

# The family of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy from Thebes (TT 414) revisited

The case study of  
Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu  
(G108 + G137)

Julia Budka  
and  
Tamás Mekis





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with contributions by  
Marc Étienne and Malcolm Mosher, Jr.



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Cover: London, British Museum, EA 38 212 depicting on the right the seated pair, Hor and Nes-Khonsu/Kalutj, on the left Hor is seen in the gesture of adoration in front of Osiris.



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*Dedicated to fond memories of Gábor Schreiber (1974-2020) – a much appreciated friend and colleague who will be greatly missed in Ptolemaic Thebes and beyond*



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## Preface

In Egyptology, it is still rare that a complete volume presents Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic secondary burials from a 26th Dynasty tomb. The tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT 414 on the West bank of Thebes in the Asasif, however, represents such a rich source and enables the reconstruction of important aspects of burial customs of a still little investigated period of Egyptian culture, the post-Persian to early Ptolemaic period.

Beginning in the 30th Dynasty (380–343 BCE) the family of the priest Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy purchased the right to use the long-abandoned tomb of the 26th Dynasty official, Ankh-Hor, for the burial of its own dead members. Such use continued over several generations. Thanks to the excavations conducted by an Austrian mission in the 1970s, which have been documented more recently by the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München (LMU) Ankh-Hor Project, it became clear that the way in which different generations equipped the dead, depended on changes in their wealth and transitions in styles being produced within local workshops.

Though the family of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy belonged to the higher echelons of the priestly society of Thebes, certain members of the family (1) maintained the same rank as their predecessors through generations while others (2) earned an honourable rank in the priesthood by their own virtues, still others (3) did not hold influential priestly titles. These patterns can also be observed in other large families besides that of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy. All these factors are reflected in the archaeological material from the excavated burials. In previous studies we demonstrated the cases of the first and third patterns in the family of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy. The topic of this book illustrates the second pattern. The family of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu demonstrates that although Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu's husband Hor was only the second son of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, he still achieved higher ranking positions in Karnak during the 30th Dynasty by his diligence, talent, and networks.

We hope that this publication contributes to awareness of the richness and creativity of Late Period Thebes in regard to funerary and temple rituals and to the fact that great potential still lies in the combination of data from previous excavations like the Austrian mission in TT 414, new data like the LMU Ankh-Hor project, and objects stored in museums and collections.

Julia Budka, Tamás Mekis, Munich and Budapest, October 2021

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# Prologue

Gábor Schreiber was a talented and energetic researcher, and his early death is a great loss for Egyptology. He was much interested in the archaeology and history of religion of Thebes, focused in particular on the Late to Ptolemaic Periods. With this study we would like to commemorate the importance of the results of his last research project *The Sacred Baboons of Khonsu. History of a Theban cult* (Budapest, 2020). This book was published just a few months before his sudden death. He could finely combine his archeological results in TT-400- with his excellent knowledge on the theologies of Thebes. The occasion of his last writing was the discovery of the intrusive Ptolemaic burial of a family of Khonsu priests who reused TT-400- as burial place with Shaft-Structure 4. Each of the male family members were lesser known attendants of the baboon cult of Khonsu in Thebes. Among others, these family members held the following titles: servant of the baboon (*sdm-š p3 jn*), overseer of the servants of the baboon (*hrj sdm š n p3 jn*), overseer of the caretakers of the living baboons (*hrj mnj n jn.w nh.w*), overseer of the wabet (*hrj wcb.t*), priest of Hathor (*wcb n Hw.t-Hr*), and guardian of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep (*s3w.tj n Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp*). Gábor managed to reconstruct the mechanism of the baboon cult in Thebes from the 4th century BCE well up to the Roman Period. In particular, he traced the personnel of the divine animals from the late fourth to the middle second century BC in demotic documents, suggesting that the sacred monkeys of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep had their own priesthood (*jt-ntr, hm-ntr, 3 wcb*), temple personnel (*sdm-š*) and funerary ritualists (*hrj-hb*).<sup>1</sup> Our research, which now deals with another previously overlooked priestly family of Khonsu buried in TT 414, fits well with his results and moreover gives complementary information about the flourishing 4th century BCE beginnings of the Theban baboon cult and of its institutions.

We deeply regret that we cannot share these new insights with Gábor. We hope that the scientific community will appreciate his important contribution to this topic, as well as all his other achievements for Theban archaeology. We will never forget him.

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<sup>1</sup>Schreiber 2020: 104–139. See also Kessler 1989: 178.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The part of the Theban necropolis known as the Asasif is situated directly east of the valley of Deir el-Bahari, one of the great mortuary landscapes of the world. This part of the cemetery flourished during the Late Period (8th to 4th century BCE), a period which is still poorly understood and not systematically studied in Western Thebes.<sup>2</sup> One exception to this lacuna in Theban archaeology is the architecture and decoration of the monumental tombs of the highest officials of the 25th and 26th Dynasties (c. 722–525 BCE), whose mud brick superstructures are still well-preserved and have been the subject of scholarly work since the 19th century.<sup>3</sup> Previous studies have focused on the architectural layout and decoration of these ‘temple tombs’,<sup>4</sup> but little attention has been paid to the objects which were found in them, such as the remains of funerary equipment and pottery.

Austrian excavations directed by Manfred Bietak were undertaken in the eastern part of the Asasif from 1969 to 1977. This work uncovered many small tombs with mud brick superstructures as well as numerous shaft tombs, mostly dating to the Late Period.<sup>5</sup> The major discovery by the Austrian Mission was the monumental tomb of Ankh-Hor (TT 414, Figure 1). This tomb was excavated, then restored and opened to the public in 1982. It was published as a two-volume monograph by Manfred Bietak and Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer, presenting the stratigraphic evidence, the architecture, decoration and the objects found *in situ*.<sup>6</sup> TT 414 was not completely unknown before its (re-)discovery in 1971 because it actually had been entered in the 19th century by agents of British consul Henry Salt, who collected a substantial amount of objects from it, and Richard Lepsius also reported rich findings in the tomb, especially many mummies and coffins, but it was then almost completely forgotten.<sup>7</sup>

Considering the well-preserved conditions of the ‘temple tombs’ in the Asasif and the list of relevant publications from past and on-going excavations,<sup>8</sup> it is striking how little is known about the original contents of the tombs from the 25th and 26th Dynasties. This is due to the repeated robberies and reuse of the monuments in ancient times, while early scholars tended to ignore fragmentary or uninscribed objects from the tombs in favour of their architectural and decorative programmes.<sup>9</sup> The current difficulties in reconstructing an elite burial within one of the temple tombs of Kushite or Saite date are therefore at least partly the result of past Egyptological practice and can be largely resolved by a detailed study of these excavated objects.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aston 2003; Budka 2010a.

<sup>3</sup> For a concise history of the work in the Asasif see Eigner 1984: 18–20; most recently Einaudi 2021: 17–30 with updated references.

<sup>4</sup> On this term, see most recently Budka 2020 with references.

<sup>5</sup> See Budka 2010a with references.

<sup>6</sup> Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978; 1982.

<sup>7</sup> See Eigner 1984: 54–55; Budka 2008: 64–65.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Budka 2010a: 32–38; Gestermann et al. 2021.

<sup>9</sup> The only exception is Graefe 2003 who presents all finds and pottery from TT 196.

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., Wagner 2018; Wagner in press.

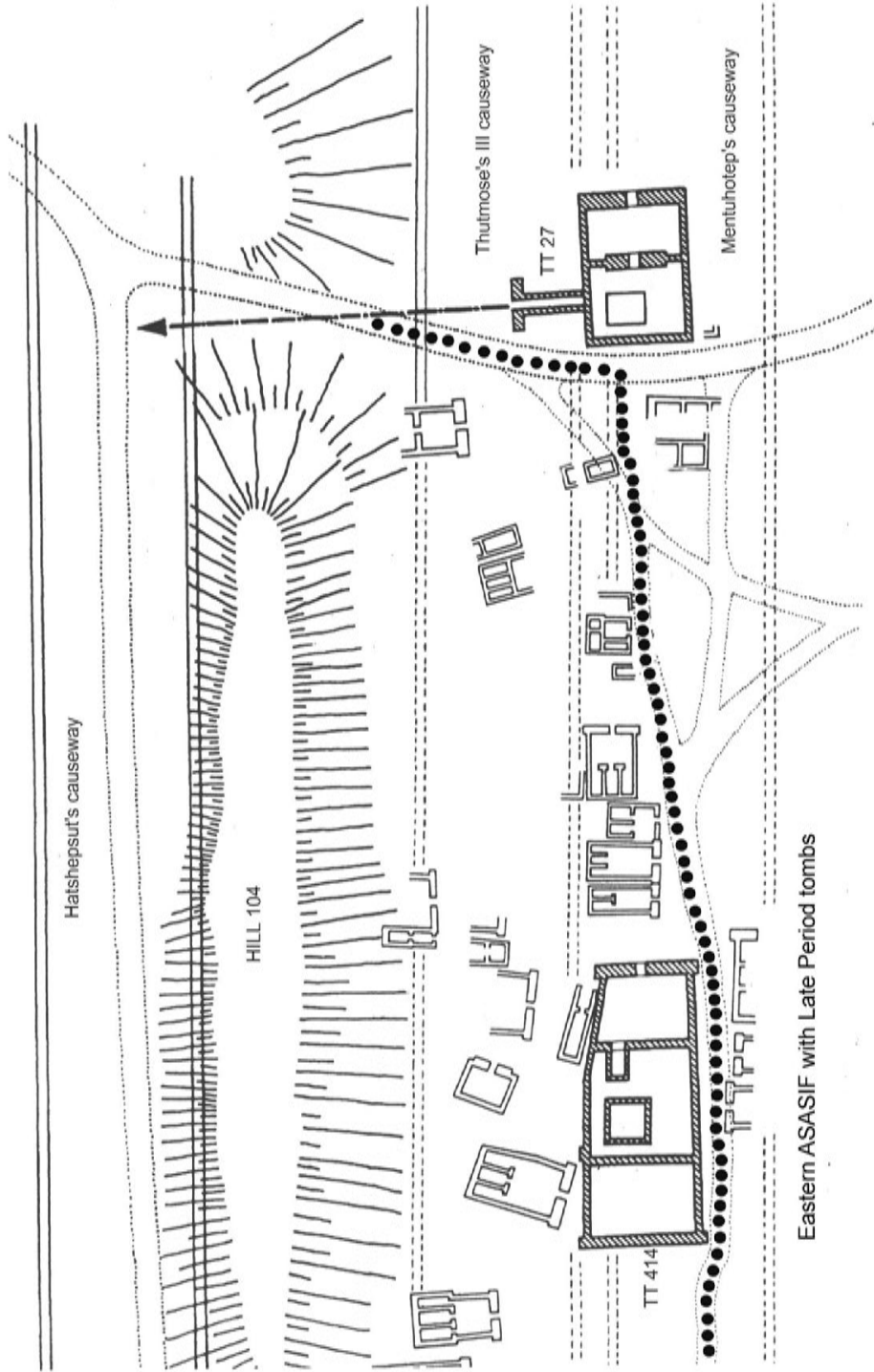


Figure 1. The location of TT 414 in Asasif in relation to the causeways of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III and Mentuhotep. Highlighted are here paths in the necropolis and the exemplary culic axis of TT 27 to illustrate the connection of the temple tombs with the causeway of Hatshepsut. Map: modified after Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978, fig 1.



From TT 414, fragments of the coffin of Ankh-Hor himself have already been published and provide one of the rare examples of a dateable coffin within the period between 600–300 BCE.<sup>11</sup> The coffin set of Ankh-Hor can be securely dated to the reign of Apries based on the dates of his career (c. 590–586 BCE).<sup>12</sup>

The tomb of Ankh-Hor (Figure 2) remained unfinished after his death; it was subsequently modified several times, expanded, destroyed, restored and looted to a large extent. Its general use lasted until late Roman times and has left many archaeological traces.<sup>13</sup>

The frequent reuse of the Asasif temple tombs in the fourth and third centuries BCE is well known, such as the tombs of Harwa, Padihorresnet, Mutirdis, Basa, Ibi and Ankh-Hor.<sup>14</sup> Vast numbers of later coffins, shrines, cartonnage cases, papyri, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues and pottery fragments were found in all these monumental tombs, but once again, few of these finds have been published. The most important so far published intact burial is that of Wahib-Re in TT 414.<sup>15</sup> Since this burial was found *in situ*, it gives a particularly good indication for both the reconstruction and dating of other remains in Thebes and especially those within TT 414 itself.

The rich material from the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE is of especial importance since it attests to a kind of revival or ‘renaissance’ in this period, recalling many aspects of the culture of the 26th Dynasty. This has been much studied in private and royal sculpture, but clearly Theban funerary architecture and burial equipment was also re-used and imitated.<sup>16</sup> This vivid period is still poorly understood and often neglected by Egyptologists,<sup>17</sup> as is the following Roman period, partly due to the lack of published contextualised finds such as the ones from TT 414. The standard reference work of this latter period, Riggs, *The beautiful burial in Roman Egypt* (2005), is, for example, based on objects from publications and museum collections which are often unprovenanced or at least not from documented excavations.<sup>18</sup>

The unpublished finds excavated in TT 414 are currently the focus of the new LMU Ankh-Hor project.<sup>19</sup> The majority of the finds belong to the complex reuse of TT 414 from the 30th Dynasty onwards. This material therefore holds rich potential for understanding funerary customs in the Late Period and the Ptolemaic as well as Roman eras. We know from textual records that in Late Period and Ptolemaic Thebes choachytes were responsible for selecting spacious tombs from earlier periods for new burials for individuals and their families.<sup>20</sup> It is well known that choachytes also chose the abandoned 26th Dynasty tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Taylor 2003: 119; see also Budka 2019: 173–174, fig. 3

<sup>12</sup> The length of Ankh-Hor’s tenure was reduced since new finds found in the South Asasif indicate that he was preceded by a previously unknown high steward, Padibastet (see Graefe 2017: 241–243; Pischikova 2018: 469). Ankh-Hor was not 9–10 years in office as previously thought (Taylor 2003: 99 with references), but probably just 4–5 years; Budka 2019: 173, note 30).

<sup>13</sup> See Budka 2010b; 2010c; 2010d; 2019.

<sup>14</sup> See Aston 2003: 162 with literature; Budka 2010a: 358–364; Budka et al. 2013; Budka and Mekis 2017.

<sup>15</sup> Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1982: 182–220.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Bothmer et al. 1960: *passim* with important additions by Josephson 1997.

<sup>17</sup> See Strudwick 2003: 167.

<sup>18</sup> Riggs 2005.

<sup>19</sup> See Budka 2008; 2009; 2010b; 2015; 2019.

<sup>20</sup> Vleeming 1995: 241–255; Strudwick/Strudwick 1999: 200–202; Aston 2003: 160; Taylor 2010: 228–229; Donker van Heel 2012, *passim*; Redford 2013: 277–285; Budka 2014: 45–53; Donker van Heel 2021a; 2021b.

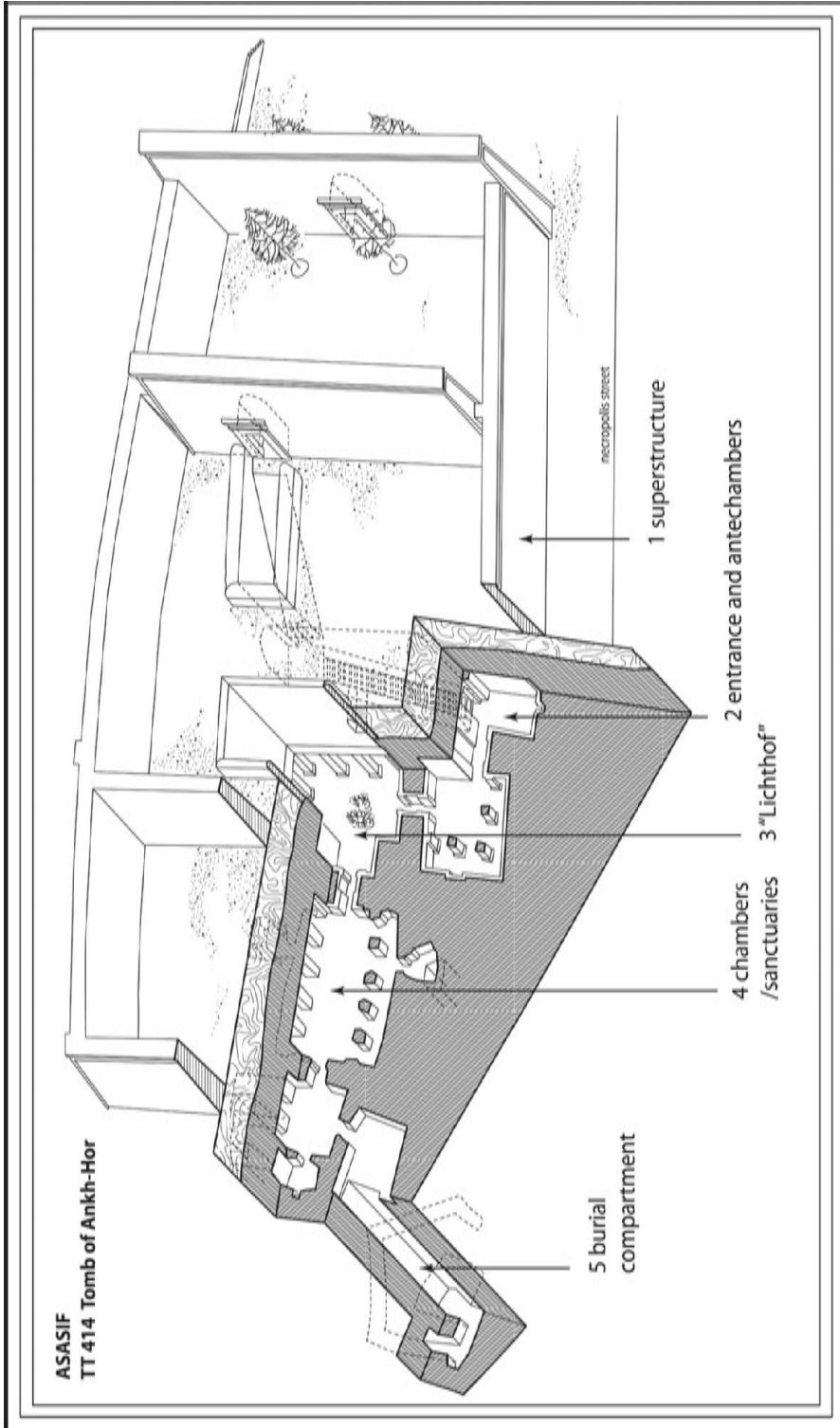


Figure 2. Isometric view of the tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT 414 after Eigner. Graphic: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Hassan Ramadan.

414, for this purpose (Figure 1).<sup>21</sup> A high ranking priest, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy and his descendants were buried in this huge tomb over centuries, from the 30th Dynasty onwards.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, when the Austrian mission started its work in the tomb in 1971, TT 414 proved to have been robbed not only in antiquity but also in more recent times.<sup>23</sup> Only the burial chamber of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy's son Wah-ib-Re I (Room 10.2 of TT 414) escaped the 19th century CE sackings. Other members of his family were not as lucky, and only scattered remains attest to their burials.<sup>24</sup> Well-preserved and moveable parts of their burial equipment (e.g. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues, stelae and boxes) were sent to Europe as part of the great collections of consuls and private collectors.<sup>25</sup> This resulted in a wide distribution of objects from TT 414, especially within the museums of London, Paris and Turin. One of the aims of the LMU Ankh-Hor Project is to match up objects and materials taken from TT 414 and that are now located in international collections.<sup>26</sup>

The following case study illustrates the urgent necessity to combine the study of the finds from TT 414 unearthed during the scientific excavation with so-called secondary sources, objects now stored in museums and collections.

<sup>21</sup> For details of the complex use life of TT 414 see Budka 2008: 61–85. For another example of the reuse of older tombs by choachytes see TT 157 in Dra Abu el-Naga; cf. Strudwick 2003: 171–172 with references.

<sup>22</sup> For the genealogical relations, and for the objects see: Reiser-Haslauer 1982a: 252–256; Reiser-Haslauer 1982b: 267–284; Budka 2008: 69–82; Budka 2010b: 49–66.

<sup>23</sup> See Budka 2008: 64–65; 75.

<sup>24</sup> See Budka 2008: 61–85; Budka 2009: 23–31; Budka 2010a: 82–84; Budka 2010b: 49–66; Budka *et al.* 2013: 209–251.

<sup>25</sup> See Reiser-Haslauer 1982a: 252–256; Budka 2008: 64–65; 75; Lipinska 2008; Budka *et al.* 2013: 209–251; Budka and Mekis 2017; Budka 2019; 2020

<sup>26</sup> See Budka 2008: 64–65 for the history of research of TT 414; cf. also Budka and Mekis 2017.

## Chapter 2

### The case study of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (G108 + G137)

Having established that Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy and his son Wah-ib-Re I re-used TT 414,<sup>27</sup> we can now look at how another branch of the same family (for a reconstruction of the family tree see Figure 26) also did this over several generations. Another son named Hor (G114+115) (i.e., Hor II=III) and his wife Kalutj (G137)<sup>28</sup> beautiful name (*rn=s nfr*) Nes-Khonsu (G108),<sup>29</sup> are represented by a large assemblage of materials which have been newly studied and form the main subject of the present work, presenting new information on the 30th Dynasty and Ptolemaic users of the Asasif necropolis.<sup>30</sup>

The first and most important task is to shed light on the identity of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu. The seemingly easy task of identifying this woman with a rare name on objects originating from the rich TT 414 findings is rather challenging because another woman with the same name and same beautiful name was also buried in TT 414.

This fact had already caused some confusion in 1982, when Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer published the genealogical registers and family tree reconstructions of the family of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy (G66).<sup>31</sup> This family belonged to the priestly elite during the 29–30th Dynasties of Karnak, and among Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy<sup>32</sup> and Irty-eru's sons and daughters we find Pa-kher-Khonsu (G56+57),<sup>33</sup> Hor (G114-5), Wah-ib-re (G42),<sup>34</sup> Iret-Hor-ru (G28), Ta-remetjet-en-Bastet (G146),<sup>35</sup> and a Kalutj with the beautiful name Nes-Khonsu (G105).

The problem concerning Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu arises from the fact that she appears as wife of a priest called Pa-kher-Khonsu (G58) and at the same time as wife of Hor (G114-5), her own brother.<sup>36</sup> This apparent contradiction was already pointed out by Herman De Meulenaere in 1984<sup>37</sup> when he identified the situla British Museum, EA 38212 as the key to solving the issue. However, this object remained unpublished until 1989,<sup>38</sup> although Reiser-Haslauer had already attributed this piece to Hor (G114-5), without a sound autopsy of the situla. De Meulenaere also

<sup>27</sup> Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1982: 252–256; Budka 2008: 69–79; Budka 2013: 41–57; Budka *et al.* 2013: 209–251; Budka and Mekis 2017: 219–239; Budka 2019: 178–182; Perdu 2021: 75–90.

<sup>28</sup> On the name form see De Meulenaere 1955: 143–145 and for its Greek variants: Quaegebeur 1973: 96–97.

<sup>29</sup> See: De Meulenaere 1966: 21, no. 68 and De Meulenaere 2001: 384.

<sup>30</sup> All of the G-numbers used in the following refer to the numbers in the *genealogical* register for TT 414 established by Reiser-Haslauer 1982b.

<sup>31</sup> Reiser-Haslauer 1982a.

<sup>32</sup> Budka 2019: 178–180.

<sup>33</sup> Owner of, among other objects, coffin Reg. No. 664. This coffin is a rare example of Theban coffins showing the Lamentations excerpt, see Kucharek and Coenen 2021: 130–133, incl. a discussion of the owner and his titles.

<sup>34</sup> Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1982: 183–220; on his family see: Budka and Mekis 2017.

<sup>35</sup> Budka 2013: 41–57; read as Ta-sherit-Bastet by Reiser-Haslauer 1982a: 282 (G 146).

<sup>36</sup> Reiser-Haslauer 1982a, 253 and most recently Gill 2019b: 106, where she proposed a double incestuous marriage with her brothers Hor and Pa-kher-Khonsu.

<sup>37</sup> De Meulenaere 1984: 238–241; the same problem was addressed by M. Bierbrier (Bierbrier 1987: 37).

<sup>38</sup> Seipel 1989: 339, cat. no. 515.



Figure 3. Newly identified coffin fragment K07/207 attesting a previously unknown father of a Kalutj, Pa-sherit-mehyt. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Cajetan Geiger.

studied the situla only by means of a copy of the texts made by I.E.S. Edwards.<sup>39</sup> The texts of the situla clarify that the name of the mother of Hor's wife, Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu, is Ta-khabes.

Consequently, the only explanation is that there are two women associated with the objects found in TT 414 who carry the same name:

1. Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (G105), daughter of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy and Irty-eru who is Hor's sister;
2. Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (G108+G137), daughter of Ta-khabes and so far an unknown individual, who is indeed Hor's wife.

To complicate this situation, Julia Budka identified a previously undocumented coffin fragment during the 2021 season of the LMU Ankh-Hor Project in September 2021 with a short fragmentary inscription wherein a sistrum player of Amun-Re, Kalutj, is mentioned whose father is named as god's father Pa-sheri-Mehyt (Figure 3).<sup>40</sup> The mother's name is unfortunately not preserved on the piece and it neither belongs to coffin Reg. No. 683 nor to Reg. No. 699 attributed to Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (G108+G137). This new find raises the possibility that the names of the parents of Nes-Khonsu/Kalutj (wife of Hor) were Ta-khabes and the newly indentified Pa-sheri-Mehyt. However, this assumption could only be confirmed or refuted if the mother's name is attested as well. Up to then we must introduce a third Kalutj, known only from this recently identified fragment from an inner anthropoid painted coffin (find number K07/207) whose father is called Pa-sheri-Mehyt.

In the following, we are going to introduce the family of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu and shed light on the identity of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu's (G108+137) possible parents and their family.

<sup>39</sup> De Meulenaere 1984: 239, n. 3 « Lecture empruntée à un frottis de l'inscription, aimablement communiqué par I.E.S. Edwards et confirmé par M.L. Bierbrier que je remercie de son amabilité. »

<sup>40</sup> *PN I*, 118, 24, XXII; *PN II*, 355; *TM nam* 956; *DN I*, 250. Among the so far Theban occurrences of this name, just few cases could possibly represent the newly identified god's father Pa-sheri-Mehyt from TT 414: Graffiti Medinet Habu no. 236, 6 and 28 (Thissen 1989: 146–148); no. 237, 4 (Thissen 1989: 148–150); see also O. Leiden no. 372, 3 (father) (Nur El-Din 1974: 294–295).

THE FAMILY OF PA-DI-AMUN-NEB- NESUT-TAWY FROM THEBES (TT 414)

Secondary sources			
Doc. 1	Striding statue with offering table of Hor	San Jose, Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, RC-1643	
Doc. 2	Situla of Hor	London, British Museum EA 38212	
Doc. 3	Funerary stela of Nes-Khonsu, daughter of Ta-khabes and Wesir-wer	Paris, Musée Rodin, inv. no. 5779 (Previously Louvre, E 15565)	
Doc. 4	Stela of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II	London, British Museum EA 8462	
Doc. 5	Two corner posts of the <i>qrs</i> w-coffin of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II	London, British Museum EA 6945 and 6	
Doc. 6	Stela of Wesir-wer	Turin, Museo Egizio, P 3610	
Doc. 7	Striding statue of Djed-her	Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37357	
Doc. 8	Funerary papyri of Djed-her	Turin, Museo Egizio, cat. no. 1845 + CGT 54047; London, British Museum EA 10317	
Doc. 9	Canopic chest of Djed-her	London, British Museum EA 8537	
Doc. 10	Book of the Dead papyrus of Djed-her	Turin, Museo Egizio, cat. no. 1830	
Doc. 11	Funerary papyrus of Pa-kher-Khonsu	London, British Museum EA 10319	
Doc. 12	Book of the Dead papyrus of Pa-kher-Khonsu	Turin, Museo Egizio, cat. no. 1832	
Doc. 13	Cube statue of Pa-kher-Khonsu	Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 38592	
Doc. 14	Mummy bandages of Ta-sherit-Min	Paris, E18865 + 27459 + AF 11954 (X. 25) +11956 (X. 24)	
Primary sources			
Doc. 15a	Inner anthropoid coffin of Hor	Reg. No. 414b	TT 414, Room 2
Doc. 15b	Outer anthropoid coffin of Hor	Reg. No. 515	TT 414, Room 4
Doc. 15c	A corner post of the <i>qrs</i> w-coffin of Hor	Reg. No. 790	TT 414, Room 7/1,2
Doc. 16a and 16b	Outer anthropoid coffin of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu	Reg. Nos 683 + 699	TT 414, Room 7/1,2
Doc. 17	Inner anthropoid coffin of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II	Reg. No. 672	TT 414, Room 7/1,2
Doc. 18	Canopic chest of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II	Reg. No. 556	TT 414, Room 7/1,2
Doc. 19	Ushebti figurines of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II	Reg. Nos 642 + 643	TT 414, Room 7/2
Doc. 20	Outer anthropoid coffin of Djed-her	Reg. No. 767	TT 414, Room 7/1,2
Doc. 21	Outer anthropoid coffin of Wesir-wer	Reg. No. 778	TT 414, Room 7/1,2
Doc. 22	Mummy bandages of Ta-sherit-Min	Reg. No. 545	TT 414, Room 9, shaft

Table 1. List of secondary and primary sources

In order to support our argument, we start this discussion of relevant documents with the secondary sources from TT 414 now stored in various museums and collections.

## Chapter 3

# Secondary sources related to the family of Kalutj/ Nes-Khonsu (G108+G137)

### 3.1 Doc. 1 Striding statue of Hor presenting an offering table<sup>41</sup>

(San Jose, Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, RC-1643)<sup>42</sup> (Figures 4a–d)

Searching for the sons of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu we came across a reference in the Karnak Cachette database mentioning the statue RC-1643.<sup>43</sup> This statue was unpublished, although Bernard Bothmer mentioned it as an analogy to the famous Dattari statue (New York, The Brooklyn Museum 52.89).<sup>44</sup> Where the statue was found is unknown, but its inscriptions link it to Karnak.<sup>45</sup> Hor wears a curly valanced wig, which was a fashionable coiffure during the early part of the 26th Dynasty. According to Bothmer, this period provided significant inspiration for early Nectanebid sculpture.<sup>46</sup> A circular shaped earring protrudes from under the wig. The face is characteristic: the eyes are almond-shaped and the brows are naturalistic. The nose has a slight curvature; the cheeks and the lips are full as well as showing a nascent smile. The chin protudes, and the torso shows characteristic tripartite modelling.<sup>47</sup> Originally located above the bent lower arms was an offering table that is now badly damaged with only its left side corner preserved. The table was supported by an elongated platform that merges with the left striding leg. Below the offering table it can be seen that Hor wears a *shendit*-kilt. Unfortunately, a piece from the lower leg is now missing. The feet, together with the socle of the statue, have survived; the latter is uninscribed. On the obelisk-like back pillar, two columns of text were inscribed under an elongated sky-sign, and the pyramidon of the obelisk was left undecorated:



1. *Wtz jm3h hr Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp Hr nb 3w.t-jb m Jp.t-s.wt Šw wr z3 sms(.w) R<sup>ca</sup> dj=f pr nb hr wdḥ=f hrw nb n k3 šn m s.t ḥn.t=f dj n=t<sup>b</sup> hrw nb m [...]*
2. *jt-ntr ḥm-ntr Jmn m Jp.-s.wt s3h-wd3.t<sup>c</sup> ḥm-ntr Wsjr Js.t Nb.t-ḥw.t<sup>d</sup> ḥm-ntr Jmn Sbk n ḥw.t-ntr n Gsj<sup>e</sup> zh3 md3.(w)t ntr(.jwṯ) n Hr-wr nb Šm<sup>c</sup>.w<sup>f</sup> ḥm ntr<sup>g</sup> n pr n Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp Hr<sup>48</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw z3 mj nn P3-dj-[Jmn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wj...]*

<sup>41</sup> The type of a striding statue with an offering table is rare in the period. PM VIII (3), 796, 801-736-700. (<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/3pm8sta4.pdf> last accessed 20.03.2021).

<sup>42</sup> The statue is made of diorite and its measurements are 89.4 x 29.4 x 27.8 cm.

<sup>43</sup> <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck657> (last accessed 20.03.2021).

<sup>44</sup> Bothmer *et al.* 1960: 101.

<sup>45</sup> The statue was part of the collection of the famous tradesman, elder Andraos Bishara, who settled in Luxor in the late 1880s (Weens 2014: 26). The statue was sold by his son André Yassa Andraos in 1957 to the Rosicrucian Order, verified by É. Drioton.

<sup>46</sup> Bothmer *et al.* 1960: *passim*. See also Josephson 1997 (with different datings for several statues).

<sup>47</sup> See Bothmer *et al.* 1960: 101–102; Bianchi 1988: 69–70.

<sup>48</sup> PN I, 245,18; PN II, 377; DN I, 786–788, TM Nam 356; TM Per 60435.





Figure 4a. Striding statue with offering table of Hor in restored state (about 1971) – side view. Photo: © Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California, RC-1643.

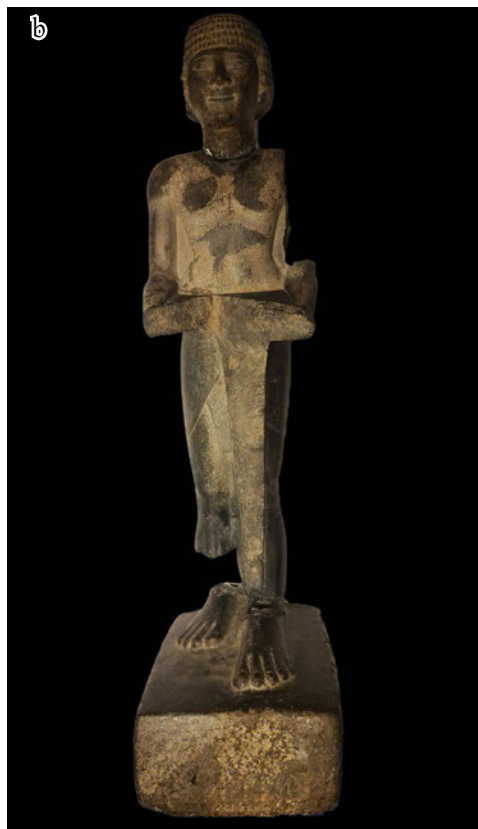


Figure 4b. Striding statue with offering table of Hor in present state – frontal view. Photo: © Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California, RC-1643.

1. The extolled and devoted of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep – Horus, lord of joy in Karnak – Shu, the great, the elder son of Re. May he give all that comes from his altar every day to the *Ka* of the inspector of his service of offerings in the course of each day in [...]
2. god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, *sakh-wedjat*, prophet of Osiris, Isis and Nephthys, prophet of Amun-Sobek of the temple of Qus, scribe of the divine scroll(s) of the elder Horus, lord of Upper Egypt, prophet and chief of the temple of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep, Hor, true-of-voice, son of the like-titled Pa-di-[Amun-neb-nesut-tawy...]

### Commentary

- a. The text invokes three gods: Khonsu, Horus and Shu; however the text continues in the third person singular. This may be explained by the fact that Khonsu was identified in the Benenet (precinct of Khonsu in Karnak) with the two other gods – see 'Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep – Horus, lord of joy' (LGG III, 559–560 and specially 561). This

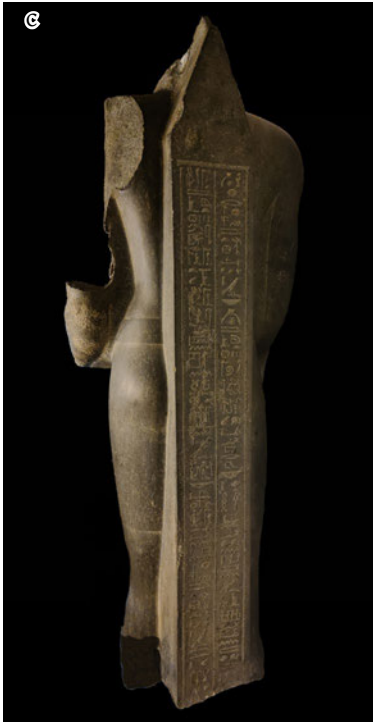


Figure 4c. Striding statue with offering table of Hor in present state – rear view. Photo: © Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California, RC-1643.



Figure 4d. Head of the striding statue with offering table of Hor – side view. Photo: © Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum, San Jose, California, RC-1643.

identification may also explain why Hathor appears in the Benenet as consort of Khonsu, and not of Horus (for another explication see Klotz 2008: 158–160 = Klotz 2012: 118–119). ‘Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep – Shu, the great, elder son of Re’ is attested in the daily offering ritual when this god visited Djeme and the tomb of his ancestors to honour them with food offerings (see Klotz 2008: 140–150 = Klotz 2012: 101–109).

- b. Literally ‘inspector on the place to where his libation vases (WB III, 301,12) are placed.’ For the translation of *sn* see De Meulenaere 1986: 136, commentary a.
- c. See Budka *et al.* 2013: 212, fn. 18.
- d. Probably the sign group  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$  may be interpreted as an abbreviated scribal form in which the names of the sisters Isis and Nephthys are merged.
- e. Amun-Sobek of the temple of Qus. The common aspect of these two gods may be identified in the ninth *Ba* of Amun that is crocodile-headed and wears the red crown, ‘living *Ba* who comes from the *nt*-waters’, for a discussion see: Klotz 2003: 40–47.
- f. The elder Horus, lord of Upper Egypt (*LGG* III, 778). The cult of the elder Horus may be linked also to Qus. For the strong attachment of Hor’s family to the gods of Qus see a possible interpretation in footnote 67.

### 3.2 Doc. 2 The situla of Hor

(London, British Museum, EA 38212)<sup>49</sup>

Though this object was included in several exhibitions all over the world,<sup>50</sup> its text remained unpublished.<sup>51</sup> The bronze situla came into the possession of the British Museum in 1835 from the third collection of Henry Salt.<sup>52</sup> The ‘libation vase’ belongs to Lichtheim’s Type I group of tubular vessels with rounded base where the decoration is engraved and covers the major part of the surface.<sup>53</sup> In this case the decoration encircles the body of the vessel. Below the rim, two horizontal lines of text list the titles and filiation of the owner Hor and his parents. Below these lines lies the main decorative panel with a double scene (Figure 5a) representing standardized scenes of Late Period situlae: the deceased/owner of the situla is shown offering to Osiris, Horus, Isis and Nephthys (Figures 5c–d) while in another scene his son Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy is shown offering a libation (accompanied by the cool water formula)<sup>54</sup> to the deceased and his wife (Hor and Kalutj respectively, see Figures 5b, c and e). Below the main panel a single line of text runs again with the filiation and the titles.<sup>55</sup>

The lower hemisphere of the situla shows a floral design of flowering lotuses: three smaller flowers are combined with one large one.

The British Museum also has the situla of Hor’s father Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy (EA 38214) and on that vessel it is Hor’s older brother Pa-kher-Khonsu II (G56) who is offering a libation to his father and burns incense in front of him. There is an interesting feature of this scene on Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy’s situla, because the stone libation altar is also depicted. Possibly this altar was found *in situ* in 1972 during the cleaning of the *Lichthof* of TT 414 (Reg. No. 593).<sup>56</sup> Next to this altar a sandstone basin<sup>57</sup> used for libation offerings was found.<sup>58</sup> On the situla of Hor, EA 38212, rich vegetation is depicted around the offering table, possibly reflecting the plant beds (*Pflanzenbeete*) documented in the *Lichthof* of TT 414.<sup>59</sup> Budka has proposed that the use of this complete set of evidence may allow one to reconstruct the cultic events during the daily ritual and during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley.<sup>60</sup> Of course this remains hypothetical, but maybe these bronze situlae were placed in TT 414 when the relatives died and the mortuary

<sup>49</sup> Measurements: 60 cm with handle upright, 37.5 cm without the handle; largest diameter: 23 cm; 5.6 kg.

<sup>50</sup> Seipel 1989: 339, cat. no. 515; Donatelli 1990: 173–174, cat. no. 120; Anderson and Shimbun 1999: 140, 215–216, cat. no. 145; Perdu 2012: 126–127, cat. no. 50.

<sup>51</sup> In its last publication G. Schreiber just focused on the titles of the owner, Hor, see Schreiber 2020: 106–110, figs. 36a–d.

<sup>52</sup> Seipel 1989: 339, cat. no. 515; most recently see Perdu 2012: 126–127, cat. no. 50.

<sup>53</sup> Lichtheim 1947: 174–175. Evrard-Derrinks and Quaegebeur 1979: 26–56, cf. 40–53.

<sup>54</sup> For studies of the text see Evrard-Derrinks and Quaegebeur 1979: 26–56, cf. 51–53; Perdu 1993: 16–21, pls. 1–3, cf. 19–20.

<sup>55</sup> For a similar item, see the situla found in Armant, now in Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1932.32. Mond and Myers 1934 (1): 37, 98–99, 105, 114; (2): 22; (3): pls. LXXXIV, 4, LXXXV and CLXI.

<sup>56</sup> Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978: 144, fig. 58; 146–147, fig. 60; Budka 2009b: 80–87; Budka 2016: 171–200.

<sup>57</sup> L 54 x W 38 x H 28 cm. Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1978: 149 and 151, no. 5.

<sup>58</sup> Clère 1982: 81–87, cf. 85–86.

<sup>59</sup> Coppens 2014: 344–346.

<sup>60</sup> Budka 2008: 82–84; Budka 2009: 80–82; Budka 2010b: 53–63; Budka 2014: 53. On the cultic importance of the vessels during the Decade feast see Bommas 2005: 257–272. M. Cannata tends to identify the *Lichthof* with the *w<sup>c</sup>b.t*, where the mortuary cult was performed (Cannata 2020: 216–217.)

cult of the deceased stopped. The objects would then have been unearthed in the 19th century by Salt's agents.<sup>61</sup>

The texts of the situla

First line of the upper edge:



*jt-ntr hm-ntr n Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt s3h-wd3.t zh3 B<sup>a</sup> n pr-Jmn s3 3 s3 2 nw zh3 B n pr-Mw.t-wr.t nb(.t) Jšrw hm-ntr Wsjr Js.t Nb.t-hw.t<sup>b</sup> hm-ntr Sbk<sup>c</sup> hm-ntr Hr ?<sup>d</sup> hm-ntr Nh.t-Hr-hbj p3 bjk n hw.t-ntr n Gsj<sup>e</sup>*

God's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, *sakh-wedjat*, scribe of the *B*-archive of the temple of Amun in the second and third phyle, scribe of the *B*-archive of the temple of Mut, the great, mistress of Isheru, prophet of Osiris, Isis and Nephthys (?), prophet of Sobek, prophet of Hor (?), prophet of the pharaoh Nekhet-Hor-heby, the Falcon of the temple of Qus,

Second line of the upper edge:



Figure 5a. 'Guide' to the decoration of Hor's situla (drawing of Tamás Mekis).

<sup>61</sup> Such situlae found in controlled excavations are rare in Thebes. In 1906, H. Gauthier and É. Chassinat found one (Paris, Louvre, E 12658) in a debris situation in Dra Abu el-Naga in the valley Khawi el-Alamat (PM 1.2, 607), 'We discovered it, on 28 February, lying with the opening facing the excavator, in the middle of debris originating from a tomb already opened and looted, on the middle level of the southern slope of the amphitheatre-like valley. [...] It had been forgotten by the thieves following some little-known incident, or perhaps simply escaped their research?' Gauthier 1908: 121–164, cf. 145–146, pls. III–IV; Anzalone 1981: 292–3, cat. no. 321. Another example Cairo, EM, JE 33468 = SR 2/13442 = TR 17.12.22.2 was found in the debris during the cleaning a shaft in the territory of TT 11 and 12 in southern Dra Abu el-Naga by the Marquis of Northampton (PM 1.2, 608), Compton *et al.* 1908: 17–18, fig. 18.

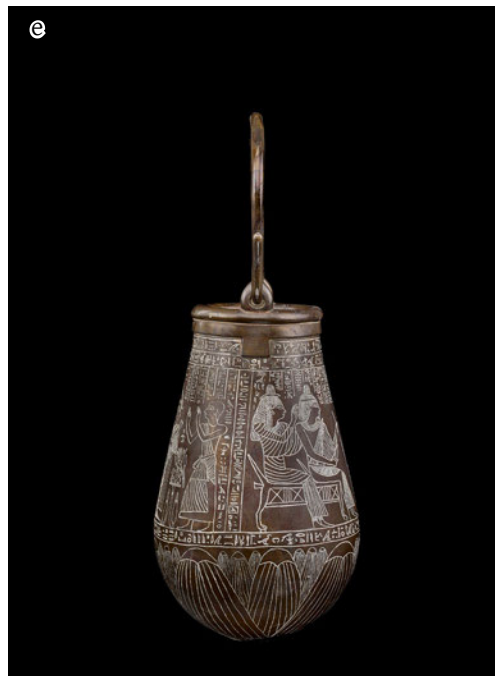
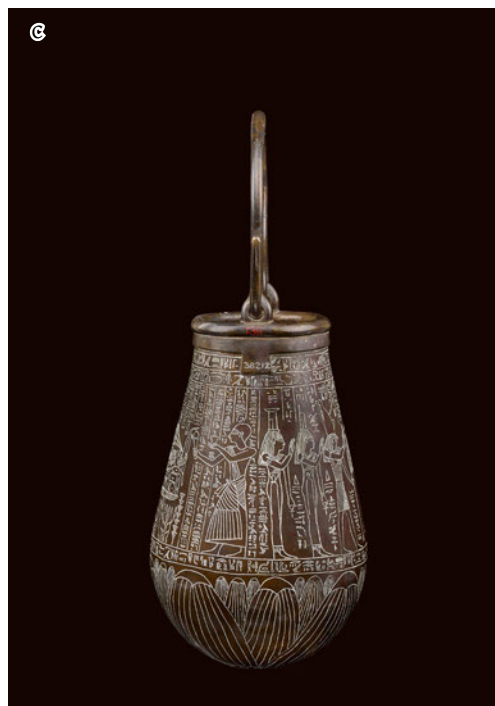


Figure 5b-e. Situla of Hor – London, BM, EA 38212. Photos: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

w<sup>c</sup>b Hnsw-Šw<sup>f</sup> jmj-st-<sup>g</sup> zh<sup>3</sup> B n pr Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp hm-ntr Hnsw nb df<sup>3</sup>.w<sup>h</sup> zh<sup>3</sup> pr-hd n p<sup>3</sup>-j<sup>c</sup>n<sup>i</sup> hrj B bsn.t n pr-Jmn hm-ntr n n<sup>3</sup> twt.w n pr-<sup>g</sup> n hwt-ntr n Gsp<sup>i</sup> <sup>g</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b n Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp <sup>g</sup>-w<sup>c</sup>b n Hnsw-Dhwtj-wn-nhwj<sup>k</sup> Hnsw-Dhwtj-p<sup>3</sup>-jrj-shrw<sup>l</sup>

purifying priest of Khonsu-Shu, priest on duty, scribe of the B-archive of the temple of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep, prophet of Khonsu, lord of provisions, scribe of the treasury of the Baboon, chief of jewellers of the temple of Amun, prophet of the statues of the pharaoh of the temple of Qus, the great purifying priest of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep, great purifying priest of Khonsu-Thoth-wen-nekhu, great purifying priest of Khonsu-Thoth-pa-ir-sekher.

The lower edge:



hm-ntr n Wsjr n p<sup>3</sup> sb<sup>3</sup> hrj.w<sup>m</sup> hm-ntr n n<sup>3</sup> j<sup>c</sup>n.w <sup>c</sup>nh.w<sup>n</sup> <sup>g</sup> n pr n Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp<sup>o</sup> Hr m<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup>-hrw r-gs <sup>c</sup>rk-hh<sup>62</sup> z<sup>3</sup> jt-ntr hm-ntr n Jmn m Jp.t-sw.t P<sup>3</sup>-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-B.wj<sup>63</sup> m<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup>-hrw hr n<sup>3</sup> nb.w dw<sup>3</sup>.tjw jr.t n jhj.t n Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> špsj.ḥ<sup>p</sup> Jr.tj-r=w<sup>64</sup> m<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup>-hrw d.t hh

Prophet of Osiris of the upper gate, prophet of the living baboons, chief of the temple of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep, Hor, true-of-voice, besides the sepulchre of Osiris, son of the god's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, true-of-voice, under rule of the lords of the ones of the netherworld born to the sistrum player of Amun-Re, the noble Irty-eru, true-of-voice, for ever and ever.

**Commentary**

- a. For the bibliography on this title see: Jansen-Winkeln 2001: 17, comment 2 and Klotz 2009: 120, fn. 165. We accept Ph. Collombert's interpretation about the scribe-Bj being an official who had access to manuscripts (archives, etc.) held in a chest for manuscripts (Bj-drf), Collombert 1997: 20–21, comment d).
- b. The reading of the ideographic depiction of the three gods, as Osiris, Isis and Nephthys is tentative, though the titles indicated on Doc.1 strongly support this.
- c. H. De Meulenaere supposed that Sobek of Qus may have had his own cult in the precinct of the Khonsu-temple of Karnak (De Meulenaere 1960: 102–103). D. Kessler proposed that Hor took care of the city god of Qus in the Karnak temple on the occasion of the procession of the annual festivals (Kessler 1989: 171 and 179). The sanctuary of the god of Qus in Karnak has not yet been identified, but priests of Sobek may have officiated in East Karnak, where the crocodile catacombs are found in association with the cult of

<sup>62</sup> LGG II, 180–181; Chassinat 1966: 253–260.  
<sup>63</sup> PN I, 122.6; PN II, 284.10; DN I, 284–285 and 525; TM Nam 364, TM Per 60256.  
<sup>64</sup> PN I, 42, 10; PN II, 266.7; DN I, 70 and 87; TM Nam 15947, TM Per 61239.

Osiris.<sup>65</sup> See Kockelmann 2011: 88. The cult of Sobek of Qus continued from generation to generation in the titles of the descendants of Hor. The title is attested in the family at least to the end of the third century BCE,<sup>66</sup> while in other sources it may be detected well up to the late Ptolemaic times in Karnak (De Meulenaere and Bothmer 1974: 110, commentary b). On the cult of Sobek who resides in Qus, temple inscriptions of Kom Ombo give some further details: ‘Sobek lord of Upper Egypt, great god, lord of Qus, is Khenty-en-irty in his real form.’ (*Sbk nb Šmꜥw ntr ꜥꜣ nb Gsj Hntj-n-jr.tj m jrꜣ=f mꜣꜥ*) (KO 61, 7–8) Gutbub 1973: 467, and 479–480 commentary ‘m’ – according to A. Gutbub Sobek assimilates to the elder Horus of Qus. Leitz also sees the cult of Sobek in Qus as related to the god’s relation to the elder Horus (Leitz 2010: 335, commentary to RZ. 329). For a summary see Kockelmann 2017 (2): 330, 333.

- d. A god is depicted as an A40 ideogram, its identification as Horus is tentative and based on the mention of the gods of Qus. See note ‘e’. Hor’s father Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy (G66) was a scribe of the treasury of the two temples of the elder Horus, lord of Qus (*zhꜣ pr hꜣ pr.wj n Hr-wr nb Gsj*). See Reiser-Haslauer 1982b, 274,<sup>67</sup> see also Doc. 1 where one further title links him to the elder Horus.
- e. H. De Meulenaere came to the conclusion that the cult of Nectanebo II was strongly connected to the temple of Khonsu based on two documents naming priests who were also chiefs of the domain of the Khonsu-temple.<sup>68</sup> Recent research, however, indicates that the cult of Nectanebo II maybe took place in East Karnak. See note ‘j’. On the inscriptions of the surviving pylons of the temple of Haroeris and Heqet in Qus Khonsu-Thoth appears as *Hnsw-Dhwtj hrj-jb Gsj.t* (Kamal 1902: 215–235, cf. 228 and 234). Thus, a reciprocity can be proposed: Theban gods may have had their own cults in Qus and vice-versa. See also Kessler 1989: 179–180 and Doc. 1. where Hor appears as the prophet of Amun-Sobek of the temple of Qus.
- f. The form of Khonsu as Khonsu-Shu participated in the daily procession when this god visited the primeval mound of Djeme, the tomb of Kematef and the Ogdoad to present food offerings to his ancestors. For details see: Traunecker 1982, 339–354; Herbin 1994, 145–146, III, 1 and 2; for a summary of our knowledge of the cultic events see: Klotz 2008: 140–150 = Klotz 2012: 101–109. For the dossier of another prophet of Khonsu-Shu


<sup>65</sup> Kessler supposed that near to the temple of Qus there may have been a breeding place of the crocodiles which covered the supply among others of the Theben cult of Sobek since the crocodile god in the temple of Amun in Karnak was called ‘Sobek of Qus in Thebes’. Kessler suggested that the mummies placed in the catacomb of Akh-menu are processional crocodiles with the function of ‘transferring Osiris-Sobek’ to his solar apotheosis (becoming Sobek-Re), which took place in the Horizon palace of the Akh-menu. Besides the mummy deposit of the Akh-menu, on the west bank of Thebes, in Djeme stood a Suchieion (*hw.t Sbk*) in Ptolemaic times. Surely the crocodile cemetery which once was located at the entrance of the Asasif close to Dra Abu el-Naga served as the burial place of different Sobek cults of Thebes. For further details see Kessler 1989: 170–171 and recently Kockelmann 2011: 88–89.

<sup>66</sup> Reiser-Haslauer 1982b: 280. *Hr-pꜣ-bjk* (G126) was probably the latest descendant of Hor who was *hꜣtj-ꜥ Sbk m Gsj* and *hm-ntr Sbk hrj-jb Gsj*.

<sup>67</sup> The relationship of the family of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I to the gods of Qus (Gesj) may not be accidental. We accept David Klotz’s idea that during the First Persian Period (27th Dynasty) priests and craftsmen were moved from Thebes and were consequently employed in other places like at the temple of Hibis at Kharga oasis (Klotz 2003: 8–9). In line with this, maybe the ancestors of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I moved to Qus and returned to Thebes during the Nectanebid period, bringing the cult of the gods of Gesj with them.

<sup>68</sup> De Meulenaere 1960: 103, commentary 3). On the cult of Nectanebo II, the falcon see also: Yoyotte 1959: 70–74, Gorre 2009: 55–69 and Forgeau 2018: 263.

(possibly right after the death of Hor) see that of Hor-nofer (Wild 1954: 215–216). Hor-nofer was also a prophet of Khonsu-pa-ir-sekher (Wild 1954: 182–183).

- g. See Jansen-Winkel 2001: 55, comment 6.
- h. To our knowledge there are no further attestations of this form of Khonsu (LGG III, 794, 11). It may be related to the Khonsu-Shu form who is known as the one who performed a food offering at Medinet Habu. See: Goyon 2004: 310, § VII (P.Cairo CG 58009) and Hor's title on his statue (Doc. 1, commentary b).
- i. This title of Hor again bears importance since it shows that for keeping the divine animal of Khonsu, the baboon represented a separate economic unit within the temple of Khonsu. See: Posener 1969: 378 and Schreiber 2020: 109. D. Kessler even supposed that it was king Nectanebo II who donated a fund to the sacred animal of Khonsu, Kessler 1989: 179 and 232–33, most recently on the animal cults during the time of the Nectanebos see Forgeau 2018: 246–248.
- j. For the reading of sign  (V10) as *pr-ʿ3* see: De Meulenaere 1960: 97, fn. 6. H. De Meulenaere came to the conclusion that the statues of Nectanebo II may have stood in the temple of Khonsu on the basis of two further documents (statues Cairo, JE 37075 and JE 37140) where the priest-owners were also priests of Nectanebo and of the Khonsu-temple. L. Coulon suggests that the statues of the sovereign may have been in relation to the cult of Osiris all over Egypt and thus they may have stood in one of the sanctuaries in the eastern sector of Karnak where these types can be found (Coulon 2006: 15–16, based on a text from the temple of Dendara).
- k. The two apes are two emanations of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep. Khonsu-wen-nekhu is an *wpw*-ape, who came from the eye of Atum (Clère 1961: pl. 9, Posener 1970: 393–394), manifesting sight in the texts of Bab el-Amara. There was certainly a cult for Khonsu-wen-nekhu from the Ramesside Period in Thebes (see Helck 1961: 68, Gardiner 1968: 68, line 8. and Posener 1968: 404–407); for further details with bibliography see: Klotz 2008: 130–132 = Klotz 2012: 95–98. In the 22nd Dynasty oracular papyrus P.BM EA 10083, rt., 1–5<sup>69</sup> we read that '[...] [Khonsu]-wen-nekhu and Khonsu-pa-ir-sekher, those two great baboons who rest on the right and left of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep and who are (5) those who issue the book of death and life.' Edwards 1960: 1–2. Another papyrus (Turin 1983, rt. 53–57 Edwards 1960: 53, pl. XIX) mentions 'We shall keep her safe from Khonsu-wen-nekhu and Khonsu-pa-ir-sekher, the two baboons whose seat is in Per-nefer, who rest on the right and left of Khonsu and who issue books for putting to death and causing to live.' The book of death and life may be interpreted as a type of 'book of fate' which is administered by the two baboons as actuaries of Khonsu (in Thebes Nefer-hotep) and which contains unpleasant facts about people's fates and especially the date of their deaths (Brunner 1988: 14–19; Peust 2008: 327, fn. 16). These 22nd Dynasty papyri anticipate the Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic role of the two emanations in Khonsu's oracular ceremonies.

<sup>69</sup> Besides BM EA 10083 there are six further papyri where these two emanations are mentioned: BM EA 10587, rt. 65–66, Turin 1983, rt. 53–54, 1984, vs. 86–87, Berlin 10462, rt. 54–55, Louvre E 25354, rt. 88–90 see Edwards 1960.



- l. Khonsu-pa-ir-sekher (Χεσπισιχις)<sup>70</sup> is a *kfdnw*-monkey (Montet 1952: pls. III–IV), who came from the ear of Re (Clère 1961: pl. 9; Posener 1970: 393–394), manifesting hearing in the texts of the Bab el-Amara. Khonsu-pa-ir-sekher appears as a parallel to Khonsu-wen-nekhu, though recent research in Karnak has pointed out that this emanation of Khonsu also had its own cult from the time of the New Kingdom (Posener 1967: 343–349, cf. 349) up to the Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic periods in the territory of Karnak, specifically a sanctuary and a sanatorium east of the enclosure wall of Karnak (Temple C of D.B. Redford<sup>71</sup>) see Posener 1970: 391–392, Thiers 2003: 594–596 and Gee 2010: 129–145. The Bentresh stela (Louvre C. 284 – PM II, 254) may once have stood in the temple of Khonsu-pa-ir-sekher. The aretology supports the healing popularity of this god, who expels various demons (*h3.tjw* and *sm3j.w*), and hinders spirits (*3h.w*) and ghosts (*mt.w*), see Clère 1961: pl. 27, Klotz 2008: 130–135 = Klotz 2012: 97–98 and Ryholt 2013: 59–78. For the healing of Ptolemy II Philadelphos by this god, see *Urk.* II, 2, 108, 22 (altar, Lyon, MBA, E 501.1742). The sacred monkeys treated in Karnak were not distinguished according to being either the emanations of Khonsu or of Thoth; rather it seems that the two gods were united in a Khonsu-Thoth form in the Khonsu temple, as the title of Hor demonstrates.<sup>72</sup> For priests of the god, see: Posener 1967: 349 (Ramesside); Posener 1969: 375–379 (Third Intermediate Period to Ptolemaic); Wild 1954: 182–183, comment 13; Traunecker 1998: 1198, comment d and P. Louvre N 3063 (Déveria 1874: 110 (III, 80)); members of the Ankh-ef-en-Khonsu family (middle to late Ptolemaic Period) see most recently Gee 2010: 138–142; Coenen 2011: 57–72 and Birk 2020: 305–307).
- m. ‘Osiris of the upper gate’: L. Coulon identifies the upper gate with the eastern gate of Nectanebo I in the vicinity of the necropolis of the Coptite Osiris. Coulon 2006: 15, fn. 33. For the topography of the area see Leclère 2010: 239–268, cf. 252–254.
- n. The living baboons are the images of the god, including the sacred animals of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep and his various emanations. The living baboons were kept in the precinct of Benenet, maybe on the basis of a fund set up by Nectanebo II with Hor as one of the first priests. The animals were probably trained to participate in, for example the oracular ritual. The gate of Ptolemy III Euergetes (*r.w.t dj M3<sup>c</sup>.t*) was the site of this oracular ritual. According to the texts of this gate it was Khonsu-Djehuty in one of the forms as the living baboon who was the judge (*t3jtj s3b, nt3t3*) or officer of justice (*sr n m3<sup>c</sup>.t*) in making the divine decision (Clère 1961: pl. 59) while the two other emanations, Wen-nekhu and Pa-ir-sekher, were two actuaries (*jrj-<sup>c</sup>.t n t3jtj s3b* and *jrj-<sup>c</sup>.t n nt3t3*), see Clère 1961: pls. 9 and 10 (for details see Quaegebeur 1993: 201–220, cf. 204 and 218–219; Derchain 1995: 3–5, most recently Schreiber 2020: 86 and Perdu 2021: 88–90). For the personnel of the divine animals from the late fourth to the middle second century BCE with their own priesthood (*jt-ntr*, *hm-ntr*, <sup>3</sup> *w<sup>c</sup>b*), temple personnel (*sdm-<sup>c</sup>s*) and funerary ritualists (*hrj-hb*) see: Kessler 1989: 178 and Schreiber 2020: 104–139.

<sup>70</sup> Spiegelberg 1923: 156–157 and Quaegebeur 1975–6: 471 with further bibliography.

<sup>71</sup> Redford 1988, 1–13.

<sup>72</sup> It must be noted that Khonsu-Shu also appeared in the form of a baboon (P. BM EA 10611), while Schreiber suggests that rather the sacred ibises may be connected to Thoth and his emanations adored in the temple of Qasr el-Aguz (Schreiber 2020: 101–103).



Hornedjitef 1) *Hr nd jt=f Wsjr // 2) jw<sup>c</sup>w n // 3) Wnn-nfr // 4) dj.n n=k knj r hftj.w=k*

1) Horus who rescues his father Osiris // 2) heir of // 3) Wenen-nefer // 4) I give you victory over your enemies.



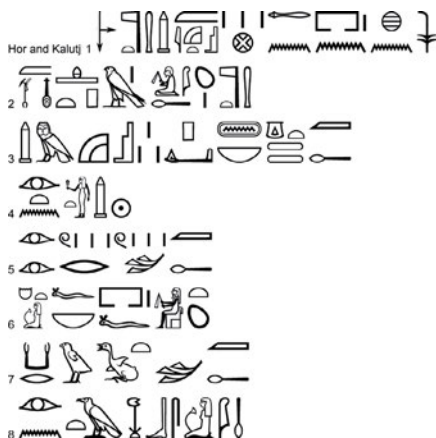
Isis 1) *Js.t mw.t ntrj.t nb.t p.t // 2) hnwt ntr.w // 3) dj.n n=k htp.w (n) <sup>c</sup>k.w df3.w hr=j*

1) Isis, the divine mother lady of the sky // 2) mistress of the gods // 3) I give you offerings from provisions in abundance under my rule.



Nephthys 1) *Nb.t-hwt sn.t-ntr(.jt) // 2) hnwt t3.wj // 3) dj.n n=k h.wt nb(.wt) nfr(.wt) w<sup>c</sup>b(.wt) ndm(.wt) bnr(.wt)*

1) Nephthys the divine sister // 2) mistress of the two lands // 3) I give you every kind of fine, pure, sweet and pleasant thing.

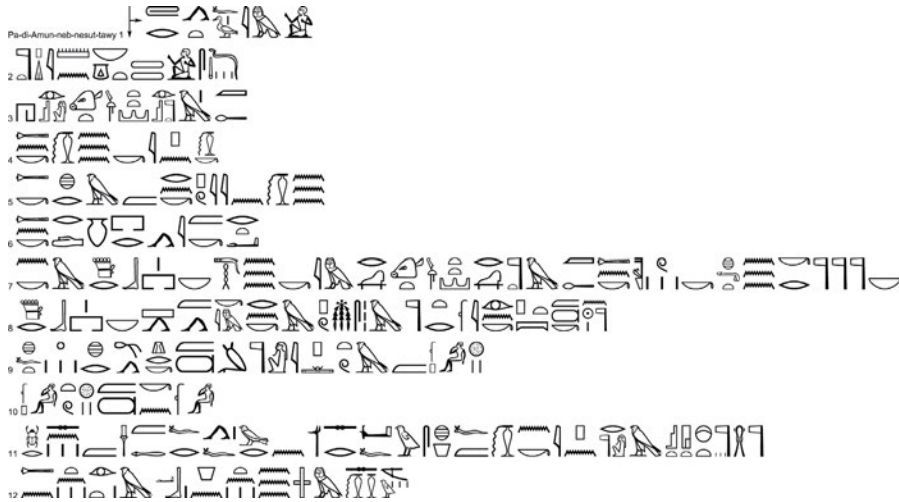


1) *jt-ntr hm-ntr Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt <sup>3</sup> n pr n Hnsw // 2) m W3s.t Nfr-htp Hr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw z3 jt-ntr hm-ntr // 3) Jmn m Jp.t-sw.t P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wj m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw // 4) jr.t n jhj.t Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> // 5) Jr.tjw-r=w m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw // 6) hm.t=f nb(.t) pr=f špsj.t // 7) Krw<sup>t</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw // 8) jr n T3-hbs<sup>74</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

<sup>73</sup> PN I, 347, 28; DN I, 992; TM Nam 415 (NamVar 62311); TM Per 58326.

<sup>74</sup> PN I, 366, 14; PN II, 369; TM Nam 15677, TM Per 81694.

1) God's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, great of the domain of Khonsu // 2) in Thebes Nefer-hotep Hor, true-of-voice, son of the god's father, prophet // 3) of Amun in Karnak Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, true-of-voice, // 4) born to the sistrum player of Amun-Re // 5) Irty-eru, true-of-voice, // 6) his wife, lady of his house, the noble Kalutj, true-of-voice, born to Ta-khabes, true-of-voice.



Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy 1) *phr.tw=f z3 jm // 2) jt-ntr P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt t3.wj s(nb) dd-mdw: // 3) hj Wsjr hntj Jmnt.t Wsjr jt-ntr Hr m3c-hrw // 4) mn n=k kbh=k jpn kbh=ka // 5) mn=k hr Hr m rn=k pwj n kbh // 6) mn n=k rdw pr(.w) jm=k rdj // 7) n=k Hr dr bw nb mh=kb jm Wsjr hntj Jmnt.t Wsjr jt-ntr Hr m3c-hrw mn n=k ks.w=k hmt=k r ntr:w nb.w // 8) dr bw nb sm=k jm rn=k Hr pw ms.w Hr ntr:j trj<sup>c</sup> jr n=k p.t m rn=k n R<sup>c</sup> // 9) hftj.w=k hr hr=k m rn m ntr jp tw Hr m rnp zp 2 // 10) rnp tw zp 2 m rn=k n rnp<sup>d</sup> // 11) hpr=sn m shm <sup>c</sup>3=f jw.f wr n wsr=f<sup>e</sup> wsh=f m kbh{n}=k jpn Wsjr Hr Js.t Nb.t-hw.t Psd.t s3.t-ntr // 12) mn n=tn jr.t Hr <sup>c</sup>b=j n=tn mw jm=s kbh hzj mr:w*

1) Frequently turns (his) son there // 2) the healthy (living) god's father Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy recitating: // 3) Hail Osiris foremost of the West, Osiris, god's father Hor true-of-voice, // 4) take to you your libation, this your cool water. // 5) Take by Horus in this your name of Qebeh. // 6) Take to you the efflux which comes from you. May // 7) Horus give to you that from every place where Osiris foremost of the West, Osiris god's father Hor, true-of-voice is, may you make water flow. Take to you your bones, you are not known to all gods // 8) at all the places where you go. Your name is 'Horus', the children of the divine Horus are those who worship, be prepared for you the sky in your name of 'Re'. // 9) your enemies fall under your sole in your name as 'God'. May Horus count you as a completely (2x) rejuvenated one. // 10) Be completely (2x) rejuvenated in your name of 'Renep' // 11) They arise from the power of his greatness. He comes, great of his strength, he is extensive through this your libation. Osiris, Horus, Isis and Nephthys, the Ennead, divine protectors // 12) take to you the eye of Horus, in which I offer water to you, a praised and loved libation!

**Commentary**

- a. The origin of the cool water formula goes back to the Pyramid Texts (PT) Spell 32 (Pyr. §§ 22a – 23b) (Coffin Text Spell 64), see Allen 1950: 63–64, ect. 22–3, and to PT Spell 33 (cf. Spell 423) (Pyr. § 24 f. cf. Pyr. §§ 766b–767a). Our text has closer analogies in the contemporary P. BM 10209, 5,1–19 (Haikal 1970 (1): 41–45; (2), 21f.) and in P. Schmitt, XIX, 30–35 (Backes 2016: 598–602) as well as in a temple inscription in Medinet Habu, among the inscriptions of the chapel of Amenirdis (Daressy 1901: 9–10, cols. 170–188), and in the tomb inscription of Padihorresnet (TT 196) (Graefe 2003 (2): 86, T41, cols. 16–20). The text is part of the fifth nightly ‘Stundenwache’ (Pries 2011: 255–261). For the translation and interpretation of the text see: Assmann *et al.* 2008: 532–544 and most recently Backes 2016: 598–602.
- b. WB II, 122, 9 ‘fliessen lassen’; Haikal translates the passus as ‘which Horus gives (back) to thee from any place where thou hast been drowned’, Haikal 1970 (2): 21, V,2; Assmann translates the passus as ‘die Horus dir gibt bis hin zu jedem Ort, an den du (im Wasser) getrieben bist’, Assmann *et al.* 2008: 532, Spell 10, 5.
- c. Analogies show differences in this sentence: *rdj n=k jr.t-Hr jp tw ms.w Hr ntrj* – ‘the eye of Horus is given to you for that the children of Horus count you (as) divine’.
- d. Analogies show the name (*rn*) as ‘*mw rnp.w*’.
- e. Rewording and abbreviation of the formula, which was necessary due to the narrow place. The original text is the following: *hpr=sn m shm=f Wsjr ʕ3=f wr=f wsr=f wsh=f shm=f m mw=f šn=f r ntr:w nb.w ʕnh=sn jsk jh.t=sn nb.t jsk šn.n=f n=f dj.n=f n=f phr jdb.w h3.w-nb.w Skr-Wsjr ʕ3=k wr=k wsr=k wsh=k...* ‘May they arise through his power. Osiris, he is great and mighty, strong and extensive, he may dispose of his water by encircling more than all gods, their lives and all their possessions. He has encircled for himself, he has given for himself what the banks of the Hau-nebu surround. Sokar-Osiris you are great and mighty, strong and extensive...’

The texts of the situla mention Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (as mistress of the house and a noble woman whose mother was called Ta-khabes). If one searches among the Theban documents of the 4th century BCE, there is only one more item which mentions the same filiation, and this is stela Louvre E 15565 = Musée Rodin inv. Co. 5779.

**3.3 Doc. 3 The funerary stela of Nes-Khonsu**

(Louvre E 15565 = Musée Rodin, inv. Co. 5779)<sup>75</sup>

The limestone stela of Nes-Khonsu is a characteristic example of Munro’s type III stelae (Figure 6a). In his words this stela represents the ‘älteste Stele des transitorischen Materials’ between the Saite (type II) to the Ptolemaic Periods (type IV). Munro came to the conclusion that the stela may be dated to about 380 to 350 BCE based on stylistic criteria.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Dimension of the limestone stela: 37.7 x 24.5 x 4 cm.

<sup>76</sup> Munro 1973: 60–61.

Some texts from the stela were recently published by Ralph Birk because Nes-Khonsu's father Wesir-wer was a first prophet of Amun, the title investigated in detail in Birk's study.<sup>77</sup> The history of the stela was outlined by Birk. First it appears on a squeeze<sup>78</sup> (Figure 6b) dated to around 1825 to 1835, possibly made by the assistant of James Burton, Charles Humphreys.<sup>79</sup> However, the stela cannot be safely identified among Burton's Egyptian antiquities which were sold by Sotheby's in 1836.<sup>80</sup> The stela makes its next appearance in Auguste Rodin's collection sometime between 1893 and 1913, and later in 1916 it was donated by him to the French state.<sup>81</sup> As Birk researched, from 1933 it was temporarily housed in the Louvre's storerooms, where it was given the inventory number Louvre, E 15565, under which the stela is cited throughout the literature. It was returned to the Musée Rodin collection in 2005, its location.

The stela is characterised by an extreme finess of sculpting.<sup>82</sup> Instead of repeating the description of the layout of the surface studied by Birk, we turn to the unpublished text of the third section.

It consists of seven lines of hieroglyphic inscription as follows:



1. *Dd-mdw hj Wsjr jhj.t n Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> Ns-Hnsw m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw z3.t n jt-ntr ḥm-ntr Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> njsw ntr:w ntr.wt ḥm -ntr n ntr:w D3m.t<sup>a</sup>*
2. *ḥrj-mnh.t<sup>b</sup> n Jmn p3 4 s3.w ḥm-ntr whm<sup>c</sup> ntr pn zh3 md3.(w)t-ntr(.jw) n Jmn ḥm-ntr tp.j n Jmn Wsjr-wr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw jr(.j) nb.t pr jhj.t*
3. *n Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> T3-h3bs.t m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw jnd ḥr=k wbn=k m 3h.t=k<sup>d</sup> ḥtp ḥr M3<sup>c</sup>.t d3=k p.t ḥr nb.w ḥr m33=k*
4. *šm.n=k jmn.tw (m)<sup>e</sup> ḥr=sn dj=k tw m dw3.t m hr:t n hrw n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb rwd.tw škdj ḥr<sup>f</sup> ḥm=k snktj=k<sup>g</sup>*

<sup>77</sup> Birk 2020: 25–32.

<sup>78</sup> Bierbrier 1993: 411.

<sup>79</sup> The two dates, 1825 and 1835, mark two events: in 1825 Burton and Humphreys excavated on the west bank of Thebes, offering the possibility that during this stay the stela was found. In 1835, they returned to England, Humphreys became secretary at the Geological Society and Burton was obliged to sell his Egyptian Antiquities at Sotheby's in 1836. Bierbrier 2019: 81–82 and 230; Cooke 2001: 85–94. The so-called 'Burton squeezes' are kept in the British Museum; the squeeze depicting the stela of Nes-Khonsu is AES Ar.1521, see Bierbrier 1993: 411, Unnumbered 5.

<sup>80</sup> Birk offers a possible identification with Sotheby 1836: 35, lot 390 'Two others in Lime Stone' referring to the previous lot, 389 'A little Tablet in Sand Stone' 3 inches by 2 ½ inches. In our opinion this identification is unlikely, the measurements are different and the funerary stelae of the Burton collection are described in detail under lots 376–380 and neither of them is that of Nes-Khonsu. So it rather seems likely that the copy of the stela was made in another collection or maybe at site, at it's original findspot.

<sup>81</sup> Viéville and Garnier 2008: 190, no. 73, Bierbrier 2019, 397.

<sup>82</sup> Munro 1973: 51–63, 230, fig. 47.



Figure 6a. Stela of Nes-Khonsu – Paris, Musée Rodin, inv. no. Co. 5779. Photo: © Musée Rodin, photo by Christian Baraja



Figure 6b. 'James Burton squeeze' (Unnumberd 5) which depicts stela Musée Rodin, inv. no. Co. 5779 – London, BM, AES Ar.1521. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum



5. *m hr=sn n rh.tw=s d<sup>c</sup>m n smj [hnm]<sup>h</sup> jm3. {n}=k t3.wj [nb].w<sup>i</sup> nw ntr:w m33.tw hr zh3.w*
6. *h3s.wt nw Pwn.t r sjp.tw jmn m hr=sn jr.n twk w<sup>c</sup>j m wn jr<sup>f</sup> hpr:w=k*
7. *tp(.j) Nwn jmj šm.j mjt.t šm=k n jr:j 3b mj hm=k R<sup>c</sup> ktt hpt w3.tw m jtrw (m) hh*

1. To be recited: O, Osiris, sistrum player of Amun-Re Nes-Khonsu, true-of-voice, daughter of the god's father, prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods and goddesses, prophet of the gods of Djeme,
2. chief of the garments of Amun in the fourth phylae, prophet-registrar of this god, scribe of the divine books of Amun, first prophet of Amun, Wesir-wer, true-of-voice, who was born to the sistrum player
3. of Amun-Re Ta-khabes, true-of-voice. Hail to you when you rise from your Horizon, who sets concerning Maat. When you cross the sky, everyone sees you.
4. When you have set out, hidden (from) their sight, you place yourself in the underworld daily, prosperous and sailing under your majesty. Your rays
5. are in their face without it being known. Fine gold without report [joins] your brilliance. [All] lands of the gods have been seen on account of the writings
6. of the highlands of Punt in order that one might examine he who is hidden from their sight. You were created alone, when your forms were indeed
7. upon Nun. Grant that I may set out likewise when you set out without tarrying – just like your majesty, Re – a trifle, who travels far in miles, millions [...].

### Commentary

- a. A rare title. The collectivum reflects that the separated priestly duties had just been restored in the Nectanebid period; for priestly duties installed shortly later like *hm-ntr 2 nw n Jmn n D3m.t* or *hw.t-ntr n pr Jmn m D3m.t* see Birk 2020: 105–106 (statue of Nes-Min son of Ankh-ef-en-Khonsu, Cairo, EM, TR 18/12/28/10)
- b. For this title see De Meulenaere 1998: 1130, commentary d with further bibliography. The owner of P. Zagreb 602, Pa-kher-Khonsu, is another holder of the title, see Gill 2019b: 103.
- c. For this title see Elias and Mekis 2022, 83–111, cf. 86–87; in the Theban context: Birk 2020: 203–205.
- d. The text is the Book of the Dead Spell 15c. A rare feature where *3h.t=k* is used among texts showing Version 1 of Mosher's typology (Mosher 2016: 331, fn. 3).
- e. Unusual error, missing preposition (m).
- f. Correctly should be written *m-hr*; for analogies of the text of the stela see Mosher 2016a: 331, fn. 5.
- g. Versions of Spell 15c show *stw.t* see Mosher 2016a: 332, fn. 6.
- h. Copying error, *hnm* is missing.
- i. Copying error, *nb* is missing.

*Descendents of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu*

In 1982, Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer explored objects stored in museums which may be attributed to the children of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu.<sup>83</sup> In 1984, Herman De Meulenaere revised the work and added some objects.<sup>84</sup> Finally, in 2019, Ann-Katrin Gill indentified further new pieces.<sup>85</sup> Among the descendents five children are notable: Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy (G67), Wesirwer (G46), Djed-her/Pa-ian (G161), Ta-sherit-Min (G147) and a fifth son, Pa-kher-Khonsu. The existence of the latter is solely deduced from objects stored in museums; no clear traces were found in TT 414. In the following, objects which may be assigned to these family members are presented.

**3.4 Doc. 4 The stela of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II (London, BM, EA 8462)<sup>86</sup>**

The stela EA 8462 arrived at the British Museum from the collection of H. Salt in 1823 (Figure 7a-c). Probably the agents of Salt found the piece in TT 414 around 1818, when A. Ricci copied it together with some other stelae originating from the tomb.<sup>87</sup> The British Museum also possesses watercolours by Ricci that illustrate how the stela looked like in the early 19th century (Figure 7c). The *Ba*-bird, originally standing on the top of the stela and seen in the watercolour, probably broke off during its transportation from Egypt to England. The stela was published by Morris Bierbrier<sup>88</sup> and its texts separately by Mostafa El-Alfi.<sup>89</sup>

The stela belongs to the early phase of Munro's Theban style IV A group.<sup>90</sup> Though the *Ba*-bird is missing, the two pedestals are preserved. Characteristic of the stela is its verso painted in white and decorated in colour, showing a radiating sun disc depicted in the middle flanked by the hieroglyphic signs of East (*j3bt.t*) and West (*Jmnt.t*) (Figure 7b).<sup>91</sup> The recto shows four registers as characteristic of Munro's Theban IVA type.

In the lunette, a winged sun disc radiates life and power by means of its ankh and was-rays. The sun disc is flanked by the two uraei, by 'Nekhbet who shines the land' (*Nhb.t ḥd t3*) and 'Wadjet' (*W3dj.t*) in front of the cobras. An Anubis form lies on each side, on the left 'Foremost of the divine pavilion' (*ḥntj sh-ntj*) and on the right 'Who is in the place of embalming' (*jmj w.t*). The second register depicts the nightly bark of the sun god adored by the *Ba*-bird 'adoring the great god who is setting' (*dw3 ntr-ꜣ m ḥtp*), while four *hetet*-monkeys on each side 'praise' (*jr ḥnw*) the central scene. The sun god (*jw*) is accompanied by four male gods (*nb wj3*, *Ḥw* and *Sj3* identified by label text). Of the four registers, it is in the third one that Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, wearing a leopard skin, stands in adoration in front of Re, Atum, Khepri, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys and Anubis. It is a characteristic of Theban III stelae that the deceased is shown

<sup>83</sup> Reiser-Haslauer 1982a: 252–253.

<sup>84</sup> De Meulenaere 1984: 238–241.

<sup>85</sup> Gill 2019b: 95–106.

<sup>86</sup> Its measurements: 74 x 53 cm.

<sup>87</sup> Bierbrier 1983: 9–12, The watercolour (no. 8 = London, BM, AES Ar.1632) is followed by some caption on its rt. 'H a tombstone painted on wood found by H. Salt at Thebes in a tomb in the plain. Copied by Dr. Ricci'.

<sup>88</sup> Bierbrier 1987: 36–38, pls. 70–73.

<sup>89</sup> El-Alfi 1990: 7–14, pl. 1.

<sup>90</sup> Munro 1973: 46, 58, 235 and pl. 17, fig. 61.

<sup>91</sup> Several of the wooden stelae originating from the tomb TT 414 show this characteristic, see Budka 2008: 76–78, figs. 11–14.



Figure 7a. Stela of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II (recto)– London, BM, EA 8462. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 7b. Stela of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II (verso)- London, BM, EA 8462. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

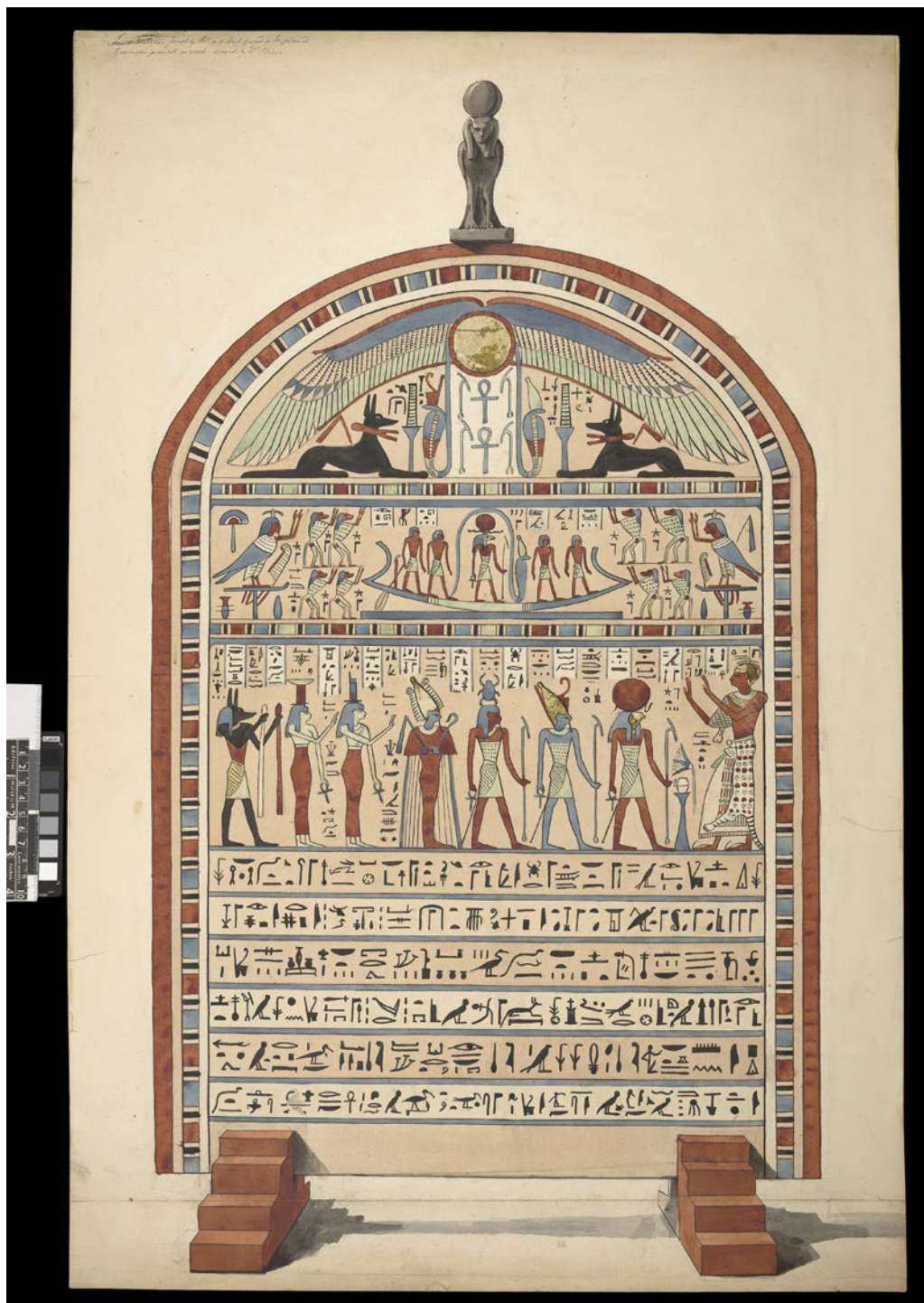


Figure 7c. 'Salt watercolour' (no. 8) by Alessandro Ricci which depicts the stela BM EA 8462 – London, BM, AES Ar.1632. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

offering in front of Re and Atum/Osiris, while in later phases of Groups IV (A, B, C, D) and V of Munro, Osiris and his circle are predominant in this register.

Texts of register three:

The label of the image of the priest is particularly interesting since previous researchers did not notice the particular title of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy.

*Wsjr jt-ntr hm-ntr j<sup>c</sup>nj.w // <sup>c</sup>nh(w) // P<sup>3</sup>-dj-Jmn-nb- // ns.wt t3.wj // m<sup>3c</sup>-hrw dw3 ntr zp 4 // m htp zp 2*

Osiris god's father and prophet of the living pavians // Pa-di-Amun-neb-// nesut-tawy, // true-of-voice. Adoration to the god four times while setting, two times [refers to east and west].

*R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3h.tj ntr-<sup>c</sup>3 // nb p.t // dj.f htp.w* – Re-Horakhty, great god // lord of the sky // may he give offerings.

*Jtm nb t3 Jwnw // dj.f df3.w // nb.w* – Atum, lord of the land of Heliopolis // may he give all provisions.

*Hprj // dj.f h(w)t* – Khepri, // may he give things.

*Wsjr hntj Jmnt.t // dj.f kbh, // mnht, sntr* – Osiris foremost of the West // may he give cold water // clothes and incense.

*Js.t // dj.s t, jrp // rnp.w // <sup>c</sup>.wj=j h3=k jw m s3=k hrw nb* – Isis // may she give bread and wine // vegetables. // My two arms are behind you as your protection every day.

*Nb.t-hwt sn.t ntr:jt // dj t3.w // r fnd=k r d.t // <sup>c</sup>.wj=j h3=k m dw3.t (r) d.t* – Nephthys, the divine sister // may (she) give air // to your nose for ever. My hands are behind you in the Underworld for ever.

*Jnpw rdj.f // n=k <sup>c</sup>.wj=f hr // mnht.wt nb.wt, mrht.wt* – Anubis, may he give // to you his arms carrying // every clothes and balms.

Text of the fourth register:



## Transliteration

1. *Htp-dj-njsw n R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3h.tj ntr ʕ3 nb p.t, Jtm, Hprj, Wsjr-hntj-Jmnt.t ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw, Wnn-nfr hḳ3 d.t nb hḥ njsw*
2. *ntr.w Js.t ntr:jt mw.t ntr:jt Nb.t-hw.t sn.t ntr:jt Jnpw jmj w.t hntj sh-ntr dj.sn pr.t-hrw t, hḳt k3.w, 3pd.w, jrp, jrt.t, sntr;*
3. *ḳbh, h.t nb.t, nfr.t, w<sup>c</sup>b.t, htp.w, dḃ.w, ḥkn.w, rnp.w pr nb.wt hr wdhw=sn n k3 (n)*
4. *Wsjr jt-ntr hm-ntr Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt wr-m33.w m Jwnw šm<sup>c</sup>, hr:j-zšB, ʕb-ntr m s.wt-dsr.wt, hm-ntr ʕ3 (n) pr n Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp*
5. *P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-B.wj m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw z3 mj nn Hr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw jr n nb.t pr K3rwt m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ʕpj b3=k r p.t m-ht*
6. *jtn sm3 m stw.t=f m kj=k sdm njs=k jn R<sup>c</sup> s3h tw Dhwtj m tp.j-r3=f ʕnh rn=k hr:j-tp B n sk d.t*

## Translation

1. A boon that the king gives to Re-Horakhty, great god, lord of the sky, Atum, Khepri, Osiris foremost of the West, great god, lord of Abydos, Wenen-nofer-heqa-djet-neb-heh, king of
2. the gods, the divine Isis, divine mother, Nephtys, the divine sister, Anubis, who is in the place of embalming, foremost of the divine pavilion. May they give an invocation offering consisting of bread and beer, ox and fowl, wine and milk, incense
3. cold water, every fine and pure things, offerings and provisions, sacred oils and vegetables, all coming from their offering table to the Ka of
4. Osiris, god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, *Wer-maaw* in Armant, master of the secrets, *ab*-priest in *Sut-Djeserut*, prophet and chief of the temple of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep.
5. Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, true-of-voice, son of like-titled Hor, true-of-voice, born to the mistress of the house Kalutj, true-of-voice. May your *Ba* fly to the sky accompanying
6. the sun disc, uniting with his sun rays in your form, hearing (when) you are summoned by Re. May Thoth glorify you for his (i.e. Re) utterance. May your name survive on the earth without perishing for ever.

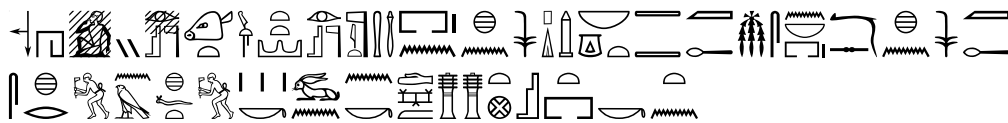
Based on these titles, one can propose that Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy inherited the priestly duties around the divine baboons of the Khonsu precinct from his father. Another title, inscribed in the fourth text register, shows that he was responsible for this temple like his father (*hm-ntr ʕ3 n pr n Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp*). Thus, we may suppose that Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy was the first son of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu. This statement can be supported by the fact that Hor's father was also called Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, and then the first son received the name of the paternal grandfather. This idea is also confirmed because it is Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy who appears on the situla of Hor as the son offering in front of his parents.

Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy inherited the most important priestly titles of his father (god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, prophet and chief of the temple of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep) and also gained some new ones like *Wr-m33.w* in Armant, master of the secrets and *ʕb*-priest in *Sut-Djeserut*.

**3.5 Doc. 5 Fragments of the *qrs*w-coffin of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II (London, British Museum, EA 6945, 6946)<sup>92</sup>**

The two corner posts (EA 6945 and 46) once belonged to the *qrs*w-coffin of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, in which an anthropoid coffin was nested, fragments of which were found by the Austrian mission in the 1970s (see below, Doc. 17). The usage of this type of *qrs*w-coffin is also attested for other family members.<sup>93</sup> The two coffin fragments were purchased from the collection of Henry Salt in 1821 and their association with TT 414 was identified by John H. Taylor in 1990.<sup>94</sup> EA 6945 and EA 6946<sup>95</sup> are painted in white, one single column of text runs on the front sides of the corner posts, the black inscription is bordered by red lines.

EA 6945



*hj Wsjr hntj Jmnt.t Wsjr jt-ntr hm-ntr ʕ3 pr n Hnsw P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.t t3.wj mʕc-hrw ms n nb.t pr Ns-Hnsw mʕc-hrw shr.n Hr hftj.w=k wnn=k dj m Dd.t s.t=k tn<sup>a</sup>*

O Osiris foremost of the West, Osiris god's father, prophet and chief of the precinct of Khonsu Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, true-of-voice, born to the mistress of the house Nes-Khonsu, true-of-voice. Horus has overthrown your enemies, you are here in Busiris, (at) this your place.

EA 6946



*[hj Wsjr] hntj Jmnt.t Wsjr jt-ntr P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.t-t3.wj sk3 tw wr.w nw P hʕc n=k jmj.w Dp znj=sn t3 n b3.w hm=k shr.sn sbj.w r bw hr=k<sup>b</sup>*

[O Osiris] foremost of the West, Osiris god's father Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, true-of-voice, exalt you the great ones of Pe, rejoice in you the ones who are in Dep. They kiss the earth before the power of your majesty. They drive the enemy from the place where you are.

**Commentary**

- a. The text of EA 6945 is an abridged version of Glorifications (*s3h.w*) I, Spell 15, First section. See Assmann *et al.* 2008: 216 (Spruch 15, Erste Abschnitt, lines 1, 3–5).

<sup>92</sup> PM I.2, 830 and Budge 1924: 67, nos 4 and 5.

<sup>93</sup> Budka *et al.* 2013: 230 and 243, fn. 216. See also the fragments of the *qrs*w-coffin of Hor (Doc. 15c), his father. For a similar polychrome painted *qrs*w-coffin see Reg. No. 678 (coffin of Iret-Hor-ru II, cousin of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II – they were contemporaries).

<sup>94</sup> Taylor 1990: 222.

<sup>95</sup> EA 6945: 88.4 cm high, EA 6946: 88.6 cm high, all are made of sycamore wood.





Figure 8. Corner posts of the *qrsw*-coffin of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II – London, BM, EA 6945 (below) and 6946 (above). Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

- b. The text of EA 6946 is a version of Glorifications I, Spell 16, First strophe. See Assmann *et al.* 2008: 219 (Spruch 16, Erste Strophe, lines 1–5). It may be supposed that the two missing corner posts of the coffin also cited different texts of the corpus of Glorifications I.

### 3.6 Doc. 6 The wooden stela of Wesir-wer (Turin, Museo Egizio, P 3610)

The wooden stela of Wesir-wer<sup>96</sup> was briefly described by Peter Munro in his monograph, though at that time it appeared without inventory number.<sup>97</sup> It can be identified in Pietro Orcurti's catalogue,<sup>98</sup> but Ariodante Fabretti, Francesco Rossi and Rodolfo Vittorio Lanzone did not include it in their catalogue.<sup>99</sup> As for its provenience, the Museo Egizio has no specific information other than it belongs to its 'old fund'. However, on its reverse (Figure 9b) some kind of inventory is inscribed in black as 'N. 4'. The catalogue of Egyptian antiquities of B. Drovetti (1822) includes among the wooden objects the piece number four as a 'Tableau avec ses pieds; 42 c. sur 35', pointing strongly to the identity of this piece.<sup>100</sup> It seems that the stela was originally preserved with its wooden legs, which are now missing. The small *Ba*-bird from the top of the stela is also missing, only a hole for the tenon attests to its existence.

The stela consists of four horizontal registers (Figure 9a) and belongs to Munro's type IVA category.<sup>101</sup> In the lunette of the stela under the winged sun disc, two cobras hang down. Between them, a black scarab can be seen in front of the cobras, and on each side a black

<sup>96</sup> 43.6 cm x 34.32 cm.

<sup>97</sup> Munro 1973: 237, pl. 18, fig. 62.

<sup>98</sup> Orcurti 1855: 102, no. N 176.

<sup>99</sup> Fabretti *et al.* 1882.

<sup>100</sup> Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione 1880: 236, no. 4.

<sup>101</sup> Munro 1973: 43–50; 57–61.

jackal lies with a sceptre between its paws. The two cobras are distinguished by the Lower and Upper Egyptian crowns, and the two cobras and jackals are accompanied by labels. On the viewer's right, the cobra is identified as 'Wadjet of Buto' (*W3dj.t Pj.t-Dpj.t*).<sup>102</sup> The jackal is 'Anubis foremost of the divine pavilion, lord of Asyut' (*Jnpw hntj sh-ntr nb R3-kr.t*). On the other side the cobra is identified as 'Nekhbet' (*Nhb.t*),<sup>103</sup> and the jackal as 'Anubis who is in the place of embalming, lord of the sacred land' (*Jnpw jmj w.t, nb t3-dsr*).

The second register from right to left depicts Wesir-wer together with his *Ba*-bird in adoring the nightly sun bark. He is kneeling, but his left leg is extended backwards.

Behind Wesir-wer the following text is written: *ḥn.t jn [...] // jt-ntr ḥm Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt // Wsjr-wr m3ḥ-[hrw z3] // n Hr [m3ḥ-hrw]*

The bark of the sun god depicts ten passengers, each one followed by a small label from the prow to the stern, naming the following: 'Lord of the divine speech' and 'scribe of the Maat' (*nb mdw ntr*<sup>104</sup> and *zh3 m3ḥ.t*<sup>105</sup>), 'Wep-wawet' (*Wp-w3w.t*), 'Sia' (*Sj3*), 'Maat' (*M3ḥ.t*), 'Nebet-wia' (*Nb.t-wj3*), 'Iuf' (*Jwf*), 'Hor-Hekenu' (*Hr-hknw*), 'Nehes' (*Nhs*), 'Ka-maat' (*K3-m3ḥ.t*), and 'Khu-wia' (*Hw-wj3*).

The third register is divided from the second register by a carefully painted elongated *pet*-sign with a single line of stars, so creating the atmosphere for the third register's scene, where Wesir-wer presents an offering to eight gods, each one followed by label texts. The first one is Osiris – his label text is damaged – the next one is Isis, and the usual formula is written in column in front of her: 'My arms are behind you' (*ḥ.wj=j h3=k*).

The third figure is Nephthys, the divine sister, her formula is also written in front of her: 'I embrace your beauty' (*shn=j nfr:w=k*)

The fourth figure is 'Horus son of Osiris' (*Hr-z3-Wsjr*); the next one is 'Hathor, mistress of the West' (*Hw.t-Hr nb.t Jmnt.t*). She is followed by 'Anubis, being upon his mountain' (*Jnpw tpj dw=f*), then by Hu (*Hw*) as male god with sun disc over his head. The last figure is 'Imsety son of Osiris' (*Jmstj-z3-Wsjr*).

The fourth section contains four lines of text:



1. *Wsjr jt-ntr ḥm-ntr Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt ḥm-ntr 3 nw Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp hrj nšd.w pr Jmn<sup>a</sup> hrj B3w bsn.<sup>b</sup> ḥm-ntr Jj-m-htp wr z3 Pth<sup>c</sup> ḥm-ntr Wsjr-wr m3ḥ-hrw z3 ḥ3 pr<sup>d</sup>*

<sup>102</sup> For its occurrences see LGG II, 269–273; and *W3dj.t m Pj.t-Dpj.t*, LGG II, 273–274.

<sup>103</sup> LGG IV, 301.

<sup>104</sup> LGG III, 654.

<sup>105</sup> LGG VI, 600.



Figure 9a. Wooden stela of Wesir-wer (recto) – Turin, Museo Egizio, P 3610. Photo: © Courtesy of the Museo Egizio di Torino, photo by Nicola Dell’Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio.



Figure 9b. Wooden stela of Wesir-wer (verso) – Turin, Museo Egizio, P 3610. Photo: © Courtesy of the Museo Egizio di Torino, photo by Nicola Dell’Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio.

2. *Hr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw ms n nb.t-pr jhj.t Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> Ns-Hnsw m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw<sup>e</sup> dd.f m sw3š nb.t hh jnd n hr=k R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3h.tj Hprj hpr*
  3. *ds=f nfr wj wbn=k m 3h.t shd t3.wj m stw.t=f ntr:w nb(.w) h<sup>c</sup>.w m33=sn njsw n p.t nb n wnw.t mn m tp=k*
  4. *šm<sup>c</sup>=s mh<sup>w</sup>=s mn m wp.t=k [...] mn m h3.t wj3=k hr sswn hftj.w=k nb.w jmj.w dw3.t*
1. Osiris god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, third prophet of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep, head of jewellers of the temple of Amun, head of metalworkers, prophet of Imhotep, the great, son of Ptah, prophet Wesir-wer, true-of-voice, son of the chief of the temple
  2. Hor true-of-voice, born to the lady of the house, sistrum player of Amun-Re, Nes-Khonsu, true-of-voice, he says honouring te lord of eternity: Hail to you Re-Horakhty-Khepri, who comes into being
  3. by himself, how beautiful it is when you rise in the horizon, who illuminates the two lands with his rays. All the gods rejoice when they see the king of the sky, the lord, the uraeus is fixed on your head,
  4. the Lower Egyptian and the Upper Egyptian crowns are fixed on your brow [...] is fixed in front of your bark, punishing all your enemies who are in the Netherworld.

### Commentary

- a. *hrj nšd.w n pr Jmn*, for this title see De Meulenaere and Quaegebeur 1982: 209–218 (occurrences of the title (*nšd.j*) from the New Kingdom up to the Ptolemaic Period; for the stela see pp. 212 and 214). See also Gardiner 1947 (1): 67, A 160: *nšd.j* - worker in precious stones.
- b. On *bsn.t* as a tool for working metal see Gardiner 1947 (1): 67 and 69. It is not surprising that the family owned two situlae which may be the product of the *tjaiu-besnet* workshop.
- c. On the cult of 'Imhotep the great son of Ptah in Thebes' see: Wildung 1977: 188–197.
- d. *3 pr* is certainly an abbreviation of the *3 pr n Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp*, compare the abbreviated form on Doc. 15a-c.
- e. The text continues from this point with BD Spell 15b, version 3 of Mosher. See Mosher 2016a: 322–323.

According to the name giving custom of the family, Wesir-wer was probably the second son of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu and received the name of his maternal grandfather. Previously Wesir-wer's father Hor had also received his name from his maternal grandfather being also the second son of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy and Irty-eru. Other than his elder brother Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, who inherited most of the priestly titles from their father, Wesir-wer inherited his father's artisan titles and tasks according to the stela (besides the general and lower priestly titles like god's father and prophet of Amun, third prophet of Khonsu). His coffin fragment (Reg. No. 778, Doc. 21) mentions further priestly titles that do not appear on the stela but are partly known for his father Hor on the situla EA 38212. According to Herman De Meulenaere, he may be the same person as G48 in Reiser-Haslauer's genealogical register, who is mentioned on the coffin fragments Reg. Nos 800<sup>106</sup> and 828.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>106</sup> See Budka 2019: 183, fig. 14.

<sup>107</sup> De Meulenaere 1984: 240, no. 2. De Meulenaere argued that the two Wesir-wers (G46 and G48) may be the same person since both are numbered priests of Khonsu and nobody else in TT 414 had such titles. To prove or disprove

The following two sons of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu, Djed-her and Pa-kher-Khonsu, were the subject of Ann-Katrin Gill's article in 2019.<sup>108</sup> In the following, we therefore just give a short summary of her results and deal in detail with some of the pieces which were not her prime focus.

### 3.7 Doc. 7 Striding statue of Djed-her (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37357)

Gill suggested the attribution of a striding statue from the Karnak Cachette to Djed-her/Pa-ian.<sup>109</sup> The statue, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37357,<sup>110</sup> is broken at least into three pieces: the upper and middle parts are restored while the third part under the knees is missing. The statue was inscribed on its obelisk-like back pillar with a single column of text which lists the titles and the filiation:

*Wsjr jt-ntr hm-ntr Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt hm hd.t (hm) Hr wr w3d.tj hrj-zšt3 'b-ntr Dd-hr m3c-hrw z3 mj-nn Hr m3c-hrw jr.t n nb.t-pr Ns- [...]*

Osiris<sup>111</sup> god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, servant of the White Crown and Horus, great of the two diadems, master of the secrets, *ab*-priest, Djed-her, true-of-voice, son of the like-titled Hor, true-of-voice, born to the mistress of the house Nes- [...]

The identification of this statue as one of Djed-her/Pa-ian is dubious and seems rather unlikely. The pieces attributed to him with certainty (Docs. 8–10 and 20) give different titles (*jt-ntr hm-ntr n Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt s3h.w wd3.t zh3 n Jmn jw.f jpj n p3 4 s3.w hm-ntr n Sbk hrj-jb Gsj hm-ntr*) and also Hor's titles show no similarity (besides the general 'god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak') as *mj-nn* on the statue's text would imply. Furthermore, the name of the mother is missing on JE 37357.

### 3.8 Doc. 8 Funerary papyri of Djed-her

As for Djed-her's funerary equipment, Reiser-Haslauer in 1982 attributed the Book of the Dead papyrus Turin cat. no. 1830 to Djed-her/Pa-ian.<sup>112</sup> In 2016 Sara Demichelis called attention to the papyrus Turin cat. no. 1845 and to the papyrus British Museum EA 10317.<sup>113</sup> In 2019 Gill assigned one further papyrus, Turin CGT 54047 to Djed-her/Pa-ian.<sup>114</sup>

Table 2 gives a short summary of the content of these papyri.

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this assumption further research is needed and just the comprehensive study of the coffin fragments may solve the identity of Wesir-wer(s).

<sup>108</sup> Gill 2019b: 95–106, pls. 25–30.

<sup>109</sup> Gill 2019b: 99.

<sup>110</sup> For its pictures and for the bibliography see: <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/#galerie> (last accessed 15.03.2021).

<sup>111</sup> Osiris as a C98 hieroglyphic sign occupies the pyramidion of the obelisk.

<sup>112</sup> Reiser-Haslauer 1982a: 252, fn. 476.

<sup>113</sup> Demichelis 2016: 43–44.

<sup>114</sup> Gill 2019a; Gill 2019b.

SECONDARY SOURCES RELATED TO THE FAMILY OF KALUTJ/NES-KHONSU (G108+G137)

Inventory no.	Content	Bibliography
Turin cat. no. 1830	Book of the Dead containing all the 165 spells like the Papyrus of Iuf-anekh (Turin cat. no. 1791)	<a href="http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56967">http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56967</a> Gill 2019b: 96–98, pls. 25–27. Mosher 2016–2021: <i>passim</i> . Mosher's contribution in this study (Doc. 10)
Turin cat. no. 1845	Glorifications III	<a href="http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57607">http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57607</a> Demichelis 2016: 43–44. Gill 2019a: 4 Gill 2019b: 96 Publication is in progress by Sara Demichelis
Turin CGT 54047	Ritual for Bringing Sokar out of the shrine	Gill 2019a: 4 Gill 2019b: 96 Publication is in progress by Sara Demichelis
London, BM, EA 10317	Glorifications I	<a href="https://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?tm=57047">https://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?tm=57047</a> <a href="http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135588">http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135588</a> Publication is in progress by François R. Herbin

Table 2. List of papyri from Djed-her's archive.

### 3.9 Doc. 9 The canopic chest of Djed-her (EA 8537)

When Herman De Meulenaere published his additions to the dossiers of the children of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu,<sup>115</sup> he added canopic chest BM EA 5837 to the dossier of Djed-her.<sup>116</sup>

The canopic chest was purchased in 1821 from Salt's collection. Only its three side panels have survived, the frontal one and the two sides.<sup>117</sup> The tall, black, painted box belongs to Aston's type C; the decoration is executed in yellow.<sup>118</sup> The back, the base, the cavetto cornice and

<sup>115</sup> De Meulenaere 1984: 241, no. 3.

<sup>116</sup> In our 2013 study, we incidentally mentioned this chest (Budka *et al.* 2013: 240, fig. 23). Mentioned also by Budge 1924: 148; Demichelis 2016: 44, fn. 108 and by Gill 2019b: 99, fn. 15.

<sup>117</sup> Measurements: height: 49 cm, length: 29.3 cm, width: 30 cm. Information based on: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA8537](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA8537) (last accessed: 04.01.2021).

<sup>118</sup> Aston 2000: 159–178; Budka *et al.* 2013: 240, fig. 23.

its cover are missing, and unfortunately even the excavations in TT 414 did not yield these missing parts.

Djed-her was the fourth son of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu. As was shown above, Hor filled a special position as keeping the sacred animal of Khonsu, the baboons. Probably his piety and devotion to the sacred animals of Khonsu-Thoth inspired him to give to his child Djed-her, the nickname Pa-ian (the baboon) .<sup>119</sup>

The frontal panel (Figure 10a) on the lintel (upper frame of the panel) depicts a winged sundisc with the inscription *bhd.t* on each side. Below, ten columns of hieroglyphic text are inscribed, facing rightwards. Below, a figural panel is depicted: in the middle is the Abydos fetish with crying ‘Isis’ (*Js.t hr rmj*) and ‘Nephythys’ (*Nb.t-hw.t*) adoring it from two sides. The two goddesses are followed on each side by adoring Anubis forms: on the right ‘Anubis foremost of the divine pavilion’ (*Jnpw hntj sh-ntr*), on the left ‘Anubis who is in the place of embalming, lord of the sacred land’ (*Jnpw jmj w.t nb t3 dsr*). Finally, two genii appear: on the right the bull headed Ked-ka<sup>120</sup> is depicted grasping a knife in his two hands; the label text states that he is ‘as a protection for this god’ (i.e. Osiris) (*m s3 n ntr pn*). On the left side the name of the genius is just partly preserved, but it is enough to reconstruct the whole name *Ndh[-dh]*.<sup>121</sup> Unfortunately, the upper body and the head of the figure is completely faded.<sup>122</sup>

The texts on the walls of the chest belong to the same funerary corpus, known under the name Glorifications III,<sup>123</sup> specifically Spell 16.

Inscriptions of the frontal panel:



<sup>119</sup> PN I, 100, 6; PN II, 352; DN I, 162; TM Nam 14671; De Meulenaere 2001: 391, no. 41 with further reference.

<sup>120</sup> Leitz 2011: 21–22.

<sup>121</sup> Leitz 2011: 20–21.

<sup>122</sup> *Ndh-dh* and *Kd-k3* are members of the seven Akh-spirits (*3h.w-s/h*) who are protectors of Osiris in CT 335 = BD Spell 17. See in the context of canopic chests: Budka *et al.* 2013: 242; in general: LGG I, 45; Leitz 2011, 32, c, Abd’El-Rady 2021, 42–88.

<sup>123</sup> Glorifications I-IV are published by Assmann *et al.* 2008. Papyri containing Glorifications III are: P.BM EA 10081, 16–32 (funerary papyrus of *P3-wrm* – Assmann *et al.* 2008: 413–498) and P. WAM 551, 5, 37–10,21 (funerary papyrus of *P3-dj-k3-km* – Assmann *et al.* 2008: 413–498 and Barbash 2011: 131–270). A.-K. Gill recently identified that *Dd-hr/P3-j3n* also has a funerary papyrus which contains the text of Glorifications III, it is P.Turin 1845 (Gill 2019a: 4; Gill 2019b: 98, see below Doc. 8).





Figure 10a. Frontal side of the canopic chest of Djed-her – London, BM, EA 8537. Photos: © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 10b. Viewer's left side of the canopic chest of Djed-her – London, BM, EA 8537. Photos: © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 10c. Viewer's right side of the canopic chest of Djed-her – London, BM, EA 8537. Photos: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

1) *Dd-mdw jn jt-ntr hm-ntr n Jmn m jp.t-s.wt s3h.w wd3.t zh3 n Jmn // 2) jw=f jppj n p3 4 s3.w<sup>a</sup> hm-ntr n Sbk hrj-jb Gsj<sup>b</sup> hm-ntr // 3) Dd-hr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw rn=f nfr P3-j<sup>c</sup>n m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw z3 n jt-ntr <sup>c</sup>3 n pr // 4) n Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp Hr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw jr.t n nb.t-pr jhj.t n Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> // 5) Ns-Hnsw m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw nhm m p.t sd3 m t3 hr hrw // 6) wr pwj sms n pr nfr wh<sup>c</sup>. {tjw} <tn>?<sup>c</sup> wr // 7) =tn p{h}wj<sup>d</sup> r nw n mt w3h<sup>e</sup> tz m // 8) 3bdw pr stj-ntr tz.t-ntr twj nn n // 9) prj.t m P w<sup>c</sup>.t jr.t jwjtj sn.w=s<sup>f</sup> hd.t-<sup>c</sup>fn.t tw// 10) j nn pr m Nhb 3w.t šw.tj nhh mnd.wj<sup>g</sup>...*

1) To recite by the god's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, *sakh-wedjat*, scribe of Amun, // 2) accounting the four phyles, prophet of Sobek who dwells in Qus, prophet // 3) Djed-her, true-of-voice, his beautiful name is Pa-ian, true-of-voice, son of the god's father, chief of the temple // 4) of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep Hor, true-of-voice, born to the lady of the house, sistrum player of Amun-Re // 5) Nes-Khonsu, true-of-voice: jubilation in the sky, trembling on earth because of the voice // 6) of that old man of the embalming place. May you solve // 7) this great one of yours at the time of death loosening the tie in // 8) Abydos. The scent of the god and this tie of the god are those which // 9) come from Pe. The sole eye, without her second, this white head cloth, // 10) these come from Nekheb (and) the long plumes, the sagging breasts...

### Commentary

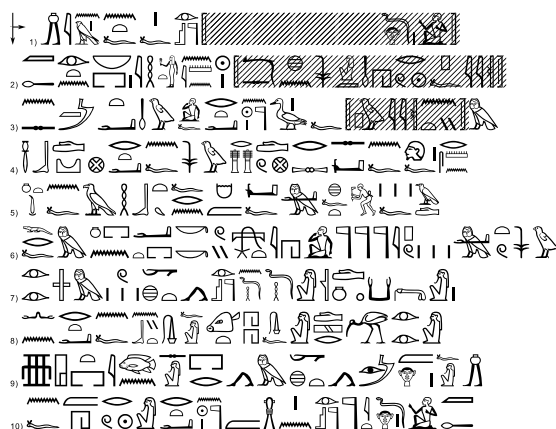
- a. For an analogy of the title see Jansen-Winkeln 2013: 2, 4 comment 2 with further bibliography. The holder of the title <sup>c</sup>*nh-p3-hrd* lived around 320 BCE when he wrote the Luxor graffito. It may possibly be supposed that after his death *Dd-hr/P3-j<sup>c</sup>n* gained the title.
- b. See commentary 'c' at Doc. 2.
- c. A *tjw*-bird which is a scribal mistake. Analogies (P. BM 10081, 31, 4 and P. WAM 551, 9,19) shows the suffix =*tn* here.
- d. The passus is different in both papyri: P. BM 10081, 31, 4: *wh<sup>c</sup>.tn wr=tn pwjj r nw n [...]* – 'May you solve this great one of yours at the time of [...]', and P. WAM 551, 9,19-20: *wh<sup>c</sup>.tn <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.tn pwy n nw m hrw* – 'may you release your position at the right time on the day'.
- e. *w3h* is certainly a scribal mistake; analogies show *wh<sup>c</sup>*, *wh<sup>c</sup> tss.t* 'loose what is tied', WB I, 348, 8.
- f. P. BM 10081, 31,7 shows the following text: *w<sup>c</sup>.t m3.s sn.tj=s* – 'The one sees her other one'.
- g. According to Barbash the passus may refer to goddess Nut. See Barbash 2011: 255–256, comment C.

Side on the viewer's left (Figure 10b)

This side is formed again of two panels. The upper one, under an elongated *pet*-sign decorated with a line of stars, consists of ten columns of text, the continuation of Glorifications III, Spell 16. The pictorial panel depicts four standing gods, all facing towards the front side of the chest (rightwards). The label text as well as the head of the first figure are blurred. A ram's horn and traces of an *atef*-crown may still be visible; based on the text of Spell 16 we suggest that the figure may be identified with the god Khnum. The second figure depicts a goddess with Hathor-crown and with the label text '*Snj.t*' (sister). Khnum and Senit appear together in the text of Spell 16. The goddess wears a long robe and holds the *ankh* and a *wadj*-sceptre. Behind

her are two of the seven *akh*-spirits, firstly, according to the label text, *Nen-redit-nef-nebytef*<sup>124</sup> with a lamp (Gardiner Q7A) on the place of his head. He holds a huge knife in each of his hands, and is followed by *Khenty-hehef*<sup>125</sup> with a terrifying crocodile head, again holding knives.

The inscription from the side on the viewer's left



1) ...*jnj.n Hr jt=f Wsjr* [...*Dd-hr*] // 2) *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw jr.t n nb.t pr jhj.t n Jmn-R<sup>c</sup>* [*Ns-Hnsw m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw hrw pfj*]<sup>a</sup> // 3) *n sm3<sup>c</sup>.t-hrw=f rdj.t n R<sup>c</sup> z3=f [pw ntj]*<sup>b</sup> *m* // 4) *3bdw rdj.t n=f sw r Ddw r tz n=f tp=f r smn* // 5) *n=f Nhb.t=f r nhm=f m-<sup>c</sup> hfj.w=f 3d* // 6) *r=f m-hnw n <sup>c</sup>.<sup>c</sup> kkw.t jh ntr.w jpw mds-<sup>d</sup>* // 7) *jr.tj jmj.w h.t Wsjr: Ndḥ-dḥ, Ḳd-k3,* // 8) *Nn-rdj-n=f-nbj.t=f, Hntj-hh=f, Dšr-jr.tj,* // 9) *Hntj-hw.t-jns, Pr-m-ht-m33-m-ḥr=f, Jnj-* // 10) *n=f-m-hrw rdj.n R<sup>c</sup> m z3 n Wsjr jt-ntr Dd-hr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw...*

1) ...which Horus brought to his father the Osiris [...Djed-her,] // 2) true-of-voice, born to the lady of the house, sistrum player of Amun-Re [Nes-Khonsu, true-of-voice, on this day] // 3) of making his voice justified. Re has given (to) this his son [who is] in // 4) Abydos. Then he gave him to Busiris to tie his head to him, to // 5) firm his neck to him, as to be saved from his enemies, who rage // 6) against him in the dark chamber. Behold, these sharp-// 7) eyed gods are in the escort of Osiris: *Nedjeh-djeh, Ked-ka,* // 8) *Nen-redit-nef-nebytef, Khenty-hehef, Desher-irty,* // 9) *Khenty-hut-ines, Per-m-khet-maa-m-heref, Ini-* // 10) *enef-m-heru* Re has ordered as the protection of Osiris, god's father Djed-her, true-of-voice...

### Commentary

- a. Reconstruction on the basis of P. BM EA 10081, 31,11 and P. WAM 551, 9, 21.
- b. Reconstruction on the basis of P. BM EA 10081, 31,12 and P. WAM 551, 9, 22.
- c. <sup>c</sup>.<sup>c</sup> *t* is a hapax.
- d. Unusual writing of *mds-jr.tj*. See WB II, 183, 6

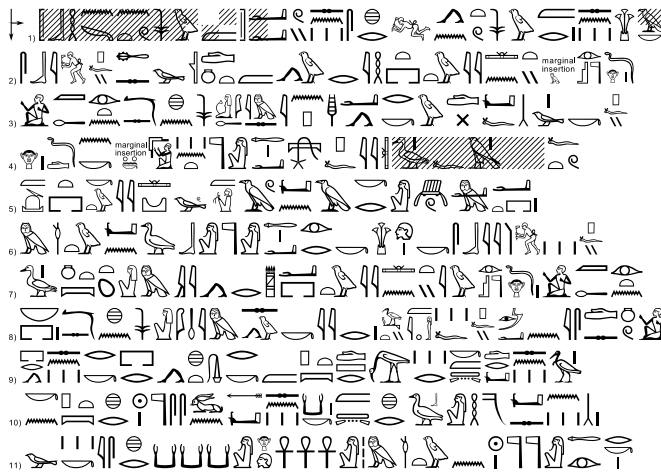
Side on the viewer's right (Figure 10c)

<sup>124</sup> Leitz 2011: 22–23.

<sup>125</sup> Leitz 2011: 23.

The side on the viewer's right is again formed of two panels. The upper one, under an elongated *pet*-sign decorated with a line of stars, consists of ten columns of text. It is the continuation of Glorifications III, Spell 16, and more precisely the continuation of the text which was written on the back panel of the box and is now lost. The pictorial panel depicts four standing gods, all facing towards the front side of the chest (leftwards). In this case four standing human-headed male gods are depicted, all grasping a knife in their hands. The first one is *Desher-irty*,<sup>126</sup> the second *Khenty-hut-ines*,<sup>127</sup> the third one is *Ir-em-awa*<sup>128</sup> and the last is *Isdes*<sup>129</sup>.

The inscription from the side on the viewer's right



1) ...[*bhn ntw sw m*]<sup>a</sup> *ε.wj=sn šhr ntw<sup>b</sup> sw m r3=sn ḥ3=k // 2) sbj pfj ḥsj ḳd.ᵑ m jw r ḥ3.t twj ntj m<sup>d</sup> Wsjr Dd-ḥr // 3) m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw jr.t n Ns-Hnsw m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw jm=s Jnpw ᵑ<sup>h</sup> r=k wd.fb=k pfj // 4) ḥr dd n=k m33 n=k<sup>e</sup> jmn.w(t) n.t ntr ᵑ3 [m] grḥ pfj z3=f Hr [...]ᵑ<sup>f</sup>=f tw // 5) m ḥb.t=k twj ḏw.t m s3.w n 3kr 3w m-ᵑ<sup>c</sup>.t // 6) m wd.tw n Gb ntr ᵑ3 jrj r=k ḥ3=k sbj<sup>g</sup> pfj // 7) z3 Nw.t m jj r ᵑ<sup>h</sup> twj ntj jw wsjr Dd-ḥr m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw jr.t n // 8) nb.t pr Ns-Hnsw m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw jm=s jw kjj r3 Dḥwtj m j3b.wt=f pfj m3<sup>c</sup> n Jsds // 9) <sn.tj><sup>h</sup> pr=sn r=k pr ḥ.t jr=k m p.t ḏšr.wt jr=k m t3 dr=sn b3 // 10) =k n p.t ḥr R<sup>c</sup> sswn=sn k3=k m t3 ḥr Gb ḥw=sn b // 11) .w=k js ḥr k3 ḥk3<sup>i</sup> ḥrj-tp ᵑ<sup>h</sup>.w m wd.tw n R<sup>c</sup> ntr ᵑ3 jrj r=k...*

1) ...[They punish him with] their hands, they cut down him with their mouth. Back you // 2) this rebel, miserable character, do not come to this tomb where Osiris Djed-her, // 3) true-of-voice, born to Nes-Khonsu, true-of-voice is. Anubis stands up against you, he deals with this, your harm, // 4) while he says to you: you see the hidden of the great God that night, his son, Horus [...] you // 5) in this terrible place of execution in the custody of Aker far from the chamber // 6) according to what Geb, great god, ordered to be done against you. Back you, this rebel // 7) son of Nut! Don't come to this palace wherein the Osiris Djed-her, true-of-voice, born to // 8) Nes-Khonsu, true-of-voice, is. Another speech of Thoth comes in this his true form of Isdes: // 9) [the two sisters] they come against you, light comes against you from the

<sup>126</sup> Leitz 2011, 23–24.

<sup>127</sup> Leitz 2011, 24.

<sup>128</sup> LGG I, 444c-445a.

<sup>129</sup> Leitz 2011: 271–272.



The very end of the spell was inscribed on the other side panel to the horizontal lintel of the box:

Left side lintel



[*dr:n=s*] *b3=k shtm.n=s k3=k n pr=k m hb.t=k twj dw hr s3w n Gb d.t*

[She expelled] your *Ba* and she destroyed your *Ka*. You cannot come out from this your sad place of execution under the custody of Geb for ever.

As Assmann and his co-authors noted, there is a structure<sup>130</sup> in the litany-like calling of the enemies of the deceased which may be grouped as follows:

Calling	Warning	Place	Acting gods	Their place on the chest	Comment
Rebel ( <i>sbj</i> )	do not enter ( <i>m ʕk</i> )	this sacred chamber ( <i>ʕ.t twj dsr.t</i> )	the seven Akh-spirtis	Two on each side grasping knives	The text mentions eight gods insted of seven.
This rebel with miserable character ( <i>sbj pfj hz kd.t</i> )	Back! do not come ( <i>m jw</i> )	this tomb ( <i>jh3.t twj</i> )	Anubis and Horus	Anubis is on the frontal panel. Horus supposedly on the back panel	
This rebel son of Nut ( <i>sbj pfj z3 Nw.t</i> )	Back! do not come ( <i>m jw</i> )	this palace ( <i>ʕh twj</i> )	Isdes (Thoth), Isis and Nephthys	Isdes on the right side. The two sisters are on the frontal panel.	An additional protective genius is depicted on right: <i>Jr-m-ʕw3</i>
This rebel with miserable character, red eyed one ( <i>sbj pfj hzj kd.t, dšr jr.tj</i> )	do not enter ( <i>m ʕk</i> )	the cultic chamber ( <i>wʕb.t</i> )	Khnum and Isis (Senit)	On the left side panel.	

Table 3. Decoration pattern of Doc. 9 and its correlation to Spell 16 of Glorfications III.

As we stressed in 2013, the creativity of the priests who decorated the chests must be emphasised. The wife of Djed-her’s cousin Djed-Khonsu-iuf-anh, Mut-Min, had a simillar yellow on black style canopic chest (Vienna, KHM, A 2123) which cited the beginning sentences of the Book of Traversing Eternity, mixed with some spells of the Pyramid Texts, and other chests of the same family cited sentences of the Ritual of Opening of the Mouth. In line with this, priests of

<sup>130</sup> Assmann *et al.* 2008: 490.





omitted many spells from the normal collection of 165 spells, P. Turin 1830 is exceptional in that it included the full set of spells, omitting only BD 139, a spell that was omitted in most Saite through Ptolemaic documents because it was likely regarded as being the same as BD 123.<sup>135</sup> Many illustrations were revised from earlier versions and continued to be used in subsequent Theban traditions. The arrangement of the document follows Style 1 that was used for nearly all subsequent Theban Ptolemaic traditions (Figure 11).<sup>136</sup>

P. Turin 1830 is in almost perfect condition, although it is worn in places and this makes the texts in those areas difficult to read. The spells are arranged in numerical ascending sequence, but the following modifications were made. The normal Saite sequential arrangement placed BD 64 between BD 63 and 65.<sup>137</sup> In the Saite P. Turin 1842 (TM 57580), however, BD 64 was moved up to follow BD 30, the reason doubtless being scribal recognition that some rubrics of the two spells were almost identical. Where the sequential arrangement of BD 30-64-31 can only be confirmed in this one Saite document, it does not appear to have been widely accepted during that era, and the normal Saite sequence of BD 63-64-65 can also be observed in the subsequent pre-Ptolemaic documents (P. BM 10097, P. BM 9912, P. Louvre E 11078, and P. Louvre N 3094).<sup>138</sup> In the tradition that produced Djed-her's document, BD 64 was moved up to follow BD 30, and with few exceptions this was the normal placement for BD 64 in all subsequent Ptolemaic Theban traditions.<sup>139</sup>

The Saite sequence of BD 136-138-137-139-140 can also be observed in the pre-Ptolemaic P. Louvre E 11078 and seemingly in the pre-Ptolemaic P. BM 10097. In Djed-her's document, however, the sequence was revised to BD 136-140-137-138, with BD 139 omitted, and this became the sequence for subsequent Theban Ptolemaic documents from the N3079 and N3089 Traditions. The arrangement of these spells then reverted back to the Saite sequence in the Ryerson and Theban-y Traditions, along with hieroglyphic P. Turin 1791.<sup>140</sup> The sequences of BD 152-151 and BD 163-164-165-162 are also present in P. Turin 1830, and these too were retained in most subsequent Theban Ptolemaic traditions.<sup>141</sup>

Regarding the texts and illustrations of the spells making up this document, as well as issues involving the sequential arrangement of these spells, P. Turin 1830 is a vital representative of the pre-Ptolemaic development of a new Book of the Dead tradition in Thebes that served as

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museums, refer to the short name used in the Series, followed by the TM number that can be used to look up the document in the Bonn Archive.

<sup>135</sup> For BD 139, see Mosher 2020: 337-340 and 344-346.

<sup>136</sup> On Style 1, see Mosher 1992: 145-149.

<sup>137</sup> Saite documents with the BD 63-64-65 sequence: P. Cairo 40024 (TM 57443), P. Jahtesnacht (TM 57143), P. Louvre N 3091, P. Nespasefy (TM 57694), P. Vatican #23 (TM 56970), and Berlin 3060 (TM 57507).

<sup>138</sup> In P. BN 112 (TM 57195) we cannot be sure of its sequence because BD 64 was omitted, but BD 23 to 31 were presented in sequence, and thereafter the subsequent sequence is BD 33-34-36-38-42-53-54-56-75-89, with many more spells omitted before the document concludes with BD 162. Clearly BD 64 was not located after BD 30 and probably it would have been located between BD 56 and BD 75 if it had been included. Similarly, in P. BM 9944 the text of BD 30 is lost although a fragment of BD 64 survives without the texts of the adjacent spells, but in the sequence of illustrations, that of BD 30 is followed by the illustration of BD 31, again suggesting that the text of BD 64 did not follow the text of BD 30.

<sup>139</sup> The exceptions are P. Louvre E 4890 (TM 56832), P. Cairo JE 97249.2, and P. Turin 1791. P. Louvre and P. Cairo have both been classified as belonging to the Theban-y Tradition that is less of a tradition but rather a group of documents that have various features in common. Some of these often had versions of texts based on Saite source as well as source found in pre-Ptolemaic hieroglyphic documents, and the same can be said for P. Turin 1791.

<sup>140</sup> For the sequence of these spells, see Mosher 2020: 395-401.

<sup>141</sup> For these sequences, see Mosher 2018c: 19-24, and 571-582.

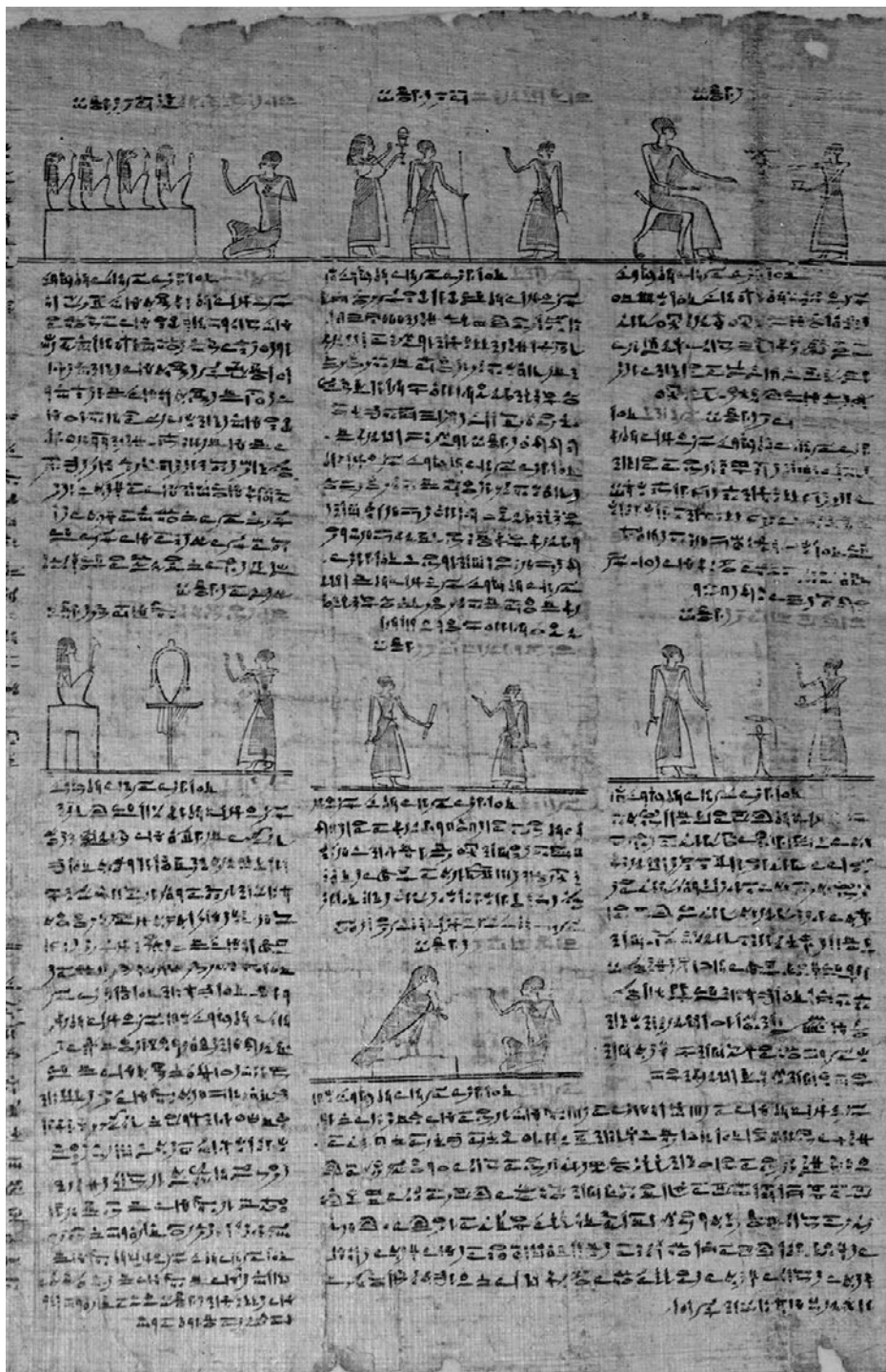


Figure 11. Arrangement of BD 21 to BD 28 in the Style 1 document P. Turin 1830. Photo: © Courtesy of the Museo Egizio di Torino.

the foundation for subsequent Theban Ptolemaic traditions, all of which have been thoroughly documented in the SPBDStudies Series.

### 3.11 Doc. 11 Funerary papyri of Pa-kher-Khonsu

Herman De Meulenaere called our attention to another son of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu, called Pa-kher-Khonsu.<sup>142</sup> No traces of his burial were revealed by the Austrian mission in TT 414, but a Book of the Dead papyrus stored in Turin, cat. no. 1832, can be assigned to him. According to Gill, like his brother Djed-her, Pa-kher-Khonsu had a series of funerary papyri (Table 4).<sup>143</sup>

Inventory no.	Content	Bibliography
Turin cat. no. 1832	Book of the Dead containing a reduced number of spells	<a href="http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56968#">http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm56968#</a> Gill 2019b: 100, pls. 29–30. Mosher 2016–2021: passim. Mosher’s contribution in this study (Doc. 12)
London, BM, EA 10319	Glorifications I, II and IV	<a href="https://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?quick=57047">https://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?quick=57047</a> <a href="http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57047">http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm57047</a> Gill 2019a: 4. Gill 2019b: 101. Publication is in progress by François R. Herbin

Table 4. List of papyri from Pa-kher-Khonsu’s archive.

### 3.12 Doc. 12 Book of the Dead Papyrus of Pa-kher-Khonsu (Turin, Museo Egizio di Torino, cat. no. 1832)

Contribution by Malcolm Mosher, Jr.

This hieratic Book of the Dead belonged to the prophet of Amun in Karnak Pa-kher-Khonsu, whose mother was the mistress of the house Nes-Khonsu, alternately named of Kalutj, and whose father was Hor. He appears to be the brother of Djed-her (P. Turin 1830).

The document has suffered considerable damage across its length, and many areas are so badly worn that the text is difficult to read and is often illegible. While nearly all texts can be identified, the versions of many of those texts cannot be identified due to the aforementioned damage. The content that can be identified is as follows, where ‘v’ stands for a vignette or illustration: part of the illustration for BD 1(text lost), 3, 4, 5///10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15av, 15b, 15c, 15g, 15h, 15i, v16, 17v, 18v, 19, 20///22, 23v, 24v, 25v, 26v, 29(with illustration of BD 27)///30, 64v, 31v, 32v, 33v, 34, 35v, 36v, 37v, 38v, 39v///42, 43v, 44v, 45v, 46v, 47v, 48v, 49, 50v, 51v, 52v, 53v, 54v, 56v, 57v, 60v, 59v, 61v, 62, 63v, ?(a short and mostly illegible text with another illustration for BD 64), 67v, 66, 71v, 72v, 73(uncertain), 74v, 75v///77v, 78v, 79v, 80v(anomalous illustration), 81v, 82v, 83v, 84v, 86v, 87v, 88v, 91v, 92v, 94v, 95v, 96/7v(anomalous illustration), 98v, 99///101?,

<sup>142</sup> De Meulenaere 1984: 241, no. 5.

<sup>143</sup> Previously, papyrus BM EA 10319 was dated to c. 200 BCE, see Backes 2015: 20, no. 22; Kucharek and Coenen 2021: 119, fn. 605.



Figure 12a. Arrangement of BD 87, 88, 91, 92, 95 in the Style 1 document P. Turin 1832.  
Photo: © Courtesy of the Museo Egizio di Torino.

102 (with illustration of BD 100), 103v, 104v, 105v, 106v,<sup>144</sup> 108v,<sup>145</sup> 109v, 110v, 111, 112v, 113v, 114v, 115v, 116v, 117v, 118v, 119, 120 (with illustration of BD 119), 124v, 125v, 126v, 127v, 128v, 129v,<sup>146</sup> 131v, 132v, 134 (with Version 1 of illustration for BD 137), 135 (with Version 1 of illustration for BD 134), 138 (with Version 1 of illustration for BD 138 or alternatively part of the illustration for BD 140), 137v (with part of Version 1 of illustration for BD 140), 140v (with concluding part of illustration for BD 140), 141, 142, v143, 144v, 145v, 146v, 147v, and v148. In the current mounting of the document, more than a few fragments are incorrectly aligned, some up by as many as two or three lines off. The current locations of the fragments with BD 106 and BD 108 are unlikely to represent their original locations. The document seems to end with the illustration of BD 148, but that is by no means certain.

Photographs of this document have only become available recently,<sup>147</sup> and thus texts and illustrations for this important document were not analysed for Volumes 1-6, 8, and 10 of the SPBDStudies Series, but they have been examined in depth for the spells in Volume 9, Part 1 (BD 144-146), 2 (BD 147-148), and 3 (BD 149-150), and will be incorporated in the coming Volumes 7 and 11. All texts but those of BD 17, 64, 110, and 125 have been examined for the current essay to identify content and versions. In this respect, the following observations are preliminary, and a detailed analysis of all spells not examined for the previous volumes of the series will be given in Volume 12.

To put this document into perspective, it is important to understand the three pre-Ptolemaic Theban traditions identified in Mosher 2016a: 11-19. Turin 1830 is discussed separately in this publication and it represents one of these traditions. The second tradition consists of hieroglyphic docs (Style 3, Mosher 1992: 172), these texts often follow older Saite versions, and for more than a few spells they also have a close relationship with versions of texts found in the later Ryerson, Theban-y, and Later Hieroglyphic Traditions.<sup>148</sup> P. Turin 1832 is also a Style 1 document, and some of its texts represent the same versions as those in P. Turin 1830: BD 15c, 22, 43, 79, 82, 83, 86, 88, 91, 129, 132, 144. Many more, however, follow versions in the pre-Ptolemaic hieroglyphic documents: BD 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 13, 15g, 15h, 15i, 18, 23, 24, 25, 32, 44, 54, 63, 104, 140, and 145, while other spells follow versions used by both of those two groups: BD 14, 15a, 15b, 26, 137, 142. As stated above, the Ryerson, Theban-y, and Later HG Traditions made use of some versions of texts found in pre-Ptolemaic hieroglyphic documents, and Turin 1832 has a few spells whose versions are otherwise only found in these later groups: BD 20, 29, 31, 42, 98, 131. As also stated above, the information above is preliminary, and the exact relationship between pre-Ptolemaic hieroglyphic documents and documents of these later groups must wait until complete examination of all spells has been completed in the remaining volumes of the SPBDStudies Series. Considering the versions of texts from different groups, it appears that P. Turin 1832 (Figure 12a) was produced from source documents from different workshops, and the texts for many spells appear to have been converted from hieroglyphic source to hieratic script.

<sup>144</sup> This appears as a fragment by itself, currently located to the left of BD 108.

<sup>145</sup> This appears as a fragment by itself, currently located above the text of BD 104.

<sup>146</sup> The orientation is reversed from the norm, and the fetish for Abydos, unusual in this scene, is on the wrong side.

<sup>147</sup> We thank Susanne Töpfer at the museum in Turin for making the photographs available.

<sup>148</sup> In that 1992 essay, disregard the comment that hieroglyphic documents came much later in Theban Ptolemaic documents. They can also be found in Theban pre-Ptolemaic documents.

The complete list of surviving texts and illustrations is given above.<sup>149</sup> The following list represents versions of illustrations in P. Turin 1832 first noted in pre-Ptolemaic documents, particularly in that of Pa-kher-Khonsu's brother Djed-her (P. Turin 1830).

BD 1, Scene 15g (stela without winged sun-disk but with name of deceased);  
 BD 18 (§8);  
 BD 23 Version 3;  
 BD 24 Version 3;  
 BD 44 Version 3;  
 BD 46 Version 2 (but with additional figure, taken from Version 2 of BD 43? (Figure 12b.)),



Figure 12b.

BD 47 Version 3;  
 BD 48 Version 3;  
 BD 50 Version 3;  
 BD 51 Version 3;  
 BD 52 Version 3;  
 BD 53 Version 1 (cup omitted, and can be observed in others);  
 BD 57 Version 2 (?);  
 BD 60 Version 2;  
 BD 59 Version 3;  
 BD 61 Version 2;  
 BD 63 Version 4 (abridged);  
 BD 64 - text uncertain because it is short, worn, and mostly illegible;  
 BD 67 Version 1;  
 BD 75 Version 2;  
 BD 78 Version 2;  
 BD 82 Version 2;  
 BD 91 Version 2;  
 BD 92 Version 2;  
 BD 109 Version 2;  
 BD 129 Version 1 (also in Saite documents, but the Abydos fetish is rare, found only otherwise in P. Detroit 1988.10 and P. BM EA 10311, both from the N3089 Tradition);

<sup>149</sup> For the spells not listed with illustrations above, most of those illustrations are lost today. BD 62 and BD 96/97 for example, were not normally accompanied by an illustration, although BD 96/97 is here accompanied by an anomalous illustration.

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Figure 12c. BD 129 Version 1.



Figure 12d. P. Detroit 1988.10 (N3089 Group) Figure 12e. P. BM 10311 (N3089 Group)

BD 131 Version 2 (only found in two documents from the N3089 Tradition, plus P. Ryerson, P. Louvre N 3145, P. Louvre E 4890, P. Louvre N 3129);  
BD 132 Version 2 (Anomalous);



Figure 12f. BD 132 Version 2 (Anomalous).



Figure 12g. BD 132 Version 2 P. Detroit 1988.10 (N3089 Group).

BD 134 with Version 1 of illustration for BD 137;  
BD 138 with either Version 1 of illustration for BD 138 or part of Version 2 for BD 140 (see below);  
BD 137 with part of Version 2 of the illustration for BD 140;  
BD 140 with concluding part of Version 2 of the illustration for BD 140;





Figure 12h. Version 2 for BD 140 in P. Turin 1830.

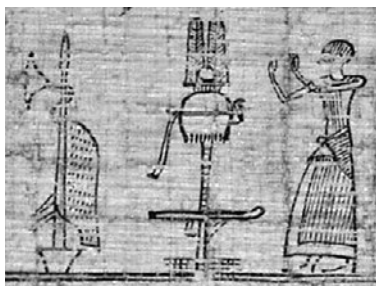


Figure 12i. Version 2 for BD 138 in P. Turin 1830.



Figure 12j. Version 2 for BD 138 in P. Detroit 1988.10.

Elements of Version 2 for BD 140 in P. Turin 1832:



Figure 12k. with text of BD 138.



Figure 12l. with text of BD 137.



Figure 12m. with text BD 140.

BD 143 Version 2 (orientation incorrect and four-register version only otherwise noted in the pre-Ptolemaic P. Hermitage 3531 and P. BM EA 10097);

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Figure 12n. P. Turin 1832.



Figure 12o. P. Hermitage 3531.



Figure 12p. P. BM EA 10097.

BD 144 Version 2;  
 BD 145 Version 2;  
 BD 146 Version 1.

The document also contains several unique scenes that likely represent errors



Figure 12q. BD 80 – anomalous.



Figure 12r. BD 96/97 with anomalous scene.

From this evidence one can observe that while the versions of texts often differ between P. Turin 1830 and P. Turin 1832, the two documents mostly used the same versions of illustrations.

With regard to the sequential arrangement, as in P. Turin 1830, the spells were presented in numerical ascending sequence but with some exceptions, and more than a few spells were omitted.<sup>150</sup> Like in P. Turin 1830, BD 64 was moved forward to follow BD 30. BD 59 was placed out of order. While BD 136 was omitted, the sequence of BD 138, 137, and 140 is like that in pre-Ptolemaic hieroglyphic documents with which P. Turin 1832 is associated for the texts of many spells, and the pre-Ptolemaic hieratic Hermitage has this same sequence. One can also observe that the artist was confused and out of synchronisation regarding the illustrations for BD 134, 135, 138, 137, and 140.

<sup>150</sup> The omitted spells are BD 27, 28, 55, 58, 67 to 70, 89, 90, 93, 100, 121, 123, 130, 133, 136, and seemingly the remaining spells for 149 to 165. The following spells may have been present but are now lost: BD 6 to 9, 15d, 15e, 15f, 21, 40, 41, 107.

P. Turin 1830 and P. Turin 1832 belonged to two brothers, but nothing in the two documents certifies who was the older and who was the younger. I have, however, previously observed in the SPBDStudies Series that occasional passages in texts of various spells differ between P. Hermitage 3531 and P. Turin 1830, where those passages in P. Hermitage 3531 are aligned with the older Saite texts, and this suggests that P. Hermitage 3531 may have been produced earlier than P. Turin 1830. There are hints of the same in P. Turin 1832 – the sequence of BD 138-137-140 and the illustration for BD 143. The text of BD 142 (Version 2), also has passages in common with P. Hermitage that differ from those in P. Turin 1830. In these respects, P. Turin 1832 may have been produced earlier than P. Turin 1830, but this does not necessarily suggest that Pa-kher-Khonsu was the older brother because one must consider when in each man's life his Book was produced. One might assume that Pa-kher-Khonsu was the older brother because of what his Book has in common with P. Hermitage, but, if we assume each man's Book was produced toward the end of his life, Pa-kher-Khonsu could have been the younger brother and pre-deceased his older brother.

P. Turin 1832 may well have more to reveal after a thorough study of its texts, and P. Zagreb 602 appears to be yet another pre-Ptolemaic document with similarities to P. Turin 1832.

### 3.13 Doc. 13 Cuboid statue of Pa-kher-Khonsu (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 38592)

Herman De Meulenaere indicated that a cuboid statue from the Karnak Cachette may be assigned to Pa-kher-Khonsu.<sup>151</sup> JE 38592 belongs to the god's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, *sakh-wedjat*<sup>152</sup> Pa-kher-Khonsu, true-of-voice, son of the god's father, chief of the temple of Khonsu Hor, true-of-voice, (*jt-ntr hm-ntr Jmn m Jp.t s.wt s3h-wd3.t P3-hr-Hnsw*<sup>153</sup> *m3c-hrw z3 jt-ntr 3 pr Hnsw Hr m3c-hrw*). Though the mother's name does not appear on the statue, the titles of Pa-kher-Khonsu and Hor suggest this to be the right identification.<sup>154</sup>

The pair had a daughter according to the finds of TT 414, she is called Ta-sherit-Min. So far only the inscribed mummy bandages can be assigned to this woman.<sup>155</sup> Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer has previously noted that further mummy bandages of this woman are stored in the Louvre.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>151</sup> De Meulenaere 1984: 241, no. 5 and mentioned by Gill 2019b: 100.

<sup>152</sup> Selim 2003: 401–402, commentary c).

<sup>153</sup> PN I, 116, 18 and 130, 19; PN I, XXII; PN II, 354; DN I, 210–211 and 508; TM Nam 790.

<sup>154</sup> With further detail on web page: <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck657> (last accessed on 16.03.2020).

<sup>155</sup> Munro 1973: 57. Our research unearthed a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue which participated in an auction at Bonhams Fine Antiquities, London, Knightsbridge (Bonhams 1994: 62, lot no. 278, the piece is 80 cm high). According to the description, the object was made for the benefit of a Ta-sherit-Min, and although a piece of paper which accompanied the statue stated that it was purchased in Akhmim, its style is clearly Theban – exact analogies are well known (Raven 1979: 268–270, pl. 40, no. 5; Raven 1980: 22–26, pl. 2). The statue reappeared recently at the Kallos Gallery Ltd., London with detailed photos (<https://kallogallery.com/artworks/categories/1/541-egyptian-an-egyptian-wood-ptah-sokar-osiris-for-the-akhmim-ptolemaic-period-circa-200-bc/> - last accessed on 10.01.2022), though the inscription of the base clarifies that the sistrum player of Amun-Re Ta-sherit-Min was not the owner but a mother of a sistrum player of Amun-Re called Naw-heryw-aaw (?); her husband Wesir-wer was god's father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of the gods, prophet of Horus and prophet of Wer-nekhet. Similar, though mutilated pieces were found by the Austrian mission in TT 414 (see Budka *et al.* 2013: 219–221, Doc. 3).

<sup>156</sup> Reiser-Haslauer 1982a: 252, fn. 475 and later De Caluwe 1991: XVIII–XIX.

**3.14 Doc. 14 Mummy bandages of Ta-sherit-Min<sup>157</sup> (Paris, Louvre, AF 11954 (X. 25) +11956 (X. 24) + E 18865 + 27459)<sup>158</sup>**

Contribution by Marc Étienne

The collection of the Egyptian department of the Louvre Museum has four mummy bandages related to the Ta-sherit-Min ensemble. Two of them, the longest ones, were acquired in the middle of the 19th century and are of the same type. The two others entered the collection during the 20th century. Current investigations on the registers and on art collectors are still aiming at further information concerning these items.

***Doc. 14a Mummy bandage AF 11954 (X. 25)***

Dimensions: H: 3-2 cm; L: 550 cm  
Linen

*Bibliography*

Kockelmann 2008 (2): 273, no. 199.  
De Caluwe 1991: XVIII, fn. 39.  
Bellion 1987: 190.  
Devéria 1872: 113–114, III.87.

*Commentary*

The fabric is very thin, regularly woven and quite well preserved. It bears a single line of cursive hieroglyphs written in black ink. The inscription consists of Spell 72 of the Book of the Dead (Version 4, see: Mosher 2017: 354–371), mentioning the owner Ta-sherit-Min and her titles (sistrum player of Amun-Re) as well as her mother Nes-Khonsu (sistrum player of Amun-Re).

***Doc. 14b Mummy bandage AF 11956 (X. 24)***

Dimensions: H: 2.3 cm ; L: 625 cm  
Linen

*Bibliography*

Kockelmann 2008 (2): 273, no. 199.  
De Caluwe 1991: XVIII, fn. 39.  
Bellion 1987: 190.  
Devéria 1872: 113–114, III.87

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<sup>157</sup> PNI, 369,3; DN I, 1112; TM Nam 1074.

<sup>158</sup> Kockelmann 2008 (2): 18 and 273, cat. no. 199 with bibliography and commentary. The detailed publication of these written mummy linens will be realised by François R. Herbin.

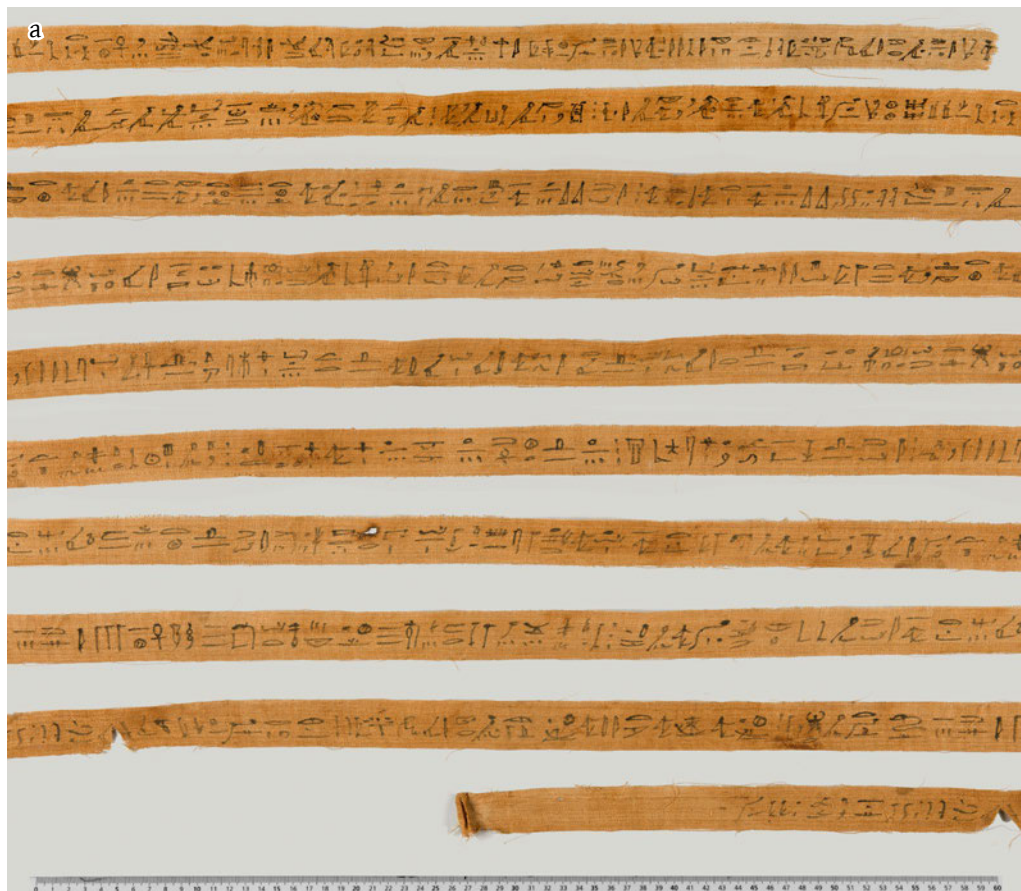


Figure 13a. Mummy bandages of Ta-sherit-Min – Paris, AF 11954 (X. 25). Photo: © Musée du Louvre / Christian Décamps.

### Commentary

The fabric is very thin and regularly woven. It is well preserved, despite some torn parts and other parts lost. In various areas, stains of mummification products are present.

The inscription is a single line of cursive hieroglyphs written in black ink. The content is Spell 18 of the Book of the Dead (Version 5, see: Mosher 2016b: 79–80), mentioning the owner Ta-sherit-Min and her titles (sistrum player of Amun-Re) as well as her mother Nes-Khonsu (sistrum player of Amun-Re) and father Hor (god's father and priest of Amun of Ipet-Sut, chief of the temple of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep).

On the reverse, there is a white label with the number 23 written in black ink. The two mummy bandages (AF 11954 and AF 11956) were present in the collection prior to 1870. As stated in Déveria's catalogue, the labels refer to a numbering system linked with a former register book.

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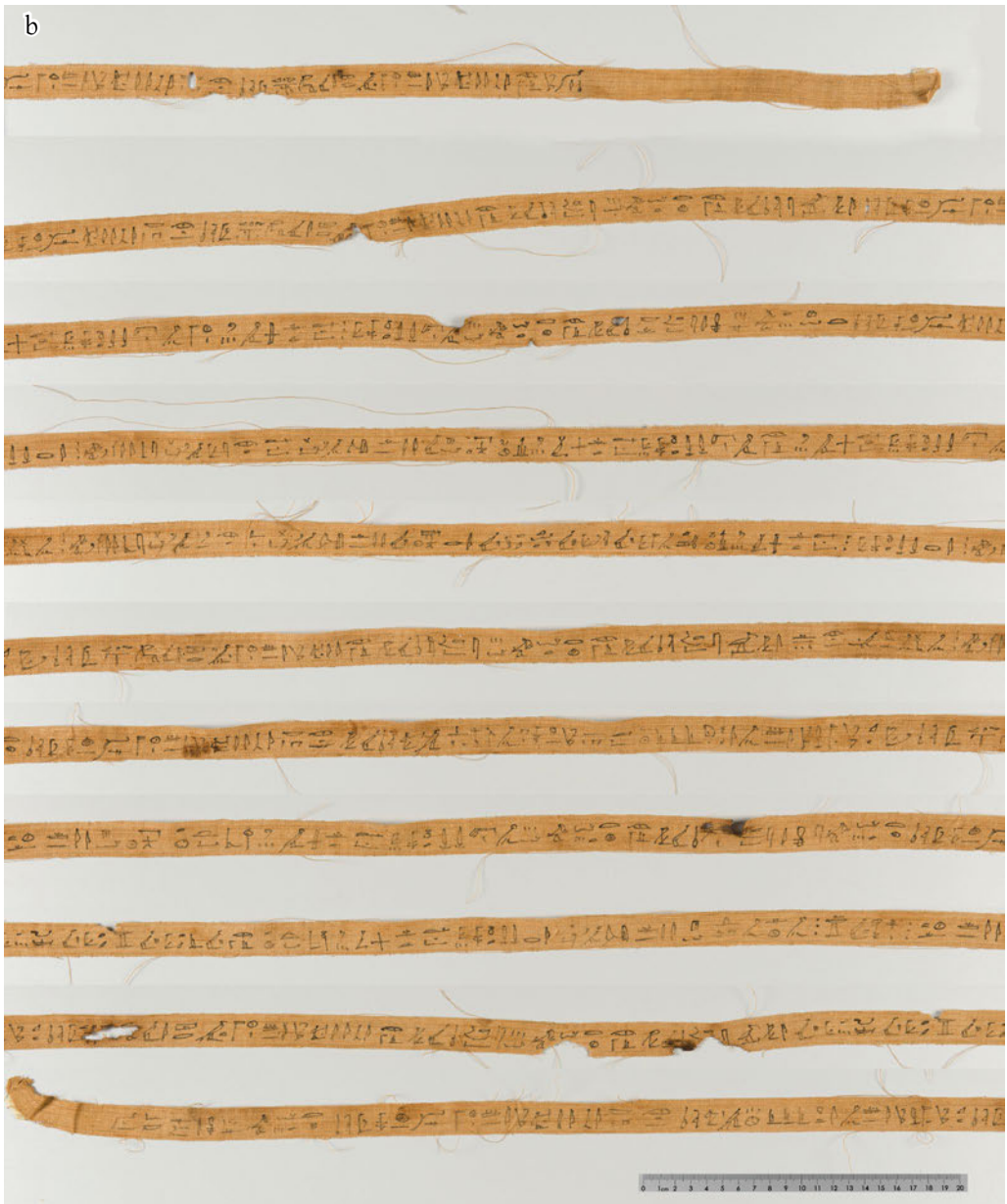


Figure 13b. Mummy bandages of Ta-sherit-Min – Paris, Louvre Louvre AF 11956 (X.24). Photo: © Musée du Louvre / Christian Décamps.

AF 11956 (X. 24) is labelled by number 23, while piece AF 11954 (X. 25) was once labelled by number 22 according to Déveria (p. 113). If one checks the first acquisition catalogues of the Egyptian department in the 1826 acquisition of the Salt collection one may identify these pieces accordingly:

*No. 22 Bandelette de toile (très longue) portant un texte hiéroglyphique relatif à une femme défunte - très bien conservé, toile de Byssus*

*No. 23 Bandelette (autre) très longue avec un texte relatif à une autre femme défunte - belle conservation, id.*

**Doc. 14c Fragment of a mummy bandage E 18865**

Dimensions: H: 4.1 cm; L: 116.4 cm

Linen

Acquired in 1948, transfer and attribution to the Louvre of the collections of the Musée Guimet.

*Bibliography*

Kockelmann 2008 (2): 273, no. 199.

*Commentary*

The fabric of the fragment is of good quality and regularly woven. The inscription is placed in the central area of the linen fragment with a margin ranging from 0.8 cm to 1 cm. There is a single line of cursive hieroglyphs written in black ink.

It bears a part of the ‘Spell for Presenting Offerings’,<sup>159</sup> mentioning the owner Ta-sherit-Min and her titles (sistrum player of Amun-Re) as well as her mother Nes-Khonsu (sistrum player of Amun-Re) and father Hor (god’s father and priest of Amun of Ipet-Sout, chief of the temple of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep). The fragment was part of the collections of the Musée Guimet. Nevertheless, the circumstances of its acquisition are still unknown.

**Doc. 14d Fragment of a mummy bandage E 27459**

Dimensions: H: 4.7 cm; L: 25.1 cm

Linen

Acquired in 1991, gift of Mrs Annette Minaud



Figure 13c. Mummy bandages of Ta-sherit-Min – Paris, Louvre, E 18865. Photo: © Musée du Louvre / Antiquités Egyptiennes.

<sup>159</sup> Assman *et al.* 2005: 149–180, and most recently Herbin 2017: 99–133, cf. 107–109.

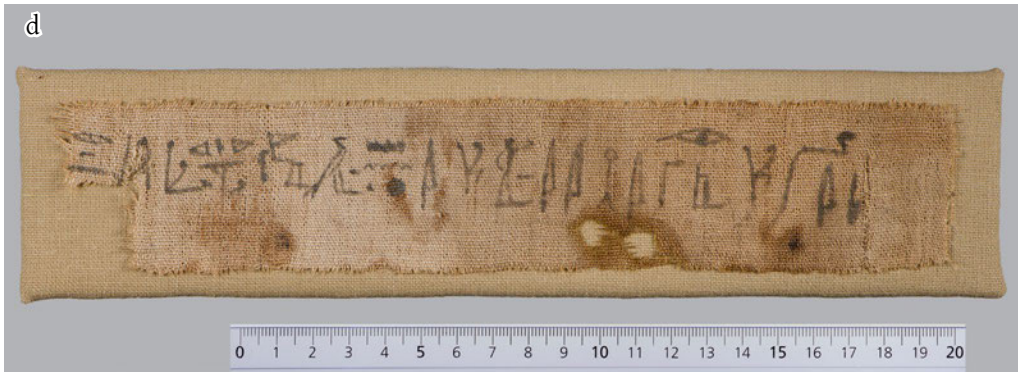


Figure 13d. Mummy bandages of Ta-sherit-Min – Paris, Louvre E 27459. Photo: © Musée du Louvre / Antiquités Égyptiennes.

### Bibliography

Kockelmann 2008 (2): 273, no. 199.

### Commentary

The fabric of the fragment is of good quality, regularly woven and of the same type as the fragment E 18865. The inscription is placed in the central area of the linen fragment with a margin ranging from 0.8 cm to 1 cm. There is a single line of cursive hieroglyphs written in black ink. The beginning of the text is preserved: 'Words spoken by the sistrum player of Amun-Re, Ta-sherit-Min, justified born to' [...]

On the reverse of the cardboard to which the mummy bandage was formerly fixed was a written label bearing the mention '*Epoque saïte 600 av. J.-C. Tissu et bandelette de tissu portant l'inscription suivante: « Dit par la joueuse de sistre d'Amun-Râ, Takheredit-Min, juste de voix, née de .... ».* Traduction de Mr Alexandre Moret professeur à l'École des Htes Études Cons.(ervateur) adj.(oint) Musée Guimet Mars 1912.'

The fragment of unscribed textile was given to the Louvre with the inscribed one. This mention is an indication of the presence of these textiles in a French collection before World War I. They were formerly in the collection of a man named Landel.



## Chapter 4

### Primary sources for the family of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (G108 + G137) from TT 414

The following is an overview of objects associated with the family of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (G108+G137) found in the course of the Austrian excavation in the tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT 414. These are primarily wooden painted coffins, as well as one canopic chest and faience ushebti figurines. We have to assume that objects typical for Ptolemaic tomb groups such as cartonnage cases, hypocephali, and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues also existed and were either completely destroyed or are too fragmented to be identified as belonging to this family.

Seminal work on the coffins from TT 414 was conducted in the 1970s by Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer, who registered all the coffins and documented the texts and decorative programmes.<sup>160</sup> Detailed studies, and especially the cleaning and consolidation of the coffins, were not possible contemporaneously with the excavation and conservation work. These tasks are now being carried out by the new LMU Ankh-Hor project<sup>161</sup> and enable a closer assessment of the texts and images.

Like every coffin corpus, the coffins from both the Saite burials of the family of Ankh-Hor and the later burials of the Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy family in TT 414 represent ‘a rich resource for the study of funerary practices, religious iconography and prosopography.’<sup>162</sup> Since the focus of the present publication is on the prosopography of the family of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (G108 + G137), the primary sources related to the family excavated in TT 414 are here presented with short descriptions only. A full publication of these pieces will be realised in the form of a monograph presenting all relevant tomb groups, including a detailed assessment of the reflected funerary and social practices.

#### 4.1 Doc. 15 Coffin assemblage of Hor (Reg. Nos. 414b, 515, 790)

The husband of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu, Hor (G114-5), was buried in TT 414 within a set of three wooden coffins: an outer *qrsw*-coffin (Reg. No. 790), an outer anthropoid coffin painted in black and yellow (Reg. No. 515), and an inner anthropoid coffin painted with multicoloured decoration on the bare wood (Reg. No. 414b). Only fragments have survived, and the distribution of the finds throughout the substructure of TT 414, from Room 2, to Room 4 and Room 7/1,2, does not allow a concise assessment of the original burial place of Hor. He might have used the original burial chamber of Ankh-Hor, Room 7/1, as can be proposed for other family members, but this remains uncertain.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>160</sup> This work laid the basis for the genealogical register created by Reiser-Haslauer: Reiser-Haslauer 1982a; 1982b.


<sup>161</sup> See Budka 2019 for general information on the project and see <https://ankhhorproject.wordpress.com/>.

<sup>162</sup> Taylor 2003: 95.

<sup>163</sup> For diverse patterns of reuse in TT 414 see Budka 2010b.

**Doc. 15a Inner anthropoid coffin of Hor (Reg. No. 414b)**

This fragment derives from the central part of the lid of the inner anthropoid coffin. It measures 81.5 x 11 x 2.9 cm and was found in Room 2, reflecting the high degree of disturbance of this tomb group due to repeated plundering. The text of this coffin was applied with black coloured hieroglyphs directly onto the wood, and only fragments of two vertical lines have survived. We have to assume that originally more text columns decorated the lid, being flanked by figures of the Sons of Horus (see below, Reg. No. 672, Doc. 17).

Reg. No. 414b is a fragment from the lower, central part of the lid (Figure 14). The right column is partly broken off and gives a version of Book of the Dead spell 73.<sup>164</sup> The second column to the left is in some places preserved in its complete width and gives the name and title of Hor. The titles, written as , seem to be an abbreviated version of *jt-ntr 3 pr* as attested on Doc. 2. After ‘true-of-voice’ behind the name of the deceased, there follow short wishes, reminiscent of spells from the Pyramid texts.<sup>165</sup>


*dj=<s>n (m) hpr=k m šms.w R<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw=k r hfij.w=k d.t.*, ‘may they grant that you become (one) among the followers of Re, that you are justified against your enemies, forever’.

**Doc. 15b Outer anthropoid coffin of Hor (Reg. No. 515)**

The outer anthropoid coffin painted in the characteristic black-yellow style<sup>166</sup> is attested by one fragment of the pedestal which was found in the debris in Room 4 (pillared hall). Reg. No. 515 measures 22 x 52.5 x 5 cm. The piece is the lower foot part or base of the pedestal and was once decorated with a depiction of the vulture goddess Nekhbet, but the line work has almost disappeared.<sup>167</sup> Accompanying texts name Hor as the owner and give the following titles, *jt-ntr 3 pr hd*, before *Hr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw hr Wsjr*, thus again a short version of *jt-ntr 3 (pr) (zh3) pr-hd (n p3-*

*j'n)*, comparable to the inner coffin Reg. 414b. 

The front side of the base board gives a horizontal line with the name and titles of Hor and also the name of his mother (Figure 15):

  
*dd-mdw jn Wsjr jt-ntr hm-ntr n Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt<sup>a</sup> Hr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw msj.(n) Jr.tjw-r=w m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

Words to be spoken by the Osiris god’s father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, Hor, true-of-voice, born to Irty-eru, true-of-voice.

<sup>164</sup> On BD spell 73 see most recently: Mosher 2017: 385-393.

<sup>165</sup> Followers of Re appear both in Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts; triumphant against the enemies is a common phrase in the Book of the Dead, see BD 1, BD 17 and BD 65. The utterances of Reg. 414b are comparable in terms of content to BD 65 ‘Let me see Re, let me go forth against my enemies, let me be vindicated against them...’

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Elias and Mekis 2019: 129 with note 21 for this yellow-white upon black ground style.

<sup>167</sup> For the fragile state of the decoration of these black-yellow/white coffins see Elias and Mekis 2019: 129 with note 23.



Figure 14. Coffin fragment Reg. No. 414b. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Cajetan Geiger.

### Commentary

a. This writing of *Jp.t-s.wt* is unusual; instead of three thrones Q1 there is only one and then one stela, O26 and a throne Q12. It is a cryptographic writing form of the word *s.wt* as a rebus:  $\text{𓏏} s.t > s$  by acrophony,  $\text{𓏏} wd > wt$  by verbatim,  $\text{𓏏}$  as classifier, the result is  $s + wt = s.wt$ .

### Doc. 15c Corner post of the *qrsw*-coffin of Hor (Reg. No. 790)

One of the original four corner posts of the *qrsw*-coffin of Hor has survived with Reg. No. 790 (Figure 16). It is painted in red on a white background and was found in Room 7/1,2, in the secondary debris filling the original burial compartment of Ankh-Hor. It measures 60 cm in length and 5.5 cm in width. The vertical inscription on one side gives the name and title of Hor as well as a short spell:

*hḳ Wsjr jt-ntr ʿ3 pr Hr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw msj.n nb.t-pr Jr.tjw-r=w m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw jp-tw-k wšbj jrj k3.t m hr.t-ntr* O Osiris god's father, great of the house, Hor, true-of-voice, born to the mistress of the house Irty-eru, true-of-voice, if you are counted upon, ushebti, then do (all) the work in the god's domain.

This text is an interesting and unusual variant of an ordinary 'O Osiris' formula which is commonly found on *qrsw*-coffin posts, and of the common ushebti spell (BD 6).<sup>168</sup>

### 4.2 Doc. 16 Coffin set of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (Reg. Nos. 683 + 699)

Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu herself was probably buried in a set of two painted anthropoid coffins; the inner one is completely lost/not identified, whereas fragments of the outer anthropoid coffin were found in Room 7/1,2.<sup>169</sup> Although these fragments were unearthed in the secondary debris of this chamber, it is possible that she was buried in the original burial compartment of Ankh-

<sup>168</sup> Comparable, but more sophisticated glorification spells (see Assmann *et al.* 2008; Smith 2009) are attested on *qrsw*-coffins from Thebes, e.g. TT 414 (see above, Doc. 5), Abydos (Scalf 2017: 194–195, cat. no. 11) and Akhmim (Brech 2008: 292–295). The Akhmim example in particular shows 'short excerpts of Glorifications II and III on its corner posts, but mostly glorifying phrases from other, as yet unidentified sources' (Scalf 2017: 194) and illustrates that the corner posts of *qrsw*-coffins functioned as important surfaces for inscriptions and ritual texts.

<sup>169</sup> One needs to stress that there are also examples for the use of single coffins; see e.g. the example of Tarepit from Thebes, Elias and Mekis 2019. Thus, Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu might have been placed within a cartonnage case in her outer wooden coffin.

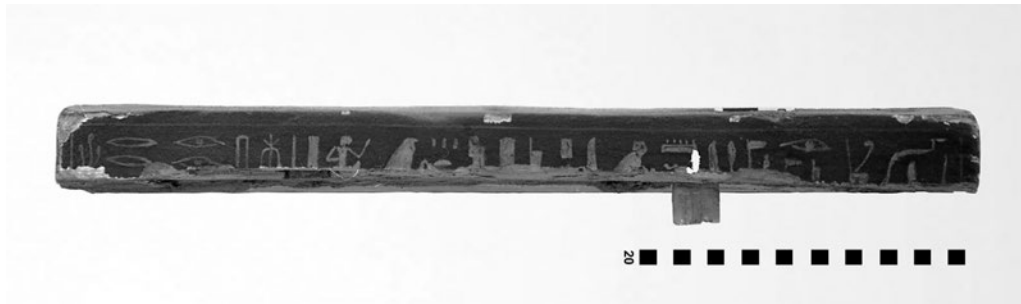


Figure 15. Coffin fragment Reg. No. 515, front side of the base board. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Manfred Bietak, ÖAW.

Hor. The coffin fragments belong to a group of at least eleven painted anthropoid wooden coffins from the 30th Dynasty to the early Ptolemaic period which were placed in the original burial chamber of Ankh-Hor.<sup>170</sup>

***Doc. 16a Outer anthropoid coffin of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (Reg. No. 683)***

Reg. No. 683 is part of the pedestal of the anthropoid coffin. The board measures 36 x 14.5 x 5 cm. There are several figures depicted on a light-yellow background (Figure 17). In the centre on the left hand side, Horus is shown with both hands holding something that looks like a staff; behind his back is an offering table, followed by four mummiform gods in a row. The first two gods wear a sun disc on their head; the headdresses of the other two have been broken off. Traces of hieroglyphic inscriptions above the gods identify Horus in the centre and Re as the first god in the row.

On the right hand side, opposite Horus, Thoth is striding towards the left, holding a staff-like object in both hands. Only his epithet *nb mdw-ntr*, ‘Lord of the god’s words’, is preserved above him. Three mummiform gods stand behind Thoth (a fourth one is probably missing due to the fragmentary nature of the piece). The first deity is Atum with a double crown and a short label above his head. The second wears the Upper Egyptian crown with feathers, thus the Osirian crown, and should depict Osiris, lord of the underworld. The preserved label suggests that the third fragmentary god is Geb.

The central motif of Horus and Thoth on Reg. No. 683 can be identified as an abridged version of the vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 161 – the two gods are opening doors; the posture of the hands in particular is characteristic of this scene.<sup>171</sup> This variant of BD 161 has no parallel within the material from TT 414, although spells and also vignettes of the Book of the Dead are commonly attested on the Ptolemaic coffins from the tomb. This version with Horus, instead of two depictions of Thoth, is a late variant that does not appear before the 30th Dynasty.<sup>172</sup> The example of Reg. No. 683, therefore, shows that as soon as this variant was created it was used on coffins as well as in the Book of the Dead papyri.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>170</sup> Reiser-Haslauer 1982a: 249, 255; Budka 2008: 71.

<sup>171</sup> For a complete overview of scenes of BD 161 and their variation see Mosher 2018c: 277–306.

<sup>172</sup> Stadler 2009: 309 with notes 313–314; Mosher 2018c: 277–306.

<sup>173</sup> One needs to mention that the motif of Anubis, respectively Anubis and Thoth, opening doors also occurs on canopic shrines from Akhmim in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, see Bruwier and Mekis 2019: 51–52, figs. 17–18.



Figure 16. Corner post of *qrsw*-coffin Reg. No. 790. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Julia Budka.

The left side of the coffin fragment Reg. No. 683 shows the deceased, kneeling in adoration in front of an offering table with a short inscription: *Wsjr Krt m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*.

**Doc. 16b Outer anthropoid coffin of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (Reg. No. 699)**

Several fragments of a colourful painted anthropoid coffin were registered as Reg. No. 699. The fragments derive from the lower part as well as the lid of the coffin and testify to a high quality of painting. Figure 18 shows the colourful painting on a light-yellow background, like Reg. No. 683. The sides of the coffin show two processions of adoring deities in front of a fantastic creature, a winged snake with four human legs.<sup>174</sup>

Of particular interest is the foot section (instep) of the lid, which is packed with decorative patterns and figures and is also related to the journey of the sun, like the side panels (Figure 19). The central motif is the god Shu holding the day bark above his head, reminiscent of the vignette of so-called BD 16.<sup>175</sup> The bark is occupied by a sun disc, flanked by two uraei and enclosing a scarab beetle. One female deity stands on the front of the bark, and a male stands close to the steering board at the back. Kneeling jackal- and falcon-headed gods flank Shu and two female goddesses support the bark. These deities are followed by Isis on the right side and Nephthys on the left side. The west-symbol on a standard stands behind Isis, the east-symbol behind Nephthys. Two baboons on each side greet the sun god in his bark. Behind the monkeys, jackal-shaped Wep-wawet deities are depicted recumbent on a shrine on each side, the typical Theban design for that part of the coffin where the top of the feet are located; within the shrine, one can see a mummy on its bier/coffin. Above the Anubis figures on each side are five uraei with sun discs on their head – representing the toes of the deceased.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>174</sup> According to A. Schweitzer the winged snake with four legs, occasionally depicted with a falcon or ram head, is an emanation of the sun god. Some depictions show the mummy lying on the back of the creature, through which the deceased is able to move into or out from the Netherworld. See Myśliwiec 1980: 171-172, Pl. XXIV (BM, EA 29583); Schweitzer 1992: 27, no. 16; Graves-Brown 2018: 124–125, fig. 56. For a representation on coffins see the coffin of the Duke of Hamilton (Bierbrier 2000: 134, fig. 91) where the creature advances at the head of a procession of souls which tows the bark of the sun god.

<sup>175</sup> This scene also appears on the feet of the sarcophagus of the Akhmimic priest Shep-Min, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, AEIN 923 (Jørgensen 2001: 284).

<sup>176</sup> Well attested in Thebes, also on coffins from TT 414 see, e.g. the inner coffin of Wah-ib-Re I, Budka 2010b: 58, fig. 6, and in Akhmim, see: Elias and Mekis 2016: 257, fig. 7.

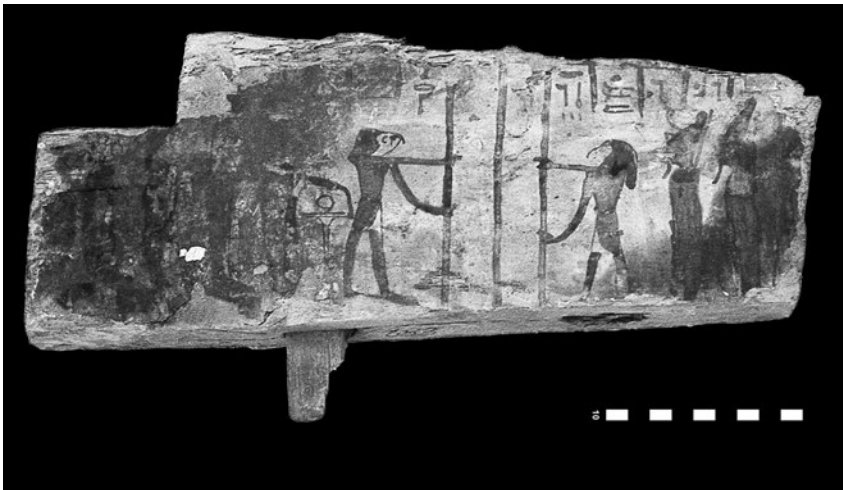


Figure 17. Coffin fragment Reg. No. 683. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Manfred Bietak, ÖAW.

The uppermost part shows another small register, to be viewed and read from the viewpoint of the deceased, thus from the toes downwards. The central scene depicts Horus in front of Osiris on a throne, behind which Isis and Nephthys are depicted in mourning gesture. A short column above Osiris names him as *Wsjr nb nḥḥ*; the female deities are also identified by short texts. Horus holds a was-scepter like a harpoon and leans slightly forward. It seems as if he is stabbing an object, but this part is unfortunately not clearly visible. The bent body of Horus could also simply be a sign of honour/veneration. Four short lines of text placed above Horus are barely legible. He is identified as *Hr-z3-Js.t* in the first column. Behind his figure there are four columns referring to the deceased.



1. *Dd-mdw jn Wsjr Krt m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw hr jmnt.t [tz]*
2. *Wsjr jb=k w<sup>c</sup> m ḥ<sup>c</sup>w=k ḥd [...]*
3. *m-ḥtw=k r ḥ3.t s3 [...]*
4. *jr.t mḥn.w=k m dw3.t d.t*



Figure 18. One of the coffin fragments of Reg. No. 699, side of lid. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Julia Budka.

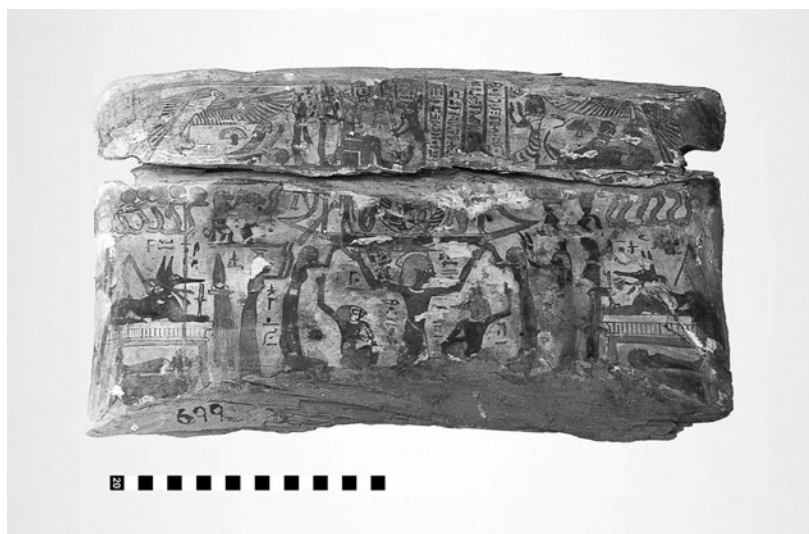


Figure 19. Foot part of coffin Reg. No. 699. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Manfred Bietak, ÖAW.

1. Words to be spoken by the Osiris Kalutj, true-of-voice in the West/necropolis [may]
2. Osiris [unify], your heart as one with your body, may [...] radiate
3. through you to the corpse, may [...] protect (you) [during]
4. making your way to the underworld/Duat forever.

The deceased is depicted in kneeling adoration after the fourth column. The corners of the foot board on this register are filled by protective falcons with outstretched wings. Below the front wing, there is a group on each side showing a mummy on its back with a *Ba* bird sitting on its chest. Behind the *Ba* there is the hieroglyph for shadow.

The outer anthropoid coffin of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu is remarkable and attests to the high degree of variability of coffin decoration within one family. The common motif, which she also shares with some of her relatives, including her brother-in-law *W3h-jb-R<sup>c</sup> I (G42)*,<sup>177</sup> is the representation of the toes as uraei.

#### 4.3 Doc. 17 Inner anthropoid coffin of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II (Reg. No. 672)

This fragment of a painted coffin of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II was found in Room 7/1, 2, the original burial compartment of Ankh-Hor. It is very similar to the inner coffin of his father, Hor (Reg. No. 414b, see above). The piece derives from the lid and measures 66 x 12 x 2 cm. It fits stylistically with the corner posts of the *qrsw*-coffin that are now in London (see above, Doc. 5). No traces of the outer anthropoid coffin were found in TT 414.

In the upper part of the coffin fragment (Figure 20), traces of the broad floral collar are visible as well as the silhouette of the side part of the mask that was once attached to the lid. Below the pectoral, parts of the winged goddess Nut are preserved. The central part of the lid is occupied by three vertical lines of text. These are flanked in the upper section by the four sons of Horus – Hapi and Kebehsenuf on the right side, by Amset and Duamutef on the left side.<sup>178</sup> Both figures and texts are directly drawn on the natural surface of the lid. The upper part of the first column gives the name and titles of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy and his parents, Hor and Kalutj.

*[jt-ntr hm-ntr Jmn m Jp.t]-s.wt s3h-wd3.t b-ntr n Jmn hm-ntr 3 (n) pr n Hnsw m W3s.t Nfr-htp P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wj m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw z3 jt-ntr 3 (n) pr (n) Hnsw Hr m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw msj.n nb.t pr K3rwt m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* [god's father and prophet of Amun in] Karnak, *sakh-wedjat*, *ab*-priest of Amun, prophet and chief of the temple of Khonsu in Thebes Nefer-hotep, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, true-of-voice, son of the god's father and chief of the temple of Khonsu Hor, true-of-voice, born to the mistress of the house Kalutj, true-of-voice.

#### 4.4 Doc. 18 Canopic chest (Reg. No. 556, now in Cairo Egyptian Museum)

A rectangular canopic shrine of painted wood was found in Room 7,1/2, in the secondary debris and can be attributed to Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II. Its shrine shape with tapered sides ending in a cavetto cornice is typical for the 4th-3rd centuries BCE.<sup>179</sup> In the following, the front panel will be described, which is painted in red, black, blue, and yellow on a yellow background (Figure 21). Here, a winged sun disc with an inscription on each side reading *bhd.t* is depicted on the lintel below the cornice. The central representation of the panel is a human head decorated with the Atef-crown, placed on top of a naos. This shrine is flanked by two standing figures of the god Anubis, offering an ointment jar on the right and linen mummy bandages on the left. The right Anubis is honoured with the epithets *nb t3-dsr(.t)* ('Lord of the

<sup>177</sup> Budka 2010b: 58, fig. 6.

<sup>178</sup> This is a typical Theban design of these inner anthropoid coffins, see, e.g., the complete example of Hornedjitef, BM EA 6678, see Strudwick 2006: 294–296. For a general discussion of Theban coffins from the early to mid-Ptolemaic era see Schreiber 2011.

<sup>179</sup> Bruwier 1990; Aston 2000: 167–169, type C2; Budka *et al.* 2013: 233–242.





Figure 20. Coffin fragment  
Reg. No. 672. Photo:  
© LMU Ankh-Hor Project/  
Manfred Bietak, ÖAW.

Sacred Land') and *nb krr:t* ('Lord of the cavern').<sup>180</sup> The Anubis to the left is labelled as *jmj wt* ('He who is in the place of embalming') and *hntj sh-ntr* ('Foremost of the divine Pavilion').

The main text in the horizontal line above the panel gives the name and title of the deceased as well as a spell commonly found on canopic boxes referring to the regeneration of the deceased and his body parts:<sup>181</sup>

*tp=k n=k ḥ[.n=k] jm=f Wsjr ʕ3 (n) pr P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wj m3ḥ-hrw*

Your head belongs to you, that you can live through it, Osiris, the chief of the temple, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, true-of-voice.

This canopic chest finds several parallels within TT 414 and, of course, elsewhere in Thebes.<sup>182</sup> Similar to the case study of the family of Mut-Min, this piece also illustrates the variability regarding the colour scheme and stylistic features of canopic chests within one family (see the different type of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy's brother Djed-her above, Doc. 9).<sup>183</sup>

#### 4.5 Doc. 19 Ushebti figurines of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II (Reg. Nos. 642 + 643)

Several faience ushebti fragments can be associated with Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy. All were found in the entrance area of Room 7,2, the corridor leading from the burial chamber of Ankh-Hor. Reg. No. 642 comprises three fragments (Figure 22a), Reg. No. 643 five pieces (Figure 22b). Further fragments were registered as K07/157 and attest, like Reg. Nos 642 and 643, two variants in blue faience, with a vertical line of text (Figure 22c) and with a horizontal inscription (Figure 22d).<sup>184</sup>

Reg. No. 642 comprises two upper parts including the head as well as a middle part of the torso (height 13–14 cm, width 5 cm). These fragments with a back pillar show a bearded face, the arms

<sup>180</sup> LGG III, 760c, it is an allusion to the necropolis of Asyut (*R3-krr:t*).

<sup>181</sup> The text is related to the Opening of the Mouth Ritual. See Bruwier 1990; Budka *et al.* 2013: 139, fn. 172 and 242, fn. 212; Elias and Mekis 2019: 127.

<sup>182</sup> See, e.g., Schreiber 2020: 34–36, figs. 15.a and b.

<sup>183</sup> See Budka *et al.* 2013: 215–219 and 237–240 (Docs. 2; 10–13); Budka and Mekis 2017: 229–231 (Doc. 12), 233–234 (Doc. 14); 234–236 (Doc. 16).

<sup>184</sup> The statues belong to Schneider's type XI A1 (Saite type with plain wig) and A5 (Late mummy), Schneider 1977 (1): 227–231.



Figure 21. Front panel of canopic chest Reg. No. 556. Photo:  
© LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Manfred Bietak, ÖAW.

are crossed and the hands clasping hoes on each side. The text gives the title and name of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy in a vertical column.

*Wsjr jt-ntr ʕ3 (n) pr Hnsw<sup>a</sup> P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wj m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw.*

Osiris, the God's father, the chief of the temple of Khonsu, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, true-of-voice.

- a. Khonsu is written on the two fragments of Reg. No. 642 (see also Reg. No. 643), but K07/157 uses ʕ3 *pr* only.

Reg. No. 643 comprises four fragments of the foot part and one torso with a width between 4–5 cm and variable heights; these figurines have a typical pedestal and a back pillar. The text gives in four horizontal lines the shabti spell<sup>185</sup> and the name and title of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy. Line 1 can be reconstructed based on K02/157, line 2 remains fragmentary.

<sup>185</sup>The spell is Schneider's type VIIa, Schneider 1977 (1): 118–126.

1. *j wšbty jpn*
2. [*jr jpt.tw*] *Wsjr jt-ntr ʕ3 pr Hnsw*
3. *P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wj m3c-ḥrw r [jrt] k3.t*
4. *nb.t jm m ḥr.t-ntr*

1. O this ushebti,
2. [if counted upon, of] the Osiris, the God's father, the chief of the temple of Khonsu
3. Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, true-of-voice, to do all the works
4. which are to be done in the God's land.

This set of ushebti is comparable to other faience funerary figurines from TT 414 datable to the 4th–3rd centuries BCE, including ones of Wah-ib-Re I.<sup>186</sup>

#### 4.6 Doc. 20 Outer anthropoid coffin of Djed-her (Reg. No. 767)

The preserved part of the outer coffin of Djed-her was found in Room 7/1,2, the original burial compartment of Ankh-Hor. The front panel of the pedestal and the foot section of the lid are preserved. The coffin falls into the common black and yellow-style which is also used by other family members like Hor (see above, Doc. 15b); the interior decoration is painted red on black. The fragment measures 54.5 x 21 x 6 cm; the complete width of the lid is 28 cm. The side boards of the coffin are 7–8 cm thick.

The painted surface of the foot section is unfortunately much eroded (Figure 23). The design on the tops of the feet was the commonly used pattern with representation of recumbent jackals on shrines, identified as Wep-wawet by the labels. The shrines are decorated on their sides with a frieze of Djed-pillars and Isis-knots. The text below in vertical columns gives protective spells spoken by Wep-wawet (short extracts from the Pyramid Texts) and mentions the owner of the coffin, the god's father (*jt-ntr*) Djed-her, son of the mistress of the house Nes-Khonsu.

#### 4.7 Doc. 21 Outer anthropoid coffin of Wesir-wer (Reg. No. 778)

Very similar to Reg. No. 767, the fragment of the outer anthropoid coffin of Wesir-wer was found in Room 7/1,2 and shows yellow decoration on a black background. Preserved are the foot/pedestal part of the coffin (Figure 24a). The front panel measures 37.5 x 25.8 x 8 cm, the lid fragment of the foot part 40 x 14 x 6 cm. The front of the pedestal is decorated with seven horizontal lines, starting with the names and titles of Wesir-wer and his filiation (father Hor), followed by offering spells. The lid part shows on the tops of the feet the characteristic decoration with two jackals (as Wep-wawet, with a flail over the back and a short label giving the name behind the figures) recumbent on two shrines, this time topped by sets of five uraei with sun discs on each side, representing the toes of the deceased (Figure 24b). Short vertical columns with the name and title and offering spells decorate the vertical front part of the lid towards the pedestal front as well as the side parts.

The titles given for Wesir-wer in the first line of the front panel compare to his titles as discussed above for the stela in Turin (Doc. 6), but it also gives some of the titles known for his father Hor on the situla (Doc. 2):

<sup>186</sup> Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1982: pl. 128. Most recently see Perdu 2021: 80 and 87, fig. 5, Louvre N 2670.19 the ushebti statue of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy (G66 or G76a) mentioning further examples in museum collections.



Figure 22a. Ushebti figures Reg. No. 642. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Manfred Bietak, ÖAW.



Figure 22b. Ushebti figures Reg. No. 643. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Manfred Bietak, ÖAW.

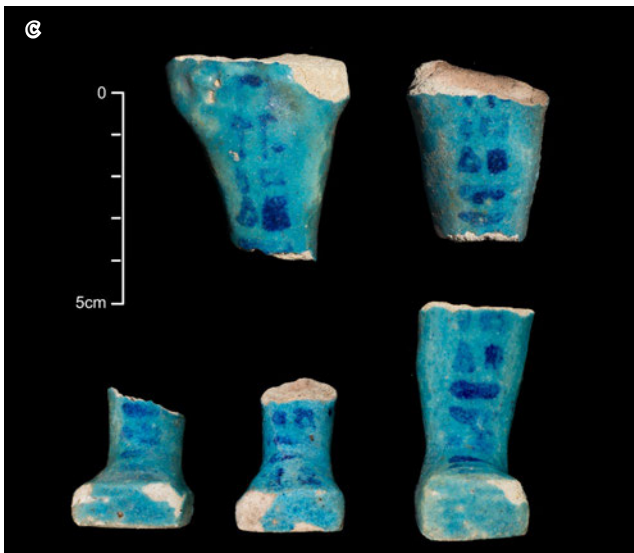


Figure 22c. Ushebti figures K07/157 with vertical text. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Cajetan Geiger.

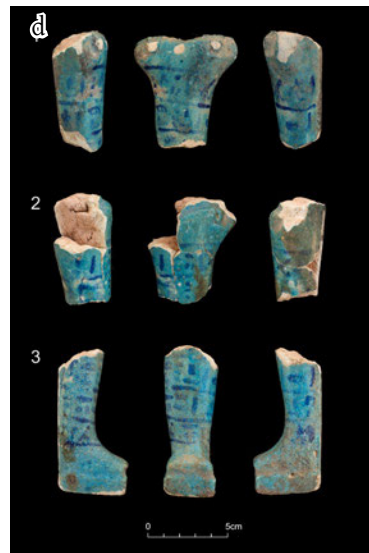


Figure 22d. Ushebti figures K07/157 with horizontal text. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Cajetan Geiger.

*Dd-mdw Wsjr jt-ntr hm-ntr (Jmn) m Jp.t-sw.t s3h-wd3.t zh3 pr-hd n p3-jcn hm-ntr n (n3) jcnj.w n3h.w hm-ntr n ht.tjw htp.tjw wn 3.wj<sup>a</sup> m pr-Jmn Wsjr-wr m3c-hrw z3 jt-ntr Hr m3c-hrw*

Words to be spoken by Osiris, god's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, *s3h-wd3.t*, scribe of the treasury of the Baboon, prophet of the living baboons, prophet of the peaceful baboons who open the gates in the temple of Amun, Wesir-wer, true-of-voice, son of the god's father Hor, true-of-voice.

*Commentary*

- a. This is a rare title. The Book of Amduat deals with the task of the baboons who open the gates in the first hour to the sun god (*wn.n n=k 3.wj m bntj wn.n n=k m ht.tjw*) see LGG II, 808a and LGG IV, 813c. It is now certain that baboons housed in the Khonsu precinct of Karnak were trained to do different tasks during the rituals and Hor's family was much engaged in taking care of the sacred animals.



Figure 23. Instep of coffin Reg. No. 767. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Manfred Bietak, ÖAW.



Figure 24a. Footpart of coffin Reg. No. 778. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Cajetan Geiger.

#### 4.8 Doc. 22 Mummy bandages of Ta-sherit-Min (Reg. No. 545)

Two fragments of mummy bandages were found in the shaft of Room 9.<sup>187</sup> They measure 24 x 3 cm and 24 x 3.8 cm and are clearly only small fragments of originally much longer bandages. These linen fragments both seem to belong to Ta-sherit-Min, daughter of Hor and were originally one set with Doc. 14, the mummy bandages now in Paris, E 18865 + 27459 + AF 11954 (X. 25) +11956 (X. 24) (see above). They are inscribed with cursive hieroglyphs in black ink as one horizontal column and show no vignettes (Figure 25).<sup>188</sup> The reverse of the linen is uninscribed.<sup>189</sup>

Because of their fragmentary state, it is difficult to ascertain the content of the text on the mummy bandages. One fragment gives the name of Ta-sherit-Min and her filiations. Her father Hor is mentioned, but the name of her mother is lost (broken off after *nb.t pr*). In the Louvre fragments, the titles of Nes-Khonsu are *nb.t-pr jhj.t n Jmn-R<sup>c</sup>*.<sup>190</sup> The other fragment might have

<sup>187</sup> Budka 2008: 72, fig. 7 and note 69 with references. A third piece was found which does not belong to this set.

<sup>188</sup> Formular 6a in the classification by Kockelmann 2008 (2): 112.

<sup>189</sup> On the reverse of mummy bandage AF 11956 (X. 24) (see above, Doc. 14b) there is an ordinal number (*mḥ 4*) inscribed in demotic at the beginning of the linen strip. Déveria and De Caluwe have proposed that such numbers are related to the order of the bandages within a certain set (see De Caluwe 1991: XVII, fn. 28). Kockelmann 2008 (2): 177–178 came to the conclusion that the numbering follows the ascending sequence of the Book of the Dead spells. Practically, they formed some type of orientation for the embalmer-priests who inscribed the bandages and maybe also for those who wrapped the mummy with these bandages.

<sup>190</sup> Déveria 1872: 113; Kockelmann 2008 (2): 273, fn. 266.



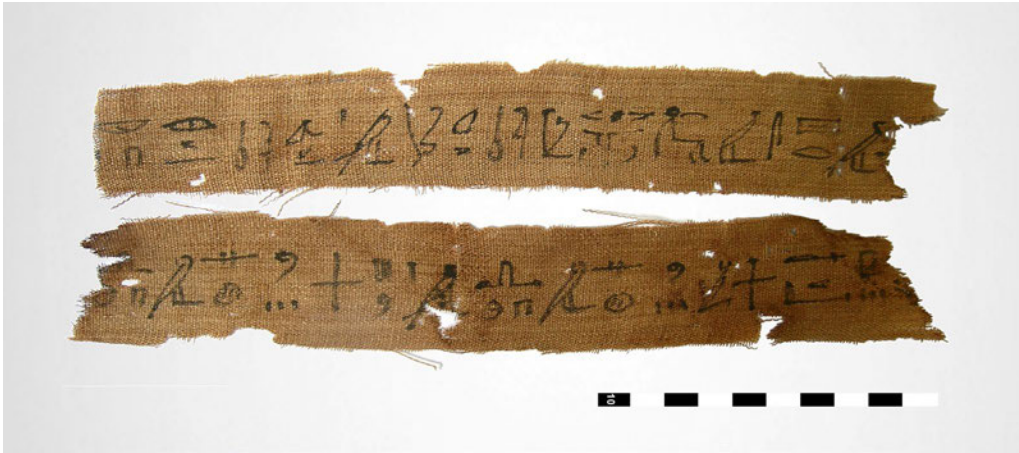


Figure 25. Mummy bandages Reg. No. 545. Photo: © LMU Ankh-Hor Project / Julia Budka.

compares to the practice of equipping the deceased with a papyrus of the Book of the Dead as well as other funerary papyri as attested, for example, for her brothers Djed-her and Pa-kher-Khonsu (Docs. 8, 19 and 11–12).<sup>192</sup>

The case study of Ta-sherit-Min illustrates that equipping a mummy with inscribed mummy linen was one of the possible funerary practices which granted magical protection for the deceased. Ideally, beside the inscribed bandages further amulets were placed under and among the bandages and even a Book of the Dead papyrus may have been placed in the hand of the mummy.<sup>193</sup> It seems likely that the level to which a mummy was equipped depended on the wealth of the family. In the case of Ta-sherit-Min, the absence of her coffin and other paraphernalia and the fact that she was interred in the family tomb all suggest that she was either single or died at a young age.

<sup>192</sup> See Kockelmann 2007: 249–250.

<sup>193</sup> The mummy of Takerheb (Florence) (Cottrell and Birch 1855: 166) and the mummy of Djed-her (Leiden) (Raven and Taconis 2005: 30) were equipped with both. For a BD papyrus still *in situ* see Elias and Mekis 2019: 123–169, cf. 150–152.



## Chapter 5

### Summary and discussion

Among the sons and daughters of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I, it was probably Hor and his descendants who enjoyed extraordinary careers. This can now be newly assessed by the richness of their funerary assemblage which has been brought together for the first time as one set of primary and secondary sources (Table 1). Several aspects of the titles of the male members of the family are noteworthy:

1. A connection to Qus. The titles of the family founder, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I, already show a strong orientation towards Qus (*zhꜣ pr-ḥd pr.wj n Ḥr-wr nb Gsj, ḥm-ntr Ḥnsw pꜣ ḥrd ḥrj-jb Gsj*). It seems that Hor continued this family tradition during the reign of Nectanebo II (see the family tree reconstruction, Figure 26). Here, Kessler's observation that this king supported temples all over Egypt and established funds for the cults and to breed the sacred animals of local divinities is of importance. In the context of our family from TT 414, two centres are relevant: first Qus, where Kessler supposed a crocodile breeding farm which initially probably also covered the supply for Thebes.<sup>194</sup> Second, the Khonsu precinct (*Bnn.t*) in Karnak, where the cult of the sacred baboons gained new impetus thanks to a fund of Nectanebo II. The existence of its own treasury (*pr-ḥd n pꜣ jꜣn*) suggests that *Bnn.t* became a local breeding place. We would like to propose that Hor was one of the key figures in the initial phase of this institution, being the chief of the Khonsu precinct, scribe of the *ḫ*-archive of the temple, scribe of the treasury of the baboon and owner of other priestly titles of the different baboon-forms of Khonsu. Inscriptions and graffiti testify that the baboon-cult was already flourishing when the Ptolemies began their rule over Egypt. It has now become clear that the sacred baboons were trained and were involved in several rituals and processions. Here, powerful officials like Hor seem to have contributed with individual efforts to maintain and develop the cult infrastructure in the temples.<sup>195</sup>
2. A connection to the Amun cult: Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I can be linked through his titles to the cult of Amun and belonged to the higher priesthood. His son Hor was especially active in the cult of Khonsu of Thebes. However, he is closely linked to the high priesthood of Amun as well. Our research has detected that he probably married none other than Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu, daughter of the first prophet of Amun (and not with his sister of the same name). We have to assume that this marriage further strengthened Hor's place in the priesthood of Karnak. His family belonged to the local elite and was wealthy (see, e.g., the title chief of the jewellers in the temple of Amun). His son Wesirwer was also chief of the metalworkers, which may offer an explanation of the exquisite craftsmanship and considerable number of the family's engraved bronze situlae (one

<sup>194</sup> The role of Hor in the 'trade' of the sacred animals is not clear since the only relevant title for this is prophet of Amun-Sobek of the Temple of Qus.

<sup>195</sup> As suggested by Neal Spencer, see Spencer 2010, cf. especially the case study of the statue of Djed-Hor (pp. 464–466) and the involvement of its owner in the cult for the living falcon at Athribis which seems to be comparable to Hor and the living baboons (the two examples are also contemporaneous to each other).

for Hor – London, BM, EA 38212, one for his grandfather, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I – London, BM, EA 38213, one for his cousin’s son, Wesir-wer - Louvre, N 908a and one for the father of the husband of another cousin, Pa-kher-Khonsu – Louvre, N 908c).

3. Dynamics in inheriting titles & differences within one family: We now know that Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu had at least five children (Figure 26).<sup>196</sup> The eldest son Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II followed Hor in most of the Khonsu priestly titles and his burial identified in TT 414 was as rich as that of his father. However, it seems he died without leaving an heir and consequently his younger brother Wesir-wer followed him. Wesir-wer gained some of his elder brother’s titles and also others previously owned by their father. Wesir-wer continued the family tradition and the life work of Hor, and he functioned as chief of the Khonsu precinct and scribe of the treasury of the baboon. Besides being prophet of the living baboons, he also became ‘prophet of the peaceful baboons who open the gates in the temple of Amun’, testifying to a certain dynamic of priestly offices connected with the sacred monkeys in Karnak. The family of Wesir-wer seems to be traceable well into Ptolemaic times and still requires additional research.

Another son of Hor was Djed-her who received the beautiful name Pa-ian (The baboon) but is not attested to have been involved in the cult of the baboons in Karnak. He was priest and a scribe of Amun and prophet of Sobek who dwells in Qus, thus continuing the family’s tradition of being involved in the cults at that location. The prominence of Djed-her may also be measured by his Book of the Dead papyrus, because it contains the canonical 165 spell, excluding only BD 139. A highly interesting archive of funerary papyri can also be assigned to Djed-her. This also holds true for another son, Pa-kher-Khonsu who had a similar archive now distributed in Turin and London.

Finally, beside the male members of the family, only a little is known about the daughter of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu, Ta-sherit-Min. She was doubtless buried in TT 414 and her interment in the family tomb is attested by inscribed mummy bandages. Similar to the archives of her two brothers, Djed-her and Pa-kher-Khonsu, various sources were used to inscribe these linens. Other than the mummy bandages, no parts of her burial assemblage have been identified for now.

The material presented in this volume, connected with the family of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu, is not only of significance regarding genealogical and prosopographical features. Rather, the coffin fragments, comprising *qrsw*-coffins as well as outer and inner anthropoid wooden coffins are also of relevance to understanding Theban coffin production during the 4th century BCE and in Ptolemaic times. The objects discussed are all integral parts of the funerary arts of 4th century BCE Thebes and as such illustrate a high degree of variation and creativity. To take just one example, the coffin board of Reg. No. 683, the coffin of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu, shows an abridged version of the vignette of the Book of the Dead Spell 161. This variant of BD 161 has no parallels within the material from TT 414, although spells and vignettes from the Book of the Dead are commonly attested on Ptolemaic coffins from the

<sup>196</sup> A sixth son is also supposed. Here, a Book of the Dead papyrus made for god’s father and prophet Wah-ib-Re, son of the god’s father Hor and Nes-Khonsu (TM 57195) must be mentioned – because of a lack of further objects, the attribution to the family in question remains hypothetical. Another possibility is that Hor remarried after the death of Nes-Khonsu/Kalutj, this supposed branch of the family is under investigation.

tomb. This version with Horus, instead of two depictions of Thoth (usually arranged as two ibis-headed and two falcon-headed gods), is a late variant that does not appear before the 30th Dynasty.<sup>197</sup> The design of the coffin of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu, therefore, shows that as soon as this variant was created it was used on coffins as well as in the Book of the Dead papyri.<sup>198</sup>

Furthermore, decorative patterns and figures related to the journey of the sun, like the motifs on the side panels of the coffin of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu, Reg. No. 699, are noteworthy. The central motif is the god Shu holding the day bark above his head, reminiscent of the vignette of so-called BD 16. The coffin set of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu illustrates the common themes of the wooden coffins from TT 414, with a focus on protection and resurrection and on the sun god and his journey. Remarkably, these foci correspond to the original decorations in the Asasif temple tombs of the Late Period. They also correspond to their function within the sacred landscape of Thebes in connection with Karnak and the growing importance of Osiris and the Solar-Osirian unity. Just as Osiris is closely linked to Amun-Re in Thebes and the temple cult in Karnak is comparable to funeral rites in Asasif temple tombs, so too does the regeneration of the sun god, represented on wooden coffins, symbolise the desired transformation and re-awakening of the deceased.

The newly established dossier of the family of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu thus allows to illustrate close connections between the 29th and 30th Dynasties and the 26th Dynasty, between Karnak and the Theban temple tombs, both regarding the priestly cults and rituals and the textual sources and pictorial motifs. To conclude, one needs to stress in this respect that the dossier of the family of Hor and Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu comprises not only objects from the family tomb, TT 414, but also statues originating from Karnak.<sup>199</sup> The information revealed is therefore not only relevant for aspects of Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic burial customs in Thebes and in particular in the Asasif necropolis, but also for questions about the priesthood at Karnak and individual contributions to cult infrastructure. As outlined in this publication, new data about the priesthood of Khonsu and the cult of the sacred baboons in Karnak as well as relations to Qus provide us with a better understanding of little-known details of the ritual landscape in Thebes. Last but not least, the new identification of a previously overlooked person, the mistress of the house and daughter of the first prophet of Amun Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (G108+G137), demonstrates that the rich material from TT 414 is still far from being processed in its totality. This material has the potential, as shown in this study, to provide answers to some of the open questions regarding Late Dynastic/Ptolemaic Thebes and to contextualise funerary assemblages.

<sup>197</sup> Mosher 2018: 277–306.

<sup>198</sup> One needs to mention that the motif of Anubis, respectively Anubis and Thoth opening doors, also occurs on canopic shrines from Akhmim in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, see Bruwier and Mekis 2019: 51–52, figs. 17–18.

<sup>199</sup> For further statues belonging to the family see London, BM, EA 48035 and Cairo, EM, JE 37139 (Perdu 2021: 78, 80 and 85, fig. 4).



Figure 26. Family tree of Kalutj/Nes-Khonsu (G108 + G137) (composed by Tamás Mekis).

### Commentary to Figure 26

- a. The pair, Wesir-wer and Mut-ir-dis, appears as the parents of Nes-Pawty-tawy on the cube statue Cairo, EM, JE 37146. Wesir-wer seems to be the one who established the Dynasty of the first prophets of Amun at the end of the 5th century BCE. He himself was not yet first prophet, just his son.
- b. Recent research identifies him as the first prophet who is mentioned in the Luxor graffito of Ankh-pa-hered dated to 321/320 BCE. Ankh-pa-hered's wife *Ns-hj.t?* was the grand-daughter of Nes-Pawty-tawy. See Jansen-Winkel 2013: 3–4 (Jansen-Winkel's reading for the name is *ḥt t3-ḥs3.t*. This 'name' rather belongs to the previous structure and is perhaps another epithet of Amun). For a correct reading see Birk 2020: 19–20, pl. 1.
- c. Her name disappeared with the piece which was broken from the statue of his son Hersenef (Cairo, EM, JE 37343); see Coulon 2001b: 148.
- d. Recent research detected that first prophet of Amun Wesir-wer got married again later in his life to Nehem-set-Rat-tawy. This latter was the mother of the first prophet Nes-Pawty-tawy, see Jansen-Winkel 2013: 10–11 and Birk 2020: 35, pl. 1.
- e. In the opinion of Jansen-Winkel (2013: 10–11) and Birk (2020: 35–39), the canopic chest Brussels, MRAH, E 7624 may be attributed to the first prophet Nes-Pawty-tawy, son of Wesir-wer and Nehem-set-Rat-tawy. Besides the canopic chest it seems that it was he who signed P.MRAH, E 8255b dated to 312/1 BCE and written by Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh (G163) as scribe of the phyle (*p3 zḥ3 s3.w*), see Depauw 2000: 168–180. This contract further strengthens our family tree reconstruction – Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh and first prophet of Amun Nes-Pawty-tawy were contemporaries. His wife was Nehem-set-Rat-tawy; her name is known from the stela and situla of his son Wesir-wer. Although it may remain only a supposition, we propose to attribute to her the god's decree stela Cairo, JE 88877 (SR 4/9374). Nehem-set-Rat-tawy's contemporary Mut-Min (G88) has a similar type of stela (Vienna, KHM, ÄS 236). Nehem-set-Rat-tawy's son Wesir-wer (Paris, Louvre N 2699) and his great grand-son Nekhet-Montu (London, Buckingham Palace, Royal Collection, RCIN 408372) also have god's decree stelae.
- f. Died between 311 and 305 BCE, based on Medinet Habu graffiti 86 and 235 and P.Brussels, MRAH, E 8255b dated to 311 BCE. In 305 BCE his first son Pa-kher-Khonsu (G61) appears with his titles (Budka *et al.* 2013: 212).
- g. He appears as scribe of the land (*zḥ3 p3 3st*) in P.BM EA 10530 (Glanville 1939: 40–41, pl. 11) & 35 (Glanville 1939, 42–43, pl. 12) dated to 281 and 277 BCE. He seems to be the owner of stela Louvre N 2699 and situla N 908a, both published most recently by Birk (Birk 2020: 41–46, pl. 10 (stela); 46–50, pl. 11 (situla)).
- h. Nes-Iah was the son of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh (on the basis of a demotic mummy label found in room 4 of TT414, Reg. No. 773) and the scribe of the land (*zḥ3 n p3 3st*) in P.BM EA 10529, written in 276 BCE, while three years before Wesir-wer held the title and who thus died perhaps between 279 and 276 BCE (see also: Budka *et al.* 2013: 212, fn. 17).
- i. Mentioned in Medinet Habu graffiti nos 86 and 235 from the 12th and 5th regnal years of Alexander IV, dated to 305 and 312 BCE, in the earlier one without titles, but with the titles of his father Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh in the later. He thus probably inherited the titles of his father, who died after 311 (yet mentioned in P.Brussels, MRAH, E 8255b) but before 305 BCE.

- j. Nes-Pawty-tawy is known so far only from the monuments of his sons, though the Museo Gregoriano in the Vatican possesses a BD papyrus fragment (inv. no. 38571 = Gasse 1993: 38–39, Pls. XXXI-II, cat. no. 25) that belongs to the first prophet of Amun Nes-Pawty-tawy, son of Ta-sherit-Khonsu. It may be again just a supposition that Wesirwer's wife was Ta-sherit-Khonsu and that the papyrus belongs to their son, Nes-Pawty-tawy. For the descendants of Nes-Pawty-tawy see Birk 2020: 50–70.

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