

REUSE OF SAITE TEMPLE TOMBS IN THE ASASIF DURING THE EARLY PTOLEMAIC TIME – THE TOMB GROUP OF *Mw.t-Mnw* FROM TT 414

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INTRODUCTION

The reuse of monumental Theban temple tombs of the 25th and 26th Dynasties flourished especially during the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE¹ – among others this can be well illustrated by the example of TT 414 (Fig. 1).² As was already pointed out by Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, this Saite temple tomb situated in the Asasif functioned as burial place for several families of the 30th Dynasty and the Ptole-

maic times.³ An increase in both pottery and burial equipment like coffins, chests and other objects is noticeable during the 4th century BCE.⁴ Since archaeological dating for this material and especially burial equipment of the 4th-3rd centuries BCE is not always straight forward,⁵ the family relations between individual family members attested by coffins and other inscribed finds provide the necessary tools for fine dating the late phases of use of TT 414.⁶

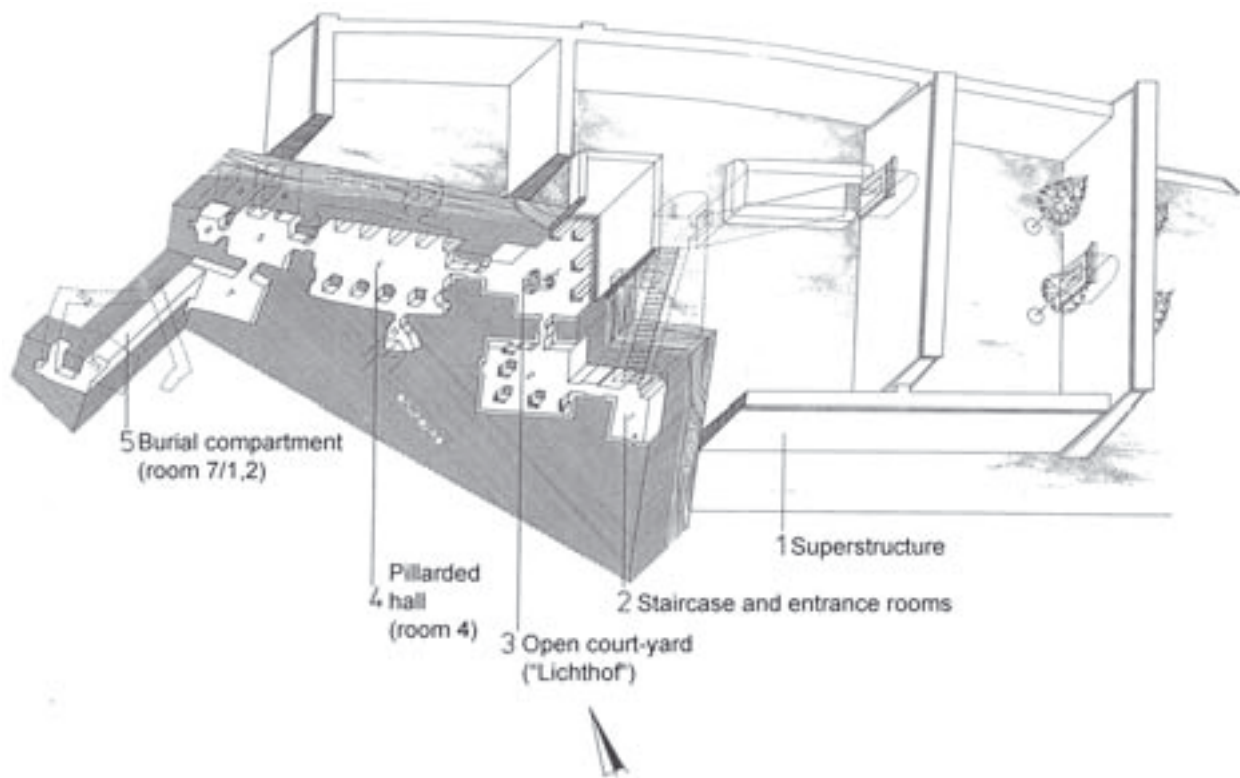


Fig. 1 Isometric section of TT 414 illustrating the various section of the temple tomb (after EIGNER 1984, Fig. 113)

¹ See ASTON 2003, 162 with literature; STRUDWICK 2003, 181; add here e.g. GRAEFE 2003 for the tomb of Padihorresnet where much material from the 4th century BCE was discovered.

² BUDKA 2008, 61–85; BUDKA 2010a, 82–84.

³ BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1978, 141–146; BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 183–220.

⁴ Cf. SCHREIBER 2003; BUDKA 2010c.

⁵ For a recent summary see SCHREIBER 2011. Cf. also ASTON 1999; ASTON 2003; BUDKA 2010a, 362.

⁶ See already REISER-HASLAUER 1982a.

Until now, only a single intact burial is known from the 30th Dynasty at Thebes – it was the Austrian mission directed by Bietak who excavated and published the important burial of Wahibre within TT 414.⁷ Since then, Wahibre's burial is regarded as a typical Theban tomb group of the second half of the 4th century BCE.⁸ The aim of this paper is to present a case study of another well dateable tomb group of a family buried in TT 414 whose members are also known from sources outside the tomb.⁹ Such closely dateable assemblages will enable us to address some of the dating problems currently affecting the understanding of the second peak of

activity in the Late Period necropolis of the Asasif; this is the 30th Dynasty and the early Ptolemaic time.¹⁰ They will also allow putting the reconstruction of a “typical” tomb group of this period on firmer ground, based on more material that is reliable regarding its dating.

THE FAMILY OF MUT-MIN

Mut-Min¹¹ (G 88¹²) is a member of the family of Nes-Khonsu I / Kalouth (G 105) and Pa-kher-Khonsu III (G 58) (Fig. 2).¹³ She is the wife of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh¹⁴ (G 163), son of the supra

Documents belonging to Mut-Min's (G 88) funerary equipment (doc. 1–4):		
Doc. 1	portions of a hypocephalus	Asasif K 02/186r
Doc. 2	canopic chest	Reg. no. 547, Wien KHM A 2123
Doc. 3	Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure (fragment)	Asasif Reg. no. 546
Doc. 4	stela (wood, painted)	Wien KHM ÄS 236
Documents belonging to the family of Mut-Min (doc. 5–13):		
Doc. 5a	fragments of the inner anthropoid coffin of Mut-Min's husband, Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh (G 163)	Asasif Reg. no. 670
Doc. 5b	panels of the inner anthropoid coffin of Mut-Min's husband, Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh (G 163)	Asasif Reg. no. 671
Doc. 6	panels of the inner anthropoid coffin of Mut-Min's son, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy V (G 70)	Asasif Reg. no. 414
Doc. 7	panels of the inner anthropoid coffin of Mut-min's son, Iret-Hor-ru (G 30)	Asasif Reg. no. 783
Doc. 8	pedestal of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure of Amun-hotep called <i>Pj-hj</i> (G 18)	Asasif Reg. no. 492
Doc. 9	stela of Mut-min's son Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy V (G 70)	Turin cat. no. 1573
Doc. 10	canopic box of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy III (G 68), cousin of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh	Reg. no. 557, Wien KHM A 2126
Doc. 11	canopic box of Aset-em-Akhbit (G 10), possibly wife of the uncle of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh	London BM EA 8532
Doc. 12	canopic box of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy VI (G 71), son of the cousin of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh	London BM EA 8533
Doc. 13	canopic box of Djed-hor (G 161), a half-brother of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh	London BM EA 8537

Table 1 Documents/objets cited in this paper (and on Fig. 2)

⁷ BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 182–220.

⁸ See ASTON 2003, 162; GRAJETZKI 2003, 119–121; SCHREIBER 2011, 107.

⁹ Cf. e.g. the comparable study by RAVEN 1980.

¹⁰ For a series of Ptolemaic funerary ensembles see lately SCHREIBER 2011, 109–124. Cf. also STRUDWICK 2003.

¹¹ *PP IX*, 7150a. The translation of the name is “Mother of Min”, THIRION 1995, 178–179. For the occurrences of the name see DE MEULENAERE 1965, 328–329; Los Angeles County Museum 48.24.8 = A 5141.48.372; Cairo CG 33319

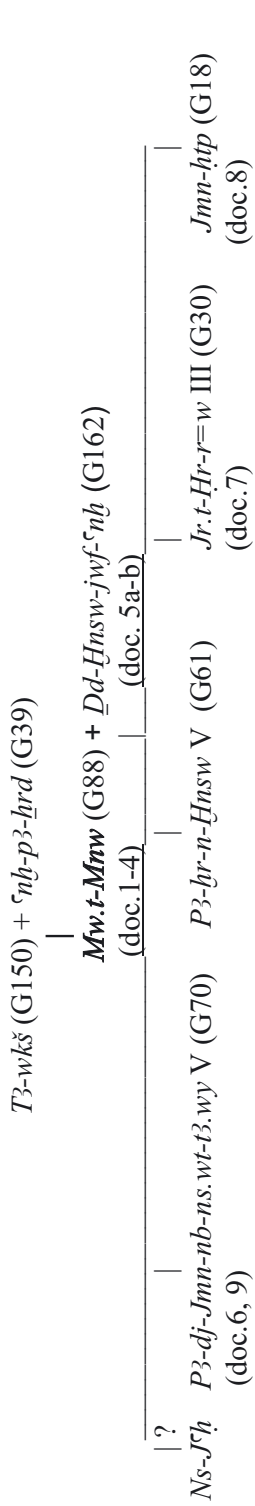
(ALBERSMEIER 2011, 62, no. 5, Fig. 4.5); Turin cat. no. 1573.

¹² All of the G-numbers refer in the following to the numbers in the genealogical register for TT 414 established by REISER-HASLAUER 1982b.

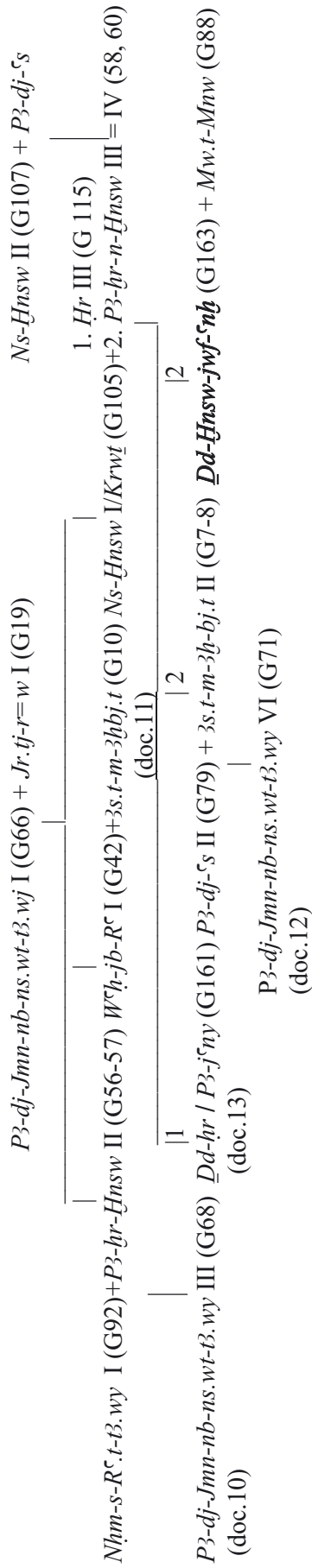
¹³ REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 252–256; REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 273; QUAEGBEUR 1982, 259–266; DE MEULENAERE 1989, 63–73; BUDKA 2008, 69–85; BUDKA 2009; BUDKA 2010a, varia.

¹⁴ *PP IX*, 5564a.

The family of Mut-Min



The family of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh



Doc. 1-13 just indicate ownership and do not serve to demonstrate familial relationships, for this see: REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 252–256; 267–284; for a revised version: DE MEULENAERE 1989, 66–67.

Fig. 2 Family tree of Mut-Min

mentioned spouse, and she held the titles mistress of the house (*nb.t-pr*) and sistrum-player of Amun-Ra (*jhy.t n Jmn-R*). Mut-Min's father is Ankh-(pa)-hered¹⁵ (G 39), who was God's father and prophet of Amun in the temple of Karnak (*Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt*), and prophet of Khonsu. Ta-kushit or Ta-ukesh¹⁶ (G 150), sistrum-player of the procession barque and sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, is her mother.

Mut-Min, as far we know for certain, had four children:¹⁷

1. The God's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, servant of the Upper-Egyptian crown, servant of Hor-wer-wadjti, priest *s3h-wd3.t*¹⁸, administrator in the 3rd phyle of Amunemopet, Pa-kher-en-Khonsu V¹⁹ (G 61).
2. The God's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, and priest *s3h-wd3.t* Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy V²⁰ (G 70).
3. The God's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, and priest *s3h-wd3.t* Iret-Hor-ru III (G 30).
4. The God's father (*jt-ntr*) Amun-hotep called *Py-hj* (G 18).

The importance of this family for dating purposes derives from the fact that Pa-kher-en-Khonsu V (G 61) has left two dated graffiti on the wall of the temple of Djeme (Great temple, Slaughter House, Graf. Nos. 86 and 235).²¹ In graffiti No. 86, written in the 5th regnal year of Alexander IV (= 312 BCE), Pa-kher-en-Khonsu does not mention any title for himself, while in the second graffiti, dated to the 12th regnal year of Alexander IV (= 305 BCE), he appears with a wide range of titles known from his father. It is reasonable to propose that he

was the eldest son of the couple who consequently inherited the titles of his father Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh. According to the graffiti from Djeme, Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh probably died between 312 and 305 BC. This idea is further supported by the following observations: (1) within the family tree of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh and Mut-Min, there seem to be a regular pattern for the name-giving: the name of the grandfathers and the eldest sons are the same.²² (2) The hypothesis of Pa-kher-en-Khonsu being Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh's and Mut-Min's eldest male offspring is supported by the inscription of the newly identified stela of Mut-Min (ÄS 236, see below). On this stela two of the four sons are mentioned by their name. In first place is Pa-kher-en-Khonsu with the rare title "great God's father" (*jt-ntr* ʕ)²³, and in the second place is Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, who seemingly followed Pa-kher-en-Khonsu in age. The two other sons are missing on the stela, maybe because they were the youngest – Iret-Hor-ru and the smallest Amun-hotep whose nickname *Py-hj* appears on the pedestal of his Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue (Reg. no. 496, see below and Figs. 15-16).

Several objects from Mut-Min's family unearthed during Bietak's excavation in TT 414 attest that room 4 and the original burial compartment of Ankh-Hor, room 7, have been used as burial places for a number of family members.²⁴ Thanks to the work of Haslauer, De Meulenaere and Quaegebeur we have an extended family tree²⁵ of this family who must have had some influence at Thebes and Karnak.²⁶ In addition, some objects from the burial

¹⁵ For the writing of the personal name as ʕnh-hrd see REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 270.

¹⁶ For this personal name see most recently MEKIS 2011, 42, n. 5.

¹⁷ M. Depauw proposed a fifth son, Nes-jah (*PP* I, 581), based on his reading of a demotic mummy label Reg. no. 773, coming from room 4 of TT 414. DEPAUW 2000, 176–179.

¹⁸ For the reading of this titel as *s3h-wd3.t* see THISSEN 1989, 28–29, line 8, comment 4 (see also the relevant writing on Reg. no. 557, A 2126, Fig. 19); for its use in the family of Mut-Min see REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 254; REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 273, 284; SELIM 2003, 401–402, comment (c).

¹⁹ *PP* IX, 5785b.

²⁰ *PP* IX, 5743d.

²¹ DE MEULENAERE 1989, 65. See: EDGERTON 1937, pl. 33 (no. 86), pl. 59 (no. 235); THISSEN 1989, 142–146; BUDKA Forthc.

²² Cf. REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 254–255.

²³ The variant *hm-ntr* ʕ is known in the Middle Kingdom, see KEES 1961, 119. *hm.w-ntr* ʕ.w *jtj.w-ntr* ʕ.w are attested in the so called Chronicle of Osorkon at Karnak, see KEES 1961, 119, n. 2; CAMINOS 1958, 118, § 186: "The great prophets and great god's fathers"; JANSEN-WINKELN 2007, 192, no. 22, third line from bottom. For people buried in TT 414, the titel *jt-ntr* ʕ (and *jt-ntr* ʕ n *pr-Hnsw*) is also attested for Hor II/III (G 114/115) on his coffin Reg. no. 414b and on his son's Djed-Hor's (G 161) canopic chest London, BM EA 8537 (see below), in the third line of the frontal panel. Djed-Hor (G 161) is the uncle of Pa-kher-en-Khonsu V (G 61) (cf. REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 252–254).

²⁴ Cf. BUDKA 2003, 39; BUDKA 2010d, 91–92.

²⁵ REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 254; DE MEULENAERE 1989; QUAEGBEUR 1982, 264–265.

²⁶ For evidence of families buried in TT 414 at Karnak see COULON 2010.

equipment of various family members can be identified even though these finds are not coming from the Austrian excavations.²⁷

THE TOMB GROUP OF MUT-MIN

At the moment there are four known objects belonging to Mut-Min.²⁸

Doc. 1: Two small joining fragments of Mut-min's hypocephalus (K 02/186r)

Doc. 2: A so-called canopic chest (Reg. no. 547 = Wien, A2123)

Doc. 3: A Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure (fragment of its upper part, Reg. no. 546)

Doc. 4: A wooden, gilded and painted stela (Wien, ÄS 236)

Despite the fact that no coffin fragments belonging to Mut-Min could be identified during the course of the Austrian excavations, there can be no doubt that she has been buried in TT 414 – this is clearly illustrated, e.g., by her hypocephalus and canopic chest. Although her stela (ÄS 236) was not excavated together with the other objects, its provenience from TT 414 is certain (see below).

Some other finds from TT 414 mention Mut-Min as wife or mother. These are the following as excavated by the Austrian mission:

Doc. 5a-b: Some panels of the inner anthropoid coffin of her husband Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh (Reg. Nos. 670 and 671; see below and Figs. 11-13)

Doc. 6: Some panels of the inner anthropoid coffin of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy V (Reg. no. 414a; see below and Fig. 14)

Doc. 7: Some panels of the inner anthropoid coffin of Iret-Hor-ru (Reg. no. 783) (the mother's name does not survive, but he is a son of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh)

Doc. 8: The pedestal of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure of Amun-hotep called *Pj-hj* (Reg. no. 492; see below and Fig. 15)

In addition, a stela of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy V was found prior to the scientific excavations in TT 414 and is now kept in Turin (cat. no. 1573, doc. 9).²⁹

Doc. 1: The hypocephalus of Mut-Min³⁰

The hypocephalus (K02/186r) of Mut-min was found in TT 414 (Fig. 3). Its precise find location is unfortunately lost, but with all probability it came to light in room 4, where the other remains of the funerary equipment of Mut-Min were discovered. The small stucco-covered textile once belonged to a disc of circa 14.8 cm in diameter. The stucco is painted yellow while the inscription is written in black.

Only two portions from the four horizontal registers have survived, thus indicating that the disc once pertained to Gee's four-register-type.³¹ The disc is rather densely decorated and inscribed. The texts of the upper register identify the four squatting figures of the Sons of Horus, and the cow-goddess in front of them:³² *Jh.t wr.t ms.(wt) R^c*,³³ "The Great Cow, who has given birth to Ra." From the remaining fragments, it is apparent that only a goddess whose head is the wedjat-eye within a disc, the seating *Rs-wd³* and *Nhb.w-k³.w* were presented. Below, in the following register, a baboon is represented sitting in a naos on a boat. In front of him there is a small altar with a lotus flower on top of it; a vessel is also visible. The small boat has no other voyageur.

Commonly, on four-register-type hypocephali, the solar barque with a mat (*s^cry.t*) in the prow appears before the boat. On this mat usually the young child as manifestation of the sun-god appears.³⁴ This is also the case on Mut-Min's hypocephalus – only a small portion of the child is visible, with the sun disc on his head and his hand raised towards his mouth.

²⁷ See REISER-HASLAUER 1982a. Cf. also the statue of Pa-kher-Khonsu IV (G 60) from Karnak: SELIM 2003 and BUDKA Forthc.

²⁸ See already BUDKA 2006, 612, table 25, TG 19 and 615–616; BUDKA 2010a, 360 (without the newly identified stela ÄS 236).

²⁹ See REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 254. For the stela see MUNRO 1973, 237, Fig. 64.

³⁰ BUDKA 2006, Fig. 193; BUDKA 2010a, 718–719, cat. no. 921, pl. 53d.

³¹ GEE 2006, 43–44.

³² For an exact analogy see London BM EA 37909 (TAYLOR 2010, 130, no. 61). Without text (a scarab fills out the place of the text), Turin cat. no. 2324 (MEKIS 2011, 60–66, Fig. 5).

³³ LGG I, 538–539, Urk. 5. See also GEE 2001, 333 and TAYLOR and STRUDWICK 2005, 91 (BM EA 36188).

³⁴ DONDELINGER 1976, 1–23; GOEBS 1998, 57–66. The child appearing in the prow of the sun-barque is the sign that the sun-god is ready to be reborn (VARGA 1968, 8, n.15, 20; BORGHOUTS 1971, 181–182, n. 446; ROULIN 1996, 75–76).



Fig. 3 Hypocephalus Asasif K 02/186r of Mut-Min, © Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna / Julia Budka



Fig. 4 Hypocephalus Louvre E 6208-AF 1936, © Musée du Louvre / Christian Décamps

The second register of Mut-Min's hypocephalus is the most relevant one for the search of parallels. Interestingly, there is only a single hypocephalus out of the presently known 149 examples where the baboon is shown sitting alone in the boat, with just an offering table in front of him. This is the hypocephalus Louvre E 6208-AF 1936 (Fig. 4).³⁵ The disc also belongs to the four-register-type and seems to be the closest analogy for our fragment from TT 414.

Since every hypocephalus is a piece of individual work, it is a difficult task to find exact analogies – especially regarding the small details with every example being a bit different. Only three hypocephali can be named as iconographical analogies for our example. Of these examples, two pertain to the group of hypocephali that cite the sentences of the Book of the Dead chapter 162.³⁶ The third one shows a variant text applied to hypocephali,³⁷ Varga's so called *db3.ty*-type.³⁸ Although only a rather small fragment from the inscribed border of Mut-Min's disk has remained, the preserved text is significant: [...] *bs hr tp n Wsjr jhy.t n Jmn-Rc Mwt-Mnw m3c-hrw z3.t NN* [...]. The relevant key words are “*bs hr tp n Wsjr NN*”, known in this form only from hypocephali of the *db3.ty*-group.³⁹ This classification of Mut-Min's hypocephalus underlines that the *djebaty*-group made its appearance during the turn of the 4th to 3rd centuries BCE (see below).⁴⁰

Doc. 2: The canopic chest A 2123 of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

The box Reg. no. 547, now registered as A 2123 of the KHM, was found in TT 414, in the northern part of the pillared hall (room 4) in a secondary position

in 1973.⁴¹ It has a naos-shape with slightly inwardly tapering sides. The wooden box is 51 cm high. Its width is 24 cm at the basis and 20 cm at the top under the cavetto cornice. The base and the lid are missing, as is a great part of its frontal panel. In its present state of preservation it is rather fragmented, which might be the reason why it remained in the debris during the 19th century lootings of the tomb.⁴²

The canopic box, classified as Aston's type C2⁴³, has features characteristic for the period of the late 4th to mid 3rd century BCE (see below). Besides the tall naos-shape, this is the yellow-on-black style that distinguishes Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, coffins and hypocephali of the period, not only in Thebes, but also in Akhmim.⁴⁴

The frontal panel, badly destroyed with only remains of the first figural register preserved, shows a winged sun disc, flanked by uraei, below the cornice. The front scene was once decorated with a central representation of a human head decorated with the Atef-crown, placed on top of a naos. Behind the head a Maat-feather sits also on the shrine. The central motif was once flanked by gods offering ointment jars and linen mummy bandages.⁴⁵ To the left, arms, shoulder and head of a jackal-headed deity are partly preserved. The god is labeled by a short text above him as “*Anubis who is the foremost of the embalming tent.*” To the right, only the hand holding a vase and part of the mummy bandages are visible.⁴⁶

The lateral sides show in the upper rectangular panel the sitting Sons of Osiris (Fig. 5a). They are depicted with knives grasped in their hands, two on the right, two on the left side. Under the pictorial panel there are seven columns of texts on each side.

³⁵ HORRACK 1862, 129–130; HORRACK 1884, 126–129.

³⁶ Turin cat. no. 2324, Louvre E 6208-AF 1936.

³⁷ London BM EA 37909.

³⁸ In general on the *Djebaty*-group see: VARGA 1968, 5–8; MEKIS and MOSHER in prep.

³⁹ Moscow №. 1, 1a 4865 (IG 3302), Cairo CG 9448 (JE 25783, SR 10700), Berlin ÄM 7792, Turin cat. no. 2321, Paris, BNF 174d.

⁴⁰ This assumption is supported by hypocephali of the Nespa-medu family: Vienna KHM ÄS 253 a/1 (HASLAUER 2001, 171–176) and Leiden AMS 62 (RAVEN 1980, 26–27, pl. 3).

⁴¹ SATZINGER 1979, 107–108; BRUWIER 1991, catalogue; ASTON 2000, 176, n. 101, pl. 19; BUDKA 2006, vol. IV, 189–190, cat. 493.

⁴² For the looting and early history of assembling finds from TT 414 see BUDKA 2008, 64–65.

⁴³ ASTON 2000, 167–177.

⁴⁴ Cf. TAYLOR 1989, 61–62; BRUWIER 1991, passim; ASTON 2000, 176; MEKIS 2008, 34–80; HASLAUER 2012, 194–223.

⁴⁵ In general, these offering scenes are either composed symmetrical (offering of linen and ointment jar on both sides, e.g. Brussels E7624 (QUAEGEBEUR 1995, pl. VII), Turin cat. no. 2436 (FABRETTI et al 1881–1888, 344–345); or asymmetrical (ointment and linen on the right side, bandages on the left side, see e.g. LEGRAIN 1893, 63, collection Sabattier no. 99 (= Copenhagen, Nationalmusset 3547) and Leiden AH 215, see ASTON 2000, pls. 9a–c and <http://www.rmo.nl/collectie/zoeken?object=AH+215>). For the significance of the linens offered by Anubis see KURTH 1990, 56.

⁴⁶ For the role of Anubis on canopic boxes see BRUWIER 1998 and below (Doc. 10–13).



Fig. 5a–b Canopic box Asasif Reg. no. 547 = Wien, A 2123 of Mut-Min, © Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

On the left hand side the gods are identified as “Anubis, who is in the place of embalming,⁴⁷ son of Osiris” and “Horus, who is on his throne,⁴⁸ son of Osiris.” In front of each of the squatting gods facing left, there is a small uraeus with a sun disc.

From the right hand side less has survived. In the pictorial panel the remaining cynocephalus figure can be identified as *Kefdenu*;⁴⁹ a small uraeus is again shown in front of him. The figure of the fourth protective genius, *Basti-tjai*,⁵⁰ did not survive, but his lion-headed figure frequently appears together with his brothers on cartonnages, coffins and canopic chests of the Ptolemaic period.⁵¹

The back panel of the chest remained in the best state of preservation (Fig. 5b). Here, a winged sun

disc flanked by uraei is included in the cornice. The upper part of the box shows a similar decorative scene – a winged scarab-beetle. The pictorial panel represents the underworld; the sky is depicted as a stylized *p.t*-sign with a single line of stars. Isis and Nephthys are shown offering ankh-signs to the central Djed-pillar. On the top of the pillar there is the Atef-crown and it clearly is the manifestation of Osiris.⁵² The lower part of the pillar is flanked by protecting uraei with sun discs.

Below the pictorial scene there are again seven columns of text occupying the remaining space on the rear part of the box. The inscriptions support the symbolic meaning of the scene: The reawakening of Osiris who is associated with the deceased.

⁴⁷ LGG I, 223.

⁴⁸ LGG V, 276.

⁴⁹ LGG VII, 186.

⁵⁰ LGG II, 739; OTTO 1975, 629; CT IV, §584, 585.

⁵¹ MEKIS 2012a, 249, n. 16; COULON 2011, 99–102.

⁵² Cf. ASTON 2000, 176.

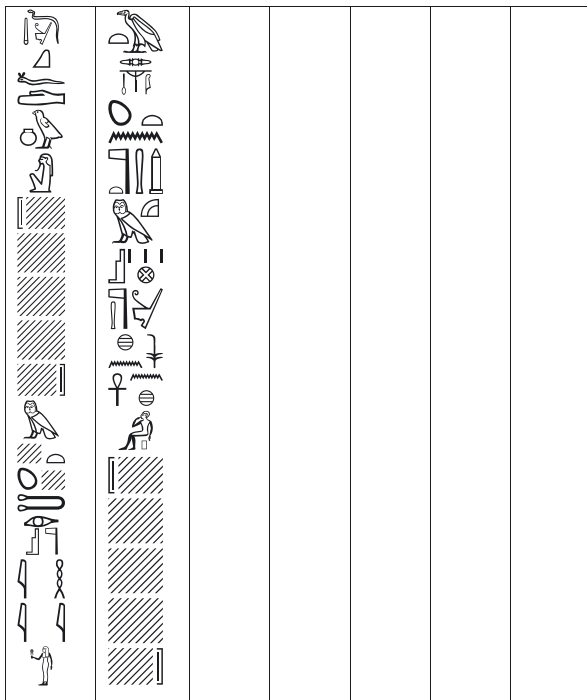
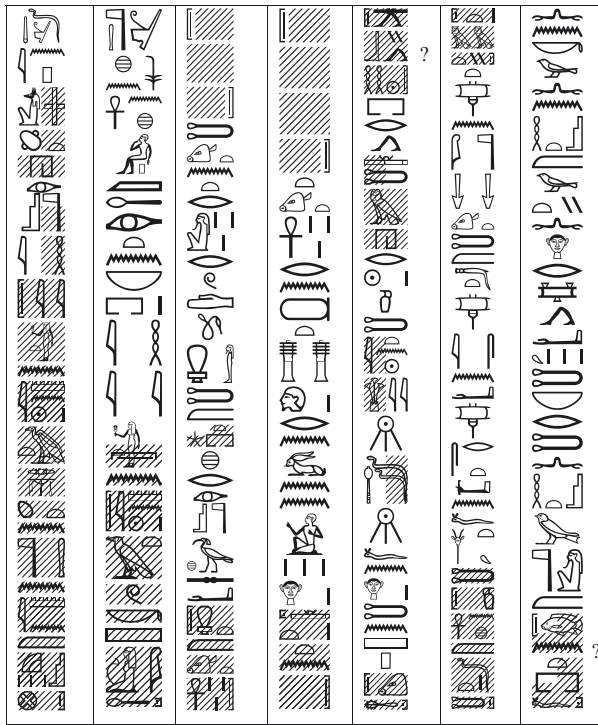


Fig. 6a–c Hieroglyphic texts of canopic box
Reg. no. 547 = Wien, A 2123 of Mut-Min

The transliteration and translation of the text is as follows (Fig. 6):⁵³

Left lateral side, partly destroyed in lower part, especially columns 1-2, in upper part, especially columns 3-6:

¹ *Dd-mdw jn Jnpw jmj-wt [hy]^a Wsjr: j[hy.t n Jmn-R^c Mw.t-Mnw m^{3c}-hrw z3.t n hm-ntr n Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt]*
² *hm-ntr n Hnsw n^h-p3-hrd m^{3c}-hrw jr.t n nb.t-pr jhy.t n [Jmn-R^c T3-wkš m^{3c}-hrw]* ³ [...] ^b = *t hnty ntr: w rwd s^ch=^t m [dw3.t] hr Wsjr 3h s^c[h=^t m-hnty n^h.w]*
^d ⁴ [...] ^c = *t hnty n^h.w rn=^t dd tp r3 n wnyw [hr md3.t tn...]* ⁵ [...zb nh^h] ^f *pr=^t m hrw hnm=^t jtn^s h3y hdd=f n hr=^t nšp[=^t h]* ⁶ *nm.ty]* ^h = *t nwd^t n Šw snsn fnd=^t m mhy.t jz njwⁱ srd.n=f^k hty.t[=^t] [hnm n^h m d.t=^t]* ¹ ⁷ *n<n> n=k nds nn htm m Nds.tj^m nn hrj w.t=^t nb.(wt) r=^t nn htm wr-ntr: w m [jn.t=f?]*^o

¹ Words spoken by Anubis, who is in the place of embalming: [Hey] Osiris [sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Mut-Min, daughter of the prophet of Amun in Karnak], ² the prophet of Khonsu, Ankh-pa-hered, justified, born of (made by) the mistress of the house and [sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Ta-ukesh, justified].

⁵³ See already BRUIER 1991. The text can be partly reconstructed thanks to a very close parallel: Brussels MRAH Inv. E7624, see BRUIER 1991, catalogue.

³ [May your ba live in the sky before Re, may your ka be divine] among the gods; your mummy may be everlasting in the [Duat] before Osiris, may your mummy be blessed [among the living ones]... ⁴ [May your heirs endure on earth before Geb, (while) your successors are] among the living ones, your name is stable, in the mouth of people by [this Book of Traversing... ⁵ ... Eternity.] You go forth by day, you unite with the disk and its rays illumine your face, your nostrils ⁶ [inhale] the scent of Shu, and your nose breathes the north wind; the breath of air, it opens (your) throat, [so that life is united with your body] ⁷ you are not weak, you will not perish as *Nedjesti*, all of your limbs will not be away from you, the Eldest of the Gods (*wr-ntrw*) will not perish in the [valley?].

Right lateral side, only parts of first two columns are preserved:

¹ *Dd-mdw jn Kfdnw* [...] *m* [...] *z3.t=t* [...] *Wsjr jhy.t*
² *Mw.t-Mnw m3c-hrw z3.t n jt-ntr hm-ntr Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt hm-ntr n Hnsw cnh-p3-hrd* [...]

¹ Words spoken by Kefdenu, [...] in/as [...] your daughter Osiris, sistrum-player ² Mut-Min, justified, daughter of the God's father, the prophet of Amun in Karnak, the prophet of Khonsu, Ankh-pa-hered [...]

Back panel (apart from column 7 almost completely preserved):

¹ *Dd-mdw jn: hy Wsjr jhy.t n Jmn-Rc Mw.t-Mnw m3c-hrw z3.t n jt-ntr hm-ntr Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt*
² *hm-ntr n Hnsw cnh-p3-hrd m3c-hrw jr.t n nb.t-pr jhy.t n Jmn-Rc T3-wkš m3c-hrw [s^ch^c]^p ³ *dd h3=t s^ch^c=t m-hnt psd.t wnn=t m 3hw nmj hr 3t.t(=f)^a ⁴ s^ch^c m stz hr mnm.t=f^e psd=k n=k Wrđ-jb dj.tw [h]r gs=k dj=j n=k⁵ mw hr=k m-k jnj.(n=j) n=k dd h^c=k jm=f^s hy Wsjr jhy.t n ⁶ *Jmn-Rc Mw.t-Mnw m3c-hrw jr.t n nb.t-pr jhy.t n Jmn-Rc T3-wkš m3c-hrw wnn[=t] m htp m ⁷ ntr hpr.w=t m ntr hpr.w=t m ntr dd.tw n=t: ... m htp=f ... =t* [...]?**

¹ Words spoken by: Hey, Osiris, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Mut-Min, justified, daughter of the God's father, the prophet of Amun in Karnak, ² the prophet of Khonsu, Ankh-pa-hered, justified, born of (made by) the mistress of the house and sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Ta-ukesh, justified. [Erect] ³ the Djed-pillar behind you, stand up in the presence of the divine Ennead, you will be an *akh*-spirit sleeping on (his) bed ⁴ (while your) mummy/*s^ch* is lying on his bier.^u Your backbone is yours, Weary-hearted One, may you put yourself on your side, that I may give for you ⁵ water under you. See, I

have brought the Djed-pillar (amulet)^v for you, that you may rejoice because of it! Hey, Osiris sistrum-player ⁶ of Amun-Ra Mut-Min, justified, born of (made by) the mistress of the house and sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Ta-ukesh, justified. You are content as ⁷ god, having become a god, having become a god. One says to you: [...] in his peace [...] you [...]

Notes

- ^a *LGG* I, 233. According to the classical speech on canopic boxes and the parallels on the other sides, the particle *hy* can be reconstructed. See e.g. Hermitage inv. no 822 (MEKIS and MOSHER In prep.)
- ^b The text cites from this point an abbreviated version of the Book of Traversing Eternity (after that BTE). For the reconstruction of the missing section we used parallels which have been meticulously studied by F.-R. Herbin (HERBIN 1994; HERBIN 2008; see also SMITH 2009, 393–436, esp. 434). On the basis of p. Leiden T32, I, 3; p. Vatican 55, I, 3; p. Vienna 3875, I, 5; p. Berlin 3044, I, 2; p. BM EA 10114, I, 2; p. Berlin 3155, IV,2 the reconstruction is *cnh b3=t m p.t hr R^c ntr k3=t*. Due to the rich Late Egyptian sign repertory, the specific spelling of the first three quadrates remains doubtful.
- ^c Abbreviated version of the BTE. *rwd s^ch* – “recalls certain wishes concerning elements of the human body frequently expressed, with many variants” (HERBIN 2008, 18, comment on line II, 6-7). The incipit of BTE describing the future destiny of the deceased is echoed by several other sources like the Book II of Breathings and funerary objects such as stelae and cartonnages.
- ^d Reconstruction on the basis of p. Leiden T32, I, 4; p. Vatican 55, I, 4; p. Vienna 3875, I, 6; p. Berlin 3044, I, 3; p. BM EA 10114, I, 2; p. Berlin 3155, IV, 3–4.
- ^e The most probable reconstruction is *rwd jw^c=t m t3 hr Gb hry ns.t*. See HERBIN 1994, 83, comment on line I, 4.
- ^f Reconstruction based on HERBIN 1994, 84, comment on line I, 4–5; 385–387.
- ^g This phrase of the BTE is also found in the Embalming Ritual, see p. Boulaq 3, x+2,7: *hnm=k m jtn wr* “you unite with the great sun-disk.” We thank S. Töpfer for this note.
- ^h A possible reconstruction on the basis of parallels; the signs are faded.
- ⁱ Reading based on parallels. See HERBIN 1994, 86; HERBIN 2008, 154.
- ^j Reading based on parallels. See HERBIN 1994, 87; HERBIN 2008, 154.
- ^k For a similar orthography (with the hitting man, Gardiner A24, as classifier) see p. BM EA 10114, line 5. HERBIN 2008, 155.
- ^l Reading based on parallels. See HERBIN 1994, 87.
- ^m Epithet of Osiris, see *Wb* II, 386.1 and *LGG* IV, 605.
- ⁿ Excerpt from *PT* 412, see ALLEN 2005, 87.
- ^o For *wr-ntr:w* see *LGG* II, 449. For the possible reconstruction of the lost text as *jn.t=f* cf. p. OIC 25389, XXXIII, 5. HERBIN 1994, 75; 505 and BD 19, 14.

- ^p Not readable, added according to Brussels MRAH Inv. E7624, see BRUIER 1991. For the ritual of rising the Djed-pillar see: DE WALLE 1954, 283–297; MIKHAIL 1984, 51–69; HERBIN 1994, 227, comment VI, 20.
- ^q Reconstruction of the dimmed surface on the basis of Brussels MRAH inv. E 7624.
- ^r Reading suggested by HERBIN 1994, 111, comment on I, 25–26. See QUAEGBEUR 1988, 121, n.36.
- ^s Incipit of BD 155 (“Raise yourself, O Osiris, place yourself on your side that I may put water beneath you and that I may bring you a djed-pillar of gold so that you may rejoice of it,” FAULKNER 1972, 155; for an exact parallel of Mut-Min’s text see the version by ALLEN 1960, 281: “thou hast thy backbone, Weary-hearted One, Mayest thou put thyself on thy side, that I may put for thee water under you. Behold, indeed, I have brought thee the Djed-pillar amulet, that thou may rejoice thereover!”); for a bibliography of BD 155 see: BACKES et al. 2009, 213.
- ^t Unusual writing and unclear reading (here proposed as: a relative verb form of *hpr*. For the late orthography of *hpr* see: PL, 720; *Wb* III, 260; a possible alternative, but so far without parallels, might be *hpr.t* as female form of *hpr*, *Wb* III, 259.4–5: “departed one, deceased”, cf. LGG V, 686).
- ^u Cf. HERBIN 1994, 49, 417: “le mort glorifié étendu sur son lit, et la momie couchée sur sa civière”; one finds the closest parallel of the text again in the BTE: p.Vatican 55, I, 26–27.
- ^v Interestingly, amulets in the shape of *dd*-pillars appear frequently as iconographic elements on canopic boxes of this type, e.g. on BM EA 8538, where a frieze of *tyet*- and *djed*-amulets is on top of each side. See also BRUIER 1998, 69 and pls. 2.2, 3.1, 3.2 and SMITH 2009, Fig. 6 (BM EA 35762) (cf. below).

Doc. 3: The Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue Reg. no. 546

Mut-Min’s Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure in yellow-on-black painted style⁵⁴ falls into Raven’s sophisticated type IVE, underlining his dating of this type to the 30th Dynasty.⁵⁵ It was found in room 4, the pillared hall of TT 414, at the second northern pillar in a secondary position in debris, about 50 cm

above the ground floor.⁵⁶ This find position is very close to the one of the canopic box, implying that Mut-Min might have been actually buried in room 4, or in one of the nearby shafts.⁵⁷

The wooden statuette (45 x 12.3 x 9.5 cm) is broken in its lower part and its face has been partly damaged (Fig. 7).⁵⁸ The applications on top of the head – horns and the *šw.ty*-crown – are missing. Details of the collar (*wsh n bjk*) and especially the text columns are visible as thin lines in yellow paint on the black surface of the statuette. The text comprises four columns in the front and one on the back pillar. Traces of red are also preserved, markedly below the yellow line at the end of the wig on the back side.

The text (Fig. 8) comprises the so called Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure hymn⁵⁹ on the front part in its full form, and the recitation by Mut-Min with her titles and filiation on the back pillar. It reads as follows:⁶⁰

Transliteration of the front side⁶¹

→ ¹ *jnd hr=k jw^cj pr m ntr pn nhh pr m Tm d.t ntr*
(*ty*) *jj.tw m whm ntr* ³ [*hk3 T3-wr.t... hk3 Jgr:t*] ² *m*
jh.w jj.(n) ntr ³ *pr m hbb.t hk3-n=f pr jm=f psd=f*
m [*Nw.t... hmw-wrd*] ³ *rmn rdj.t nw.t^a h^c.tw m*
nb.t=s jmyw m hy z3-(t3 n k3 n) Wsjr jhy.t [n Jmn-R^c
Mwt-Mnw z3.t n ...] ⁴ *jr.t n nb.t pr jhy.t n Jmn-R^c*
T3-wkš m^{3c}-hrw z3=k^b z3=s tz phr^c t[z.tw] r=k s^c[h
wr hry-jb db3.t^d ...]

Translation⁶²

¹ Hail to thee, heir who proceeded from this god, spittle which proceeded from Atum, (divine)^e body which has returned, great god [ruler of the Thinite nome, ... ruler of the Igeret^f] ² in the twilight. The great god has returned, coming forth from the primeval water. He has already been ruling when he came forth from it. He is shining in [the sky.... the

⁵⁴ See BUDKA 2003, 38–39; BUDKA 2010a, 264.

⁵⁵ RAVEN 1979, 268–270; RAVEN 1980, 22–25.

⁵⁶ Its present position is unknown – it is supposed to be kept in the Austrian magazine in the Asasif, saff-tomb no. I (see BUDKA 2009).

⁵⁷ For the location of Ptolemaic burials in TT 414 see BUDKA 2010b, 58–62.

⁵⁸ For a nice parallel with a still intact gilded face see BM EA 9741 of a lady *Ns-Hnsw*, possibly from TT 414.

⁵⁹ RAVEN 1979, 276–281.

⁶⁰ Our transliteration is based on the transcription given in the register book of the Austrian excavations by Manfred

Bietak; the black/white photographs available to us do not allow a clear reading (cf. Figs. 7a-b). As noticed on other objects in yellow-on-black style from TT 414, the visibility of texts and decoration can fade very fast.

⁶¹ The missing parts are emended in the transliteration and in the translation in an indicative way according to the standard form of the hymn, see RAVEN 1979, 276–281. In the copy of the text we did not emendate longer gaps because of the diversified Ptolemaic orthography of the signs.

⁶² Following RAVEN 1979, 277.



Fig. 7a–b Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure Asasif Reg. no. 546 of Mut-Min, fragment of upper part (front and back).
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unwearying stars].³ Given as support for the sky which is rejoicing under her master. The inhabitants are in jubilation (for the *ka* of) the Osiris, the sistrum-player [of Amun-Ra Mut-Min, daughter of Ankh-pa-hered],⁴ born of (made by) the mistress of the house, the sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Ta-ukesh, justified. Your protection is her protection and vice versa. [May ascend] to you [the great] corpse [in the midst of the coffin...]

Transliteration and translation of the single column on the back pillar:

→ *dd mdw jn Wsjr jhy.t n Jmn-R^c Mw.t-Mnw z3.t n jt-ntr hm-ntr m Jp.t-s.wt nḥ-p3-hrd m3^c-hrw jr.t n*

nb.t pr [jhy.t n Jmn-R^c T3-wkš m3^c-hrw...] Words spoken by the Osiris, the sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Mut-Min, daughter of the God's father, prophet in Karnak, Ankh-pa-hered, justified, born of (made by) the mistress of the house [the sistrum-player of Amun-Re Ta-ukesh, justified...].

Notes

- ^a Normally "*p.t*" is here used for sky, see RAVEN 1979, 277.
- ^b "*k*" written with the cobra, for the sign's rich phonetical variations in Ptolemaic times see KURTH 2009, 284 with n. 107 for the value *nb* (= *Esna* III, no. 319, 19). Instead of *z3 nb*, "every protection", it is clear that *z3=k* is meant according to parallels (e.g. MEKIS 2011, 55) (referring to the figure's protection).



Fig. 8 Hieroglyphic text of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure
Reg. no. 546 of Mut-Min

- ^c For *tz phr* – “vice versa”, “the other way round” at this part of the hymn see most recently MEKIS 2011, 55.
- ^d For a parallel see: Louvre AF 1567 and AF 1635 (MEKIS and MOSHER in prep.)
- ^e “Divine” added according to other sources, see RAVEN 1979, 277.
- ^f RAVEN 1979, 277 translates *Jgr.t* as “realm of the dead”; see also *Wb* I, 141.3-6: “Silence (realm of the dead, the necropolis).”

Reg. no. 546 illustrates the well attested combination of yellow-on-black painted Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures with canopic boxes of the same color scheme within one tomb group.⁶³ In the case of Mut-Min, it is important to point out that one of her sons buried in TT 414 probably has had a polychrome painted Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue according to its preserved pedestal (see below).⁶⁴ This testifies that both Raven’s type IVA and type IVE as well as miscellaneous, polychrome painted figures⁶⁵ were partly contemporaneous and overlapping,⁶⁶ continuing well into the Ptolemaic era.⁶⁷ Interestingly, the use within a family could differ.⁶⁸

Doc. 4: The stela ÄS 236 of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

The stela ÄS 236 must have arrived at the museum around 1824 from the collection of Mr. Pauer.⁶⁹ This collector might have been an associate of one of Bernardino Drovetti’s agents. Since antiquities generally came in from Egypt (Alexandria) to Trieste, he might have purchased the stela there. The exact date of the acquisition is not known; in 1824 its inventory number was 855.⁷⁰

⁶³ ASTON 2003, 161–162, Fig. 18; BUDKA 2010a, 359.

⁶⁴ For an example of type IVE with a pedestal see MEKIS 2011, Figs. 2–3.

⁶⁵ For an unusual statuette from TT 414 see LIPINSKA 2008 and below.

⁶⁶ See already BUDKA 2003.

⁶⁷ See MEKIS 2011, 52–53 with n. 36.

⁶⁸ For general comments on Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuettes from TT 414 see BUDKA 2010a, 260–266.

⁶⁹ SATZINGER 1991, 42.

⁷⁰ Information received from the KHM file of the stela. The stela was probably found together with other stelae of Mut-Min’s family of which some are in the British Museum (EA 8461, 8462, 8464, 8467; see BIERBRIER 1987), others in the Museo Egizio di Torino (cat. nos. 1573, 1597). Cf. for some of these stelae REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 252.



Fig. 9 Stela Wien, ÄS 236 of Mut-Min, © Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

The wooden stela with a rounded top is 55.7 cm in height and 35.5 cm in length (Fig. 9). It is clearly visible that the stela consists of two planks joined together.⁷¹ A small piece of the uppermost part of its left hand side has been mended in antiquity prior to the decoration. Only the recto is decorated and ÄS 236 can be classified as Munro's Theban Type IVE.⁷² Its present state of preservation is rather poor. The text has partially disappeared or has faded while the stucco is seriously damaged in certain areas. The two ramp-formed pedestals of the stela are also missing.⁷³ Despite this, it is clear that the text and the figures of ÄS 236 were once an outstanding quality.⁷⁴ This high quality is evident from the still visible figure of the deceased as well as from the one of the surviving uraei in the lunette. The flesh of the woman, uraeus and perhaps the solar disc are raised above the surface of the stela with a thin layer of stucco painted with gold.⁷⁵ The text in a single horizontal line above the register with pictorial decoration seems to allude to this feature:

[*Dd mdw j*]n *Wsjr jhy.t n Jmn-R^c Mwt-Mnw m3^c-hrw z3.t n jt-ntr hm-ntr n Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt hm-ntr Hnsw nḥ-p3-hrd m3^c-hrw jr.t n nb(.t) pr jhy.t n Jmn-R^c T3-wkš m3^c-hrw nb.t-pr mwt n jt-ntr 3 P3-hr-n-Hnsw, P3-[dj]-Jmn-nb-njsw.t-t3.wy md.w j mh.y m nkr n nwb⁷⁶ h3.y nfr.w [...]*

[Words spoken] by the Osiris, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Mut-Min, justified, daughter of the God's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, Ankh-pa-hered, justified, born of (made by) the mistress of the house, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Ta-ukesh, justified, mistress of the house and mother of the great God's father(s) Pa-kher-en-Khonsu and

Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy. The words [are]: O, the one who covers with gold dust (sunlight), the one who radiates beauty [...]

The last two surviving sentences of the text are an invocation to Re, who causes the deification of the deceased through his power. This is further illustrated by the figural scene below the horizontal line (Fig. 9).

It was Horst Beinlich who first noted this relation between the two gilded elements (see below). As he rightly argues, the gilded body of the deceased refers to her deified existence.⁷⁷ The woman wears an extremely fine dress and once had blue hair, decorated with a red headband as a symbol of rebirth.⁷⁸ Traces of the blue pigment of the colored hair can still be discovered, testifying that she is already represented as a divine being. She is about to be led into the hall of Osiris by Anubis who clenches the hand of the deceased while turning his face towards her saying:

“Coming in and going out from the necropolis. Behold him, he is Osiris.” Anubis is the one who introduces her to Osiris and his companions Isis, Nephthys, Horsiase and Hathor. In front of the deity there are traces of a column identifying him as: “The keeper of the necropolis and the secrets of the Heaven.”

Anubis is shown holding in his other hand a roll of papyrus that probably contained the text of the stela.⁷⁹ Thus, in reading the text and imagery of the stela, one is recalling a divine “message” that is in the hand of Anubis as one of the most important protectors of the deceased in the Netherworld.

In comparison with other stelae of the same text type, ÄS 236 has some unique features.⁸⁰ The text,

⁷¹ For the common technique of fashioning wooden stelae with two or three panels see BIERBRIER 1987, 37 and passim.

⁷² MUNRO 1973, 244.

⁷³ A large number of such loose pedestals came to light in TT 414, see BUDKA 2008, 73–77. For a complete example of a god's decree stela with staircase-shaped pedestals see e.g. MUNRO 1973, pl. 18, Fig. 65. Cf. also SCHREIBER 2009, 125.

⁷⁴ See already MUNRO 1973, 244.

⁷⁵ REUTERSWÄRD 1958, 23–24.

⁷⁶ LEITZ did not mention this specific epithet, but similar constructions (e.g. *mḥ-ḥ-m-nkr-n(-nbw)*), known exclusively from the Greco-Roman period, refer to Re-Horus, Re-Horakhty, Hor-Behdety, Hor-sema-tauy, Atum or to Montu-Re-Horakhty; see LGG III, 364.

⁷⁷ See also REUTERSWÄRD 1958, 18–24 for general remarks about gilding of figures and their significance.

⁷⁸ See KUCHAREK 2010, 314 for the significance and context of this type of headband.

⁷⁹ BEINLICH 2009, 13.

⁸⁰ At the moment there are 18 stelae known with the same text type: Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. no. 51.1928; Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 88.877; Kákósy 1, 2, 3 (reg. no. 1985/69); Florence, Museo Archeologico di Firenze, inv. no. 2491; Leiden, RMO, AH 21; Luxor, “Coll. Mustapha Aga” = “stela ex-Pitt-Rivers” SOTHEBY'S 1975, no. 118 = SCOTT III 1992, 197, no. 146 = Hildesheim, PM, F 35; Paris, Louvre N 2699; Louvre E 18923; Louvre E 13093; Louvre N 2701; Rovigo, Museo dell'Academis dei Concordi, no. 9 (Dolzani); Torino, Museo Egizio di Torino, cat. no. 1569; Torino cat. no. 1599; Wien KHM, ÄS 236; CHRISTIE'S 1987, no. 68; Prague, Náprstek Museum P 1636.

which is a royal decree⁸¹ or, according to other sources, a god's decree⁸² is seemingly divided into five compartments by reddish-brown strips and the strip of the iconographic scene. *Seemingly* has to be emphasized because during the translation of the text on the stela it became apparent that these reddish brown strips also contained texts. The material of the pigment now conceals these inscriptions completely.

The text uniquely starts immediately below the lunette but unfortunately only some parts of it are clearly visible. The others are covered with dust and are highly faded and unreadable.

The major part of the text, the god's decree, has recently been published by Horst Beinlich.⁸³ Beinlich gave an excellent comparison of the text with other divine decrees on the occasion of his publication of the papyrus of Tamerit. The reason why it is still worth re-publishing the stela is because of the identity of its owner. While Beinlich was able to read the name of the owner, he could not relate the person to a previously attested individual. However, it is none other than our well-known Mut-Min, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, whose mother is Ta-ukesh, mistress of the house and sistrum-player of Amun-Ra. The father of Mut-Min is preserved twice on the stela – as Ankh-pa-hered, God's father and prophet of Amun in the temple of Karnak and prophet of Khonsu, which thus identifies the owner of the stela as Mut-Min from TT 414 (G 88).

The text (Fig. 10) from the stela reads as follows:⁸⁴

¹ *Wd.t-nsw.t jr.t n hm n nsw-bjty Wnn-nfr m^{3c}-hrw n3 ntr.w [c3].w m [sp3].t J{jr}<g>r.t n3 3h.w m wsh.t Wsjr n3 hzy.w m wsh.t c3.t n3 [šms(.w) nmy.t]^a*

² *r-gs Wsjr t3yt.y z3b m sp3.t Jgr.t n3 ntr.w ntr.wt jmy.w J3.t-β-mw.t n3 b3.w hr Jmnt.t W3s.t wd.t-ntr.y m dd.j nn ntr.w r 3w=sn jgr zp sn zp jfd^b sdm.tn mdw [Jmn-R^c nb-ns.wt-t3.wy]^c*

³ *[hn.ty-Jp.t-s.wt Jtm nb t3.wy Jwnw Pth rs jnb.t=f nb c^{nh}-t3.wy Nwn wr jt ntr.w...]^d*

⁴ *[...Wsjr jhy.t n Jmn-R^c Mw.t-Mnw m^{3c}-hrw z3.t n jt-ntr hm-ntr n Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt hm-ntr Hnsw c^{nh}-p3-hrd m^{3c}-hrw jr.t n nb(.t) pr jhy.t n Jmn-R^c T3-wkš*

m^{3c}-hrw]^e? dd c^k=s r=tn jmj s(t) r wsh.t tp.t n Jmnt.t c^h=t [št^f pw Nb-r-dr]^g

⁵ *[dsr=tn n=s] h^c m hr.t-ntr mj [R^c pr m t3]^h jmj n=s j3w zn-t3 n hr=s jmy tz=s r-gs nmy.t=s w^cb db3.t=s n snd n d.t=s jmy [šn^c.twⁱ stš]ⁱ*

⁶ *r=s wsr st m š[ff.t] jmj s(t) n ph.ty tnw s(t) r b3 ntr.w jmy s(t) r db3.t w^cb(.t) n R^c n thn=s {j}n- hnw^k jsf.t [hnm s(t) m]*

⁷ *[c^{nh} rnpj s(t) m j3k nht nmt.t=s c3 ph.tj=s šps s(t) m špss.w pth n=s tph.t n c^{nh} jmy zš hty.t=s hr mw jmy s(t) r nmy.t c3.t jw 3s.t hr]^l*

⁸ *rmy.wt.s Nb.t-hw.t hr j3kb.w=s jw.s m z3 n Wsjr hn.tj Jmnt.t Wnn-nfr jmy s(t) n šff.wt nb.w j(w)=s m z3.t n R^c-Hr-3h.ty z3b šw pr m 3h.t [jmy s(t)]*

⁹ *m-b3h Wsr.t j(w)=s m z3.t n Jmn-R^c-nb-ns.wt-t3.wy hn.tj-Jp.t-s.wt nts ntr pwy nrw n=s m hr.t-ntr zš n=s sb3.w [c3.w m sp3.t]*

¹⁰ *m Jgr.t h^c=s m nw nb Wsjr jhy.t n Jmn-R^c Mw.t-Mnw m^{3c}-hrw z3.t n jt-ntr hm n Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt hm n Hnsw [c^{nh}-p3-hrd m^{3c}-hrw...]*

¹¹ *[nts ntr pwy c3 s^ch špss spr.s t3-dsr m wd3-jb jb=s c^k3 n gm.tw wn=s sph3]^m*

¹² *s(t) jry-mh3.t jmy hnw b3=s r bw mr.y=s jw h3.t=s mnw.t m jmnt.t W3s.t Wsjr jhy.t n Jmn-R^c Mw.t-Mnw m^{3c}-hrw rwd [...]*

¹³ *dd mdw j jrj(.w)-c3(.w)-(nw)-Jmnt.ⁿ z3.w J3.t-d3-mw.t, b3.w jkr.w m jšd špss.w wn [...]mj kd=sn [jmy]*

¹⁴ *c^k=j hr=tn jw dd=s mj [...] m hd [...]^p*

Translation:

¹ Royal decree issued by the Majesty of Upper and Lower Egypt Wenennefer-the-justified to the [great] gods in the [district] of Igeret, (to) the blessed-spirits in the hall of Osiris, (to) the glorified ones in the great hall, (to) the [followers of the funerary bed,]

² beside Osiris, the vizier and judge in the district of Igeret, (to) the gods and goddesses who are in the mound of Djeme, and (to) the bas in the West of Thebes. The divine decree announces:

O, all you gods: Keep silent! Keep silent, all around! Listen to the words of [Amun-Ra, Lord-of-the-Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands,]

⁸¹ DE MEULENAERE 1988, 234–241; KÁKOSY 1992, 311–328, pls. IV–VII; BEINLICH 2009, 11–14; 206–208.

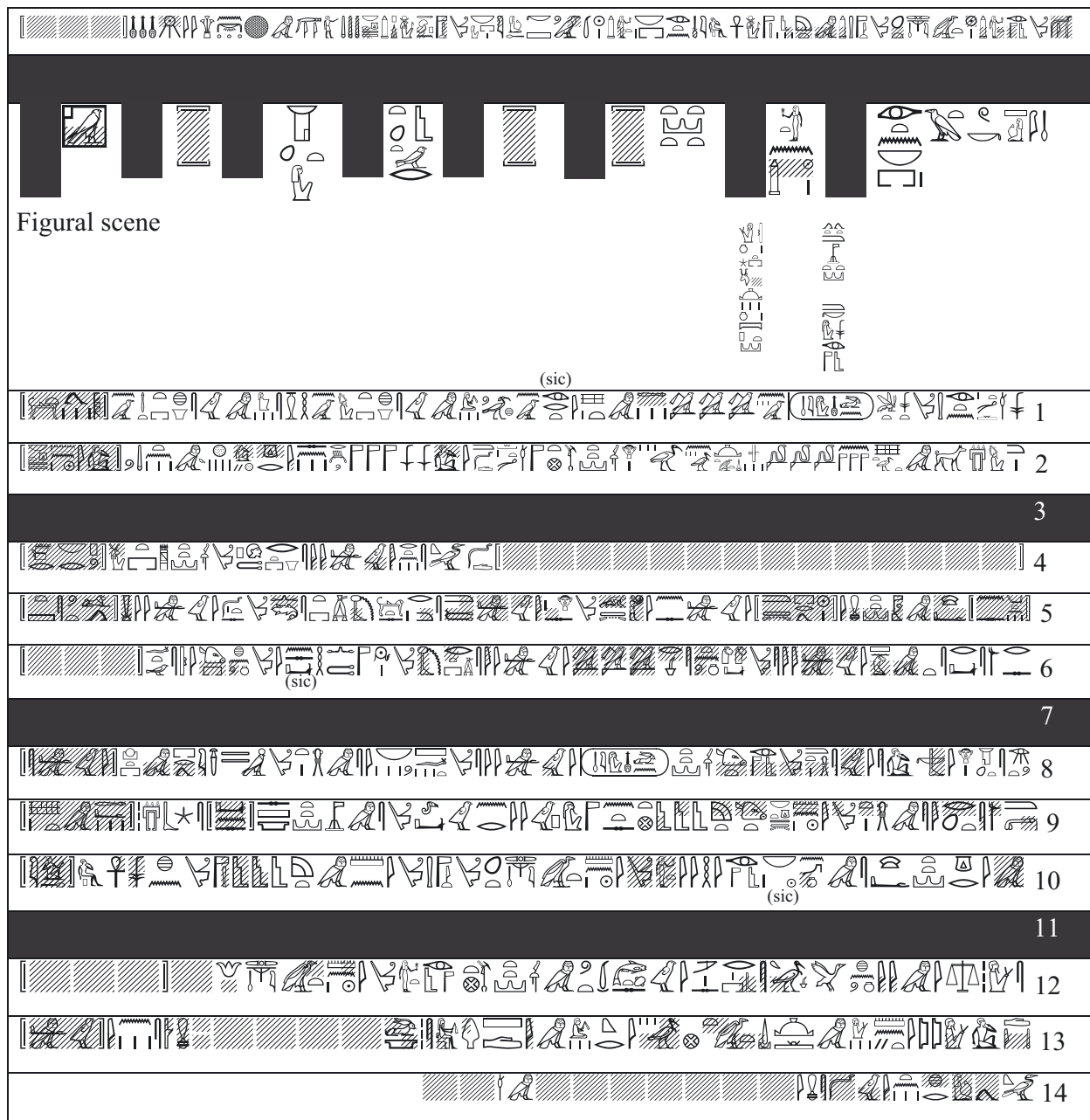
⁸² OTTO 1977, 675–677; QUAEGBEUR 1988, 105–126. See most recently SCHREIBER 2009, 124–125, cat. 55; KUCHARÉK 2010, 311–314; TÖPFER and MÜLLER-ROTH 2011, 65–67, 117. The

text of ÄS 236 names both a royal and a divine decree, see below.

⁸³ BEINLICH 2009, 11–14, 206–208.

⁸⁴ The transliteration contains also additions as far as they are possible based on close parallels.

Copy of the texts of the stela:*



* The copy contains additions which might have once stood there on the basis of close parallels. The reddish-brown strips are left blank since the emendation of the exact hieroglyphs would be too hazardous.

Fig. 10 Hieroglyphic text of stela Wien, ÄS 236 of Mut-Min

|³ [who is foremost of the temple of Karnak, Atum, the Lord-of-the-Two-Lands and of Heliopolis, Ptah, who-is-South-of-his-Wall, Lord-of-life-of-the-two-Lands and Nun, the great, the father-of-the-gods when they say:

|⁴ ...? The Osiris sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Mut-min, justified, daughter of the God's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, Ankh-pa-hered, justified, born of (made by) the mistress of the house, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Takushit, justified] let

her enter to you, let her enter the first room of the West, the secret palace [of the Lord-of-All]

|⁵ [Make free a rise to her] in the necropolis, [like Ra, who ascends from the earth]. May praise be given to her and adoration in front of her. Cause (her) to rise besides her funerary bed, her sarcophagus being purified. May (she) not be fearful in her body and cause [that those who are coming against her [line 6] will be repelled]

⁶ and she shall be powerful in respect. Let her have power and raise her to the divine bas. Place her into the purified *Djebat* of Ra, so that no harm can reach inside. Unite her with

⁷ the life and rejuvenate her in the old age, her walking shall be firm and her power great, she shall be honored among the honored ones; open to her the spring of life and let her throat be flown by water. Place her on the great funerary bed while Isis is]

⁸ mourning her and Nephthys is lamenting over her, she is under the protection of Osiris who is the foremost of the westerns, Wenennefer-the-justified; cause to her all respect. She is under the protection of Re-Harakhty, dappled of feathers, who steps out from the Horizon, [place her]

⁹ in the presence of Weseret, so she shall be under the protection of Amun-Ra, Lord-of-the-Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, the Foremost of Karnak. She is the god who is inspiring fear in the necropolis. May be opened for her the [great] doors [of the territory of]

¹⁰ *Igeret*, in every moment when she appears, the Osiris sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Mut-Min, justified, daughter of the God's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, prophet of Khonsu, [Ankh-pahered, justified ...]

¹¹ [She is that great god, the venerable mummy, she reaches the Sacred Land in welfare, her heart is just, and there is not any fault that can be found and the attendants of the balance absolve her.]




¹² Let her ba be able to land at (any) place where she likes, while her body remains in the west part of Thebes. Osiris sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Mut-Min, justified [...]

¹³ Words spoken: O doorkeepers of the Westerns keepers of the Mound of Djeme, excellent bas on the noble Ished-tree, open [to me the *Imehet*] in its entire. [Let]

¹⁴ me enter after you; being reported [to] all [of the lords of *Igeret*] from the [royal] decree, [made for her/me...]

Notes

- ^a Reconstruction on the basis of parallels: Cairo JE 88877, Louvre N2699, E 18923, E 13093, Turin cat. no. 1569, Leiden AH 21, "Mustapha Aga" = Hildesheim PM F35, Florence 2491, Prague P 1636, Rovigo no. 9.
- ^b *zp sn zp jfd*: The reference for the number four may refer to the four cardinal points, thus to the whole world.
- ^c Emended on the basis of parallels. Only Rovigo no. 9 does not show this version, as its text is highly abbreviated. On Kákosy 2 and 3 this part did not survive; on Kákosy 1 only partly.

- ^d The line is completely unreadable; an exact hieroglyphic reconstruction is not possible because of the richness of late Egyptians signs, but the transliteration is highly probable based on fourteen examples (except Kákosy 2, Florence 2491, Rovigo no. 9).
- ^e The beginning of the line surely contained the genealogical information of Mut-Min, as on the parallel stela.
- ^f , *Valeurs*, 140, 295, the sign is almost certain.
- ^g On stela with shorter versions of the decree the text finishes with this sentence: Prague P 1636, Louvre E 13093. Rovigo no. 9 gives an abbreviated form.
- ^h Highly faded part although the hieroglyphic reconstruction is almost certain.
- ⁱ Beinlich proposes the copy of  (*Valeurs*, 743, 81) as on the stela Turin cat. no. 1569, 1599 and Leiden AH 21. We see on all stela including ÄS 236 the sign  (*Valeurs*, 675, 371).
- ^j See the comment of DE MEULENAERE 1988, 237, d.
- ^k A problematic part of the text. QUAEGBEUR 1988, 121 (n. 38) suggested *n thn n=f {n} jsf.t* with the elimination of the *n*. BEINLICH 2009, 38 (n.12) recommended the reading: "Es sollen ihm nicht nahekomen *Einengung* und Mangel." We agree with Zayed who suggested a contamination of the preposition *m-hnt* and the adverbial form of *n-hnw*. See ZAYED 1959, 98, n. 3.
- ^l For parallels see: Cairo JE 88877, Louvre N 2699, Louvre E 18923, Turin cat. no. 1569, Christie's. Partially also: Leiden AH 21, Turin cat. no. 1599.
- ^m The complete line 11 is covered by the dark surface; its text is emended on the basis of Cairo JE 88877, Louvre N 2699, Christie's and partially Turin cat. no. 1599, Leiden AH 21 and Kákosy 2.
- ⁿ Cf. LGG I, 415: *jrj.w-ʕ-nw-Jmnt.t* "Die Türhüter des Westens."
- ^o Faded area; uncertain orthography of the word *Jmḥ.t* (*Wb* I, 88), for parallels see Cairo JE 88877, Louvre N 2699, Christie's, and partially Kákosy 2.
- ^p The last, lowest line of the stela is highly damaged with only traces of the signs discernible.

Doc. 5-9: Further objects associated with Mut-Min from TT 414

As mentioned above, Mut-Min is named on a small number of other objects deriving from TT 414. She can be associated with remains of the burial equipment of close relatives. These are in particular coffins, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures and wooden stela.

Coffins of Mut-Min's family

The coffin fragments associated with Mut-Min's family illustrate that the common set of coffins comprised two wooden anthropoid ones that held

the mummy equipped with cartonnage.⁸⁵ The outer coffin, falling into the “swollen type” with an oversized head,⁸⁶ was usually painted in yellow on black ground; the inner one was regularly polychrome.⁸⁷ Whether this set of coffin was placed in a *krsw*-coffin, following the common tradition of the 25th and 26th Dynasties, remains a bit unclear – but at least from one of the family members a fragment of such an outer shrine-coffin has survived (see below).

From Mut-Min’s husband Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh (G 163) only fragments of his inner anthropoid coffin (Doc. 5a-b: Reg. nos. 670 and 671) were discovered.⁸⁸ These fragments were found in the debris of room 7/1,2, the main burial chamber of TT 414, originally used for Ankh-Hor himself.⁸⁹

Doc. 5b, Reg. no. 671 comprises three panels from the lid of the inner anthropoid coffin with a yellowish outer surface and painting in red, blue and black (thickness of lid: 3 cm). Two fragments are fitted together and derive from the left side of the lid (shoulder until height of knee, ca. 130 x 21 cm). The third piece belongs to the right side, to the area between the pedestal and the knee (ca. 90 cm x 9 cm).

The fragments from the left side show a *wsh*-collar, two winged sun-disks (only remains of the wings) and the deceased in adoration, facing right. A short vertical column in front identifies him as *Wsjr Dd-Hnsw-jw=f-ꜥnh mꜣꜥ-hrw*. Behind the deceased, two baboons are depicted in adoration, facing the same direction as Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh. This figurative panel is followed by a horizontal line below – apart from the name of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh, the text is unfortunately destroyed. Below this line, there are six registers with figural representations, separated from each other with horizontal lines except the two lowest ones.

1st register: Gods and goddesses are striding rightwards – two female and two male ones are preserved, the latter very badly destroyed and unrecognisable. The goddesses have both a black body with red clothing. The text below is

destroyed apart from [*Wsjr Dd-Hnsw-jw=f-ꜥnh mꜣꜥ-hrw jr.t n nb.t-pr* [...]].

2nd register: The mummy is shown on the funerary bed, below are the canopic jars. Isis is depicted to the left, identified by a short column giving her name. She is followed by two Sons of Horus, named as Imset and Duamutef. The horizontal line below is again very fragmented, the end of the mother’s name⁹⁰ is still visible, followed by a negation: [... *Ns-Hn*]_{sw} *mꜣꜥ-hrw n(n) dr* [...] [...] Nes-Khon]su, justified, (there shall be) no driving out [...]

3rd register: A row of gods facing right; only the last three are preserved and identified by short columns: Nephthys, Horus and a female deity with a sun-disk, surrounded by an uraeus, on her head. The text is partly damaged, but *Hpt.t* is readable,⁹¹ as well as *nfr:w=k*.⁹² The horizontal line is again just in segments preserved, here one reads: [...] *m Jgr.t pr=k [r bw] nb [mrj=k ...]* [...] in the necropolis; you will go out [to] any [place you wish ...]

4th register: The solar barque, occupied by seated gods, is shown facing to the right. The god Shu is lifting the barque; only his arms are preserved and the epithet *jt-ntr:w, Father of the Gods*. Below the divine boat, Isis and a Ba-bird are shown with hands raised in adoration. The goddess is named with a short label in front of her (*ꜣs.t*). In front of the Ba-bird there is a large sized *ꜥnh*-sign.

To the left there are remains of a goddess with a sundisk on her head, probably Nut.

The horizontal line reads in its preserved part: [...] *tw nn wn* [...] [...] there is no existing (as...) [...].

5th register: A row of gods with feathers on their head are facing right, with adoring arms; they are identified as *ntr:w jmj.w-dwꜣ.t*, the gods living in the underworld.

6th register: Traces of a jackal-headed god, with a partly preserved label: [...] *hb*⁹³

⁸⁵ Cf. ASTON 2003, 161–162; SCHREIBER 2011, 115.

⁸⁶ See NIWIŃSKI 1984, 455–456; SCHREIBER 2011, 115.

⁸⁷ Cf. REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 254. For general characteristics of coffins of this period see also TAYLOR 1989, 61–62.

⁸⁸ It was suggested (REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 254) that Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh had two colored coffins – the measurements of the fragments, especially the width (3 respectively 4 cm), would correspond better to the upper and lower part

of a single = inner coffin. No traces of his outer coffin were found.

⁸⁹ See the description by BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 165–167.

⁹⁰ REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, G 105 and above.

⁹¹ Cf. LGG V, 125 *Hpt.t* and *Hpt.t-Zꜣ.t-Rꜥ*.

⁹² *Hpt.t-nfr:w=k* is not mentioned in LGG V.

⁹³ Possibly *Jnpw m sbh.t*, see LGG I, 397.



Fig. 11 Hieroglyphic text of coffin fragment Asasif
Reg. no. 671 (Mut-Min's husband Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh)

The fragment from the right side shows some text preserved – 2 columns facing left; and to the left of the collar another 2 columns, facing right, are visible (Fig. 11):

← ¹[...] *Hnsw-m-W3s.t-Nfr-htp hr z3 tpj jmj 3bd=f n Mw.t-wr(t) nb(t) Jšrw n z3 3-nw jdn(w)-n-pr-Jmn-n-Jp.t n (z3) 2(?) -nw (Dd-Hnsw-jw=)f-^cnḥ m3^c-hrw z3 mj-nn jt-ntr P3-hr-Hnsw [m3^c-hrw...] ²(Ns-Hnsw) m3^c-hrw tz.tw r=k m t3-dsr.t s^cḥ šzp hrj-jb Msk.t jwf=k ks.w=k dmd r s.t=sn tp=k n=k [...] ḥty.t=k hr=k n=k ḥtp [...] jmj=k [...]*

¹ [...of] Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, of the 1st phyle, prophet of the monthly service of (the house of) Mut, the Great one, the Mistress of Isheru, of the 3rd phyle [...], deputy of the temple of Amunope, of the 2nd (?) phyle, (Djed-Khonsu-iu)f-ankh, justified, son of the (priest) of the same rank, Pa-kher-Khonsu, [justified ...]

² [... the sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Nes-Khonsu], justified. May you rise in the Underworld, as an equipped mummy/s^cḥ in the midst of Mesqet⁹⁴; your flesh, your bones will be united on their places, your head belongs to you [...] your throat, your face belong to you; resting [...] may be given that you [...]

→ ¹ *Dd-mdw jn Wsjr jt-ntr ḥm-ntr n Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt ḥm-Hd.t ḥm-Hr-wr-w3d.ty s3ḥ-wd3.t jrj-^cfd.t n pr-Hnsw-m-W3s.t-Nfr-htp hrj (n) z3 tpj jmj 3bd=f Mw.t wr.t nb(t) Jšrw n z3 3-nw [...] ²jhy.t n Jmn-R^c Ns-Hnsw m3^c-hrw ḥ b3 jkr ḥns t3-ntr Pwn.t nn šn^c. tw=k hr ḥw.t m wsh.t n.t Rw.ty m hrw šzp 3w(t) ḥtp.w [...]*

¹ Word spoken by the Osiris, the God's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, priest of the White Crown, priest of Hor-wer, of the Two Mistresses⁹⁵, keeper of the liturgies (*s3ḥ wd3.t*), the keeper of the chest/shrine⁹⁶ of the temple of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, of the 1st phyle, prophet of the monthly service of (the house of) Mut, the Great one, the Mistress of Isheru, of the 3rd phyle [...] ²the sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Nes-Khonsu, justified, may the excellent Ba travel through the divine land (of)

⁹⁴ For Mesqet as a region of the heavens, a sector of a necropolis, see *Wb* II, 149.15-17; *GDG* III, 61 and SMITH 2009, 476 with n. 57. A similar text can be noticed in the fourth line of Mut-Min's Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue (Doc. 3, see above).

⁹⁵ For the title *ḥm-Hd.t ḥm-Hr-wr-w3d.ty* see QUAEGBEUR† 1998, 1226–1229.

⁹⁶ For the title *jrj-^cfd.t* see JANSEN-WINKELN 2001, 56, 8, referring to VITTMANN 1983, 328–329 (f).



Fig. 12 Fragment of anthropoid coffin Asasif Reg. no. 670 (Mut-Min's husband Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh), © Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna / Julia Budka

Punt⁹⁷; you will not be kept away from the temple, the hall of the Two Lions⁹⁸, daily; receive the altars and the offerings [...]

Similar to texts on canopic boxes (see below), the mobility and revival of the deceased are here in the foreground.

The interior of the coffin lid (Reg. no. 671) is painted with a white background – traces of the goddess of the West with outlines and costume in red are preserved. Below her arm there is the hieroglyphic sign for “West”.

Doc. 5a, Reg. no. 670 are three fragments from the lateral sides of the lower part of the anthropoid coffin of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh (one fragment from the right part shoulder downwards, two from the left part; max. 150 x 8 cm with a width of 4 cm). At present, only two pieces have been relocated in the magazine of the Austrian mission in the Asasif. The background is yellowish and the hieroglyphs are painted black; for the lines framing the text blue and red was used (Fig. 12).

On the left the text reads (Fig. 13):

¹ [*htp-dj-njsw ...*] *Jtm nb t3.wy Jwnw dj=sn 3h.t m p.t hr R^c wsr m t3 hr Gb ^ck=k pr=k [... m dj] htp hr h3.wt n nb.w dw3.t Wsjr jt-ntr hm-ntr n Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt hm-Hd.t hm-Hr Dd-Hnsw-jw=f-^cn^h m3^c-hrw jr.t n nb.t-pr jhy.t n Jmn-R^c Ns-Hnsw m3^c-hrw ^ck=k pr=k [...]*

[A boon which the king gives to GOD, and to] Atum, Lord of the Two Lands and of Heliopolis⁹⁹, that they give power in heaven before Ra, strength on earth before Geb; may you enter, may you come out;¹⁰⁰ [(you are) placed/given] (as) resting at the offering tables of the lords of the Underworld; the Osiris, God's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, prophet of the White crown, prophet of Horus¹⁰¹, Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh, justified, born of (made by) the mistress of the house, the sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Nes-Khonsu, justified; may you enter, may you come out [...]

On the right the text reads (Fig. 13):

² [... *n=k w3 m 3h.t Wsjr jt-ntr hm-ntr n Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt hm-Hd.t hm-Hr Dd-Hnsw-jw=f-^cn^h m3^c-*

⁹⁷ Cf. a passage in the Embalming Ritual “you are a perfect image, a venerable and goodly mummy in Punt,” see SMITH 2009, 233.

⁹⁸ Cf. *Wb* II, 403.10; *LGG* IV, 654.

⁹⁹ For this epithet of Atum see *LGG* III, 778.

¹⁰⁰ For this abbreviation of ^ck=k pr=k see *Wb* I, 231–232.

¹⁰¹ For the full form of this title see Reg. no. 671, above.



Fig. 13 Hieroglyphic text of coffin fragment Asasif Reg. no. 670 (Mut-Min's husband Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh)

*hrw z3 jt-ntr P3-hr-(n)-Hnsw m3^c-hrw jr.t n nb.t-pr
jhy.t n Jmn-R^c Ns-[Hnsw]*

[...] for you, far in the horizon, Osiris, the God's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, prophet of the White crown, prophet of Horus, Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh, justified, son of the God's father Pa-kher-(en)-Khonsu, justified, born of (made by) the mistress of the house, the sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Nes-[Khonsu].

The coffin texts name both parents of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh. His mother Nes-Khonsu I / Kalouth (G 105), thus the mother-in-law of Mut-Min, is named also on three other very significant coffins from TT 414 as the mother of the deceased (Reg. nos. 603 + 604, 413 and 614). These coffins therefore once belonged to siblings of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh. All of them are inner coffins and anthropoid in shape. They are fashioned in a hard wood and display carved decoration with a simple design – figures of sons of Horus flanking central vertical inscription.¹⁰² A minimum of eight coffins of this style are known from TT 414 and were dated to the 30th Dynasty,¹⁰³ indicating that two different types of coffins existed at the same time. The family of Mut-Min attests that close family members of the same generation chose between inner coffins with carved decoration and polychrome ones – most likely coming from different workshops.

Further polychrome painted fragments are attested – and this is e.g. also the small fragment of the pedestal of the inner anthropoid coffin of the mother of Mut-Min herself, Takushit.¹⁰⁴ Reg. no. 779 derives again from the original burial compartment of Ankh-Hor and is part of the front panel of the pedestal with two lines of inscriptions, giving a short offering formula and the name and title (*jhy.t n wj^c*) of the deceased.

Finally, it is important to stress that from another brother of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh, Iret-Hor-ru II (G 29), fragments of his set of polychrome painted coffin set are preserved. The find spot of the various fragments is once more burial chamber 7/1,2. Iret-Hor-ru had two anthropoid coffins, enclosed in a high quality *krsw*-coffin as an outer one (Reg. no. 678). This brother-in-law of Mut-Min has also left a pedestal of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue (Reg. no. 694), which is remarkably close to his coffins in its polychrome design (see below).

As was stressed previously, coffins of the yellow-on-black painted style are common in the 4th-3rd centuries BCE and this type is also attested for Mut-Min's family – but interestingly not in the first generation. Some panels of the anthropoid coffin of Mut-Min's son Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy V were found in TT 414. These fragments (Doc. 6, Reg. no. 414a, Fig. 14) display the painted yellow-on-black background style and should date to the early 3rd century BCE. A variant of this yellow-on-black style as a bi-chrome combination is attested by Reg. no. 783 (Doc. 7). These are some panels preserved from the lid and lower part of the inner anthropoid coffin of Mut-Min's other son Iret-Hor-ru (G 30). His mother's name did not survive on these fragments, but because of his father Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh (G 163) he can be clearly identified as one of her offspring.¹⁰⁵

Doc. 7, Reg. no. 783 is different in style than the others: on black background, there is paint in white and red and the execution of the lines was done roughly. Reg. no. 783 is composed of very thin panels, only 1.5 cm in width, therefore a use as inner coffin seems evident. The lid shows the classical composition – below a central winged sun-disk, there are two vertical columns. These are flanked by the Sons of Horus and other protective deities on each side.

¹⁰² See TAYLOR 1989, 62.

¹⁰³ REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 255. The later development of this type of inner coffin with decoration on the natural surface of the wood is illustrated by the ensemble of Hornedjitef (esp.

BM EA 6678), see lately Schreiber 2011, 114–116, Figs. 17 and 20.

¹⁰⁴ As already suggested by REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 283.

¹⁰⁵ REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 254.



Fig. 14 Fragment of the anthropoid coffin Asasif Reg. no. 414a of Pa-di-Imen-neb-nesut-taui V, © Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Julia Budka

Fragments of the foot panel of Reg. no. 783 display the common decoration with symmetrical jackals on shrines, only partly preserved. Further panels attest the decoration of the interior of the lower part: The goddess of the west in facing right.

Her figure is only drawn in outline, in white and red. Traces of the wig, the eyes, the collar, girdle and a foot of the goddess were visible.

To conclude, the three generations of coffins attested from Mut-Min's family (mother-in-law, husband and his siblings, sons of different ages) illustrate the development of Theban coffin decoration characteristic for the period of 350 to c. 280 BCE.¹⁰⁶ Polychrome coffins are favored by this family in generations 1 and 2, whereas generation 3 preferred the yellow-on-black-style.

Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures of Mut-Min's family

The rectangular pedestal of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue of Mut-Min's son Amun-hotep called *Py-hj* (G 18) was found, just like his mother's objects, in room 4, the pillared hall of TT 414.¹⁰⁷ Doc. 8, Reg. no. 492 (length 39 cm, width 9 cm; height 6 cm) is painted on a thin yellowish background (Fig. 15) in red. At the back part of the pedestal, the negative of the missing Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure is preserved – a rectangular depression which once held the tenon of the figure's feet. At the front, a larger rectangular hole is preserved. This compartment was once covered with a vaulted lid topped with a hawk figure.¹⁰⁸

The lateral sides are decorated with broad red bands at the lower and upper side, enclosing a white stripe of text, painted in black. At the top of the pedestal there are five lines of text; the lines are alternating yellow or white paint, bordered by red lines (Fig. 16).

Top of pedestal: → ¹ *hṭp-dj-njsw n Wsjr hntj-Jmnt.t* ² (*ntr*) ³ *Pth-Skr nb(.t)* ⁴ *šty.t dj=sn pr.t-hrw* (*m t hnk.t*) ⁵ *jḥ.w 3pd.w jrp (jrt.t) sntr (kḫ.w) ḥt (nb)* [...] A boon which the king gives to Osiris Foremost of the West, great (god), and to Ptah-Sokar, Lord of the Shetjt¹⁰⁹, that they may give an offering, (of bread, beer), oxen, fowl, wine, (milk), incense, (libations), (all) things [...]

Lateral side of pedestal, starting at front panel: → *hṭp-dj-njsw n Wsjr hntj-Jmnt.t ntr-³ nb.t 3bdw ntr:w jmj.w Jgr.t dj=sn pr.t-hrw (m t hnk.t) jḥ.w 3pd.w jrp jrt.t sntr kḫ.w (ḥt) nb nfr w^cb ndm bnr n k3 (n) Wsjr jt-ntr Jmn-hṭp dd-tw n=f Py-hj jrj.n nb.t*

¹⁰⁶ Thus belonging to Schreiber's Phase I (b) of Theban funerary art in the Ptolemaic Period, see SCHREIBER 2011, 106, Fig. 1. All of the coffins found in TT 414 (more than 200 pieces) will be published as a separate volume (BUDKA and HASLAUER in prep.).

¹⁰⁷ BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 155.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. RAVEN 1979, pls. 39–40.

¹⁰⁹ LGG III, 755–756.

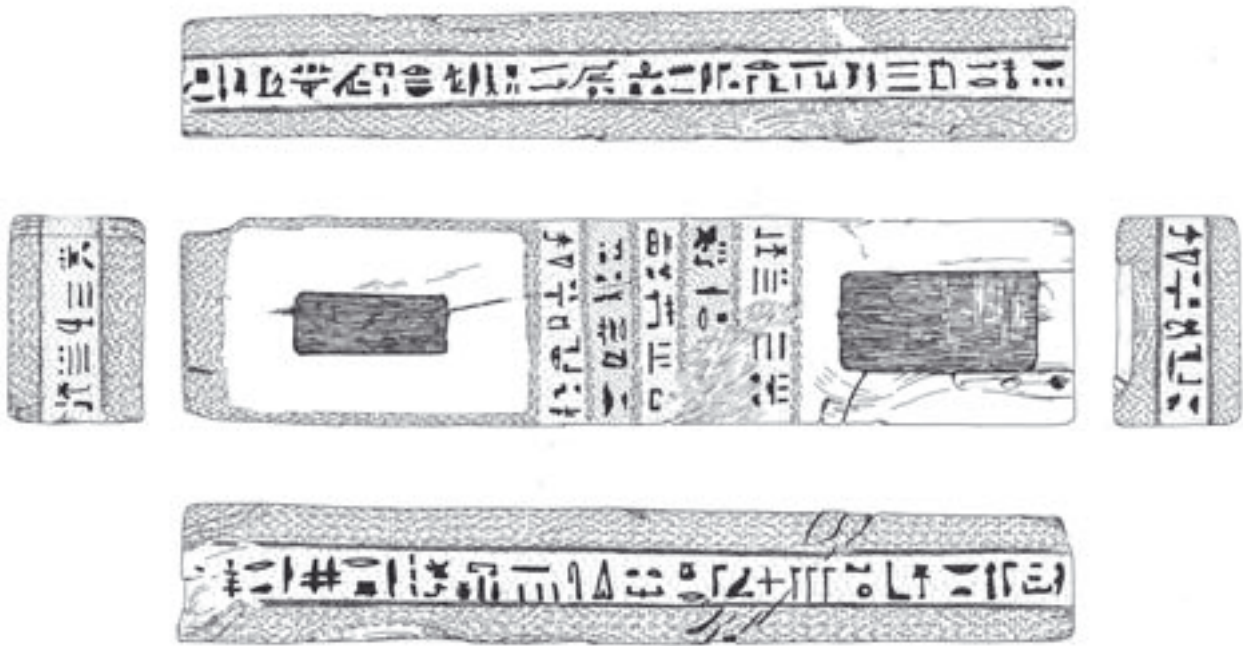


Fig. 15 Pedestal of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette Asasif Reg. no. 496 of Amun-hotep

Top of pedestal



Horizontal line of pedestal



Fig. 16 Hieroglyphic texts of pedestal of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette Asasif Reg. no. 496 of Amun-hotep

pr Mwt-Mnw m3^c-hrw nb-jm3h A boon which the king gives to Osiris Foremost of the West¹¹⁰, Great God, Lord of Abydos, and to all Gods in the Igeret, that they may give an offering (of bread, beer), oxen, fowl, wine, milk, incense, libations, all good, pure, pleasant and sweet (things) to the ka of Osiris, the God's father Amun-hotep, called *Py-hj*, justified, lord of veneration, born of (made by) the mistress of the house Mut-Min.

A very close parallel for Reg. no. 492 is the pedestal of Amun-hotep's uncle Iret-Hor-ru II (G 29), the brother of his father. Reg. no. 694 derived from room 7/2 as well. This pedestal shows the same colour pattern and also names a very similar offering formula. Another comparison is Reg. no. 695 belonging to the sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Istemkheb (G 10). This pedestal, similar to both Reg. no. 492 and Reg. no. 694 in style and shape, is of importance since the joining Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure is attested and completely preserved – it is Louvre N 670, now kept in Warsaw (Inv. no. 143346).¹¹¹ Lipinska classified it as a variant of Raven's Type IVB.¹¹² Another significant fragment of Istemkheb's tomb group is known – her canopic shrine of Aston's type B1, now in London (Doc. 11, BM EA 8532, see below).¹¹³

Both Reg. no. 694 and Reg. no. 695 are important for reconstructing the possible type of Amun-hotep's Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue.¹¹⁴ His polychrome painted pedestal, Reg. no. 492, was most likely once supporting a variant of Raven's types III, IVA, C, D or F¹¹⁵ – type IVE, as attested for the figure of his mother Mut-Min, can be ruled out.

Stelae of Mut-Min's family

Family members of Mut-Min possessed stelae that belong primarily to Munro's type Thebes IVA.¹¹⁶

This is in line with the fact that Theban stelae with the god's decree are attested as both Type IVA and IVE like ÄS 236.¹¹⁷

The stela of Mut-Min's son Pa-di-Amun-nesut-tawy V (G 70) was discovered during the early looting of TT 414 and is now kept in the Museo Egizio di Torino (Doc. 9, Turin cat. no. 1573).¹¹⁸ It displays the typical features of Munro's type IVA, a register with the solar barque and another one with the deceased in front of a row of gods. Munro's dating of the stela as 300-270 BCE is in line with the genealogical information.

Stela British Museum EA 8467, part of the funerary equipment of Pa-kher-Khonsu II (G 57),¹¹⁹ illustrates the earlier use of this type. Pa-kher-Khonsu II belongs to the generation of Mut-Min's parents-in-law.¹²⁰ In this case, Munro's dating of 300-270 BCE might be a bit too low. For the similar stela BM EA 8462¹²¹, belonging to Pa-di-Amun-nesut-tawy II (G 67), possibly a half-brother of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-anekh, a date around 300 BCE would work perfectly according to the genealogical information.

Further stelae of the extended family of Mut-Min are nowadays kept in the British Museum (BM EA 8461, 8464) and in the Museo Egizio di Torino (1597). The latter is possibly of her mother-in-law, Nes-Khonsu.¹²² The dating as 300 BCE as proposed by Munro would indicate that Nes-Khonsu lived more or less as long as her son Djed-Khonsu-iuf-anekh who died between 312-305 BCE. Alternatively, the stela Turin 1597, Theban Type III, might be a bit earlier in date.¹²³

Canopic chests of the 30th Dynasty and early Ptolemaic time

Viscera chests or canopic boxes¹²⁴ of the 30th Dynasty and early Ptolemaic time are rectangular

¹¹⁰ In contrast to the text on the top of the pedestal, "West" is here written with \mathcal{Q} instead of \mathcal{K} . See also the similar \mathcal{Q} in "*m3^c-hrw*" at the end of the line.

¹¹¹ See LIPINSKA 2008; BUDKA 2008, 72 with n. 70.

¹¹² LIPINSKA 2008, 166.

¹¹³ Furthermore, two other objects can be attributed to her: a gilded hypocephalus, Louvre N 3524 (recently identified by Mekis), and the BD papyrus, Turin cat. no. 1793.

¹¹⁴ Cf. also ZIEGLER 2003 for another parallel.

¹¹⁵ For these types of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues as most common ones in early Ptolemaic period see SCHREIBER 2011, 123.

¹¹⁶ For stelae as part of tomb groups of the early Ptolemaic period see SCHREIBER 2011, 123.

¹¹⁷ A single piece of this group of stelae belongs to type Thebes IVB, see SCHREIBER 2009, 125, n. 2.

¹¹⁸ MUNRO 1973, 237.

¹¹⁹ MUNRO 1973, 235–236.

¹²⁰ See REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 255.

¹²¹ MUNRO 1973, 235, type "Theben IVA;" BIERBRIER 1987, 36–38; BUDKA 2008, Fig. 13.

¹²² MUNRO 1973, 234, type "Theben III, Sonderform."

¹²³ Cf. ASTON 2003, 162 for Munro's type Theben III as typical for tomb groups of the 30th Dynasty.

¹²⁴ "Kanopenkasten": BONNET 1971, 366 and MARTIN 1978, 319–320; "Canopic box": THOMAS 1995, 214; "Canopic casket – κανοπικα κιβωτια": TZACHOU-ALEXANDRI 1995, 138;



Fig. 17 Canopic boxes with hawk figures of Sokar (left) and with canid figure of Anubis (right)
(after ASTON 2003, Figs. 16 and 18; BRUWIER 2003, Fig. 6)

wooden boxes¹²⁵ in the shape of a shrine¹²⁶, usually with tapered sides ending in cavetto cornices and resting on a projecting base. Their lids commonly support either a three-dimensional image of a recumbent mummified hawk with a sun-disk and double feathers as a headdress, representing the funerary divinity Sokar, or a recumbent canid as an image of Anubis (Fig. 17). The material from TT 414, coming from a close context and from archaeological excavations, adds important information on the subject of these shrine-shaped and decorated boxes.¹²⁷ They are well attested for the period of the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, but have not yet received much attention in Egyptological literature.

Two main questions of this group of objects will be further addressed:

1) Their functional use. As canopic jars are not a common part of the burial equipment of this period, these shrines have been labelled differently: Canopic boxes, dummy canopic boxes¹²⁸, viscera chests, shabti boxes or boxes for funerary equipment¹²⁹. In the following, we will shortly summarize why it is clear that the shrines had the function of canopic boxes, even if they were not always equipped with canopic jars or organ packages. This can be illustrated by both the decoration and texts of the boxes themselves and by external sources including the Book of the Dead, other funerary papyri or tomb decoration.

2) Their dating according to styles and shapes. Aston has published a typology of these boxes,¹³⁰ proposing dates for specific types (e.g. his types B2 and C2), which are highly problematic as can be shown with the material from TT 414.

“Eingeweidekasten”: MUNRO s.a. (1976), 6, no. 12; “Caja de vísceras”: EXHIBITION CATALOGUE 2011, 176; “Coffret à viscères”: SCHWEITZER 2002, 118–119; “Cassetta funeraria”: LEOSPO 1999, 39; “Coffret funéraire”: ÉTIENNE 2002, 116–117; “Boîte funéraire”: GOLÉNICHEFF 1891, 125.

¹²⁵ For a rare example of a canopic box in stone see Louvre N 2662 – this unique piece belongs to *P-dj-ʿs* (G77), one of the brothers of Mut-Min’s husband Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh. *P-dj-ʿs* and his equipment are part of an ongoing research project on tomb groups coming from TT 414 (cf. BUDKA and HASLAUER in prep.).

¹²⁶ For the symbolism of this shape as a shrine see TAYLOR and STRUDWICK 2005, 82 (“whatever lay inside possessed the attributes of divinity, including regenerative powers and everlastingness”).

¹²⁷ In addition, a number of canopic chests from TT 414 derived from the tomb prior to the scientific excavation and are now kept in museums (Turin, Paris and London). E.g., at least five canopic boxes presently kept in the British Museum are belonging to persons buried in TT 414: BM EA 8531, 8532, 8533, 8535, 8537; the provenience of EA 8533 from TT 414 is possible, but not proven. For the Louvre N 2662, 2664, 2696 and 4364 can be named; in Turin cat. no. 2426.

¹²⁸ GRAJETZKI 2003, 125.

¹²⁹ SATZINGER 1979, 107: “Kästchen für Grabbeigaben.” See also BUDKA 2010a, 280 and above, note 124.

¹³⁰ ASTON 2000.

In conclusion, we will summarize 3) the most important religious and functional aspects of the shrines as attested by their decoration and texts.

1) *The functional use of the shrines as canopic boxes*

A long time ago, G. A. Reisner included two boxes of the concerned type correctly into his *Canopics*.¹³¹ However, these elements of the human canopic furniture have been repeatedly confused – and still commonly are – with *shabti*-boxes or wooden shrines containing falcon mummies.¹³² This holds true for Egyptological literature as well as museum labels, auction catalogues and online databases.¹³³ However, shape, decoration and texts of the boxes allow a distinction in most cases as will be summarized in the following.

It has to be stressed that both *shabti*-boxes and falcons' shrines are built differently from the viscera chests in question. The *shabti*-boxes in the shape of a chapel (wood with painted gesso) have the form of a single or a double shrine of Lower Egypt, occasionally mounted on sledge runners. Sometimes they have three lids possibly symbolising the division of the calendar year into the three agricultural seasons, of vital importance for the tasks of the *shabtis*. Vignettes¹³⁴ of Ptolemaic Books of the Dead showing the procession to the tomb clearly make a distinction between such *shabti*-boxes and canopic chests. Both are included in the scene of the transporting of the mummy to the tomb. The mummy is depicted under a canopy mounted on a boat or a wheeled cart (Fig. 18),¹³⁵ followed by the canopic chest with a jackal figure representing Anubis on its lid, mounted on a sledge,

and finally by the tall and narrow *shabti*-box equally mounted on runners.

As far as falcons' shrines are concerned, these also differ from canopic boxes. Such shrines with inward-sloping sides and a cavetto cornice, commonly known from the Late Period and found in large numbers at Akhmim,¹³⁶ are much larger than the canopic chests in order to host dozens of mummified birds. In addition to the diverse size, the decoration of their lateral parts with the *genii* of Pe and Nekhen differs completely from the one of canopic chests.¹³⁷

Wooden canopic chests have been recovered from a number of human burials dated from the 30th Dynasty up to the Roman Period.¹³⁸ The painted decoration of the lateral parts usually displays the Four Children (Sons) of Horus¹³⁹, in conjunction with various symbols of Osiris (*djed*, coffin-shaped chest from which a human head emerges, and the fetish of Abydos), Isis (*tyet*, *uraeus*, and winged goddess), and Anubis, whereas the front shows often a marked preference for the painted image of a double-leaf door of the shrine, solidly bolted shut.¹⁴⁰ The chests never have a real opening on the front but are always opened by removing the lid.

Since the Children/Sons of Horus are associated with the viscera, the decoration strongly suggests a functional use as canopic chest that once contained the internal organs, removed from the body for separate treatment during the mummification process. These boxes represent the final stage in the development of the receptacle for the viscera – they generally replaced the four canopic vases used in earlier time. In the former tradition, the separately embalmed entrails were often placed in chests, with

¹³¹ REISNER 1967, 373–377.

¹³² BIANCHI 1982, 20. SALEH and SOUROUZIAN 1987, no. 268; EXHIBITION CATALOGUE 1998, 44, no. 161. Aston's typology includes also a baboon-chest from Tuna el-Gebel, today in the Museum of Malawi (Egypt) (ASTON 2000, 167).

¹³³ E.g. BELL 1973, 24–25, no. 5; SOTHEBY'S 1990, 29, no. 211; SOTHEBY 1997, 147, no. 337. As an example for online databases see e.g. BM EA 8537 as “shabti box” (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectId=3084085&partid=1&IdNum=8537&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database%2fmuseum_number_search.aspx).

¹³⁴ CLÈRE 1987, pl. 1; LEPSIUS 1842, pl. 1; NAVILLE 1886, pl. 3; SCOTT III 1986, 159.

¹³⁵ London, BM EA 10265: TAYLOR (ed.) 2010, 78.

¹³⁶ GAILLARD and DARESSY 1905, 142–146, pls. LXI, LXII, LXIII; see also VAN WIJNGAARDEN 1931, 2–4, Figs. 1–4.

¹³⁷ There are, however, associations of these “souls” of Buto and Hierakonpolis with the Sons of Horus, see TAYLOR 2001, 66.

¹³⁸ E.g. from Saqqara, Gamhud, El Hiba, Abusir el Meleq, Akhmim, Abydos, Thebes, Naga el-Deir, Nag el-Hassaya and Dabashia (Kharga Oasis).

¹³⁹ The name *ms.w Hr*, i.e. the “(Four) Children of Horus” is synonymous of the more familiar “Sons of Horus.” There exists a query about the original sex of Imsety, whose name is sometimes represented ending in just the feminine terminal “*t*”. Cf. TAYLOR 2001, 65 (probably also Hapy was originally female).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. BRUIER 2003, 28 for the significance of the representation of doors on canopic boxes.

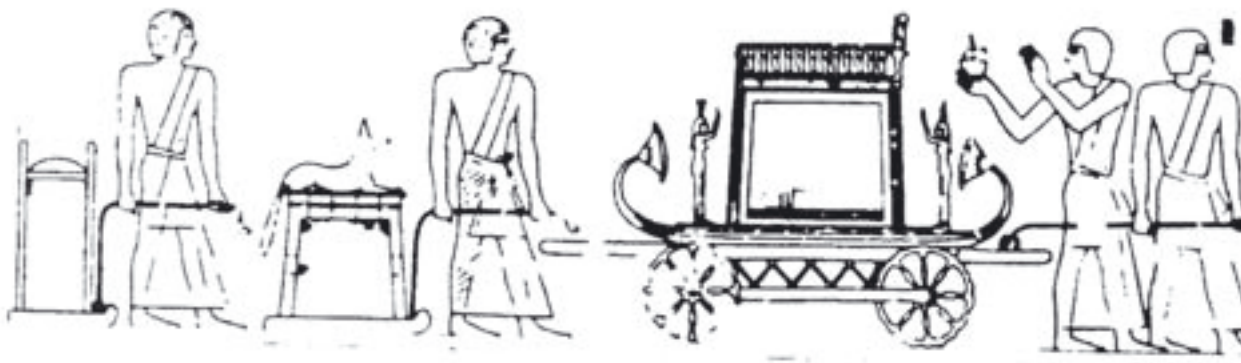


Fig. 18 Procession to the tomb (after LEFÈVRE 1924, pl. 34, tomb of Petosiris)

an inner partition or in four canopic jars.¹⁴¹ At the end of the New Kingdom, from the reign of Ramesses V onwards (1147-1143 BCE), these packages were also sometimes returned to the abdominal cavity or deposited between the legs of the mummy.¹⁴² Occasionally, first attested during the period of Ramesses III, wax images of the four *genii* were placed inside the corpse during the mummification, equating the reintroduction of the viscera into the mummy, but often accompanying the organ packages.¹⁴³ During the 21st Dynasty, the mummified viscera were most often put back in the mummy, notably in the case of private individuals (for religious or economic reasons), making the use of the canopic jars theoretically redundant. However, the practice did not completely disappear as the tradition was firmly established. Dummy canopic jars (not hollowed stone jars) or viscera chests painted with the four *genii* sometimes still accompanied the mummy.¹⁴⁴ But the tradition progressively disappeared and did not maintain into Ptolemaic times. Alternately, at the same period, some canopic

shrine-shaped chests were filled with empty packages symbolizing the viscera.¹⁴⁵ Archaeological finds corroborate the use of these chests where the contents are still intact. In many instances packages with embalmed entrails of the deceased, “mummified viscera in wrappings” or “linen packets of broken potsherds in them”¹⁴⁶ were found. Bags of embalmer’s salt, mummification linen and even figurines of Sons of Horus were also discovered and can be understood as a reflection of the proper custom and of the general importance of all bodily aspects in funerary art of the 1st Millennium BCE.¹⁴⁷ All of the materials found in the chests in question are linked to the evisceration and in particular to the human viscera or, at least, their lymph and other bodily fluids (*rdw.w*). These putrescent secretions of the decomposing body are frequently evoked in the Late Period.¹⁴⁸ Two ancient authors, the Greek historian and Roman citizen Plutarch (c. 46-120 AD)¹⁴⁹ and Porphyry of Tyre¹⁵⁰ (234 to c. 305 AD), echoed the last way of treating the organs during the mummification process.¹⁵¹

¹⁴¹ DOBROWOLSKA 1970a, 74–85; DOBROWOLSKA 1970b, 45–61; see also TAYLOR 2001, 65–76.

¹⁴² D’AURIA et al. 1992, 196–197; TAYLOR 2001, 72.

¹⁴³ Cf. TAYLOR and STRUDWICK 2005, 85; ASTON 2009, 293.

¹⁴⁴ See ASTON 2009, 293–299 (canopic jars) and 299–302 (canopic chests).

¹⁴⁵ BRUWIER 1982, 17–19. Cf. also TAYLOR 2001, 76.

¹⁴⁶ PETRIE 1902, 36, pl. 72. Cf. also the prominent example of Hornedjitef, now kept in the British Museum, see TAYLOR 2001, 76.

¹⁴⁷ See BUDKA 2010a, 470.

¹⁴⁸ KETTEL 1993, 321.

¹⁴⁹ “The Egyptians, who cut open the dead body and expose it to the sun, and then cast certain parts of it into the river, and

perform their offices on the rest of the body, feeling that this part has now at least been made clean.” PLUTARCH 2002⁷, 421, § 159 B 16.

¹⁵⁰ “When they embalm the dead of well-born families, they draw out the entrails separately and put them in a box [...], showing the box which contains the belly. Having said this he throws it into the river, and embalms the rest of the body as being pure.” PORPHYRY 2000, 107–108, § 244, 10. See also MERKELBACH 2000, 181–182 (mentioning the unique Pharaonic reference of throwing entrails into the river in p. Rhind I 2,9-10).

¹⁵¹ See also IKRAM and DODSON 1998, 103–106; BUDKA 2010a, 458 with n. 2645.

2) *The dating of the canopic boxes*

That canopic chest of the type concerned had been wrongly¹⁵² dated as early as 21st-26th Dynasties,¹⁵³ was already demonstrated by Bruwier two decades ago.¹⁵⁴ Actually, all of these boxes associated with private individuals originate from the 30th Dynasty to Ptolemaic and Roman times as it is demonstrated by their archaeological context¹⁵⁵, their inscriptions and by the style of their decoration.¹⁵⁶

Aston's type C2

As was mentioned above, the shrine of Mut-Min falls into Aston's type C2.¹⁵⁷ Aston provided no dating for this piece, but assumed a general period of use for C2 as starting from the late Saite period and being produced into the Ptolemaic period.¹⁵⁸ Bruwier could already show that Mut-Min's box dates to the 30th Dynasty to early Ptolemaic time.¹⁵⁹

Schreiber described Aston's type C2 as a typical part of a burial of the early Ptolemaic period.¹⁶⁰ In the following, we would like to stress that C2 was not the single type produced during this time.

Aston's types B1 and B2

Aston's types B1 and B2 are also problematic as far as his dating is concerned¹⁶¹ – examples from TT 414 like BM EA 8532 (Aston's type B1, Fig. 21)¹⁶² testify that they were in use until Ptolemaic time.¹⁶³ This challenges the assumption by Aston that type C has evolved out of type B as a taller version.¹⁶⁴

Doc. 10-13: Selected canopic boxes from TT 414

We would like to present as a case study Reg. no. 557, now A 2126 (Doc. 10) of the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Fig. 19), falling into Aston's type B1 as



Fig. 19a–b Canopic box Wien A 2126, © Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

¹⁵² For instance, such a box seems to be wrongly dated from the 22nd Dynasty based only on the interpreting of the name of the owner's father and his identification with a royal person without any serious argument: <http://www.virtual-egyptian-museum.org/Collection/FullVisit/Collection.FullVisit-JFR.html?..Content/WOD.VL.00966.S.html&0>

¹⁵³ ASTON 2000; ASTON 2003.

¹⁵⁴ M.-C. Bruwier dedicated her PhD (BRUWIER 1991) to the canopic boxes of the Ptolemaic and Roman Period. Her *corpus* encompasses 150 items. Nothing in the decoration or in the texts painted on the boxes inclines her to date them before the 30th Dynasty. This chronology is supported by archaeological finds of canopic boxes in the last decade (e.g. SCHREIBER 2011 and see also note 155).

¹⁵⁵ E.g. LECUYOT 2004, 29–30; BRIDONNEAU and LECUYOT 2007, 46; EXHIBITION CATALOGUE 2007, 132; KOWALSKA and

RANDOMSKA et al. 2008, 335–343, Figs. 411, 417–420, 423, pls. CLXXXIVb, CCXLIa, CCXLIV–CCXLVII.

¹⁵⁶ See also BRUWIER 2003.

¹⁵⁷ ASTON 2000, 167–177.

¹⁵⁸ See also ASTON 2003, 162 for type C2 as typical for burials of the 30th Dynasty.

¹⁵⁹ See BRUWIER 1991; cf. also BRUWIER 1998.

¹⁶⁰ SCHREIBER 2011, 124.

¹⁶¹ ASTON 2000, 161–162; ASTON 2003, 155.

¹⁶² Wrongly dated by ASTON 2000, 163 to “around 600 BC.” Istemkheb is in fact G 10 of TT 414 (REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 268, see above and Doc. 11) and dateable to the 30th Dynasty.

¹⁶³ Cf. BUDKA 2010a, 280.

¹⁶⁴ See ASTON 2000, 177.



Fig. 20 Hieroglyphic text of canopic box Wien A 2126

well. The naos-shaped shrine of almost square dimensions (25 x 25 cm with a minimum height of 16.2 cm, with the cavetto cornice 20.5 cm and with the lid 22.5 cm) was found in TT 414 in room 7/1,2 in nearly complete condition.¹⁶⁵ There is the negative of an Anubis figure on the lid of the box that was once attached by tenons. The box is polychrome painted on a red background. Its front side shows the head of the deceased on top of a naos. Other than on the box of Mut-Min, the head is purely human in its display, no indications for Osiris are present.¹⁶⁶ The decoration of the back part is dominated by a scarab.¹⁶⁷ The two lateral sides show one jackal-headed god who each hold mummy bandages.

The inscriptions name the deceased as Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy III (G 68). He is not directly

related to Mut-Min, but belongs to the same generation as she and her husband.¹⁶⁸ His box is clearly dateable to the early Ptolemaic period.¹⁶⁹

The lid displays two lines of inscription, separated by the Anubis figure, giving the name and titles of the deceased (Fig. 20).

Right: → [*Wsjr*] *jt-ntr ḥm-ntr n Jmn-m-Jp.t-sw.t [sš] n bj3j.t pr Jmn ḥn^c nfr* [...]

Left: → [...w] *P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wy m3^c-ḥrw z3 n jt-ntr P3-ḥr-ḥnswm3^c-ḥrwjrj.n Nḥm-s.t-R^c(.t)-t3.wy m3^c-ḥrw*. Osiris, God's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, oracle-[scribe]¹⁷⁰ of the house of Amun and of the innermost sanctuaries¹⁷¹, [...], Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, justified, son of the God's father Pa-kher-Khonsu, justified, born of (made by) Nehem-set-Rat-tawy, justified.

¹⁶⁵ SATZINGER 1979, 107, M 5 with Fig. 96; BUDKA 2006, vol. II, Fig. 168; vol. IV, 190, cat. 494.

¹⁶⁶ For similar human heads shown within shrines as part of the scene of the judgement of the dead on coffins see e.g. SEEBER 1976, 183, Fig. 77. This Late Period coffin, BM EA 6693, is interestingly citing BD 42, identifying the parts of the human body with deities (see TAYLOR 2010, 178–179, cat. 86, date: 600–300 BCE), thus there is a link to our canopic box focusing on the eyes and the head of the deceased.

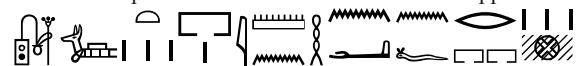
¹⁶⁷ Cf. e.g. a similar decoration on Aston's type B1 Wien, A 1993 (BUDKA 2010a, 278–279, Fig. 126) and BM EA 8532 (Fig. 20 of the present article).

¹⁶⁸ REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 255.

¹⁶⁹ BUDKA 2006, vol. IV, 190–191. See also BRUWIER 1991, catalogue.

¹⁷⁰ For this title see PARKER 1962, 33–34; DEPAUW 2000, 177; DEPAUW 2002, 77. On its function see QUAEGBEUR† 1997, 28.

¹⁷¹ On the canopic chest Louvre N 2696 the title appears as:



On the possible meaning of *nfr:w* see: *Wb* II, 260, 19; *Wb Beleg.* II, 383: 260, 19 – “innermost room of the Royal tomb (*ḥwt pr-ḥ*)” (P. Turin P.u. R. 38,1) and “of the palace (*ḥ*)” (Luxor = Urk. IV, 219). The title appears several times on coffins from TT 414, e.g. Reg. no. 680 (G 65, the same person as Louvre N 2696), Reg. nos. 557 and 619 (G 57) (see BUDKA and HASLAUER in prep.). See also Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy's III (G 68) statue from the Karnak cachette, Cairo JE 37139 (back pillar and base), see <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=415>.



Fig. 21 Canopic box BM EA 8532, © Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 22 Canopic box BM EA 8533, © Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

On the front side, next to the head on the shrine: right → *tp=k n=k ḥn.n=k jm={sn}<f>*¹⁷² *jrj z3 (n) Wsjr* left → *jt-ntr ḥm-ntr n Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wy m3c-hrw*. Your head for you that you can live¹⁷³ through it; providing protection (for) Osiris, the God's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesutawy, justified.

Back part, next to scarab: right → *jr.tyw=k n=k m33=k Wsjr jt-ntr sš [bj3j.t]* left → *P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wy m3c-hrw ms.[n...]* Both of your eyes for you, so that you can see;¹⁷⁴ Osiris, God's father, [oracle]-scribe, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesutawy, justified, born [of...]

Right lateral side, two columns flanking the jackal-headed god; left (sic, written from right to left, but starting at the left side) → *Dd-mdw n Jnpw nb j3.t*¹⁷⁵ *jrj z3 Wsjr jt-ntr ḥm-ntr (n)* right → *Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wy m3c-hrw z3 mj-nn P3-hr-Hnsw m3c-hrw* Words spoken by Anubis, Lord of the hill: Providing protection (for) Osiris, God's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesutawy, justified,

son of the (priest) of the same rank, Pa-kher-Khonsu, justified.

Left lateral side, two columns flanking the jackal-headed god; right → *Dd-mdw jn Jnpw nb t3-dsr.t jrj s3 (n) Wsjr* li.-> *s3h-wd3.t*¹⁷⁶ *P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wy m3c-hrw z3 P3[-hr-Hnsw m3c-hrw]*

Words spoken by Anubis, Lord of the sacred land: Providing protection (for) Osiris, *s3h-wd3.t*, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesutawy, justified, son of Pa[kher-Khonsu, justified].

These texts of A 2126 underline the function of the boxes in facilitating the regeneration and the functioning of all senses of the deceased (see below).


A very comparable canopic box is Doc. 11, BM EA 8532 (Aston's type B1, Fig. 21). Its lid shows two painted versions of the jackal on a naos. The human head on a shrine is here replaced by the motif of the Abydos fetish, but the jackal-headed gods and the scarab are very similar to Reg. no. 557, A 2126. Interestingly, BM EA 8532 was found with vegetal remains. The owner of the box is Istemkheb G 10, buried in TT 414, whose Ptah-So-

¹⁷² Possibly wrong suffix, but for further analogies with “=sn” see: e.g. BM EA 8531 and EA 8532 (Fig. 21); Louvre N 2696, Copenhagen, Nationalmusset 3547 (= Sabattier no. 99). Correctly with “=f” see: e.g. Cairo CG 4739; Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 1356 (= BRUWIER 2003, Fig. 6).

¹⁷³ A common spell on canopic boxes, e.g. LEGRAIN 1893, 63, collection Sabattier no. 99 (= Copenhagen, Nationalmusset 3547). See also BRUWIER 1991 and below.

¹⁷⁴ Also a common spell on canopic boxes, e.g. LEGRAIN 1893, 63, collection Sabattier no. 99 (= Copenhagen, Nationalmusset 3547). See also BRUWIER 1991 and below note 212.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. LGG VIII, 100.

¹⁷⁶ The bird within *s3h* seems to be G43  instead of G25



kar-Osiris figure was discussed above. The date is again firmly set as 30th Dynasty to early Ptolemaic period. Another low canopic box (height 20.5 cm) of the same type coming from TT 414 and now in the British Museum is Doc. 12, BM EA 8533 (Fig. 22). It was produced for Pa-di-Amun-nesut-tawy VI (G 71), dateable to the early Ptolemaic era.

Finally, canopic chests now in the British Museum offer close parallels to Mut-Min's box, Aston's type C2. Doc. 13, BM EA 8537 (Fig. 23) is very similar to her tall naos-shaped shrine and painted in yellow-on-black (49 x 29.3 x 30 cm). Instead of the human head on top of a naos we again find the Abydos fetish as one of the central motifs of its decoration (see below). The box belongs to Djed-Hor¹⁷⁷ (G 161), possibly one of the half-brothers of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh (G 163), Mut-Min's husband, who was also buried in TT 414. The other example of the same type of canopic chest, but again with varying decoration and text, is BM EA 8538 (52 cm in height).¹⁷⁸ Its owner is a scribe Djehuti-irdis. Elements of this chest testify the close links between the decoration of coffins and canopic boxes – e.g. a panel of BM EA 8538 depicts Isis and Nephthys kneeling on gold-hieroglyphs with protecting, outstretched wings – a motif attested for coffins since much earlier times.

3) Summarizing the most important religious aspects of the canopic boxes

With these examples from TT 414, we would like to complete the short survey of canopic boxes of the 30th Dynasty and early Ptolemaic period with the most important religious and functional aspects of these shrines. The decoration as well as the inscriptions painted on the lid and on the sides illustrate the united mission of Sokar, Anubis and the Sons of Horus: they are altogether aiming at reassembling and reviving the limbs, the vital organs and the five senses of the deceased.

The wooden mummified Sokar-hawk figure on the lids of canopic boxes is well attested in TT 414



Fig. 23 Canopic box BM EA 8537, © Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

as well (e.g. Reg. nos. 478-480 = KHM A 2084-2086, all found in room 4, the pillared hall).¹⁷⁹ As was shown with the example of A 2126, a wooden canid-Anubis figure can replace the falcon.¹⁸⁰ This Anubis figure can also be painted.¹⁸¹ There are also cases where both,¹⁸² a painted Anubis and a figural Sokar, jointly decorate the lid of the box.¹⁸³

The traditional double feather as a headdress identifies the falcon figure as Sokar, "He of *Rosetjau*." *Rosetjau* refers to the area around the Giza Pyramids, but also relates more generally to any

¹⁷⁷ Djed-Hor had a beautiful name as well, *P3-jꜥny* (The Pavian), see: *PN I*, 100,6. Ranke mentions besides the chest also the BD papyrus of Djed-Hor/Pa-iani: Turin, cat. no. 1830.

¹⁷⁸ BRUWIER 1991, catalogue.

¹⁷⁹ See also a lid with a hawk-figure, possibly coming from TT 414, now kept in the British Museum: BM EA 8553 (studied by J. Budka and V. Hinterhuber in November 2011).

¹⁸⁰ See also Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. no. 51.2102; Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 1356; Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. E 19910.

¹⁸¹ London, BM EA 8532 & EA 8537.

¹⁸² Tübingen, Archäologisches Institut, inv. no. 1289.

¹⁸³ BRUWIER 2003, 24.

necropolis and to the entrance to the Underworld. *Rosetjau*, where Sokar inhabits, is also the place of the sacred casket containing Osiris' "humour" under a sand hill.¹⁸⁴ Vignettes of several Books of the Dead chapters show Osiris¹⁸⁵ or the composite Sokar-Osiris¹⁸⁶ enthroned or standing under a canopy topped by a hawk-figure of Sokar. The god is often accompanied by Isis and Nephthys and the Four Sons of Horus.

Sokar is also known as *nb šty.t*, the "Lord of the Mysterious Region" (another meaning for the Underworld¹⁸⁷). The typical iconography of the god with this epithet is with his two wings opened, referring to his origins as a hawk deity.¹⁸⁸

Anubis plays a central role on the canopic boxes being either figured on the lid and/or lateral sides or mentioned in the texts.¹⁸⁹ The canid-headed god is associated with mummification and the afterlife. On the canopic boxes, Anubis is variously honoured with the four common epithets:¹⁹⁰ *jmy wt* ("He who is in the place of embalming"), *hnty sh-ntr* ("Foremost of the divine Pavilion")¹⁹¹ where the mummification was performed, for he had embalmed Osiris and had become the patron of embalmers; *nb t3-dsr(.t)* ("Lord of the Sacred Land")¹⁹², and *tpy dw=f* ("He who is upon his mountain")¹⁹³. The latter underscores his importance as a protector of the deceased and their tombs. Anubis is also presented as *nb šjs-r-p.t* ("Lord of Sharope")¹⁹⁴, meaning the country of Oxyrhynchus. Sometimes, he is *nb r3-št3w* ("Lord of *Rosetjau*") or *nb r3-krr.t* ("Lord of the entrance of the *Qereret*")¹⁹⁵, places inhabited by Sokar and stressing his affinity with this god. Another epithet of Anubis, *nb hn* ("Lord of the chest"), relates him directly to the canopic chest as depicted in some vignettes from the Book of the Dead, where the casket is named *šd.t š3.t n Jnpw* ("the Mysterious Chest of Anubis")¹⁹⁶.

The four divinities, known as the Sons/Children of Horus, are the most important entities of the composition of the late canopic chests. They are usually shown on their relevant sides of the canopic chests, well established since earlier times.¹⁹⁷ They are supposed to ensure the proper functioning of the internal organs: Imsety (the protector of the liver and guardian of the South, usually depicted with a human head), Duamutef (the protector of the stomach and the spleen and guardian of the East, with a canid head), Hapy (the protector of the lungs and guardian of the North, with a baboon head), Qebhsenuf (the protector of the intestines and guardian of the West, with a falcon head).

Since the New Kingdom, an important conceptual shift has been observed. At that time, the stoppers of the canopic vases are shaped in animal heads and the canopic chests became closer in shape to a temple shrine and were often placed on a sledge. This evolution can be interpreted as follows: The canopic vases no longer contain the deceased, but the very *genii* who constitute aspects of the deceased's personality. The Sons of Horus are not simply the guardians of the viscera but became identical with them.¹⁹⁸ This is why the organs were preserved rather than being discarded – representing components of the deceased's personality, they are essential for his or her rebirth. Scenes in the tomb of Petosiris¹⁹⁹ (dating from the second Persian domination, end of the 4th century B.C.) depict the mission assigned to the Sons of Horus: each of them carries a part of the deceased being which had been disintegrated at the time of death. Not only shall the body be reconstructed, but the entire individual is to be revived, comprising all aspects of its personality. This explains why the Four Sons are bringing to Petosiris in proces-

¹⁸⁴ ZIVIE-COCHE 1984, 306.

¹⁸⁵ London, BM EA 10470/30.

¹⁸⁶ London, BM EA 10470/37.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. *LGG* VI, 674 for *Skr-m-šty.t* "Sokar im Schetitheitigtum."

¹⁸⁸ Cf. *LGG* VI, 664.

¹⁸⁹ BRUIER 1998; BRUIER 2003, 29.

¹⁹⁰ BRUIER 1998, 77.

¹⁹¹ London, BM EA 8533; Turin, Museo delle Antichità Egizie, cat. nos. 2423, 2425; Berkeley, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, inv. no. 6-17149ab.

¹⁹² Berkeley, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, inv. no. 6-17149ab.

¹⁹³ London, BM EA 8533; Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 1356; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, ÄS 2126.

¹⁹⁴ VANDIER 1961, 154.

¹⁹⁵ ALTENMÜLLER 1975, 327–333; BARGUET 1976, 25–37. Attested e.g. on the canopic box Reg. no. 556 from TT 414.

¹⁹⁶ HEERMA VAN VOSS 1969; KETTEL 1981, 76. See also KUCHAREK 2010, 418–419 for late references of the *šd.t š3.t* as chest for the limbs of Osiris.

¹⁹⁷ E.g. IKRAM and DODSON 1998, 278.

¹⁹⁸ See also SMITH 2009, 32; TÖPFER in press.

¹⁹⁹ LEFÈBVRE 1923, pl. XXXIII.



Fig. 24 Horus' Children carrying parts of the deceased
(after LEFÈBVRE 1923, pl. 33)

sion (Fig. 24): his *ka*, his *jb*-heart, his *Ba* and the *sah*-mummy.²⁰⁰

The four *genii* participate in the reconstitution of the deceased's *jb*²⁰¹ that consists of the total body cavity situated behind the organ of the *haty*-heart in the hollow of the body. During the mummification, the entrails are divided in four parts:²⁰² the liver, the lungs and the spleen²⁰³ are extracted, and afterwards the rest. In the remaining tissues are the small intestine and the colon. Qebehsenuef in fact keeps everything that remains after extraction of the major viscera. He also collects the bodily fluids (blood, lymph ...) flowing out at the time of the evisceration. In this respect it is important that the efflux of Osiris' corpse is equated with the Nile Inundation.²⁰⁴ A text on a Theban canopic box illustrates the specific role of the Sons of Horus: "Hapy and Qebehsenuef will come to you with all humour issued from you"²⁰⁵ (*jj n=k Hpy Kbh-snw=f hr rdw nb pr jm=k*).

Frédéric Servajean²⁰⁶ was able to demonstrate that the number four of the canopic jars does not refer to four viscera, but to the number four as the cardinal points. Isis (the mother) transmits to Horus

(her child) half of her being-*jb*, and of course likewise for Osiris. Horus carries within himself half of his father's nature. Each Son of Horus, issued from him and his mother Isis, possesses a quarter of the being-*jb* of Osiris. They are four because their mission is to fully reconstitute the dead god and extensively each deceased assimilated to Osiris. Four is a magical number. Combined with number three, it means "Life"²⁰⁷. According to Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, the four sons are installed as protection of the sarcophagus of Osiris by Anubis and associated with other *genii* in order to compose a company of seven *akhu*-spirits (Figs. 24–25).²⁰⁸ Some of the Theban black wooden canopic chests, painted in yellow, show a series of figures of gods, including the *Seven Spirits* of Chapter 17.²⁰⁹

Some of the texts used commonly on Theban canopic chests are extracts from the funerary works then in vogue, describing the felicity that the body, soul, and spirit of the deceased will enjoy. They are essentially from the so called *Embalming Ritual*, with the mention of the oil coming out the eye of Horus²¹⁰, or a spell spoken by Duamutef: "Take the eye of Horus"²¹¹ and of course with the precious unguent provided by Anubis. Some other texts of the Theban canopic boxes are linked to the *Opening of the Mouth Ritual*: "Take control of your head, so that you will live. Take control of both your eyes, so that you can see..."²¹²

SIGNIFICANCE OF MUT-MIN'S TOMB GROUP

The presented objects allow some remarks on "typical" tomb groups of the transitional phase of the 30th Dynasty to early Ptolemaic times. Mut-Min's funerary equipment shares on one hand common

²⁰⁰ See also the almost identical scene from the Ramesside tomb of Amunemhat, TT 163, displayed on the block BM EA 55336 (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=120132&partid=1&searchText=55336&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=1). We thank Kenneth Griffith for pointing out this early evidence from the New Kingdom.

²⁰¹ BARDINET 1995, 74–78.

²⁰² The cardiac muscle remains in the mummy as well as the kidneys.

²⁰³ Or stomach, see SMITH 2009, 31.

²⁰⁴ WINKLER 2006, 132–133. See also ASSMANN 2008, 534–544.

²⁰⁵ Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, inv. no. 3547.

²⁰⁶ SERVAJEAN 2001, 268.

²⁰⁷ GOYON 1986, 62–65.

²⁰⁸ London, BM EA 8537.

²⁰⁹ *jh.w sft*: LGG I, 45; the seven spirits are a variant of the four *genii*: GOYON 1985, 414.

²¹⁰ Cairo, CG 4739. For the Embalming Ritual see SAUNERON 1952; SMITH 2009, 215–244.

²¹¹ London, BM EA 8535. See TAYLOR and STRUDWICK 2005, 82–83. For the passage in the Embalming Ritual see SMITH 2009, 227.

²¹² E.g. London, BM EA 8531 and Vienna, KHM A 2126 (see above). OTTO 1960, 141, §55A and 147, §57C.

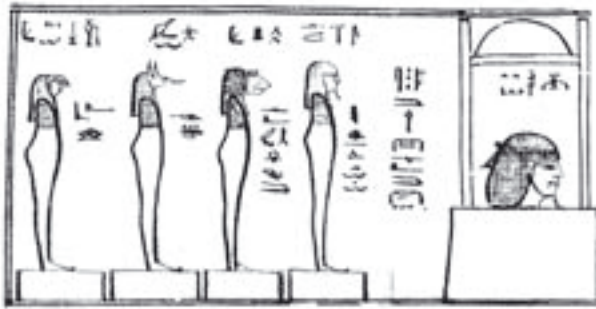


Fig. 25 Vignette of the *Papyrus Jumilhac* (after VANDIER 1961)

features with intact burials like Wahibre, and illustrates on the other the wide range of possibilities to equip a high-status burial around 300 BCE in Upper Egypt.²¹³

The typical mummy of an elite burial of this time would have been enclosed by a polychrome cartonnage²¹⁴ and two anthropoid coffins. For the latter, painted in yellow on black and polychrome outer coffins occur most often in combination with polychrome painted inner ones. As the coffin set of Wahibre and other finds from TT 414 illustrate, during the 30th Dynasty the inner coffin was regularly decorated in carved style on the natural, polished wooden surface.²¹⁵ Coffin fragments from TT 414 attest the additional use of *krsw*-coffins in the 30th Dynasty to early Ptolemaic time. These can be either polychrome painted or they display a carved decoration on the wooden surface.²¹⁶ At present, it is not possible to reconstruct the regularity of the use of these outer, shrine-shaped coffins. However, they clearly illustrate 1) the revival of forms associated with the 25th and 26th Dynasties (see below)²¹⁷



Fig. 26 Vignette Chapter 17 of the *Book of the Dead* (after BARGUET 1967, 59)

and 2) the still very limited knowledge of coffins of the period in question.

Numerous amulets and a bead net protected the mummy,²¹⁸ as it is the case with the new form of the hypocephalus. Few hypocephali derive from close archaeological contexts and provide thus a secure dating,²¹⁹ therefore the small fragment of Mut-Min's disk is of great importance. The heyday of hypocephali was the first half of the 3rd century, but they were already introduced in the 4th century BCE²²⁰ and probably ended in the 2nd century BCE.²²¹ Thebes was one of the main production centres of hypocephali²²² of which six types are distinguished according to the rim inscription of the discs.²²³ Mut-Min's hypocephalus belongs to the so

²¹³ The following account therefore partly differs from the generalized reconstruction by ASTON 2003, 162.

²¹⁴ Cf. SCHREIBER 2006, 227–246, MEKIS 2011, 58–60, pls. 4a-b, MEKIS 2012a, 243–273.

²¹⁵ This tradition, however, survives until the Mid-Ptolemaic time, as can be shown with the example of Hornidjitef, BM EA 6678, see STRUDWICK 2006, 294–296. These later examples of inner coffins with a natural wooden surface are more densely decorated with polychrome designs like a broad collar.

²¹⁶ Both attested at TT 414: e.g. Reg. no. 678 (polychrome) and Reg. nos. 615–619 (wooden surface).

²¹⁷ See already BUDKA 2008, 71–72, Fig. 6; BUDKA 2010b; BUDKA 2010d; BUDKA Forthc.

²¹⁸ SILVANO 1980, 91–92, Type C. Cf. the *in situ*-evidence for Wahibre, BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 208–220, Figs. 94–102, pls. 140–148.

²¹⁹ Cf. VARGA 2002; SCHREIBER 2011, 121. See the early example of Wahibre from TT 414, BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 203, pl. 137/B; cf. MEKIS 2012b *passim*.

²²⁰ One of the first ones is the hypocephalus of Wahibre, BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 203, pl. 137/B; HASLAUER 2001, 182. For a concise summary of the development see MEKIS 2008, esp. 58–59. Cf. also SCHREIBER 2011, 108.

²²¹ A late 3rd/early 2nd century BCE piece from Thebes is TT 32, inv. no. 1992/108. SCHREIBER 2009, 127–128.

²²² Other major production centres are Akhmim (MEKIS 2008, 50–57, 59, 75–80) and Memphis; Memphite examples are made of textile and characterised by a distinctive iconography, see e.g. CLARYSSE 1998, 321–327 and QUIRKE 1999, 37–65, esp. 40, pl. 11.

²²³ Tamás Mekis recently defended his dissertation on this topic (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest).

called *db3.ty*-group²²⁴, characteristic for the turn of the 4th-3rd centuries BCE.

Another basic element of tomb groups of the period around 300 BCE is a wooden and decorated Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure. These statues illustrate the focus of the funerary art of this period on the theme of resurrection; the most common type is Raven's type IVE, as was the case for Mut-Min. No shabtis were found in TT 414 for Mut-Min or her direct relatives, but green glaze shabtis are attested for Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I, the father of Wahibre.²²⁵ Canopic jars went slowly out of use after the Saite Period and were superseded by wooden shrines for the viscera.²²⁶ As was shown in this paper, there are two main types of chests as common parts of tomb groups of the 30th Dynasty to early Ptolemaic time, falling into Aston's types B1/B2 and C2 which are – contrary to as previously thought – contemporaneous. Besides a papyrus (Book of the Dead²²⁷), a typical elite Theban burial around 300 BCE was further equipped with a large wooden stela (Munro's type Thebes III and more often IVA and IVE), resting on wooden supports and citing highly sophisticated texts like the divine decree discussed above.²²⁸

We would like to highlight two important aspects evident from Mut-Min's burial in TT 414: 1) The period of 300 BCE is a real transitional phase – new types were introduced in the 30th Dynasty, but others continued well into the Ptolemaic era. Elements of the funerary equipment tend to prefer specific styles like the yellow-on-black, the polychrome one or the carved decoration on wooden surface, but combinations are attested and there is an overlap in the use of these designs. All in all, this evidence suggests several coexisting workshops at Thebes, which fashioned both coffins and other objects (figures and chests) at one place. It

seems safe to assume that different styles within a family may therefore illustrate both – a possible difference in the time of production and also different producers fulfilling needs of varying costumers of the very same time period.

2) The inscriptions of all kinds of burial equipment of the 30th Dynasty to early Ptolemaic time share a common feature: texts on cartonnage, coffins, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, stelae and canopic boxes are all aiming at the resurrection of the deceased as a god, namely as Osiris.²²⁹ Different categories of objects used similar text corpora (Pyramid Texts, Book of the Dead, Ritual of Opening the Mouth, Embalming Ritual, Book of Breathing) and composed new, highly innovative compositions (see e.g. the canopic chest A 2123).²³⁰

These innovative aspects can be summarized for Mut-Min's tomb group as follows:

Her stela gives a characteristic Theban god's decree, but with a reduced text type and with a unique variant as an introduction. Mut-Min's Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure falls into the common type of the period and displays the well attested Ptah-Sokar-Osiris hymn. However, the last line of text on the statue cites a so far unknown sequence of phrases. The canopic box belonging to Mut-Min's burial illustrates further innovative use of texts within common designs of standard funerary equipment. On the chest A 2123 we find one of the earliest occurrences of the Book of Traversing the Eternity²³¹, in combination with phrases from the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead.²³²

To conclude, even though the tomb group of Mut-Min finds ready parallels at Thebes, the specific objects display unique features in their composition. Taking into account Wahibre's burial which comprises unusual items like embalming instruments, a mould of a Son of Horus figure stuffed

²²⁴ VARGA 1968, 5–8; MEKIS and MOSHER in prep.

²²⁵ Unpublished, Reg. nos. 641–644 and 853–855. Cf. TAYLOR and STRUDWICK 2005, 237 (EA 37332).

²²⁶ Cf. SMITH 2009, 31.

²²⁷ Cf. MOSHER 2010.

²²⁸ For the question of the origin of this text within the sphere of the cult of Osiris and temple rituals see KUCHARÉK 2010, 311–312.

²²⁹ For the significant increase of references to Osiris in the funerary art of the 1st Millennium BCE see QUACK 2009, 621. For the significance of this focus on Osiris and the corresponding abundance of liturgies for the god for new funerary text compositions in the 4th-3rd centuries BCE see TÖPFER in press.

²³⁰ See also the recent study of TÖPFER about the text structure and evolution of the text of the so-called Embalming Ritual (TÖPFER in press).

²³¹ Commonly attested from the end of the 1st century BCE until the 2nd century AD; see COENEN 2001, 71; HERBIN 2008, 4. See also SMITH 2009, 393–436 and TÖPFER and MÜLLER-ROTH 2011, 116.

²³² Cf. the unique composition of pTübingen 2012 – excerpts of the Book of the Dead are here followed in col. XIII with passages of the Book of Breathing and a royal/divine decree of the type discussed above for the stela doc. 4; see TÖPFER and MÜLLER-ROTH 2011, 64–71 and passim.

with embalming material and several animal mummies,²³³ one should be very cautious to reconstruct “the typical” burial of the 30th Dynasty within too tight and insufficient typologies.

SUMMARY & OUTLOOK

The rich material from the Asasif of the 4th and 3rd centuries is of special importance, since it attests to a Theban revival in this period that recalls many aspects of the culture of the 26th Dynasty. Similar to private and royal sculpture,²³⁴ funerary architecture and burial equipment were also reused and imitated.²³⁵ The outcome of this “Saite Renaissance” has to be regarded as highly innovative and can be well illustrated by the rich findings from TT 414.

Priests of the last national Dynasties and during the Ptolemies were engaged in reforming the available sources based on sophisticated theologies of different cult centres. As we have illustrated with case studies from TT 414, the Book of the Dead or the other previously well-known funerary literature were not the primary source for inscribing funerary art, but absolutely new compositions were created.²³⁶ The objects belonging to Mut-Min and to her family exemplify the richness of theological thoughts of Theban priests of the time of the turn of the 4th-3rd centuries BCE. A relative freedom of the usage of texts is traceable, priests dared to re-compose the texts of these objects to gain an *individual* piece in every case. Furthermore, this seems to coincide with the extended use of texts formerly restricted to the temple sphere to the funerary and private use.²³⁷

Because of their unusually secure context, the objects from TT 414 serve as important terms of reference in order to analyse many objects without provenience in museum collections throughout the world. This will enable us to gain further insights to the specific usages of monumental tombs in the

Asasif in general, and to increase the understanding of the connections, interrelationships and developments between the 26th, the 30th Dynasties and Ptolemaic times in particular. Last but not least, the detailed study of specific objects, whose owners are well known among the Theban clergy of the last centuries BCE, will contribute to a closer assessment of complex processes associated with the Late Egyptian funerary culture. Future work will provide a new quality of our understanding of the close connections between and of the gradual merging of cultic activities in Theban temples, rituals during local festivals, especially Osirian processions, and funerary cult executed at private tombs.²³⁸

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²³³ Cf. BUDKA 2010a, 358–360.

²³⁴ Cf. BOTHMER 1960; JOSEPHSON 1997.

²³⁵ Cf. BUDKA 2010a, 59; BUDKA 2010d (reuse of a coffin of the 26th Dynasty in Ptolemaic time); SCHREIBER 2011, 111–114.

²³⁶ Cf., e.g., texts with Books of Breathing, HERBIN 2008, 4.

²³⁷ See BUDKA 2010a, 476; TÖPFER in press with further literature. As an example for the merging of temple cult with

funerary liturgies see e.g. p. Walters Art Museum 551, BARBASH 2011. See also the use of divine decrees on exclusively Theban funerary stelae of this period, cf. KUCHARÉK 2010, 311. For the close relations between temples and tombs see VON LIEVEN 2010; BUDKA Forthc.

²³⁸ Cf. BUDKA 2010c; BUDKA Forthc.

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