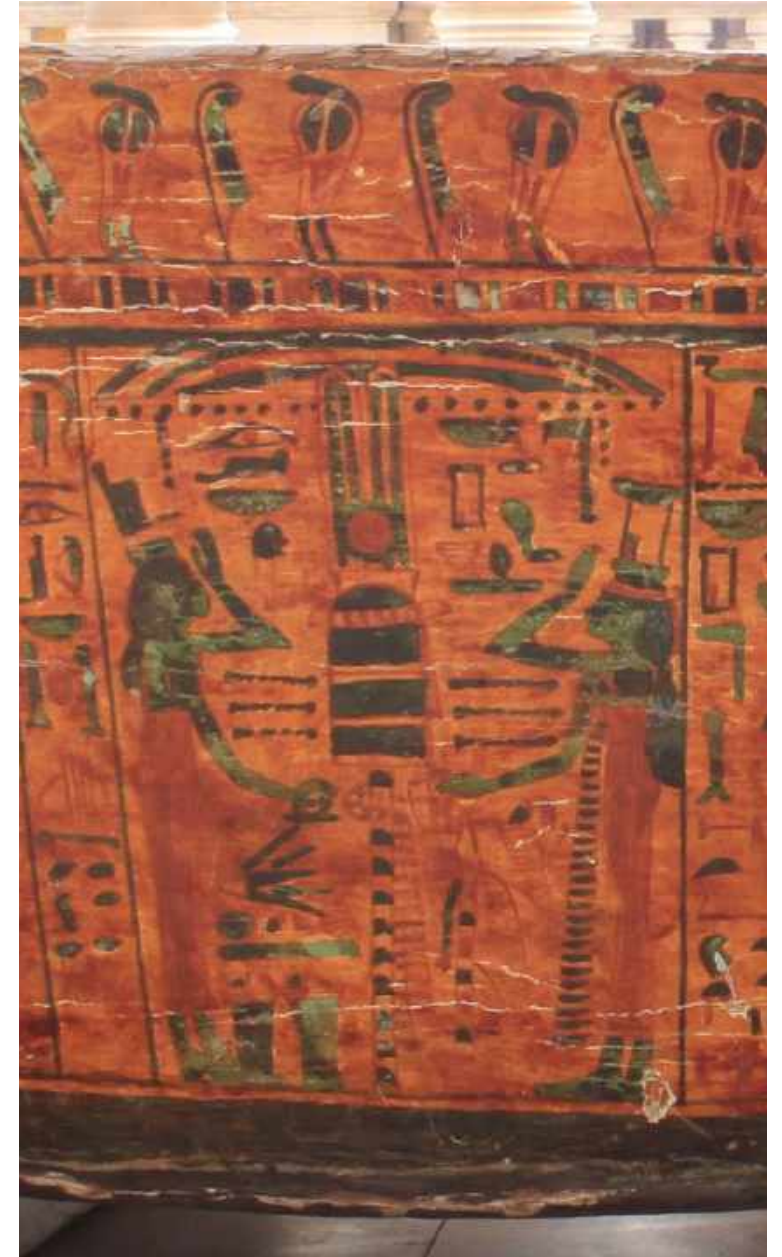
Outer box,
left side



Outer box,
right side



Outer box,
left side



Maatkare (outer box, exterior)

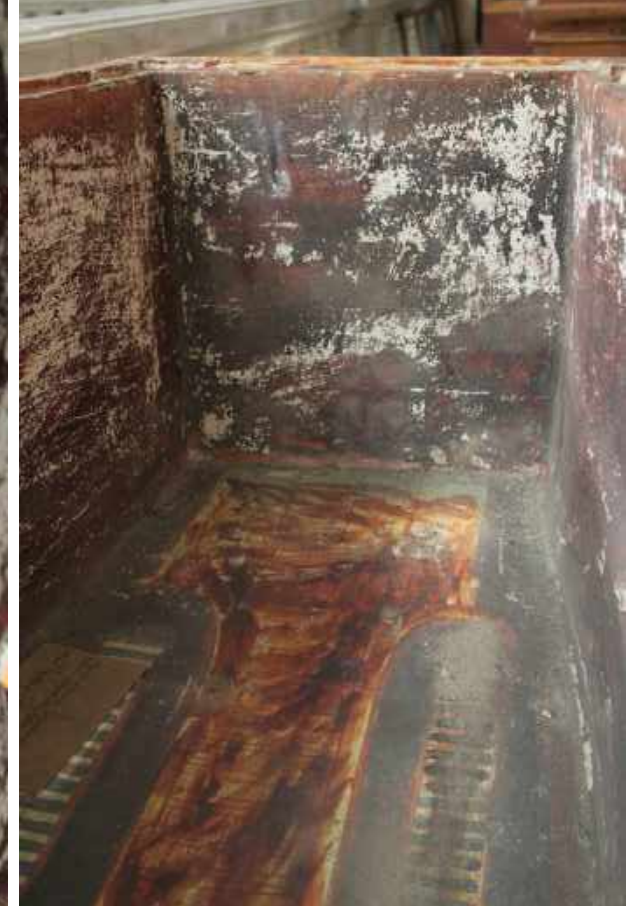
Egyptian Museum, Cairo

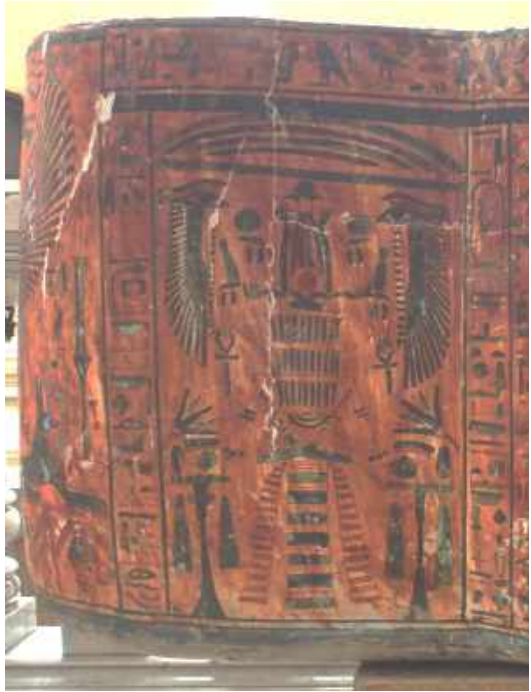
(JE 26200; CG 61028)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Maatkare (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 26200; CG 61028)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

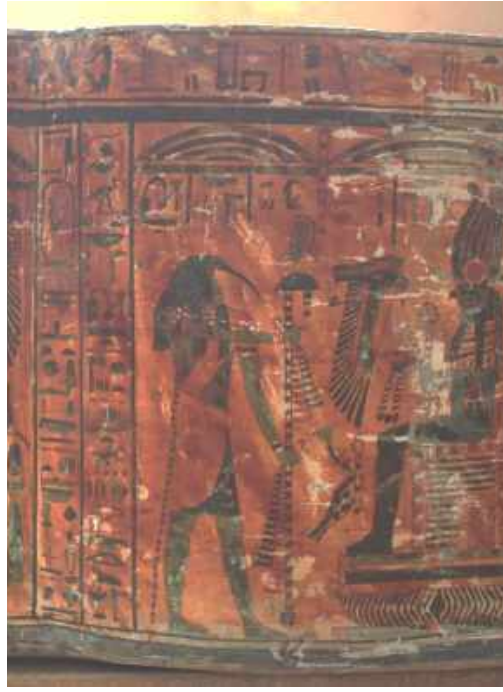




Outer box, right side



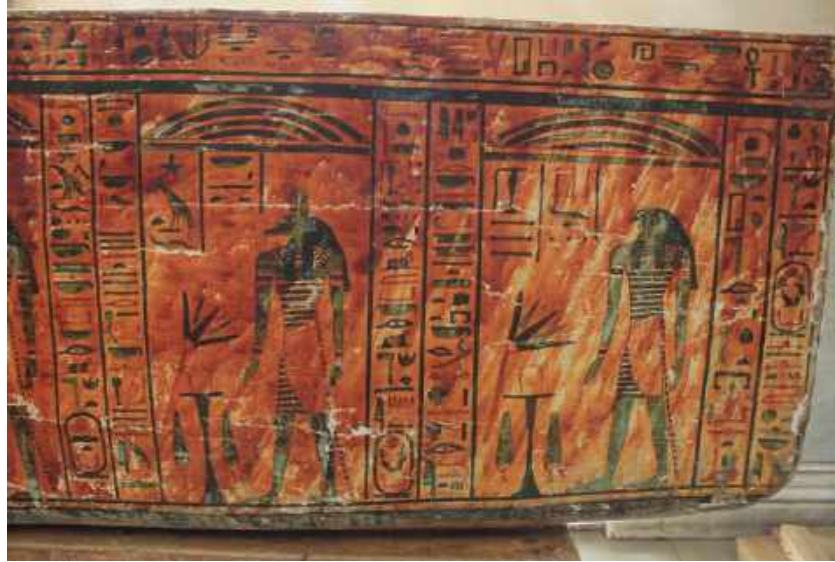
Outer box, left side



Outer box, right side



Outer box, left side



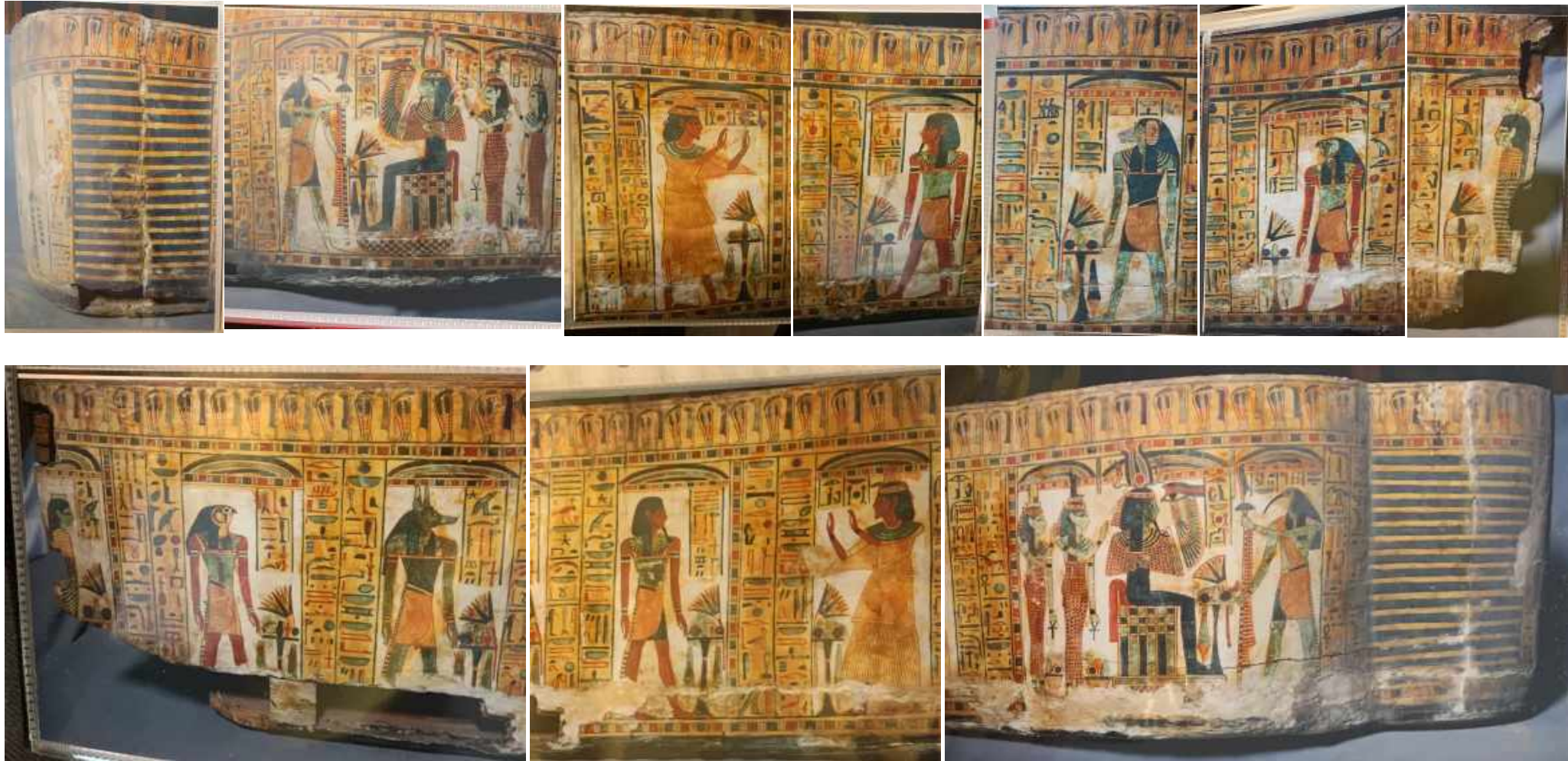
Outer box,
right side



Outer box,
left side

Khonsuemrenpet (outer box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29613; CG 6257; A. 120)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 3.82



Khonsuemrenpet (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29613; CG 6257; A. 120)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Padiamun (mummy board)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29616; CG 6136; A. 99)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Nesyamun(neb)nesuttawy, redecorated for Gautseshen (outer box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE 29621; CG 6013; A. 139?)

Photos: Sameh Abdel Mohse (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Nesyamun(neb)nesuttawy, redecorated for Gautseshen (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29621; CG 6013; A. 139?)
Photos: Sameh Abdel Mohse (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Tjenetnaubehenu, redecorated for Nauny (inner box, exterior)

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

(30.3.24b)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



Tjenetnaubehenu, redecorated for Nauny (inner box, interior)
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(30.3.24b)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York)

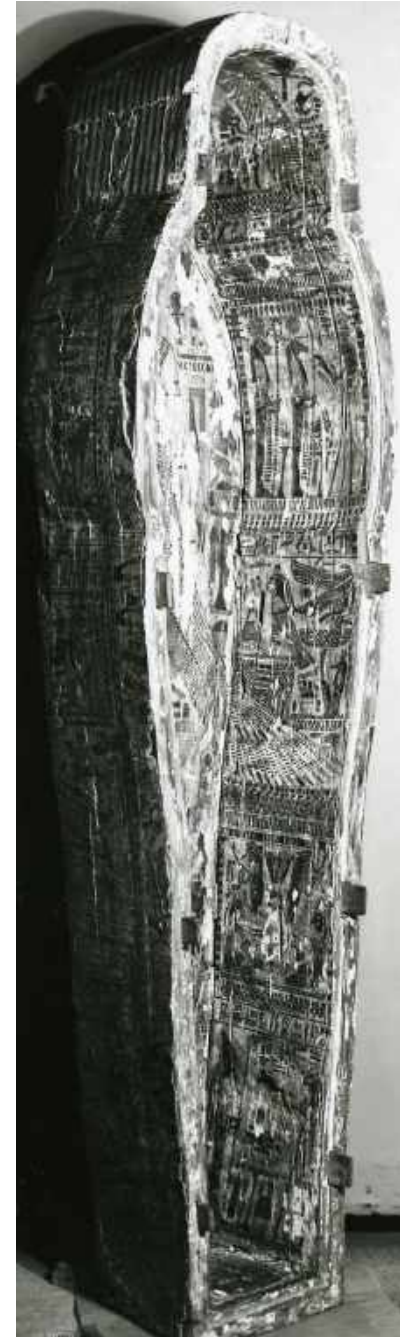
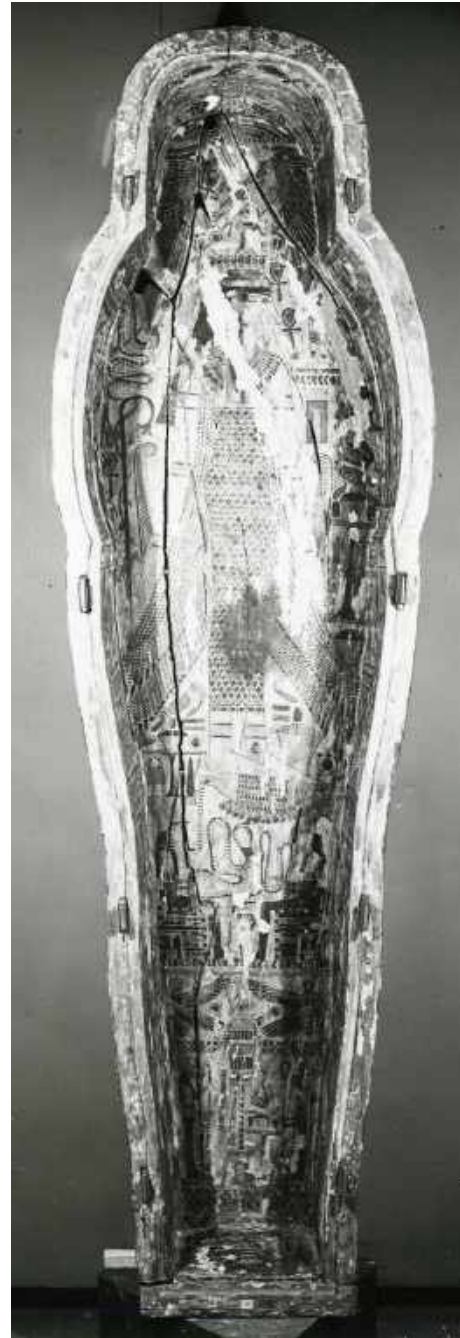


Tayuheret (inner box, exterior)
 Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin
 (ÄM 28)

Photos courtesy of Jana Helmbold-Doyé (© Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin)



Tayuheret (inner box, interior)
Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin
(ÄM 28)
Photos courtesy of Jana Helmbold-Doyé
(© Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin)



Chapter 4, Section 1

Anet (inner lid)

Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City
(D2066.3.1)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)

Pl. 4.1/1



Anet (inner box, exterior)
Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City
(D2066.3.2)

Pl. 4.1/2

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)



Sesekhneferu (inner lid)
NY Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen
(AEIN 62)

Photos courtesy of Mogens Jørgensen (© NY Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen)

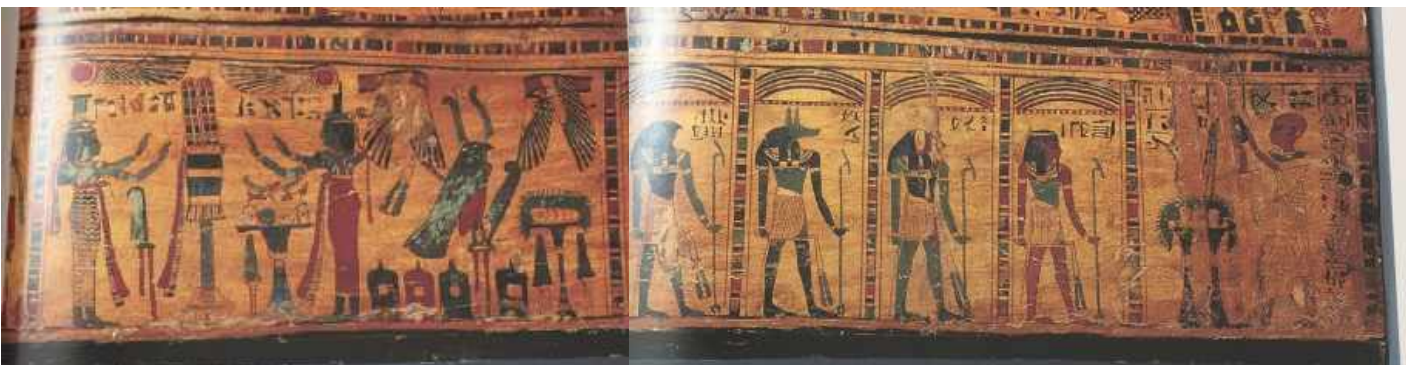
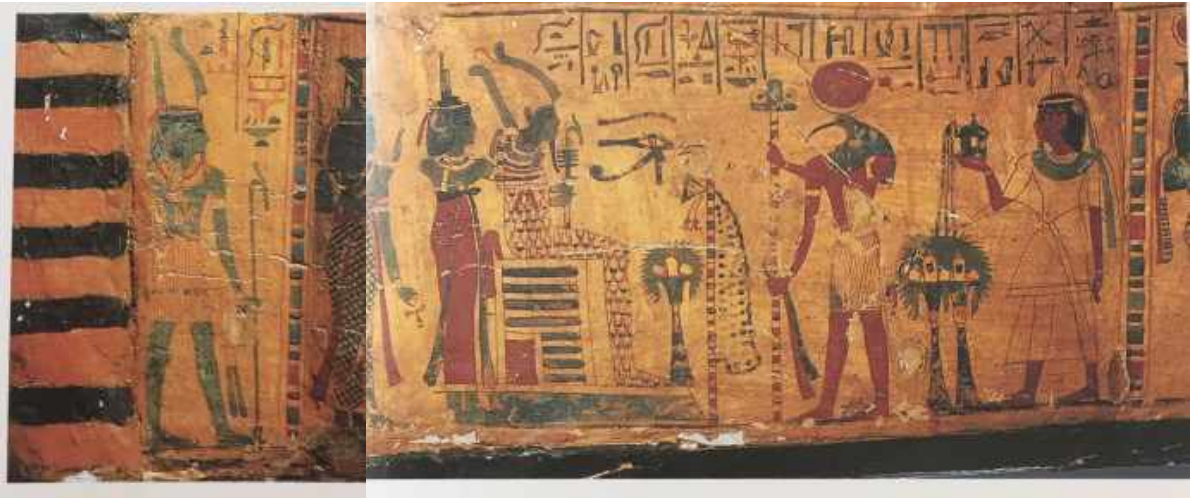
Pl. 4.1/3



Sesekhneferu (inner box, exterior)
NY Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen
(AEIN 62)

Pl. 4.1/4

Photos courtesy of Mogens Jørgensen (© NY Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen)



Huiuiipwy (inner lid)

Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California

(RC-599, RC-609, RC-610, RC-611, RC-612, RC-613, RC-614, RC-615, RC-616)

Photos courtesy of Kea Johnston (© Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California)

Pl. 4.1/5



Huiuiipwy (inner box, exterior)

Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California

(RC-599, RC-609, RC-610, RC-611, RC-612, RC-613, RC-614, RC-615, RC-616)

Photos courtesy of Kea Johnston (© Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California)

Pl. 4.1/6



Knumensanapehsu (inner lid)
Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin
(8505)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin)



Knumensanapehsu (inner box, exterior)
Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin
(8505)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Ägyptisches Museum und
Papyrussammlung, Berlin)



Meretenakhet (inner lid)

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, Vienna

(ÄS 6066)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney

(© Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, Vienna)



Meretenakhet (inner box, exterior)

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, Vienna

(ÄS 6066)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney

(© Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, Vienna)

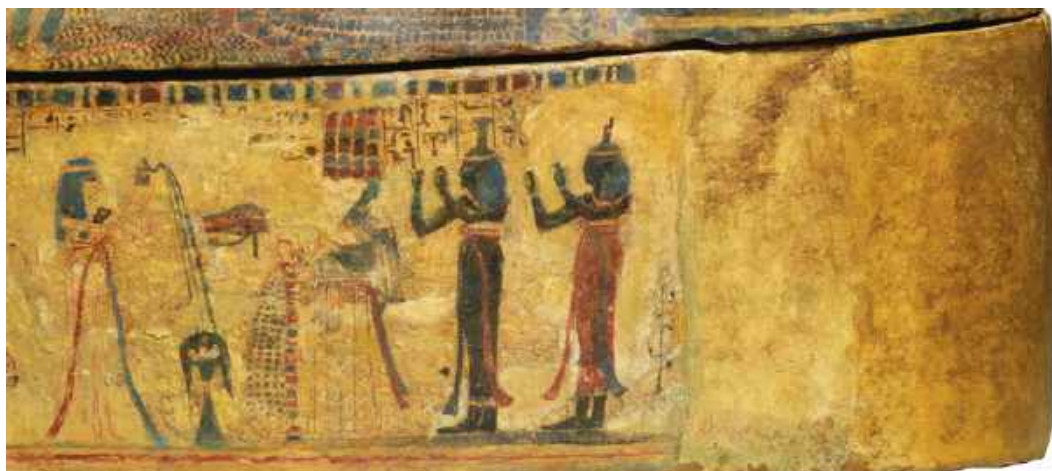




Nesaset (inner box, exterior)
Bonham Lot n° 316, Auction 25388
(3/07/2019)

Pl. 4.1/12

Photos courtesy of Joanna van der Lande



Photos courtesy of Éva Liptay (© Calvinist Collections, Pápa)



Hori (inner box, exterior)
Calvinist Collections, Pápa
(A.1)

Pl. 4.1/14

Photos courtesy of Éva Liptay (© Calvinist Collections, Pápa)



Wsirfaymenuaa (inner lid)
 Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
 (31840 (catalogue number), 876 (accession number))
 Photos courtesy of Julia Kennedy
 (© Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago)



Wsirfaymenuaa (inner box, exterior)
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
(31840 (catalogue number), 876 (accession number))

Pl. 4.1/16

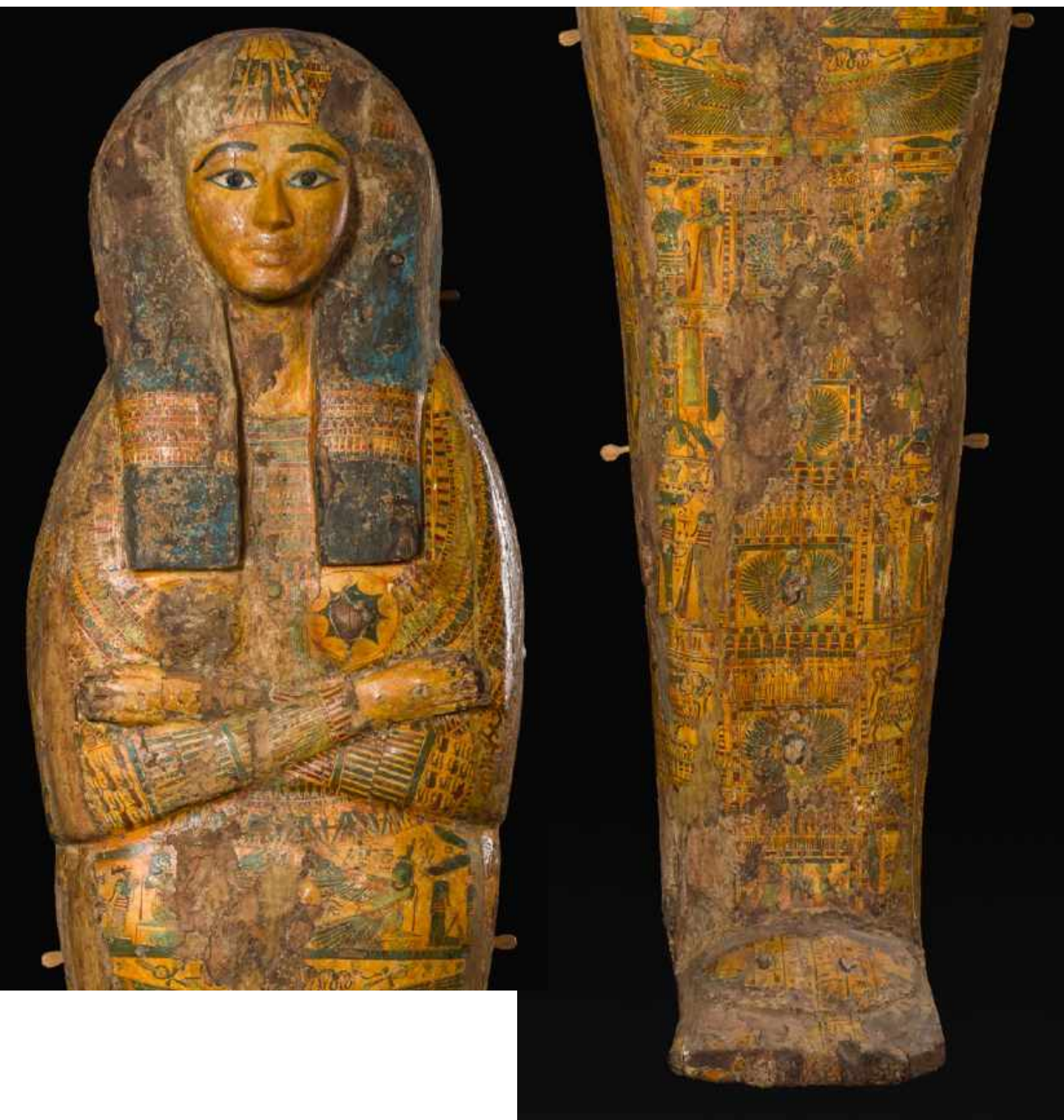
Pictures not available

Tayukheret (inner lid)

Victoria Museum for Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala
(VM 153)

Photos courtesy of Sofia Häggman (© Victoria Museum for Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala)

Pl. 4.1/17



Tayukheret (inner box, exterior)

Victoria Museum for Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala
(VM 153)

Photos courtesy of Sofia Häggman (© Victoria Museum for Egyptian Antiquities, Uppsala)



Aafenhor (inner lid)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(AF 9592)

Photos: A. Maigret (© C2RMF/A. Maigret)

Pl. 4.1/19



Aafenhor (inner box, exterior)

Musée du Louvre, Paris

(AF 9592)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Pl. 4.1/20



Anonymous ♀ (inner box, exterior)

Australian Museum, Sydney

(E019466)

Photos: Carl Bento (© Australian Museum,
Sydney)

Pl. 4.1/21



Isisnofret (inner lid)

Putnam Museum and Science Center, Davenport
(AR 21190)

Photos courtesy of Christina Kastell (© Putnam Museum and Science Center, Davenport)

Pl. 4.1/22



Isisnofret (inner box, exterior)
Putnam Museum and Science Center, Davenport
(AR 21190)
Photos courtesy of Christina Kastell
(© Putnam Museum and Science Center, Davenport)



Pl. 4.1/23



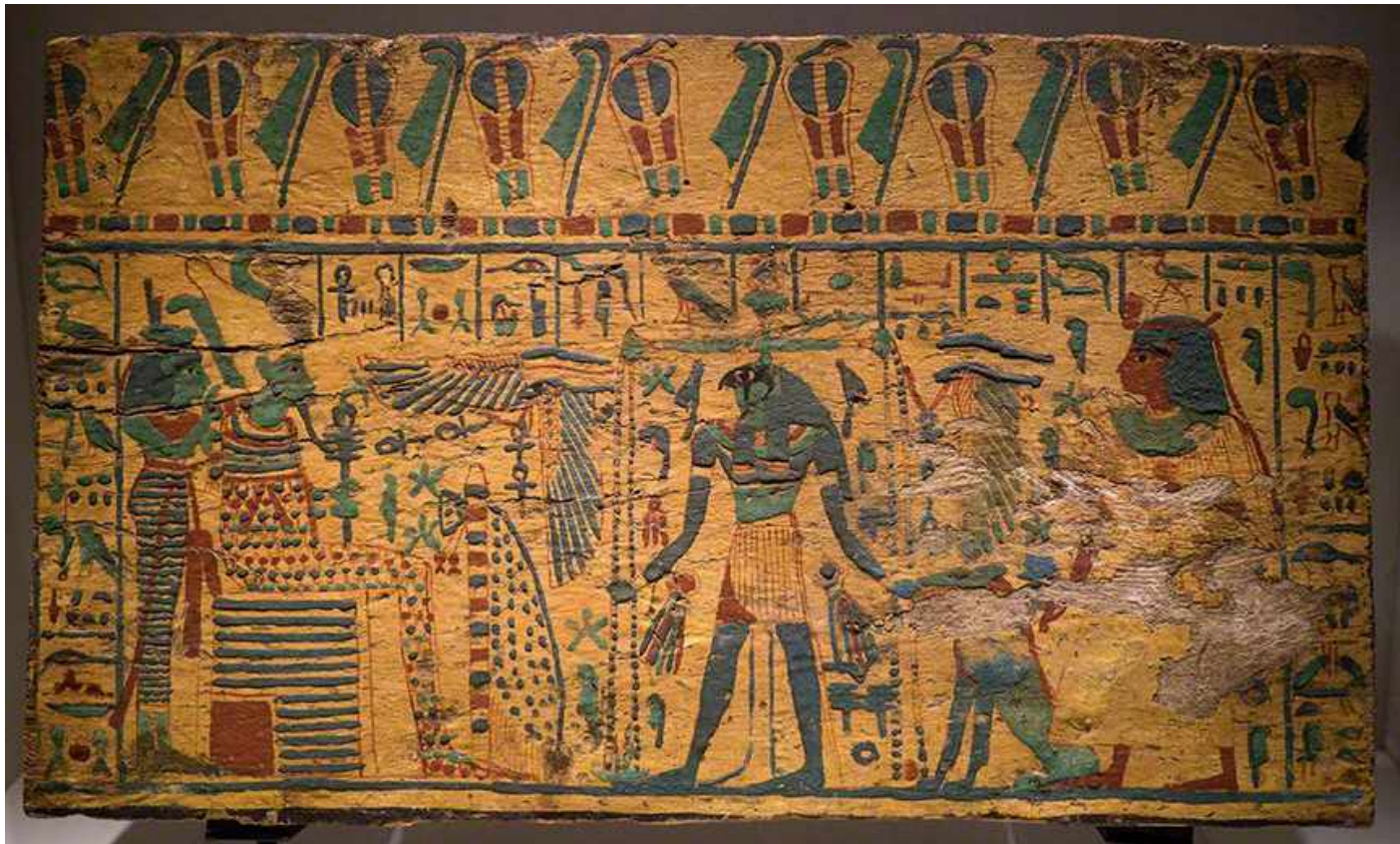
Anonymous ♂ (inner box fragment, exterior)

Pl. 4.1/24

Atkinson Art Gallery and Library, Southport

(BOOMG: 1/08/84)

Photo: Julia Thorne (© Atkinson Art Gallery and Library, Southport)



Ankhefenmut (inner lid)
British Museum, London
(EA 35288)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© British Museum, London)

Pl. 4.1/25



Ankhefenmut (inner box, exterior)

British Museum, London

(EA 35288)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© British Museum, London)

Pl. 4.1/26



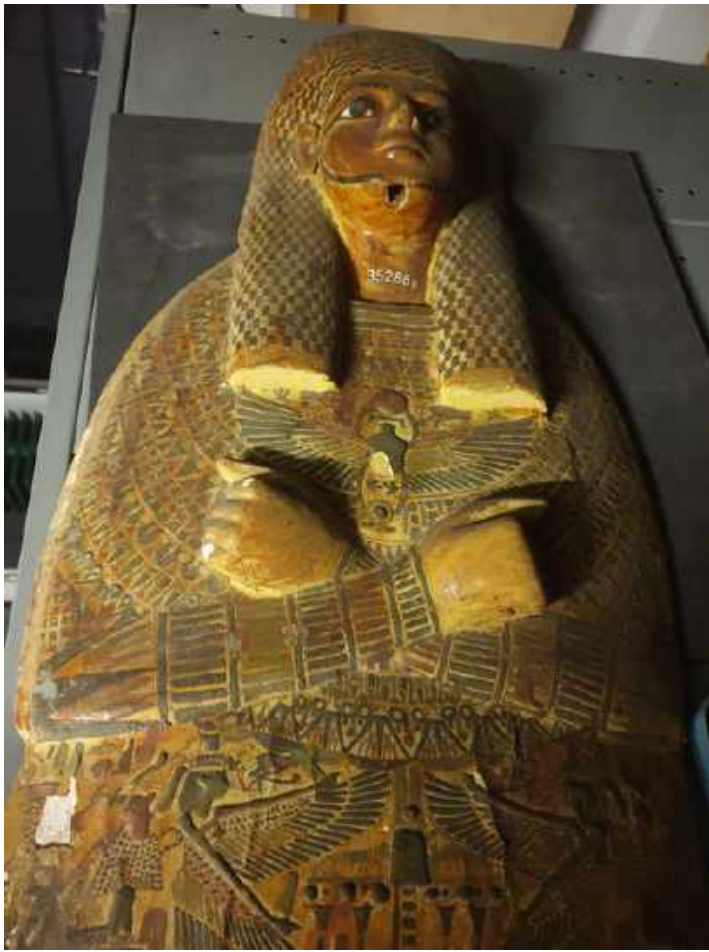
Ankhefenmut (mummy board)

British Museum, London

(EA 35288b)

Photos courtesy of Marie Vandenbeusch (© British Museum, London)

Pl. 4.1/27



Ankhef (inner lid)
(Ivanovo Regional Art Museum, Ivanovo
(A-601)
Photos courtesy of Vladimir Bolshakov
(© Ivanovo Regional Art Museum, Ivanovo)



Ankhef (inner lid)
(Ivanovo Regional Art Museum, Ivanovo
(A-601)

Photos courtesy of Vladimir Bolshakov (© Ivanovo Regional Art Museum, Ivanovo)

Pl. 4.1/29



Photos courtesy of Vladimir Bolshakov (© Ivanovo Regional Art Museum, Ivanovo)



Ankhef (mummy board)

(Ivanovo Regional Art Museum, Ivanovo

(A-602)

Photos courtesy of Vladimir Bolshakov (© Ivanovo Regional Art Museum, Ivanovo)



Chapter 4, Section 2

Panakht-[...] A (two pieces cartonnage mummy board)
El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2
(2014.Ca.007)
Photos: L. Mátyus



Reru (fragment of the two pieces cartonnage mummy board)
El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2
(2014.Ca.005)
Photo: L. Mátyus

Pl. 4.2/2



Anonymous ♀ (cartonnage mummy board)

El-Khokha TT61, Room VIII

(1.4.41)

Photos: L. Mátyus

Pl. 4.2/3



Wennefer (cartonnage mummy board)

El-Khokha TT61, Room VIII

(1.4.40a-f)

Photos: L. Mátyus

Pl. 4.2/4



Khamaat (cartonnage mummy board)
El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2
(2014.Ca.003)
Photo: L. Mátyus



Hory (mummy board)
August Kestner Museum, Hannover
(1977.1)

Photos courtesy of Christian Loeben (© August Kestner Museum, Hannover)

Pl. 4.2/6



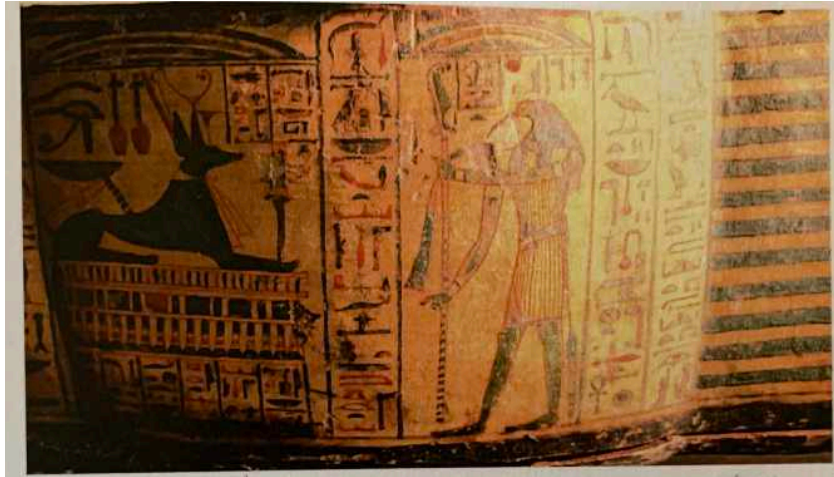
Herytubekhet (inner lid)
Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich
(ÄS 12b)

Photos courtesy of Jan Dahms (© Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich)

Pl. 4.2/7



Herytubekhet (inner box, exterior)
 Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich
 (ÄS 12c)
 Photos courtesy of Jan Dahms
 (© Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer
 Kunst, Munich)



Herytubekhet (mummy board)
Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich
(ÄS 12a)

Photos courtesy of Jan Dahms (© Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich)



Tabasety (inner lid)

Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus

(8527)

Photos courtesy of Vinnie Nørskov (© Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus)

Pl. 4.2/10



Tabasety (inner box, exterior)
Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus
(8527)

Pl. 4.2/11

Photos courtesy of Vinnie Nørskov (© Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus)



Tabasety (mummy board)

Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus
(9530)

Photos courtesy of Vinnie Nørskov (© Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology, Aarhus)



Tamerermut/Tj[...]peramun (inner lid)

Musée de Tessé, Le Mans

(1822-17A)

Photos courtesy of Anais Verdoux (© Musée de Tessé, Le Mans)



Tameremut/Tj[...]peramun (inner box, exterior)

Pl. 4.2/14

Musée de Tessé, Le Mans

(1822-17A)

Photos courtesy of Anais Verdoux (© Musée de Tessé, Le Mans)



Tamerermut/Tj[...]peramun (mummy board)

Musée de Tessé, Le Mans

(1822-17B)

Photos courtesy of Anais Verdoux (© Musée de Tessé, Le Mans)

Pl. 4.2/15





Shedwyduat (cartonnage mummy board)
El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2
(2014.Ca.004)
Photo: L. Mátyus



Panakht-[...] B (cartonnage mummy board)
El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2
(2014.Ca.015)
Photo: L. Mátyus



Henuttawy (cartonnage mummy board)
El-Khokha TT400, Structure 5, chamber 2
(2014.Ca.001)
Photo: L. Mátyus



Khaemipet (cartonnage mummy board)

Pl. 4.2/20

Private collection of B.P. Harris, briefly on display in the Mint Museum, in Charlotte, North Carolina)

Photo extracted from Lacovara 2005: 50



Nesiamun (inner lid)

City Museum, Leeds

(D. 426-426.a.1960)

Photos courtesy of Katherine Baxter (© City Museum, Leeds)

Pl. 4.2/21



Nesiamun (inner box, exterior)

City Museum, Leeds

(D. 426-426.a.1960)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© City Museum, Leeds)

Pl. 4.2/22



Nesiamun (mummy board)

City Museum, Leeds

(D. 426-426.a.1960)

Photos courtesy of Katherine Baxter (© City Museum, Leeds)

Pl. 4.2/23



Panebmontu (inner lid)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(E. 13029)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Panebmontu (inner box, exterior)

Musée du Louvre, Paris

(E. 13029)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Pl. 4.2/25



Panebmontu (mummy board)

Musée du Louvre, Paris

(E. 13046)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Chapter 4, Section 3

Butchamon (outer box, exterior)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2236; CGT 10101.b)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)



Butchamon (outer box, interior)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2236; CGT 10101.b)
Photo: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)



Butchamon (outer box, exterior)
Art & History Museum, Brussels
(E. 5288)
Photos by the author (© Art & History Museum, Brussels)



Butchamon (outer box, interior)
Art & History Museum, Brussels
(E. 5288)
Photos courtesy of Luc Delvaux
(© Art & History Museum, Brussels)



Butchamon (inner box, exterior)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.b)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)



Butchamon
(inner box, interior)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.b)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila
(© Museo Egizio, Turin)



Butehamon (outer lid, inner lid, mummy board)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2236; CGT 10101.a, Cat. 2237; CGT 10102.a, Cat. 2237; CGT 10103)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)



Heramunpenaef (inner box, exterior)
Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh
(Inv. 22266-3d)

Photos courtesy of Lisa Saladino Haney (© Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh)



Heramunpenaef (inner box, interior)
Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh
(Inv. 22266-3d)

Pl. 4.3/9

Pictures not accessible

Heramunpenaef (inner lid, mummy board)
Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh
(Inv. 22266-3b, (Inv. 22266-3c)
Photos courtesy of Lisa Saladino Haney
(© Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh)



Pictures of the front lid and
mummy board not accessible

Horemkenesi (inner box, exterior)
City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol
(Ha7386.1037)

Photos courtesy of Lisa Graves (© City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol)



Horemkenesi
(inner box, interior)
City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol
(Ha7386.1037)
Photos courtesy of Lisa Graves
(© City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol)



Horemkenesi (inner lid, mummy board)
City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol
(Ha7386.1038, Ha7386.1039)
Photos courtesy of Lisa Graves
(© City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol)



Tjanefer (inner box, exterior)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(E. 18843 (Guimet 1334))
Photos: A. Maigret (© C2RMF/A. Maigret)



Tjanefer (inner box, interior)

Musée du Louvre, Paris

(E. 18843 (Guimet 1334))

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Tjanefer (inner lid)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(E. 18843 (Guimet 1334))
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Sutymes (outer box, exterior)

Musée du Louvre, Paris

(N. 2609)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Pl. 4.3/17



Sutymes (outer box, interior)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(N. 2609)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Sutymes (inner box, exterior)

Musée du Louvre, Paris

(N. 2610)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Pl. 4.3/19



Sutymes (inner box, interior)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(N. 2610)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Sutymes (outer lid, inner lid)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(N. 29609, N. 2610)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Sutymes (mummy board)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(N. 2611)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Shedsuamon (outer box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29678 (CG 6201))

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.3/23



Shedsuamon (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29678 (CG 6201))
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Shedsuamon (inner box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

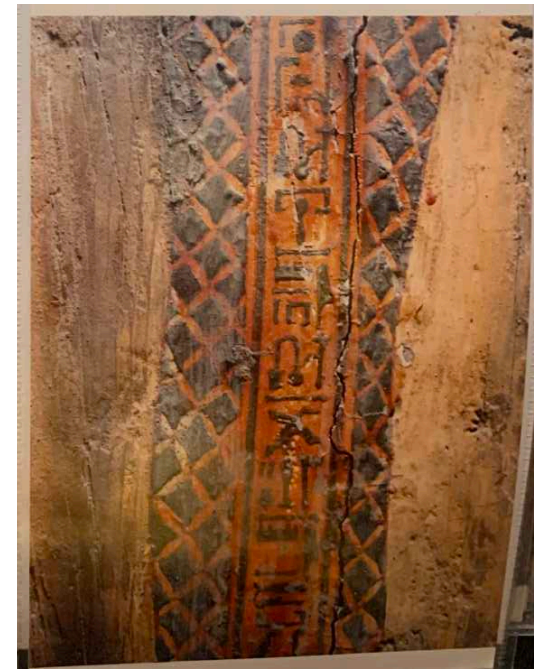
(29678 (CG 6203))

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

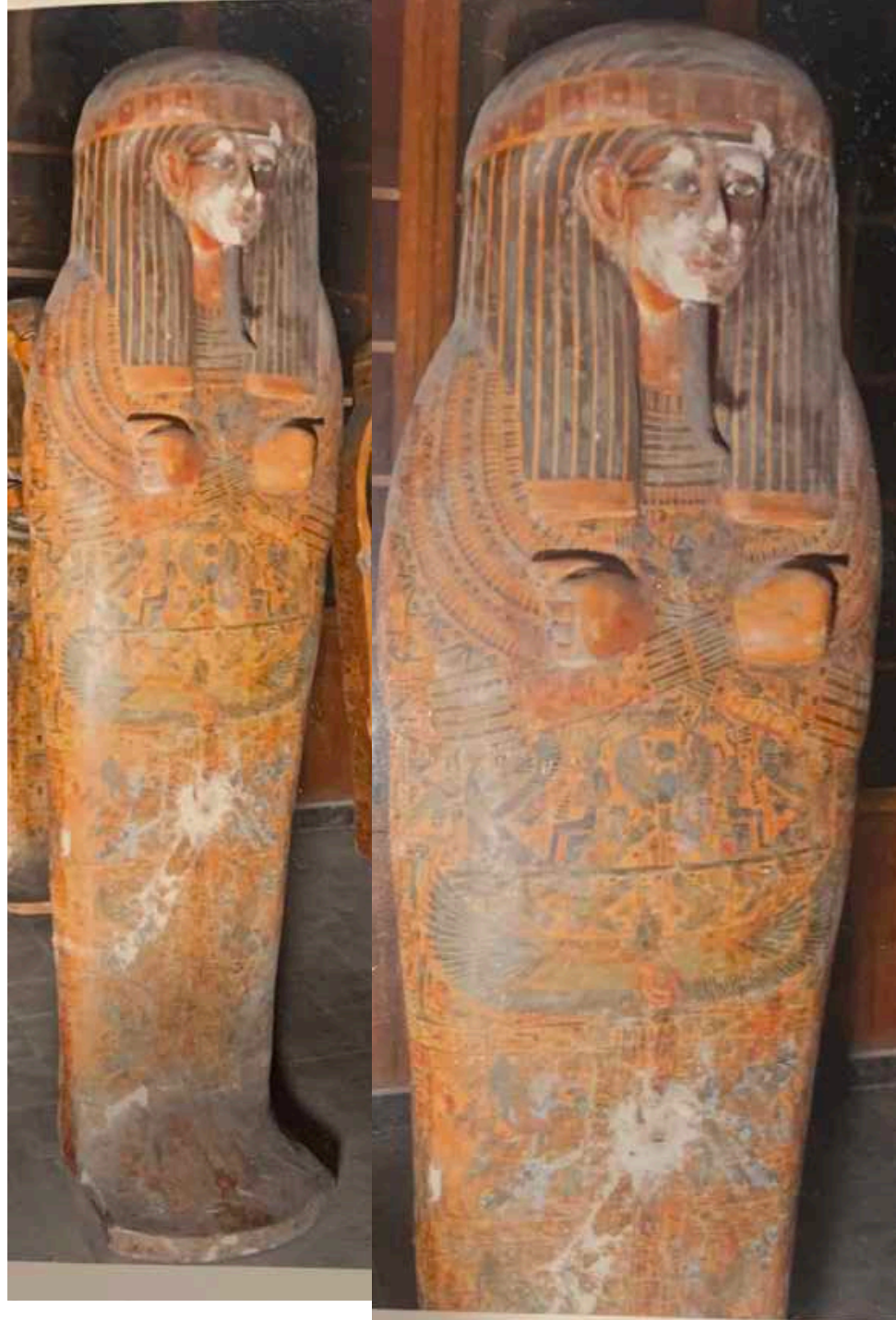
Pl. 4.3/25



Shedsuamon (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29678 (CG 6203))
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



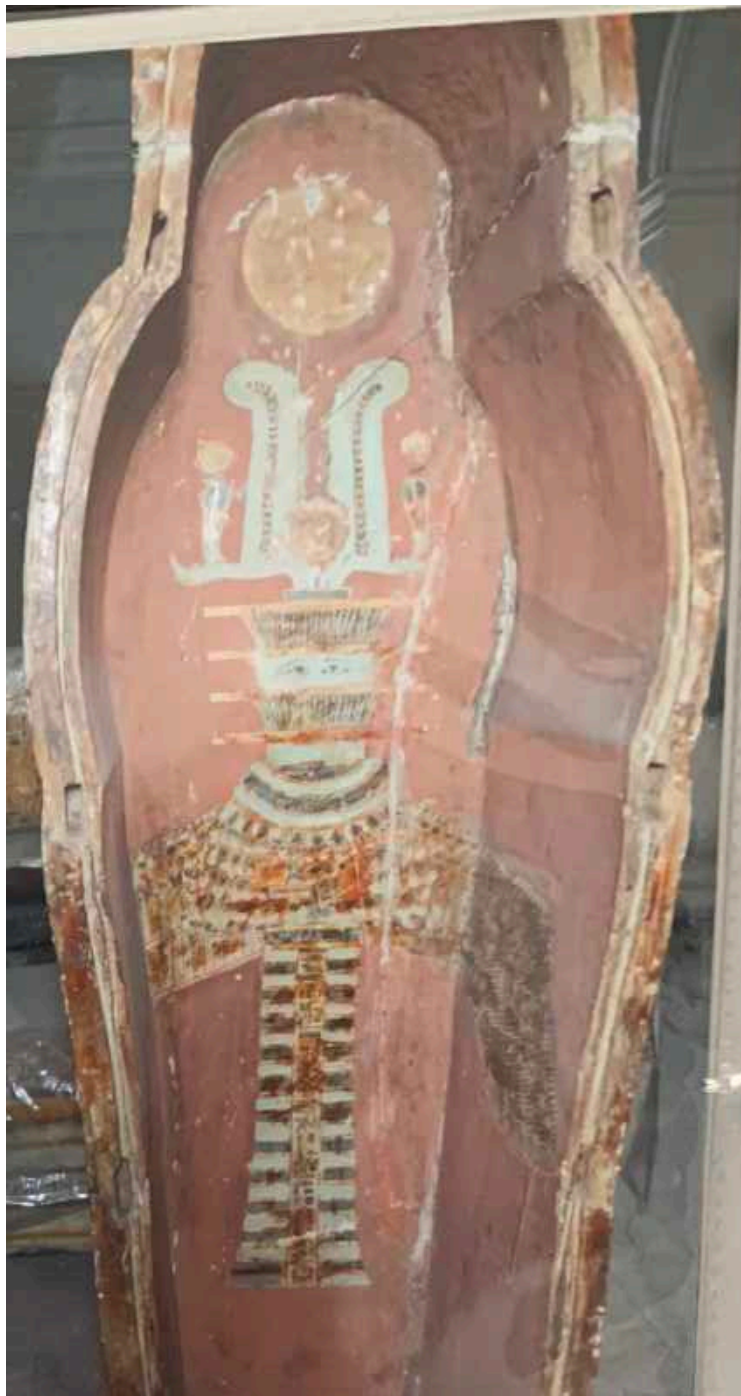
Shedsuamon (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29678 (CG 6200))
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Taudjatra (outer box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29737 (CG 6279))
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Taudjatra (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29737 (CG 6279))
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Taudjatra (inner box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29737 (CG 6281))

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Taudjatra (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29737 (CG 6281))

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Taudjatra (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29737 (CG 6281))
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Taudjatra (outer lid, inner lid, mummy board) (details)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29737 (CG 6278, CG 6280, CG 6282))
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



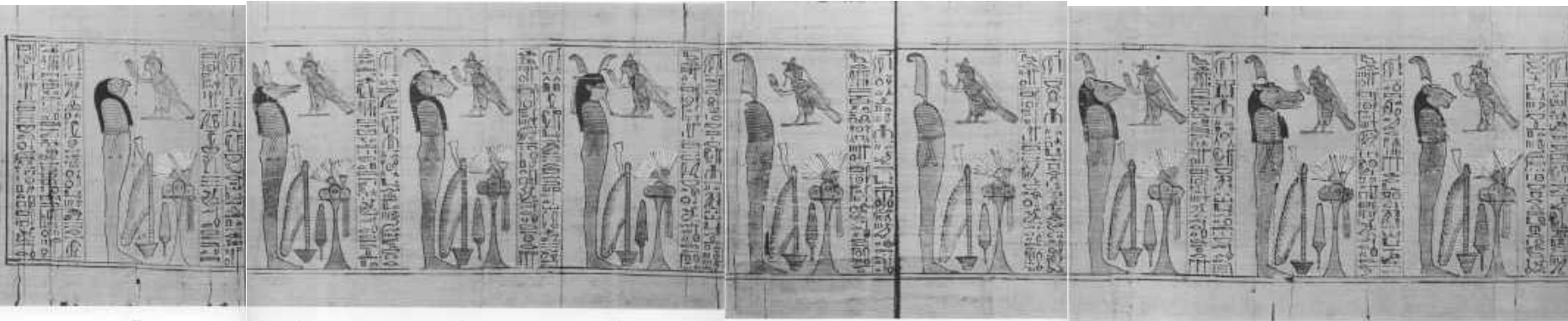
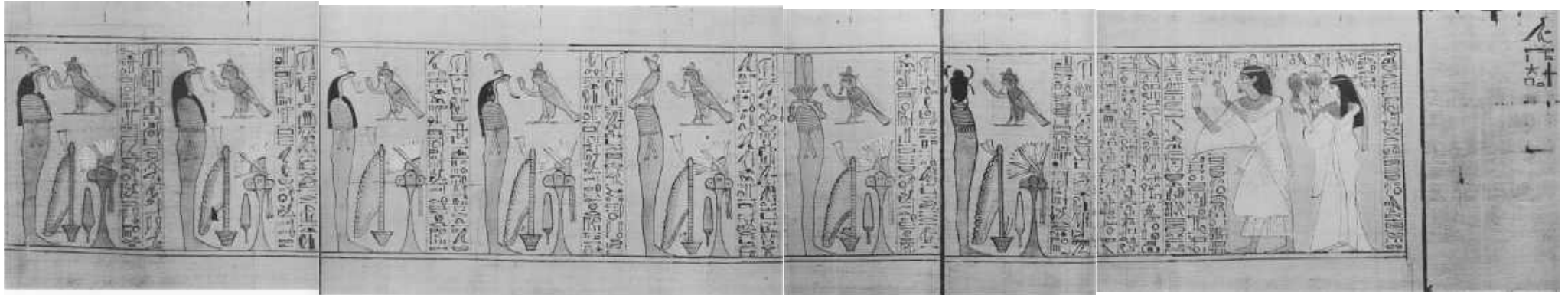
Hatshepsut (inner box, exterior)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble
(3572 (1); 3572 (2))
Photos courtesy of Anne Laffont (© Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble)



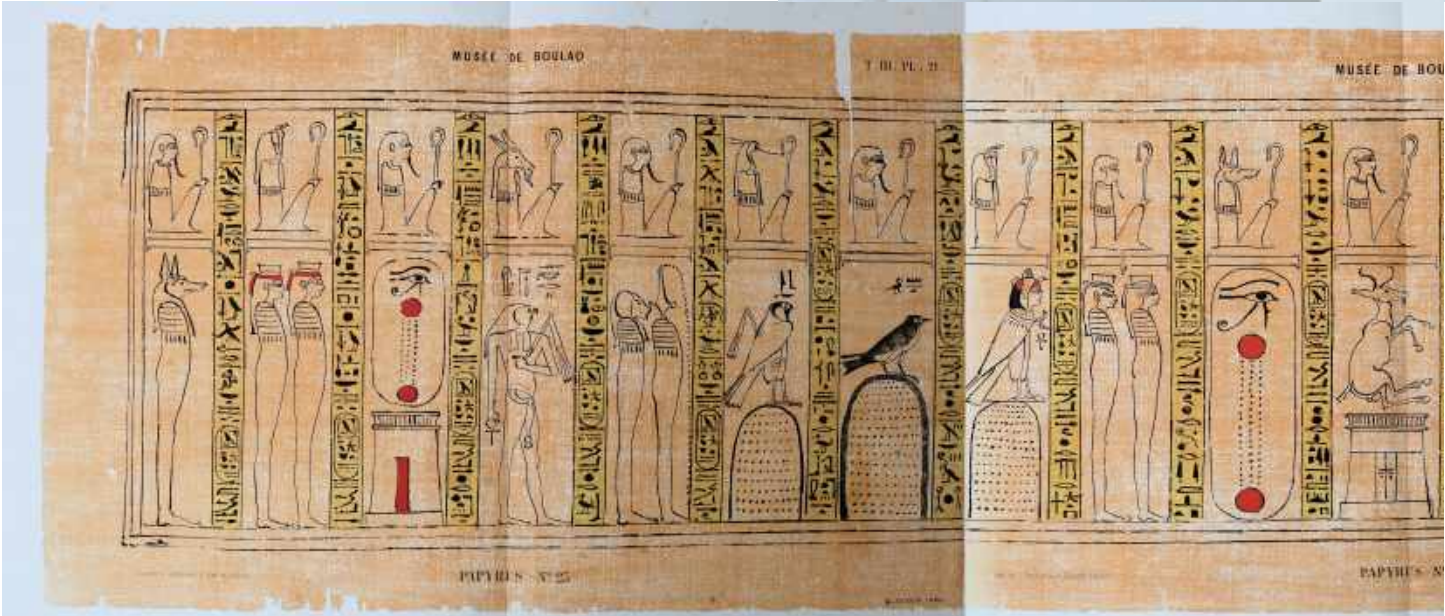
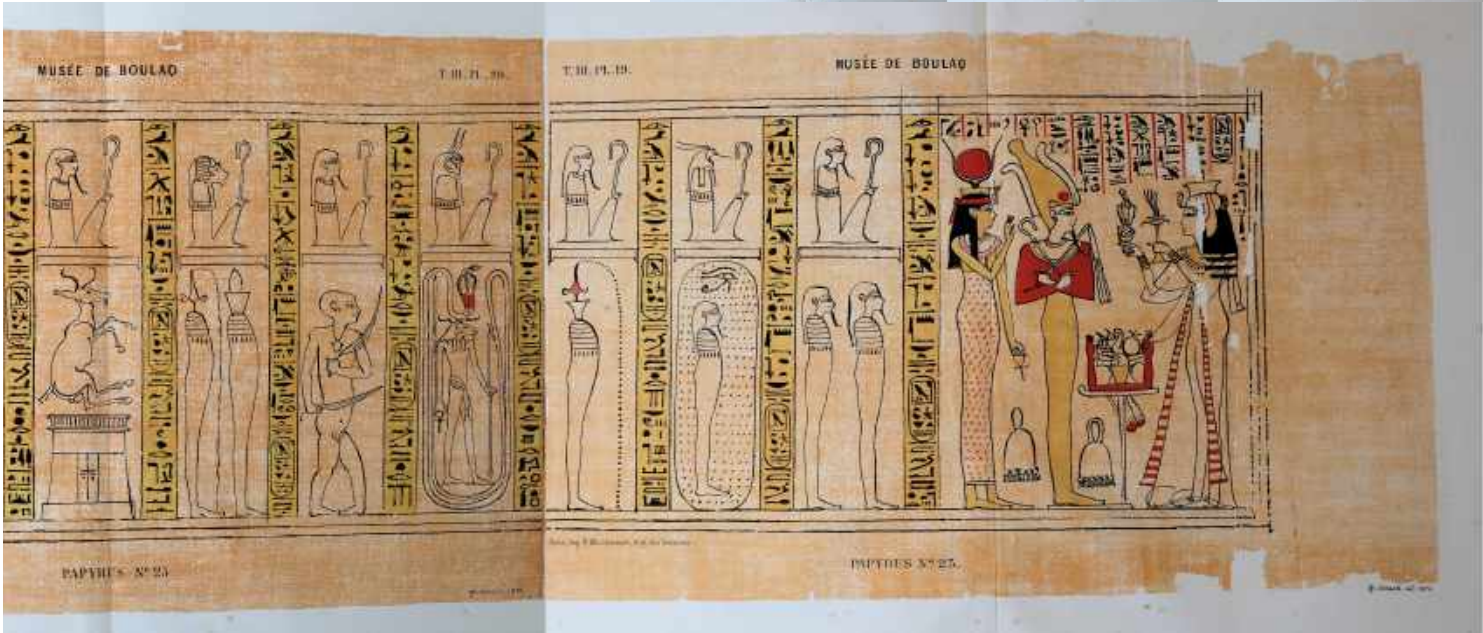
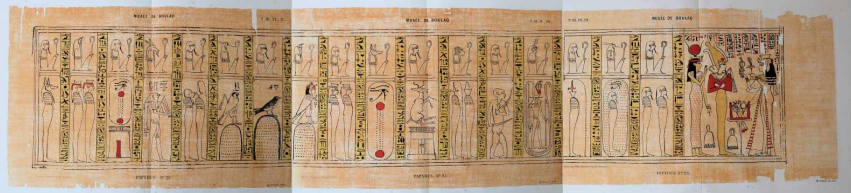
Hatshepsut (inner lid)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble
(3572 (1); 3572 (2))
Photos courtesy of Anne Laffont (© Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble)



Tjanefer (papyrus)
 Egyptian Museum, Cairo
 (S.R.IV.952)
 Photos extracted from
 Piankoff 1986: 98-109

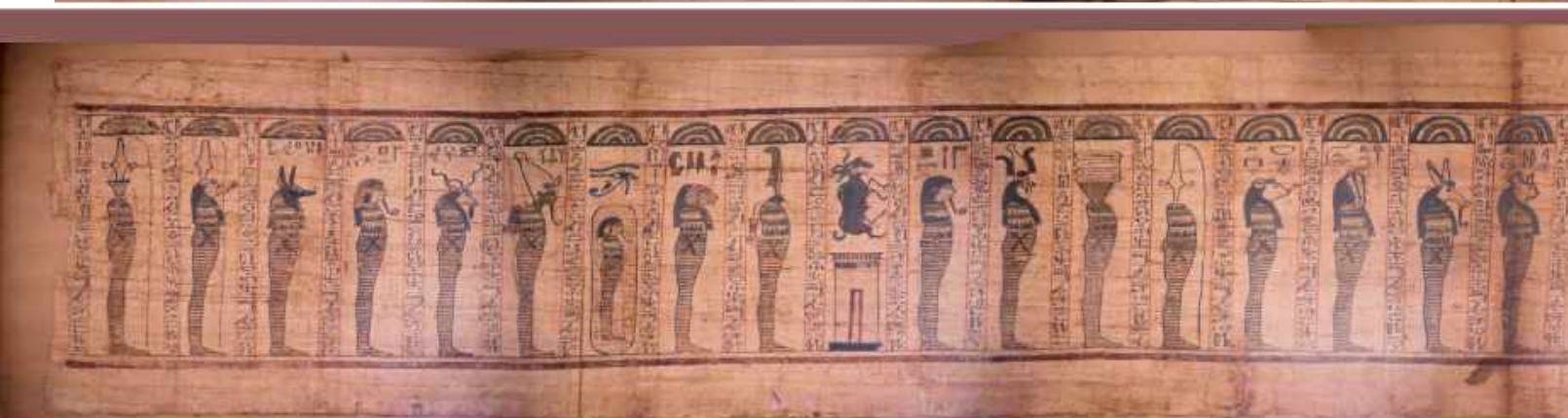
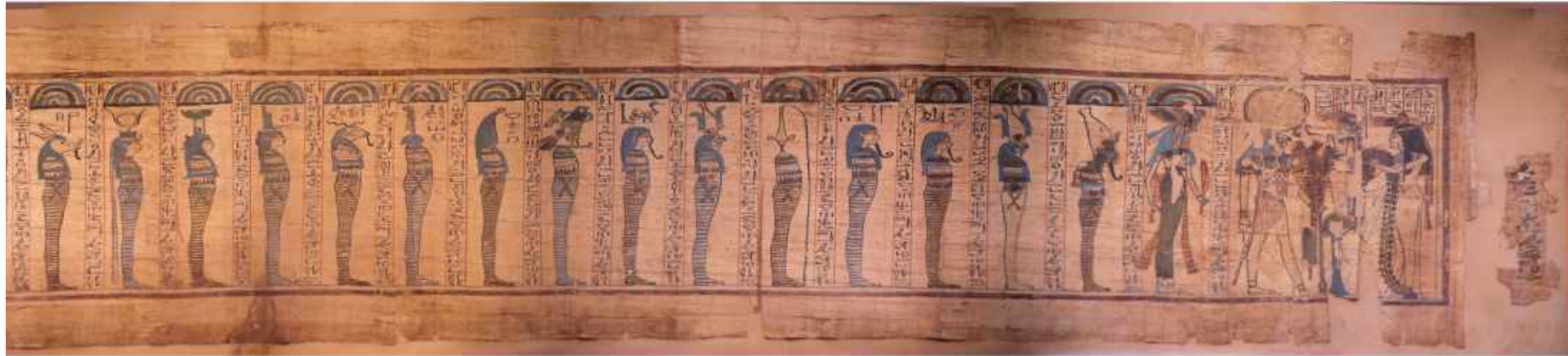


Duathuthor Henuttawy (papyrus)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(S.R.IV.992/JE 95887)
Photos extracted from Mariette 1871-1876 III: pls. 19-21



Taudjatra (papyrus)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(S.R.VII.11500 = JE 34033)
Photos courtesy of Dik van Bommel
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.3/38



Nauny (papyrus)
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(30.3.32)
Photos extracted from <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545191>
(last accessed March 7th 2024)

Pl. 4.3/39



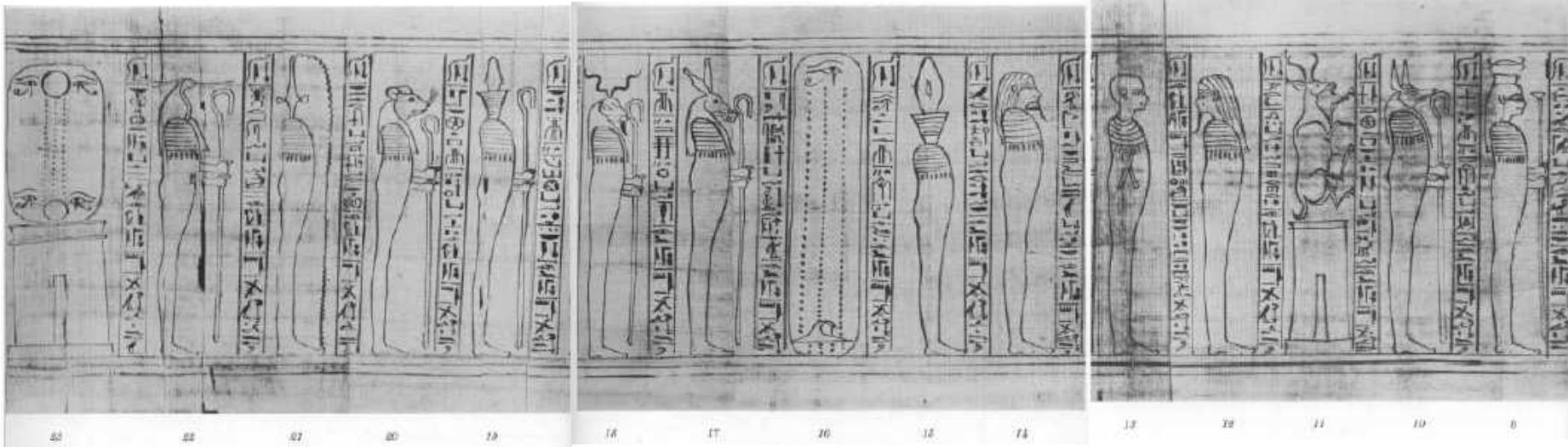
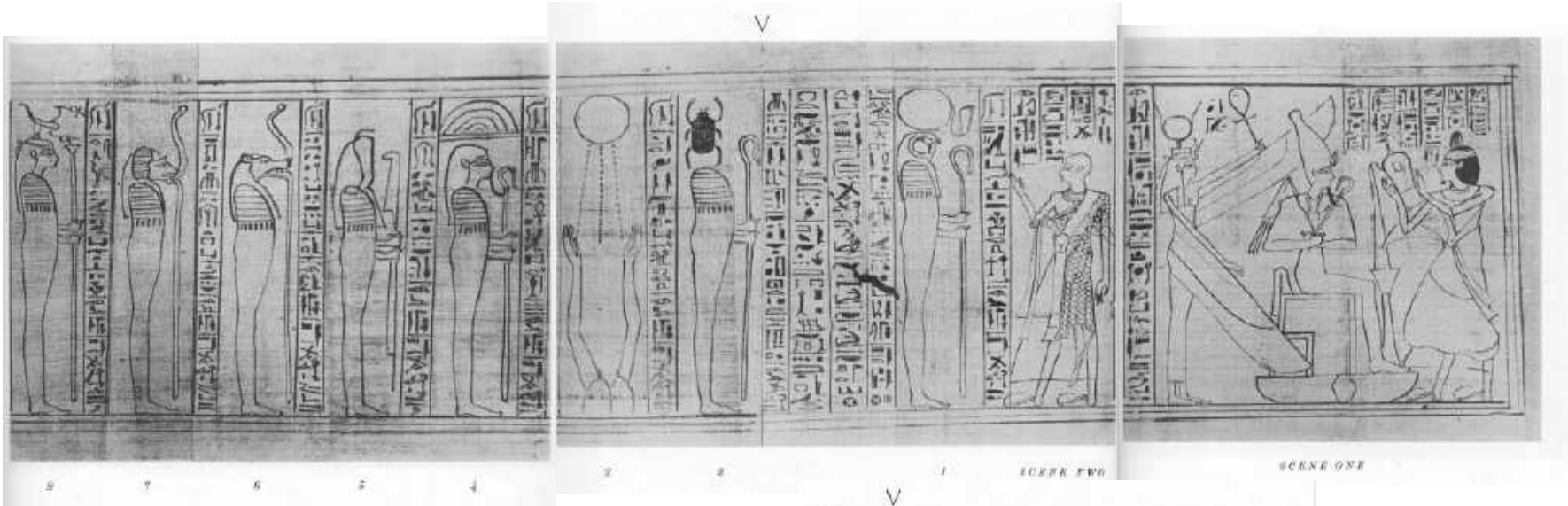
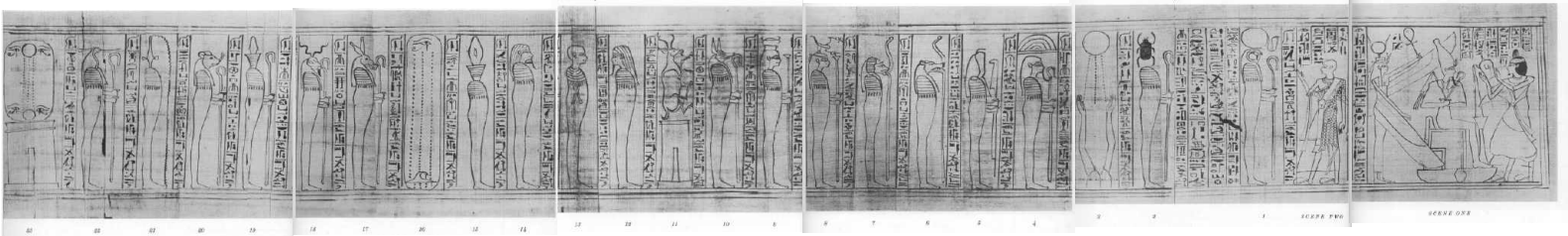
Nesiamunnesuttawy (papyrus)
Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin
(P.3153)
Photos courtesy of Dik van Bommel
(© Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin)



Pl. 4.3/40



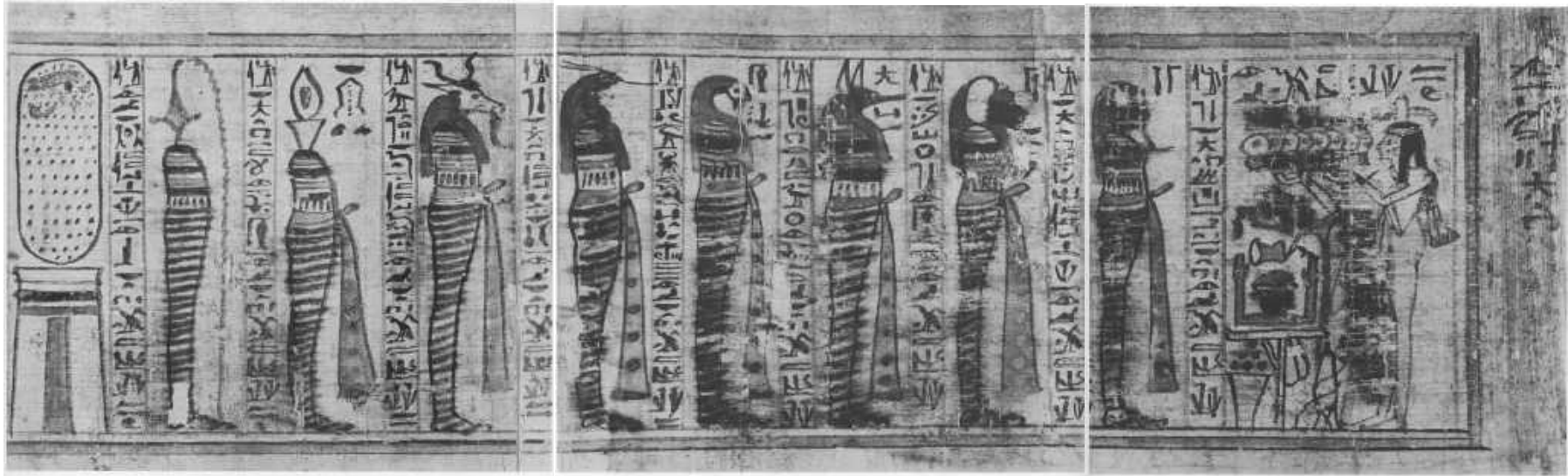
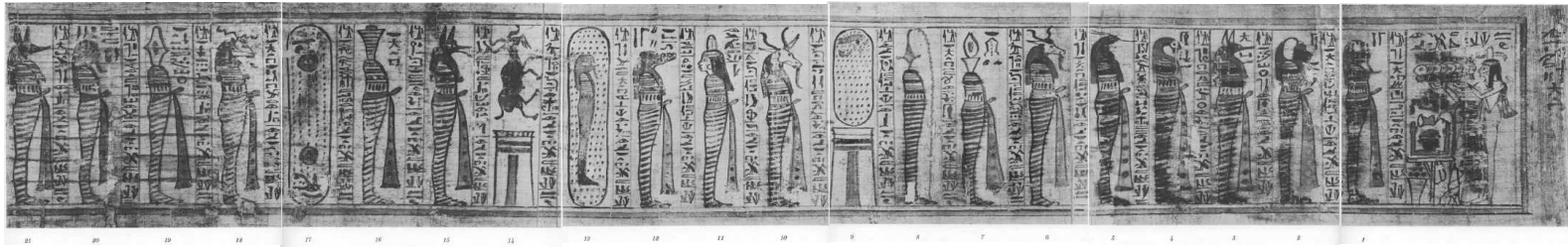
Ahaneferamun, called Paharu (papyrus)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(S.R.IV.979/JE 95878)
Photos extracted from Piankoff 1986: 66-71



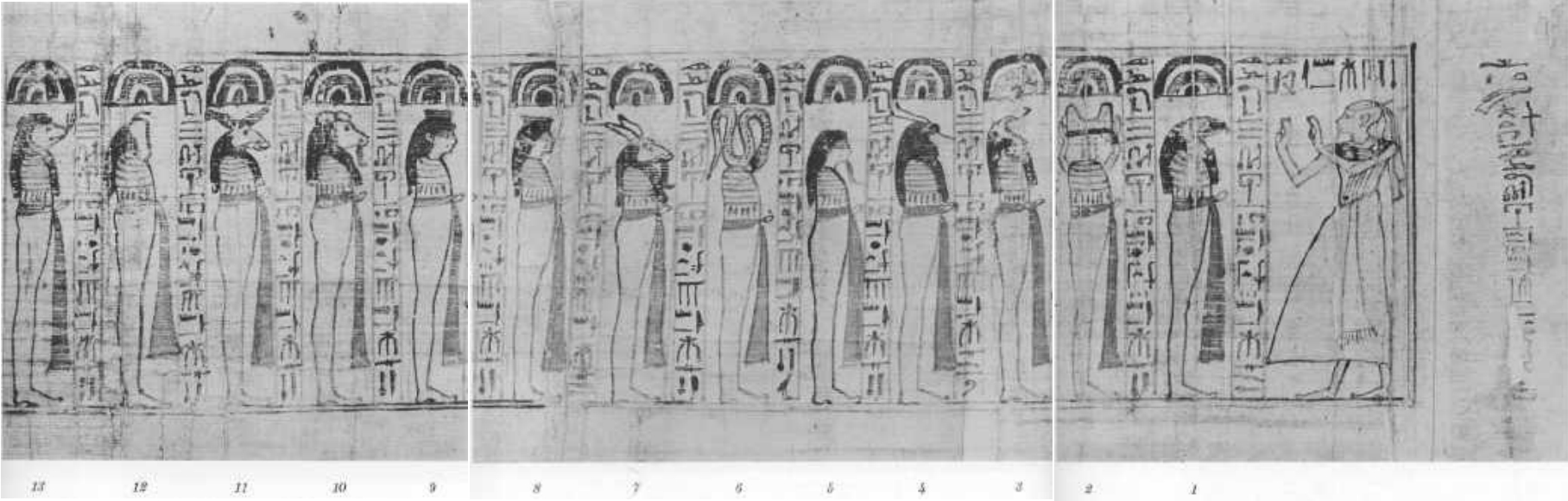
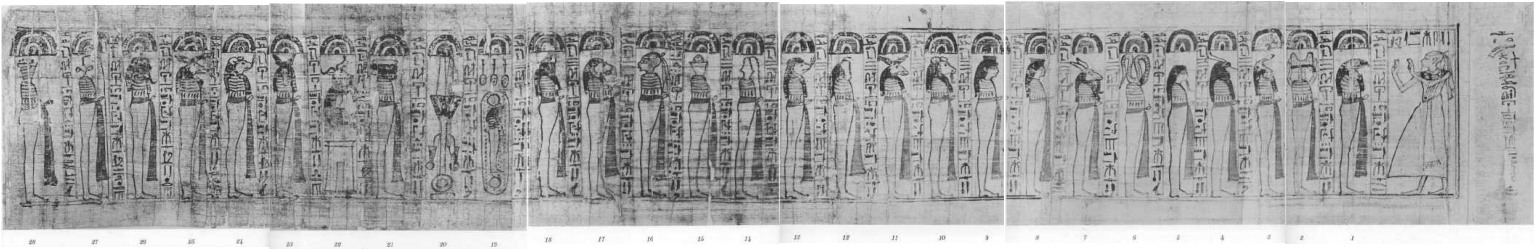
Userhatmes (papyrus)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(S.R.VII.10225/JE 34023)
Photos courtesy of Dik van Bommel (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Mutemwia (papyrus)
British Museum, London
(10006)
Photos extracted from Piankoff 1986: 72-77



Amenmes (papyrus)
British Museum, London
(10011)
Photos extracted from Piankoff 1986: 78-83



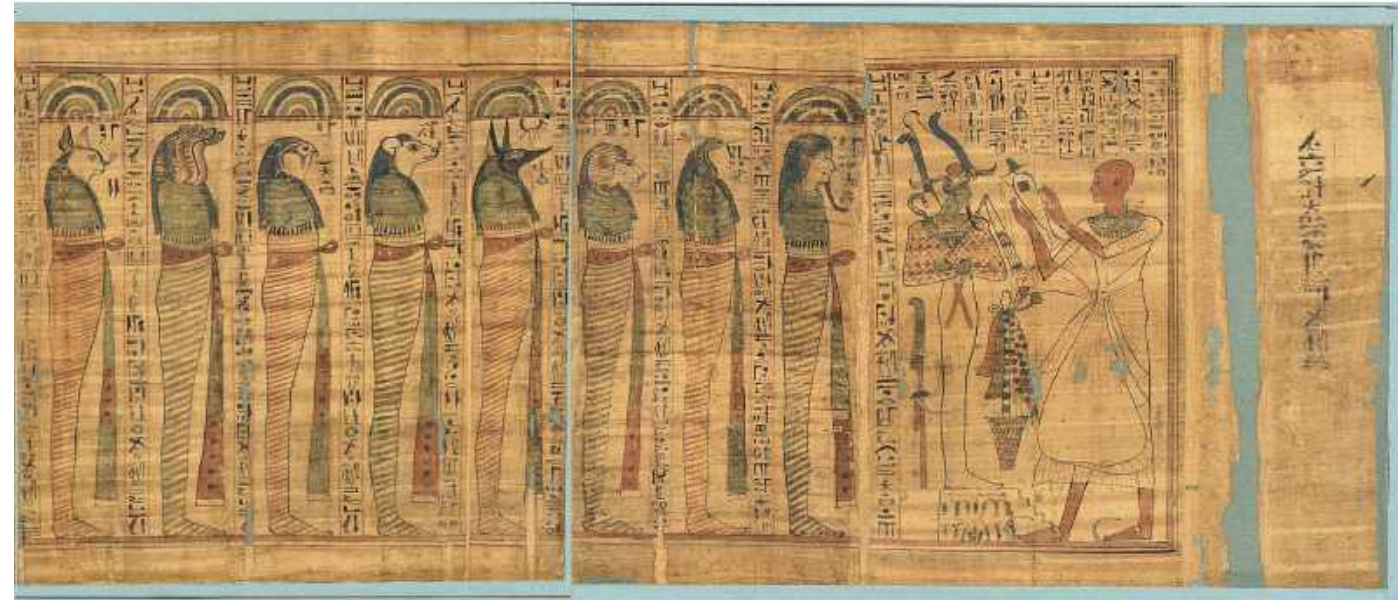
Nesypakheran (papyrus)
Bodleian Library, Oxford
(No number?)

Photos extracted from
Blackman 1918: pls. III-VI



Paser (papyrus)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
(158-161)
Photos courtesy of Dik van Bommel (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.3/46



Nebhepet (papyrus)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 1768)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila
(© Museo Egizio, Turin)



Pl. 4.3/47



Shedsuamon (papyrus)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(S.R.IV. 1530)

Pl. 4.3/48

Pictures not accessible

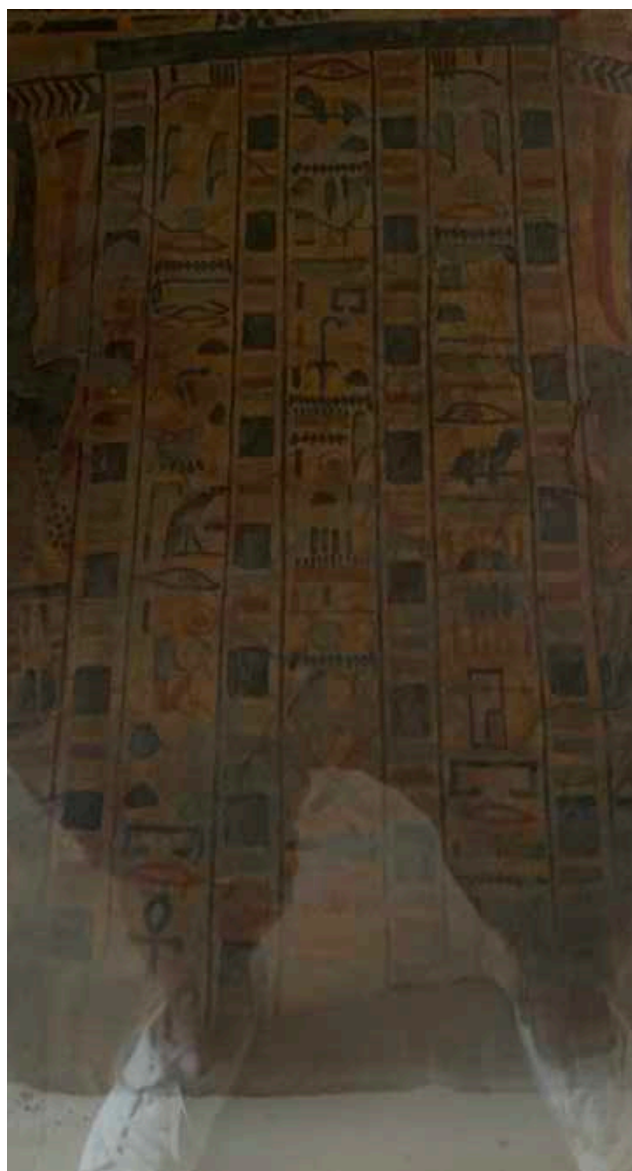
Chapter 4, Section 4

Anonymous ♀ (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29622; No CG N°; A. Unknown)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/1



Anonymous ♀ (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29622; No CG N°; A. Unknown)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♀ (outer lid, underside)

Pl. 4.4/3

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE 29622; No CG N°; A. Unknown)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♀ (outer lid)

Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne

(E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10); A. 74)

Photos courtesy of Alban von Stockhausen (© Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne)

Pl. 4.4/4



Anonymous ♀ (outer box, exterior)

Pl. 4.4/5

Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne

(E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10); A. 74)

Photos courtesy of Alban von Stockhausen (© Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne)



Anonymous ♀ (outer box, interior)
Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne
(E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10); A. 74)
Photos courtesy of Alban von Stockhausen
(© Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne)

Pl. 4.4/6



Anonymous ♀ (inner lid)

Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne

(E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10); A. 74)

Photos courtesy of Alban von Stockhausen (© Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne)

Pl. 4.4/7



Anonymous ♀ (inner box, exterior)
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
(ÄS 6267b; A. 74)

Pl. 4.4/8

Pictures not accessible

Anonymous ♀ (inner box, exterior)

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

(ÄS 6267b; A. 74)

Photos courtesy of Michaela Huettner (© Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

Pl. 4.4/9



Anonymous ♀ (mummy board)
Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne
(E/1894.305.0010 (formerly AE 10); A. 74)
Photos courtesy of Alban von Stockhausen
(© Bernisches Historisches Museum, Berne)



Meritamun A (fragmented outer box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)

(C. 13; A. 70?)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/11



Meritamun A (fragmented outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(C. 13; A. 70?)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Meritamun A (fragmented inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(L. 31; A. 70?)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Meritamun A (fragmented inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(L. 31; A. 70?)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Meritamun A (fragmented inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(L. 31; A. 70?)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Meritamun A (fragmented inner lid, underside)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)

(L. 31; A. 70?)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/16



Meritamun A (inner box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(C. 47; A. 70?)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/17



Meritamun A (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(C. 47; A. 70?)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/18



Meritamun A (mummy board)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)

(MC.2; A. 70?)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



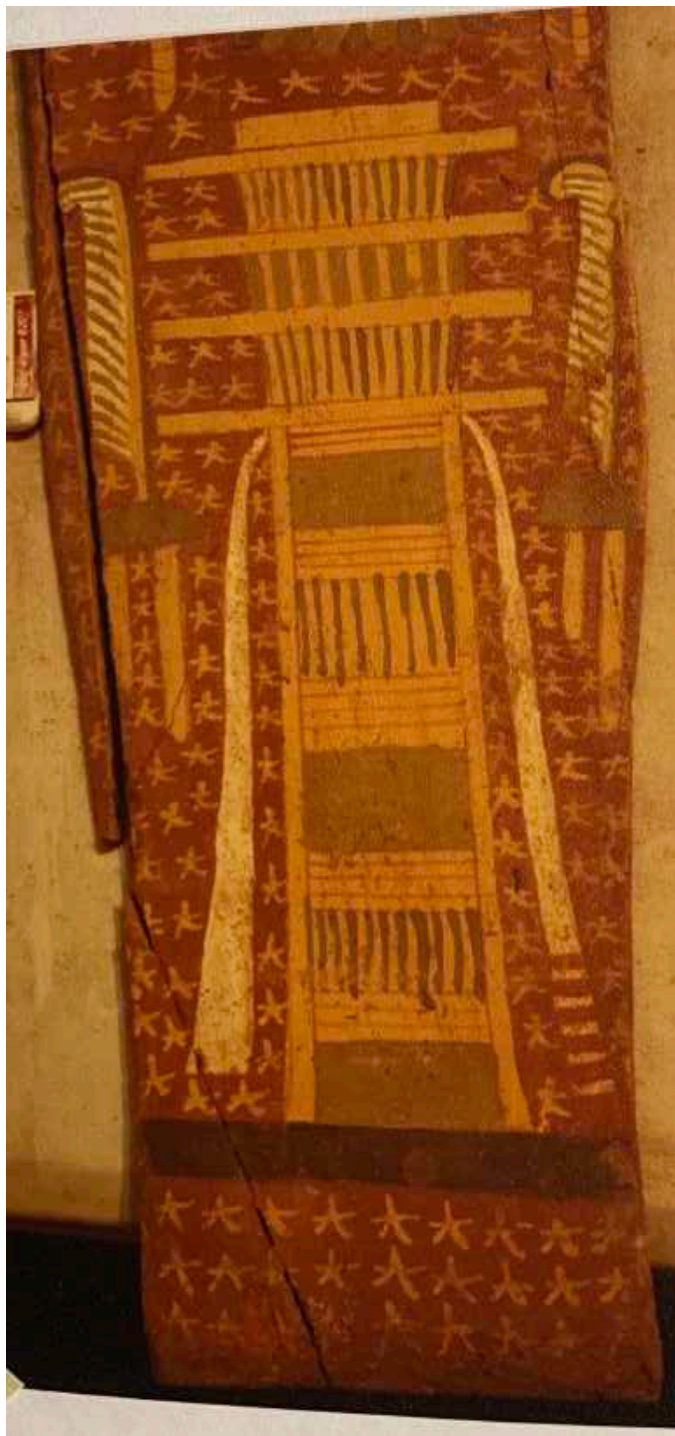
Meritamun A (mummy board, underside)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)

(MC.2; A. 70?)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/20



Meritamun B (inner lid)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29704 + 29734; CG 6176; A. 71)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/21



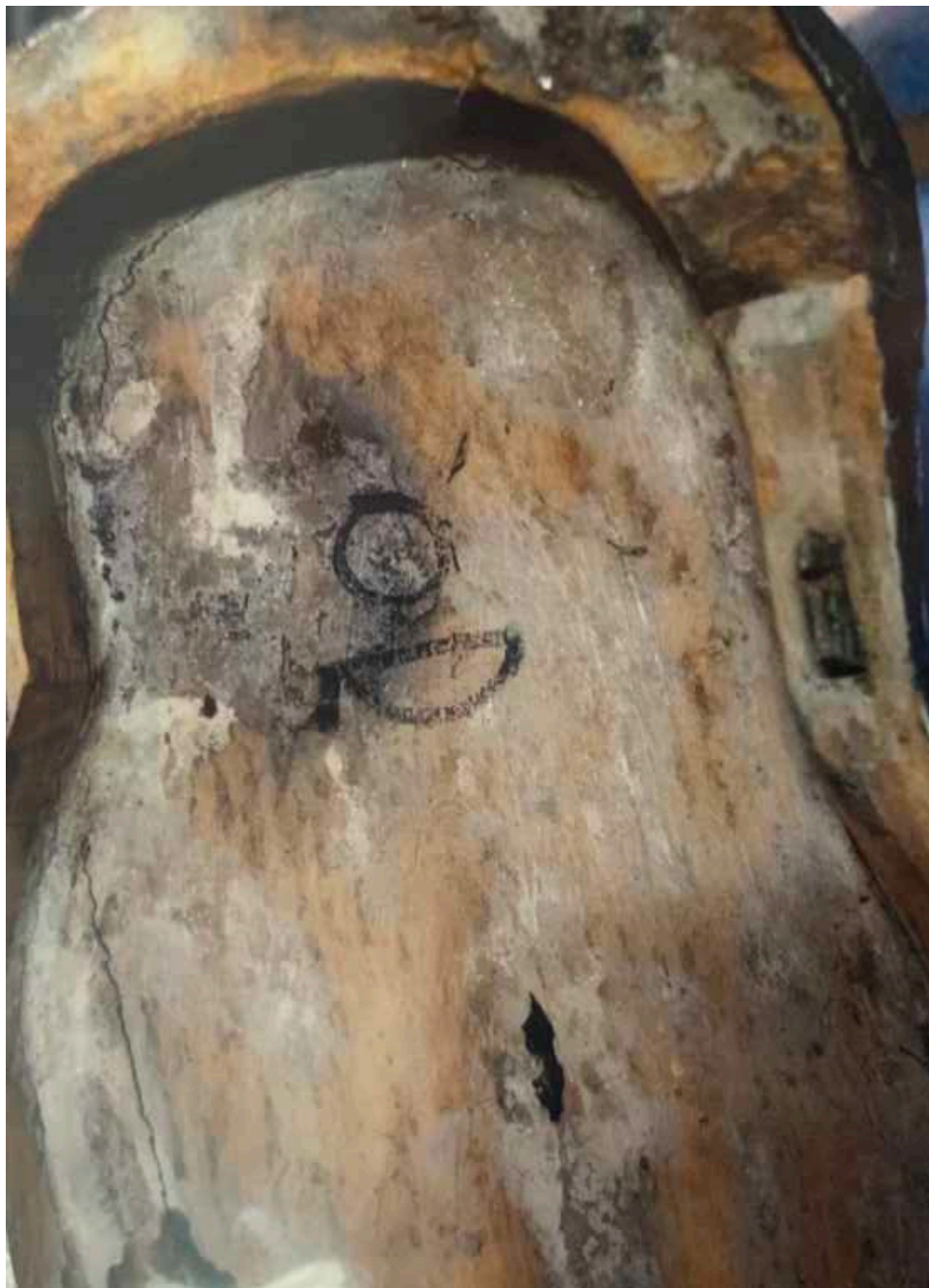
Meritamun B (inner lid, underside)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29704 + 29734; CG 6176; A. 71)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/22



Meritamun B (inner box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29704 + 29734; CG 6175; A. 71)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/23



Meritamun B (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29704 + 29734; CG 6175; A. 71)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Meritamun B (mummy board)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29704 + 29734; CG 6197; A. 71)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/25



Anonymous ♀ (not preserved?) (outer lid)

Pl. 4.4/26

Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)

(L. 13; A. Unknown)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♀ (not preserved?) (outer lid)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)

(L. 13; A. Unknown)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Amenhotep (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(L. 14; A. 39)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/28



Amenhotep (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(L. 14; A. 39)

Pl. 4.4/29

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Amenhotep (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(L. 14; A. 39)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Amenhotep (inner lid)

National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington
(154959; A. 39)

Photos courtesy of Carrie Beauchamp

(© National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington)

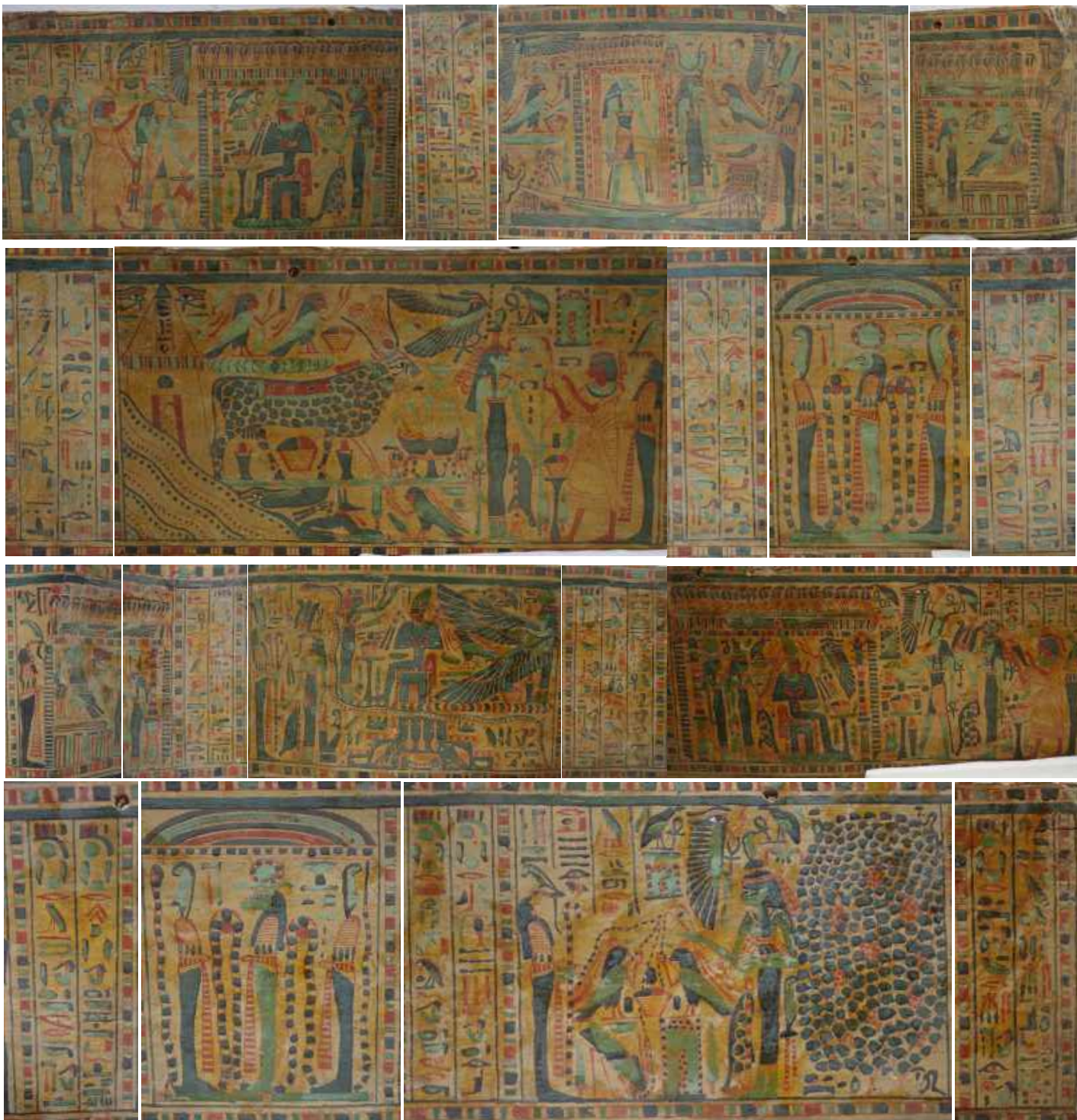


Amenhotep (inner box, exterior)

National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington
(154959; A. 39)

Photos courtesy of Carrie Beauchamp

(© National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington)



Amenhotep (inner box, interior)

National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington
(154959; A. 39)

Photos courtesy of Carrie Beauchamp

(© National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington)



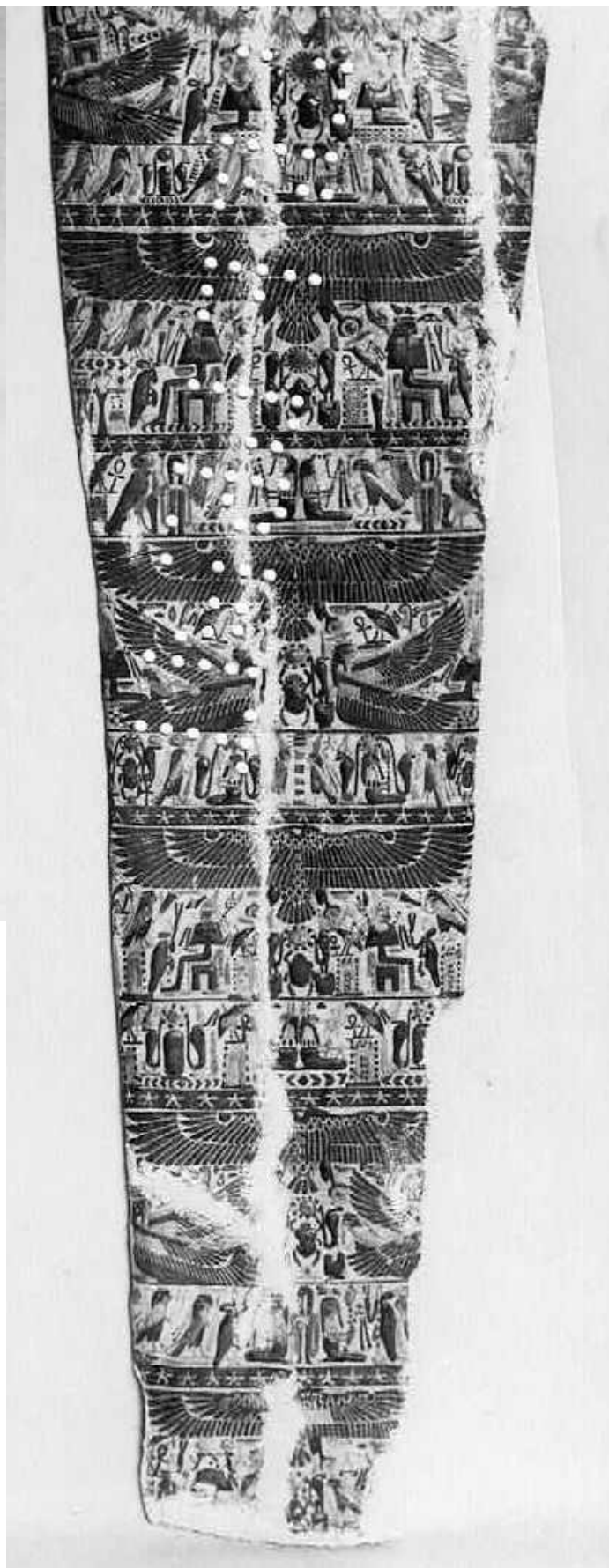
Amenhotep (mummy board)

National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington

(364999; A. 39)

Photos courtesy of Carrie Beauchamp

(© National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian Institution, Washington)



Tjenetpaherunefer (outer lid)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29699; CG 6218; A. 17)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/35



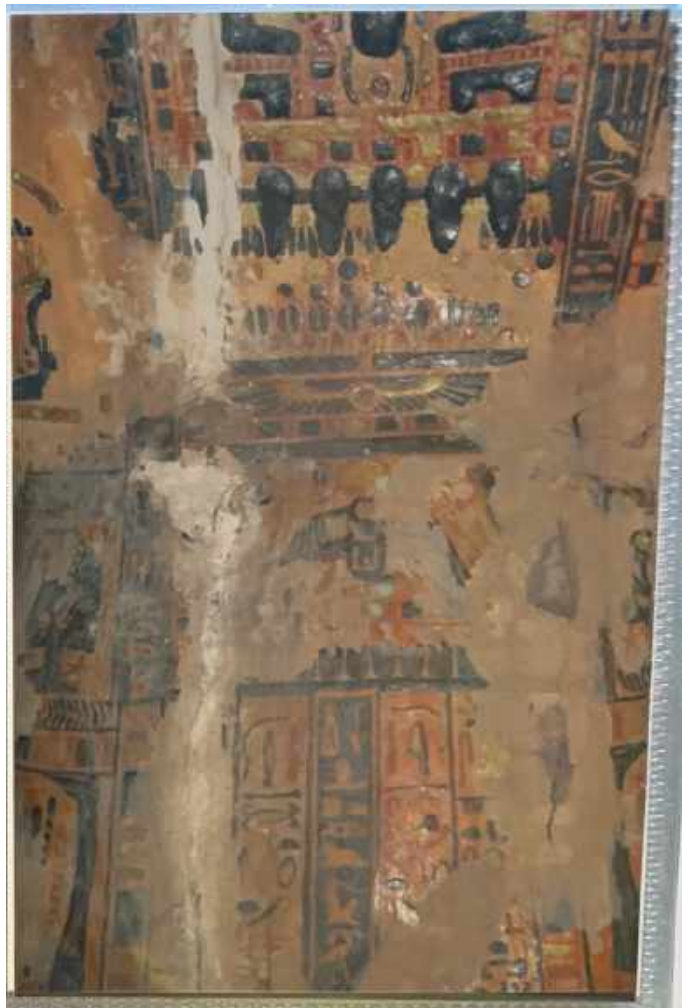
Tjenetpaheruner (outer lid)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29699; CG 6218; A. 17)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/36



Tjenetpaherunefer (outer box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

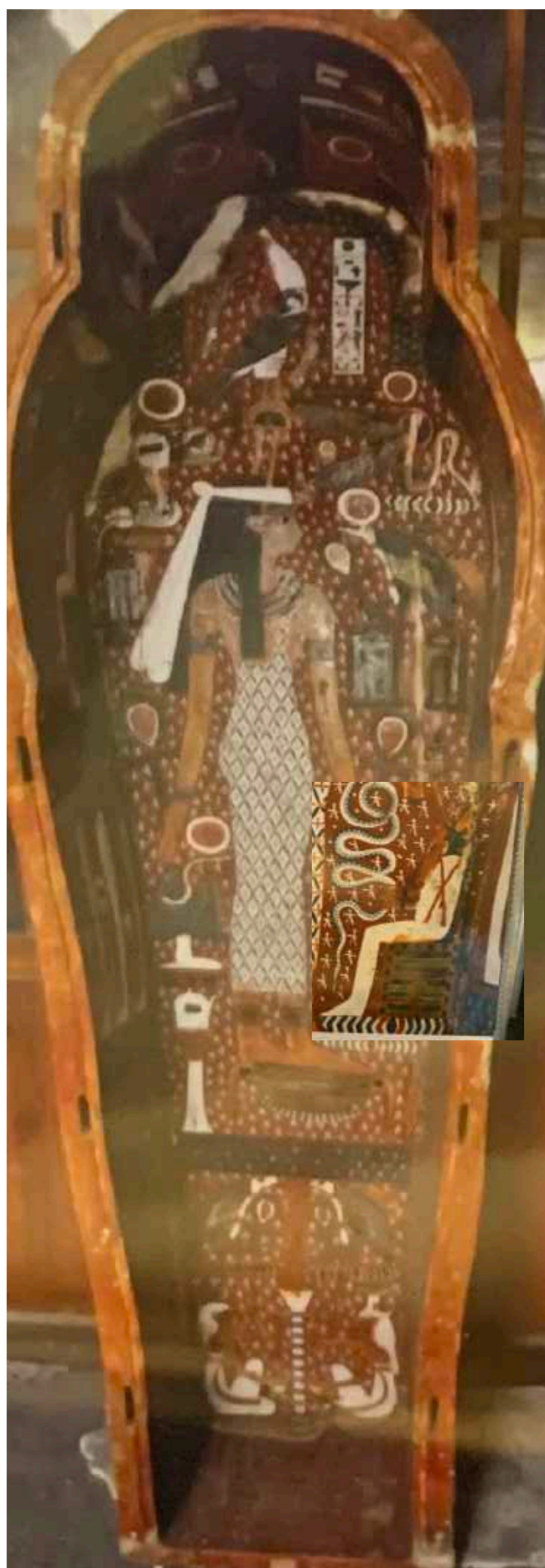
(29699; CG 6219); A. 17)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/37



Tjenetpaheruner (outer box, interior)
 Egyptian Museum, Cairo
 (29699; CG 6219); A. 17)
 Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
 (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Tjenetpaherunefer (inner lid)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29699; CG 6177; A. 17)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/39

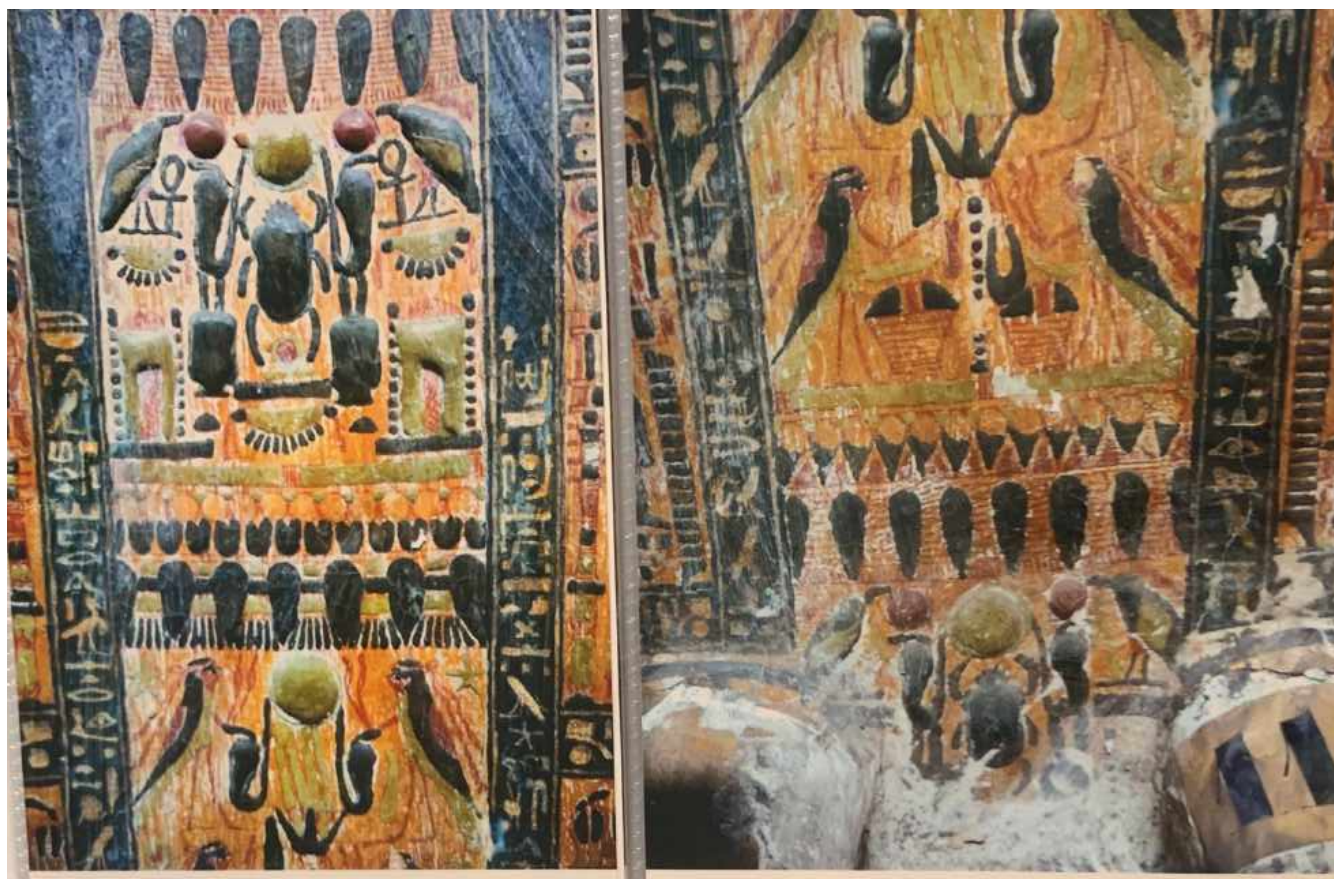


Tjenetpaherunefer (inner lid)

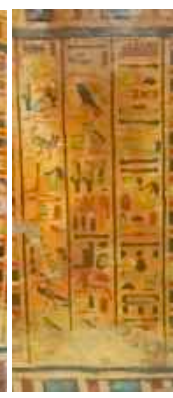
Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29699; CG 6177; A. 17)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Tjenetpaherunefer (inner box, exterior)
 Egyptian Museum, Cairo
 (29699; CG 6178; A. 17)
 Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
 (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Tjenetpaherunefer (inner box, interior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29699; CG 6178; A. 17)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Tjenetpaherunefer (inner box, interior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29699; CG 6178; A. 17)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Tjenetpaherunefer (mummy board)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29699; CG 6179; A. 17)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/44



Anonymous ♂ (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29653; CG 6205; A. 61)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



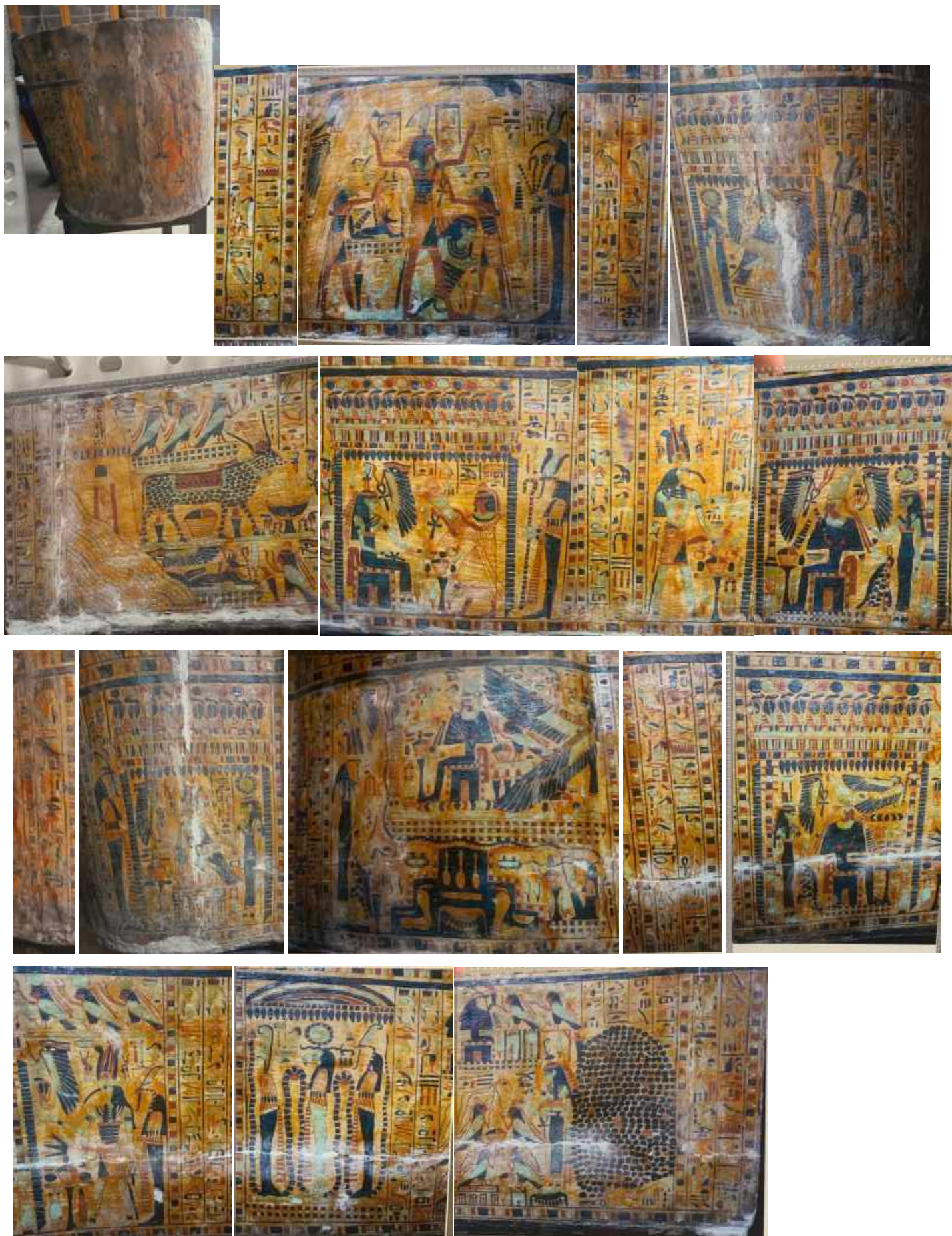
Anonymous ♂ (outer box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29653; CG 6207; A. 61)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/46



Anonymous ♂ (outer box, interior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29653; CG 6207; A. 61)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/47



Anonymous ♂ (inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29653; CG 6206; A. 61)
Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♂ (inner box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29653; CG 6171; A. 61)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/49



Anonymous ♂ (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29653; CG 6171; A. 61)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♂ (mummy board)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29653; CG 6172; A. 61)

Photos by the author (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/51



Anonymous ♂ (outer lid)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29680; CG 6043; A. 85)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/52



Anonymous ♂ (outer lid)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29680; CG 6043; A. 85)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/53



Anonymous ♂ (outer box, exterior)

Pl. 4.4/54

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29680; CG 6044; A. 85)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



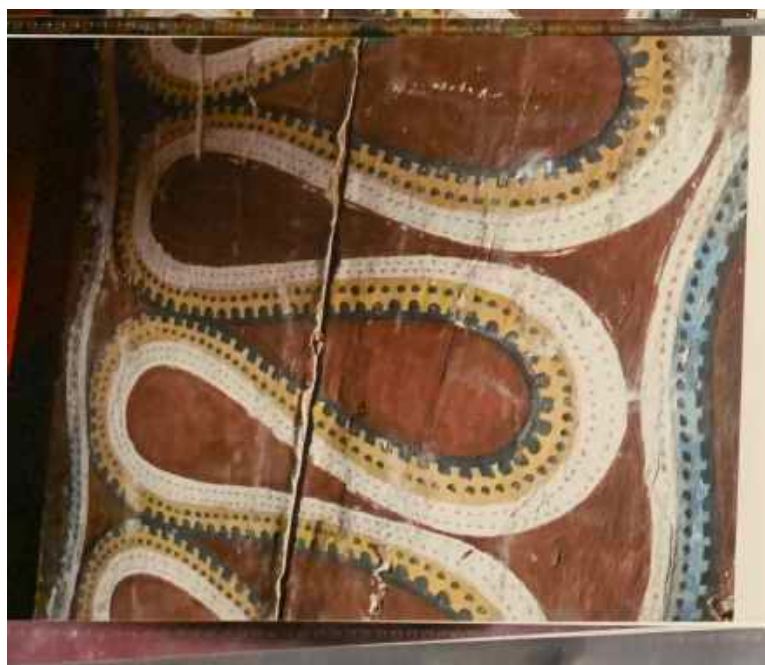
Anonymous ♂ (outer box, underside)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29680; CG 6044; A. 85)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/55



Anonymous ♂ (outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29680; CG 6044; A. 85)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♂ (inner lid)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29680; CG 6041; A. 85)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/57



Anonymous ♂ (inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29680; CG 6041; A. 85)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♂ (inner box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29680; CG 6042; A. 85)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/59



Anonymous ♂ (inner box, exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(29680; CG 6042; A. 85)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♂ (mummy board)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29680; CG 6045; A. 85)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/61



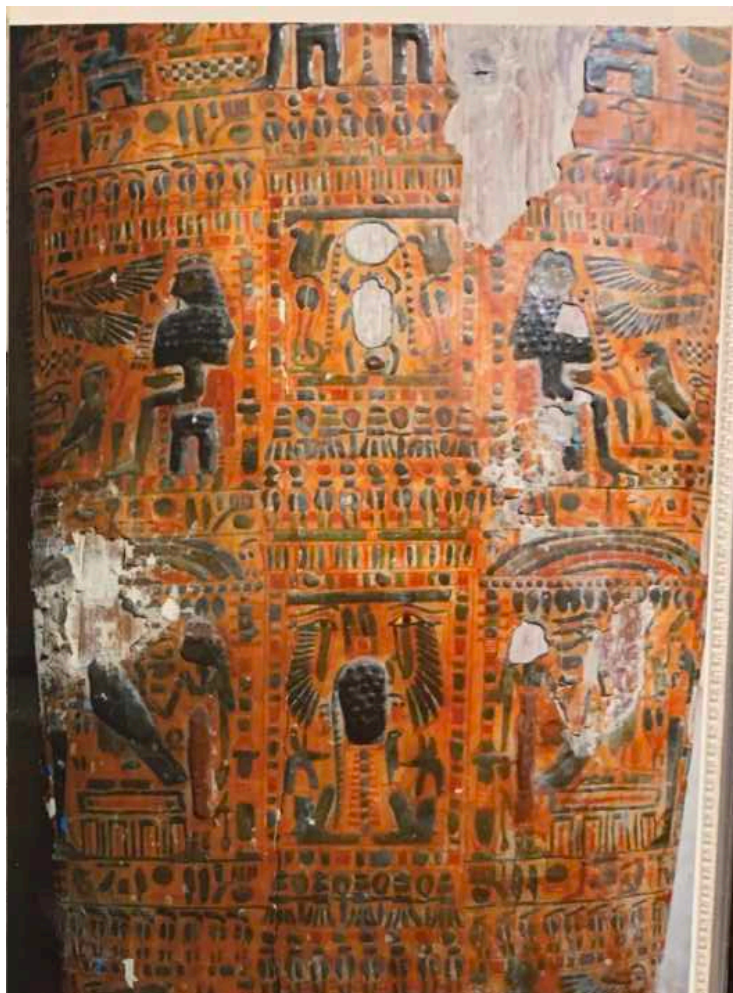
Anonymous ♂ (mummy board)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(29680; CG 6045; A. 85)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/62



Anonymous ♀ (mummy board)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(MC. 1; A. Unknown)

Pl. 4.4/63

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♀ (mummy board)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)

(MC. 1; A. Unknown)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♀ (fragmented inner box, exterior)

Pl. 4.4/65

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

(62.2; probably from Bab el-Gasus (A. Unknown))

Photos courtesy of Lisa Anderson-Zhu (© Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore)



Anonymous (not preserved?) (fragmented outer box, exterior, interior)
 Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
 (C. 32, C. 33; probably from Bab el-Gasus (A. Unknown))
 Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous (not preserved?) (fragmented outer box, floorboard exterior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(C. 28; probably from Bab el-Gasus (A. Unknown))
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous (not preserved?) (fragmented outer box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(C. 28; probably from Bab el-Gasus (A. Unknown))
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/68



Anonymous (not preserved?) (fragmented outer? lid)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)

(L. 26; A. Unknown)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous (not preserved?) (fragmented lid/mummy board)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo (basement)
(L. 21; A. Unknown)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.4/70



Tamutmutef (inner lid)

Museo Egizio, Turin

(Cat. 2228; CGT 10119.a)

Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)

Pl. 4.4/71



Tamutmutef (inner box, exterior)

Museo Egizio, Turin

(Cat. 2228; CGT 10119.b)

Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)

Pl. 4.4/72



Tamutmutef (inner box, interior)
Museo Egizio, Turin
(Cat. 2228; CGT 10119.b)
Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila
(© Museo Egizio, Turin)



Tamutmutef (mummy board)

Museo Egizio, Turin

(Cat. 2228; CGT 10120)

Photos: Nicola Dell'Aquila (© Museo Egizio, Turin)

Pl. 4.4/74



Chapter 4, Section 5

Anonymous ♀ (inner lid)
Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin
(ÄM 11984)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin)

Pl. 4.5/1



Anonymous ♀ (inner box, exterior)

Pl. 4.5/2

Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin

(ÄM 11984)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin)



Anonymous ♀ (inner box, interior)

Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin

(ÄM 11984)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin)

Pl. 4.5/3



Anonymous ♀ (mummy board)

Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin

(ÄM 11985)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin)

Pl. 4.5/4



Nesypakaswty (outer lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29641; CG 6018; A. 43)

Pl. 4.5/5

Pictures not accessible

Nesypakaswty (outer box)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29641; CG 6061/62; A. 43)

Pl. 4.5/6

Pictures not accessible

Nesypakaswty (inner lid)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29641; CG 6062/61; A. 43)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



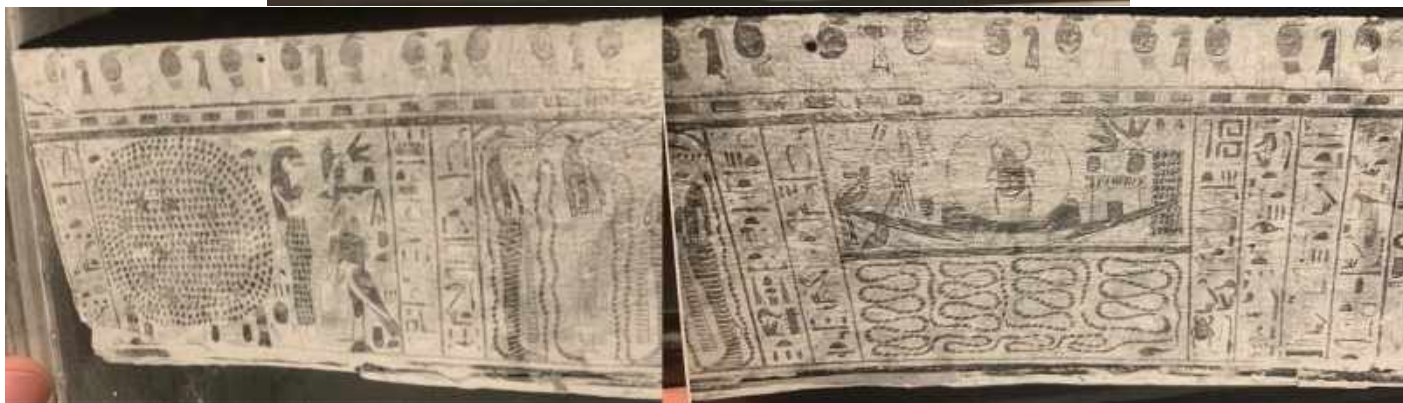
Nesypakaswty (inner box, exterior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE 29641; CG 6086; A. 43)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.5/8



Nesypakaswty (inner box, interior)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE 29641; CG 6086; A. 43)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.5/9



Nesypakaswty (mummy board)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE 29641; CG 6087; A. 43)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.5/10



Ikhy (outer lid)

Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City

(MV 25035.3.1; A. 58?)

Photos courtesy of Alessia Amenta (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)

Pl. 4.5/11



Inscriptions on the lower lid's seams



Name on the footboard

Ikhy (outer box, exterior)
Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City
(MV 25035.3.2; A. 58?)

Pl. 4.5/12

Photos courtesy of Alessia Amenta (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)



Ikhy (outer box, interior)

Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City

(MV 25035.3.2; A. 58?)

Photos courtesy of Alessia Amenta (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)



Ikhy (mummy board)

Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City

(MV 25035.3.3; A. 58?)

Photos courtesy of Alessia Amenta (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)



Anonymous ♀ (inner box, exterior)
Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City
(MV 25016.2.2; A. 58?)

Photos courtesy of Alessia Amenta (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)

Pl. 4.5/15



Anonymous ♀ (inner box, exterior)
Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Vatican City
(MV 25016.2.2; A. 58?)

Photos courtesy of Alessia Amenta (© Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano)

Pl. 4.5/16



Anonymous ♀ (outer lid)
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence
(8524; A. 15)

Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni (

© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)

Pl. 4.5/17



Anonymous ♀ (outer box, exterior)
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence
(8524; A. 15)

Pl. 4.5/18

Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni

(© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)



Anonymous ♀ (outer box, interior)
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence
(8524; A. 15)

Pl. 4.5/19

Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni

(© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)



Anonymous ♀ (inner lid)

Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence

(8528; A. 15?)

Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni

(© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)

Pl. 4.5/20



Anonymous ♀ (inner box, exterior)

Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence

(8528; A. 15?)

Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni

(© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Direzione regionale Musei della Toscana)



Anonymous ♀ (inner box, interior)
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence
(8528; A. 15?)

Pl. 4.5/22

Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni

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Anonymous ♀ (mummy board)
Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence
(9534; A. 15?)

Photos courtesy of Anna Consonni

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Pl. 4.5/23



Djedkhonsuiuefankh (outer lid)

Musée du Louvre, Paris

(E 10636, AF 9593; AF 98; A. 8)

Photos: G. Poncet (© Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN Grand Palais)

Pl. 4.5/24



Djedkhonsuiuefankh (outer box, exterior)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(E 10636, AF 9593; AF 98; A. 8)
Photos: G. Poncet
(© Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN Grand
Palais)



Djedkhonsuiuefankh (outer box, interior)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(E 10636, AF 9593; AF 98; A. 8)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Djedkhonsuiuefankh (inner lid)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(E 10636, AF 86; A. 8)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Djedkhonsuiuefankh (inner box, exterior)

Musée du Louvre, Paris

(E 10636, AF 95; A. 8)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Djedkhonsuiuefankh (inner box, interior)
Musée du Louvre, Paris
(E 10636, AF 95; A. 8)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Djedkhonsuiuefankh (mummy board)

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon

(H 2322 (Loan from the Musée du Louvre, Paris, E 10637; AF 102); A. 8)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Pl. 4.5/30



Padikhonsu (inner lid, front)

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon

(H 2320)

Photos: Alain Basset (© Lyon MBA)

Pl. 4.5/31



Padikhonsu (inner lid, underside)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon
(H 2320)
Photos: Alain Basset (© Lyon MBA)



Padikhonsu (inner box, exterior)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon
(H 2320)
Photos: Alain Basset (© Lyon MBA)



Padikhonsu (inner box, interior)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon
(H 2320)
Photos: Alain Basset (© Lyon MBA)

Pl. 4.5/34





Padikhonsu (mummy board, underside)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon
(H 2321)
Photos: Alain Basset (© Lyon MBA)

Pl. 4.5/36



Ankhefiah (outer? box, exterior)

Deir el-Bahari storeroom

(D/III.5)

Drawing: Andrzej Niwiński, from

Niwiński 1985: 206 [fig. 3a]



Diwamun (inner lid)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE 29727; CG 6054; A. 31)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński

(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.5/38



Diwamun (inner box, exterior)
 Egyptian Museum, Cairo
 (JE 29727; CG 6053; A. 31)
 Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
 (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Diwamun (inner box, interior)
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(JE 29727; CG 6053; A. 31)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Diwamun (inner box, exterior)
 Egyptian Museum, Cairo
 (JE 29727; CG 6057; A. 31)
 Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
 (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♂ (outer box, exterior)
Basement of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(C. 12)
Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński
(© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♂ (outer box, interior)
Basement of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(C. 12)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♂ (mummy board)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

(JE unknown; CG 6047)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Pl. 4.5/44



Ankhefenamun, Ikhy (outer lid)
Art & History Museum, Brussels
(E. 5887; A. 51)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Art & History Museum, Brussels)

Pl. 4.5/45



Ankhefenamun, Ikhy (outer box, exterior)

Art & History Museum, Brussels

(E. 5887; A. 51)

Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney (© Art & History Museum, Brussels)

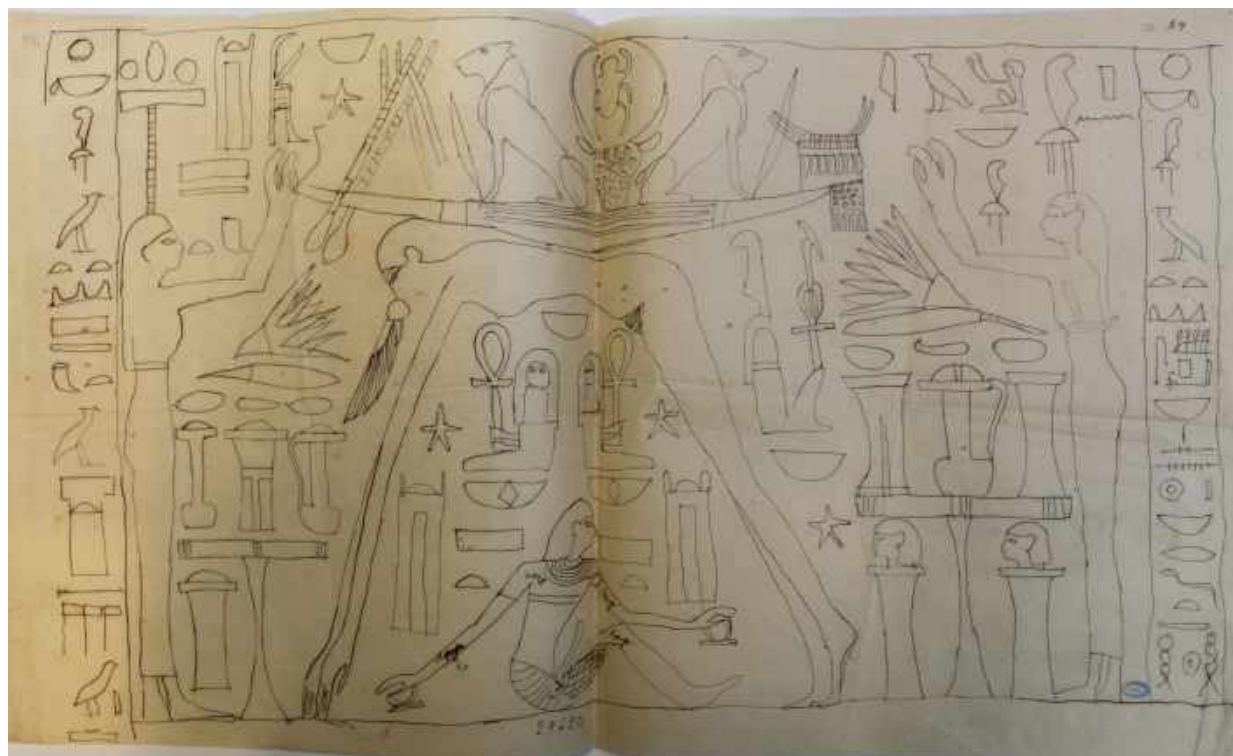
Pl. 4.5/46



Ankhefenamun, Ikhy (outer box, interior)
Art & History Museum, Brussels
(E. 5887; A. 51)
Photos courtesy of Kara Cooney
(© Art & History Museum, Brussels)

Pl. 4.5/47





Folio 10



Folio 11



Folio 12

Anonymous ♀ (outer box, exterior)
Basement of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
(C.23, C. 3)

Pl. 4.5/49

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo) and Alain Dautant, the latter extracted from Virey 1892 (unpublished manuscript)



Folio 10



Anonymous ♀ (outer box, interior)
 Basement of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
 (C.23, C. 3)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© Egyptian Museum, Cairo)



Anonymous ♂ (outer lid)
National Archaeological Museum, Athens
(3338; A. 134)
Photos courtesy of Argyro Grigoraki
(© National Archaeological Museum, Athens)



Anonymous ♂ (outer box, exterior)
National Archaeological Museum, Athens
(3338; A. 134)

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Photos courtesy of Argyro Grigoraki and Andrzej Niwiński (© National Archaeological Museum, Athens)



Anonymous ♂ (outer box, interior)
National Archaeological Museum, Athens
(3338; A. 134)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© National Archaeological Museum, Athens)



Anonymous ♂ (inner lid)
National Archaeological Museum, Athens
(3339 (=ANE 3422); A. 134)

Photos courtesy of Andrzej Niwiński (© National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

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Photos courtesy of Argyro Grigoraki (© National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

