

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Shaping Identities in the Context of Crisis:

The Social Self Reflected in 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

by

Marissa Ashley Stevens

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Marissa Ashley Stevens

Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

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Professor Kathlyn M. Cooney, Chair

This dissertation examines the social functions of funerary papyri in Egypt in the 21st Dynasty (c. 1070-945 BCE), focusing on the construction and maintenance of the social identity of the Theban priesthood. The aim of this dissertation is to study funerary papyri not just as religious and ritual texts but as objects of use, display, competition, and ownership. These documents can be read as a reflection of the social self, with the identity of the deceased embedded in the illustrated content of each papyrus. To that end, there are four main research perspectives of this study that, while self-contained, are entangled and build upon one another in increasingly complexity to represent the deceased. The four research lenses are gender, temple titles, family relationships, and reuse.

The first perspective – gender – analyses the usage of papyri among women associated with the Theban priesthood. Due to the political and economic crisis of the 21st Dynasty, burials

became singular and discrete, allowing women equal access to funerary materiality as compared to their male counterparts for the first time in Egyptian history. With women's papyri being a comparable dataset to men, this perspective explores the specific choices that women made regarding their funerary assemblages.

Temple titles are the focus of the second research perspective. With the individuals owning the papyri all belonging to the Theban priestly class, the content of papyri is also a direct reflection of priestly status and rank. The exclusivity of certain texts and vignettes coupled with the specific titles for each person can illustrate their position and relative importance in society.

Third, family relationships inform our knowledge of papyri production, acquisition, and usage. With references to family members preserved on many of the papyri, similarities and differences in the construction and composition of the documents reflect kin groups and close associations to other family members. These relationships, in turn, reveal much about social organization and hereditary temple titles in Thebes.

The fourth research perspective focuses on the complicating issue of coffin reuse as it relates to funerary papyri. Because these reused coffins oftentimes did not reflect the social identity of their new owners – sometimes retaining old names, being of the wrong gender for the new owner, or clearly evoking an earlier funerary style – papyri were used in part to fill this void in representation. This last perspective explores the choices made by owners of reused coffin sets regarding the usage of their funerary papyri.

Combining these perspectives, this dissertation aims to understand how material culture can reflect, shape, sustain, or change the social identity of both the individual and the group when faced with disruptive decentralization and social turmoil.

The dissertation of Marissa Ashley Stevens is approved.

Anthony Barbieri-Low

John K. Papadopoulos

Willemina Z. Wendrich

Kathlyn M. Cooney, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

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To my wonderful parents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>List of figures</i>	ix
<i>List of tables</i>	xii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiv
<i>Vita</i>	xvi
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Historical Implications	4
1.1.1 Weakening of Ramesside Kingship.....	6
1.1.2 Growth of the Theban Priesthood.....	9
1.2 Funerary Materiality and Social Empowerment	13
1.2.1 Social Context of Preparing for Death.....	15
1.2.2 Beyond the Religious: Social Meaning.....	18
1.2.2.1 Politics of Death.....	19
1.2.2.2 Economics of Death.....	20
1.2.2.3 The Social Identity of Death.....	22
1.3 Constructing and Maintaining Social Identity	23
1.3.1 Collective Consciousness and Social Agreement.....	25
1.3.2 Perpetuation of Individual Identity.....	26
1.3.3 Agency and Value.....	28
1.4 Outline of Chapters	34
CHAPTER 2. FUNERARY PAPYRI AS SOCIAL DOCUMENTATION.....	36
2.1 Defensive Burial Practices	36
2.1.1 Collective Tomb Spaces.....	37
2.1.2 Compressed Materiality.....	38
2.2 Role of Funerary Texts to the End of the New Kingdom	40
2.3 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri Dataset	46
2.3.1 TT 320: The Royal Cache.....	47
2.3.2 Bab el-Gasus: The Second Cache.....	49
2.3.3 The Metropolitan Museum of Art Excavations.....	50
2.3.4 Major Collections.....	52
2.4 Previous Scholarship and Content of Papyri	55
2.4.1 Foundational Scholarship.....	56
2.4.2 The Book of the Dead & Underworld Books.....	59
2.4.2.1 The Cultic Dimension of Funerary Literature.....	65

2.4.2.2 The Book of the Dead.....	67
2.4.2.3 The Book of the Hidden Chamber.....	71
2.4.2.4 The Book of Gates.....	75
2.4.2.5 The Book of Caverns.....	78
2.4.2.6 The Books of the Earth.....	82
2.4.3 A New Understanding of 21 st Dynasty Papyri Content.....	85
Appendix A: 21 st Dynasty Reconstructed Burial Assemblages.....	100
Appendix B: 21 st Dynasty Funerary Papyri.....	119
 CHAPTER 3. UNDERSTANDING THE GENDER DIVIDE: WOMEN’S PAPYRI.....	166
3.1 Women’s Roles	166
3.1.1 Household Titles.....	170
3.1.2 Temple Titles.....	174
3.2 Female Burials	180
3.2.1 Burial Assemblage Rates.....	182
3.2.2 Burial Assemblage Content.....	183
3.3 Female Funerary Papyri	184
3.3.1 Length.....	185
3.3.1.1 Scene Types & Introduction of Cosmographic Scenes.....	187
3.3.2 Content.....	200
3.3.2.1 Etiquettes.....	201
3.3.2.2 Vignettes.....	204
3.3.3 A Note on Quality.....	210
3.4 Gendered Conclusions	213
3.4.1 Being as Osiris.....	213
3.4.2 Social Competition.....	227
3.4.3 Anthropomorphic Coffins and the Feminine.....	228
Appendix C: Auxiliary New Kingdom Tombs.....	232
Appendix D: Measurements and Content of Papyri.....	234
 CHAPTER 4. PRIESTLY AFFILIATIONS REPRESENTED ON PAPYRI.....	284
4.1 Discussion of Priestly Titles	284
4.1.1 Associations with Amun.....	285
4.1.2 Associations with Mut.....	296
4.1.3 Associations with Khonsu.....	297
4.1.4 Associations with Other Deities.....	298
4.1.5 Other Titles.....	300
4.2 Characteristics of Papyri Based on Priestly Group	303
4.2.1 Personnel of Other Deities.....	304
4.2.2 Personnel of Khonsu.....	306

4.2.3	Personnel of Mut.....	307
4.2.4	Personnel of Amun.....	307
4.2.5	Pseudo-Royal Persons.....	309
4.3	Priesthood Identity and Social Competition.....	313
CHAPTER 5. FAMILY ASSOCIATIONS.....		321
5.1	Family Referenced on Papyri.....	321
5.1.1	Patterns of Temple Rank.....	323
5.1.2	Patterns of Gender.....	326
5.2	Hereditary Temple Titles.....	327
5.2.1	Male Inheritance Patterns.....	329
5.2.1.1	Sons Advancing Their Position.....	330
5.2.1.2	Sons Artificially Advancing Their Position.....	332
5.2.1.3	Sons of the High Priest of Amun.....	333
5.2.1.4	Sons without Titled Fathers.....	334
5.2.2	Female Inheritance Patterns.....	335
5.3	Including Parents' Titles.....	336
5.3.1	Mothers' Titles.....	338
5.3.2	Fathers' Titles.....	341
5.4	Inheritance Conclusions.....	344
Appendix E: Papyri and Recorded Family Relationships.....		346
CHAPTER 6. THE ROLE OF PAPYRI IN BURIAL ASSEMBLAGE REUSE.....		359
6.1	21st Dynasty Coffin Reuse.....	359
6.1.1	Complete Burial Assemblages.....	365
6.2	Appropriate Versus Inappropriate Coffin Reuse.....	368
6.2.1	Appropriate Reuse.....	369
6.2.1.1	Gender Modifications & Ramesside Markers.....	370
6.2.2	Inappropriate Reuse.....	372
6.2.2.1	Name Reuse.....	373
6.3	Influences of Reuse on Papyri.....	377
6.3.1	Possibility of Reused Papyri.....	379
CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION.....		386
<i>Bibliographies.....</i>		<i>393</i>

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1.	Seti I and Crown Prince Ramesses II As Depicted in the Abydos King List.....	6
Figure 2.1.	Niwiński's Table XVb, pg. 440, Demonstrating Pairs of Papyri.....	64
Figure 2.2.	Case in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Containing the Book of Caverns Papyrus from KV35.....	79
Figure 2.3.	Fragment of Statue (CG 24619 J.E. 97565) which Contained His Book of Caverns Papyrus.....	80
Figure 2.4.	Provenanced Papyri Pairs with Total Heights of 46-48 cm and Consistent Coloring.....	86
Figure 2.5.	Funerary Papyri Excerpts of Djedkhonsuefankh, Cairo S.R. VII 11498 (TR 14/7/35/2) and Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4).....	87
Figure 2.6.	Funerary Papyri Etiquettes of Gautseshen Showcasing Similar Uses of Color and Design.....	88
Figure 2.7.	Number of Assemblages Per Quantity of Papyri Separated by Provenance Location.....	95
Figure 2.8.	Portion Papyrus of Tendetmut, Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234).....	96
Figure 2.9.	Plate of Portion Papyrus of Tendetmut, Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234).....	97
Figure 3.1.	TT 320, Bab el-Gasus, and MMA 59, 60, & 65 Assemblage Type Percentages by Gender.....	183
Figure 3.2.	TT 320, Bab el-Gasus, and MMA 59, 60, & 65 Papyri Assemblages by Gender.....	185
Figure 3.3.	Averaged Lengths of Papyri Separated by Gender.....	186
Figure 3.4.	Men's Papyri Separated by Title Rank & Divided by Presence or Absence of CS and Amduat Content.....	207
Figure 3.5.	Women's Papyri Separated by Title Rank & Divided by Presence or Absence of CS and Amduat Content.....	208
Figure 3.6.	Averaged Lengths of Papyri Containing CS and Amduat Content Separated by Gender.....	209
Figure 3.7.	Ending Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Tauhenut, Cairo J.E. 36464 (S.R. VII 10243).....	215
Figure 3.8.	Beginning Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Tauhenut, Cairo S.R. VII 10270.....	215

Figure 3.9.	Beginning Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Djedmaatesankh, Cairo J.E. 95655.....	216
Figure 3.10.	Ending Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Meritamun, Cairo CG 40027 (S.R. IV 999).....	217
Figure 3.11.	Ending Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Kashuenkhonsu, Cairo J.E. 95647 (S.R. IV 545).....	217
Figure 3.12.	Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Nestanebtawy, Cairo CG 40017.....	218
Figure 3.13.	Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Nestanebtawy, Cairo CG 40017.....	219
Figure 3.14.	Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Hennutawy, P. London BM EA 10018.....	220
Figure 3.15.	Detail of the coffin of Isetemkheb D/Nesykhonsu A, JE 26198 (CG 61031).....	221
Figure 3.16.	Ending Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Hennutawy, P. Richmond 54-10.....	222
Figure 3.17.	Ending Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Harweben, Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245).....	222
Figure 3.18.	Beginning Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Nauny, New York MMA 30.3.32.....	223
Figure 3.19.	Opening Four Lines of Text from the Papyrus of Itawy, P. Paris BN 60.....	224
Figure 3.20.	Line of Text from the Papyrus of Ankhesenaset, BNF Egyptien 62–88.....	226
Figure 4.1.	Funerary Papyrus of Khonsemrenep, P Cairo S.R. VII 11501.....	316
Figure 4.2.	Funerary Papyrus of Gautseshen, New York MMA 25.3.31.....	317
Figure 4.3.	Funerary Papyrus of Djedmehituesankh, P. Berlin P. 3009.....	318
Figure 4.4.	Funerary Papyrus of Isetemakhbit, P. Heidelberg Ä.I. Hieratisch II.....	318
Figure 4.5.	Funerary Papyrus of Asti, P. London BM EA 10084.....	319
Figure 5.1.	Attestations of Family Members with and without Titles Divided among Men of High-Ranking and Standard Titles.....	325
Figure 5.2.	Attestations of Family Members with and without Titles Divided among Women of High-Ranking and Standard Titles.....	327
Figure 5.3.	Excerpt from a Papyrus of Padiamun, Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2).....	331
Figure 5.4.	Excerpt from a Papyrus of Padikhonsu Illustrating the Name of Father Nesypaa, P. Leiden R.A. 58A.....	335

Figure 5.5.	Attestations of Mothers Listed in Papyri Divided by Men and Women, Titled and Untitled.....	338
Figure 5.6.	Excerpt from the Papyrus of Nesykhonsu, Cairo J.E. 95706 (S.R. IV 638).....	340
Figure 5.7.	Family Members Listed on Men's Papyri.....	342
Figure 5.8.	Family Members Listed on Women's Papyri.....	343
Figure 6.1.	Percentages of Assemblages with and without Papyri Based on Coffin Reuse Status in the Bab el-Gasus Cache.....	367
Figure 6.2.	Coffin set of Tayuherit, Consisting of an Inner Coffin and Mummy Board, Copenhagen NM 3912.....	369
Figure 6.3.	Number of Assemblages with Gender Modification and/or Ramesside Markers with Papyri Occurrences.....	371
Figure 6.4.	Coffin of Tauhenut, Consisting of an Inner Coffin, Florence 8525.....	372
Figure 6.5.	Coffin of Nesykhonsu A, Set Consisting of Outer Coffin (Not Pictured) and Inner Coffin, Cairo JE 26199; CG 61030.....	374
Figure 6.6.	Coffin Lid of Gautseshen, Set Consisting of Outer Coffin, Inner Coffin (Not Pictured), and Mummy Board (Not Pictured) Leiden F93/10.1a-c.....	376
Figure 6.7.	Coffin Case of Gautseshen, Set Consisting of Outer Coffin, Inner Coffin (Not Pictured), and Mummy Board (Not Pictured) Leiden F93/10.1a-c.....	377
Figure 6.8.	Funerary Papyrus of Buhar, P. London BM EA 9974.....	380
Figure 6.9.	Funerary Papyri of Gautseshen, New York MMA 25.3.31 (Top) and New York MMA 25.3.32 (Bottom).....	381
Figure 6.10.	Details of Gautseshen's Names, New York MMA 25.3.31 (Left) and New York MMA 25.3.32 (Right).....	382
Figure 6.11.	First Section of the Book of the Dead Papyrus of Tenetpenherunefer, Cairo CG 40009 (J.E. 95861, S.R. IV 961).....	384
Figure 6.12.	First Section of the Book of the Hidden Chamber Papyrus of Isis/Taamun, Cairo J.E. 95654 (S.R. IV 552).....	385

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1.	21 st Dynasty Assemblages with Provenances.....	52
Table 2.2.	Major 19 th Century Collections of 21 st Dynasty Funerary Papyri and Current Locations.....	54
Table 2.3.	Niwiński's Typology of Illustrated 21 st Dynasty Funerary Papyri.....	62
Table 2.4.	Attestations of the Book of the Hidden Chamber Decoration in New Kingdom Tombs.....	71
Table 2.5.	Attestations of Book of Gates Decoration in New Kingdom Tombs.....	77
Table 2.6.	Attestations of the Book of Caverns in New Kingdom Tombs.....	81
Table 2.7.	Attestations of Book of Earth Decoration in New Kingdom Tombs.....	84
Table 2.8.	Papyri Sets from Provenanced Caches Describing Compilations of Content Not Fitting Niwiński's Typology or Ideal Pairs.....	88
Table 3.1.	Palace Titles versus Temple Titles in the 18 th Dynasty and Ramesside Period.....	167
Table 3.2.	Average Number of Relatives and Titles of Relatives Per Time Period.....	168
Table 3.3.	Abbreviations and Descriptions of Underworld Books.....	187
Table 3.4.	Designations of Cosmographic Scene Groups and Subgroups with Scene Descriptions.....	191
Table 3.5.	Deities Depicted in Papyri Etiquettes and Their Frequency Based on Gender.....	201
Table 4.1.	Individuals with Royal Claims on Their Papyri.....	310
Table 6.1.	Coffin Reuse Rates by Dynasty.....	360
Table 6.2.	21 st Dynasty Coffin Reuse Rates by Provenance.....	361
Table 6.3.	21 st Dynasty Coffin Reuse Categories and Definitions.....	361
Table 6.4.	Location of Secure Contexts with Associated Reconstructed Assemblages.....	366

ABBREVIATIONS

ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
AfP	Archiv für Papyrusforschung
ASAE	Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte
ÄUAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
BC	Book of Caverns
BD	Book of the Dead (German: Tb – Totenbuch)
BE	Books of the Earth
BG	Book of Gates
BHC	Book of the Hidden Chamber
BIFAO	Le Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BLR	Bodleian Library Record
BMSAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan
BSEG	Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie
BSFE	Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie
CG	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
CRIPeL	Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille
CS	Cosmographic Scene
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
HAT	Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches
IFAO	Institut français d'archéologie orientale
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JE	Journal d'entrée
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEOL	Jaarbericht ex Oriente Lux
NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
PT	Pyramid Texts
RdE	Revue d'Égyptologie
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
SAT	Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch
TLA	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae
TM	Trismegistos (http://www.trismegistos.org/)
USE	Uppsala Studies in Egyptology
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZÄS	Die Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

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VITA

EDUCATION

2015, C.Phil., Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, UCLA

2011, M.A., Social Sciences, University of Chicago

2010, Honors B.A., History and Sociology, Washington & Jefferson College

SELECT PUBLICATIONS

“Book Review: Rogério Sousa, *Burial assemblages from Bab el-Gasus in the geographical society of Lisbon*. Monumenta Aegyptiaca, 14. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017. xiv, 290 p. €89,00 (pb). ISBN 9782503565750,” *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (December 2017).

“Book Review: France Jamen, *Le cercueil de Padikhonsu au musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon (XXI^e dynastie)*, Studien zu altägyptischen Totentexten 20 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016). ISBN 9783447103725. Pp. xii +240.,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Vol. 52 (2016) 353-355.

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“Egyptian Mummies,” “Opening of the Mouth,” “Theban Necropolis,” and “The Egyptian Exhibit, The British Museum,” *Mummies around the World: An Encyclopedia of Mummies in History, Religion, and Popular Culture*, editor Matt Cardin (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2014).

SELECT PRESENTATIONS

2018 *Current Research in Egyptology Conference*, Prague, Czech Republic, June 2018
“Illustrations of Temple Rank on 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri”

2018 *The American Research Center in Egypt Annual Conference*, Tucson, AZ, April 2018
“Temple Rank & 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri: Documenting Status in Theban Society”

2017 *University of Oxford Invisible Archaeologies Conference*, Oxford, U.K., November 2017
“Family Associations Reflected in the Materiality of 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri”

- 2017 *Brown University Reuse Reconsidered Conference*, Providence, RI, September 2017
 “Reactionary Functions of Funerary Papyri towards 21st Dynasty Coffin Reuse”
- 2017 *Second Vatican Coffins Conference*, Vatican City, June 2017
 “In the Shadow of Coffin Reuse: Reactionary Functions of 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri”
- 2016 *The American Research Center in Egypt Annual Conference*, Atlanta, GA, April 2016
 “Connecting Coffins and Papyri: An Analysis of Social Identity through 21st Dynasty Funerary Iconography”
- 2016 *UCLA Interdisciplinary Archaeology Conference*, Los Angeles, CA, February 2016
 “Negotiating Social Identity in 21st Dynasty Thebes: Female Agency in Funerary Papyri”
- 2014 *Center for the Study of Religion Graduate Conference*, Los Angeles, CA, May 2014
 “A New Interpretation of the Monochrome Tomb Chambers of Deir el-Medina”

TEACHING (Lecturer & Instructor of Record)

Lecturer, Department of Art History, California State Polytechnic University
 Art of Egypt and the Ancient Near East, Spring 2017

Instructor of Record, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, UCLA
 Death, Afterlife, and the Underworld, Spring 2018
 Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt, Summer 2016
 Women in Power in the Ancient World, Summer 2015
 Ancient Egyptian Religion, Summer 2014

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

- 2012-2018 *Registrar & Research Assistant*, UCLA 21st Dynasty Coffin Project
- 2013-2015 *Registrar*, UCLA Fayum Archaeological Project

FELLOWSHIPS, SCHOLARSHIPS, & AWARDS

- 2018 UCLA Grad Slam (3-Minute Thesis) 1st Place Winner
- 2017 Collegium of University Teaching Fellows Honor, UCLA
- 2017 UCLA Dissertation Year Fellowship
- 2017 Friends of Archaeology Research Travel Grant
- 2016 ARCE National Conference Best Student Paper, “Connecting Coffins and Papyri”
- 2016 Keck Foundation Research Grant
- 2013-2016 Steinmetz Research Travel Grant (awarded each year)
- 2014 Graduate Research Mentorship, UCLA
- 2013-2014 Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, UCLA (awarded each year)
- 2012 Mellon Fellowship (awarded for two years of graduate study)
- 2010 Phi Beta Kappa

CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION

Topics regarding religion are never easy to discuss, and rarely prompt a simple narrative. Often religion is either approached with reverence or cynicism. Taking one of these perspectives over the other, however, fails to encompass accurately all that religion can be to either a given population or a single person. Scholars should always study religion by looking at both sides of the coin, understanding that reverence and cynicism do not produce an “either/or” situation. One of the founders of the field of sociology, Émile Durkheim, posed this conflict in the conclusion of *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, and presented a challenge with which generations of scholars have battled:

Thus it is not at all true that between science on the one hand and morals and religion on the other, there exists that sort of antimony which has so frequently been admitted, for the two forms of human activity really come from one and the same source... Why do these two worlds, which seem to contradict each other, not remain outside each other, and why must they mutually penetrate one another in spite of their antagonism?¹

This source from which these worlds stem is the collective consciousness of a society, and while Durkheim was not able to explain how this force was able to explicate and maintain contradiction (and he personally feared it would one day fail in a post-religious society), he acknowledged that, “In a word, there is something impersonal in use because there is something

¹ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, translator Joseph Ward Swain (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1915) 445-446.

social in all of us.”² That “something” is what allows a society to have collective belief in the face of facts.

To illustrate this point, look no further than to George Harrison, a religious devotee – sometimes to the extreme – who believed that the best practice was “chanting in the names of the Lord, and you’ll be free.”³ In the same song, however, he approached institutionalized religiosity with deep cynicism: “and while the Pope owns fifty-one percent of General Motors, and the stock exchange is the only thing he’s qualified to quote us.”⁴ It is in this dual way that we should approach trends in Egyptian religion – remembering that the Egyptian people were true believers in the extremely rich religious life they constructed and perpetuated, yet equally motivated by economic greed, political triumphs, and social advance. Cynicism and extreme devotion are not mutually exclusive. Nowhere is this better illustrated than during Egypt’s periods of decentralization – particularly the Third Intermediate Period. Within the precarious unknowns that political and economic decentralization affords, individuals can develop extended methods of expression in materiality previously blocked from application by the control of royal decorum. With a lack of centralized control, elites can push further into restricted realms, both intellectual and physical, and justify their actions via the divine. And with that lack of centralized control, sometimes religion becomes the arena of power itself.

At the core of this dissertation is the fact that Egyptian priests of the 21st Dynasty could use the Valley of the Kings as a bank vault and withdraw the riches of the New Kingdom

² *Ibid.*, 446.

³ George Harrison, “Awaiting on You All,” *All Things Must Pass* (London: Abbey Road Studios, Apple Studios, Trident Studios, Apple Records, 1970).

⁴ *Ibid.*

pharaohs resulting in necessary economic gain, all the while believing that it was the divine will of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, who sanctioned the action and made it so. And so, just like George Harrison, they were not misled by unchecked, blind religious fervor. The intersection of faith and power is a common narrative throughout history, operating on both the societal and individual levels. For example, Assyrian kings tapped into their religious position as “servants of Aššur” to justify their military conquest of territory and political expansion.⁵ The late medieval Catholic church utilized *quaestores*, or professional pardoners, to sell indulgences, abusing the privilege of clergy in forgiving sin.⁶ Grigori Rasputin exploited his charisma and intrigue as a religious mystic to gain the trust of Tsar Nicholas II’s family and exert influence over all of late Imperial Russia.⁷ In the same vein as these examples, the Theban priesthood used their religious position strategically, working with the decentralization in which they found themselves to further their governing position. They were the highest religious authorities in the land and sincerely devout members of the priestly class just as much as they were social climbers, politicians, crooks, and upstarts bent on societal and economic gain.

⁵ Mordechai Cogan, “Judah under Assyrian Hegemony: A Reexamination of Imperialism and Religion,” *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Volume 112, Number 3 (Autumn, 1993) 403-414; Steven Winford Holloway, *Aššur is King! Aššur is King!: Religion in the Exercise of Power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

⁶ Alberto Cassone and Carla Marchese, “The Economics of Religious Indulgences,” *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics (JITE) / Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, Volume 155, Number 3 (Sept. 1999) 429-442; Robert Swanson, *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

⁷ Colin Wilson, *Rasputin and the Fall of the Romanovs* (New York: Citadel Press, 1971); Douglas Smith, *Rasputin: Faith, Power, and the Twilight of the Romanovs* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016).

1.1 Historical Implications

The study of this 21st Dynasty dataset has implications for the entirety of the Ramesside Period, but earlier evidence of this influence is hidden by the shadow of the king. The organization and power of the Theban priesthood at the onset of the Third Intermediate Period is a direct reaction to the dependence of Ramesside kings on the temple complex and the rise of the hereditary nature of the priesthood. Their economic, social, and political influence in the Ramesside Period cannot be overstated. It is only the decentralization of the 21st Dynasty allows for a study of these priestly families and their arenas of competition to revealed by a lack present kingship in Thebes.

At the close of the 20th Dynasty, Egypt experienced several unique economic and political threats that caused great upheaval and distress within the realm of the pharaoh and the ruling elite. Mass migrations of “Sea Peoples” from the Mediterranean into the Levantine and Libyan coasts posed a great danger to the Egyptian state.⁸ Throughout the reign of Ramesses III, these Sea Peoples attacked Egypt from the north. Even though the Egyptians eventually defeated this new threat, the Sea Peoples’ numbers were so overwhelming that as they filled refugee cities in the Delta established by Ramesses III, they became an economic strain on Egypt.⁹ A series of weak kings followed Ramesses III, and eventually their sphere of control was limited to the Delta capital city of Tanis.¹⁰ The rest of Egypt was left to cope with a decentralized, priestly

⁸ Robert K. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009).

⁹ For a discussion of the famine and resulting food shortage and grain inflation that occurred with this influx of Sea Peoples into Egypt’s Delta, see K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Oxford: Alden Press, 1973) 243-254.

¹⁰ B.G. Trigger, et. al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 229-232.

system of rule. This political disruption led to frequent economic hardship, with long-distant trade routes all but ceasing. The weakening of the Egyptian political and economic systems ushered Egypt into what scholars have termed the Third Intermediate Period (1070-664 BCE).¹¹

The 21st Dynasty (1070-945 BCE), which marked the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period, was politically defined by the split rule of these weakened Tanite kings in the north, and the consolidation of power by the High Priesthood of Amun in the south at Thebes.¹² With the absence of the pharaohs' influence in the south, the patriarchal lineage of the High Priest of Amun assumed control of the area. Despite this attempt of regaining a sense of institutionalized normalcy, the economic hardship coupled with political constraints continued. Grain inflation was widespread, state wages of workers went unpaid, mines and quarries were abandoned with the lack of state sponsored building projects, and scarcity of imported goods such as wood and metals caused many production centers to fail.¹³ As a result, all aspects of Egyptian life, including funerary culture, were affected, prompting reactionary measures by the Egyptian populace.

¹¹ Kitchen 1973, *op. cit.*

¹² Trigger, et. al., *op. cit.* 232.

¹³ Kenneth A. Kitchen, "The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: An Overview of Fact & Fiction," *The Libyan Period in Egypt, Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st – 24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University*, editors G.P.F. Broekman, et. al., (Leiden: Netherlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2009) 161-163.

1.1.1 Weakening of Ramesside Kingship

The specific causes that led to the political and economic decline into the Third Intermediate Period have roots in the Ramesside Period¹⁴ and can be traced to two main causes: the weakening of Ramesside kingship and the simultaneous growth of the Theban priesthood. Regarding the first of these observations, it is clear in the monumental architectural record that the extended members of the royal family were elevated in status during the Ramesside Period. Scenes such as the Abydos king list of Seti I, where the future king Ramesses II appears as crown prince next to his father simply by virtue of his birth, affirm this phenomenon of expanding the prestige and function of royalty in ancient Egypt.



Figure 1.1. Seti I and Crown Prince Ramesses II As Depicted in the Abydos King List, photo by author

¹⁴ Aidan Dodson, *Poisoned Legacy: The Fall of the Nineteenth Egyptian Dynasty* (New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010).

Possibly the best illustrated examples of the extended royal family are the expansive scene of rows of Ramesses II's sons and daughters at the Ramesseum and the tomb of the sons of Ramesses II in the Valley of the Kings (KV5). This newly extended royal family contrasts sharply with the earlier 18th Dynasty images of royal sons and daughters appearing in socially functioning roles – as priests and priestesses, military commanders, governors, and administrators, for example.¹⁵ Aidan Dodson observes in *Poisoned Legacy: The Fall of the Nineteenth Egyptian Dynasty* that this new genre of royal family depiction marks a Ramesside transition to the concept of the extended royal family. “[B]y the end of the reign of Rameses II there was a concept of royalty that extended beyond the conventional divine couple of the king and queen. There now existed a large group of individuals who were very publicly ‘royal.’”¹⁶ In addition, Dodson posits that the expanding function and display of the royal family in the Ramesside Period led to subversive cracks within the ruling system, as different princely factions vied for power and the position of heir apparent.¹⁷

Dodson poses several justifications for this developmental shift in the concept of the extended family, although a true understanding of why this phenomenon occurs does not adequately develop from these proposed sources. In his introduction to *Poisoned Legacy*, Dodson posits that perhaps the large size of Ramesses II's family was a point of pride that the king chose to highlight.¹⁸ This is not a sufficient reason, however, as the Seti I king list places the concept of the crown prince further back into time. He also suggests that the extended royal

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2-5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 6-9.

family could be an Amarna holdover from the way in which Akhenaten chose to depict his daughters.¹⁹ Again, this seems unlikely due to the lapse in time between the Amarna Period and the beginning of the Ramesside Period, and the lack of pattern during the interim years. While a sufficient explanation of this phenomenon may still allude us, it seems clear that the privilege that went along with the new extended royal family aided in the decline of the power of the Ramesside pharaohs. Moreover, this public recognition further validated the power and legitimacy of these crown princes. With such a public position within the royal household, broader societal recognition translated into an acceptance and approval of birthright. With so many additional people vying for power and feeling as if they had a partial right to rule, power struggles led to the fractioning of the royal family and, by extension, the government. In short, family drama was a component in the decline of Egypt's empire into the Third Intermediate Period.

Coupled with this drama is the theory that the development of the concept of the royal family was in reaction to *anticipated* weakening of kingship and larger Bronze Age collapse. Ironically, the concept of the "new royal family" developed during a time of great stability in Egyptian kingship; however, it was rooted in concerns of rightful legitimacy to the throne. As John Baines observed, there is a historical discrepancy regarding the true founder of the 19th Dynasty. Manetho makes Ramesses I the founder, where the Theban chronological tradition states that Horemheb established the new dynasty. "Because no ties of kinship were involved in the succession of kings in this period, either division is meaningful, but Horemhab is a far more

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

prominent historical figure than Ramesses I.”²⁰ Baines goes on to state and confirm Dodson’s view that the royal family as an entity in and of itself is a hallmark of the Ramesside Period.²¹ Thus, it seems logical that royal princes and princesses would choose to stress the value of their position solely by virtue of their birth because the 19th Dynasty was founded on several illegitimate successions. Even at the onset of the Ramesside Period during a time of strong centralization, the new emphasis on family relations was rooted in entrenched caution regarding the authority of the king and adaptive motivation to increased instability as the Bronze Age collapse began. It is this embedded caution that was the real “poisoned legacy” of the Ramesside Period, in contrast to Dodson’s speculations on the issue. This, coupled with the expanding power of the temple and the increased professionalization of the priesthood laid the foundation for the fractioning of Egypt at the onset of the Third Intermediate Period and the rise of a Theban theocracy in the 21st Dynasty. Indeed, Egypt was already fractured by internal weakness and external warfare.

1.1.2 Growth of the Theban Priesthood

Another element that directly links the weakening of kingship with the growth of the Theban priesthood is the use of the priesthood as a political crutch by the New Kingdom pharaohs. Beginning with the reign of Ahmose I and his queen and God’s Wife of Amun Ahmose-Nefertari, the palace sphere and the temple realm grew politically intertwined at a heightened level. By the reign of Hatshepsut, who held the prestigious position of the God’s Wife of Amun

²⁰ John Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) 198-199.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 199.

before advancing to the throne first as regent and later as co-ruler, this connection between temple and palace acquired even greater prominence.²² The use of oracles of Amun to justify her reign and the reign of her nephew Tuthmosis III had the pharaoh in a position dependent upon the priesthood for the sanctioning of their respective rulerships.²³

With this dependence on the temple institution, there developed an increased authority of the priesthood and an economic growth of the temple complex as consecutive kings invested in and donated to this religious institution. By the reign of Ramesses II, oracles were no longer used to justify the reign of the king, but they were rather used in temple administrative matters. For example, an oracle was used not to appoint or legitimize the king during the reign of Ramesses II, but instead was used to announce the selection of the new High Priest of Amun, Nebwenenef.²⁴ At this point, priestly positions within the temple began to drift away from the control of the king and into a more hereditary tradition.²⁵ Referring to the crutch of the oracle and resulting authority of the priesthood, Erik Hornung observes,

This development culminates in the ‘theocracy’ of the Twenty-first Dynasty, in which the oracular decisions of Amun regulate everything that happens down to relatively insignificant administrative and political matters; even the installation of an official and the solution of a case of theft are governed by divine oracle. ‘Amun is King,’ the name of one of the kings of the Twenty-first Dynasty who resided in Tanis, marks the culmination

²² For a full discussion of this connection between temple and palace titles, personnel, economy, and politics, see Kara Cooney, *The Woman Who Would Be King: Hatshepsut's Rise to Power in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Crown Publishing, 2014b) and David Warburton, *Architecture, Power, and Religion: Hatshepsut, Amun, & Karnak in Context* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2012).

²³ Cooney 2014b, *op. cit.*, 71-73.

²⁴ Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II* (Warminster, Wiltshire: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1982) 44.

²⁵ Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, translator David Lorton (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001) 165-166.

of a development in which the king becomes ever more dependent on the power and decisions of the gods.²⁶

The king's increasing dependence on the temple can be witnessed in the art historical evidence from the priests themselves. Turning to the Ramesside priestly offices at Thebes (which the 21st Dynasty priesthood would eventually inherit) one can note the shift in tomb decoration in the burials of these priests that signals their choice in emphasizing their religious roles. Ramesside tomb decoration focused more in religious imagery than their 18th Dynasty counterparts, which highlighted scenes of daily life. As the Ramesside Period is also the era of overwhelming evidence for the public display of personal piety,²⁷ this shift in tomb decoration from daily life scenes of the early New Kingdom to religious scenes of the Ramesside Period has often been perceived as only a symptom of the shift in religious thinking.²⁸

Also, it has generally been asserted that much of standard tomb decoration from any time period of Egyptian history – particularly decoration placed in the visible areas of the tomb such as the chapel – aid in socially defining the deceased based on symbolic interactionist principles.²⁹ However, when decoration deviates from obvious social representations of the deceased, such as the daily life scenes common in tombs of the 18th Dynasty,³⁰ it becomes more difficult to

²⁶ Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, translator John Baines (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982) 193.

²⁷ Assmann 2001, *op. cit.*, 224-232.

²⁸ This view, however, is much too simplistic a narrative. For a more current, nuanced discussion of Gottesnähe prior to the Ramesside Period, see Michela Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische „persönliche Frömmigkeit“ von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011).

²⁹ Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 2007) 170-171.

³⁰ Eva Hofmann, “Bilder im Wandel - Die Kunst der ramessidischen Privatgräber,” *THEBEN XVII*, (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2004) 78-82.

determine how the tomb scenes functioned on a social level. Indeed, there is a trend to dismiss Ramesside tomb decoration, which, due to its religious content, has been considered much less focused on defining the individual. As an example, Stephen Snape provides a reductionist view of the painted wall scenes in Ramesside tombs, stating that they “show little interest in the depicting and describing the range of activities which might be said to make up the public identity of the tomb-owner; instead the decoration is primarily concerned with the tomb-owner worshipping the gods.”³¹ Indeed, the evidence provided in this dissertation demonstrates that this is simply not the case.

Even though Ramesside tomb depictions do not functionally define the tomb owner with daily life scenes, a thorough reading of the provided family scenes shows that this type of tomb decoration was also defining the deceased, albeit in a more nuanced way. Indeed, John Baines and Elizabeth Froid recognize the social significance of this new focus in tomb decoration, stating, “These developments brought into the decoration of tombs subjects that possessed greater prestige and personal significance than the ‘scenes of daily life.’”³²

In that same vein, the religious motifs that characterize Ramesside tomb decoration were yet another vehicle with which the tomb owner could define himself. A basic rendering of Jan Assmann’s descriptive terms of the “god-guided individual” and the trend towards “personal piety”³³ leaves one under the assumption that individuals became more outwardly religious in

³¹ Stephen Snape, *Ancient Egyptian Tombs: The Culture of Life and Death* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2011) 225.

³² John Baines and Elizabeth Froid, “Piety, Change and Display in the New Kingdom,” *Ramesside studies in honour of K. A. Kitchen*, editors Mark Collier and Steven Snape (Bolton: Rutherford, 2011) 8.

³³ Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs*, translator Andrew Jenkins (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003) 135-137.

their preserved materiality during the New Kingdom. Instead, the shift towards a devotional image can be viewed as the individual's self-serving attempt to align themselves with a stable source of power other than kingship – namely the temple. Thus, the use of religious titles and religious iconography in the tomb is not a result of increased religiosity, but instead a byproduct of the self-preserving motives of the tomb owner. This decoration reflects those aspects of himself that he specifically wished to highlight.

Egyptologists must move beyond the literal reading of tomb scenes from any era as a means of understanding the tomb owner literally. Tomb scenes – and any type of funerary materiality – must be read from socio-economic and socio-political perspectives with regard to how the deceased and surviving wished to couch their representation and their memory. This dissertation, with a focus on 21st Dynasty funerary papyri, addresses this need for scholars to push beyond the literal meaning towards an understanding of the social implications that materiality holds for implicated members of society.

1.2 Funerary Materiality and Social Empowerment

Ancient Egyptian funerary culture always placed an emphasis on defining the individual. For the modern viewer, this individuality can be witnessed in several familiar ways – oftentimes an Egyptian's career, relatives, personal and professional connections, titles, associations to the temple, and/or connections to specific places stand out as unique features of the burial. The type of burial, style of tomb, funerary (auto)biographies, and range of funerary materiality that accompanied the deceased into the afterlife served many varying, developing, and changing functions throughout Egyptian history. One constant, however, has always been to confirm and solidify the individuality and social status of both the deceased and the relatives from whom he

or she parted. Individuality and social status rely on a multifaceted emphasis on elements of personhood that the Egyptians felt compelled to highlight, and the importance of these elements certainly changed through time. During times of extreme centralization, the point of reference for the deceased would be the king, and closeness to such an entity would mark high social standing for anyone fortunate enough to be part of that royal inner circle.³⁴ During times of decentralization, highlighting a connection to one's impressive family line or prestigious career might garner high social status among one's peers. Whenever the Egyptian state was politically weak, non-royal institutions such as provincial estates and the state temple would act as an anchor to which individuals could tie themselves in a socially meaningful way, with the titles associated with them becoming increasingly hereditary.³⁵ Whatever the connection, the funerary display aimed to indicate these markers of individuality (albeit limited in scope) and social status for the deceased.

It should be noted that it is an extraordinary occurrence when named individuals are preserved in the archaeological record of the ancient world. More unique still is when those individuals have not only names, but also titles, occupations, and a family history. While the archaeological record can often reveal assemblages based on groupings of city residents, social classes, kin groups, or households, the record of the individual often remains elusive. It is by

³⁴ John Baines, *High Culture and Experience in Ancient Egypt* (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2013) 27-33.

³⁵ For example, the decline of the Old Kingdom saw both noble and professional titles become more hereditary. These titles maintained their inherited status throughout the First Intermediate Period. During the Second Intermediate Period, funerary stelae often depicted family members and listed a rather extensive genealogy to fill the void of absent kingship. Only during times of political centralization do elite individuals stress their relationship to the throne, both because it is in their personal benefit to do so and because of the monopoly of coercion enacted by the state. When this incentive is lacking, individuals will turn to other, more self-serving ways to define themselves within the social framework. For a full discussion of these patterns, see Marcello P. Campagno, "Kinship and Family Relations," *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, editors Willeke Wendrich, et. al. (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2009).

providing this level of specificity that Egypt can contribute to studies of the larger ancient world, as this unique level of information abounds in the Egyptian material record. Even more unique is the ability to analyze social identity of the individual through material culture, and Egypt again provides remarkable opportunities in this realm of inquiry. Egypt, to be sure, has dazzling quantities of this type of specific funerary material culture that reflects the uniqueness and breadth of individuality of its many owners and prompts equally specific and detailed questions. This is not a discussion of the funerary materiality, but the people using such materials as a form of social empowerment. The perpetuation of a carefully selected cultural memory lies within a material and religious matrix, but the social definitions of the individual are perceptible with careful analysis.

1.2.1 Social Context of Preparing for Death

Throughout pharaonic history, the ancient Egyptians strove for preparedness in death. The common, modern attitude towards physical possessions summed up in the phrase, “You can’t take it with you,” would have been utterly lost on elite Egyptian society. These elites, who could afford to act on their anxieties towards the afterlife by investing in extensive funerary displays, held the conviction that these possessions were a necessary component of burial. Of course, the ancient Egyptians’ anxieties towards the afterlife were justified. They held a complex set of beliefs in which the body of the deceased necessitated preservation, the *ba* and *ka* entities of personhood required sustenance in the form of offerings, and the name and identity of the deceased demanded perpetuation so that the individual could continue to exist in the next world.

These beliefs were situated in a conception of the afterlife in which daily life necessities translated directly into the hereafter and a similar lifestyle of work, family relationships,

hardship, success, travel, career, kingship, and interaction with the gods continued just as before. Thus, it is nothing short of logical and practical that the deceased would wish to equip himself with all the daily life luxuries he (and his surviving family) could afford. In addition, he would want to maintain possession of the tools of his profession, religious and magical implements for navigating the afterlife and gods, and useful offerings of sustenance. This plethora of objects, of course, demanded a tomb structure large enough to house such objects. Finally, the desire to perpetuate one's memory facilitated the construction of an accessible space associated with the tomb, most commonly a tomb chapel where family, community members, and priests could visit to make offerings to the deceased.

The concept of perpetual offerings is an excellent example of the Egyptians' anxiety of being prepared for the afterlife. The Egyptians utilized numerous ways of ensuring that the deceased would both receive offerings upon burial and continue to receive regular offerings by means of an active mortuary cult. The most obvious type of offering is the object itself – the bread, beer, meat, fowl, etc., supplied for the deceased in the tomb. Providing the objects was the most direct way of ensuring the deceased had access to these items. In addition to these objects, however, many extra methods were employed to ensure that the deceased would receive offering in perpetuity. Iconography on tomb walls and coffins depicting these objects exemplify another method for providing offerings to the deceased. By replicating the objects in the form of an image, it efficaciously and magically made them exist for the deceased. In the same vein, the *ḥtp-di-ny-sw.t* offering formula allowed the ritual efficacy of the divine words, both in written and spoken forms, to manifest offerings in the afterlife for the deceased. Tomb models, servant figurines, and more abstract *shabtis* also afforded the deceased with the manufacturing ability of offerings. Tomb models, and by extension the two-dimensional production scenes on tomb

walls, functioned for the deceased, as the visualization of production held the same effectiveness as the actual production of goods. The servant figurines and *shabtis* ensured that workers who could produce objects of offering were always available to the deceased. Finally, active mortuary cults sustained by surviving family members (or even the greater community) assured the deceased received regular offerings. In addition, certain festival days, such as the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, dotted the Egyptian calendar so that the deceased would obtain their due veneration, attention, and offerings at regular intervals.

The above example paints a picture where the more options available, the better off the Egyptians saw themselves. This research questions addresses the overlying issues of scarcity, both of materials and space, and also addresses how Egyptians negotiated their ownership of this scarce funerary materiality. Within the decentralized era that sets the parameters for this research, political and economic circumstances forced the Egyptian elite to compress the materiality of their burials and make select and specific choices regarding the content of their equipment. One way in which this elite subset of Egyptian society navigated these choices was to systematically incorporate the discretely owned funerary papyrus as an object type into their burials and inscribe them with representational elements from funerary literature that otherwise would have appeared on tomb walls and coffins. In doing so, these individuals could maintain a tradition of benefiting from the efficacy of funerary iconography and text via the advantage of this new medium.

One major observation about these papyri, however, is that they do not in any way attempt to preserve a complete version of any single funerary book, but rather highlight only certain elements of a variety of texts and images. The excerpts that are included on each papyrus must have been particularly relevant to the deceased individual for whom it was created. Some

scholars have argued that the principle of *pars pro toto*³⁶ is clearly utilized, and this is of course an observation that I cannot and will not refute. Yes, a part can represent a whole, but to me there is more to this simple equation. Namely, the issue of what part best represents that whole must be considered and resolved. Can any part of the Book of the Dead, for example, be just as relevant or suited for representing the whole text, or are specific parts selected for specific reasons by specific individuals? Are there political, economic, and social constraints or motivations that force a decision of one component of funerary literature over another to be made? Who chooses the parts that best represent the whole, and what are his or her motivations?

1.2.2 Beyond the Religious: Social Meaning

The issues regarding selective choice of iconography prompts the question of why such choices were made – why would certain images and texts be elevated above others, and more importantly, are there motivations other than religious reasons for making those choices? To answer these questions, one must first understand that death is more than just a religious experience. For in death, there are undoubtedly displays of political and economic capital that are meant to either reinforce or elevate the social status of the deceased and especially the deceased's surviving family members. The dead do not bury themselves. To cognize this social motivation, historian Michael Mann developed a schema to understand the type of power that, when combined, relate to the successful acquisition of social power. The four types of power he addresses are ideological, economic, military, and political.³⁷ While a study of military power as

³⁶ Andrzej Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Fribourg University Council, 1989) 17.

³⁷ Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 1: A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 104-120.

represented in funerary materiality is certainly possible for some burials throughout Egyptian history, this dataset does not warrant a discussion of this type of power. Instead, focusing on the political and economic motivations of the Theban priesthood of the 21st Dynasty – the subject group of this dissertation – and the effect that those motivations had on the preserved ideological evidence can reveal much about social power, influence, and identity in death.

1.2.2.1 Politics of Death

As Kathlyn Cooney has observed, “The creation of complicated texts and iconography in 21st Dynasty Thebes may, at its source, have been propelled forward by priestly agendas and a desire to display ideological, economic, and political power to differentiate themselves from the rest of their society.”³⁸ Clearly, political and economic power are combined within the ideological realm to demonstrate the unique social standing of each person within the priesthood. It is important, however, to unpack these political and economic motivations so that one can gain a clearer understanding of how elements of funerary materiality were harnessed as means to a social end.

Politically, the Theban priesthood of the 21st Dynasty gained their legitimacy through divine sanction. It is no surprise, then, that the same concept would work at the individual level to validate the social position of each member of the priesthood. By aligning themselves with ideological texts placed in their burial, each member of the priesthood was making a social statement about their position in society. In the 21st Dynasty social context of absent kingship,

³⁸ Kathlyn Cooney, “Ancient Egyptian Funerary Arts as Social Documents: Social Place, Reuse, and Working towards a New Typology of 21st Dynasty Coffins,” *Body, Cosmos and Eternity: New Research Trends in the Iconography and Symbolism of Ancient Egyptian Coffins*, editor Rogério Sousa, Archaeopress Egyptology 3 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014a) 46.

the more unique, esoteric, elevated, and restricted the temple knowledge contained in one's funerary papyri, the higher the social standing within the priestly society. The use of restricted knowledge would signal to the priestly subset of society that one had achieved a more elite status than one's peers. Those individuals who had special access to restricted religious knowledge as displayed in their funerary materiality had a greater initiation into the temple, closer relationships to other priests with this exclusionary knowledge, and privilege to utilize – and possibly monopolize – skilled artisans. Thus, the content of the papyri developed into a social status symbol that signaled one's position both within the Theban priesthood and throughout the larger Theban regional population. This dissertation addresses this broader social organization by analyzing how this system of choice and display worked for individuals within the parameters of a decentralized political and economic framework. One significance of this dataset is that it highlights the choices of a group of people operating with the absence of a king and the imposition of decorum that royal prerogative often implements.

1.2.2.2 Economics of Death

Lower elites who did not have access to such elevated funerary material could still afford papyri, as the material record demonstrates, but the quality of creation reflects a lesser social position. Cooney has already demonstrated this pattern of quality directly correlating to content with 21st Dynasty coffins,³⁹ and the same standard can be used to assess the papyri directly connected to those coffins. While the production materials of papyri are relatively inexpensive,⁴⁰ as compared

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 45-47.

⁴⁰ Richard Parkinson and Stephen Quirke, *Papyrus* (London: British Museum Press, 1995) 19.

to other types of funerary equipment, the financial ability to utilize the time and expertise of skilled artisans and scribes cannot be overlooked. Creating an illustrated funerary papyrus in polychrome decoration would have taken a great amount of time. In addition, the people who manufactured these papyri must have possessed the specific skill sets of papyrus production, literacy, artisanal painting techniques, scribal copying, and priestly knowledge to interpret texts and scenes. These skills might have all rested with one person, but it is more likely that a team of individuals would have been needed to produce funerary papyri of the highest quality.

Again, the content of the papyri, which signaled inclusion within the temple structure, also indicated the economic status of both the person for which it was made and his or her family. In addition to content, however, the quality of the papyrus also registers as a marker of economic position. While an economic study on the cost, expenditure, and value of illustrated funerary papyri has not yet been written,⁴¹ one can assume that there was a very clear understanding among the Theban priesthood correlating quality and economic prestige, and that

⁴¹ The evidence for such an economic analysis is quite lacking. Jac Janssen's *Commodity Prices from The Ramessid Period: An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes* (Leiden: Brill, 1975) only references a single ostrakon, which contains the pricing for two Book of the Dead papyri. The reference, found on pages 245-246, is so brief, it warrants replicating here in its entirety:

In one text, O. Gardiner 133 (year 36 of Ramesses II), there are two references to the price of a *pri-m-hrw*, a copy of the 'Book of the Dead'. The other prices in this text, so far as they survive, are expressed in *snlw* and *hin*, but in lines 3-4 we read: *pri-m-hrw sš 1 iri.n dbn 1*, where *sš* clearly means 'painted', i.e., provided with vignettes. Such a 'Book of the Dead' would not be cheap, and therefore the *deben* will be *deben* of silver, which means either 60 or 100 *deben* of copper.

The second *pri-m-hrw* (lines 11-12) is determined with , but not called *sš*, and is valued at 3 *snlw*, i.e. 15 *deben* of copper. Why this copy should be so much cheaper than the other is not stated, unless we are to suppose that, since the word *sš* is missing, it was not as beautifully illustrated as the first.

These two examples, with such varying prices, do little to aid us in evaluating the cost of such a document. Like all funerary equipment, we can assume that papyri marked elite status and were only available to the higher echelons of society.

there was a social agreement as to what specific elements of a papyrus would signal a particular economic status.

1.2.2.3 The Social Identity of Death

The inherent religious nature of the papyri intertwined with the underlying political and economic motivations to maintain and perpetuate the social identity of the deceased, and by extension, his or her surviving family members. This political and economic alignment focused on the priesthood's relationship to the temple, which acted as a social anchor by which the elite society could be grounded. In a time where a relationship to the pharaoh and the palace structure was voided through decentralization, the temple (and the powerful families that controlled the hereditary temple positions) became the de facto power structure to which the ruling elite could cling. Of course, I do not mean to imply that the connection to the temple, which the Theban elite emphasized, did not have a theological base – it is impossible to determine religiosity at an individual level in this situation. The members of the Theban priesthood assumed hereditary positions within the temple that certainly evoked and emphasized personal connection to the Egyptian gods, but it also must have been clear to these priests that their positions came with economic benefits and political responsibilities.⁴² Regardless of personal religious intent, which certainly did exist, one must view the intersection of religion, politics, and economics as the true marker of social identity among these individuals.

In addition to the personal political and economic motivations that aid in constructing social identity, the society itself and the culture of death also act upon the individual. Assmann

⁴² Byron E. Shafer, *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1997) 9-18.

observes that death is one of the main “culture generators” of any society.⁴³ By conceptualizing death, Assmann claims that culture arises as,

the attempt to create a space and a time in which man can think his way out of the bounded horizon of his life and project the features of his action, experience, and plans out into broader horizon and dimensions of fulfillment, in which the needs of his mind can find gratification, and the painful, even unbearable consciousness of existential boundedness and fragmentation can find rest.⁴⁴

This way in which a society conceives and perpetuates its notion of the afterlife on an intellectual level manifests itself in the material record and the way in which individuals physically prepare for death. This concept of preservation perpetuates itself in all societies as they prepare for death, as Assmann claims, but is particularly evident in the Egyptian material record. Assmann explains that the individual, “involves himself in activities whose consequences outlast him and whose planning exceeds the horizon of his existence, both in the social dimension of synchronic integration and in the temporal dimension of diachronic embedding.”⁴⁵ With a theoretical understanding of how preparedness for death directly relates to the construction and maintenance of social identity, one can finally define the role of funerary materiality – and in particular funerary papyri – both in the burial and in the minds of Egyptian society.

1.3 Constructing and Maintaining Social Identity

When the Ramesside Period finally gave way to the Third Intermediate Period, Egypt was primed for a situation where the Theban priesthood could effectively establish a theocracy in the

⁴³ Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, translator David Lorton (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2005) 9.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

south due to the vacuum of power left by the truncated and weakened kingship in the north. Indeed, it had already been this way for part of the 19th and all the 20th Dynasty. The theocratic control of much of Egypt's south in the 21st Dynasty was not new – it was just more starkly delineated from the situation in the north.

The divine sanction of Amun was of course given to the High Priest of Amun at Thebes, who not only remained the religious authority of the land, but also became the de facto political, economic, and social leader as well. The authority of the High Priest of Amun and those closely surrounding him was established by means beyond the religious realm, however. The economic, military, and political powers of the High Priest of Amun were critical to his success. In the absence of kingship, the construction and maintenance of the social identity of this priestly leader needed to be negotiated by social cues and materiality in a meaningful way. An extension of this leader was the entire Theban priesthood, who also needed to navigate this social landscape dominated by theocracy. It is this navigation of social identity through materiality that is the primary focus of this work.

My academic inquiries are based on two main principles, which are supported by certain theoretical frameworks: social agreement and individual identity. These two principles, which take structural functionalist⁴⁶ and symbolic interactionist⁴⁷ perspectives, are deeply intertwined. They both operate on the concept that in a socially stratified society, there is both a conscious

⁴⁶ Structural functionalism, sometimes simply called functionalism, is a macro-level social theory that states that society is a complex system, with individual parts or units working together to maintain the structure of society and promote stability and controlled growth on a common trajectory. Main proponents of this theory include Auguste Comte, Émile Durkheim, Herbert Spencer, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, Talcott Parsons, and Robert K. Merton.

⁴⁷ Symbolic interactionism focuses on symbols and linguistics and the phenomenon that objects, symbols, and sounds are ascribed socially identifiable and agreed upon meaning that forms the basis of all interaction. People recognize things as having social value and meaning, acting and reacting towards those things based on their meaning, which in turn validates and perpetuates the interpretation of those meanings. Main proponents of this theory include Herbert Blumer, George Herbert Mead, Charles Horton Cooley, and Erving Goffman.

and unconscious motivation of the structured society to maintain itself. To do this, there are certain social cues that are developed and maintained to perpetuate the order of that society. These cues are collectively agreed upon by the group and continually reinforced by the members of that group in such a way that individuals begin to make choices regarding these social cues in an anticipatory way to how the group will react to specific choices. Thus, the social cues are doubly reinforced, both from the group acting inwards and the individual acting outwards. Thus, the manifestation of these choices becomes material and iconographic canon for the society.

1.3.1 Collective Consciousness and Social Agreement

Regarding the formation and perpetuated structure of the group as it influences the individual, it immediately becomes apparent that within the framework of a society, individuals will desire to maintain a specific social system when that system is beneficial to them. Beginning with the work of Durkheim, who was concerned with the question of how societies maintained internal stability through time, it was immediately recognized that the individual consciousness and collective consciousness must work together to maintain that stability.⁴⁸ Thus, the individual may express himself, and is encouraged to do so to maintain his own social position, but only within the parameters set forth by society.⁴⁹

This interplay between the individual and the society has been a driving force in Egyptological literature attempting to establish the framework within which elite Egyptian society functioned. Termed “decorum” by Baines, this unwritten rule of what is permitted to

⁴⁸ Émile Durkheim, *De la division du travail social: étude sur l'organisation des sociétés supérieures* (Paris: Ancienne Librairie Germer Baillière, 1893) 138-141.

⁴⁹ Robert K. Merton, *On Theoretical Sociology: Five Essays, Old and New* (New York: The Free Press, 1967) 42-44.

each level of society regarding art and literature, provides a framework within which a particular subset of Egyptian society must function and limits the choices available to them in order to maintain a specific social hierarchy.⁵⁰ These unwritten rules of decorum may change over time due to a wide variety of motivating factors, but they will always be present to limit the choices of the actor in a given situation. Restraints of decorum are often difficult to elucidate, as decorum leaves so much unsaid and unwritten. By studying the mechanics behind decorum, one can gain a better understanding of how such unrecorded rules are established, implemented, and maintained.

1.3.2 Perpetuation of Individual Identity

The second perspective, based on symbolic interactionist principles, analyzes the situation from the perspective of the individual. I define symbolic interaction as the use of meanings which occurs through a process of interpretation in which the actor selects, checks, suspends, regroupes, and transforms the meanings of objects and texts in light of the situation and the direction of his or her action, and defines himself or herself through references to those objects and texts. This meaning can be derived from any number of socially significant markers, including language, objects, symbols, actions, or events.

Talcott Parsons, in his later works combining symbolic layers of meaning with his structure and system-based theories of his earlier works, generally states that 1) uniqueness is relative to others, 2) general identity is in relationship to the reactions and understanding of others, 3) defining oneself is dependent on using imagery and descriptions that others can

⁵⁰ John Baines, "Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions," JARCE 27 (1990a).

understand, 4) people use material and iconographic media to identify themselves with certain roles, and 5) people have a need to standardize their position within society.⁵¹ Within this framework, the objects and images in question become the physical definition of the person they represent, with each item building upon his or her identity. In addition, these objects and images take on additional meanings (other than the obvious or primary meaning) to become a marker of social identity that is interpreted and understood uniformly by the viewing audience. In the introduction to *Material Identities*, Joanna Sofaer situates materiality as the physical representation of identity:

Materiality conveys meaning. It provides the means by which social relations are visualized, for it is through which people communicate identities. Without material expression social relations have little substantive reality, as there is nothing through which these relations can be mediated.⁵²

21st Dynasty funerary papyri, then, should not just reflect religious and ritualized knowledge, but also showcase elements of the owners' identities that each person wished to highlight. These secondary levels of meaning might not be readily apparent to the modern viewer, but a social consensus of the Theban priesthood would have confidently situated the symbolic meaning of these documents among the included members of this subset of Egyptian society.

With the incorporation of the concept of the “looking-glass self” proposed by Charles Horton Cooley, another level of understanding choice can be gleaned. Cooley, in describing the “looking-glass self” states that individuals anticipate how people will react to personal choices, and thus individuals begin to make choices that others will identify and interpret in

⁵¹ Talcott Parsons, *Social Structure and Personality* (New York: The Free Press, 1964).

⁵² Joanna Sofaer, *Material Identities* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007) 1.

predetermined ways.⁵³ Through this perspective, it becomes clear that as the viewing audience makes interpretative judgments about individuals' choices and actions, the individual in question reinforces his or her own identity in relation to others. As he or she is aware that society is making these interpretative judgments, his or her choices and actions become conscious decisions. Relatedly, framing, a concept developed by Erving Goffman, states that people frame their identity in a certain light with actions, choices, and material possessions.⁵⁴ Thus, material possessions become the media through which a person can showcase his or her identity.

1.3.3 Agency and Value

These two perspectives, structural functionalism and symbolic interactionism, provides a strong vantage point for this research on 21st Dynasty funerary papyri. They are, however, insufficient on their own, as they operate on two specific premises – that each commissioner of a papyrus had agency regarding its content *and* that these funerary papyri did, in fact, have social value not only to its owner but also to the larger social group to which the owner belonged. To address these issues, agency theory and value theory will shed light on the choices that went into the production of the papyri.

Agency theory allows one to assess choice as it relates to individuality, power, prestige, status, role, and kinship.⁵⁵ While the archaeological record cannot reproduce all the influencing factors of choice and agency, material culture can shed light on the “social life, social, symbolic

⁵³ Charles Horton Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: Scribner's Publishing, 1902).

⁵⁴ Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (London: Harper and Row, 1974).

⁵⁵ Lynn Meskell, *Archaeologies of Materiality* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

and material structures, habituations, and beliefs”⁵⁶ that shape both individual and group choice. Agency, however, is more than choice. Agency combines power and freedom to influence circumstances that can culminate in certain choices.⁵⁷

At first glance, it may seem as if agency theory and structural functionalism are at odds with one another, as there is a tendency to view perspectives focused on the individual and on society, respectively, as mutually exclusive. I, however, believe that while the imposition of a social system might limit an actor’s amount of choices, the choice remains with the individual at the most basic level. Akin to Anthony Giddens’ structuration theory, agency can be seen as an acting on the social structure, while in turn the social structure is maintained and reinforced by acting on individual agency, limiting choices and guiding individual actors towards socially acceptable choices.⁵⁸ Karl Marx, whose writings hinged upon the possibility for revolution, claimed that agency existed within tight constraints and had to function within a social framework.⁵⁹ This is exactly the situation regarding 21st Dynasty funerary papyri, in that they are recognizable as canon due to these social constraints and decorum, yet provide the commissioner with an array of choices with which he or she may express individuality in a socially sanctioned way.

⁵⁶ Justin Morris, “‘Agency’ Theory Applied: A Study of Later Prehistoric Lithic Assemblages from Northwest Pakistan,” *Agency Uncovered: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Agency, Power, and Being Human*, editor Andrew Gardner (London: UCL Press, 2004) 51.

⁵⁷ Andrew Gardner, *Agency Uncovered: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Agency, Power, and Being Human* (London: UCL Press, 2004).

⁵⁸ Anthony Giddens and Christopher Pierson, *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making Sense of Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

⁵⁹ Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 1851-53, Vol. 11: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany, the 18th Brumaire, Etc.* (New York: International Publishers, 1980) 103-104.

Of course, for anything to be recognized as social canon implies that it also has a socially recognized value. This value need not be economic (though it is often tied to economics, with rare materials and luxury goods being markers of elite social status), but rather holds socially agreed upon meaning as previously discussed from which its value is derived. When focusing on the material record, it is obvious that this materiality comes at a socially defined cost. Regarding 21st Dynasty funerary papyri, asked most simply, what value did Theban elite society place on these objects? For, indeed, these objects held an understood social value in order to function as they did, and it is *because* these papyri had value that they could meaningfully define the individual within a social context.

To address this concept fully, different elements of value – including economic value, religious value, and decentralization value – converge to create social value. This value is not inherent, but is ascribed via a judgment made by a group of subjects acting on the objects.⁶⁰ The intersection of these ascribed values along with the choices made by the deceased are what reflect social status and define the individual's roles in society.

When looking simply at economic value, one is easily presented with a very simple, yet very challenging realization: a papyrus of higher economic value should translate into one of higher social value. The notion has long been held that in the ancient Egyptian funeral, an element of display was necessary to reaffirm both the deceased's and the descendants' social standing. The grander the funerary display, the higher-quality the item, and the wider the array of luxury goods, the more prestige the family who executed the display would gain.⁶¹ This

⁶⁰ Georg Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money* (London: Routledge, 1978) 73.

⁶¹ Baines and Froud, *op. cit.*, 1-17.

principle is common throughout time and culture. A high-status family paying thousands of dollars for a bride's wedding dress to display at an elaborate and expensive wedding and reception attempts to make the same social statement that these ancient Egyptians made during their funerals. This social motivation displayed through economic wealth is coupled with the challenge of establishing exactly what elements of an object's construction, design, and function translate into a higher economic value, especially with respect to the ancient world. While analyses of both costs in relation to various groups of objects,⁶² and costs of a single object type of varying quality⁶³ of Egyptian objects have been successfully undertaken, an analysis of this type still poses many challenges. Particularly, the decentralization of the 21st Dynasty led to an elite society that resorted to reuse, and sometimes theft, of funerary equipment, particularly coffins. How can economic value be ascribed to objects that were commissioned by another person, potentially hundreds of years ago? Did the Egyptian elite who viewed these reused funerary objects see them as having less of an impactful economic value due to their recommodification? What role, then, did funerary papyri play in the funerary assemblage? Did social competition shift to the creation of this adapted type of funerary good? Did the funerary papyri included in an assemblage provide the means of socially identifying an individual in a way a reused coffin could not?

This connection between object and personhood has been one of recent attention in value theory literature. As Igor Kopytoff states, "a person's social identities are not only numerous but often conflicting, and there is no clear hierarchy of loyalties that makes one identity dominant

⁶² Janssen, *op. cit.*

⁶³ Kathlyn Cooney, *The Cost of Death: The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Ramesside Period* (Leiden: Netherlands Instituut voor het Nabue Oosten, 2007).

over the others.”⁶⁴ He goes on to state that problems arise in being able to decide on a definition of one’s identity when there are no cultural signals from society to aid in making the choice.⁶⁵ David Graeber explains this useful connection between object and person in defining social identity by stating that, “Being – if it is socially significant – is congealed action...By engaging in persuasive display, then, all one is really doing is calling on others to imitate actions that are implicitly being said to have already been carried out in the past.”⁶⁶ In the case of the deceased owners of the funerary papyri, one could argue that Graeber’s understanding of congealed action should be extended further to the use of persuasive display to call on others to subscribe to a recognition of action that has been completed in the past. In describing this connection between objects and the deceased, the introduction to *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World* states, “Part of this fusion of the two lies in the fact that in many cultures, what may be termed personhood is intimately linked with the display and use of valuable objects and commodities (whatever those objects and commodities may be), particularly as they are displayed in burials.”⁶⁷

Person and valued object combine to form cultural capital, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu,⁶⁸ from which social status can be symbolically expressed to society and reflected upon

⁶⁴ Igor Kopytoff, “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process,” *The Social Life of the Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, editor Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 89.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 89-90.

⁶⁶ David Graeber, *Towards an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams* (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 99.

⁶⁷ John K. Papadopoulos and Gary Urton, “Introduction,” *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World* (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2012) 25-26.

⁶⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, editor J. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986) 241-258.

the individual. Thus, papyri are the objectified capital that symbolically convey cultural capital. An exclusive tool, these objects can only be culturally read (and in this case, also literally read) by a select portion of the population that has already acquired the embodied capital, in the form of both the actively acquired and passively inherited components of personhood, necessary to be part of the group who can understand and appreciate this type of objectified capital. By incorporating this type of object into his or her funerary assemblage, the deceased is also conveying to society that he or she is already part of this group and has the necessary embodied capital. In addition, the papyri already contain and reflect the institutionalized capital of the individual by both containing the titles of the deceased and expressing that social standing through the chosen motifs of the documents.

Another element of value that must not be overlooked is the value of the time in which the creation of papyri occurred. In this specific case, what should be called into question is the importance of decentralization itself. In the modern sense, the term decentralization often carries with it a negative connotation. Indeed, the three intermediate periods of Egyptian history, classified as such because of decentralized rule, are sometimes inappropriately categorized as “dark ages.” While it is true that weak leadership, dysfunctional administration, collapsed infrastructure, economic and trade failure, and fractioned society are rarely seen in a positive light, it is in the way society learns, adapts, and navigates collapse that lies a type of value. The decentralization of the 21st Dynasty is what allowed the Theban elite to showcase unprecedented access to underworld texts and the connection to craftsmen who, with the lack of palace-sanctioned work, had the time and skill to develop this type of funerary materiality made to special order. In addition, the Theban priesthood would have possessed a renewed desire to

define themselves in social terms through other means than a connection to a king whose power was truncated and presence was absent.

In this manner, it is the decentralization itself that allows these papyri to have value at all. If kingship was still strong in the 21st Dynasty, emphasizing family, career, gender, or religion would not carry the weight necessary to socially define the individual, as society would still be revering the connection to kingship as the ultimate form of social distinction. It is only because of decentralization that the Theban elite could have access to iconography that was previously restricted and be able to incorporate such texts and vignettes onto their funerary papyri. Furthermore, it is only through decentralization that the Theban elite were motivated to ascribe meaning to the iconography and texts in a socially defining way, intending to fill the void created by absent kingship. Decentralization is what permitted this adaptation and innovation to take place within the established social and religious decorum, and as such must not be undervalued or overlooked.

1.4 Outline of Chapters

With these theoretical considerations laying the foundation for the goals, research, and aims of this dissertation, the remaining chapters focus on the development of funerary literature, the construction of funerary papyri as a material object, and the use of papyri in burials by the Theban elite. Chapter Two focuses on the developmental stages of funerary text and papyri use, as well as the historical changes that accompanied this development. Chapter Two begins with a discussion of defensive burial practices – tactics that developed in the 21st Dynasty as a reaction to burial assemblage reuse and outright theft of burial equipment – and how papyri developed into an object type that became a major component of successful defensive burials. The aim of

Chapter Two is to present the papyri as a cohesive data set, illustrating the breadth of underworld book content, highlighting previous scholarship, and providing nuanced information to the reader.

In the analytical section of the dissertation, Chapters Three, Four, Five, and Six each address the use of papyri in burials and how they help construct the social identity of the deceased. This usage is considered from four specific research perspectives – gender, priestly affiliations, family associations, and the specter of burial assemblage reuse. Chapter Three addresses the closing of the gender divide in the archeological record of burial assemblages. It also highlights the evidence that women were utilizing papyri in their burials in different ways than their male counterparts, and as a means towards a different end. Chapter Four, conversely, addresses temple affiliation and the use of papyri in burials of different sub-sets of the priesthood and at varying levels of that priesthood's ranking. Directly related to this topic is that even though women are asserting themselves in the burial assemblage record at equal rates to men, the temple titles of men are still much more diverse than women's titles. Thus, social competition for men is entrenched in their position within the temple and less overt in their funerary papyri. Chapter Five addresses the use of papyri from the perspective of the family unit and showcases patterns among family members. Some of these patterns relate to a family's position within the temple service structure, with a particular emphasis on inheritance of titles. The complicating issue of reuse is the focus of Chapter Six. This chapter addresses the role that papyri play in burials where coffin reuse is evident, and makes the broader claim that papyri were a defensive burial practice developed when society anticipated the eventual separation of the body from the coffin. Chapter Seven provides conclusions that speak to the larger question of how material objects maintain, perpetuate, and enhance social identity.

CHAPTER 2.

FUNERARY PAPYRI AS SOCIAL DOCUMENTATION

2.1 Defensive Burial Practices

The highest-ranking family of the priesthood in Thebes stressed their blood connection to the 20th Dynasty rulers.⁶⁹ Going beyond the political and social implications of highlighting such a connection, their emphasized descent from the late New Kingdom pharaohs afforded the high priesthood economic leverage outside the temple. The Valley of the Kings, and all the burial goods contained within the rocky cliff sides, became the priesthood's inheritance and could be reallocated under their purview. With the scarcity of new, imported wood for coffin construction and the probable lack of burial goods in general plaguing the Theban priesthood, the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings were unsurprisingly reopened, and their contents appropriated for use by the 21st Dynasty priests. The reopening of these New Kingdom tombs was ordered by the high priesthood under the auspice of reburying the pharaohs in a hidden and safe location. The pharaohs' funerary equipment, however, underwent reuse under the 21st Dynasty priesthood's watch by the very same people who were purporting to protect the legacy of Egypt's pharaohs.⁷⁰

Just as the priesthood discretely reburied the New Kingdom pharaohs in a hidden location, they also modified their own burials in a similar manner. The motivation to protect and

⁶⁹ Aidan Dodson, *Afterglow of Empire: Egypt from the Fall of the New Kingdom to the Saite Renaissance* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2012) 226-227.

⁷⁰ I do not mean to sound overly cynical in my analysis of the 21st Dynasty priesthood's efforts to protect the New Kingdom pharaohs. Certainly, there was obvious concern over tomb robbery and the safety of these New Kingdom burials. However, the high priesthood undoubtedly used the wealth of these tombs to their advantage. For example, Pinedjem I reused the coffin of Tuthmosis I, achieving great political and economic gain in the process (Andrzej Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies* (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1988) #73 pg. 117).

conceal the burial led to the establishment of defensive burial practices, as termed by Kathlyn Cooney.⁷¹ These practices demanded a hidden burial cache that could be reopened and accessed by family members of the deceased so that they could selectively and skillfully reuse burial equipment as each situation warranted. In turn, this created an atmosphere in which defensive burial practices allowed the machine of the Egyptian burial to continue to function for the deceased so that his ideal place in the afterlife could be achieved.⁷² To understand the defensive burial practices of the 21st Dynasty, an understanding of the demands on both the burial space and the funerary materiality is necessary.

2.1.1 Collective Tomb Spaces

The New Kingdom arguably represents the pinnacle of interior tomb decoration in ancient Egypt. Elaborately carved and painted rock-cut tombs were standard throughout the New Kingdom, sometimes with above-ground, monumental mortuary temples connected to a particular tomb or situated within the vicinity of a group of tombs. Regardless of the precise location of these visible and often visited mortuary structures, their presence marked the tomb's location. During the turbulent economic times of the Third Intermediate Period, these above-ground structures quickly became undesirable, as hiding the tomb from grave robbers grew in importance, thus Theban tombs from this era were designed without a superstructure.⁷³

⁷¹ Kathlyn Cooney, "Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification," *JARCE* 47 (2011), 3-44.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 5-20.

⁷³ Salima Ikram and Adian Dodson, *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt: Royal and Private Sepulchres from the Early Dynastic Period to the Romans* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2008) 270-271.

The strain on resources and materials coupled with this desire for hiddenness, resulted in fairly small, undisclosed, and undecorated tombs that were shared by extended lineages.⁷⁴ This decrease in space, and increase in bodies interred, drove the necessity for intricately designed funerary scenes to be placed elsewhere rather than the traditional painting on the tomb walls.⁷⁵ As a result, the coffins of the 21st Dynasty became densely packed with tomb iconography, and the use of funerary papyri expanded to include an entire genre of literature and cultic texts.

2.1.2 Compressed Materiality

The social value of coffins and papyri, the major components of 21st Dynasty Theban elite burials, remains part of a larger whole, and not entirely explained by economic and religious value. Their value extended beyond themselves as isolated objects when they were incorporated into the sacred location of the burial. Combined, these burial assemblages acquired not only a social value, but also a ritual value which must be considered to understand fully the coffins and papyri as objects of value. Regarding coffins and bodies, Cooney's chapter in *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World* addresses the value of these objects as containers or vessels for the dead. The 21st Dynasty elites had wealth and opportunity, Cooney states, but limited resources through which their social status could be displayed. The reuse of coffins meant that individuals could not invest nearly the amount of wealth or effort into their funerary goods as was possible when newly imported materials allowed to produce new mortuary equipment. In addition, the necessity for defensive burial practices limited the maximum potential investment into

⁷⁴ Snape, *op. cit.*, 245-259.

⁷⁵ Assmann 2003 *op. cit.*, 287-289.

redecorating a used coffin, as the use of materials like gold and precious stone could not be risked for fear that one's funerary equipment would be usurped. Paint and varnish could not be recommodified as materials and were thus a much safer alternative to removeable and recommodifiable decoration.⁷⁶

As a result, investment into funerary goods that had little value as recommodified objects expanded, and it is in this expansion that funerary papyri could fill the void of expressing social value and reflecting on the social standing of the deceased. As David Graeber states, for value to be understood and to function for its intended purpose, there must at least be an imagined audience to perceive the value.⁷⁷ With this audience in place, the social value of these documents could be stressed in relation to the body of the deceased, the associated coffin set, and the sacred space to the tomb. The mummification process of the 21st Dynasty was greatly enhanced, with much more time and effort exerted to create a permanent body container from flesh. The deceased was transformed into a type of statue with stuffing, makeup, paint, clothing, hair, and inlaid eyes utilized to make the body appear as it did in life.⁷⁸

With the permanent element of the burial transferred to the body, the other aspects of the funerary assemblage acquired a ritual function. This ritual value and function of the papyri correlates directly to the place value of the tomb. It is interesting to note that despite the wide array of defensive burial practices applied to 21st Dynasty mortuary culture, the sacred place of the Theban necropolis was never abandoned. While the Egyptian elite now desired their tombs

⁷⁶ Kathlyn Cooney, "Objectifying the Body: The Increased Value of the Ancient Egyptian Mummy During the Socioeconomic Crisis of Dynasty 21," *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World*, editors John Papadopoulos and Gary Urton (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2012b) 139-140.

⁷⁷ Graeber, *op. cit.*, 87-88.

⁷⁸ Cooney 2012b, *op cit.*, 148-156.

to be compact and hidden, they still found necessary to be buried in a known and established necropolis on the Theban west bank.⁷⁹ Fitting with the scheme of a natural landmark taking on space value as a sacred area as it is acted upon by a society through time,⁸⁰ the Theban necropolis remained a desirable burial place despite known security issues. With the papyri affixed to the body of the deceased, the Egyptians tried to create a lasting ritual value that would remain even if the body was removed from the sacred space. When the tomb space could not be decorated and charged with the ritual function necessary for the deceased to make the transformation into an effective spirit for the afterlife, funerary papyri took over this role of heightened ritual value that would remain with the body at all costs.

This extremely restrictive amount of space lead to a reliance on discrete and singular burials for the members of the Theban priesthood. No longer could a husband and wife or an entire family rely on the decoration, iconography, and sacred space of the other member(s) of the grouping. Every individual had to be prepared to enter the afterlife with his or her funerary materiality prepared exclusively for them. This copying and the medium of transfer onto the final materiality of papyri complicates the issues of publication and ownership of religious and ritual texts.

2.2 Role of Funerary Texts to the End of the New Kingdom

Equipping the dead with funerary literature of magical protection and guidance was a standard and well-attested practice in ancient Egypt since the inclusion of the Pyramid Texts in royal

⁷⁹ Snape, *op. cit.*, 233-244.

⁸⁰ John Chapman, "The Negotiation of Place Value in the Landscape" *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World*, editors John Papadopoulos and Gary Urton (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2012) 68.

burials of the Old Kingdom.⁸¹ The Pyramid Texts are the earliest recorded funerary texts in Egyptian history, with the 5th Dynasty burial of king Unas being the earliest known record of their monumental recording.⁸² Being carved into the walls of the burial chambers and antechambers of Old Kingdom royal tombs, the Pyramid Texts became a featured part of the tomb's funerary materiality.⁸³ By physically recording these spells of protection and guidance in the tomb space, the Pyramid Texts extended beyond the words and texts and became an object of the funerary assemblage to be obtained and retained by the tomb owner.

This “publication” of funerary spells in such a monumental way started a trend of physically possessing funerary texts that would continue throughout Egyptian history. Jason Thompson, among other scholars, has noted that, “Their appearance towards the end of the Old Kingdom may indicate a weakening of royal authority, manifested in the increasing independence of cult temples and the king's consequent inability to count on them to ensure his place in eternity.”⁸⁴ Thus begins a twofold trend of funerary materiality, and texts in particular: Funerary texts were equated with elite and unique positions within Egyptian society on the one hand, and on the other, they emphasized the permanence of knowledge and power during times of crisis.

⁸¹ Nigel Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005) 40-46.

⁸² Erik Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, translator David Lorton, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999) 1-3.

⁸³ The first royal tomb discovered containing the Pyramid Texts was the Sixth Dynasty pyramid burial chamber of Pepi I at Saqqara. In total, there are ten known Old Kingdom royal tombs containing the Pyramid Texts: the 5th Dynasty burial of king Unas; the 6th Dynasty burials of kings Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II; the 7th/8th Dynasty burial of king Ibi; and the burials of Pepi II's queens Neith, Iput II, and Wedjebetni. See Jason Thompson, *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology 2: The Golden Age: 1881-1914* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015) 6-8 for a discussion of the discovery, excavation, and study of these royal burials.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

Here, a distinction must be made between ritual knowledge and possession. The primary function of the Pyramid Texts and all following funerary texts was, of course, ritual. For as long as the Pyramid Texts had been used in the funerary rites of the king, beginning much earlier than the reign of Unas, priests would have had intimate knowledge of these texts so that the rituals could be properly performed. It must also not be overlooked that these elite priests are the ones who are composing these texts in the first place, so their content can in no way be restricted from these religious authorities. What is restricted, however, is the ownership – the physical possession of these texts.⁸⁵ Once this sacred and religious knowledge is released in a monumentally published, tangible form, it can be commodified and appropriated by growing number of priests and officials. This growing availability of its possession devalues the authority of the text, which then prompts a social necessity either to elaborate greatly upon or to develop new texts that can once again reclaim a higher, more restricted sphere of ownership.

The publication and subsequent expansion of ownership of the Pyramid Texts at the end of the Old Kingdom led to the Coffin Texts, which were common on the coffins of both royalty and elite of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom.⁸⁶ While the Pyramid Texts focused on the deceased king and his ascent into the sky and reception into the divine celestial realm, the Coffin Texts expanded upon afterlife themes to include the expanded group of consumers and users of the text. With elites, officials, and priests utilizing these texts, the Egyptian afterlife undertook an overhaul to accommodate the larger crowd of people. In

⁸⁵ A discussion of the primary function of ritual – both of the temple and for the temple – will be considered later in the chapter with regard to funerary literature. A full understanding of these funerary texts includes both how priests interacted with these texts in life, and how they were utilized in death.

⁸⁶ Hornung 1999, *op. cit.*, 7. Hornung also states that Coffin Texts “also appear on tomb walls, stelae, canopic chests, mummy masks, and papyri” in the Middle Kingdom.

addition to the continually common themes of protection from otherworldly dangers and divine transformation, several major additions to the conceptual afterlife occurred. These include a developed interest in Osiris, an emphasis on finding loved ones and family in the afterlife, the accompaniment of vignettes with some of the spells, and the inclusion of the Judgement of the Dead motif.⁸⁷ With the more widespread use of the Coffin Texts, employers of the texts were named as “Osiris NN,” with most of the spells being written in the first-person singular.⁸⁸ This emphasis on individuated use is also witnessed in the apparent necessity to pass successfully through a judgement in order to be deemed worthy of the afterlife and, once there, to reconnect with predeceased family.

In addition, the desire to understand, map, and navigate the afterlife is thematically obvious in the Coffin Texts. The Book of the Two Ways, included in the Coffin Texts in two preserved versions, “is the earliest example of a cosmography, though it still lacks the clear arrangement of later Books of the Netherworld.”⁸⁹ The Book of the Two Ways represents a true guide to accompany the spells of the Coffin Texts – it addresses the deceased directly with warnings and instructions, emphasizes the obstacles the deceased would face in entering the afterlife, and provides guidance as to how one may overcome these challenges.⁹⁰ This guide thus establishes a tradition in funerary texts that will continue for the rest of pharaonic history.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 9-11.

⁸⁸ For the most recent discussion on this topic, see Mark Smith, *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) 155-160. This association of the deceased with Osiris will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.4.

⁸⁹ Hornung 1999, *op. cit.*, 11.

⁹⁰ Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts, Volume 7: Text of Spells 787-1185*, OIP 87 (Chicago, 1961).

This textual tradition continued to grow and develop. At the onset of the New Kingdom, the Book of the Dead took precedence over the Coffin Texts, first appearing on 17th Dynasty coffins and mummy cloths before being catapulted into popularity with elites and officials during the reign of Tuthmosis III. The Book of the Dead was, at its inception, already intended for private use by elites and officials, but Book of the Dead elements fall under royal purview in the early 18th Dynasty as well. The tomb of Tuthmosis III, KV 34, yielded a magical brick of unfired clay with a modeled recumbent jackal that was inscribed with BD 151g. In addition to the magical brick, Tuthmosis III's burial shroud combines chapters of the Book of the Dead with the Litany of Re, synthesizing a narrative of resurrection for the deceased king.⁹¹ The brick and shroud of Tuthmosis III are currently the earliest attestations of Book of the Dead elements incorporated into a royal tomb.⁹² In addition, the tombs of Tutankhamun (KV 62) and Ay (KV 23) contain spells from the Book of the Dead on the tomb walls (and in the case of Tutankhamun, a number of items from among his burial equipment also contained Book of the Dead spells and motifs). By the reign of Merenptah, it became standard for royal tombs to incorporate spells from the Book of the Dead in the wall decoration.

Regardless of the extent of its use, the Book of the Dead was by no means the only work of funerary literature. In contrast, many different works made up the canon of Egyptian funerary literature, including the Book of the Dead, the Book of the Hidden Chamber, the Book of Gates,

⁹¹ The burial shroud of Tuthmosis III begins with Book of the Dead Chapters 17 and 18 (this portion of the shroud is housed in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 60.1472) and then continues with the Litany of Re. After the litany, Chapters 1, 22-24, 21, 90, 125, 68-70, 83-84, 86, 88, 75, and 105 are ordered on the remaining length of the shroud. This portion, from the litany onward, is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 40001). See Lana Troy, "Religion and Cult during the Time of Tuthmose III," *Tuthmose III: A New Biography*, eds. Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006) 154-155.

⁹² Foy Scalf, "Magical Bricks in the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago," SAK 38 (2009) 279-280 & Plate 16.

the Book of Caverns, the Books of the Earth, the Book of the Heavenly Cow, the Book of the Day, and the Book of the Night.⁹³ The chapters and scenes that comprised these books are well attested on the tomb walls of the deceased of the New Kingdom.⁹⁴

The Book of the Hidden Chamber, or Amduat, as referenced in traditional Egyptological literature, was another foundational underworld text that appears early in New Kingdom royal tombs. Arguably, it is only because of the decentralization that characterized the 21st Dynasty that this funerary literature became available to non-royal, priestly elite individuals en-masse. For the Book of the Hidden Chamber and other underworld books, it is only when wall space in tombs became restrictively limited that these scenes were transplanted onto coffins and funerary papyri of the Theban elite, who now had much greater access to these texts, albeit with an augmented burial media on which to incorporate them.⁹⁵ In the 21st Dynasty, the incorporation of papyri as part of a funerary assemblage grew in terms of widespread use to the point that many Egyptologists view the inclusion of funerary papyri into the assemblage as absolutely crucial and essential.⁹⁶

⁹³ Niwiński 1989, *op. cit.*, 43-45.

⁹⁴ The earliest known fragments of the Amduat are found in the tomb of Tuthmosis I (KV 38). The earliest complete copies are in the tombs of Tuthmosis III (KV 34) and his first vizier Useramun (TT 61). The Book of Gates was first employed in the tomb of Horemheb (KV 57). The earliest known use of the Book of Caverns is located at the Osireion at Abydos from the reign of Seti I. Both the Book of Caverns and the Books of the Earth were first employed in the Valley of the Kings during the reign of Merenptah (KV 8). The Book of the Heavenly Cow first appears on the outermost of the four gilded shrines of Tutankhamun (KV 62). The first tomb to incorporate it into the wall decoration is the tomb of Seti I (KV 17). The only New Kingdom tomb with the Book of the Day is that of Ramesses VI (KV 9). The earliest tomb to contain the Book of the Night is first attested in the Osireion at Abydos from the reign of Seti I and in the tomb of Merenptah (KV 8) in the Valley of the Kings.

⁹⁵ Kathlyn Cooney, "Coffin Reuse in the Twenty-First Dynasty: The Demands of Ritual Transformation," *Backdirt: Annual Review of the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA* (Los Angeles: UC Regents, 2012a) 22-33.

⁹⁶ For this discussion, see David A. Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25: Chronology, Typology, Developments*, Denkschriften Der Gesamtkademie Bd. 56 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009) 308. This is a perspective with which I do not wholly agree. While the usage of papyri

2.3 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri Dataset

The corpus of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri is fragmentary at best, which can largely be attributed to the disconnected nature of the objects that remain. Most of the known 21st Dynasty funerary equipment was found during the 19th century, specifically between the years of 1820 and 1835, when in the latter year, a ban prohibiting the exportation of ancient objects from Egypt was enacted. The goal of these early “excavations” was economic gain by means of selling these objects on a thriving (and legal) antiquities market controlled by British authorities.⁹⁷ Indeed, Andrzej Niwiński describes this period in Egyptology’s history as a time when papyri, “were in those days one of the principal goals of the discoverers’ efforts.”⁹⁸ And one of those very “discoverers,” Giovanni Belzoni, infamous Italian explorer and trader of Egyptian antiquities, admitted that his main goal during his time in Egypt “was to rob the Egyptians of their papyri.”⁹⁹ As such, these early discoverers managed to disperse the corpus of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri worldwide, destroying archaeological contexts and complete funerary assemblages in the process. What remains are 557 papyri scattered across museums, universities, libraries, and private collections worldwide.

We are fortunate, however, to have several major find spots for 21st Dynasty Theban funerary material that were excavated and recorded per late 19th century and early 20th century standards. These include the excavations of TT 320, the Royal Cache, Bab el-Gasus, the Second

certainly grew in the 21st Dynasty, the numbers of assemblages that include this type of materiality is not high enough to warrant a discussion about necessity.

⁹⁷ Niwiński 1989, *op. cit.*, 48-49.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁹⁹ Giovanni Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs, and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia* (Brussels: 1835) 146.

Cache, and the excavations by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the 1920's and 1930's. In addition, several Egyptologists and antiquity dealers amassed collections of unprovenanced or weakly provenanced papyri. These collections were then either donated or sold relatively intact to museums and institutions worldwide. Though much of the context for these papyri has been lost, often no longer associated with a specific tomb, group of burials, coffin(s), and associated burial assemblages, the virtue of their collection over a short period of time can shed light on where, how, and with what other objects they might have been acquired.

2.3.1 TT 320: The Royal Cache

TT 320 (the Royal Cache) and Bab el-Gasus (the Second Cache) are the two most secure archaeological sites in terms of providing archaeological data, and thus the finds from these locations constitute the most confidently reconstructed burial assemblages. In addition, the close family groups of the Theban priesthood found in these burial locations provide similarities in social status (and thus access to similar materiality) that provide the most significant comparisons.

The cache of TT 320 was officially discovered by European Egyptologists in 1881, though the location of the tomb must have been known for at least one prior decade by certain villagers of Sheikh Abd al-Qurna. Throughout the 1870's, a noticeable amount of unprovenanced antiquities entered the market. These objects, appearing connected by style and date to one another, were, as a group, uniquely different from other antiquity market objects. This drew the attention of Gaston Maspero, the then director of the Antiquities Service in Egypt,

who insisted the matter be investigated.¹⁰⁰ Suspicion soon fell on Muhammad Abd al-Rassul and his brothers Ahmed, Suleiman, and Hussein, who were part of a notorious family in the Sheikh Abd al-Qurna antiquities market community. Muhammad Abd al-Rassul was imprisoned, tortured, and threatened until convinced to reveal the location of the tomb from which these objects were coming. Finally, Abd al-Rassul led Egyptologist Émile Brugsch to the cache on July 6th, 1881.¹⁰¹

Brugsch “excavated” the tomb in its entirety within the next 48 hours, though nothing was recorded. His primary concern was the security of the artifacts, as many feared the antiquities would be robbed if a slower pace was taken. The thousands of objects were sent via steamer to Cairo, where they were sorted though at a later date.¹⁰² The Royal Cache, as it has since been named, contained more than 50 internments of kings, queens, royals, and elites from the 17th – 21st Dynasties. Initially believed to be the intended burial of the High Priest of Amun Pinedjem II, his wife Nesykhonsu A, and their close family members, the tomb was expanded to house the reinterred bodies of New Kingdom kings and queens (as their tombs in the Valley of the Kings and Valley of the Queens were opened, their burial equipment inventoried and recommodified, and their bodies reburied in TT 320 for safekeeping during the 21st Dynasty) and additional members of the 21st Dynasty priesthood.¹⁰³ In total, there were eleven 21st Dynasty internments discovered in the TT 320 Royal Cache, with notable members including Nodjmet,

¹⁰⁰ Émile Brugsch and Gaston Maspero, *La Trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari* (Cairo: F. Mourès, 1881) 4.

¹⁰¹ Thompson, *op. cit.*, 8.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 9-10.

¹⁰³ E. R. Loring, “The Dynasty of Piankh and the Royal Cache,” *The Royal Cache TT 320: a re-examination*, editors Erhart Graefe and Galina A. Belova (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities Press, 2010) 61-76.

Masaharata A, Pinedjem I, Henettawy A, Pinedjem II, and Nesykhonsu A. Of these eleven internments, there are four men and seven women. Specific to this study, there are seventeen 21st Dynasty papyri associated with TT 320, distributed amongst the burial assemblages of three men and six women.

2.3.2 Bab el-Gasus: The Second Cache

Ten years after the discovery of TT 320, a second cache of 21st Dynasty burials was found nearby at Deir el-Bahari. Eugène Grébaut discovered this cache, which would soon become the largest intact tomb ever found in Egypt, early in 1891.¹⁰⁴ Following the discovery, Georges Daressy cleared the tomb, unearthing 153 21st Dynasty burials in the Bab el-Gasus Second Cache between February 5-13, 1891.¹⁰⁵ Among the 153 coffin set internments, there were seventy-one women and seventy-two men.¹⁰⁶ In addition, there were funerary materials from at least twelve other individuals not represented in the 153 coffin internments.¹⁰⁷ The 129 papyri associated with the Second Cache were distributed amongst eighty individuals.

Just like TT 320, the Second Cache at Bab el-Gasus was “excavated” in extreme haste. Daressy, however, did record the objects first in the tomb, numbering the assemblages, and then again as the objects were removed, this second time marking the objects using his numbering

¹⁰⁴ Thompson, *op. cit.*, 58.

¹⁰⁵ Georges Daressy, “Les Cercueils des Prêtres D'Amon (Deuxième Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari),” *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, Number 8 (1907) 3-38.

¹⁰⁶ The ten remaining individuals are anonymous, and gender cannot be determined.

¹⁰⁷ I do not count these twelve individuals in the total number of individuals interred in the Bab el-Gasus cache, as an exact number cannot be determined due to the lack of personalization on some types of extraneous burial equipment. These twelve individuals, however, do have papyri that will be included and analyzed in general in this dissertation.

system. These registrations produced Daressy's A and B lists of assemblages, which unfortunately contain inconsistencies between the lists.¹⁰⁸ Daressy's lists, however, do allow for the rudimentary reconstruction of assemblages, even when objects of the same burial assemblage were distributed to different museums.

2.3.3 The Metropolitan Museum of Art Excavations

In addition to the tomb caches of TT 320 and Bab el-Gasus, ten 21st Dynasty burials were found in the surrounding area by Herbert Winlock, who excavated in the Theban region on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art from 1911 to 1932.¹⁰⁹ These ten burials were found in three separate locations, known today as tombs MMA 59, MMA 60, and MMA 65. The first of these three tombs, MMA 59, was originally an 18th Dynasty tomb constructed for an official of Hatshepsut named Minmose.¹¹⁰ In the 1923-24 excavation season, Winlock discovered this tomb and the intact 21st Dynasty usurpation burial of Henettawy F.¹¹¹ Despite the apparent high status of Henettawy F and her family,¹¹² this 21st Dynasty burial yielded no papyri. The burial of Henettawy F was seemingly done in haste, as the un-embalmed body and lack of personalized burial equipment suggests.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ The numbers of Daressy's A list, being the more complete and widely cited list, are provided as part of Appendix A of this chapter for reference.

¹⁰⁹ Herbert E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri, 1911-1931* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942).

¹¹⁰ Aston, *op. cit.*, 198.

¹¹¹ Henettawy F's burial is David Aston's assemblage number TG 828. Her burial is dated to the reign of HPA Pinedjem II.

¹¹² For a discussion of interpreting the social stratification of 21st Dynasty priestly society based on coffin type, see Cooney 2014a 45-66.

¹¹³ Aston, *op. cit.*, 199. This observation also suggests that papyri, therefore, were incredibly personalized documents and not pre-manufactured funerary objects ready for purchase by the deceased's family. The lack of

Tomb MMA 60, like MMA 59, was also an original 18th Dynasty tomb for an unknown queen, but was later used in the 21st Dynasty by members of an extended priestly family related to, and buried during the reigns of, Menkheperre A to Pinedjem II.¹¹⁴ Winlock discovered this tomb in the winter of 1924. MMA 60 contained eight 21st Dynasty internments in total, consisting of one male and seven females.¹¹⁵ Several of the individuals interred in this tomb are members of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre's family. Other individuals in this tomb have an unclear connection to this family, but are members of the Theban priesthood.

One final 21st Dynasty burial was discovered by Winlock and the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavation team was that of a woman named Nauny.¹¹⁶ Discovered in MMA 65, also known as TT 358, Nauny's burial is intrusive to the original 18th Dynasty tomb of Ahmose-Meryetamun, which was robbed in antiquity before its 21st Dynasty reuse. Some of Ahmose-Meryetamun's burial equipment was reused by Nauny, and other objects from Nauny's burial equipment, including her coffins, were usurped from her mother, Tenetbekhen.¹¹⁷

To summarize the securely provenanced 21st Dynasty internments from TT 320, Bab el-Gasus, and MMA 59, 60, & 65, the most important figures are highlighted at the bottom of the following chart, where there are 174 assemblages. In total, there are 157 papyri among these

papyri in the intact burial of Henettawy F advocates the theory that highly individualized papyri were prized during the 21st Dynasty, and that it was socially viewed as more acceptable to not have papyri as part of one's burial than to have incredibly standard, generic papyri. It also suggests that the thoroughness and skill of coffin reuse was a strong factor in the choice to include papyri in the burial. These observations will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 199-202.

¹¹⁵ A complete list of the owners of these burials can be found in Appendix B at the end of this chapter.

¹¹⁶ Nauny's burial is David Aston's assemblage number TG 837. The date of her burial is uncertain, but it is possible that she was the daughter of Pinedjem I or Smendes I.

¹¹⁷ Aston, *op. cit.*, 202.

coffin assemblages distributed over 97 different individuals, all from the very top of Theban elite society. Also, women are slightly over-represented in this dataset, an interesting phenomenon that will be discussed in Chapter 3.

21st Dynasty Assemblages with Provenances					
Location	Number of 21st Dynasty Coffin Assemblages		Papyri	Individuals with Papyri	
TT 320	11	Men: 4	17	9	Men: 3
		Women: 7			Women: 6
Bab el-Gasus	153	Men: 72	129	80	Men: 39
		Women: 71			Women: 35
		Unknown: 10			Unknown: 6
MMA 59, 60, & 65	10	Men: 1	13	7	Men: 0
		Women: 9			Women: 7
Total	174	Men: 77	157	97	Men: 42
		Women: 87			Women: 48
		Unknown: 10			Unknown: 7

Table 2.1. 21st Dynasty Assemblages with Provenances

2.3.4 Major Collections

The 157 papyri from the secure locations of TT 320, Bab el-Gasus, and MMA 59, 60, & 65 are only a minority of the overall corpus of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri, however. There are 398 additional papyri included in this study for which provenances are either unclear or unknown.¹¹⁸

Without a confident archaeological context, the best method of organizing these remaining

¹¹⁸ This list was established and finalized through the compilation of catalogues created by Georges Daressy, Andrzej Niwiński, David Aston, A. F. Sadek, and the Totenbuch Projekt. In addition, major museum collections and catalogues, as well as numerous scholarly publications, were consulted to create the most complete research list possible. In some instances, the dating of several of the papyri on this list is inconclusive and debated by scholars. Therefore, some papyri that have been dated to either the late 20th Dynasty or earlier 22nd Dynasty have been included in the list, as they could be dated to the 21st Dynasty based on stylistic convention, format, and paleography.

papyri is by reconstructing the social life of the documents via their assembly by antiquities dealers and their curation by museum collections.

Several personalities are worth noting within the dialog of papyrus procurement, and it is because of these individuals that the major European collections of Egyptian antiquities are populated with papyri. This narrative predates the provenanced discoveries described above, and begins with the 1798 Egyptian expedition led by Napoleon Bonaparte. While the dual motivations of this campaign were to strengthen French trade in the Mediterranean region and weaken British influence over the same area, Napoleon also focused on scientific research. Vivant Denon, a scholar participating in Napoleon's expedition who would later become the first director of the Musée du Louvre, awakened Europe's interest in Egyptian papyri. In his three-volume work, *Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte*, published in 1802, Denon highlighted his discovery of Egyptian manuscripts, a discovery which he claimed was uncharted territory in European Egyptology:

C'étoit la première fois que j'eusse vu des figures dans l'acte d'écrire: les Égyptiens avoient donc des livres...Je ne pouvois me défendre d'être flatté en songeant que j'étois le premier qui eût fait une découverte si importante; mais je le fus bien davantage lorsque, quelques heures après, je fus nanti de la preuve de ma découverte par la possession d'un manuscrit même que je trouvai dans la main d'une superbe momie qu'on m'apporta: il faut être curieux, amateur, et voyageur, pour apprécier toute l'étendue d'une telle jouissance.¹¹⁹

With Denon's discovery, European interest in papyri grew, and several collectors followed his lead in extracting papyri from Egypt to fill museums across Europe. Around 1815, Egypt began to see an influx of explorers intending to remove artifacts to their home countries. The major

¹¹⁹ Vivant Denon, *Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte*, Volume 3 (Paris: De L'Imprimerie de P. Didot, 1802) 209.

players involved in the collecting of 21st Dynasty Egyptian funerary papyri were French naturalist and mineralogist Frédéric Cailliaud, British Consul-General Henry Salt, Prussian General Major Heinrich Menu von Minutoli, French Consul-General Bernardino Drovetti, Swedish-Norwegian Consul-General and merchant Giovanni Anastasi, British diplomat John Barker, and British bookseller Joseph Sams. Either by sale or donation, the antiquities collections of each of these individuals ended up in museums throughout Europe, as explained in the following table.

Major 19th Century Papyri Collections			
Collector	Receiving Institution	Acquisition Year	Number of 21st Dynasty Papyri
Cailliaud	Bibliothèque nationale de France	1820-1821	7
Salt	British Museum	1821 & 1835	12
Minutoli	Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung	1823	21
Drovetti	Museo Egizio di Torino	1824	31
Anastasi	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden British Museum	1828 1839	30
Barker	British Museum	1833	10
Sams	British Museum	1834	7

Table 2.2. Major 19th Century Collections of 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri and Current Locations

Even with these 118 papyri accounted for, if not for provenance, at least for attribution to a major collection, there remain 273 papyri of the dataset to consider. These papyri made their way to museums through the purchase or donation of smaller collections or single objects. 166 papyri do not have an origin of any type – the museums to which they belong do not currently have any verifiable information as to how or from whom these papyri were acquired. This is not surprising, considering that Reverend James Baikie, Scottish armchair Egyptologist, dubbed the

first half of the 19th century as a time of “papyrus hunting” in Egypt.¹²⁰ For a complete list of the origins of the papyri in this study, see Appendix B and the end of this chapter.

2.4 Previous Scholarship and Content of Papyri

The earliest scholarship focused on these papyri is unsurprisingly related to the decipherment and study of the Egyptian language itself. The value of Egyptian texts greatly expanded after Thomas Young and Jean-François Champollion deciphered the hieroglyphic script in 1822. The academic fervor surrounding this accomplishment probably had much to do with the surge in interest in papyri at the beginning of the 19th century. In addition, the portable nature of papyri made them the perfect object of collection for early explorers and antiquity dealers.

At the same time papyri in general became a focus of acquisition for early collectors, funerary papyri in particular developed into one of the main sources of evidence for the study of Egyptian religion and remain so to this day. In addition to abstracting philosophical and religious thought from these papyri, there have been several major studies published that focus on the papyri as funerary objects and part of larger assemblages. Despite these studies, which do not focus on the religious nature of the papyri, the main interest in these documents still centers on their content rather than their materiality, ownership, or social history. Of course, this content remains crucial to understanding the function and social meaning of these objects, and thus it is crucial to discuss both the previous research conducted on this data set and our current understanding of the religious content preserved in text and image on the surface of the papyri.

¹²⁰ James Baikie, *Egyptian Papyri and Papyrus-Hunting* (New York: Fleming H. Revel Company, 1925).

2.4.1 Foundational Scholarship

To date, the most complete compilation of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri is Andrzej Niwiński's 1989 work, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* Niwiński, however, admits that his catalog of papyri is far from complete. Numerous private collections and small, provincial museums were inaccessible to him, as were the collections of Trinity College in Dublin and the Bibliotheca Vaticana in Rome (for undisclosed reasons).¹²¹

Niwiński's major focus was to create typologies for the papyri based on iconographic and religious content. Niwiński noted that the Egyptians divided the Book of the Dead and the Amduat papyri into separate categories, and frequently paired one of each text in a funerary assemblage. Niwiński then sorted the two groups into types and sub-types based on the use of vignettes to accompany text, the utilization of hieroglyphs versus hieratic, the arrangement of vignettes, and the ratio of texts to vignettes.¹²² While he compiled other information, such as size and the incorporation of pigments, it did not factor into the creation of his typology, but sometimes influenced his subtype divisions.

A second attempt to catalog the papyri came in 2009 with a published revision of David Aston's dissertation (previously cited in this chapter), in which he attempts to catalog all objects found in Third Intermediate Period mortuary contexts. This included the 21st Dynasty funerary papyri, which he grouped alongside the other objects that combine to create each individual's original mortuary assemblage, as far as it is known.¹²³ Errors in his cataloging method, reliance

¹²¹ Niwiński 1989, *op. cit.*, XXX.

¹²² Niwiński 1989, *op. cit.*, 111-211.

¹²³ Aston, *op. cit.*

on unpublished excavation reports of questionable quality, and use of outdated sources (such as pre-reunification Berlin museum numbers) reduce this work to limited value for most scholars. Aston does, however, address the topic of what a “complete” funerary assemblage of the Third Intermediate Period entailed, and provides suggestion for how one would attempt to reconstruct a burial assemblage for any given dynasty of the Third Intermediate Period. He also reconstructs many families of the Third Intermediate Period based on textual evidence on their funerary assemblages and provides useful family trees.

In addition to Niwiński’s and Aston’s research, there are other publications and databases that have focused on more specific examples of the 21st Dynasty funerary papyri corpus. These include (at my current researched count) 353 books and articles published between 1802 and the present day that examine a small subset of the corpus – most commonly between one and three papyri. Too numerous to discuss here, they range in content from short journal notes remarking the acquisition of a new piece by a museum to complete paleographic and art historical analysis of an entire book. Appendix B, which lists all papyri included in this study, contains a column dedicated to the bibliography of each individual papyrus.

Other publications focus on a more arbitrary subset of the corpus, namely a single museum’s collection of funerary papyri. One such example is A.F. Sadek’s *Contribution à l’étude de l’Amdouat*, which provides plates of all 21st Dynasty Amduat papyri at the Cairo Museum as well as a translation of the ninth through twelfth hours of the Book of the Hidden Chamber.¹²⁴ Another resource is the online database, Das Altägyptische Totenbuch Projekt, which compiles information on all Book of the Dead material from all time periods in Egyptian

¹²⁴ A.F. Sadek, *Contribution à l’étude de l’Amdouat*, OBO 65 (Friburg and Göttingen, 1985).

history, including the 21st Dynasty papyri.¹²⁵ Oftentimes providing images and transliteration as well as bibliographic references, Das Altägyptische Totenbuch Projekt is a growing resource that is moving Egyptological research into the digital age.

Most commonly, publications citing funerary papyri as source material are works on religious studies or studies of death and burial. *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*¹²⁶ and *Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead: Journey through the Afterlife*¹²⁷ by Erik Hornung and John Taylor, respectively, primarily focus on the papyri as textual sources that provide insight into Egyptian funerary religion. As such, they become documents portrayed in the single light of their religious significance.

It is only recently that Egyptologists have shifted to study objects systematically in terms of their social significance and symbolic meaning reflecting individuals, their function in storing and transferring information, and their materiality. Generations of previous scholars have spent their careers cataloging these objects in museums across the globe and translating texts while contributing to our greater understanding of the Egyptian language system. With this foundation in place, a systematic analysis of these objects warrants attention and execution. Egyptologists in recent years have recognized that systematic studies of iconography and symbolism within a dataset would be a great contribution to the field,¹²⁸ and that incorporating theoretical perspectives, which are often absent in Egyptological research, would be a benefit to one's

¹²⁵ Das Altägyptische Totenbuch Projekt (Universität Bonn, 2015) <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/>.

¹²⁶ Erik Hornung 1999, *op. cit.*

¹²⁷ John H. Taylor, *Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead: Journey through the Afterlife* (London; British Museum Press, 2010).

¹²⁸ Maya Müller, "Iconography and Symbolism," *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, editor Melinda Hartwig (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2015) 78-97.

analysis.¹²⁹ With the cataloging of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri achieved, my aim is to contribute to this new avenue of iconographic study in order to elaborate on our understanding of the intersection of public display, social competition, public identity, and funerary materiality. In so doing, I hope to further our knowledge of how this interplay of networks, economics, and social status worked in times of crisis.

2.4.2 The Book of the Dead & Underworld Books

The aforementioned work by Niwiński has been hugely influential in shaping scholars' understandings of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri, yet not the entirety of this influence has been positive. Discussing the faults of his research, however, is imperative if we are to understand what one can term an underworld book and the breadth of funerary texts used during the 21st Dynasty.

A major criticism of Niwiński's work is his typology, which he imposed on the 427 papyri included in his study. His typology consists of two main categories that divided the papyri first into Books of the Dead and Amduat texts and several sub-categories that further demarcated the papyri from one another. However, even his major categorical division is based on weak evidence. In the introduction to his chapter on his Book of the Dead category, Niwiński states that one of the following must be present for a papyrus to be considered a Book of the Dead:

1. The separate title *pry m hrw* was found on the papyrus;
2. The text on the papyrus was begun with the words *pry m hrw*;

¹²⁹ Valérie Angenot, "Semiotics and Hermeneutics," *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, editor Melinda Hartwig (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2015) 98-119.

3. The contents and composition of the manuscript revealed distinct analogy with those of the *Book of the Dead*-papyri of the New Kingdom;
4. The contents of the papyrus was [sic] analogous to that of another manuscript being entitled *pry m hrw*.¹³⁰

These criteria appear sound in their logic, but then Niwiński uses these conditions to create three major sub-types of Book of the Dead papyri. The first are “textual papyri”¹³¹ with an introductory illustrated etiquette. The second group comprises “illustrated manuscripts,”¹³² which follow in the Ramesside Book of the Dead tradition. The third group consists of what Niwiński calls “papyri of the ‘new redaction,’”¹³³ which Niwiński admits may or may not have any traditional Book of the Dead content at all, but rather contain “new figural compositions, not known from the funerary papyri of the New Kingdom, which can be hardly interpreted as illustrations to concrete traditional BD-chapters (notwithstanding the possibility that they might have, in fact, been understood as such illustrations by the ancient Egyptians).”¹³⁴ The practice of categorizing content as Book of the Dead simply because the origins of the content is unknown creates more problems than solutions and does not represent the Egyptian’s intent or understanding of that content. There are forty-four papyri that belong to this third type, indicating that at least 10% of Niwiński data set has been misclassified.

The typological situation only worsens, however, when one considers the Amduat papyri category. Niwiński states that he labels a papyrus as an Amduat text if it contains the title *mdꜣ.t*

¹³⁰ Niwiński 1989, *op. cit.*, 111.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

imy ḏwꜣt or is analogous to another papyrus that contains that title.¹³⁵ However, only one of the three main categories of Amduat papyri actually contains the Book of the Hidden Chamber, a more accurate way of describing the formal Amduat underworld book, which will be used for the remainder of this work. The first category instead refers to papyri that contain the Litany of Re, a related, yet separate, funerary text that is just as connected to the Book of the Dead as it is to the Book of the Hidden Chamber.¹³⁶ The third category mirrors the third Book of the Dead type, where the content is unidentified cosmographic content or excerpts from other underworld books.¹³⁷ Because Niwiński's main goal of his typology was to establish the concept of the

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 160. One major problem with this is that *mḏꜣ.t imy ḏwꜣt* is not the official title of the Amduat. The full title of the Amduat (taken from Theodor Abt and Erik Hornung, *Knowledge for the Afterlife: The Egyptian Amduat – A Quest for Immortality* (Zurich: Living Human Heritage Publications, 2003) 11-13) is:

<i>ss ny ꜥt imnt</i>	Treatise of the hidden region,
<i>ꜥhꜥ.w bꜣw ntrw</i>	the positions of the <i>Ba</i> -souls, the gods,
<i>šw.wt ꜣhw irw</i>	the shadows, the <i>Akh</i> -spirits and what is done.
<i>hꜥt wp imnt</i>	The beginning is the horn of the West,
<i>sbꜣ ny ꜣht imnt</i>	the gate of the western horizon,
<i>phwy kkw-smꜣw</i>	the end is Unified Darkness,
<i>sbꜣ ny ꜣht imnt</i>	the gate of the western horizon,
<i>rh bꜣw dwꜣtyw</i>	to know the <i>Ba</i> -souls of the Netherworld,
<i>rh irw</i>	to know what is done,
<i>rh sꜣh.w=sn n rꜥw</i>	to know their transfigurations for Ra,
<i>rh bꜣw štꜣw</i>	to know the secret <i>Ba</i> -souls
<i>rh imyt wnwꜣt ntr.w=sn</i>	to know what is in the hours and their gods,
<i>rh ḏwiw=f n=sn</i>	to know what he calls to them,
<i>rh sbꜣ.w</i>	to know the gates
<i>wꜣ.wt ꜥpt ntr ꜥꜣ hr=sn</i>	and the ways upon which the great god passes,
<i>rh šm.wt wn.wt ntr.w=sn</i>	to know the courses of the hours and their gods,
<i>rh wꜣšy.w htmy.w</i>	to know the flourishing and the annihilated.

The phrase that means “that which is in the Duat” can be applicable to every underworld book, not just what many scholars term the Amduat. Complicating the matter further, the other major underworld books (the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns) do not have ancient titles, so the term *mḏꜣ.t imy ḏwꜣt* can just as easily be applied to them and has appeared associated with these other texts on many occasions. Thus, for the remainder of this work, I will refer to the Amduat underworld book as the Book of the Hidden Chamber. The term “Amduat” will be used to describe all combinations of underworld books that can be titled *mḏꜣ.t imy ḏwꜣt*. This list includes the Book of the Hidden Chamber, the Book of Gates, the Book of Caverns, and the Books of the Earth.

¹³⁶ Niwiński 1989, *op. cit.*, 162-173.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 192-211.

“ideal pair” of papyri, whereby an Egyptian would aspire to obtain two papyri for burial, one being a Book of the Dead papyrus and the other being an Amduat papyrus, Niwiński manipulated his typology to support his hypothesis. Niwiński clearly states: “When two analogous papyri belonged to the same funerary ensemble, and one of these was given the title and the characteristic features of a BD-category papyri, the second one has automatically been ascribed to the A.III-type.”¹³⁸ Sometimes this ascription is based on the fact that the title *md3.t imy dw3t* is present on a particular papyrus, but most often, it is simply because Niwiński wants to preserve his concept of the ideal pair that one papyrus should be termed a Book of the Dead and the other an Amduat, regardless of their content. There are seventy papyri listed as this third type of Amduat papyri. When combined with his misclassified Book of the Dead papyri, at least 27% of Niwiński’s dataset is misrepresented. The following table and figure showcase the limitations of Niwiński’s typology and lack of results regarding the ideal set of papyri.

Niwiński’s Typology			
Category	Sub-Category	Basic Description	Number of Papyri
Book of the Dead	BD.I.1	• “Textual Papyri” • Etiquette only illustration • Hieroglyphs	2
	BD.I.2	• “Textual Papyri” • Etiquette only illustration • Hieratic	121
	BD.II.1	• “Illustrated Manuscript” • Proportional use of text and image • Cursive hieroglyphs	30
	BD.II.2	• “Illustrated Manuscript” • Proportional use of text and image • Hieratic	11
	BD.III.1a	• “Papyri of the ‘New Redaction’” • More image than text	31

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 160-161.

		• New iconographic compositions • Hieroglyphs	
	BD.III.1b	• “Papyri of the ‘New Redaction’” • Images are in outline only • New iconographic compositions • Hieroglyphs	13
	BD.III.2	• “Papyri of the ‘New Redaction’” • Images are in outline only • New iconographic compositions • Hieratic	1
Amduat	A.I.1	• Litany of Re	12
	A.I.2	• Litany of Re • Additional iconography present	2
	A.II.1a	• Last four hours of Amduat • Divided into three registers • Cursive hieroglyphs	40
	A.II.1b	• Last four hours of Amduat • One or two registers • Black and red ink only	28
	A.II.2a	• Portions of the last four hours • Three registers • Black and red ink only	34
	A.II.2b	• Portions of the last four hours • One or two registers	12
	A.II.3	• Mix of parts of Amduat with Book of the Dead	7
	A.III.1a	• Contains Book of the Dead content only	12
	A.III.1b	• Contains Book of the Dead and unidentified iconographic content	30
	A.III.2	• Contains Book of the Dead and unidentified iconographic content • Also contains Amduat content	28
Unclassified	U	• Magical texts or deification decrees with illustrations	13

Table 2.3. Niwiński's Typology of Illustrated 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri

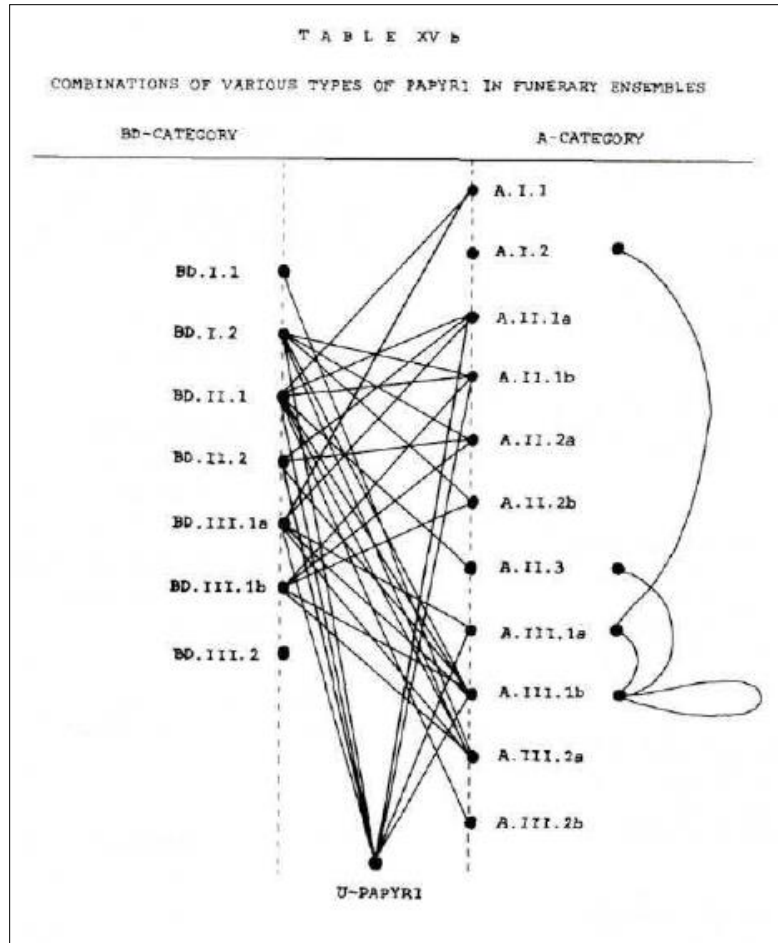


Figure 2.1. Niwiński's Table XVb, pg. 440, Demonstrating Pairs of Papyri

With this understanding that the corpus of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri do not easily fall into two separate categories, our perception of funerary literature must be reconceptualized to allow for the fluidity of content and notion that the themes of these texts are common threads that link them to one another. Examining first the Book of the Dead and the Book of the Hidden Chamber, I then wish to highlight some remaining texts ignored by Niwiński, which nevertheless feature in the 21st Dynasty realm of funerary literature.

2.4.2.1 The Cultic Dimension of Funerary Literature

Before discussing each funerary text in turn, it is important to note that these compositions have a primary function that lies outside the burial. The primary use and value of these texts exists in the cultic dimension, where they were foremost cosmographies to be enacted and performed in ritual settings. Some scholars, like Hornung, reject this notion, stressing the singular function of these text in a funerary context.¹³⁹ This perspective however, is incredibly limiting and focuses too heavily on the funerary contexts in which these compositions are found. The nature and wording of the texts make it clear that these compositions were meant to be effective for the living. Their singular surviving context in mortuary assemblages is merely a distraction from their primary function in the temple cult. Alexandra von Lieven challenges Hornung's position, stating,

Zunächst einmal ist zu konstatieren, daß fast alle erhaltenen Quellen, die für die Frage nach Mysterien relevant sind, aus Funerärkontexten stammen. Dies ist freilich nicht weiter verwunderlich. Ein Grab bietet aus archäologischer Perspektive nun einmal die besten Erhaltungsbedingungen. Auch Mobiliar kennt man vorwiegend aus Gräbern, nicht aus den fast völlig verlorenen Siedlungen, sieht man von seltenen Glücksfällen wie den jüngsten Funden aus den Oasen einmal ab. Dennoch hat verständlicherweise noch niemand vorgeschlagen, die Ägypter hätten Möbel nur für das Grab gefertigt und im täglichen Leben auf der Erde gegessen, selbst wenn bei einigem Grabmobiliar sogar evident ist, daß es nicht gebrauchsfähig wäre.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Erik Hornung, "Altägyptische Wurzeln der Isismysterien," *Hommages à Jean Leclant III*, editors C. Berger, G. Clerc, and N. Grimal, Volume 106, Issue 3 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1994) 287-293.

¹⁴⁰ Alexandra von Lieven, "Mysterien des Kosmos: Kosmographie und Priesterwissenschaft," *Ägyptische Mysterien?*, editors Jan Assmann and Martin Bommas (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002) 48.

Von Lieven's insightful observation could be extended to other object types found exclusively in tombs, such as wigs or chariots, and she is correct to note that no Egyptologists would relegate their use only to the burial.

Jan Assmann makes strong connections between the funerary texts and their cultic dimension, highlighting their function in relationship to cult-theological tractates that focus on the king as the sun priest.¹⁴¹ Connections between these religious instructive and descriptive texts and the title and conclusion of the Book of the Hidden Chamber, for example, make it clear that funerary texts were meant to be repositories of knowledge for the king, and by extension the priesthood, to call upon during cultic performance in a temple setting. In addition to their use in the temple cult, Assmann highlights the importance of the possession of this knowledge, not just for the dead, but also for the living, stating, "The world thus maintained is a world of meaning, of language, of knowledge, of relations and reflections, an anthropomorphic reading of the universe with a correspondingly cosmomorphic image of human order."¹⁴² The funerary texts found in tombs are the fundamental element to this anthropomorphic reading that connects ritual and sacred knowledge.

For the purpose of this dissertation, the primary way in which the 21st Dynasty versions of these texts can be observed is of course their function as funerary objects. However, one must not forget that the priests who took these compositions with them into the afterlife were part of the same group of people who composed and performed these texts. The priests were the caretakers of this sacred knowledge used in ritual and owned in death, and it is because of their

¹⁴¹ Jan Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester: ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern*, Volume 7, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1970).

¹⁴² Assmann 2003, *op. cit.*, 211.

association with these compositions in life that the physical documents had social value for them in death. When one understands the importance of these compositions to both the living and the dead, their multiple functions and contexts do not conflict, but rather complement one another. As Terence DuQuesne states, “It has not occurred to every Egyptologist that the problem is not necessarily expressed best in terms of mutually exclusive alternatives, and that Egyptian invocations could have had more than one goal.”¹⁴³

2.4.2.2 The Book of the Dead

The text referred to by the ancient Egyptian title, *pry m hrw*, is more commonly known today as the Book of the Dead. Richard Lepsius coined the modern term, *Totenbuch*, in 1842 with his publication of a Ptolemaic Book of the Dead in the Museo Egizio in Turin.¹⁴⁴ Because the Book of the Dead had a standardized order of spells by Egypt’s Late Period, Lepsius numbered the spells or chapters from 1-165, as found on the Turin papyrus and documented the standard sequence that is still used today. To these 165 ordered spells, Willem Pleyte, Édouard Naville, E. A. Wallis Budge, and Thomas George Allen, added additional spell compositions, mostly of New Kingdom origin, to Lepsius’ list.¹⁴⁵ Thus, the Book of the Dead represents, in its fullest form, a funerary text that comprises 194 spells, although no copy contains all 194 spells. In addition, before the Ptolemaic Period, there was no mandatory ordering of spells.

¹⁴³ Terence DuQuesne, “‘Effective in Heaven and on Earth’: Interpreting Egyptian Religious Practice for Both Worlds,” *Ägyptische Mysterien?*, editors Jan Assmann and Martin Bommas (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002) 42-43.

¹⁴⁴ Richard Lepsius, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin mit einem Vorworte zum ersten Male Herausgegeben* (Leipzig: G. Wigand, 1842).

¹⁴⁵ T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in their own Terms*, SAOC 37 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974) 2.

Looking to an earlier point in time, the development of the Book of the Dead clearly has its roots in earlier funerary texts. As previously discussed, the Book of the Dead developed during the 17th Dynasty. While it built upon the earlier traditions of the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, there is also an inventive nature to the Book of the Dead based on a desire to derive new meaning and new identity from old traditions. As John Taylor states,

The Book of the Dead was probably created at Thebes in the 17th Dynasty. It perhaps owed its existence to the need for a new compilation of funerary texts when the transfer of the court from Itj-tawy to Thebes severed direct contact with the sources of older text-traditions based at Memphis and Heliopolis.¹⁴⁶

This new set of texts, established at the end of the Second Intermediate Period, extended a tradition as part of a genre, which included the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, that served the purpose of providing, provisioning, and protecting the deceased in the hereafter.

Specifically, the Book of the Dead focuses on the trajectory of the deceased in the afterlife. As the deceased moves from the tomb to the underworld and then travels throughout the underworld to be ultimately vindicated by Osiris as a member of the blessed dead, the spells that comprise the Book of the Dead provide the deceased with the sacred knowledge and magical protection necessary to navigate the underworld successfully. Of course, this knowledge was not meant to be consumed only by the deceased. Clearly, such knowledge and spells of protection are just as valid and important for the living. Assmann observes that the living must have already possessed the knowledge contained within the Book of the Dead so that it could be passed on to the deceased:

Die Unterweltbücher sind aber nicht nur Vorlagen für die königliche Grabdekoration. Sie sind auch eine Art Wissensliteratur, die Kenntnisse über die Unterwelt kodifizieren

¹⁴⁶ John H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001) 196.

und vermitteln will. Diese Kenntnisse werden dem toten König mit ins Grab gegeben. Aber es spricht nichts dagegen und vieles dafür, daß sie auch der Unterrichtung bzw. Einweihung Lebender dienen sollten. Hierin würde man sogar ihren eigentlichen Zweck erblicken wollen und ihre Verwendung als Grabdekoration eher für eine sekundäre Verwendung halten. Solche Wissensliteratur über das Jenseits findet sich auch in der nichtköniglichen Totenliteratur. Das älteste Werk dieser Art ist das Zweiwegebuch, das ebenfalls eine Landkarte mit integrierten Texten darstellt und im Mittleren Reich - und zwar ausschließlich in el-Berscheh - auf die Böden von Innensärgen gemalt wurde. Im Totenbuch des Neuen Reichs gehören hierher alle Sprüche, die den Verstorbenen mit topographischen Jenseits-Wissen ausrüsten wollen, über die zwölf Gräfte (168), die sieben Torgebäude (144, 147), die 21 Portale (145-46), den Zugang nach Rosetau (117-19), die 14 Hügel (149) und das »Binsengefilde« (110). Ist es ganz abwegig, sich vorzustellen, daß einzelne dieses Jenseits-Wissen schon zu Lebzeiten erwarben, im Sinne einer Vorbereitung auf den Tod und seine Überwindung?¹⁴⁷

With the main themes of protection and knowledge, however, focused on the deceased, the Book of the Dead stands in contrast to other compositions that developed at the onset of the New Kingdom that were intended for the king as sun priest and his priesthood. These other texts, namely the Book of the Hidden Chamber (*Amduat*), the Book of Gates, and the Book of Caverns, belong to a sub-genre of cultic cosmographies that, “are codifications of cosmological knowledge that belonged to the solar cult and constituted the basis of its successful practice. The sun cult is to be understood as a laudatory, supportive counterpart to the course of the sun, accompanying it with hourly offerings and recitations.”¹⁴⁸ When utilized in tomb or funerary assemblage, however, these compositions are identified as underworld books. When studying

¹⁴⁷ Jan Assmann, “Pythagoras und Lucius: Zwei Formen »Ägyptischer Mysterien«,“ *Ägyptische Mysterien?*, editors Jan Assmann and Martin Bommas (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002) 68.

¹⁴⁸ Assmann 2001, *op. cit.*, 64.

the texts in this light, the key differences between The Book of the Dead and what I term

Amduat texts are succinctly explained by Taylor in *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*:

Whereas the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and Book of the Dead were concerned primarily with the destiny of the deceased in the afterlife, the other major set of compositions of the New Kingdom deal chiefly with the sun god's nightly journey and rejuvenation. These are the Books of the Underworld, the most important texts used in kings' tombs of the New Kingdom. They were descended from the 'guides to the hereafter' of the Middle Kingdom. The major ones, in chronological order of their appearance, are: the Amduat, the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns.¹⁴⁹

In the above quote, Taylor obliquely references another early distinction between the Book of the Dead and the underworld books: the issue of access. The Book of the Dead's earliest uses included incorporation on coffins, shrouds, papyri, and other funerary equipment of both royalty and elites throughout the New Kingdom, along with thorough incorporation in the realm of tomb decoration. In comparison, the underworld books were almost complete royal prerogative during the New Kingdom as far as their funerary function is concerned.¹⁵⁰ Thus, elite use of the Book of the Dead in funerary assemblages was commonplace by the 21st Dynasty, but the incorporation of the underworld books into the funerary assemblages of non-royals was new and would have been viewed as a possessive display of exclusivity and prestige.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹⁵⁰ The one major exception to this observation is the presence of hours three and four of the Book of the Hidden Chamber preserved in the tomb of Useramun (TT61). Useramun was the first vizier of Tuthmosis III. For a discussion of this tomb, and Useramun's other tomb (TT131), see Eberhard Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun Theben Nr. 61 und 131*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 84 (Mainz, 1994). Regarding temple cult and text access, the priesthood would of course have had access to these cosmographic texts. Their role as the facilitators, and most likely composers, of these texts cannot be overstated.

2.4.2.3 The Book of the Hidden Chamber

The Book of the Hidden Chamber is attested first in the material record of the early New Kingdom. This earliest evidence dates from the reigns of Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III, and physically exists entirely on tomb walls. Of course, the actual age of the composition must be older than the earliest preserved copies, as the tomb walls of the early 18th Dynasty kings reference a papyrus scroll master copy already containing lacunae. While it is clear that the Book of the Hidden Chamber existed on papyrus prior to its monumental publication, the true age of the composition remains a matter of debate.¹⁵¹ Its royal, monumental use continued throughout the New Kingdom, although by the reign of Horemheb, there appears to be a shift in preference where other underworld books take precedence in the overall decorative motif, as the associations in the following chart show.

Book of the Hidden Chamber Decoration in New Kingdom Tombs				
Tomb	Owner	Location	Hours	Associated Decoration
KV38	Tuthmosis I	burial chamber J	Fragments in Cairo Museum	
KV34	Tuthmosis III	pillared chamber F	741 Deities	
		burial chamber J	All Hours	Litany of Re
TT61	Useramun	burial chamber	All Hours	
KV35	Amenhotep II	burial chamber J	All Hours	
KV22	Amenhotep III	burial chamber J	All Hours	
			Abridged Version	
KV62	Tutankhamun	burial chamber J	1	Book of the Dead 1

¹⁵¹ Erik Hornung still firmly places the creation of the Book of the Hidden Chamber in the early New Kingdom (Hornung 1982, op. cit., 27-28), but other scholars correctly identify the earlier origins of the text. For scholars dating the text to the Middle Kingdom, see Siegfried Morenz, "Ägyptischer Totenglaube im Rahmen der Struktur ägyptischer Religion," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1965, Volume 34, editor Adolf Portmann (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1966) 436; Hartwig Altenmüller, "Zur Überlieferung des Amduat," *JEOL* 20 (1968) 42; E. F. Wente, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt," *JNES* 41 (1982) 175-176; and John Baines, "Interpreting the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor," *JEA* 76 (1990b) 63.

KV23	Ay	burial chamber J	1, 5, 6	Book of the Dead 130, 141, 142, 144
KV17	Seti I	stairwell C	3	Book of the Dead 151
				Litany of Re
				Litany of Re: Forms of Re
		corridor D	4, 5	
		gate Fa	9, 11	Book of Gates 5
		side chamber Fa	9, 10, 11	
		burial chamber J	Abridged Version	
			1, 2, 3	Book of Gates 1-2, 4 Opening of the Mouth
KV7	Ramesses II	side chamber Jb	6, 7	
		corridor D	4, 5	
		well chamber E	6, 12	
		burial chamber J	1, 2, 5	Book of Gates 1-2
		side chamber Jb	12	
		side chamber Jc	6, 7	
		side chamber Jd	Abridged Version	Book of Gates 5
KV8	Merenptah	side chamber Je	8	
		corridor C	3, 4	Book of Gates 2-3
				Book of the Dead 151
				Litany of Re: Forms of Re
KV15	Seti II	corridor D	4, 5	
		gate E	10, 11	
KV15	Seti II	corridor C	2, 3	Litany of Re
KV47	Siptah	corridor D	4, 5	
KV14	Tawosret & Setnakht	corridor K1	6, 9	
		corridor L	7, 8	
KV11	Ramesses III	corridor D2	4, 5	
KV2	Ramesses IV	burial chamber J	6, 9	Book of Gates 1-3
				Book of Nut
				Book of the Night
KV9	Ramesses V/VI	descent F	1, 6	
		corridor G	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8	Book of the Day
				Book of the Night
KV6	Ramesses IX	corridor C	2	
				Astronomical Scenes
				Book of Caverns 2-4
				Book of Gates
				Book of the Dead 125-126
KV6	Ramesses IX	corridor C	2	Litany of Re: Forms of Re

		corridor D	2, 3	Book of Gates
				Book of the Day
				Book of the Night

Table 2.4. Attestations of the Book of the Hidden Chamber Decoration in New Kingdom Tombs

This royal prerogative is clearly showcased in the text itself, as the focus of the Book of the Hidden Chamber is not the abstracted deceased, but the sun god and his nightly journey through the Duat. It features an organization of the night into twelve hours, illustrating movement through the Duat in a west to east direction. As Hornung summarizes:

The book describes the journey of the sun god through the twelve hours of the night, from his setting to his rising in the morning. In between, we are presented with the actions and speeches of the sun god as well as with descriptions of the entities in the netherworld and their functions. It is the first religious treatise to insert the king consistently into the daily course of the sun.¹⁵²

The main theme is the cyclical and regenerative journey of the sun god as he opposes chaos that has a special affinity in connection to kinship.

This maintenance of order personified through the subjugation of enemies in the Duat closely parallels themes of the maintenance and rebirth of kingship. Thus, the king held a unique affiliation towards this text to which no other could truly identify, although many priests took on the role of the sun priest on behalf of the king. This special connection between the composition and the king is witnessed in the fact that although the Theban priesthood owned copies of the Book of the Hidden Chamber as an object of funerary display during the 21st Dynasty, the text reverted to royal prerogative in the 22nd Dynasty,¹⁵³ and was not yet used again by elites in burial

¹⁵² Hornung 1999, *op. cit.*, 33-34.

¹⁵³ This is except for the 22nd Dynasty cenotaph of the High Priest Iuput at Abydos, which used the Amduat in its decorative scheme.

assemblages until the 26th Dynasty. The 21st Dynasty, therefore, stands out as a unique period when that which was the purview of the king was commandeered by the elites.

The Book of the Hidden Chamber, however, had to have taken on new meaning during the 21st Dynasty, as its relevance towards kingship and the sun cult in the New Kingdom would not have afforded it the prominence it held in burial during its use by the Theban priesthood. The Book of the Hidden Chamber fundamentally explains the mechanics of the cosmos via text and image, infusing the reader with sacred knowledge. This knowledge, of course, is a priestly requirement for performing ritual effective. DuQuesne acknowledges the performative aspect of the Book of the Hidden Chamber, and the role it played in the daily lives of the priests, but also emphasizes the importance of owning the composition for the afterlife.

Enacting passages from the Amduat may not merely have been useful in the here-and-now but could also have reinforced bonds with the divine world by means of aesthetically sophisticated allegory. Perhaps we should not think merely in terms of dual or multiple purposes on a temporal plane, but also of psychological levels.¹⁵⁴

To this end, Theodor Abt and Erik Hornung extrapolate the sun god's journey and its relationship to kingship renewal, emphasizing the overarching theme of transformation: "Thus, the journey of the Sungod can also be seen as a symbolic representation of an inner psychic process of transformation and renewal."¹⁵⁵ This, then, would combine the element of transformation of the Book of the Dead with a cyclical concept of reinvention. Abt and Hornung continue this argument, stating, "Symbolically speaking, if an individual can consciously accompany the Sungod on his journey through the netherworld, he or she...would acquire an

¹⁵⁴ DuQuesne, *op. cit.*, 43.

¹⁵⁵ Abt and Hornung 2003, *op. cit.*, 9.

insight into the secret of eternal renewal and would thus obtain a feeling of being close to the immortal Sungod.”¹⁵⁶ Just as the journey of the Book of the Hidden Chamber was a metaphor for kingship in the New Kingdom, it was also the symbol of rejuvenation and reinvention on which the 21st Dynasty priesthood capitalized in the absence of kingship.

Of course, the psychological impact of the Book of the Hidden Chamber focuses on the content. The uniqueness of the 21st Dynasty is not that the priests had knowledge of this text, but that they physically possessed it in death. The Amduat texts were commodified in the 21st Dynasty and transformed from ritual knowledge to physical object, where ownership indicated mastery. Knowledge of the composition makes the priest capable, and performance of the composition makes the priest effective. Ownership of the composition in a physical form lends ritual authority to the owner in perpetuity, building a form of cultural capital and social power created in life and solidified in death.

2.4.2.4 The Book of Gates

In addition to the Book of the Dead and the Book of the Hidden Chamber, other cosmological, funerary content was used in the creation of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri. One of these other compositions was the Book of Gates, which has great similarity to the Book of the Hidden Chamber in terms of subject matter and organization. There are, however, several key differences between the compositions of which three are worth noting here. First, while the organization of 12 divisions of the hours of the night features prominently in both texts, the Book of Gates makes these divisions explicit by depicting the physical gates of the Duat. A second

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

notable difference pertains to the sun god and his nightly journey on the solar barque. The focal point is still the journey of the sun god passing through these hours and gates, as it is in the Book of the Hidden Chamber. Yet, the entourage of the sun god has diminished from a crew of eight divinities¹⁵⁷ to just two, Sia and Heka. In addition, while the sun god is depicted as encased by a shrine in both texts, the Book of Gates adds the protection of the *Mehen*-serpent, which surrounds the shrine.¹⁵⁸ Third, there is a major change in the personnel that aids the sun god on his nightly journey. The seventh hour of the Book of the Hidden Chamber places Seth at the prow of the barque so that he may attack and vanquish Apophis.¹⁵⁹ In the Book of Gates, this role is given to Atum or Geb, as fourteen other deities trap Apophis in a net.¹⁶⁰

The Book of Gates is meant to complement the narrative of the Book of the Hidden Chamber, probably as a gloss meant to clarify or elaborate the complex motifs depicting the underworld. It is clear from the following chart that the Book of Gates was introduced into royal New Kingdom tombs at the same time the function of the Book of the Hidden Chamber within the tomb apparently shifted, emphasizing its complementary use and explanatory nature.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Erik Hornung and Theodor Abt, *The Egyptian Amduat: The Book of the Hidden Chamber*, translator David Warburton (Zurich: Living Human Heritage Publications 2007) 24.

¹⁵⁸ Hornung 1999, *op. cit.*, 57. The *Mehen*-serpent does not appear in the Amduat to protect the sun god until hour six or seven.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁶¹ See Section 2.3.2.2 and Table 2.4.

Book of Gates Decoration in New Kingdom Tombs													
Tomb	Owner	Divisions											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
KV57	Horemheb	X	X	X	X	X							
KV16	Ramesses I		X	X									
KV17	Seti I	X	X	X	X	X							
Sarcophagus	Seti I	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
KV7	Ramesses II	X	X	X		X							
KV8	Merenptah			X	X	X		X	X	X			X
Sarcophagus	Merenptah	X						X					
Osireion	Seti I	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
KV15	Seti II				X	X							
KV14	Tawosert & Setnakht								X	X	X	X	X
KV11	Ramesses III				X	X	X	X		X	X		
KV2	Ramesses IV	X	X	X	X								
KV9	Ramesses V/VI	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
KV1	Ramesses VII	X											

Table 2.5. Attestations of Book of Gates Decoration in New Kingdom Tombs

One result of the composition of the Book of Gates was that its newness, at least in monumental form, related more to the exclusivity of kingship than the Book of the Hidden Chamber. Hornung cites this social byproduct as the reason that the Book of the Hidden Chamber was used more prominently for members of the 21st Dynasty priesthood than the Book of Gates, stating, “Following the end of the New Kingdom, portions of the book were used only sporadically, perhaps because it is oriented more thoroughly than the Amduat to the person of the king.”¹⁶² It is quite true that the Book of Gates features less prominently in 21st Dynasty funerary papyri than the Book of the Hidden Chamber. If the newness of the Book of Gates as compared to the use of the Book of the Hidden Chamber in royal contexts highlighted its

¹⁶² Hornung 1999, *op. cit.*, 56.

exclusivity, then the sporadic uses of the Book of Gates that do exist in the 21st Dynasty speak to a higher social status among those who manage to incorporate this text into their funerary assemblages. In addition, because the Book of Gates functioned as an explanatory gloss on the Book of the Hidden Chamber, being able to possess a composition of more synthesized and integrated knowledge would have been seen as an act of highly epitomized social capital by the Theban priesthood. Its use, however limited, signals social prestige and exclusion through the materiality of possessing the text.

2.4.2.5 The Book of Caverns

The first known use of the Book of Caverns as inscribed on tomb walls is the complete, though now partially destroyed, version in the Osireion at Abydos. The earliest attestation, however, survives as a funerary papyrus from the tomb of Amenhotep II in the Valley of the Kings (KV 35). This papyrus (CG 24742)¹⁶³ contains parts of the 5th division of the Book of Caverns and was found in a statuette (CG 24619, J.E. 97565).¹⁶⁴ KV 35 was first used as the burial of Amenhotep II, his son Websenu, and his mother Hatshepsut Meryet-Ra in the 18th Dynasty, but the tomb was later reused in the 21st Dynasty. When the tomb was reused, the cached burials of Tuthmosis IV, Amenhotep III, Merenptah, Seti II, Siptah, Rameses IV, Rameses V, Rameses VI, an anonymous female called the "Elder Woman" (possibly Tiy, the wife of Amenhotep III), and a male mummy, probably Setnakht, were added to the 18th Dynasty internments. It is thus unclear if the papyrus was composed in the 18th Dynasty and incorporated into the original

¹⁶³ Georges Daressy, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898-1899)* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1902) 184-189.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 160.

burials or was added as part of the 21st Dynasty cached burials. If this papyrus does date to the 18th Dynasty, it would clearly demonstrate the older pedigree of the text than the later monumental publications illustrate.



Figure 2.2. Case in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Containing the Book of Caverns Papyrus from KV35, photo by Nicholas R. Brown



Figure 2.3. Fragment of Statue (CG 24619 J.E. 97565) which Contained His Book of Caverns Papyrus, photo by Nicholas R. Brown

Table 2.6 temporally situates the monumental publication of this text later than the monumental publication of the Book of the Hidden Chamber and Book of Gates, even though the papyrus attestation of the Book of Caverns might have existed contemporaneously with the Book of the Hidden Chamber, if an 18th Dynasty date is to be considered. The inclusion of vignettes across the top third of the papyrus, its use of retrograde hieroglyphs, and height of 17 centimeters are consistent with the layout and size of New Kingdom Book of the Dead papyri. The papyrus, with its inconclusive dating, demonstrates the weaknesses of using only surviving monumental

inscriptions to date a text. It is quite possible that all of the Amduat texts are older than their earliest surviving attestations suggest.

Book of Caverns Attestations in New Kingdom Tombs							
Tomb	Owner	Divisions					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
KV35	Amenhotep II					X	
Osireion	Seti I	X	X	X	X	X	X
KV8	Merenptah						X
KV14	Tawosert & Setnakht						X
KV11	Ramesses III						
KV2	Ramesses IV	X	X				X
KV9	Ramesses V/VI	X	X	X	X	X	X
KV1	Ramesses VII	X					
KV6	Ramesses IX	X	X	X	X	X	X

Table 2.6. Attestations of the Book of Caverns in New Kingdom Tombs

It is quite possible that the Book of Caverns, having the most limited use of the three underworld books discussed, was the most exclusive in terms of physical ownership and thus the text most connected with kingship. Indeed, the version preserved in the tomb of Ramesses V/VI also includes around 200 glosses that contained remarks about kingship, illustrating the interconnectedness of the Book of Caverns with the elite and unique status of the king in the New Kingdom.¹⁶⁵ With this strong emphasis on kingship during the New Kingdom, the Book of Caverns, unsurprisingly, had limited use during the 21st Dynasty. Aside from oblique references on a small number of papyri, there is only one 21st Dynasty papyrus that contains large, identifiable portions of the Book of Caverns.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Hornung 1999, *op. cit.*, 85.

¹⁶⁶ This is the papyrus of Nodjmet, London BM 10490 from TT 320, Aston TG 912.

Just as with the Book of the Hidden Chamber and the Book of Gates, the overarching theme of the text focuses on the nightly journey of the sun god. In the Book of Caverns, however, the sun god is depicted as a ram-headed solar deity who descends into lower regions of the Duat to gain new life. Unlike the Book of the Hidden Chamber and the Book of Gates, the hours of the night are not the driving organizational force behind the composition. Instead, there are six distinct divisions broken into two groups by the depiction of the ram headed sun god. In addition to these six division, there is one final tableau. In all, the composition consists of approximately 80 scenes with accompanying texts that fit within these six divisions and tableau.¹⁶⁷ While there is no ancient title for this composition, the Book of Caverns earned its modern name from the distinctive series of ovals representing “envelopes” or “coffins” containing divine bodies that permeate the representation of the Duat throughout the text. In addition, the inclusion of black and red figures of the enemies of the sun god marching upside down is another distinguishing feature of the composition.

2.4.2.6 The Books of the Earth

Just like the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns, the Books of the Earth, as it is referred to here, has no original title. Literature focused on the Books of the Earth can, therefore, be somewhat confusing, as modern scholars have referred to it by many titles. Alexandre Piankoff calls the text the “The Creation of the Sun Disk.”¹⁶⁸ In contrast, Hartwig Altenmüller uses the

¹⁶⁷ Hornung 1999, *op. cit.*, 84-85.

¹⁶⁸ Alexandre Piankoff, *La Création du Disque Solaire*, IFAO (1953).

name “Buch des Aker,”¹⁶⁹ which is a term Piankoff uses for only part of the overall composition. Erik Hornung uses the title “Book of the Earth,”¹⁷⁰ while W. Barta uses the term “Erdbuch.”¹⁷¹ Most recently, Joshua Roberson has used the term “*Books of the Earth*,” emphasizing the fact that unlike other underworld books, the lack of order and systematization warrants the study of these as individual scenes that may be combined in any number of fashions that create unique and personalized compositions.¹⁷² His is the title used here.

In that regard, Roberson divides the content of the composition into 80 discrete scenes. These scenes have no divisions into the hours of the night and there is no representation of the solar barque to guide orientation. As such, there is no direct or linear progression from scene to scene. These sometimes loose sequence of scenes are always associated with the burial chamber, and never appear in preceding corridors or chambers of the tomb. Because of the loose organization and optionality of scenes, Roberson returns to the overarching question of what constitutes an underworld book, and whether or not the Book of Earth should be categorized as an underworld book, or if it follows a similar trajectory to the Book of the Dead.

Books of the Earth appear to have functioned as magical devices, activating or otherwise reinforcing the akhet-symbolism inherent in the architecture of the Ramesside sarcophagus chamber. The so-called books should, therefore, be understood properly as elaborate mortuary spells, functionally similar in their transformative aspect to the corpus of Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and Books of the

¹⁶⁹ Hartwig Altenmüller, “Bemerkungen zu den Königsgräbern des Neuen Reiches,” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*, Volume 10 (1983) 25-61.

¹⁷⁰ Hornung 1999, *op. cit.*, 95-107.

¹⁷¹ W. Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher für den verstorbenen König*, MÄS 42 (Munich, 1985).

¹⁷² Joshua Aaron Roberson, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth*, Wilbour Studies in Egypt and Ancient Western Asia (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2012).

Dead, but differentiated formally by the primacy given to figural representations over their corresponding textual components.¹⁷³

The subject matter of the Book of Earth, however, doesn't focus on the journey of the deceased, as in the tradition of the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and Book of the Dead, but is rather focused on the transformation of Ra and interaction with Osiris in the Duat, however loose the sequence may be. Also notable is that the Book of Earth is an exclusively royal composition during the New Kingdom, as documented in Table 2.7.¹⁷⁴

Book of Earth Decoration in New Kingdom Tombs		
Tomb	Owner	Scenes
Osireion	Seti I	2, 19, 47, 75, (lost)
KV 8	Merenptah	2, 19, 20, 22, 38, 65, 68
KV 14	Tawosret	2, 19, 20, 22, 38, 65, 68
KV 11	Ramesses III	2, 19, 20, 22, 25, 38, 45, 55, 56, 65, 68, 69, 70
KV2	Ramesses IV	2
KV9	Ramesses V/VI	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 38, 40, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78
KV1	Ramesses VII	11, 12, 21, 23, 29, 33, 34, 37, 49, 50, 59, 61, 62, 76, 79, 80
KV6	Ramesses IX	12, 19, 29, 36, 37, 39, 42, 46, 47, 52, 54, 60, 61, 71, 73, 75

Table 2.7. Attestations of Book of Earth Decoration in New Kingdom Tombs

It follows a very similar use pattern to the Book of Caverns, and remains a restricted component of only a few papyri in the 21st Dynasty.

¹⁷³ Roberson, *op. cit.*, 460.

¹⁷⁴ Note that all documented scenes occur only in the burial chamber of each of the tombs.

2.4.3 A New Understanding of 21st Dynasty Papyri Content

Current scholarly understanding states that once the use of funerary papyri grew common in the burial assemblages of the 21st Dynasty Theban elite, spells from the Book of the Dead and elements from the Amduat books became the standard. Most scholars to this point have claimed that these texts are easily placed into one of these two categories and contained little variation. This division of 21st Dynasty papyri was most heavily emphasized by the work of Andrzej Niwiński, who cataloged 427 of the 557 papyri known today. Focusing on text and vignette style, as well as underworld content, Niwiński divided the papyri into Book of the Dead and Amduat categories, and then subdivided the categories based on observations such as the presence or absence of vignettes, etiquettes, spells, or hours. He categorized all papyri – save 13 – into this schema, presenting what appears to be a very clear-cut division between the content of the Book of the Dead and Amduat papyri. However, my research suggests that this easy distribution is simply not the case. Papyri that other scholars have confidently labeled as Book of the Dead or Amduat often only have cursory elements suggestive of those pieces of funerary literature. There is often so much variation and innovation of the motifs presented on the papyri that many instances arise where a motif does not adequately fall into either category, suggesting that either the deceased or someone acting on his or her behalf was making deliberate and precise choices regarding content.

As observed, it is true that many of these papyri from secure burial contexts are preserved in pairs, and thus it was Niwiński's goal to establish an ideal set (or appropriate sets) of papyri. When the paired papyri in his study are assigned to Niwiński's predetermined categories, however, no patterns between the sets appear (see Figure 2.1). This calls into question his additional claim that most papyri were pre-manufactured without specific commission, and that

buyers could simply purchase “off the shelf” two pre-made papyri that could comprise a desired set. Instead, the circumstantial evidence suggests that papyri were commissioned and created in pairs with specific owners in mind.

For example, it is well established that a standard papyrus roll of the 21st Dynasty was around 46-48 cm in height.¹⁷⁵ A large majority of the pairs of papyri of this study consistently total 46-48 cm in height, even when the heights are not evenly divided in half.¹⁷⁶ In addition, pairs of papyri often had similar color usage, suggesting they both underwent a similar manufacture process by similar or the same artisan.

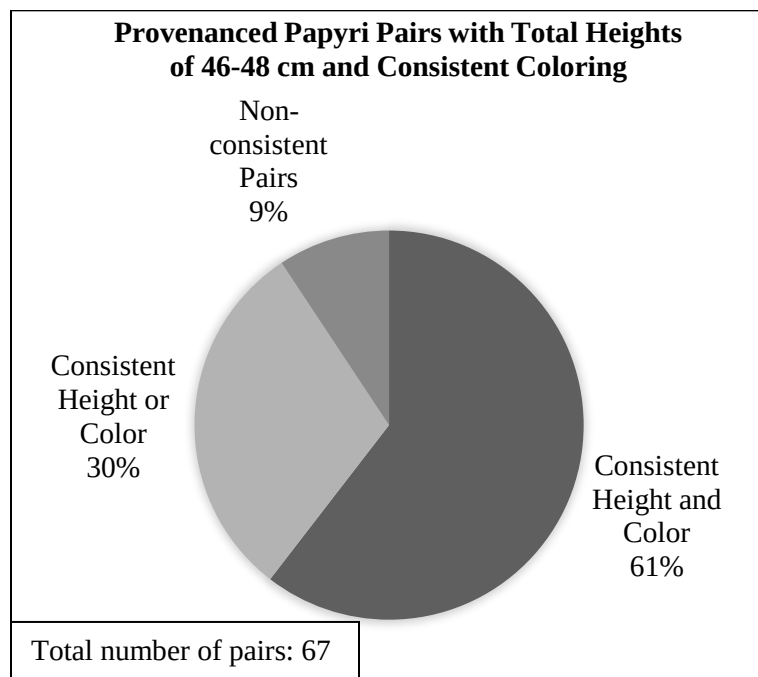


Figure 2.4. Provenanced Papyri Pairs with Total Heights of 46-48 cm and Consistent Coloring

¹⁷⁵ Parkinson and Quirke, *op. cit.*, 16-17.

¹⁷⁶ The heights of each papyrus in the study are listed in Appendix D, at the end of Chapter 3.

Regarding pairs of papyri from TT 320, Bab el-Gasus, and MMA Tombs,¹⁷⁷ 61% of the papyri sets have both heights totaling 46-48 cm and similar color use, and an additional 30% have either height or color correspondence. Both facts suggest that the pairs are being created at the same time, by the same workshop. Thus, the sets of papyri are primarily connected not by content, as Niwiński suggests, but by material origin. As examples, the funerary papyri set of Djedkhonsuefankh have unequal heights of 17 cm and 29 cm, yet total a standard 46 cm, and the funerary papyri set of Gautsesheh has extreme similarities in the design, composition, and coloring that suggests the same workshop, if not the same craftsman, was responsible for their manufacture. Both examples are also highly indicative of sets of papyri that were commissioned at the same time for the same individuals.

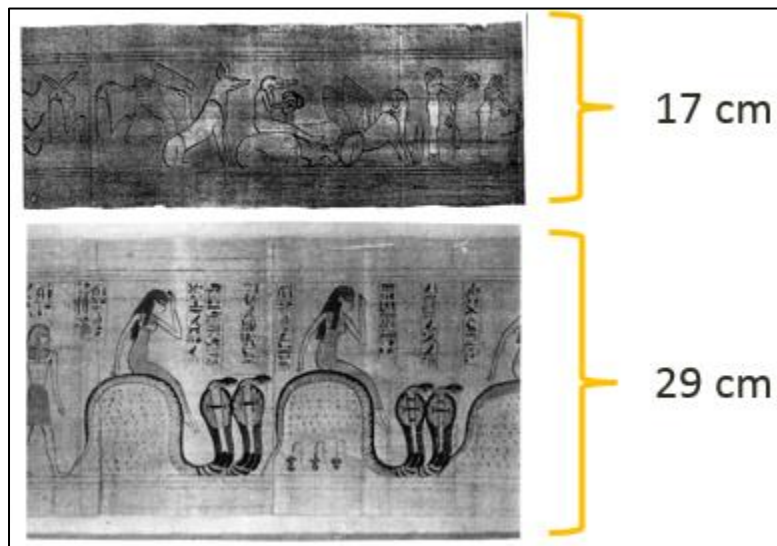


Figure 2.5. Funerary Papyri Excerpts of Djedkhonsuefankh, Cairo S.R. VII 11498 (TR 14/7/35/2) and Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)

¹⁷⁷ I limit my discussion to provenanced papyri, as this is the only way of being confident that a set has been reconstructed correctly and fully.

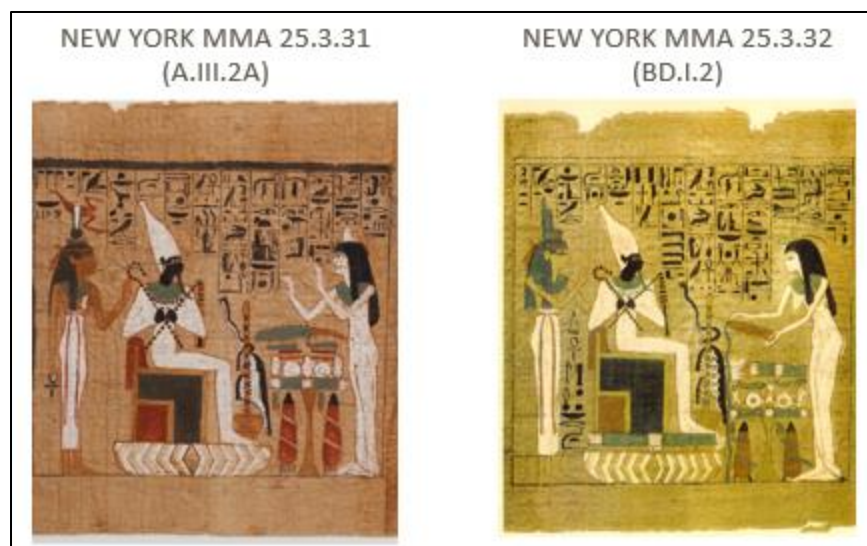


Figure 2.6. Funerary Papyri Etiquettes of Gautseshen Showcasing Similar Uses of Color and Design

Only 40% of paired papyri fit Niwiński’s ideal pairings of one Book of the Dead and one Amduat papyrus, as he defines them. Some of the other combinations of sets of papyri with specific examples from the provenanced data set are displayed and described in the table below.¹⁷⁸

Papyri Sets from Provenanced Caches with Content Not Fitting Niwiński’s Typology			
Name of Deceased	Museum Number	Niwiński Type	Type of Content
Amenhotep	Cairo J.E. 95646 (S.R. IV 543)	BD.II.1	• Book of the Dead
	Cairo JE 95648	A.III.2a	• Book of the Dead • Book of the Hidden Chamber • Books of Earth

¹⁷⁸ A more detailed analysis of these scenes, their combinations, variants, and usage will appear in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. A chart containing the order of content for each papyrus can be found in Appendix D, at the end of Chapter 3.

			• Cosmographic Scenes¹⁷⁹
Nesykhonsu	Luxor J.25 (from Cairo SR 10252)	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
	Cairo JE 36465	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
Amenemint	CG 40030 (J.E. 95855, S.R. IV 954)	BD.I.2	• Book of the Dead • Solar Hymn
	Cairo S. R. VII 11506	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Book of the Hidden Chamber • Cosmographic Scenes
Amenniutnakht	Cairo S.R. VII 10224	BD.II.2	• Book of the Dead
	Cairo CG 58025 (S.R. IV 946, J.E. 95854)	BD	• Book of the Dead
Tendetmut	Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234)	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
	Cairo CG 58005 (J.E. 35413, S.R. IV 997)	BD	• Book of the Dead
	Cairo S.R. VII 10251	A.III.1a	• Unknown Content¹⁸⁰
Bakenmut	Cairo S.R. VII 10231	A.III.2a	• Book of the Hidden Chamber • Books of Earth • Book of Gates • Cosmographic Scenes
	Cairo CG 40023 (J.E. 95880, S.R. IV 982 A-E)	BD.III.1a	• Book of the Dead
Nestawedjatakhet	Cairo J.E. 95660 (S.R.IV 558)	A.III.1b	• Cosmographic Scenes
	Cairo S.R. 11497	A.III.1b	• Unknown Content
Userhetmes	Cairo J.E. 34023 (S.R. VII 10225)	A.I.1	• Litany of Re

¹⁷⁹ The term “Cosmographic Scenes” refers to scenes not found in any recognized underworld book. They will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁸⁰ The category “Unknown Content” refers to papyri where photographs could not be acquired to confirm the content.

	Cairo S.R. VII 10249 (TR 14/7/35/7)	BD.III.1a	• Book of the Dead
Khonsuemheb	Cairo S.R. IV 541 (J.E. 95644)	A.III.2a	• Book of the Dead • Litany of Re • Book of the Hidden Chamber • Cosmographic Scenes
	Cairo S.R. VII 10228	BD.III.1b	• Book of the Dead
Djedmaatesankh	Cairo J.E. 95645	A.III.1b	• Cosmographic Scenes
	Cairo J.E. 95655	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
Padiamun	Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2)	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Solar Hymn • Cosmographic Scenes • Pyramid Texts
	Cairo J.E. 95879 (S.R. IV 981)	BD.II.2	• Book of the Dead
Pakharu	Cairo J.E. 95878 (S.R. IV 979)	A.I.1	• Litany of Re
	Cairo J.E. 95705 (S.R. IV 635)	BD.?	• Book of the Dead
Khonsemrenep	Cairo S.R. VII 11501	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Books of Earth • Cosmographic Scenes
	Chicago FM 31759	BD.III.1a	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
Direpu	Cairo S.R. 10257	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Book of the Hidden Chamber • Cosmographic Scenes
	Cairo CG 40018 (J.E. 95860, S.R. IV 960)	BD.I.2	• Book of the Dead
Amenemhet	Cairo S.R. VII 11495	A.III.1a	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
	Cairo S.R. VII 10230	BD.III.1a	• Book of the Dead • Solar Hymn • Cosmographic Scenes
Harweben	Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245)	A.III.2a	• Cosmographic Scenes

	Cairo S.R. VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6)	BD.III.1a	• Book of the Dead • Books of Earth • Cosmographic Scenes
Tashedkhons	Florence 3663	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
	Cairo CG 40016 (S.R. VII 10240)	BD.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
Djedkhonsuefankh	Cairo S.R. VII 11498 (TR 14/7/35/2)	A.II.3	• Book of the Dead • Book of the Hidden Chamber
	Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
Tawedjatre	Cairo J.E. 34033 (S.R. VII 11500)	A.I.1	• Litany of Re
	Cairo S.R. VII 11496	BD.III.1a	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
Tjanefer A	Cairo S.R. IV 952	A.I.1	• Litany of Re
	Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244)	BD.III.1a	• Book of the Dead • Solar Hymn • Cosmographic Scenes
Nodjmet	London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook Collection	BD.II.1	• Book of the Dead • Solar Hymn
	London BM 10490	A.III.2b	• Book of the Dead • Book of Caverns
Henettawy A	Cairo CG 40005 (J.E. 95856, S.R. IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22)	BD.II.1	• Book of the Dead • Solar Hymn
	Cairo J.E. 95887 (S.R. IV 992)	A.I.1	• Litany of Re
Neskhons A	Cairo CG 58032 (S.R. IV 991, J.E. 26228)	Decree	• Deification Decree
	Cairo J.E. 26230 (S.R. VII 11573, S.R. VII 11485)	BD.II.2	• Book of the Dead
Henettawy B	Cairo J.E. 51948 a-c	A.III.1b	• Unknown Content
	Cairo J.E. 51949	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead

			• Cosmographic Scenes
Tiye	New York MMA 25.3.33	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Book of the Hidden Chamber • Cosmographic Content
	New York MMA 25.3.34	BD.III.1b	• Cosmographic Content
Gautseshen	New York MMA 25.3.31	A.III.2a	• Book of the Hidden Chamber • Books of the Dearth • Cosmographic Scenes
	New York MMA 25.3.32	BD.I.2	• Book of the Dead • Solar Hymn
Nauny	New York MMA 30.3.32	A.I.1	• Litany of Re
	New York MMA 30.3.31	BD.III.1a	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
Kashuenkhonsu	Cairo J.E. 95892 (S.R. IV 1000)	A.II.1b	• Unknown Content
	Cairo J.E. 95647 (S.R. IV 545)	BD.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Content
Amunhatpamesha	Cairo S.R. VII 11502	BD.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Solar Hymn • Cosmographic Scenes
	Cairo S.R. VII 10233 (J.E. 34049)	A.II.1b	• Book of the Hidden Chamber
Tahemenmut	P. Berlin P. 3128	A.III.1a	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
	Narodowe 199628 MN	A.I.2	• Unknown Content
Amunenwia	P. Berlin P. 3127	BD.III.1a	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
	P. Paris BN 33-37	A.III.1a	• Book of the Dead
Djedkhonsuiuesankh	P. Pairs Louvre N. 3276	A.III.2a	• Book of the Dead • Book of Gates • Books of the Dearth • Book of the Hidden Chamber
	P. Paris Louvre N. 3280	BD.I.2	• Book of the Dead
Amunemsaef	P. Paris Louvre N. 3292	BD.III.1a	• Book of the Dead • Solar Hymn

			- Books of Earth - Cosmographic Scenes
	P. Paris Louvre N. 3293	A.III.1b	Unknown Content
Khonsumes	P. Paris Louvre N. 3070	BD.II.1	- Book of the Dead - Solar Hymn
	P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 A & B	A.III.1b	- Book of the Dead - Cosmographic Scenes
Inpehefnakht	P. Cambridge E.92.1904	BD.III.1a	- Book of the Dead - Solar Hymn - Cosmographic Scenes
	P. London BM EA 9932	A.III.1b	- Book of the Dead - Cosmographic Scenes
Khonsumes	P. Paris BN 20-23	BD.I.1	Book of the Dead
	P. Paris BN 153-155	A.III.2a	- Book of the Dead - Book of the Hidden Chamber - Books of the Earth - Book of Gates
Paser	P. Leiden T 7 (AMS 34)	BD.III.1a	- Book of the Dead - Cosmographic Scenes
	P. Paris BN 158-161	A.I.1	Litany of Re
Horemhab	P. Berlin P. 3001 A-M	A.II.3	- Book of the Dead - Book of the Hidden Chamber - Cosmographic Scenes
	P. Leiden T 6 (AMS 33)	BD.II.1	Book of the Dead
Sesu	P. Berlin P. 3147	A.III.1b	- Book of the Dead - Cosmographic Scenes
	P. London BM EA 9941	A.III.1b	- Book of the Dead - Cosmographic Scenes
Nesypaheran	P. Berlin P. 3006	BD.II.1	- Book of the Dead - Spell of the Twelve Caves
	Bodleian Library No Number	A.I.1	Litany of Re
Pashebutmutwabethet	P. London BM EA 10007	A.III.1a	- Book of the Dead - Cosmographic Scenes
	P. Berlin P. 3031 A-G	U	Book of the Dead

Tameniu	P. London BM EA 10002	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead
	P. London BM EA 10008	A.III.1b	• Book of the Dead • Cosmographic Scenes
Mutemwia	P. London BM EA 10003	BD.III.1a	• Book of the Dead
	P. London BM EA 10006	A.I.1	• Litany of Re
Hennutawy	P. London BM EA 10018	A.III.2a	• Book of the Hidden Chamber • Books of the Dearth • Cosmographic Scenes
	P. Richmond 54-10	BD.III.1a	• Cosmographic Scenes
Djedamuniuefankh	Cairo J.E. 95716 (S.R. IV 650)	BD.I.2	• Book of the Dead
	Cairo J.E. 95718 (S.R. IV 652)	A.III.2a	• Cosmographic Scenes

Table 2.8. Papyri Sets from Provenanced Caches Describing Compilations of Content Not Fitting Niwiński's Typology or Ideal Pairs

To summarize, papyri are most likely meant to be incorporated into the funerary assemblage in pairs, but not because of their content, as Niwiński posited. The ancient Egyptians did not consider it 'ideal' to have a Book of the Dead and an Amduat in one's burial assemblage, and one should always caution against attempting to interpret ideal scenarios from ancient data. The simple observation that many provenanced papyri occur in pairs for the deceased is valid, but it must be nuanced. A small number of individuals from the provenanced burial caches had three, and in one instance four papyri, as part of their burial assemblages. An even larger number of individuals only have one papyrus associated with their funerary assemblages.

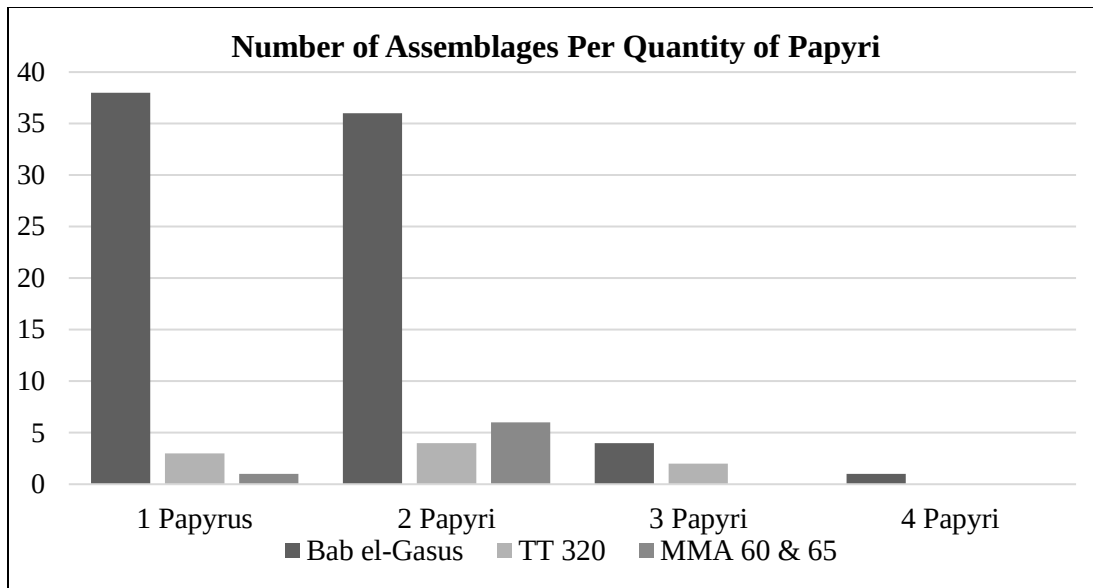


Figure 2.7. Number of Assemblages Per Quantity of Papyri Separated by Provenance Location¹⁸¹

The reasons for owning multiple papyri are not clear and may never be fully understood. What is clear is that the multiple documents were not a result of requiring more space for additional content. There are several papyri that, rather than having finished borders on the left-hand side, have decoration that “trails off,” with the potential to have additional sheets of papyrus and more content added later, as the left edge of the papyrus of Figure 2.8 indicates as an example.

¹⁸¹ See Table 2.1 for the total numbers of burial assemblages and papyri for each provenance.



Figure 2.8. Portion Papyrus of Tendetmut, Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234), photo by author

This is a feature that many publication facsimiles simply do not depict, leaving the impression that the papyrus is a “finished” document. Compare Figure 2.8 above with Figure 2.9 below, which is the photograph produced by Alexandre Piankoff and Natacha Rambova in their two-volume, 1957 publication *Mythological Papyri*.¹⁸²

¹⁸² Alexandre Piankoff and Natacha Rambova, *Mythological Papyri, Volumes I-II* (New York: Bollingen Foundation Inc., 1957) Plate 7.

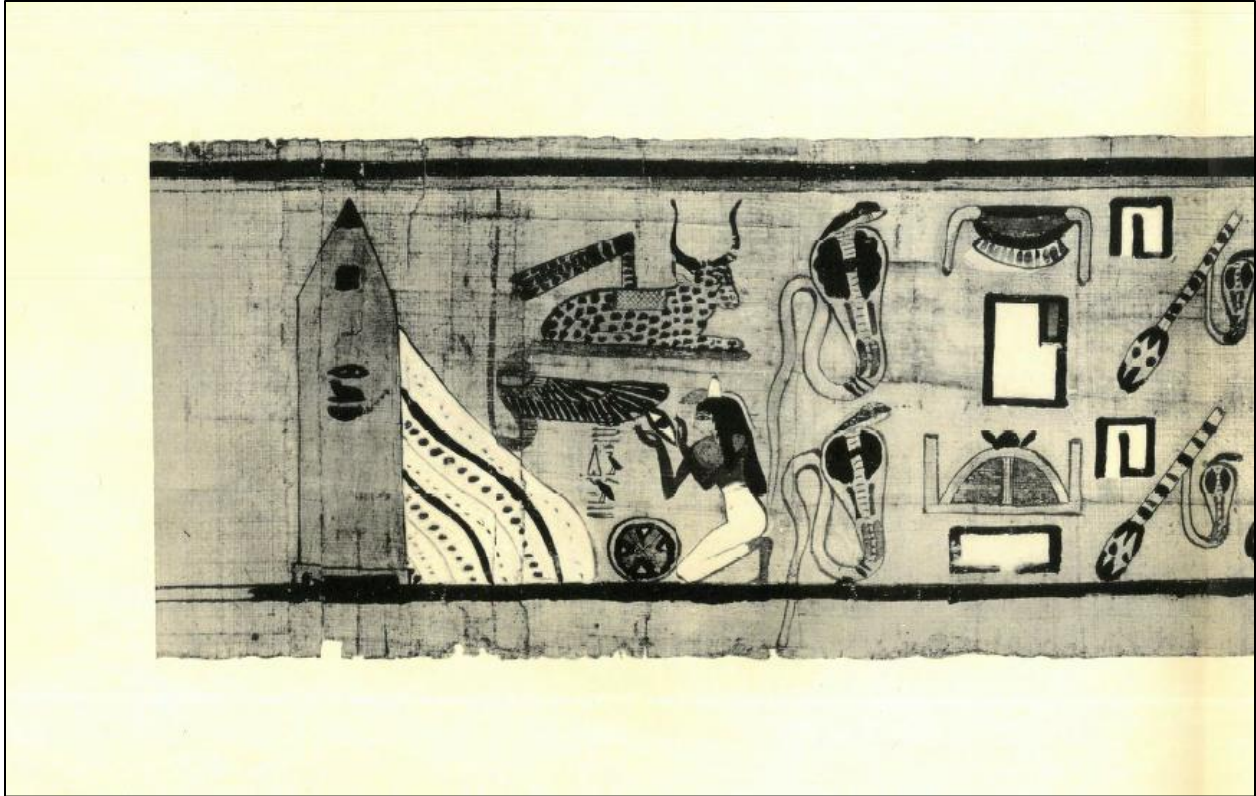


Figure 2.9. Plate of Portion Papyrus of Tendetmut, Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234), from Piankoff and Rambova 1957

The way the photograph crops the left side of the papyrus leads the viewer to believe that there is a clean edge and a clear end to the document. Knowing that many papyri¹⁸³ like the above example also have no true indication of completion, the idea of a pair based on content or the need for additional space supplied by a second papyrus roll is cast into doubt.

Instead of idealizing the concept of the pair, I believe that owning and utilizing two papyri developed as a defensive burial practice. While there are no standard patterns for the placement of these papyri within a 21st Dynasty burial, possible options included putting a

¹⁸³ The problem with quantifying the exact number of the papyri that “trail off” is twofold: First, because many publications crop the left side of the papyrus, like the above example, each papyrus must be studied in person to determine the exact nature of the left edge. For the papyri of some collections, personal access could not be gained. Second, many museums trimmed their papyri upon acquisition so that they better fitted in frames and visually looked “cleaner.” As such, it is impossible to determine how many papyri may have had unfinished decoration on the left edge.

papyrus inside a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figurine, simply laying a papyrus inside the innermost coffin, placing a papyrus folded behind the head of the mummy, or wrapping the papyrus within the layers of linen of the mummy. The widespread reuse rates occurring during the 21st Dynasty meant that individuals who had a papyrus either placed in a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figuring or laid loosely in their coffin ran the risk of being separated from their documents if their burial equipment were ever meant to be reused. Positioning a papyrus within the wrappings of the mummy, however, provided insurance that the document would stay with the body of the deceased, regardless of what might happen to the other burial equipment. The problem that arises from the secure placement of a papyrus with a mummy is that it must occur during mummification – it cannot be part of the funerary display and viewed as a physical testament of social capital. The solution, therefore, is a compromise situation in which one papyrus is secured with the mummy and another papyrus is part of the funeral display, afterwards being stored in a less secure location in the coffin or in a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figuring. Thus, I believe that the use of the more secure papyrus – the one contained in the wrappings of the mummy – stemmed from the anxiety of widespread reuse in burial practices at the time, and the inclusion of this papyrus, whatever its content, was a defensive burial practice. This and other defensive burial practices discussed in this chapter stemmed from the unique political and economic situation of the 21st Dynasty.

Of course, the social display of funerary papyri to an audience need not be limited to the funeral. The commissioning and acquisition of these documents could have, and in many instances of high levels of personalization probably did, occur during the life of the papyrus owner. The acts of visiting workshops, discussing with artists, commissioning documents, and executing the final purchase could have been highly visible to a broad audience of Theban elite

society. “Showing off” one’s completed purchases to one’s peers also cannot be discounted.

There is no reason to believe that the Theban elite did not find ways to turn these documents into objects of social prestige throughout the course of the life of the owner as well as during the funeral following his or her death.

Appendix A

21st Dynasty Reconstructed Burial Assemblages

Location	Aston & Daressy		Name & Gender of Deceased		Associated Papyri & Niwiński Number		Associated Coffins, Niwiński Number, & Assemblage Pieces		
Bab el-Gasus	TG 674	A.1	Kabesnub	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29725, JE 29732	Cairo 137	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 675	A.2	Tawosretempernesu	Female	Luxor J. 24 (Cairo S.R. VII 10253)	Luxor 1	Brussels E.5884, E.5909	Brussels 51	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 676	A.3	Ankhefenkhons	Male	none	none	Madrid 18256	Madrid 283	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 677	A.4	Anonymous	Female	none	none	Lisbon no number	Lisbon 244	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 678	A.5	Anonymous	?	none	none	Appenzell JE 29726	Appenzell 7	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 679	A.6	Nestanebtawy	Female	none	none	Leiden F.93/10.2	Leiden 229	Outer, Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 680	A.7	Ankhesenmut	Female	none	none	Oslo EM 8123	Oslo 319	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 681	A.8	Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	Cairo J.E. 95659 (S.R. IV 557)	Cairo 20	Location Unknown JE 29688	none	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 682	A.9	Nestanebtawy	Female	Cairo S.R. VII 11492	Cairo 115	Washington 154955 & Mexico City 346997	Washington 424	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 683	A.10	Tabakenhonsu	Female	Cairo S.R. VII 10222	Cairo 59	Vienna 6264, 6265, 6266	Vienna 414	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 684	A.11	Pennesuttawy	Male	Cairo J.E. 95881 (S.R. IV 984)	Cairo 46	Cairo JE 29698	Cairo 125	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 685	A.12	Nespane bimakh	Male	none	none	Copenhagen 3909	Copenhagen 164	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 686	A.13	Mutpairsekheru	Male	none	none	Madrid 18253	Madrid 283	Inner, Mummy Board

Bab el-Gasus	TG 687	A.14	Ruru	Female	none	none	Madrid 18254	Madrid 281	Outer, Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 688	A.15	Djedmutesankh	Female	none	none	Florence 8524	Florence 190	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 689	A.16	Ankhefenmut	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29692	Cairo 123	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 690	A.17	Tenetpenherunefer	Female	Cairo CG 40009 (J.E. 95861, S.R. IV 961)	Cairo 40	Cairo JE 29699	Cairo 126	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo J.E. 95639 (S.R.VII.1025 8)	Cairo 93			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 691	A.18	Tashait	Female	none	none	Brussels E.5906	Brussels 56	Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 692	A.19	Tayuherit	Female	none	none	Copenhagen 3912	Copenhagen 167	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 693	A.20	Tauhenut	Female	Cairo J.E. 36464 (S.R. VII 10243)	Cairo 80	Florence 8525	Florence 191	Inner
					Cairo S.R. VII 10270	Cairo 99			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 694	A.21	Nespaneferhor	Male	none	none	?	Location Unknown 430	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 695	A.22	Khonsmose	Male	none	none	Florence 8527	Florence 193	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 696	A.23	Nesipakaf	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29624	Cairo 87	Outer, Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 697	A.24	Padiamun	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10232	Cairo 69	Cairo JE 29623	Cairo 86	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 698	A.25	Bakenkhons	Male	none	none	Paris E.10636a, 10636b	Location Unknown 428	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 699	A.26	Nespauttawy	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10238	Cairo 75	Vienna 6261, 6262, 6263	Vienna 413	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 700	A.27	Anonymous	Female	none	none	Lisbon no number	Lisbon 245	Inner, Mummy Board

Bab el-Gasus	TG 701	A.28	Nespahorentahet	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29643	Cairo 95	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 702	A.29	Anonymous	Male	none	none	London 24789, 24790	London 264	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 703	A.30	Shedsuamun	Male	Cairo S.R. IV 1530	Cairo 53	Cairo JE 29678	Cairo 116	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 704	A.31	Diamun	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29727	Cairo 138	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 705	A.32	Tahuti/ Tausretemsuper	Female	Cairo S.R. IV 1544	Cairo 56	London 24793, 29794, 29795	London 267	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 706	A.33	Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	Cairo S.R. IV 1003	Cairo 52	Copenhagen 3910	Copenhagen 165	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Vatican 19651	none			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 707	A.34	Anonymous	?	none	none	?	?	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 708	A.35	Nespahoran	Male	Bodleian Library No. 2	none	Suez JE 29677, 29722	Suez 367	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 709	A.36	Mutnodjmet	Female	none	none	Paris E.10637	Location Unknown 429	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 710	A.37	Hor	Male	none	none	Oslo EM 8124, EM 8125 & Stockholm NME 891	Oslo 320 & none	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 711	A.38	Akhesenmut	Female	Cairo S.R. VII 10255	Cairo 90	Cairo JE 29675	Cairo 115	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 712	A.39	Amenhotep	Male	Cairo J.E. 95646 (S.R. IV 543)	Cairo 9	Washington 154959, 364999	Washington 426 & London 258	Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo JE 95648	Cairo 12			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 713	A.40	Bakenmut	Male	none	none	London 24792, 24798, 24799	London 266	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 714	A.41	Anonymous	Female	none	none	Copenhagen 3911	Copenhagen 166	Inner, Mummy Board

Bab el-Gasus	TG 715	A.42	Neskmons	Female	Luxor J.25 (from Cairo SR 10252)	Luxor 2	Cairo JE 29632, JE 29713 & Istanbul 10875	Cairo 90	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo JE 36465	Cairo 10			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 716	A.43	Nesipakashuty	Male	Cairo J.E. 95889 (S.R. IV 994)	Cairo 48	Cairo JE 29641	Cairo 94	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo SR 10272	Cairo 101			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 717	A.44	Tenetheret	Female	none	none	London 24791, 24796	London 265	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 718	A.45	Djedmutesankh	Female	none	none	Istanbul 10872	Istanbul 210	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 719	A.46	Senenu	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29651	Cairo 97	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 720	A.47	Tenetpenherunefer	Female	none	none	Leiden F.93/10.3	Leiden 231	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 721	A.48	Nesmut	Female	none	none	Cairo JE 29634/ Odessa 71700 & Cairo CG 6007	Odessa 318	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 722	A.49	Diekhonsiri	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10236	Cairo 73	Cairo JE 29733	Cairo 141	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 723	A.50	Anonymous	Female	none	none	?	?	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 724	A.51	Ihy	Female	none	none	Brussels E. 5887	Brussels 52	Outer
Bab el-Gasus	TG 725	A.52	Shedkhons	Female	none	none	Vienna 6271 & Geneva 163	Geneva 197	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 726	A.53	Tenetioh	Female	none	none	Washington 154954, 154954, 365000	Washington 423	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 727	A.54	Anonymous	Male	none	none	Neuchatel Eg. 184	Neuchatel 299	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 728	A.55	Pinedjem	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10237	Cairo 74	Cairo JE 29637	Cairo 93	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board

Bab el-Gasus	TG 729	A.56	Karo	Male	none	none	Florence JE 29644	Florence 192	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 730	A.57	Anonymous	?	none	none	?	?	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 731	A.58	Istemkheb K	Female	Cairo S.R. VII 11490 (T.R. 14/7/35/1)	Cairo 112	Madrid 18257	Madrid 284	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 732	A.59	Satkhons	Female	Cairo CG 58006 (S.R. IV 943, J.E. 95845)	Cairo F	Berlin 11986	Berlin 36	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 733	A.60	Ankhesenmut	Female	none	none	Florence 8521, 8522, 9523	Florence 189	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 734	A.61	Amenemint	Male	CG 40030 (J.E. 95855, S.R. IV 954)	Cairo 35	Cairo JE 29653	Cairo 98	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo S. R. VII 11506	Cairo 128			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 735	A.62	Istemkheb	Female	Cairo S.R. VII 10655 (TR 23/4/40/3)	Cairo 108	Cairo JE 29740	Cairo 135	Outer
Bab el-Gasus	TG 736	A.63	Ankhefenkhons	Male	none	none	Istanbul 10892	Istanbul 211	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 737	A.64	Henettawy E	Female	Cairo S.R. IV 1531	Cairo 54	Cairo 29656	Cairo 100	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 738	A.65	Piamun	Male	Cairo J.E. 95844 (S.R. IV 942, CG 58004)	Cairo E	Washington 154956, 364997	Washington 425	Outer, Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 739	A.66	Isis	Female	Cairo SR 10239	Cairo 76	Cairo JE 29654	Cairo 99	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Chicago FM 31326	Chicago 1			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 740	A.67	Anonymous	Male	none	none	Athens 3339	Athens 12	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 741	A.68	Ankhefenmut	Male	none	none	Vienna 6267a & London 24797	Vienna 416	Inner, Mummy Board

Bab el-Gasus	TG 742	A.69	Tjanefer	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29682	Cairo 119	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 743	A.70	Anonymous	?	none	none	?	?	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 744	A.71	Meretamun	Female	Cairo J.E. 95836 (S.R. IV 933)	Cairo 31	Cairo JE 29704, JE 29734	Cairo 128	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 745	A.72	Tenetry	Female	none	none	Athens ANE 3408, ANE 3409	Athens 14	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 746	A.73	Iuesankh	Female	none	none	Athens 3337	Athens 10	Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 747	A.74	Anonymous	Female	none	none	Berne AE 10	Berne 40	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 748	A.75	Anonymous	Female	none	none	Alexandria 461	Alexandria 4	Outer
Bab el-Gasus	TG 749	A.76	Tenetbakenmut	Female	none	none	Athens 3335	Athens 8	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 750	A.77	Nestanebtawy	Female	Cairo CG 40017	none	Cairo JE 29685	Cairo 121	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo S.R. VII 11504	Cairo 126			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 751	A.78	Ankhesenese	Female	none	none	Cairo JE 29708	Cairo 130	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 752	A.79	Nodjmetparenesgereg	Female	none	none	Cairo JE 29710	Cairo 131	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 753	A.80	Anonymous	Female	none	none	Uppsala VM 152 & Stockholm NME 892	Uppsala 396	Outer, Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 754	A.81	Amenniutnakht	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10224	Cairo 61	Cairo JE 29649	Cairo 96	Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo CG 58025 (S.R. IV 946, J.E. 95854)	Cairo H			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 755	A.82	Khonsmose	Male	none	none	Alexandria 386, 1297, 1641	Alexandria 2	Inner, Mummy Board

Bab el-Gasus	TG 756	A.83	Djedkhonsesankh	Female	Cairo J.E. 33999 unknown	Cairo 84 none	Cairo JE 29658	Cairo 101	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 757	A.84	Taamun	Female	Cairo S.R. VII 10242	Cairo 79	Cairo JE 29683	Cairo 120	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 758	A.85	Pasebkhaenet	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10273	Cairo 102	Cairo JE 29680	Cairo 118	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 759	A.86	Shebty	Female	none	none	Cairo JE 29711	Cairo 132	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 760	A.87	Padiamun	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10653 (TR 23/4/40/1)	Cairo 106	Cairo JE 29668	Cairo 111	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 761	A.88	Nestanebtawy	Female	Cairo J.E. 36259 (S.R. VII 10651)	Cairo 104	Cairo JE 29716	Cairo 134	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 762	A.89	Anonymous	Female	none	none	Clermont-Ferrand 3126, 3127, 894-426-1	Clermont-Ferrand 159	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 763	A.90	Anonymous	?	none	none	?	?	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 764	A.91	Tendetmut	Female	Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234) Cairo CG 58005 (J.E. 35413, S.R. IV 997) Cairo S.R. VII 10251	Cairo 71 Cairo B Cairo 88	Berlin 11981, 11982, 11983	Berlin 34	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 765	A.92	Anonymous	?	none	none	?	?	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 766	A.93	Amenempermut	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29706	Cairo 129	Inner, Mummy Board

Bab el-Gasus	TG 767	A.94	Bakenmut	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10231	Cairo 68	Istanbul 10866	Istanbul 209	Inner
					Cairo CG 40023 (J.E. 95880, S.R. IV 982 A-E)	Cairo 45			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 768	A.95	Pameshem	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29718	Cairo 136	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 769	A.96	Nestawdjatakheth	Female	Cairo J.E. 95660 (S.R.IV 558)	Cairo 21	Odessa 52976	Odessa 317	Outer, Inner
					Cairo SR 11497	Cairo 119			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 770	A.97	Pesihor	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29715	Cairo 133	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 771	A.98	Nespaneferhor	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10229	Cairo 66	?	Location Unknown 431	Inner
					Cairo CG 58003 (S.R. IV 941, J.E. 95843)	Cairo D			
					Cairo S.R. VII 11503	Cairo 125			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 772	A.99	Paydjeh	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29616	Cairo 82	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 773	A.100	Istemkheb	Female	none	none	Cairo JE 29717	Cairo 135	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 774	A.101	Anonymous	?	none	none	?	?	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 775	A.102	Khaes	Female	unknown	none	Cairo JE 29665	Cairo 108	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 776	A.103	Anonymous	?	Cairo S.R. VII 11505	Cairo 127	?	?	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 777	A.104	Anonymous	?	?	?	?	?	Inner

Bab el-Gasus	TG 778	A.105	Userhetmes	Male	Cairo J.E. 34023 (S.R. VII 10225)	Cairo 62	Cairo JE 29661	Cairo 104	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo S.R. VII 10249 (TR 14/7/35/7)	Cairo 86			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 779	A.106	Khonsuemheb	Male	Cairo S.R. IV 541 (J.E. 95644)	Cairo 7	Cairo no number	Cairo 150	Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo S.R. VII 10228	Cairo 65			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 780	A.107	Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	Cairo J.E. 95835 (S.R. IV 932)	Cairo 30	?	?	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 781	A.108	Ankhefenkhons	Male	Cairo J.E. 95656 (S.R. IV 554)	Cairo 17	Cairo JE 29663	Cairo 106	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo J.E. 95658 (S.R. IV 556)	Cairo 19			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 782	A.109	Djedmaatesankh	Female	Cairo JE 95645	Cairo 8	Cairo JE 29660	Cairo 103	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo JE 95655	Cairo 16			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 783	A.110	Djedmutesankh	Female	none	none	Lisbon JE 29679	Lisbon 246	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 784	A.111	Mashetsekete	Female	none	none	Cairo JE 29667	Cairo 110	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 785	A.112	Ankhefenkhons	Male	none	none	?	Location Unknown 433	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 786	A.113	Nesamenopet	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10245	Cairo 82	Cairo JE 29659	Cairo 102	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo S.R. VII 10269	Cairo 98			

Bab el-Gasus	TG 787	A.114	Padiamun	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2)	Cairo 107	Cairo JE 29666	Cairo 109	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo J.E. 95879 (S.R. IV 981)	Cairo 44			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 788	A.115	Pakharu	Male	Cairo J.E. 95878 (S.R. IV 979)	Cairo 42	Cairo JE 29670	Cairo 113	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo J.E. 95705 (S.R. IV 635)	Cairo 129			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 789	A.116	Anonymous	Female	none	none	?	?	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 790	A.117	Nespaneferhor	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29664	Cairo 107	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 791	A.118	Anonymous	Female	none	none	?	?	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 792	A.119	Tenetopet	Female	none	none	Cairo JE 29662	Cairo 105	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 793	A.120	Khonsemrenep	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 11501	Cairo 123	Cairo JE 29613	Cairo 81	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Chicago FM 31759	Chicago 2			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 794	A.121	Khonsumes	Male	none	none	Uppsala VM 228 & Stockholm NME 894	Uppsala 398	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 795	A.122	Anonymous	Female	none	none	Cairo JE 29691, JE 29695	Cairo 122	Outer
Bab el-Gasus	TG 796	A.123	Direpu	Female	Cairo SR 10257	Cairo 92	Cairo JE 29669	Cairo 112	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo CG 40018 (J.E. 95860, S.R. IV 960)	Cairo 39			

Bab el-Gasus	TG 797	A.124	Amenemhet	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 11495	Cairo 117	Cairo JE 29696	Cairo 124	Outer
					Cairo S.R. VII 10230	Cairo 67			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 798	A.125	Hapu	Male	none	none	Alexandria 387, 1298, 1436	Alexandria 3	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 799	A.126	Istemkheb	Female	Cairo J.E. 95657 (S.R. IV 555)	Cairo 18	Cairo JE 29671	Cairo 114	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 803	A.127	Siamun	Male	none	none	Leiden F93/10.4	Leiden 232	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 801	A.128	Anonymous	Male	none	none	Madrid 18255	Madrid 282	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 802	A.129	Anonymous Child	?	none	none	?	?	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 800	A.130	Isis	Female	Cairo CG 58026 (S.R. IV 990, J.E. 95886)	Cairo J	Cairo JE 29672; CG 6162; CG 6163; CG 6195	Cairo 151	Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo J.E. 95654 (S.R. IV 552)	Cairo 15			
					Cairo CG 58001	Cairo I			
					Cairo J.E. 95651 (S.R. IV 549)	Cairo 14			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 804	A.131	Anonymous	Male	none	none	Brussels E. 5879, E.5885	Brussels 48	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 805	A.132	Maatkaretashepset	Female	Cairo J.E. 95650 (S.R. VI 548, TR14/7/35/8)	Cairo 13	Cairo JE 29612	Cairo 80	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo S.R. IV 959	Cairo 38			

Bab el-Gasus	TG 806	A.133	Harweben	Female	Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245)	Cairo 89	Cairo JE 29738	Cairo 144	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo S.R. VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6)	Cairo 91			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 807	A.134	Shedhor	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 11499	Cairo 121	Athens 3333, 3338	Athens 11	Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo S.R. VII 11494	Cairo 116			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 808	A.135	Menkheperre	Male	none	none	Cairo no number	Cairo 152	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 809	A.136	Henettawy	Female	none	none	Lisbon JE 29614	Lisbon 247	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 810	A.137	Tashedkhons	Female	Florence 3663	Florence 1	Cairo JE 29625	Cairo 88	Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo CG 40016 (S.R. VII 10240)	Cairo 77			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 811	A.138	Tashedkhons	Female	none	none	?	Location Unknown 434	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 812	A.139	Gautseshen	Female	Cairo SR 10221	Cairo 58	Leiden F.93/10.1	Leiden 228	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo CG 40013 (J.E. 29636, S.R. IV 1001)	Cairo 51			
					Cairo JE 95846	Cairo G			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 813	A.140	Ankhefenmut	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10274	Cairo 103	Cairo JE 29730, JE 29741	Cairo 140	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo S.R. VII 10652 (TR 14/7/35/9)	Cairo 105			

Bab el-Gasus	TG 814	A.141	Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 11498 (TR 14/7/35/2)	Cairo 120	Irkutsk JE 29620, JE 29626	Irkutsk 208	Outer, Inner
					Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)	Cairo 95			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 815	A.142	Nespernub	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 11487	Cairo 110	Vienna 6268, 6269, 6270	Vienna 417	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo J.E. 95854 (S.R. IV 953)	Cairo 34			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 816	A.143	Hor	Male	unknown	none	Cairo JE 29619	Cairo 83	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 817	A.144	Tawedjatre	Female	Cairo J.E. 34033 (S.R. VII 11500)	Cairo 122	Cairo JE 29737	Cairo 143	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo S.R. VII 11496	Cairo 118			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 818	A.145	Tjanefer	Male	none	none	Cairo JE 29702	Cairo 127	Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 819	A.146	Pinedjem A	Male	none	none	Lieblein 2544	Location Unknown 435	Inner
Bab el-Gasus	TG 820	A.147	Menkheperre B	Male	Cairo JE 95638	Cairo 5	Cairo JE 29628, JE 29735	Cairo 89	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967)	Cairo 41			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 821	A.148	Nesamun	Male	Cairo SR 1535	Cairo 55	Cairo JE 29611	Cairo 79	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 822	A.149	Anonymous	Male	none	none	Berlin 11978, 11979, 11980	Berlin 33	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Bab el-Gasus	TG 823	A.150	Djedmutesankh	Female	unknown	none	Cairo JE 29679	Cairo 117	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					unknown	none			
					unknown	none			

Bab el-Gasus	TG 824	A.151	Tjanefer A	Male	Cairo S.R. IV 952	Cairo 33	Cairo JE 29736	Cairo 142	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244)	Cairo 81			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 825	A.152	Gautseshen A	Female	Cairo S.R. VII 10265 (T.R. 14/7/35/3)	Cairo 94	Cairo JE 29635	Cairo 92	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo CG 40012 (J.E. 95838, S.R. IV 936)	Cairo 32			
Bab el-Gasus	TG 826	A.153	Anonymous Child	Female	none	none	Cairo JE 29728	Cairo 139	Inner
Bab el-Gasus			Meritamun	Female	Cairo CG 40027 (S.R. IV 999)	Cairo 49	none	none	none
					Cairo S.R. VII 10227	Cairo 64			
Bab el-Gasus			Kashuenkhonsu	Female	Cairo J.E. 95892 (S.R. IV 1000)	Cairo 50	none	none	none
					Cairo J.E. 95647 (S.R. IV 545)	Cairo 11			
Bab el-Gasus			Anonymous	?	Cairo S.R. VII 10226	Cairo 63	none	none	none
Bab el-Gasus			Pasebahaniut	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10241	Cairo 78	none	none	none
Bab el-Gasus			Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10267	none	none	none	none
					Cairo S.R. VII 10267	Cairo 96			
Bab el-Gasus			Nesyamun	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 10268 (T.R. 14/7/35/5)	Cairo 97	none	none	none

Bab el-Gasus			Amunhatpamesha	Male	Cairo S.R. VII 11502	Cairo 124	none	none	none
					Cairo S.R. VII 10233 (J.E. 34049)	Cairo 70			
Bab el-Gasus			Anonymous	?	Cairo S.R. VII 10248	Cairo 85	none	none	none
Bab el-Gasus			Anonymous	Female	Cairo J.E. 95664 (S.R. IV 565)	Cairo 22	none	none	none
TT 320	TG 912		Nodjmet	Female	London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook Collection	London 60, Paris 47, Unknown 2	Cairo CG 61024	Cairo 72	Outer, Inner
					London BM 10490	London 59			
TT 320	TG 913		Masaharata A	Male	none	none	Cairo CG 61027	Cairo 63	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
TT 320	TG 914		Tayuhérit	Female	none	none	Cairo CG 61032	Cairo 64	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
TT 320	TG 915		Pinedjem I	Male	unknown	none	Cairo CG 61025	Cairo 73	Outer, Inner
					Cairo CG 40006 (S.R. VII 11488)	Cairo 111			
TT 320	TG 916		Henettawy A	Female	Cairo CG 40005 (J.E. 95856, S.R. IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22)	Cairo 36	Cairo CG 61026	Cairo 71	Outer, Inner
					Cairo J.E. 95887 (S.R. IV 992)	Cairo 47			

TT 320	TG 917		Maatkare A	Female	Cairo CG 40007 (J.E. 26229, S.R. IV 980)	Cairo 43	Cairo CG 61028	Cairo 68	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
TT 320	TG 918		Istemkheb D	Female	Cairo JE 26228 bis (S.R. IV 525)	Cairo 1	Cairo CG 61031	Cairo 66	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
TT 320	TG 919		Neskhons A	Female	Cairo CG 58032 (S.R. IV 991, J.E. 26228)	Cairo A	Cairo CG 61030	Cairo 67	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo J.E. 26230 (S.R. VII 11573, S.R. VII 11485)	Cairo 109			
TT 320	TG 920		Pinedjem II	Male	Cairo CG 58033 (J.E. 95684)	Cairo C	Cairo CG 61029	Cairo 65	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					London BM EA 10793 (P. Campbell)	London 63			
					Cairo S.R. VII 11492	Cairo 114			
TT 320	TG 921		Nesitanebashru	Female	London BM 10554 (P. Greenfield)	London 61	Cairo CG61033	Cairo 70	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
TT 320	TG 922		Djedptahefankh	Male	Cairo SR 10246	Cairo 83	Cairo CG 61034	Cairo 69	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Collection Brockle-hurst	Unknown 1			
					Unknown	Unknown 7			
MMA 59	TG 828		Henettawy F	Female	none	none	New York MMA 25.3.182, MMA 25.3.183, MMA 25.3.184	New York 313	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board

MMA 60	TG 829		Henettawy B	Female	Cairo JE 51948 a-c	Cairo 2	Cairo JE 49100, JE 49101, JE 49102	Cairo 146	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo J.E. 51949	Cairo 3			
MMA 60	TG 830		Djedmutesankh A	Female	New York MMA 25.3.27	New York 4	New York MMA 25.3.1, MMA 25.3.2, MMA 25.3.3	New York 308	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					Cairo JE 49165	none			
MMA 60	TG 831		Henettawy C	Female	New York MMA 25.3.28	New York 5	Boston MFA 54.639, MFA 54.640, New York MMA 25.3.6	New York 309	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					New York MMA 25.3.29	New York 6			
MMA 60	TG 832		Menkhepperre C	Male	none	none	New York MMA 25.3.7, MMA 25.3.8, MMA 25.3.9	New York 310	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
MMA 60	TG 833		Tabakenmut	Female	none	none	New York MMA 25.3.10, MMA 25.3.11, MMA 25.3.12	New York 311	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
MMA 60	TG 834		Nesitiset	Female	New York MMA 25.3.30	New York 7	Baltimore WAG 179.1951, WAG 180.1951, WAG 181.1951	New York 309	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
MMA 60	TG 835		Tiye	Female	New York MMA 25.3.33	New York 10	New York MMA 25.3.15, MMA 25.3.16	New York 312	Inner, Mummy Board
					New York MMA 25.3.34	Unknown 3			
MMA 60	TG 836		Gautseshen	Female	New York MMA 25.3.31	New York 8	New York MMA 26.3.6, MMA 26.3.7, MMA 26.3.8	New York 315	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					New York MMA 25.3.32	New York 9			

MMA 65	TG 837		Nauny	Female	New York MMA 30.3.32	New York 14	New York MMA 30.3.23A-B, MMA 30.3.24A-B, MMA 30.3.25	New York 316	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					New York MMA 30.3.31	New York 13			
Casati 1823			Amenhotep	Male	P. Avignon A.69	Avignon 1	Leiden F1931.9.1; AMM 16, F1931.9.1; AMM 16	Leiden 223	Inner, Mummy Board
Unknown/ Nizzoli (?)			Khonsumes	Male	P. Paris Louvre N. 3070	Paris 12	Marseille 253/2-3	Marseille 286	Inner
					P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 A & B	Vienna 1			
Cailliaud 1820-1821			Sutymes	Male	P. Paris BN 38-45	Paris 4	Paris N2609, N2610, N2611	Paris 341	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Minutoli 1823			Amenhotep	Male	P. Berlin P. 3005 A-D	Berlin 3	Paris E13028, E13030, E13041	Paris 329	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
Minutoli 1823/ Anastasi 1828			Horemhabit	Male	P. Berlin P. 3001 A-M	Berlin 1	Berlin ÄM 21779, ÄM 21779 (?)	Berlin 37	Outer, Inner
					P. Leiden T 6 (AMS 33)	Leiden 2			
Anastasi 1828			Ankhefkhonsu	Male	P. Leiden AMS 46	Leiden 16	Leiden AMM 18	Leiden 224	Outer
Anastasi 1828			Djedmenetch	Male	P. Leiden AMS 36	Leiden 17	Leiden AMM 18	Leiden 225	Inner
Anastasi 1828			Tayukhertiu	Female	P. Leiden T 3 (AMS 40)	Leiden 1	Berlin ÄM 28	Berlin 22	Inner
Anastasi 1828/ Cailliaud 1820-1821			Paser	Male	P. Leiden T 7 (AMS 34)	Leiden 3	Paris N2581, N2570, E20165	Paris 340	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					P. Paris BN 158-161	Paris 8			
Barker (210/211) 1833			Tameniu	Female	P. London BM EA 10002	London 24	London BM EA 15659	London 259	Mummy Board
					P. London BM EA 10008	London 30			

Tischendorf 1860-1881			Ankhefenamun	Male	P. St. Petersburg 1109	Lenin-grad 2	Helsinki KM (Vk) 14560,660	Helsinki 205	Outer
Murray 1861			Muthetepti	Female	P. London BM EA 10010	London 31	London BM EA 29579	London 269	Inner
de Lyones 1862/ Mallet 1951			Seramun	Male	P. Paris BN Cabinet des Medailles	Paris 1	Besançon ?	Besançon 41	Outer, Inner, Mummy Board
					P. Paris Louvre E. 17400	Paris 49			
Unknown			Isetenkhonsumut	Female	Brooklyn Museum 37.1801 E	none	Swansea + Exeter W1982, A417	Swansea 368 + Exeter	Inner, Mummy Board

Appendix B

21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri

Prove-nance	Aston & Daressy	Name of Deceased	Museum Number	Niwiński Papyrus Type & Number		Tris-megistos	Bibliography
Bab el-Gasus	TG 675 A.2	Tawosretempernesu	Luxor J. 24 (Cairo S.R. VII 10253)	BD.II I.1a	Luxor 1	TM 134556	Aston 2009 p. 165; Bellion 1987 p. 225; Niwiński 1989 p. 136; Romano 1979 p. 160-161, fig. 135, no. 248
Bab el-Gasus	TG 681 A.8	Djedkhonsuefankh	Cairo J.E. 95659 (S.R. IV 557)	BD.II I.1a	Cairo 20	TM 134470	Aston 2009 p. 165; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 260
Bab el-Gasus	TG 682 A.9	Nestanebtawy	Cairo S.R. VII 11492	A.III. 1b	Cairo 115	none	Aston 2009 p. 165; Niwiński 1989 p. 294; Seeber 1976 p. 212
Bab el-Gasus	TG 683 A.10	Tabakenhonsu	Cairo S.R. VII 10222	BD.II .1	Cairo 59	TM 134491	Aston 2009 p. 165-166; Bruyère 1939 fig. 77; Capasso 1998 p. 22-40; Niwiński 1989 p. 274; Niwiński 2009 p. 133-162
Bab el-Gasus	TG 684 A.11	Pennesuttawy	Cairo J.E. 95881 (S.R. IV 984)	BD.II .1	Cairo 46	TM 134461	Aston 2009 p. 166; Hermann 1961 p. 77-107; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 270; Niwiński 1989 p. 269; Seeber 1976 p. 212, no. 21, fig. 60
Bab el-Gasus	TG 690 A.17	Tenetpenherunefer	Cairo CG 40009 (J.E. 95861, S.R. IV 961)	BD.I. 2	Cairo 40	TM 134451	Aston 2009 p. 166; Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 267
			Cairo J.E. 95639 (S.R.VII.102 58)	A.II.2 b	Cairo 93	none	Aston 2009 p. 166; Daressy 1907 p. 23; Niwiński 1989 p. 286; Sadek 1985 p. 193-195, pls. 38-39 (C.27)
Bab el-Gasus	TG 693 A.20	Tauhenut	Cairo J.E. 36464 (S.R. VII 10243)	A.II.1 b	Cairo 80		Aston 2009 p. 167; Daressy and Smith 1903 p. 156; Niwiński 1989 p. 281; Sadek 1985 p. 155-158, pls. 29-30 (C.18)
			Cairo S.R. VII 10270	BD.II .1	Cairo 99	TM 134490	Aston 2009 p. 167; Niwiński 1989 p. 288, pl. 30a-c
Bab el-Gasus	TG 697 A.24	Padiamun	Cairo S.R. VII 10232	BD.II I.1b	Cairo 69	TM 134489	Aston 2009 p. 167; Capasso 1998 p. 22-40; Niwiński 1989 p. 277-228; Seeber 1976 p. 212, no. 20
Bab el-Gasus	TG 699 A.26	Nespauttawy	Cairo S.R. VII 10238	A.III. 1a	Cairo 75		Aston 2009 p. 168; Daressy 1907 p. 23; Niwiński 1989 p. 279; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 77-79, no. 3; Hornung 1979 fig. 29

Bab el-Gasus	TG 703	A.30	Shedsuamun	Cairo S.R. IV 1530	A.I.1	Cairo 53		Aston 2009 p. 168; Daressy 1907 p. 23; Niwiński 1989 p. 272
Bab el-Gasus	TG 705	A.32	Tahuti/ Tausretemsper	Cairo S.R. IV 1544	A.II.1 a	Cairo 56		Aston 2009 p. 168-169; Daressy 1907 p. 37; Niwiński 1989 p. 273
Bab el-Gasus	TG 706	A.33	Ankhefenkhonsu	Cairo S.R. IV 1003	A.II.2 a	Cairo 52		Aston 2009 p. 169; Daressy 1907 p. 24; Niwiński 1989 p. 271-272; Sadek 1985 p. 169-172, pl. 32 (C.21)
				P. Vatican 19651	BD	none	TM 134617	Bellion 1987 p. 320; Gasse 1993 no. 10 pl. XIII-XIV; Gasse 2006 p. 51-71; Haikal 1983 p. 195-208; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 269; Kockelmann 2003 p. 291-325; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283
Bab el-Gasus	TG 708	A.35	Nespahoran	Bodleian Library No. 2	A.I.1	none		Aston 2009 p. 169
Bab el-Gasus	TG 711	A.38	Akhesenmut	Cairo S.R. VII 10255	BD.II .1	Cairo 90	TM 134455	Aston 2009 p. 170; Biesbroek 1995 p. 20; Bruyère 1939 fig. 65; Capasso 1998 p. 22-40; Lüscher 1998; Lüscher 2007 p. 19-20; Milde 2006 p. 221-231; Naville 1910 p. 107-111; Niwiński 1989 p. 285; Perraud 2006 p. 283-296; Roberts 2000 p. 53, p. 188; Saleh 1984 p. 109; Tarasenko 2009 p. 239-265; Wein 1963 p. 16
Bab el-Gasus	TG 712	A.39	Amenhotep	Cairo J.E. 95646 (S.R. IV 543)	BD.II .1	Cairo 9	TM 134468	Aston 2009 p. 170-171; Daressy 1907 p. 3-38; Niwiński 1989 p. 256
				Cairo JE 95648	A.III. 2a	Cairo 12		Aston 2009 p. 170-171; Niwiński 1989 p. 257; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 189, no. 26
Bab el-Gasus	TG 715	A.42	Neskhons	Luxor J.25 (from Cairo SR 10252)	A.III. 1b	Luxor 2		Aston 2009 p. 171; Niwiński 1989 p. 341; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 80-81, no. 4; Romano 1979 p. 162-163, fig. 136, no. 251
				Cairo JE 36465	A.III. 1b	Cairo 10		Aston 2009 p. 171; Daressy and Smith 1903 p. 154; Niwiński 1989 p. 257; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 82-83, no. 5
Bab el-Gasus	TG 716	A.43	Nesipakashuty	Cairo J.E. 95889 (S.R. IV 994)	BD.II I.Ib	Cairo 48	TM 134480	Aston 2009 p. 171-172; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 270
				Cairo SR 10272	A.II.1 a	Cairo 101		Aston 2009 p. 171-172; Daressy 1907 p. 25; Niwiński 1989 p. 289; Sadek 1985 p. 130-133, pl. 18-19 (C.11)
Bab el-Gasus	TG 722	A.49	Diekhonsiri	Cairo S.R. VII 10236	A.II.1 a	Cairo 73		Aston 2009 p. 173; Daressy 1907 p. 26; Niwiński 1989 p. 279; Sadek 1985 p. 186-192, pl. 37-38 (C.26)
Bab el-Gasus	TG 728	A.55	Pinedjem	Cairo S.R. VII 10237	A.III. 2a	Cairo 74		Aston 2009 p. 173; Niwiński 1989 p. 279; Sadek 1985 p. 218-219, pl. 43-44 (C.31)

Bab el-Gasus	TG 731	A.58	Istemkheb K	Cairo S.R. VII 11490 (T.R. 14/7/35/1)	A.II.1 a	Cairo 112		Aston 2009 p. 173-174; Daressy 1907 p. 26; Niwiński 1989 p. 293; Maspero 1912 no. 4762
Bab el-Gasus	TG 732	A.59	Satkhons	Cairo CG 58006 (S.R. IV 943, J.E. 95845)	BD	Cairo F	TM 134440	Aston 2009 p. 174; Bellion 1987 p. 111-112; Golénischeff 1927 p.19-23, pl. 4; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 273
Bab el-Gasus	TG 734	A.61	Amenemint	CG 40030 (J.E. 95855, S.R. IV 954)	BD.I. 2	Cairo 35	TM 134449	Aston 2009 p. 174; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Niwiński 1989 p. 265
				Cairo S. R. VII 11506	A.III. 1b	Cairo 128	TM 134726	Aston 2009 p. 174; Bellion 1987 p. 133; Niwiński 1989 p. 299; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 no. 25; Seeber 1976 p. 234
Bab el-Gasus	TG 735	A.62	Istemkheb	Cairo S.R. VII 10655 (TR 23/4/40/3)	BD.I. 2	Cairo 108	TM 134482	Aston 2009 p. 174; Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 291
Bab el-Gasus	TG 737	A.64	Henettawy E	Cairo S.R. IV 1531	A.II.1 b	Cairo 54		Aston 2009 p. 174-175; Daressy 1907 p. 27; Niwiński 1989 p. 272
Bab el-Gasus	TG 738	A.65	Piamun	Cairo J.E. 95844 (S.R. IV 942, CG 58004)	BD	Cairo E	TM 134438	Aston 2009 p. 175; Bellion 1987 p. 111-112; Golénischeff 1927 p.12-15, pl. 3; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 273; Niwiński 1989 p. 301
Bab el-Gasus	TG 739	A.66	Isis	Cairo SR 10239	A.II.1 a	Cairo 76		Aston 2009 p. 175; Daressy 1907 p. 28; Niwiński 1989 p. 280; Sadek 1985 p. 99-103, pl. 9-10 (C.4)
				Chicago FM 31326	BD.II I.1a	Chicago 1	TM 133573	Aston 2009 p. 175; Niwiński 1989 p. 303
Bab el-Gasus	TG 744	A.71	Meretamun	Cairo J.E. 95836 (S.R. IV 933)	A.II.1 b	Cairo 31		Aston 2009 p. 175-176; Daressy 1907 p. 28; Niwiński 1989 p. 263; Sadek 1985 p. 145-150, pl. 26-27 (C.16)
Bab el-Gasus	TG 750	A.77	Nestanebtawy	Cairo CG 40017	BD	none	TM 134711	Aston 2009 p. 176-177; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 93-103, no. 8; Régen 2017 p. 439-450; Seeber 1976 p. 212, no. 18
				Cairo S.R. VII 11504	BD.II I.1a	Cairo 126		Aston 2009 p. 176-177; Niwiński 1989 p. 298-299

Bab el-Gasus	TG 754	A.81	Amenniutnakht	Cairo S.R. VII 10224	BD.II .2	Cairo 61	TM 134492	Aston 2009 p. 177; Capasso 1998 p. 22-40; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 274-2755; Tarasenko 2009 p. 239-265
				Cairo CG 58025 (S.R. IV 946, J.E. 95854)	BD	Cairo H	TM 134442	Aston 2009 p. 177; Bellion 1987 p. 115; Golénischeff 1927 p.102-103 pl. 23; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 266
Bab el-Gasus	TG 756	A.83	Djedkhonsesankh	Cairo J.E. 33999	A.III. 1b	Cairo 84	TM 134445	Aston 2009 p. 178; Billing 2003 p. 341, fig. A.18; Capasso 1998p. 22-40; Niwiński 1989p. 283, pl. 43a-44
				????	?	none		
Bab el-Gasus	TG 757	A.84	Taamun	Cairo S.R. VII 10242	A.II.1 b	Cairo 79		Aston 2009 p. 178; Daressy 1907 p. 29; Niwiński 1989 p. 281; Sadek 1985 p. 143-144, pl. 25 (C.15)
Bab el-Gasus	TG 758	A.85	Pasebkhaenet	Cairo S.R. VII 10273	A.II.1 b	Cairo 102		Aston 2009 p. 178; Daressy 1907 p. 29; Niwiński 1989 p. 289; Sadek 1985 p. 176-179, pl. 33-34 (C.23)
Bab el-Gasus	TG 760	A.87	Padiamun	Cairo S.R. VII 10653 (TR 23/4/40/1)	BD.II .1	Cairo 106	TM 134474	Aston 2009 p. 178; Capasso 1998 p. 22-40; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Lüscher 1998; Niwiński 1989 p. 290-291
Bab el-Gasus	TG 761	A.88	Nestanebtawy	Cairo J.E. 36259 (S.R. VII 10651)	A.III. 1b	Cairo 104		Aston 2009 p. 178-179; Daressy and Smith 1903 p. 153; Niwiński 1989 p. 290
Bab el-Gasus	TG 764	A.91	Tendetmut	Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234)	A.III. 1b	Cairo 71		Aston 2009 p. 179; Daressy 1907 p. 153; Niwiński 1989 p. 278; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 88-92, no. 7
				Cairo CG 58005 (J.E. 35413, S.R. IV 997)	BD	Cairo B	TM 134439	Aston 2009 p. 179; Bellion 1987 p. 111-112; Daressy 1902 p. 155-157; Golénischeff 1927 p.16-18, pl. 3; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 273; Kockelmann 2008 p. 392; Niwiński 1989 p. 300
				Cairo S.R. VII 10251	A.III. 1a	Cairo 88		Aston 2009 p. 179; Daressy 1902 p. 153; Daressy 1907 p. 29; Niwiński 1989 p. 284
Bab el-Gasus	TG 767	A.94	Bakenmut	Cairo S.R. VII 10231	A.III. 2a	Cairo 68		Aston 2009 p. 179-180; Niwiński 1989 p. 277; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 163-168, no. 20; Schott 1965 p. 194-195 pl. 3
				Cairo CG 40023 (J.E. 95880, S.R. IV 982 A-E)	BD.II I.1a	Cairo 45	TM 13447	Aston 2009 p. 179-180; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 269, pl. 21a-b; Seeber 1976 p. 212

Bab el-Gasus	TG 769	A.96	Nestawedjatakhet	Cairo J.E. 95660 (S.R.IV 558)	A.III. 1b	Cairo 21	TM 134447	Aston 2009 p. 180; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 260
				Cairo SR 11497	A.III. 1b	Cairo 119		Aston 2009 p. 180; Daressy 1907 p. 30; Niwiński 1989 p. 296
Bab el-Gasus	TG 771	A.98	Nespaneferhor	Cairo S.R. VII 10229	A.II.1 a	Cairo 66		Aston 2009 p. 180-181; Daressy 1907 p. 30; Niwiński 1989 p. 276; Sadek 1985 p. 114-119, pl. 15-16 (C.8)
				Cairo CG 58003 (S.R. IV 941, J.E. 95843)	BD	Cairo D	TM 134437	Aston 2009 p. 180-181; Bellion 1987 p. 111-112; Golénischeff 1927 p. 9-12, pl. 2; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 273; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 301
				Cairo S.R. VII 11503	BD.II I.1a	Cairo 125	TM 133570	Aston 2009 p. 180-181; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 298; pl. 25c
Bab el-Gasus	TG 775	A.102	Khaes	????	?	none		Aston 2009 p. 181
Bab el-Gasus	TG 776	A.103	Anonymous	Cairo S.R. VII 11505	A.II.2 b	Cairo 127		Aston 2009 p. 181; Niwiński 1989 p. 299
Bab el-Gasus	TG 778	A.105	Userhetmes	Cairo J.E. 34023 (S.R. VII 10225)	A.I.1	Cairo 62		Aston 2009 p. 182; Daressy 1907 p. 30; Niwiński 1989 p. 275; Piankoff 1964 p. 120-128, 173-175
				Cairo S.R. VII 10249 (TR 14/7/35/7)	BD.II I.1a	Cairo 86	TM 134481	Ahmed 2010 p. 7-27; Aston 2009 p. 182; Bellion 1987 p. 103; Capasso 1998 p. 22-40; David 1981 p. 204-205; Forman and Kischkewitz 1971 p. 45; Forman and Kischkewitz 1989 no. 45; Forman and Quirke 1993b p. 139; Gozdawa-Golebiowska 2009 p. 53-61; Heyne 1998 p. 57-68; Houlihan 1996 pl. 34; Niwiński 1989 p. 283, pl. 22b, 23a-b, 24a-c, 25a-b; Seeber 1976 p. 203; pl. 12
Bab el-Gasus	TG 779	A.106	Khonsuemheb	Cairo S.R. IV 541 (J.E. 95644)	A.III. 2a	Cairo 7		Aston 2009 p. 182; Daressy 1907 p. 30; Niwiński 1989 p. 256; Sadek 1985 p. 213-217, pl. 43 (C.30)
				Cairo S.R. VII 10228	BD.II I.1b	Cairo 65	TM 134488	Aston 2009 p. 182; Capasso 1998 p. 22-40; DuQuesne 1994 pl. 8; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 276; Seeber 1976 p. 212, no. 22
Bab el-Gasus	TG 780	A.107	Djedkhonsuefankh	Cairo J.E. 95835 (S.R. IV 932)	A.III. 1a	Cairo 30		Aston 2009 p. 182-183; Niwiński 1989 p. 263

Bab el-Gasus	TG 781	A.108	Ankhefenkhons	Cairo J.E. 95656 (S.R. IV 554)	A.II.1 a	Cairo 17		Aston 2009 p. 183; Niwiński 1989 p. 259; Sadek 1985 p. 104-105, pl. 11 (C.5); Saleh, Sourouzian, and Liepe 1986 no. 236
				Cairo J.E. 95658 (S.R. IV 556)	BD.II .1	Cairo 19	TM 134446	Aston 2009 p. 183; Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Bruyère 1939 p. 184, fig. 78; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Munro 1973 p. 180; Niwiński 1989 p. 260; Niwiński 2009 p. 133-162
Bab el-Gasus	TG 782	A.109	Djedmaatesankh	Cairo JE 95645	A.III. 1b	Cairo 8		Aston 2009 p. 183; Daressy 1907 p. 31; Niwiński 1989 p. 256
				Cairo JE 95655	A.III. 1b	Cairo 16		Aston 2009 p. 183; Niwiński 1989 p. 259
Bab el-Gasus	TG 786	A.113	Nesamenopet	Cairo S.R. VII10245	A.II.1 b	Cairo 82		Aston 2009 p. 184; Niwiński 1989 p. 282; Sadek 1985 p. 136-137, pl. 22 (C.13)
				Cairo S.R. VII 10269	BD.II .1	Cairo 98	TM 134478	Aston 2009 p. 184; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989p. 288, pl. 6b
Bab el-Gasus	TG 787	A.114	Padiamun	Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/ 2)	A.III. 1b	Cairo 107	TM 134725	Aston 2009 p. 184-185; Capasso 1998 p. 22-40; Hornung 1979 p. 183-237; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 291; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 109-116, no. 10
				Cairo J.E. 95879 (S.R. IV 981)	BD.II .2	Cairo 44	TM 134453	Aston 2009 p. 184-185; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 131, 268, pl. 11-16; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 89-90; Tarasenko 2009 p. 239-265
Bab el-Gasus	TG 788	A.115	Pakharu	Cairo J.E. 95878 (S.R. IV 979)	A.I.1	Cairo 42		Aston 2009 p. 185; Niwiński 1989 p. 267-268; Piankoff 1964 p. 66-71, 133-137
				Cairo J.E. 95705 (S.R. IV 635)	BD	Cairo 129	TM 134486	Aston 2009 p. 185; Daressy 1907 p. 32; Niwiński 1989 p. 299
Bab el-Gasus	TG 793	A.120	Khonsemrenep	Cairo S.R. VII 11501	A.III. 1b	Cairo 123		Aston 2009 p. 186; Daressy 1907 p. 32; Hornung 1979 fig. 23; Niwiński 1989 p. 297; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 117-125, no. 11; Schott 1965 p. 187
				Chicago FM 31759	BD.II I.1a	Chicago 2	TM 134406	Aston 2009 p. 186; Niwiński 1989 p. 304
Bab el-Gasus	TG 796	A.123	Direpu	Cairo SR 10257	A.III. 1b	Cairo 92		Aston 2009 p. 186; Brunner 1977 pl. 23; Bruyère 1939 p. 231, fig. 120; Hornung 1979 fig. 28, 31; Niwiński 1989 p. 286; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 84-87, no. 6
				Cairo CG 40018 (J.E. 95860, S.R. IV 960)	BD.I. 2	Cairo 39	TM 134450	Aston 2009 p. 186; Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Daressy 1907 p. 3-38; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 266 (Cairo 39)

Bab el-Gasus	TG 797	A.124	Amenemhet	Cairo S.R. VII 11495	A.III. 1a	Cairo 117	TM 134458	Aston 2009 p. 186-187; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 295
				Cairo S.R. VII 10230	BD.II 1.1a	Cairo 67	TM 133571	Aston 2009 p. 186-187; Capasso 1998 p. 105-116; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 277, pl. 26a-c, 27a-c, 28a-b
Bab el-Gasus	TG 799	A.126	Istemkheb	Cairo J.E. 95657 (S.R. IV 555)	A.III. 1a	Cairo 18		Aston 2009 p. 187; Chassinat 1903 pl. 4; Daressy 1907 p. 33; Köhler 1972 pl. 3; Niwiński 1989 p. 259
Bab el-Gasus	TG 800	A.130	Isis	Cairo CG 58026 (S.R. IV 990, J.E. 95886)	BD	Cairo J	TM 134443	Aston 2009 p. 187-188; Bellion 1987 p. 115; Daressy 1907 p. 3-38; Golénischeff 1927 p. 103-113; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 266; Niwiński 1989 p. 302; Zaluskowski 1996
				Cairo J.E. 95654 (S.R. IV 552)	A.II.1 a	Cairo 15		Aston 2009 p. 187-188; Daressy 1907 p. 34; Niwiński 1989 p. 258; Sadek 1985 p. 120-124, pl. 17 (C.9)
				Cairo CG 58001	BD	Cairo I	TM 134435	Aston 2009 p. 187-188; Bellion 1987 p. 111-112; Golénischeff 1927 p. 1-5, pl. 1; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 273; Niwiński 1989 p. 302
				Cairo J.E. 95651 (S.R. IV 549)	BD.II .2	Cairo 14	TM 134469	Aston 2009 p. 187-188; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 258; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248
Bab el-Gasus	TG 805	A.132	Maatkaretashepset	Cairo J.E. 95650 (S.R. VI 548, TR 14/7/35/8)	A.II.1 a	Cairo 13		Aston 2009 p. 188; Daressy 1907 p. 35; Niwiński 1989 p. 258; Sadek 1985 p. 125-129, pl. 18
				Cairo S.R. IV 959	BD.I. 2	Cairo 38	TM 134454	Aston 2009 p. 188; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 266
Bab el-Gasus	TG 806	A.133	Harweben	Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245)	A.III. 2a	Cairo 89		Aston 2009 p. 188-189; Daressy 1907 p. 35; Niwiński 1989 p. 284-285; Piankoff 1949 p. 129-144, pl. 1-12; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 75-76 no. 2; Schott 1965 p. 197
				Cairo S.R. VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6)	BD.II 1.1a	Cairo 91	TM 134462	Aston 2009 p. 188-189; Forman and Kischkewitz 1989; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Nibley 2005 p. 91-94; Niwiński 1989 p. 285; Peck and Ross 1977 p. 92-93; Piankoff and Rambova 1957p. 71-74, no. 1; Roberts 2000 p. 200

Bab el-Gasus	TG 807	A.134	Shedhor	Cairo S.R. VII 11499	A.II.1 b	Cairo 121		Aston 2009 p. 189; Daressy 1907 p. 35; Niwiński 1989 p. 296-297; Schott 1965 193 pl. 2
				Cairo S.R. VII 11494	BD.II .1	Cairo 116	TM 134483	Aston 2009 p. 189; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 294-295; Tarasenko 2009 p. 239-265
Bab el-Gasus	TG 810	A.137	Tashedkhons	Florence 3663	A.III. 1b	Florence 1		Aston 2009 p. 189-190; Niwiński 1989 p. 308; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 130-132, no. 14
				Cairo CG 40016 (S.R. VII 10240)	BD.II I.1b	Cairo 77	TM 134433	Aston 2009 p. 189-190; Capasso 1998 p. 22-40; Forman and Kischkewitz 1989 no. 47; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 280; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 150-155, no. 18
Bab el-Gasus	TG 812	A.139	Gautseshen	Cairo SR 10221	A.II.1 b	Cairo 58		Aston 2009 p. 190; Daressy 1907 p. 36; Niwiński 1989 p. 273-274; Sadek 1985 p. 159-162, pl. 30-31 (C.19)
				Cairo CG 40013 (J.E. 29636, S.R. IV 1001)	BD.II .1	Cairo 51	TM 134476	Aston 2009 p. 190; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 271
				Cairo JE 95846 (CG 58002)	BD	Cairo G	TM 134436	Aston 2009 p. 190; Bellion 1987 p. 111-112; Golénischeff 1927 p. 5-9, pl. 2; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 273; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 301-302
Bab el-Gasus	TG 813	A.140	Ankhefenmut	Cairo S.R. VII 10274	A.II.2 a	Cairo 103		Aston 2009 p. 190-191; Daressy 1907 p. 36; Niwiński 1989 p. 289-290; Sadek 1985 p. 163-168, pl. 31-32 (C.20)
				Cairo S.R. VII 10652 (TR 14/7/35/ 9)	BD.II I.1b	Cairo 105	TM 134457	Aston 2009 p. 190-191; Niwiński 1989 p. 290
Bab el-Gasus	TG 814	A.141	Djedkhonsuefankh	Cairo S.R. VII 11498 (TR 14/7/35/ 2)	A.II.3	Cairo 120	TM 134460	Aston 2009 p. 191; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 296; Sadek 1985 p. 196-208, pl. 39-41 (C.28)
				Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/ 4)	A.III. 1b	Cairo 95	TM 134797	Aston 2009 p. 191; Niwiński 1989 p. 287; Niwiński 2009 p. 133-162; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 171-176, no. 22
Bab el-Gasus	TG 815	A.142	Nespernub	Cairo S.R. VII 11487	A.II.1 a	Cairo 110		Aston 2009 p. 191; Niwiński 1989 p. 292
				Cairo J.E. 95854 (S.R. IV 953)	BD.I. 2	Cairo 34	TM 134485	Aston 2009 p. 191; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 265

Bab el-Gasus	TG 816	A.143	Hor	????	?	none	Aston 2009 p. 191-192
Bab el-Gasus	TG 817	A.144	Tawedjatre	Cairo J.E. 34033 (S.R. VII 11500)	A.I.1	Cairo 122	Aston 2009 p. 192; Daressy 1907 p. 37; Niwiński 1989 p. 297; Piankoff 1964 p. 84-97, 147-157
				Cairo S.R. VII 11496	BD.II I.1a	Cairo 118	TM 134463 Aston 2009 p. 192; Jansen-Winkel 2004 358-363; Niwiński 1989 p. 295; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 133-142, no. 15; Seeber 1976 p. 212, no. 23
Bab el-Gasus	TG 820	A.147	Menkheperre B	Cairo JE 95638	A.III. 1a	Cairo 5	Aston 2009 p. 192-193; Niwiński 1989 p. 295; Youssef 1982
				Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967)	BD.I. 2	Cairo 41	TM 134452 Aston 2009 p. 192-193; Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Niwiński 1989 p. 267
Bab el-Gasus	TG 821	A.148	Nesamun	Cairo SR 1535	A.II.1 a	Cairo 55	Aston 2009 p. 193; Daressy 1907 p. 37; Niwiński 1989 p. 272-273
Bab el-Gasus	TG 823	A.150	Djedmutesankh	????	?	none	Aston 2009 p. 193-194
				????	?	none	Aston 2009 p. 193-194
				????	?	none	Aston 2009 p. 193-194
Bab el-Gasus	TG 824	A.151	Tjanefer A	Cairo S.R. IV 952	A.I.1	Cairo 33	Aston 2009 p. 194; Daressy 1907 p. 38; Niwiński 1989 p. 264; Piankoff 1964 p. 98-109, 158-164
				Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244)	BD.II I.1a	Cairo 81	TM 134465 Aston 2009 p. 194; Bellion 1987 p. 109; Capasso 1998 p. 22-40; Forman and Kischewitz 1989 no. 55; Forman, Forman, and Vilimková 1962 p. 114, pl. 106; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 270; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 281-282, pl. 22a; Seeber 1976 p. 29
Bab el-Gasus	TG 825	A.152	Gautseschen A	Cairo S.R. VII 10265 (T.R. 14/7/35/ 3)	A.II.1 a	Cairo 94	Aston 2009 p. 194-195; Daressy 1907 p. 38; Niwiński 1989 p. 286; Sadek 1985 p. 95-98, pl. 7-9 (C.3)

		Cairo CG 40012 (J.E. 95838, S.R. IV 936)	BD.II .2	Cairo 32	TM 134448	Aston 2009 p. 194-195; Bellion 1987 p. 103-104; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 266; Kockelmann 2003 p. 291-325; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Lucarelli 2003 p. 81-91; Lucarelli 2005 p. 319-328; Lucarelli 2006; Milde 2006 p. 221-231; Naville 1912; Niwiński 1989 p. 264; Niwiński 2009 p. 133-162; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 85-86; Tarasenko 2009 p. 239-265
Bab el-Gasus	Meritamun	Cairo CG 40027 (S.R. IV 999)	BD.I. 2	Cairo 49	TM 134434	Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Lenzo 2005 278-279; Munro 2003; Niwiński 1989 p. 271, pl. 3a+b; Perraud 2006 p. 283-296
		Cairo S.R. VII 10227	A.II.1 b	Cairo 64		Niwiński 1989 p. 275-276; Sadek 1985 p. 138-142, pl. 23-24 (C.14)
Bab el-Gasus	Kashuenkhonsu	Cairo J.E. 95892 (S.R. IV 1000)	A.II.1 b	Cairo 50		Niwiński 1989 p. 271
		Cairo J.E. 95647 (S.R. IV 545)	BD.II I.1b	Cairo 11	TM 134471	Niwiński 1989 p. 257
Bab el-Gasus	Anonymous	Cairo S.R. VII 10226	A.II.1 b	Cairo 63		Daressy 1907 p. 24; Niwiński 1989 p. 275; Sadek 1985 p. 134-135, pl. 19-21 (C.12)
Bab el-Gasus	Pasebahaniut	Cairo S.R. VII 10241	A.III. 2a	Cairo 78		Niwiński 1989 p. 280-281; Sadek 1985 p. 209-212, pl. 42 (C.29)
Bab el-Gasus	Djedkhonsuefankh	Cairo S.R. VII 10267	BD	none	TM 134456	unpublished
		Cairo S.R. VII 10267	A.III. 1b	Cairo 96		Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Bruyère 1939 p. 189; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989p. 287; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 156-162, no. 19; Seeber 1976 p. 212, no. 25
Bab el-Gasus	Nesyamun	Cairo S.R. VII 10268 (T.R. 14/7/35/ 5)	A.II.1 a	Cairo 97		Niwiński 1989 p. 287; Sadek 1985 p. 78-87, pl. 1-4 (C.1)
Bab el-Gasus	Amunhatpamesha	Cairo S.R. VII 11502	BD.II I.1b	Cairo 124	TM 134459	Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 298
		Cairo S.R. VII 10233 (J.E. 34049)	A.II.1 b	Cairo 70		Niwiński 1989 p. 278; Sadek 1985 p. 180-182, pl. 34-35 (C.24)
Bab el-Gasus	Anonymous	Cairo S.R. VII 10248	A.II.1 a	Cairo 85		Niwiński 1989 p. 283; Sadek 1985 p. 111-113, pl. 14 (C.7)

Bab el-Gasus		Anonymous	Cairo J.E. 95664 (S.R. IV 565)	A.II.1 a	Cairo 22		Niwiński 1989 p. 260
TT 320	TG 912	Nodjmet	London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook	BD.II .1	London 60, Paris 47, Unkno wn 2	TM 133525	Anonymous 1909 pl. 1; Anonymous 1930 p. 80-81, fig. 29; Aston 2009 p. 221-222; Barwik 27-39; Bellion 1987p. 239-240; Bonhême 1987 p. 130; De Cenival 1992 p. 91; De Rachewiltz 2001 pl. 5; Étienne p. 111, 118-119, 180; no. 4 , 79, 157; Heerma van Voss p. 111-114; James 1995 p. 129; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 272; Kitchen KRI 1989 p. 100; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Lenzo 2010 p. 63-83; Munro 1988 p. 301; Naville 1886 p. 108-109; Niwiński 1989 p. 337-338, pl. 8a - 10b; Niwiński 2009 p. 133-162; Parkinson and Quirke 1995 pl. 7; Pattie and Turner 1974 no.6; Quirke 1993 p. 47, no. 126; Robins 1995 p. 126, 130-131; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 79-80; Schulz and Seidel 2004 p. 329; Seeber 1976 p. 210; Shorter 1938 pl. 5; Taylor 2010 no. 123, fig. 3+P222
			London BM 10490	A.III. 2b	London 59	TM 134518	Aston 2009 p. 221-222; Bellion 1987 p. 240; Budge 1910 p. 104-109; Budge 1899 p. 44-62, pl. 1-12; Haslauer 2006 p. 233-239; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 268; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 43-62; Lenzo 2010 p. 63-83; Niwiński 1989 p. 337; Quirke 1993a p. 47, no. 126; Rößler-Köhler 1991 p. 277-291; Rößler-Köhler 1996 p. 49-52; Sallé 1990 p. 28-35; Seeber 1976, p. 210; Taylor 2010 p. 271; Verhoeven 2001
TT 320	TG 915	Pinedjem I	Cairo No Number	A	none		Aston 2009 p. 223-224
			Cairo CG 40006 (S.R. VII 11488)	BD.II .1	Cairo 111	TM 134432	Aston 2009 p. 223-224; Bellion 1987 p. 109; Heerma van Voss 1991 p. 155-157; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 270; Kockelmann 2008 p. 392; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Lesko 1994 p. 179-186; Niwiński 1989 p. 293; Niwiński 2009 p. 133-162; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 80-81; Saleh, Sourouzian, and Liepe 1986 no. 235; Seeber 1976

TT 320	TG 916	Henettawy A	Cairo CG 40005 (J.E. 95856, S.R. IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22)	BD.II .1	Cairo 36	TM 134430	Aston 2009 p. 224-225; Heerma van Voss 1991 p. 155-157; Heerma van Voss 2008 163-166; Jansen-Winkel 1987 p. 89; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Mariette 1876 pl. 12-21; Maspero 1889a p. 512; Niwiński 1989 p. 265; Werbrouck 1938 pl. 29
			Cairo J.E. 95887 (S.R. IV 992)	A.I.1	Cairo 47	TM 134663	Aston 2009 p. 224-225; Mariette 1876 pl. 19-21; Niwiński 1989 p. 269-270
TT 320	TG 917	Maatkare A	Cairo CG 40007 (J.E. 26229, S.R. IV 980)	BD.II .1	Cairo 43	TM 134431	Aston 2009 p. 225-226; Bellion 1987 p. 109; Heerma van Voss 1985 p. 111-114; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 270; Lüscher 1998; Naville 1912; Niwiński 1989 p. 268
TT 320	TG 918	Istemkheb D	Cairo JE 26228 bis (S.R. IV 525)	BD.I. 2	Cairo 1	TM 134464	Aston 2009 p. 226-227; Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 254
TT 320	TG 919	Neskhons A	Cairo CG 58032 (S.R. IV 991, J.E. 26228)	De- cree	Cairo A		Aston 2009 p. 227-229; Budge 1904 p. 13-16; Golénischeff 1927 p. 169-196; Gunn and Edwards 1955; Maspero 1889a p. 594-614, pl. 25-27; Niwiński 1989 p. 300; Spiegelberg 1922 p. 149-151
			Cairo J.E. 26230 (S.R. VII 11573, S.R. VII 11485)	BD.II .2	Cairo 109	TM 134444	Aston 2009 p. 227-229; Bellion 1987 p. 241; Heerma van Voss 1985 p. 111-114; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 266; Kockelmann 2003 p. 291-325; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Maspero 1889a p. 592; Milde 2006 p. 221-231; Naville 1912 p. 21-38, pl. 11-30; Niwiński 1989 p. 292; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248; Rößler-Köhler 1991 p. 277-291; Verhoeven 2001

TT 320	TG 920	Pinedjem II	Cairo CG 58033 (J.E. 95684)	De- cree	Cairo C		Aston 2009 p. 229-230; Golénischeff 1927 p. 196-209 pl. 30-34; Niwiński 1989 p. 300
			London BM EA 10793 (P. Campbell)	BD.I. 2	London 63	TM 134515	Anonymous 1960 p. 1180; Aston 2009 p. 229-230; Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Bellion 1987 p. 74; James 1981 p. 30; James 1985 p. 71; James 1995 p. 130; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 268; Kockelmann 2003 p. 291-325; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Maspero 1889a pl. 1; Munro 1996; Niwiński 1989 p. 339; Quirke 1993a p. 60, no. 210; Quirke and Spencer 1992 p. 29; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248 Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 92-95
			Cairo S.R. VII 11492	A.II.1 a	Cairo 114		Aston 2009 p. 229-230; Niwiński 1989 p. 294; Sadek 1985 p. 227-228, pl. 48 (C.33)
TT 320	TG 921	Nesitanebashru	London BM 10554 (P. Green-field)	BD.II I.2	London 61	TM 134519	Allen 1950 p. 22; Andrews 2004 p. 2; Aston 2009 p. 230; Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Bellion 1987 p. 157; Bibliographisches Institut 2006 p. 362; Budge 1912; Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2005 p. 31-106; Étienne 2009 p. 29, fig. 2; Faulkner 1985; Guilhou 2006) p. 31-38; Heerma van Voss 1997 p. 183-186; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 268; Leach and Parkinson 2010 p. 35-62; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Milde 2006; 221-231; Niwiński 1989 p. 338; Peck and Ross 1977 p. 124-125, no. 55-56; Quirke 1992 p. 20, fig. 10; Quirke 1993a p. 50, no. 145; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248; Rößler-Köhler 1991 p. 277-291; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 95-98; Russmann, Strudwick, and James 2006 p. 126; Taylor 2001 p. 20, fig. 7; Taylor 2010; Tiradritti 2008 p. 89 and 196; Verhoeven 1992 p. 169-194; Verhoeven 2001 passim; Zaluskowski 1996
TT 320	TG 922	Djedptahfankh	Cairo SR 10246	A.II.1 a	Cairo 83		Aston 2009 p. 230-231; Niwiński 1989 p. 282; Sadek 1985 p. 106-110, pl. 22 (C.6)
			Collect-ion Brockle-hurst	BD.I. 2	Unkno wn 1		Aston 2009 p. 230-231; Edwards 1883 p. 86-87; Naville 1886 p. 68, no. 1; Niwiński 1989 p. 377
			LOST	De- cree	Unkno wn 7		Aston 2009 p. 230-231; Maspero 1889a p. 574; Niwiński 1989 p. 379
MMA 60	TG 829	Henettawy B	Cairo JE 51948 a-c	A.III. 1b	Cairo 2		Aston 2009 p. 199; Niwiński 1989 p. 254; Seeber 1976 p. 210; Winlock 1926 p. 28
			Cairo J.E. 51949	A.III. 1b	Cairo 3	TM 134466	Aston 2009 p. 199; Niwiński 1989 p. 254; Winlock 1926 p. 5-32

MMA 60	TG 830	Djedmutesankh A	New York MMA 25.3.27	A.II	New York 4		Aston 2009 p. 199-200; Niwiński 1989 p. 344-345; Winlock 1926 p. 27, fig. 32
			Cairo JE 49165	BD	none		Aston 2009 p. 199-200
MMA 60	TG 831	Henettawy C	New York MMA 25.3.28	A.II.1 a	New York 5		Aston 2009 p. 200; Niwiński 1989 p. 345
			New York MMA 25.3.29	BD.I. 2	New York 6	TM 134562	Aston 2009 p. 200; Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 345; Winlock 1926 p. 5-32
MMA 60	TG 834	Nesitiset	New York MMA 25.3.30	A.II	New York 7		Aston 2009 p. 201; Niwiński 1989 p. 345-346; Winlock 1926 p. 26, fig. 31
MMA 60	TG 835	Tiye	New York MMA 25.3.33	A.III. 1b	New York 10		Aston 2009 p. 201; Niwiński 1989 p. 346-347; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 179-180, no. 23
			New York MMA 25.3.34	BD.II I.1b	Unkno wn 3	TM 134630	Aston 2009 p. 201; Bellion 1987 p. 229; Niwiński 1989 p. 377- 378; Seeber 1976 p. 211; Winlock 1926 p. 5-32
MMA 60	TG 836	Gautseshen	New York MMA 25.3.31	A.III. 2a	New York 8		Aston 2009 p. 201-202; Niwiński 1989 p. 346; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 181-184, no. 24A; Roberson 2012 p. 508; Shott 1965 p. 188
			New York MMA 25.3.32	BD.I. 2	New York 9	TM 134563	Aston 2009 p. 201-202; Bellion 1987 p. 228; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 346; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 185, no. 24B; Winlock 1926 p. 30
MMA 65	TG 837	Nauny	New York MMA 30.3.32	A.I.1	New York 14		Aston 2009 p. 202; Niwiński 1989 p. 348; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 114-118, 170-172; Winlock 1926 p. 19-20, fig. 25
			New York MMA 30.3.31	BD.II I.1a	New York 13	TM 134564	Aston 2009 p. 202; Bellion 1987 p. 229; Breasted 1936 p. 272; Forman and Quirke 1996 p. 141, 144; Heerma van Voss 1985 p. 111-114; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 272; Lilyquist 1983/84 p. 45; Niwiński 1989 p. 347; O'Neill 1987 p. 72-73; Winlock 1942 pl. 77-78
MMA 830		Shedefpanebinu	New York MMA 28.3.112	A.II.?	New York 12		Niwiński 1989 p. 347

Assassif before 1871	Amenmese	Cairo J.E. 6262 (S.R. VII 10250, Boulaq 9)	A.II.1 b	Cairo 87		Mariette 1869 p. 180, no. 432; Mariette 1876 p. 10, pl. 40-44; Niwiński 1989 p. 284; Sadek 1985 p. 151-154, pl. 28-29 (C.17)
Qurna	Mepwi	Cairo S.R. VII 10271	BD.I. 2	Cairo 100	TM 134479	Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Mariette 1869 no. 389; Niwiński 1989 p. 288
Found by Denon 1800	Osorkon	P. St. Petersburg SSL 1 (P. Denon B + C)	BD.I. 2	Leningr ad 4	TM 134599	Berlev and Hodjash 1998 p. 141-143, no. 13, pl. 158-159; Denon 1802 pl.138; Devéria 1874 p. 104 no.1; Evgenova 1957 p. 5-16; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 267; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lieblein 1873 p. 56, pl. 12, no. 32; Niwiński 1989 p. 318
Found by Denon 1800		P. St. Petersburg SSL2	A.II.2 a	Leningr ad 5		Denon 1802 pl. 137; Evgenova 1957 p. 5-16; Niwiński 1989 p. 318-219
Belmore 1843	Anonymous	P. London BM EA 10000	A.II.1 b	London 22	TM 381297	Belmore 1843 pl. 3; Niwiński 1989 p. 326
Belmore 1843	Djedkhonsiusankh	P. London BM EA 10044	BD.I. 2	London 46	TM 134510	Bellion 1987 p. 57; Belmore 1843 pl. 2; Hawkins and Birch 1843 pl.2; Niwiński 1989 p. 326; Quirke 1993a p. 37, no. 58; Wüthrich 2015
1821 Purchase	Tentshedkhons	P. London BM EA 9938 (P. Salt 1, 70-1 ?)	BD.II I.1a	London 6	TM 134508	Niwiński 1989 p. 321; Quirke 1993a p. 67, no. 269
Casati 1823	Neskashuty	P. Avignon A. 71	?	none		Foissy-Aufrère 1985 p. 108, 271; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Casati 1823	Nesytanebtawy	P. Avignon A.73	BD	none	TM 57409	Foissy-Aufrère 1985 p. 108, 271; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Casati 1823	Amenhotep	P. Avignon A.69	A.III. 1a	Avigno n 1		Foissy-Aufrère 1985 p. 108, 271; Niwiński 1989 p. 243; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
1826 Purchase	Djedkhonsuiuesankh	P. St. Peters- burg 1108	BD.I. 2	Leningr ad 1	TM 134596	Golénischeff 1891 p. 173; Niwiński 1989 p. 317
1827 Purchase	Nestikhonsutapahered	P. Leiden T 9 (Cl.10)	BD.I. 1	Leiden 4	TM 134506	Bellion 1987 p. 178; Leemans 1840 p.242 (T.9); Niwiński 1989 p. 312

1840 Purchase	Anonymous	P. Leiden No Number	A.II.2 a	Leiden 20		Niwiński 1989 p. 317
1842 Purchase	Ankhefenkhons	P. Berlin P. 3013 A-B	BD.I. 2	Berlin 10	TM 134391	Bellion 1987 p. 25; Borchardt 1889 p. 119; Hussein and Krauspe 1970 p. 45, pl. 40; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 265; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 20, no. 13; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lepsius 1852; Luft 1973/1974 p. 5-46; Niwiński 1989 p. 246, pl. 2a-b
1852 Purchase	Padikhonsu	P. Leiden R.A. 58A	BD.I. 2	Leiden 21	TM 134500	Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 317, pl. 4a; Schneider 1998 p. 126-127, no. 193
1852 Purchase	Tentosorkon	P. London BM EA 9919	BD.II I.1a	London 4	TM 133574	Niwiński 1989 p. 321; Quirke 1993a p. 66, no. 266; Quirke and Spencer 1992 p. 101; Taylor 2001 p. 200, fig. 141
1858 Purchase	Bakenweren	none	BD.II I.1a	Havana 1		Lipińska 1982 p. 137-142; Niwiński 1989 p. 309
1904 Purchase	Inpehefnakht	P. Cambridge E.92.1904	BD.II I.1a	Cambri dge 1	TM 134405	Hornung 1976 p. 102-103 no.35, 37, 39, 41; Niwiński 1989 p. 303; Porter and Moss 1960-1964 p. 638; Strudwick 2009 p. 201-212; Vassilika 1995 p. 88-89, no. 40
1864 Purchase		P. London BM EA 9932	A.III. 1b	London 5	TM 134507	Bellion 1987 p. 51; Niwiński 1989 p. 321, pl. 45-46a; Quirke 1993a p. 42, no. 93; Seeber 1976 p. 211, no. 13
1916 Purchase	Djedkhonsuefankh	P. Mineapolis 16.675	A.III. 2a	Mineapolis 1		Minneapolis Bulletin 1916 p. 59; Minneapolis Handbook 1931 p. 27; Niwiński 1989 p. 343
1931 Purchase	Nesytkhonsu	P. Houston 31-37	A.II.2 a	Houston 1		Niwiński 1989 p. 309
Acquired 1828	Inipehefenhet	P. Cologny C	BD	none	TM 134423	Antiquités - objets d'art 1937 no. 80; Bellion 1987 p. 361; Bissing 1928 p. 37-39; Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2005 p. 31-106; Heerma van Voss 2008 p. 163-166; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 269; Müller, Wessel, & Beckerath 1961. no. 213; Niwiński 1989 p. 308; Sallé 1990) p. 28-35; Spiegelberg 1928 p. 152-153; Valloggia 2001 p. 135-145
Acquired 1845	Iuesankh	P. Brussels 19391	BD	none	TM 134632	unpublished
Acquired 1878	Anonymous	P. Berlin P. 3165	A.III. 2a	Berlin 28		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 45; Niwiński 1989 p. 252

Acquired 1894	Taiyuhenetmut	P. Chicago OIM 18039	BD.I. 2	Chicago 3	TM 134407	Allen 1923 p. 17, p. 156; Allen 1960 pl. 1-4, p. 60; Bellion 1987 p. 129; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 265; Niwiński 1989 p. 304; Verhoeven 2001
Acquired 1913	Ankhefenkhonsu	P. Oxford Bodleian Library No Number	A.III. 2a	Oxford 2		Blackman 1917; Niwiński 1989 p. 348-349
Unknown	Khonsumes	P. Paris Louvre N. 3070	BD.II .1	Paris 12	TM 134591	Bellion 1987 p. 192; Boreux 1932 p. 418; Cenival 1992 p. 78; Champollion 1827 p. 151-152 (T.10, T.11); Devéria 1874, p. 119-121; Étienne 1998 p. 48-55; Étienne 2009 p. 110, fig. 3; Heerma van Voss 2008 p. 163-166; Meulenaere and Clarysse 1978 p. 226-253; Niwiński 1989 p. 353; Sallé 1990 p. 28-35
Nizzoli (?)		P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 A & B	A.III. 1b	Vienna 1	TM 134717	Hornung 1979b, p. 232, fig. 29; Lüscher 1998; Meulenaere and Clarysse 1978 p. 226-253; Niwiński 1989 p. 374, Demel 1944, 1-16; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 147-149, no. 17; Régen 2017 p. 439-450; Satzinger 1987 p. 4-5; Satzinger 1994; Seeber 1976 p. 211, no. 8
Nizzoli (?)	Panefernefer	P. Vienna ÄS 3860 (No. 14)	BD.II I.1b	Vienna 2	TM 134623	Bellion 1987 p. 323; Bjurström 1961 p. 116, no. 181; Herma van Voss 1977 p. 88; Müller, Wessel, & Beckerath 1961 no. 212; Munro 1988 p. 297; Niwiński 1989 p. 374; Schweitzer 1953 p. 55, no. 140; Seipel 1993 p. 298, no. 243
Napoleon	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre 3288	A	Paris 37		Description de l'Égypte Vol. V 1822+P303 pl. 44; Devéria 1874 p. 44-45 (II.7); Niwiński 1989 p. 360
Lord Lindsay	Shedsukhons	P. London BM EA 10674	A.I.2	London 62	TM 380696	Niwiński 1989 p. 338; Quirke 1993a p. 61, no. 224
Baron von Koller (605)	Anonymous	P. Zagreb 883	A.II.2 a	Zagreb 1		Niwiński 1989 p. 376; Monnet Saleh 1970 p. 165
Baron von Koller	Anonymous	P. Zagreb 884	A.II.2 a	Zagreb 2		Niwiński 1989 p. 376; Monnet Saleh 1970 p. 165
Baron von Koller (600)	Tchauenhui	P. Zagreb 885	BD.II I.1a	Zagreb 3	TM 134625	Bellion 1987 p. 327; Monnet Saleh 1970 p. 165; Munro 1988 p. 306, Niwiński 1989 p. 376; Seeber 1976 p. 213, no. 29; Uranic 2005a p. 44

Baron von Koller	Iiditukhonsukheper	P. Zagreb 601 (alt 887)	BD.I. 2	Zagreb 4	TM 134626	Bellion 1987 p. 327; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Monnet Saleh 1970 p. 168; Niwiński 1989 p. 376; Uranic 2005a p. 46; Uranic 2005 p. 357-371
Chester	[..]-tamenet	P. London BM EA 10448	BD.I. 2	London G	TM 134539	Bellion 1987 p. 68; Niwiński 1989 p. 341; Quirke 1993a p. 68, no. 281; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 128-129, Shorter 1938 p. 11
A.S. Horov	Djedmutiuefankh	P. St. Petersburg SSL 4	BD.I. 2/A.II .2b	Leningrad 7		Evgenova 1957 (papyrus 4); Niwiński 1989 p. 319
Steyert 1836	Nesykhonsupahered Ikauhered	P. Colmar o.Nr.	BD	none	TM 134409	Jehl 1966 p. 44-48; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315; Traunecker 1992 p. 61, fig. 4; Traunecker 1994 p. 45-47, no. 45
Steyert 1836		P. Colmar o.Nr.	A	none		Jehl 1966 p. 44-48
Thédénat-Duvent	Tanetamun	P. Paris BN 170-173	BD.II I.1a	Paris 9	TM 134571	Hornung 1979 p. 237, fig. 40; Niwiński 1989 p. 352; Piankoff 1936 p. 49-70; Régen 2017 p. 439-450; Seeber 1976 p. 211, no. 9; Wiedemann 1878 p. 103; Wiedemann 1900 p. 155-160
Nicholson	Mutemhab	P. Sydney R 402	BD	none	TM 134724	Sowada and Ockinga 2006 p. 81-89, pl. 13b
Cailliaud 1815-1818	Tanytbastet	P. Paris BN 128	BD.I. 2	Location Unknown 5	TM 134662	Bellion 1987 p. 76; Cailliaud 1862 pl. XXIX; Niwiński 1989 p. 378; Yacoub 2007
Cailliaud 1820-1821	Khonsumes	P. Paris BN 20-23	BD.I. 1	Paris 2	TM 134569	Bellion 1987 p. 74; Munro 1988 p. 308; Naville 1886 p. 105; Niwiński 1989 p. 349
Cailliaud 1820-1821		P. Paris BN 153-155	A.III. 2a	Paris 6		Niwiński 1983 p. 82, fig. 5; Niwiński 1989 p. 351; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 210-215, no. 30; Roberson 2012 p. 490
Cailliaud 1820-1821	Sutymes	P. Paris BN 38-45	BD.II .1	Paris 4	TM 134567	Bellion 1987 p. 75; Guieysse 1876 p. 15, 21-65, pl. I; Guieysse 1877; Keel 1992 fig. 59; Munro 1988 p. 302; Naville 1886 pl. VII, XXXIII, XXXVII, XLIII, LXXIII, XC, CI, CXVII, CCXI; Niwiński 1989 p. 350; Rößler-Köhler 1976 p. 204; Tarasenko 2009 p. 239-265; Zingarelli 2005 p. 381-388

Cailliaud 1820- 1821	Anonymous	P. Paris BN 156	A	Paris 7		Niwiński 1989 p. 351
Salt	Pennesuttawy	P. London BM EA 10064	BD.II .2	London 49	TM 134545	Bellion 1987 p. 59; Haslauer 2005 p. 387-391; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 267; Kitchen 1973 p. 272, no. 421; Kockelmann 2003 p. 291-325; Kockelmann 2008 p. 394; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Milde 2006 p. 221-231; Munro 2001a; Niwiński 1989 p. 334; Niwiński 2009 p. 133-162; Quirke 1993a p. 59, no. 205; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 82-85; Shorter 1938p. 7-9, pl. XII; Tarasenko 2009 p. 239-265
Salt	Djedmut	P. Paris Louvre N. 3130	BD.I. 2	Paris 22	TM 134593	Bellion 1987 203; Dewachte 1986 no. 94; Niwiński 1989 p. 355
Salt 1821	Nespahertahat	P. London BM EA 9981	A.II.2 a	London 15	TM 381240	Anonymous 1922 p. 297; Quirke 1993b p. 50, no. 143
Salt 1821	Nesmutaaneru	P. London BM EA 9982	A.II.1 a	London 16	TM 381241	Anonymous 1922 p. 297; Quirke 1993a p. 50, no. 142
Salt 1821	Djedkhonsu	P. London BM EA 9983	A.II.1 b	London 17	TM 381234	Anonymous 1922 p. 295; Quirke 1993a p. 36, no. 55
Salt 1821	Djedmutiufankh	P. London BM EA 10096 (P. Salt 1,134- 136)	BD.I. 2	London 51	TM 134546	Bellion 1987 p. 60; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 268; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Niwiński 1989 p. 334; Quirke 1993a p. 37, no. 60; Shorter 1938 p. 10, pl. IX
Salt 1823	Astemakhbit	P. London BM EA 10062	BD.I. 2	London 47	TM 381221	Niwiński 1989 p. 333; Quirke 1993a p. 33, no. 31
Salt (783) 1835/2009	Anonymous	P. London BM EA 9985	A.III. 2a	London 19	TM 380633	Niwiński 1989 p. 325
Salt (414) 1835	Anonymous	P. London BM EA 9987	A.II.2 a	London 20	TM 381236	Niwiński 1989 p. 325

Salt (696) 1835	Amenmose	P. London BM EA 10011	A.I.1	London 32	TM 381229	Niwiński 1989 p. 329; Piankoff 1964 p. 78-83, 142-146; Quirke 1993a p. 30, no. 12
Salt (827) 1835	Hornefer	P. London BM EA 10013 (P. Salt 827)	BD.II I.1a	London 34	TM 134549	Bellion 1987 p. 56; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 271; Niwiński 1989 p. 329; Quirke 1993a p. 40, no. 81; Seeber 1976 p. 212, no. 15
Salt (124) 1835	Padikhons	P. London BM EA 10312	BD.I. 2	London 54	TM 134548	Kockelmann 2003 p. 291-325; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 335; Quirke 1993a p. 54, no. 171
Sams (22) 1834	Mehytemiry	P. London BM EA 9992	BD.II .1	London 21	TM 134550	Niwiński 1989 p. 325, pl. 7a; Quirke 1993a p. 44, no. 110
Sams (15) 1834	Padikhons	P. London BM EA 10004	A.III. 1a	London 26	TM 381230	Niwiński 1989 p. 327; Quirke 1993b p. 54, no. 169
Sams (27) 1834	Mehmuthat	P. London BM EA 10005	A.III. 2a	London 27	TM 381296	Niwiński 1989 p. 327
Sams (29) 1834		P. London BM EA 10035	BD.I. 2	London 42	TM 134551	Niwiński 1989 p. 332; Quirke 1993b p. 44, no. 109
Sams (40) 1834	Nesy	P. London BM EA 10031	BD.I. 2	London 41	TM 134553	Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 331; Quirke 1993a p. 50, no. 146
Sams (38) 1834	Nesmutankhti	P. London BM EA 10036	BD.I. 2	London 43	TM 134552	Bellion 1987 p. 57; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 267; Lenzo Marchese 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 332; Quirke 1993a p. 49, no. 141; Shorter 1938 p. 6-7
Sams (26) 1834	Pashebutmutwabethet	P. London BM EA 10007	A.III. 1a	London 29	TM 380866	Ions 1968 p. 30; Köhler 1972 p. 46; Niwiński 1989 p. 328
Passalacq ua 1828		P. Berlin P. 3031 A-G	U	Berlin A	TM 134400	Allam 1992; Allen 1960 p. XX; Anonymous 1970 pl. 48- 53; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 273; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 23-24, no. 23; Lesko 1999 p. 255-259; Luft 1973/1974 p. 5-46; Niwiński 1989 p. 252; Wüthrich 2006 p. 365- 370; Yoyotte 1977 p. 194-202
Passalacq ua 1828	Anonymous	P. Berlin P. 3007 A-F	A.II.1 a	Berlin 5		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 17-18; Niwiński 1989 p. 245
Passalacq ua 1828	Anonymous	P. Berlin P. 3129	A.II.1 a	Berlin 20		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 37; Niwiński 1989 p. 250

Minutoli 1823	Anonymous	P. Berlin P. 3130	A.II.1 a	Berlin 21		Erman 1894 p. 357-358; Erman 1899 p. 431-432; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 38; Niwiński 1989 p. 250
Minutoli 1823	Isety	P. Berlin P. 3143	A.II.1 b	Berlin 22		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 40; Niwiński 1989 p. 250
Minutoli 1823	Djedmehitiuesankh	P. Berlin P. 3009	BD.I. 2	Berlin 6	TM 134395	Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 18-19, no. 9; Kockelmann 2003 p. 291-325; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Luft 1973/1974 p. 5-46; Niwiński 1989 p. 245
Minutoli 1823	Nesypaahasebek	P. Berlin P. 3010	BD.I. 2	Berlin 7	TM 134396	Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 19, no. 10; Lenzo 2004 p. 43- 62; Luft 1973/1974 p. 5-46; Niwiński 1989 p. 245
Minutoli 1823	Khonsu	P. Berlin P. 3011; P. Genf D 190	BD.I. 2	Berlin 8	TM 133567	Bellion 1987 p. 152; Borchardt 1889 p. 119, no. 27; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 19, no. 11; Luft 1973/1974 p. 5- 46; Niwiński 1989 p. 246; Wild 1972 p. 1-46
Minutoli 1823	Hor	P. Berlin P. 3121	BD.I. 2	Berlin 13	TM 134398	Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 35, no. 55; Niwiński 1989 p. 247
Minutoli 1823	Anonymous	P. Berlin P. 3123	A.II.2 a	Berlin 14		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 35; Niwiński 1989 p. 248
Minutoli 1823	Hered	P. Berlin P. 3124	A.II.2 a	Berlin 15		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 35-36; Niwiński 1989 p. 248
Minutoli 1823	Djedkhonsuiuesankh	P. Berlin P. 3125	A.II.1 b	Berlin 16		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 36; Niwiński 1989 p. 248
Minutoli 1823	Djedmut	P. Berlin P. 3126	A.II.2 b	Berlin 17		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 36; Niwiński 1989 p. 249
Minutoli 1823	Anonymous	P. Berlin P. 3148	A.III. 1b	Berlin 24	TM 134765	Bellion 1987 p. 33; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 40; Niwiński 1989 p. 251; Schott 1938 p. 88-93; Seeber 1976 p. 211, no. 12
Minutoli 1823	Anonymous	P. Berlin P. 3152	A.III. 2a	Berlin 25		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 42; Niwiński 1989 p. 251
Minutoli 1823	Nesyamuntawy	P. Berlin P. 3153	A.I.1	Berlin 26		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 42; Niwiński 1989 p. 251
Minutoli 1823	Mutemwia	P. Berlin P. 3157	BD.II .1	Berlin 27	TM 134397	Bellion 1987 p. 33; Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2005 p. 31-106; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 43; Luft 1973/1974 p. 5-46; Munro 1988 p. 299; Naville 1886 p. 71-73, pl. XXVII – XXX; Niwiński 1989 p. 251; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 100- 101
Minutoli 1823	Anonymous	P. Berlin P. 3004	A.II.1 b	Berlin 2		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 16; Niwiński 1989 p. 244
Minutoli 1823	Amenhotep	P. Berlin P. 3005 A-D	A.II.1 a	Berlin 3		Borchardt 1889 p. 119; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 17; Niwiński 1989 p. 244; Schott 1938 p. 21

Minutoli 1823	Sesu	P. Berlin P. 3147	A.III. 1b	Berlin 23		Erman 1984 p. 358-359; Erman 1899 p. 432; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 40; Niwiński 1989 p. 250; Sethe 1928 p. 14
Lavoratori (339) 1833		P. London BM EA 9941	A.III. 1b	London 7	TM 381247	Lanzone 1882, pl. CLVII; Niwiński 1989 p. 321-322; Quirke 1993b p. 61, no. 223
Minutoli 1823	Nesypaheran	P. Berlin P. 3006	BD.II .1	Berlin 4	TM 134390	Allen 1974 p. 174-175; Bellion 1987 p. 24; Borchardt 1889 p. 119, no. 27; Carrier 2009 p. 713-723; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 269; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 17, no. 6; Luft 1973/1974 p. 5-46; Naville 1886 p. 73, pl. CLXXXVIII-IX; Niwiński 1989 p. 244; Piankoff 1974 p. 44
1913 Purchase		Bodleian Library No Number	A.I.1	Oxford 3		Blackman 1918; Niwiński 1989 p. 349
Minutoli 1823	Amunenwia	P. Berlin P. 3127	A.III. 1a	Berlin 18		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 36-37; Köhler 1972 pl. 3; Morenz 1964; Nagel 1929 p. 104; Niwiński 1989 p. 249; Schäfer 1935 p. 18; Sethe 1928 p. 12
Cailliaud 1820- 1821		P. Paris BN 33-37	BD.II I.1a	Paris 3	TM 134570	Bellion 1987 p. 74; Naville 1886 p. 107; Niwiński 1989 p. 350
Minutoli 1823	Tahemenmut	P. Berlin P. 3128	A.III. 1a	Berlin 19		Erman 1894 p. 358; Erman 1899 p. 432; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 37; Köhler 1972 pl. 4; Niwiński 1989 p. 249
		Narodowe 199628 MN	A.I.2	Warsaw 1		Andrzejewski 1959; Hornung 1979 p. 227, fig. 19; Niwiński 1989 p. 375; Schäfer 1935 fig. 17; Sethe 1928 p. 12+P372
Minutoli 1823	Horemhabit	P. Berlin P. 3001 A-M	A.II.3	Berlin 1	TM 134392	Erman 1894 p. 358; Erman 1899 p. 432; Hornung 1967 pl. 5-10; Jéquier 1894 p. 29-31; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 15, no. 1; Niwiński 1989 p. 243; Seeber 1976 p. 211, no. 11
Anastasi 1828		P. Leiden T 6 (AMS 33)	BD.II .1	Leiden 2	TM 134502	Anonymous 1998 p. 61, no. 39; Bellion 1987 p. 177; Heerma van Voss 1986 p. 10-22; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 270; Munro 1988 p. 308; Naville 1886 p. 93, pl. CXLIII, CXLIV, CLX-CLXII, CLXV-CLXVI; Niwiński 1989 p. 311
Drovetti 1824	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre N. 3110	A.III. 2a	Paris 17		Devéria 1874 p. 47; Niwiński 1989 p. 354

Drovetti 1824	Nebhepet	P. Turin 1768	BD.II I.1a	Turin 1	TM 134604	Aufrère 1995 p. 113-121; Bellion 1987 p. 273; Donadoni Roveri 1988a p. 293; Donadoni Roveri 1988b p. 20; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 207; Lanzone 1882 pl. V; Naville 1866 p. 88; Niwiński 1989 p. 365
Drovetti 1824	Meshsebek	P. Turin 1769	A.III. 1a	Turin 2	TM 134800	Bellion 1987 p. 273; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 207; Lanzone 1882 pl. LXXI-LXXII; Niwiński 1989 p. 365
Drovetti 1824	Paemhat	P. Turin 1770	A.III. 1b	Turin 3		Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 229, Niwiński 1989 p. 366
Drovetti 1824	Aaneru	P. Turin 1771	BD.II I.1a	Turin 4	TM 134603	Bellion 1987 p. 274; Condulmer N/A p. 32-33; Donadoni Roveri 1987a p. 206; Donadoni Roveri 1987b p. 47-52; Donadoni Roveri 1988a p. 193; Donadoni Roveri 2001 p. 20; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 208; Garbini 1968 p. 158, no. 209; Gesellensetter 2002; Leclant 1979 p. 256-257; Niwiński 1989 p. 366; Scamuzzi 1963 pl. XC; Seeber 1976 p. 213, no. 28; Stierlin 1992 p. 103; Zoffili 1992 p. 92
Drovetti 1824	Anonymous	P. Turin 1776	A.II.1 a	Turin 5		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 92; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 211-212; Jéquier 1894 p. 31-32; Lanzone 1879; Niwiński 1989 p. 366
Drovetti 1824	Padi...	P. Turin 1777	A.II.1 b	Turin 6		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 92; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 212; Niwiński 1989 p. 366-367
Drovetti 1824	Anonymous	P. Turin 1778	A.II.2 b	Turin 7		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 94; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 212-213; Niwiński 1989, p. 367
Drovetti 1824	Djedkhonsuiuefankh	P. Turin 1779	A.II.3	Turin 8		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 94; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 213; Niwiński 1989, p. 367
Drovetti 1824	Nesyamun	P. Turin 1780	A.II.2 b	Turin 9		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 93-94; Fababretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 213; Lanzone 1882 pl. CCLI-CCLIV; Niwiński 1989 p. 367-368
Drovetti 1824	Djhutymes	P. Turin 1781	A.III. 2a	Turin 10		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 94-95; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 214; Lanzone 1882 pl. CCLV-CCLVI; Niwiński 1989 p. 368; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 169-170, no. 21; Rossi 1878 p. 1204-1224; Schott 1938 p. 88-93
Drovetti 1824	Nesyiuiset	P. Turin 1782	A.II.1 b	Turin 11		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 93; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 214; Niwiński 1989 p. 368
Drovetti 1824	Anonymous	P. Turin 1783	A.II.1 a	Turin 12		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 92; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 214-215; Niwiński 1989 p. 368
Drovetti 1824	Tanedjemut	P. Turin 1784	A.II.2 b	Turin 13		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 93; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 215; Lenzo 2004 p. 51; Niwiński 1989 p. 369

Drovetti 1824	Penaa	P. Turin 1785	A.II.2 a	Turin 14		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 93; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 215; Niwiński 1989 p. 369
Drovetti 1824	Anonymous	P. Turin 1786	A.II.2 a	Turin 15		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 93; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 215; Niwiński 1989 p. 369
Drovetti 1824	Mutred	P. Turin 1787	A.II.2 b	Turin 16		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 94; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 216; Niwiński 1989 p. 369-370
Drovetti 1824	Anonymous	P. Turin 1788	A.III. 2a	Turin 17		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 94; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 216; Niwiński 1989 p. 370
Drovetti 1824	Anonymous	P. Turin 1789	A.III. 2b	Turin 18		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 94; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 216; Niwiński 1989 p. 370
Drovetti 1824	Ankhefenkhonsu	P. Turin 1790	A.II.1 a	Turin 19		Bottigliengo 2017 p. 92; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 216; Niwiński 1989 p. 370
Drovetti 1824	Tameret	P. Turin CGT 53001 (Nr. 1849)	BD.I. 2	Turin 20	TM 134605	Bellion 1987 p. 281; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 231; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Lenzo 2007 p. 9-38, pl. 1-10a; Niwiński 1989 p. 370
Drovetti 1824	Nesytanetasheru	P. Turin CGT 53003 (Nr. 1850)	BD.I. 2	Turin 21	TM 134607	Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Bellion 1987 p. 281; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 231-232; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2007 p. 45-51, pl. 16-21a; Niwiński 1989 p. 371; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 108-109
Drovetti 1824	Gautseshen	P. Turin CGT 53010 (Nr. 1852)	BD.I. 2	Turin 22	TM 134606	Bellion 1987 p. 281; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 232; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2007 p. 121-130, pl. 44-47a; Niwiński 1989 p. 371
Drovetti 1824	Anmesu	P. Turin CGT 53006 (Nr. 1853)	BD.I. 2	Turin 23	TM 134601	Bellion 1987 p. 281; Fabretti, Rossi and Lanzone 1882 p. 232; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2007 p. 63-67, pl. 29-33a; Niwiński 1989 p. 371; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 121-123
Drovetti 1824	Djedkhonsuiuefankh	P. Turin CGT 53004 (Nr. 1854)	BD.I. 1	Turin 24	TM 134608	Bellion 1987 p. 281; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 232; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2007 p. 53-58, pl. 22-26a; Niwiński 1989 p. 371; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 106-108
Drovetti 1824	Djedmutiuesankh	P. Turin CGT 53008 (Nr. 1855)	BD.I. 2	Turin 25	TM 134609	Bellion 1987 p. 281; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 233; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Lenzo 2007 p. 91-106, pl. 38-40a; Niwiński 1989 p. 372
Drovetti 1824	Pasherienhuther	P. Turin CGT 53011 (Nr. 1857)	BD.I. 2	Turin 26	TM 134610	Bellion 1987 p. 281; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 233; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2007 p. 131-139, pl. 48-50a; Niwiński 1989 p. 372; Zoffili 1992 p. 93
Drovetti 1824	Padikhonsu	P. Turin CGT 53002 (Nr. 1859 / 2)	BD.I. 2	Turin 27	TM 134611	Bellion 1987 p. 281; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 233-234; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2007 p. 39-43, pl. 11-15a; Niwiński 1989 p. 372

Drovetti 1824	Djedbastet	P. Turin CGT 53009 (Nr. 1862 / 2)	BD.I. 2	Turin 28	TM 134612	Bellion 1987 p. 282; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 234; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2007 p. 107-120, pl. 41-43a; Niwiński 1989 p. 373
Drovetti 1824	Muthat	P. Turin CGT 53013 (Nr. 1862 / 3)	BD.I. 2	Turin 29	TM 134613	Bellion 1987 p. 282; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 234; Lenzo 2002p. 267-283; Lenzo 2007 p. 167-170, pl. 55-56a; Niwiński 1989 p. 373
Drovetti 1824	Nesyamun	P. Turin CGT 53005 (Nr. 1856)	BD	none	TM 134602	Bellion 1987 p. 281; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 233; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Lenzo 2007 p. 59-62, pl. 27-28a
Anastasi 1828	Nesykhonsupahered	P. Leiden T 25 (AMS 43)	BD.I. 2	Leiden 5	TM 134503	Allam 1992 pl. XIV-XVI; Bellion 1987 p. 179; Leemans 1840 p. 248-249 (T.25); Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 312
Anastasi 1828	Tanetpasu	P. Leiden T 26 (AMS 39)	BD.I. 2	Leiden 6	TM 134496	Bellion 1987 p. 179; Forman and Kischkewitz 1989 no. 48; Heerma van Voss 1966 p. 21; Heerma van Voss 1970 pl. 2; Heerma van Voss 1982. p. 8; Heerma van Voss 1986 p. 10-22; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 267; Leemans 1840 p. 249 (T.26); Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 312-313; Niwiński 2009 p. 133-162
Anastasi 1828	Anonymous	P. Leiden T 27 (AMS 48)	BD.I. 2	Leiden 7	TM 134497	Bellion 1987 p. 179; Leemans 1840 p.249 (T.27); Niwiński 1989 p. 313
Anastasi 1828	Nesykhonsu	P. Leiden T 28 (AMS 35)	B.I.2	Leiden 8	TM 134504	Bellion 1987 p. 179; Leemans 1840 p. 249 (T.28); Niwiński 1989 p. 313
Anastasi 1828	Iuefenmut	P. Leiden T 29 (AMS 50)	BD.I. 2	Leiden 9	TM 134505	Bellion 1987 p. 179; Leemans 1840 p. 249 (T.29); Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 313
Anastasi 1828	Mutemipet	P. Leiden T 30 (AMS 42)	BD.I. 2	Leiden 10	TM 134498	Allam 1992 pl. XIV - XVI; Bellion 1987 p. 180; Leemans 1840 p. 250; Niwiński 1989 p. 314
Anastasi 1828	Anonymous	P. Leiden AMS 32	A.II.1 a	Leiden 12		Heerman van Voss 1982 p.12-13, pl. 14; Jéquier 1894 p. 32; Leemans 1840 p.255 (T.72); Niwiński 1989 p. 314
Anastasi 1828	Nesytarenaset	P. Leiden AMS 47b	A.II.2 a	Leiden 14		Leemans 1840 p.256 (T.74); Niwiński 1989 p. 315
Anastasi 1828	Buharuamun	P. Leiden AMS 51	A.II.1 b	Leiden 15		Leemans 1840 p.256 (T.75); Niwiński 1989 p. 315
Anastasi 1828	Ankhefkonsu	P. Leiden AMS 46	A.II.2 a	Leiden 16		Leemans 1840 p.256-257 (T.76); Leemans 1887; Niwiński 1989 p. 315

Anastasi 1828	Djedmenetch	P. Leiden AMS 36	A.II.1 a	Leiden 17		Heerma van Voss 1982 p. 13, pl. 16; Jéquier 1894 p. 32; Leemans 1840 p. 257-258 (T.77); Leemans 1888; Niwiński 1989 p. 316
Anastasi 1828	Anonymous	P. Leiden AMS 49	A.II.2 a	Leiden 18		Leemans 1840 p. 258 (T.78); Niwiński 1989 p. 316
Anastasi 1828	Anonymous	P. Leiden AMS 44	A.II.1 a	Leiden 19		Leemans 1840 p. 258 (T.79); Niwiński 1989 p. 316
Anastasi 1828	Tayukhertiu	P. Leiden T 3 (AMS 40)	BD.II .1	Leiden 1	TM 134501	Bellion, 1987 p. 176; Forman and Kischkewitz 1989 p. 21; Graefe 1993 p. 23-28; Heerma van Voss 1968 p. 165-171; Heerma van Voss 1971; Heerma van Voss 1985 p. 111-114; Heerma van Voss 2007 p. 45-49, pl. 1-2; Heerma van Voss 2008 p. 163-166; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 270; Kockelmann 2008 p. 393; Lüscher 1998; Niwiński 1989 p. 310; Raven 1996 p. 12; Schneider 1995 p. 7; Schneider 1998 p. 16-18; Schneider and Raven 1981 p. 117-118
Anastasi 1828	Paser	P. Leiden T 7 (AMS 34)	BD.II I.1a	Leiden 3	TM 134499	Bellion 1987 p. 177; Heerma van Voss 1966 pl. 18-19; Heerma van Voss 1982 p. 11-12, pl. 12; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 271; Leemans 1840 p. 240-241 (T.7); Naville 1886 p. 94, pl. CLIII; Niwiński 1989 p. 311-312; Niwiński 2009 p. 133-162; Raven 1996p. 64-66, no. 25; Schneider and Raven 1981 no. 119; Ziegler and Bovot 2001 p. 248, fig. 150
Cailliaud 1820- 1821		P. Paris BN 158-161	A.I.1	Paris 8		Bellion 1987 p. 76; Niwiński 1989 p. 351-352; Piankoff 1957; Piankoff 1964 p. 165-169
Anastasi 1833	Amenmese	P. St. Peters- burg P-1- 1952 (P. Tallinn)	BD.I. 2	Tallinn 1	TM 134664	Berlev and Hodjash 1998 p. 138-141, pl. 155-157; Hansen 1875 p. 90; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 267; Niwiński 1989, p. 365; Petrovsky 1959 p. 172-181; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315; Stadnikow and Burchart 1993 p. 97-100; Turaieff 1899 p. 148-149, no. 11
Anastasi 1839	Buhar	P. London BM EA 9974	BD.I. 2	London 11	TM 134527	Kockelmann 2008 p. 394; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Niwiński 1989 p. 323, pl. 4b; Parkinson and Quirke 1995 p. 48; Quirke 1993a p. 34, no. 39; Taylor 2010; Taylor and Antoine 2014 p. 102
Anastasi 1839	Anonymous	P. London BM EA 9975	A.II.2 a	London 12	TM 381298	Anonymous 1922 p.297; Niwiński 1989 p. 323; Quirke and Parkinson 1995 p. 6

Anastasi 1839	Ankhefenkhons	P. London BM EA 9980	A.II.2 a	London 14	TM 381239	Anonymous 1922 p.297; Niwiński 1989 p. 323-324; Quirke 1993a p. 31, no. 15
Anastasi 1839	Nesmut	P. London BM EA 9984	A.II.2 b	London 18	TM 381235	Niwiński 1989 p. 324-325; Quirke 1993b p. 49, no. 140
Anastasi 1839	Penmaat	P. London BM EA 10029	BD.I. 2	London 40	TM 134524	Davies 2001 p.44, pl. 9; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Nicholson and Shaw 2009 p. 115- 116; Niwiński 1989 p. 331, pl. 5a; Quirke 1993a p. 58, no. 203
Anastasi 1839	Padimut	P. London BM EA 10093	BD.I. 2	London 50	TM 134523	Niwiński 1989 p. 334; Quirke 1993a p.55, no. 177; Shorter 1938 p. 10, pl. VIII
Anastasi 1839	Neskhons	P. London BM EA 10329	BD.I. 2	London 56	TM 134526	Niwiński 1989 p. 336; Quirke 1993a p. 49, no. 136; Wüthrich 2015
Anastasi 1839	Tadiipetweret	P. London BM EA 10330	BD.I. 2/A.II .3	London 57	TM 134525	Niwiński 1989 p. 336; Quirke 1993a p. 63, no. 234
Anastasi (8) 1839	Djedamunetiusankh	P. London BM EA 10307	BD.I. 2	London D	TM 134522	Niwiński 1989 p. 340, pl. 6a; Quirke 1993a p. 35, no. 46
Anastasi 1857	Nesypawittawy	P. Berlin P. 3012 A + B	BD.I. 2	Berlin 9	TM 134393	Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 19-20, no. 12; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Luft 1973/1974 p. 5-46; Niwiński 1989 p. 246
Anastasi (1027)	Nesytanebetisheru	P. Paris Louvre E. 3227	BD.I. 2	Paris 30	TM 134586	Bellion 1987 p. 211; Devéria 1874 p. 86 (III.45); Le Nouene, Deroeux, and Le Cieux 1987 no. 63; Niwiński 1989 p. 358; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 116-118
Anastasi (1037)	Djeddjhutiyuefankh	P. Paris Louvre E. 3238 (P. Anastasi 1037)	BD	none	TM 56821	Devéria 1874 p. 173-174; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 273; Ryhiner 1977 p. 125-137; Spiegelberg 1896 p. 21-25
Anastasi (1041)	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre N. 3235	BD	none	TM 134587	Bellion 1987 p. 212; Černý 1942 p. 13-24; Jansen- Winkeln 1994 p. 273; Spiegelberg 1896 p. 14-25, pl. 5a
A. Ricci 1829	Ankhefenamun	P. Dresden Aeg. 775	BD.II I.1a	Dresden 1	TM 134414	Bellion 1987 p. 140; Gabolde 2006 p. 11-22; Hase 1836 p. 158; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 269; Lüscher 1998; Niwiński 1989 p. 306; Raumschüssel and Wenig 1977 p. 36-38, no. 37; Weber 2012; Wenig and Raumschüssel 1992 no. 149

L'Escluse 1826	Anonymous	P. Leiden L.I.1	A.II.1 a	Leiden 11		Jéquier 1894 p. 31; Leemans 1840 p. 253-255 (T.71); Niwiński 1989 p. 314; Pleyte 1894
L'Escluse 1826	Anonymous	P. Leiden L.1.3	A.II.1 a	Leiden 13		Leemans 1840 p. 253-255 (T.73); Niwiński 1989 p. 314- 315
A. Ricci 1829	Padimut	P. Dresden Aeg. 776	A.II.2 b	Dresden 2		Hase 1836 p. 173, no. 434; Niwiński 1989 p. 306; Wenig and Raumschüssel 1977 p. 38, il. 39-40 (cat. No. 38)
Kings- borough 1830s	Anonymous	P. Dublin MS 1665	A.I.1	Dublin 1		Hincks 1843 p. 14, no. 8; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Kings- borough 1830s	Amenmese	P. Dublin MS 1666	BD	none	TM 134415	Hinks 1843; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Kings- borough 1830s	Pashedkhons	P. Dublin MS 1667	Amdu at	none		Hinks 1843; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Kings- borough 1830s	Nesypawitiheryhat	P. Dublin MS 1668	BD	none	TM 134416	Hinks 1843; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Kings- borough 1830s	Shedsukhonsu	P. Dublin MS 1671	BD	none	TM 134417	Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Hinks 1843; Lenzo 2002 p. 267- 283; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Kings- borough 1830s	Anonymous	P. Dublin MS 1672	BD	none	TM 134680	Hinks 1843; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Kings- borough 1830s	Djedkhonsu	P. Dublin MS 1673	BD.I. 2	Dublin 2	TM 134418	Hincks 1843 p. 20-21, no.16; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 306-307; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Kings- borough 1830s	Isetnofret	P. Dublin MS 1674	BD.I. 2	Dublin 3	TM 134419	Hincks 1843 p. 21, no. 17; Niwiński 1989 p. 307; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Kings- borough 1830s	Herusaiset	P. Dublin MS 1675	BD	none	TM 134679	Hincks 1843 p. 21, no. 17; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Giuseppe Acerbi 1830	Anonymous	P. E.1026	A.II.2 a	Milan 1		Levi 1884 p. 566-583; Lise 1979, p. 27, pl. 93, no. 71; Lise 1981 p. 84-87; Niwiński 1989 p. 343

Palagi 1832	Djedkhonsuefankh	P. Bologna KS 3163	BD.I. 2	Bologna 1	TM 134402	Bellion 1987 p. 82; Curto, Govi, and Pernigotti 1990 p. 228, no. 180; Kminek-Szedlo 1895 p. 354, no. 3163; Kockelmann 2003 p. 291-325; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Niwiński 1989 253; Pernigotti 1981 p. 342-346; Pernigotti 1994 p. 130
Palagi 1832	Ahmose	P. Bologna KS 3164	BD.I. 2	Bologna 2	TM 134403	Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Bellion 1987 p. 82; Curto 1961 p. 104, no. 134; Kminek-Szedlo 1895 p. 354, no. 316; Niwiński 1989 p. 253; Pernigotti 1981 p. 342-346
Palagi 1832	Anonymous	P. Bologna KS 3169	A.II.2 a	Bologna 3		Kminek-Szedlo 1895 p. 355; Niwiński 1989 p. 253
Barker (209) 1833	Istemakhbit	P. London BM EA 9903	BD.II .1	London 1	TM 134530	Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Bellion 1987 p. 49; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 271; Munro 1988 p. 304; Naville 1886 p. 67-68; Niwiński 1989 p. 320; Quirke 1993a p. 33, no. 28; Shorter 1938 pl. II
Barker (217) 1833	Isetemakhbit	P. London BM EA 9904	BD.II .2	London 2	TM 134533	Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Bellion 1987 p. 49; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 320, pl. 17a-19c; Quirke 1993a p. 33, no. 29; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 98-100; Shorter 1938 p. 2; Taylor p. 2010
Barker (211) 1833	Tameniu	P. London BM EA 10002	A.III. 1b	London 24	TM 133519	Bellion 1987 p. 55; Niwiński 1989 p. 326 pl. 46b; Quirke 1992 p. 49, fig. 28; Quirke 1993a p. 64, no. 242; Seeber 1976 p. 211; Taylor 2010 no.28
Barker (210) 1833		P. London BM EA 10008	BD.II I.1a	London 30	TM 133519	Bellion 1987 p. 55; Lanzzone 1882, pl. CLXIII; Niwiński 1989 p. 328; Quirke 1992 p. 49, fig. 28; Quirke 1993a p. 64, no. 242; Seeber 1976 p. 211, pl. 16; Taylor 2010
Barker (219) 1833	Mutemwia	P. London BM EA 10003	BD.II I.1a	London 25	TM 134534	Budge 1895 p. 276; Niwiński 1989 p. 326; Quirke 1993a p. 45, no. 114; Taylor 2010 p. 265
Barker (215) 1833		P. London BM EA 10006	A.I.1	London 28	TM 380639	Lanzzone 1882 pl. CCXXXV; Mengadoht 1892 p. 151-152; Niwiński 1989 p. 327; Piankoff 1964 p. 72-77, 138-141
Barker (208) 1833	Ta...	P. London BM EA 10012	A.II.1 a	London 33	TM 381294	Niwiński 1989 p. 329; Quirke 1993a p. 62, no. 232
Barker (212) 1833	Aaamun	P. London BM EA 10014	BD.II .1	London 35	TM 134531	Bellion 1987 p. 56; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 271; Niwiński 1989 p. 329-330; Niwiński 2009 p. 133-162; Quirke 1993a p. 29, no. 1; Shorter 1938 p. 5, pl. VI
Barker (207) 1833	Astemkhebit	P. London BM EA 10019	A.II.1 b	London 37	TM 381228	Niwiński 1989 p. 330; Quirke 1993a p. 33, no. 30

Barker (213) 1833	Penmaat	P. London BM EA 10020	BD.II .1	London 38	TM 134532	Bellion 1987 p. 56; Niwiński 1989 p. 330-331; Niwiński 2009 p. 133-162; Quirke 1993a p. 58, no. 202; Seeber 1976 p. 212, no. 16; Shorter 1938 p. 6
Lavoratori (341) 1833	Amenmese	P. London BM EA 9918 (P. Salt 341)	BD.I. 1	London 3	TM 134544	Bellion 1987 p. 50; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Naville 1886 p. 62; Niwiński 1989 p. 320, pl. 1a; Quirke 1993a p. 30, no. 11
Burton (130) 1836	Paneferher	P. London BM EA 10327	BD.I. 2	London E	TM 134538	Niwiński 1989 p. 340; Quirke 1993a p. 57, no. 194
Athanasi (151) 1837	Amenkhau	P. London BM EA 10041	BD.II .2	London 45	TM 134528	Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Lucarelli 2015 275-291; Niwiński 1989 p. 332-333, pl. 20a-b; Quirke 1993a p. 30, no. 10
Athanasi (169) 1837	Padiamenet	P. London BM EA 10063	BD.I. 2	London 48	TM 134529	Niwiński 1989 p. 333; Quirke 1993a p. 51 no. 154; Taylor 2010 no.27
Athanasi 1837	Paditef	P. London BM EA 10119	BD.I. 2	London B	TM 134541	Niwiński 1989 p. 339; Quirke 1993a p. 55, no. 180
Vyse 1838	Anonymous	P. London BM EA 10024	A.II.1 b	London 39	TM 381227	Niwiński 1989 p. 331
Vyse 1838	Nesamun	P. London BM EA 10040	BD.I. 2	London 44	TM 134554	Bellion 1987 p. 57; Niwiński 1989 p. 332; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248; Quirke 1993a p. 48, no. 133; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 112-114; Shorter 1938 p. 7
Clot-Bey (207)	Djhuty	P. Paris Louvre N. 3245 (E. 850)	BD.I. 2	Paris 32	TM 134588	Bellion 1987 p. 213; Devéria 1874 p. 117; Niwiński 1989 p. 358
Clot-Bey 1840	Djedimentetiuefankh	P. Marseille 292	A.II.3	Marseill e 1	TM 110371	Bellion 1987 p. 227; Kockelmann 2008 p. 396; Lanzone 1882 pl. CCLXVII; Maspero 1889b p. 61, no. 92; Meeks 1993 p. 290-305; Nelson 1978 p. 62; Niwiński 1989 p. 342
Clot-Bey 1840	Anonymous	P. Marseille 293	A.II.2 a	Marseill e 2		Maspero 1889b p. 81-82; Nelson 1978 p. 62; Niwiński 1989 p. 342

Clot-Bey 1840	Anonymous	P. Marseille 295	A.III. 2a	Marseill e 3		Maspero 1889b p. 62; Nelson 1978 p. 62; Niwiński 1989 p. 342-343
Lane 1842	Djedkhonsiusankh	P. London BM EA 10328	BD.I. 2	London 55	TM 134543	Niwiński 1989 p. 336; Quirke 1993a p. 37, no. 59
Lowry- Corry 1843	Djedkhonsiufankh	P. London BM EA 74135	BD	none	TM 134520	Quirke 1993a p. 37, no. 57
Lowry- Corry 1843	Dimutiudu	P. London BM EA 74136	BD	none	TM 134535	Nicholson and Shaw 2009 p. 233; Quirke 1993a p. 35, no. 43; Taylor 2010 p. 300
Lepsius 1846	Tiubes (?)	P. Berlin P. 3016	A.II.2 a	Berlin 11		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 21; Niwiński 1989 p. 247
Lepsius 1846	Ankhefenmut	P. Berlin P. 3017	A.II.2 a	Berlin 12		Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 21; Niwiński 1989 p. 247
Annsley Valentia 1853	Anonymous	P. London BM EA 9979	A.II.2 a	London 13	TM 381238	Niwiński 1989 p. 323
Count Bagration 1858	Ankhefenmut	P. St. Petersburg SSL 3	BD.I. 2	Leningr ad 6	TM 134598	Berlev and Hodjash 1998 p. 144, no. 15, pl. 159-160; Evgenova 1957 (Pap. 3); Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Niwiński 1989 p. 319
Tischendo rf 1860- 1881	Ankhefenamun	P. St. Petersburg 1109	BD.1. 2	Leningr ad 2	TM 134597	Golénischeff 1891 p. 173; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 317; Pavlov and Matje 1958 pl. 72
Murray 1861	Muthetepti	P. London BM EA 10010	BD.II .1	London 31	TM 134509	Andrews 2004 p. 62-63; Bellion 1987 p. 55; Calmettes 2006 p. 23-30; Carrier 2009; Faulkner 1985p. 11, 148, 168-169, 173, 178-179; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 271; Lüscher 1998 pl. 10; Munro 1988 p. 299; Naville 1886 p. 59; Niwiński 1989p. 328, pl. 7b; Piankoff 1974 pl. 41-42; Quirke 1993a p. 45, no. 115; Taylor 2010 p. 198-199, no. 94

Murray 1861	Hennutawy	P. London BM EA 10018	A.III. 2a	London 36	TM 381226	Anonymous 1922 p. 296; Lanzone 1882 pl. CLIX; Niwiński 1989 p. 330, Parkinson 1999 fig. 55; Piankoff 1935 p. 155; Quirke 1993a p. 38, no. 65; Schott 1965 p. 187, 195
1954 Purchase		P. Richmond 54-10	BD.II I.1a	Richmo nd 1		Brown 1973 p. 42-43, no. 42; Niwiński 1989 p. 364
de Lyunes 1862	Nesyanebtawy	P. Paris BN 138-140, E. 3661	BD.II .2	Paris 44	TM 133576	Bellion 1987 p. 218; Devéria 1874 p. 86-87; Jansen- Winkeln 1994 p. 269; Munro 2001b p. 128, no. 253; Niwiński 1989 p. 361; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248; Seipel 1989 p. 181
de Lyunes 1862	Seramun	P. Paris BN Cabinet des Med-ailles	A.III. 1b	Paris 1		Lanzone 1882 pl. CCXXXIV; Ledrain 1870; Niwiński 1989 p. 349
Mallet 1951		P. Paris Louvre E. 17400	BD.II I.1a	Paris 49	TM 134583	Bellion 1987 p. 222; Niwiński 1989 p. 363
Joscelyne 1863	Horemakhbit	P. London BM EA 10339	BD.I. 2	London F	TM 134542	Niwiński 1989 p. 340; Quirke 1993a p. 39, no. 75
Smythe 1864	Tentshedmut	P. London BM EA 9970	A.II.1 b	London 10	TM 380865	Niwiński 1989 p. 322; Quirke 1993a p. 67, no. 270
Unknown		P. Paris N.3286	BD.I. 2	Paris 35	TM 134581	Bellion 1987 p. 216; Champollion 1827 p.154 (T.19); Devéria 1874, pp. 111-112 (III.83); Niwiński 1989 p. 359
Bremner- Rhind 1865	Iufankh	P. London 10207	BD.I. 2	London C	TM 134537	Niwiński 1989 p. 339-340; Quirke 1993a p. 43, no. 99
Blacas 1866	Disuenmut	P. London BM EA 9948	BD.II .1	London 8	TM 134536	Bellion 1987 p. 52; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 271; Niwiński 1989 p. 322; Quirke 1993a p. 35, no. 45; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 123-124; Shorter 1938 p. 2, pl. X

Hay 1868	Khay	P. London BM EA 9953 B P. New York Amherst 17 [A]	BD.II .2	London 9	TM 133558; TM 133575	Bellion 1987 p. 6, 52; Lüscher 2006 pl. 20; Munro 1988 p. 304-305; Naville 1886 p. 66; Newberry 1899 p. 50, pl. XXII; Niwiński, 1989 p. 322; Parkinson 1999 p. 166, no. 78; Quirke 1993a p. 44, no. 106; Shorter 1938 p. 3, 58-59, 66-67, pl. IV
Hay 1868	Ramose	P. London BM EA 9966	BD	none	TM 134364	Quirke 1993a p. 61, no. 217
Hay 1868	Anonymous	P. London BM EA 10001	A.II.2 b	London 23	TM 135590	Niwiński 1989 p. 326, pl. 40b
Harris (505) 1872	Anonymous	P. London BM EA 10267 (P. Harris 505)	A.II.1 b	London 53	TM 381196	Niwiński 1989 p. 335
Harris (506) 1872	Ankhes	P. London BM EA 10203 (P. Harris 506)	BD.I. 2	London 52	TM 134540	Bellion 1987 p. 62; Dawson 1949 p. 158-166; Niwiński 1989 p. 335; Quirke 1993a p. 31, no. 16
Budge 1888	Anhay	P. London BM EA 10472	BD.II I.1a	London 58	TM 134517	Anonymous 1922, p. 294; Anonymous 1930, p. 80; Budge 1899; Freed 1983 p. 28, 30, 91, 93-95; Heerma van Voss 1982 p. 9-10, pl. 7; Nicholson and Shaw 2009 p. 116; Niwiński 1983 p. 81, 88, fig. 4, 9; Niwiński 1989 p. 336-337; Pinch 1994 fig. 15; Quirke 1993a p. 30-31, no. 14; Seeber 1976, p. 212; Seipel 1989 p.173; Strudwick 2006 p. 236-237; Taylor 2010 p. 71, no. 124
Léaschow 1890	Anonymous	P. Hermitage 2509	A.II.2 a	Leningr ad 3		Golénischeff 1891 p. 380, no. 2509; Niwiński 1989 p. 318
Coleman 1896	Djedmut	P. Norwich 1921.37.262 .3 A	BD	none	TM 134699	unpublished
Crawford and Balcarres 1901	Penrenu	P. Manchester Hieroglyphi c 1	A.II.1 b	Manche ster 1		Niwiński 1989 p. 341-342

Crawford and Balcarres 1901	Iset	P. Manchester Hieratic 2	BD.I. 2	Manchester 2	TM 134557	Niwiński, 1989 p. 342
Hearst 1905	Anonymous	P. Lowie 5-267	A	none		Lesko 1977 p. 133-138
Hearst 1905		P. Lowie 5-268	BD	none		Lesko 1977 p. 133-138
Curzon 1917	Serdjehuty	P. London BM EA 10747	BD	none	TM 134555	Bellion 1987 p. 73; Quirke 1993a p. 61, no. 222; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Curzon 1919	Astemakhbit	P. London BM EA 10743	BD	none	TM 134516	Bellion 1987 p. 73; Quirke 1993a p. 33, no. 33; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315; Taylor 2010
Gardiner 1952	Padief	Oriental Museum, 1952-7	BD.I. 2	Durham 1		Niwiński 1989 p. 307
Mallet 1951	Bakenkhonsu	P. Paris Louvre E. 17399	BD.II .1	Paris 48	TM 134584	Bellion 1987 p. 222; Niwiński 1989 p. 363
Mallet 1951	Nesypaqashuty	P. Paris Louvre E. 17401	A.III. 1b	Paris 50	TM 134712	Étienne 2009 p. 290-291, no. 245; Niwiński 1989 p. 363; Niwiński 2004 112; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 104-108, no. 9; Régen 2017 p. 439-450; Seeber 1976 p. 212, no. 27
Norwich Castle Museum 1956	Djedisetiuesankh	P.Gar-stang 56.22.673	BD	none		unpublished
Norwich Castle Museum 1956		P.Gar-stang 56.22.674	A	none		unpublished
Hearst 1972	Ankhefkonsu	P. Unknown	BD.I. 2	Location Unknown 6		Niwiński 1989 p. 378-379
Kraus 1983	Nesymut	P. Los Angeles 83.AI. 46.5	BD	none	TM 134690	Kraus 1979, no. 5

Kraus 1983	Ankhesenaset	P. Los Angeles 83.AI. 46.6	BD	none	TM 134691	Kraus 1979, no. 6
Kraus 1983	Ast	P. Los Angeles 83.AI. 46.7	BD	none	TM 134692	Kraus 1979, no. 7
Kraus 1983	Anonymous	P. Los Angeles 83.AI. 46.3	?	none		Kraus 1979, no. 3
Percy 1991	Pamer	P. London BM EA 73665	BD	none	TM 134521	Quirke 1993a p. 57, no. 193; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Bankes 1996	Hat (?)	P. London BM EA 75026	BD	none	TM 134652	unpublished
Bankes 1996	Tamtu (?)	P. London BM EA 75027	BD	none	TM 134653	unpublished
Bankes 1996	Neskhons	P. London BM EA 75032	BD	none	TM 134655	unpublished
Bankes 1996	Djedmontiufankh	P. London BM EA 75034	BD	none	TM 134786	unpublished
Bankes 1996	Nebmaat	P. London BM EA 75035	BD	none	TM 134787	unpublished
Unknown	Paiefadjani	Cairo CG 40020 (S. R. IV 1532)	BD	none	TM 134661	Perraud 2006 p. 283-296
Unknown	Merefenmut	Cairo CG 40021 (J.E. 95858, S.R. IV 957)	BD.II I.1a	Cairo 37	TM 133572	Niwiński 1989 p. 266
Unknown	Khapefenhakhonsu	Cairo CG 58024 (J.E. 96275, S.R. IV 1533)	Magical	Cairo K	TM 134441	Bellion 1987 p. 115; Golénischeff 1927 p. 99-101, pl. XXII; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 266; Niwiński 1989 p. 303

Unknown	Dhutynakht	Cairo J.E. 26231 (J.E. 26191, S.R. IV 995)	BD	none	TM 134475	unpublished
Unknown	Anonymous	Cairo J.E. 94508	BD	none	TM 134737	unpublished
Unknown	Anonymous	Cairo J.E. 94536	BD	none	TM 134736	unpublished
Unknown	Ankhesenmut	Cairo J.E. 95637 a-d (S.R. IV 528)	BD.II I.1b/ A.II.3	Cairo 4	TM 134467	Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 255
Unknown	Ikhy	Cairo J.E. 95663 (S.R. IV 564)	BD	none	TM 134472	unpublished
Unknown	Anonymous	Cairo J.E. 95692	BD	none	TM 134739	unpublished
Unknown	Nesykhonsu	Cairo J.E. 95706 (S.R. IV 638)	BD.I. 2	Cairo 24	TM 134477	Niwiński 1989 p. 261
Unknown	Amenemipet	Cairo J.E. 95713 (S.R. IV 646)	BD.I. 2	Cairo 26	TM 134484	Niwiński 1989 p. 262; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 90-92
Unknown	Djedamuniuefankh	Cairo J.E. 95716 (S.R. IV 650)	BD.I. 2	Cairo 27	TM 134487	Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 262
		Cairo J.E. 95718 (S.R. IV 652)	A.III. 2a	Cairo 28		Niwiński 1989 p. 262; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 192-193, no. 27
Unknown	Anonymous	Cairo J.E. 95724	BD	none	TM 134738	unpublished
Unknown	Henibesenes	Cairo J.E. 96272 (S. R. IV 1528)	BD	none	TM 134657	unpublished
Unknown	Anonymous	Cairo J.E. 99067	BD	none	TM 134735	unpublished
Unknown	Djedmutiuesankh	Cairo S.R. VII 10223	BD.II I.1b	Cairo 60	TM 134493	Capasso 1998 p. 22-40; Niwiński 1989 p. 274, pl. 31a-c, 32a-b, 32c; Seeber 1976 p. 212, no. 24
		Cairo S.R. VII 10220	A.II.2 b	Cairo 57		Niwiński 1989 p. 274; Sadek 1985 p. 183-185, pl. 36 (C.25)

Unknown	Djedamuniuefankh	Cairo S.R. IV 530 (J.E. 4891)	A.II.2 a	Cairo 6		Niwiński 1989 p. 255; Sadek 1985 p. 173-175, pl. 33 (C.22)
Unknown	Anonymous	Cairo J.E. 95701 (S.R. IV 631)	A.III.2a	Cairo 23		Niwiński 1989 p. 260; Sadek 1985 p. 220-226, pl. 45-47 (C.32)
Unknown	Tchensarekna	Cairo J.E. 95712 (S.R. IV 645)	A.III.1a	Cairo 25		Köhler 1972 pl. 4; Niwiński 1989 p. 261
Unknown	Anonymous	Cairo J.E. 95721 (S.R. IV 655)	A.II.1a	Cairo 29		Niwiński 1989 p. 263; Sadek 1985 p. 88-94, pl. 4-7 (C.2)
Unknown	Anonymous	Cairo J.E. 34000 (S.R. VII 10235)	A.III.2a	Cairo 72		Niwiński 1989 p. 278; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 194-200, no. 28
Unknown	Anonymous	Cairo S.R. VII 11491	A.II.1a	Cairo 113		Niwiński 1989 p. 294
Unknown	Nesyamun	New York MMA 26.2.51	BD.I.2	New York 11	TM 134565	Niwiński 1989 p. 347
		New York MMA 26.2.52	BD	none	TM 134648	Allam 1992 p. 79; Allen 1974 p. 215-216
Unknown	Anonymous	Brooklyn Museum 37.1699 E	A.II.1a	New York 1		Niwiński 1989 p. 344
Unknown	Djedkhonsuefankh	Brooklyn Museum 37.1782 E	BD.I.2	New York 2		Clère 1968 p. 91, fig. 2; Niwiński 1989 p. 344
Unknown	Ankhenkhonsuenmut	Brooklyn Museum 37.1826 E	BD.I.2	New York 3		Niwiński 1989 p. 344
Unknown	Isetenkhonsumut	Brooklyn Museum 37.1801 E	BD	none	TM 134559	Ritner 2010 p. 167-185; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 129-130
Unknown	Ha	P. New York Amherst 17 [B]	BD	none	TM 134665	unpublished

Unknown	Nesyamunemipet	P. New York Amherst fragments group 6	BD	none	TM 134667	unpublished
Unknown	Patawemdjeretmut	P. Ann Arbor 2725; P. Dublin Chester Beatty Library	BD	none	TM 133526	Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Unknown	Djedmutiuesankh	P. Ann Arbor 3524; P. Munich ÄS 30 + 719	BD	none	TM 133578	Bellion 1987 p. 235; Burkard and Fischer-Elfert 1994 no. 257; Grimm and Schoske 1999 no. 19; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Aylesbury 430	BD	none	TM 134640	Lee 1858 p. 56, no. 430
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Aylesbury 431	BD	none	TM 134639	Lee 1858 p. 56 no. 431
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Aylesbury 434	BD	none	TM 134641	Lee 1858 p. 57, no. 434
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Aylesbury 435	BD	none	TM 134642	Lee 1858 p. 57, no. 435
Unknown	Pawiaenadjdiu	P. Berlin P. 10466	BD.I. 2	Berlin 29	TM 134401	Hussein and Krauspe 1970 p. 46; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 265; Kaplony-Heckel 1986 p. 50, no. 105; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Niwiński 1989 p. 252
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Berlin P. 3051	U	Berlin B		Niwiński 1989 p. 252
Unknown	Nesyamun	P. Boston MFA o.Nr.	BD	none	TM 134404	Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Unknown	Anonymous	Budapest 51.2547	A.III. 2a	Budapest 1		Niwiński 1989 p. 253; Varga 1964 p. 20-21, pl. 12; Varga 1976 p. 32
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Cambridge E.26 c - 1940	BD	none	TM 134884	Strudwick 2009 p. 201-212

Unknown	Merimaat	P. Chantilly OA 1931	BD	none	TM 134751	Laugier 2002; Menei 1993 p. 5-16
Unknown	Buiruharmut	P. Cleve- land 1914.725	A.II.2 a	none		Niwiński 1989 p. 304
Unknown	Buiruharmut	P. Cleve- land 1914.733	BD	none	TM 134709	Berman 1999 p. 377-378, no. 286
Unknown	Bakenmut	P. Cleve- land 1914.724	BD	Clevena nd 1	TM 133568	Berman 1999 p. 372-373, no. 282; Williams 1918 p. 166-178, pl. 272-285
Unknown	Bakenmut	P. Cleve- land 1914.882	BD.I. 2	Clevena nd A	TM 133569	Berman 1999 p. 373-374, no. 283; Niwiński 1989 p. 305
Unknown	Hori	P. Cleveland 1921.1032	BD.II I.1a	Clevena nd 2	TM 134408	Bellion 1987 p. 130; Berman 1999 p. 370-372, no. 281; Heerma van Voss 1982 p. 7, pl. 1-3; Heerma van Voss 2007 p. 45-49, pl. 1-2; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 269; Lüscher 1998; Niwiński 1989 p. 305
Unknown	Ankhefenkhonsu	P. Cologne CI	BD	none	TM 134678	Valloggia 2001 p. 135-145
Unknown	Taenimnetheretib	P. Cologne CII	BD	none	TM 134677	Anonymous 1937 p. 11, no. 82; Valloggia 2001 p. 135-145
Unknown	Nebnetru	P. Cologne CIII	BD	none	TM 134422	Anonymous 1937 p. 11, no. 83; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Ullmann and Wimmer 2009 p. 414-420; Valloggia 1991 p. 129-136; Valloggia 2001 p. 135-145
Unknown	Nesypernebu	P. Cologne CVI	BD	none	TM 134682	Valloggia 2001 p. 135-145
Unknown	Paenpai	P. Cologne CVII	BD/A	none	TM 134727	Anonymous 1937 p. 12, no. 85; Valloggia 1989 p. 131-144; Valloggia 2001 p. 135-145
Unknown	Djedmaatuesankh	P. Cologne CVIII	BD/A	none	TM 134698	Anonymous 1937 p. 12, no. 85; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Valloggia 1998 p. 441-453; Valloggia 2001 p. 135-145
Unknown	Sesiusheri	P. Cologne CXI	BD	none	TM 134685	Anonymous 1937 p. 12, no. 84; Valloggia 2001 p. 135-145; Valloggia 2009 p. 439-450
Unknown	Djedkhonsu	P. Cortona 187	BD	none	TM 134411	Bellion 1987 p. 131; Botti 1955 p. 49
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Cortona 394	A.II.2 a	Cortona 1		Botti 1955 pl. III, no. 394; Niwiński 1989 p. 305

Unknown	Iuesenhasutmut	P. Darmstadt 269	BD	none	TM 134686	Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Den Hagg 37	A.III. 2a	Hagg 1		De Buck 1938; Heerma van Voss 1974 p. 331-334, fig. 93; Heerma van Voss 1982 p. 13, pl. 15; Heerma van Voss 1985 p. 73-75
Unknown	Hor	P. Den Haag 40/86	BD	none	TM 134412	Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995 p. 102-104
Unknown	Ankhesenaset	P. Den Haag 43/89	BD	none	TM 134413	Boddens-Hosang 1989 p. 70-71; Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995; Jansen-Winkeln 1994 p. 272; Spiegelberg 1896 p. 14-25 pl. 4a
Unknown	Nesytanebetisheru	P. Edinburgh 1958.850	BD.I. 2	Edinburgh 1	TM 134421	Niwiński 1989 p. 307
Unknown	Paiestchenef	P. Edinburgh 212.113 (2)+(3)	BD	none	TM 134420	Bellion 1987 p. 142; Birch 1885 p. 45-49; Reymond 1972 p. 125-132
Unknown	Inienpheufwedjtu	P. Bodmer C	BD.II .1	Geneva 1		Bissing 1928; Müller, Wessel, and von Bekerath 1961 p. 130, no. 213; Spiegelberg 1928; Vallogia 1989
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Genf D 406	BD	none	TM 134688	unpublished
Unknown	Nesymut	P. Hamm 2236	BD.I. 2	Hamm 1	TM 134425	Burkard and Fischer-Elfert 1994 p. 210; Eggebrecht 1993 p. 122-123 (T. 49); Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Falck 1987; Falck 1998 p. 22-48; Zink 1965 no. 7
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Heidelberg von Portheim Stiftung 5	BD	none	TM 134715	unpublished
Unknown	Isetemakhbit	P. Heidelberg Ä.I. Hieratisch II	BD	none	TM 134427	Burkard and Fischer-Elfert 1994 p. 198; Kockelmann 2003 p. 291-325; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Seider 1964
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Kazan 1	BD.I. 2	Kazan 1	TM 134494	Berlev and Hodjash 1998 p. 141, no. 11; Niwiński 1989 p. 310; Turaieff 1903 p. 94
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Kazan 2	A.II.1 (?)	Kazan 2		Berlev and Hodjash 1998 p. 141, no. 12; Turaieff 1903 p. 94-95, no. 162

Unknown	Amenhotep	P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250	BD	none	TM 134495	Christiansen and Ryholt 2016 p. 1-3, pl. 1-12; Jensen 2001; Lenzo 2007 p. 14, 17-28, 41-43, 125, 127, 202, 275, 291; Manniche 2004 p. 33, 211; Munro 1996 p. xi; Munro 2001 p. 120, 137; Zauzich 1991 p. 11
Unknown	Nesykhonsu	P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 488 (37.1); P. Houston 31.72	BD	none	TM 57485	Christiansen and Ryholt 2016 p. 4-5, pl. 13-21; Lenzo 2007 p. 45-48, pl. 16-26a
Unknown	Aseti	P. Leiden T 37	BD	none	TM 134660	Allam 1992 pl. XVII; Coenen 1999a p. 67-79
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Liège No Number	A.II.2 a	Liège 1		Malaise 1971 p. 114-116, fig. 47; Meulenaere 1969 p. 48, no. 88; Niwiński 1989 p. 319
Unknown	Tefrerwaset	P. London BM EA 10094	BD.I. 2	London A	TM 134512	Niwiński 1989 p. 339; Quirke 1993a p. 65, no. 257
Unknown		P. Louvre N.3119	A.II.1 a	Paris 20		Devéria 1874 p. 44 (II.6); Jéquier 1894 p. 32; Niwiński 1989 p. 355
Unknown	Asti	P. London BM EA 10084	BD	none	TM 134511	Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 125-127; Quirke 1993a p. 34, no. 38
Unknown	Ast	P. London BM EA 10703	BD	none	TM 57515	Bellion 1987 p. 73; Quirke 1993a p. 33, no. 27; Shorter 1938 p. 15
Unknown	Pashebmutwebkhet	P. London BM EA 10988	BD	none	TM 134514	Lenzo 2005 p. 278-279; Perraud 2006 p. 283-296; Quirke 1993a p. 57, no. 196; Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Unknown	Anonymous	P. London UC 32801	BD	none	TM 134789	unpublished
Unknown	Herusaiset	P. Lüttich I/627 bis	BD	none	TM 56947	Malaise 1971 p. 114
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Mainz PJG 96	BD	none	TM 134770	Heide 2004 p. 45
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Munich 89	A.II.1 a	Munich 1		Niwiński 1989 p. 343
Unknown	Aset	P. Munich ÄS 17	BD	none	TM 134746	Bellion 1987 p. 235; von Christ 1901 p. 87-88

Unknown	Hathat	P. New Haven Ct YBR 2755	BD	none	TM 134718	Berman 1999 p. 378
Unknown	Djedasetiuesankh	P. Moscow I, 1b, 130	BD	none	TM 134781	unpublished
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Moscow I, 1b, 8	BD	none	TM 135559	unpublished
Unknown	Padiamun	P. Moscow I, 1b, 83	BD	none	TM 134768	unpublished
Unknown	Djedefenkonsu called Penpy	P. Oberlin AMAM 52.12	BD	none	TM 134649	Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Wilson 1961-1962 p. 90-96
Unknown	Nesypaneferher	P. Oslo MS 126	BD.II I.1b	Location Unknown 4	TM 134614	Freed 1983 p. 89, no. 70; Niwiński 1989 p. 378
Unknown	Nesytanetasheru	P. Oxford 1892.618	BD	none	TM 134721	unpublished
Unknown		P. Oxford 1892.619	BD	none	TM 134723	unpublished
Unknown	Djedkhonsuiuesankh	P. Oxford Ms. Egypt. d. 10 (P) + d. 11 (P)	BD	none	TM 134693	Coenen 1999b p. 450-469; Coenen 2000 p. 81-98
Unknown	Amenemipet	P. Oxford 1878.236	BD.I. 2	Oxford 1		Moorey 1970 p. 53, fig. 24; Moorey 1983 p. 61, fig. 26; Niwiński 1989 p. 348
Unknown	Ankhesenaset	P. Paris BN 62-88	BD.II .2	Paris 5	TM 134568	Bellion 1987 p. 75; Niwiński 1989 p. 351; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 88-89
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Pairs Louvre N. 3062	A.	Paris 10		Devéria 1874 p. 47-48 (II.15)
Unknown	Baumuternehktu	P. Paris Louvre N. 3069	BD.II I.1b	Paris 11	TM 134590	Bellion 1987 p. 192; Boreux 1932 p. 418; Champollion 1827 p. 147 (T.3); Devéria 1874 p. 12-13 (I.4); Niwiński 1989 p. 352; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 128-129, no. 13
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Pairs Louvre N. 3071	A.II.1 a	Pairs 13		Boreux 1932 p. 419; Devéria 1874 p. 21-39 (II.1); Jéquier 1894 p. 31; Pierret 1878 p. 103-148

Unknown	Tchaiheruiautef	P. Paris Louvre N. 3080	BD.I. 2	Paris 14	TM 134592	Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Bellion 1987 p. 195; Champollion 1827 p. 154 (T.15); Devéria 1874 p. 121-122 (III.97); Etienne 1998 p. 48-55; Guieysse 1876 p. 15, 21-65, pl. I; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 268; Niwiński 1989 p. 353
Unknown		P. Paris Louvre N. 3294	A.II.1 b	Paris 40		Boreux 1932 p. 423; Devéria 1874 p. 43; Niwiński 1989 p. 360
Unknown	Amenhotep	P. Paris Louvre N. 3095	BD.II .1	Paris 15	TM 134573	Bellion 1987 p. 199; Devéria 1874 p. 56-58; Niwiński 1989 p. 354
Unknown	Ankheseniset	P. Paris Louvre N. 3109	A.II.2 a	Paris 16		Devéria 1874 p. 39 (II.2); Jéquier 1894 p. 32; Niwiński 1989 p. 354
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre N. 3111	A.II.2 a	Paris 18		Devéria 1874 p. 47 (II.13); Niwiński 1989 p. 354-355
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre N. 3118	BD.	Paris 19		Devéria 1874, p. 127 (III.108); Niwiński 1989 p. 355
Unknown	Djhutyiu	P. Paris Louvre N. 3127	BD.II I.1	Paris 21	TM 134574	Bellion 1987 p. 201; Devéria 1874 p. 117; Niwiński 1989 p. 355; Niwiński 2009 p. 133-162
Unknown	Shebeniset	P. Paris Louvre N. 3131	BD.I. 2	Paris 23	TM 134594	Bellion 1987 p. 203; Devéria 1874 p. 106 (III.76); Niwiński 1989 p. 356
Unknown	...ef	P. Paris Louvre N. 3134	BD.I. 2	Paris 24		Niwiński 1989 p. 356
Unknown	Padiamun	P. Paris Louvre N. 3139	A.III. 2a	Paris 25		Devéria 1874 p. 46 (II.10); Niwiński 1989 p. 356
Unknown	Nesykhonsupahered	P. Paris Louvre N. 3140	A.III. 2a	Paris 26		Devéria 1874 p. 45 (II.8); Niwiński 1989 p. 356
Unknown		P. Paris Louvre N. 3141	BD.I. 2	Paris 27	TM 134575	Bellion 1987 p. 204; Devéria 1874 p. 89-90; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 357
Unknown	Iuefenmut	P. Paris Louvre N. 3150	BD.I. 2	Paris 28	TM 134577	Bellion 1987 p. 205; Devéria 1874 p. 61; Niwiński 1989 p. 115, 357; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 111-112

Unknown	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre N. 3179	A.II.3	Paris 29	TM 134635	Devéria 1874 p. 47; Niwiński 1989 p. 357
Unknown	Djedkhonsuiuesankh	P. Pairs Louvre N. 3276	A.III. 2a	Paris 33		Champollion 1827 p.148 (T.6); Devéria 1874 p. 40-43 (II.4); Niwiński 1989 p. 359; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 203-209, no. 29; Roberson 2012 p. 488-489; Schott 1965 p. 194
Unknown		P. Paris Louvre N. 3280	BD.I. 2	Paris 34	TM 134580	Andreu-Lanoë, Rutschowskaya, Davidson, and Ziegler 1997 p. 166; Bellion 1987 p. 215; Cenival 1992 p. 7; Cenival, Yoyotte, Ziegler, Mabin, and Bruelle 1987 p. 277; Devéria 1874 p. 124-125; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62; Niwiński 1989 p. 359; Röblier-Köhler 1999 p. 104-106
Unknown	Tabakenkhonsu	P. Paris Louvre N. 3287	A.III. 1a	Paris 36		Champollion 1827 p. 147-148 (T.4); Chassinat 1903; Devéria 1874 p. 11-12 (I.3); Niwiński 1989 p. 359
Unknown	Amunemsaef	P. Paris Louvre N. 3292	BD.II I.1a	Paris 38	TM 134582	Bellion 1987 p. 217; Boreux 1932 p. 422; Champollion 1827 p. 144-146 (T.1); Devéria 1874 p. 1-8 (I.1); Nagel 1929 p. 1-127; Nibley 2005 p. 179, 395; Niwiński 1989 p. 360; Piankoff 1935 p. 139; Redford 2002; Schott 1965 p. 188; Seeber 1976 p. 212, no. 26; Spiegelberg 1894 p. 68+P668
Unknown		P. Paris Louvre N. 3293	A.III. 1b	Paris 39		Champollion 1827 p. 146-147 (T.2); Devéria 1874 p. 8-11 (I.2); Niwiński 1989 p. 360; Piankoff 1935 p. 139-157
Unknown	Bakenmut	P. Paris Louvre N. 3297	A.III. 2a	Paris 41		Champollion 1827 p. 148 (T.5); Devéria 1874 p. 13-15 (I.5); Lanzone 1882 pl. CCLVII; Niwiński 1989 p. 361; Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 126-127, no. 12
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre N. 3374	A.II.1 a	Paris 42		Devéria 1874 p. 45-46 (II.9); Niwiński 1989 p. 361
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre N. 3451	A.II.1 b	Paris 43		Cenival, Yoyotte, Ziegler, Mabin, and Bruelle 1987 p. 274-275; Devéria 1874 p. 39-40 (II.3); Jéquier 1894 p. 32; Niwiński 1989 p. 361
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre N. 5451	A.II.2 a	Paris 45		Devéria 1874 p. 46-47 (II.11); Niwiński 1989 p. 362
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre E. 6257	A.II.2 a	Paris 46		Niwiński 1989 p. 362

Unknown	Nesykhonsupahered	P. Pairs Louvre E. 31856	BD.I. 2	Paris 51	TM 134589	Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Niwiński 1989 p. 364
Unknown	Mutmeres	P. Paris Louvre N. 3132 P. Paris Louvre E. 18965 P. New Haven P. Ct YBR 2754 (1)-(6)	BD.I. 2	Paris A	TM 133523	Bellion 1987 p. 203, 223, 501; Bierbrier 1975 p. 14, chart IV; Bohleke 1997 p. 115-141; Devéria 1874 p. 75; Dewachter 1986 p. 32, no. 12; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Niwiński 1989 p. 364; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 109-111
Unknown	Merenkhonsu	P. Paris BN 59	BD	none	TM 134380	Bellion 1987 p. 75; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62
Unknown	Itawy	P. Paris BN 60	BD	none	TM 134381	Bellion 1987 p. 75; Lenzo 2004 p. 43-62
Unknown	Djedhor	P. Paris BN 61	BD	none	TM 57383	Bellion 1987 p. 75
Unknown	Nesykhonsu	P. Paris Louvre E. 19.167	BD	none	TM 134572	unpublished
Unknown	Pentaperuser	P. Paris Louvre E. 20257	BD	none	TM 134827	unpublished
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre N. 3142 A	BD	none	TM 134576	Bellion 1987 p. 204; Černý 1942 p. 13-24; Devéria 1874 p. 178; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 273; Mosher 2010 p. 123-172; Spiegelberg 1896 p. 14-25
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre N. 3160	BD	none	TM 134578	Bellion 1987 p. 207; Černý 1942 p. 13-24; Jansen-Winkel 1994 p. 273; Spiegelberg 1896 p. 14-25, pl. 5b
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Paris Louvre N. 3172	BD	none	TM 134579	Bellion 1987 p. 208; Černý 1942 p. 13-24; Spiegelberg 1896 p. 14-25, pl. 2b
Unknown	Ankhesenmut	P. Paris Louvre N. 3244	BD	none	TM 134806	Devéria 1874 p. 160-161; Herbin 1999 p. 283-285; Lenzo 2007 p. 280; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Perm, Nr.?	BD	none	TM 134672	Berlev and Hodjash 1998 p. 141, no. 10; Turayev 1899 p. 131, no. 11., 131

Unknown	Ankhefenkhonsu	P. Private Collect-ion Paris 1	BD	none	TM 134615	Quirke 1993b p. 309-315
Unknown	Amenemipet	P. Private Collect-ion [1] (P. Fischer)	BD	none	TM 134834	Ullmann and Wimmer 2009 p. 414-420
Unknown	Nesykhonsu	P. Turin 1818	BD	none	TM 134600	Bellion 1987 p. 278; Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 222-223; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 124-125
Unknown	Aset	P. Turin CGT 53007 (Nr. 1851)	BD	none	TM 134741	Fabretti, Rossi, and Lanzone 1882 p. 232; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Lenzo 2007 p. 69-90, pl. 34-37a
Unknown	Iimut	P. Vatican 38566 (P. Vatican 56)	BD	none	TM 134618	Bellion 1987 p. 31; Gasse 1993 p. 26-27, no. 13; Gasse 2006 p. 51-71
Unknown	Djedimentetiuiesankh	P. Vatican 38579	BD	none	TM 134710	Bellion 1987 p. 316, no. 5; Gasse 1993 p. 31-32, no. 18; Gasse 2006 p. 51-71; Marucchi 1891 p. 40, no. 46
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Vatican 38590	BD	none	TM 134708	Gasse 1993 p. 29, no. 15
Unknown	Nesyamun	P. Vatican 38592 (P. Vatican 44-45)	BD	none	TM 134619	Bellion 1987 p. 316; Gasse 1993 p. 27-29, no. 14, pl. XIX-XXI; Gasse 2006 p. 51-71; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283
Unknown	Horu	P. Vatican 38593	BD	none	TM 134706	Bellion 1987 p. 316, no. 6; Gasse 1993 no. 19; Marucchi 1891 p. 41, no. 47
Unknown	Merenkhonsu	P. Vatican 38606	BD	none	TM 134620	Gasse 1993 no. 16, pl. XXII; Gasse 2006 p. 51-71; Kockelmann 2003 p. 291-325; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283
Unknown	Sutymes	P. Vatican 38607 (P. Vatican 30)	BD	none	TM 134621	Bellion 1987 p. 317; Gasse 1993 no. 12, pl. XVII-XVIII; Gasse 2006 p. 51-71; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283
Unknown	Nesykhonsu	P. Vatican 48812 (P. Vatican 31)	BD	none	TM 134622	Bellion 1987 p. 318; Gasse 1993 no. 11, pl. XV-XVI; Gasse 2006 p. 51-71; Lenzo 2002 p. 267-283; Ragazzoli 2010 p. 225-248; Rößler-Köhler 1999 p. 114-116
Unknown	Djedamuniuesankh	P. Vatican 46	BD	Vatican 1		Marucchi 1891 p. 40 (pap. V); Niwiński 1989 p. 373
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Vatican 52	A	Vatican 2		Marucchi 1891 p. 44-46 (pap. XI); Niwiński 1989 p. 373
Unknown	Anonymous	P. Vatican 91	A.II.2 a	Vatican 3		Marucchi 1891 p. 99-100 (pl. IV); Niwiński 1989 p. 374

Unknown	...amun	P. Vienna no number	A	Vienna 3		Niwiński 1989 p. 375
Unknown	Isetemakhbit	P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 12000	BD.I. 2	Vienna 4	TM 134624	Backes 2009 p. 5-27; Niwiński 1989 p. 375
Unknown	Iueshesienmut	P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 12459	BD	none	TM 134713	unpublished
Unknown	Ankhefenkhonsu	P. Warrington WAG-MG: RA 298	BD	none	TM 134835	unpublished
Unknown	Swnerpaneб	P. St. Petersburg 1113; P. Odessa Nr. 52974	BD	none	TM 134595	Allen 1974 p. 244; Berlev and Hodjash 1998 p. 137, no.3; Golénischeff 1891 p. 176-177; Piankoff 1974 pl. 34-35
Unknown	Anonymous	P. St. Petersburg 1114	BD	none	TM 134828	Lourie 1949 p. 123-132
Unknown	Djedkhonsu	P. St. Petersburg 18587	BD	none	TM 134777	unpublished
Unknown	Payespermeh	P. St. Petersburg 84449 + 84450	BD	none	TM 134778	unpublished
Unknown	Tentosorkon	Cairo No Number	BD	none		Köhler 1972 pl. 4

CHAPTER 3.

UNDERSTANDING THE GENDER DIVIDE: WOMEN'S PAPYRI

3.1 Women's Roles

21st Dynasty Theban funerary papyri provide a unique glimpse into the social organization and lives of women. Because each individual – regardless of gender – was afforded her or her own funerary papyri, women during this time period can be studied in an equal way to men, rather than as a supplement or afterthought to the burials of men. For other times in pharaonic history, women were often defined through and by means of their male counterparts.¹⁸⁴ Commonly relegated to the domestic sphere, it is no surprise that a clear majority of women's titles during pharaonic times reflect their household status. Because of the close association of the woman to her husband, social status and prestige for both were derived through his personal titles and his close association to the king and palace complex.¹⁸⁵ Thus, there existed a lack of complexity and depth in female titles as compared to men. Of course, there were always priestess functions for women in the temple, but these titles were more restricted and occurred much less frequently than male titles of the palace and temple complexes.¹⁸⁶

The changes in the political sphere, coupled with the resulting shift in burial practices, ushered in many unique changes to 21st Dynasty elite culture. One primary change was the shift

¹⁸⁴ For an introductory discussion of women in ancient Egypt, see Gay Robins, "Women in Ancient Egypt," *Women's Roles in Ancient Civilizations: A Reference Guide*, editor Bella Vivante (London: Greenwood Press, 1999) 155-188.

¹⁸⁵ Juan Carlos García Moreno, "Households," *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, editors Willeke Wendrich, et. al. (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2012) 7.

¹⁸⁶ The New Kingdom Instructions of Ani suggests the following advice for social harmony: "Rank creates its rules: A woman is asked about her husband; a man is asked about his rank." (6.14-15).

from palace titles to temple titles, with added emphasis on family relationships, which began earlier in the 19th and 20th Dynasties. This trend emphasizing family relationship and temple titles can be witnessed in the personalization of the elite Theban tombs of the Ramesside Period. The preserved texts and images demonstrated a shift in preference from palace titles to temple titles and exemplifies the decreasing authority of the king over the elite and the state temple system to which so many of the elite population were affiliated.¹⁸⁷

Palace Titles versus Temple Titles in the 18 th Dynasty and Ramesside Period		
Time Period	Percentage of King-Based Titles	Percentage of Temple-Based Titles
18 th Dynasty	71.4%	28.6%
Ramesside Period	22.3%	77.7%

Table 3.1. Palace Titles versus Temple Titles in the 18th Dynasty and Ramesside Period

The same tombs also reveal an increased number of relatives represented in the tomb. Again, this demonstrates the desire of the Theban elite in the Ramesside period to discover and highlight meaningful connections outside the realm of kingship to define one's self.

¹⁸⁷ For a list of the New Kingdom Theban tombs consulted, see Appendix C at the end of this chapter. This list is compiled from tombs with tomb and chapel scenes from the 18th, 19th, and 20th Dynasties where relatives of the deceased are present. It was necessary to compile scenes where the deceased with family members other than children (although children could be present in the scenes) were the prominent features. Using examples which feature other relatives and not just children was crucial, as offering scenes of sons presenting to their deceased parents are far too standardized to determine individual choice and the development of trends. It was also prudent to exclude the tombs of Deir el-Medina. Because Deir el-Medina chapels and tombs were often intended to be family interments and thus used for prolonged periods that oftentimes spanned dynasties, any depictions of extended families would not be valid, as the expectation of these sepulchers to function on the family level would neither speak to a tomb owner's social identity nor be able to contribute to broader social patterns through time. A search was conducted in Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss's *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, Tome I for all examples of tomb depictions that fit the above criteria. Two categories of their scene descriptions fit the research needs: categories twenty-six and twenty-seven, which are "deceased offers to relatives and company," and "deceased meets relatives," respectively. In all, the data set includes twenty-nine tombs, ranging from the early 18th Dynasty to the middle of the 20th Dynasty, spanning the reigns of Ahmose I to Ramesses V.

Average Number of Relatives and Titles of Relatives Per Time Period			
Time Period	Average Number of Relatives Depicted Per Tomb	Average Number of Titles of Relatives Per Tomb	Overall Percentage of Relatives with Titles
18 th Dynasty	3	0.33	33.33%
Ramesside Period	8.5	0.77	75.75%

Table 3.2. Average Number of Relatives and Titles of Relatives Per Time Period

Both the titles and the depicted relatives in the tomb speak to the tomb owner's social identity – how he chose to portray himself in his tomb chapel. As Melinda Hartwig explains, “Besides presenting the deceased's worthy life and status, another goal of the commemorative image within the tomb chapel was to immortalize the deceased's identity within a social framework.”¹⁸⁸ These aspects of the self were perpetuated in the tomb via monumental discourse, which Jan Assmann maintains was a means to perpetuate individuality within the realm of collective identity and thematic community. “The tomb inscribed its owner into a network of social memory...mutual regard, and reciprocal action that in the eyes of the Egyptians constituted the essence of human society.”¹⁸⁹ Thus, any patterns in the way individuals portray themselves in their tombs can speak to broader social patterns of the time.

Titles of the deceased suggest a shift in loyalty from the king to the state temple complexes. As the king lost power and prestige towards the end of the Ramesside Period, the Theban elite found it much more self-serving to highlight their roles within the temple. Titles

¹⁸⁸ Melinda K. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419-1372 BCE*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca; Série Imago 10, Number 2 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2004) 42.

¹⁸⁹ Assmann 2003, *op. cit.*, 70.

grew more hereditary:¹⁹⁰ A natural failsafe to maintain prestigious social identity was a connection to a strong family lineage from which one could gain inheritance, property, prestige, and titles.¹⁹¹

For men, this meant finding prestige in one's association with the temple via family relationships, rather than establishing a relationship to the king. For women, this shift away from a royal patriarchal title system opened option and opportunity. Women could now utilize temple titles along with their male counterparts in a very relevant way to this priestly subsection of Egyptian society. With the emphasis on the temple, women had more of a venue and voice to actively participate among their peers in a socially defining way. Alba M^a Villar Gómez has even demonstrated that during the 21st Dynasty, it was the women associated with the temple precinct of Khonsu who elevate the social status of their husbands and fathers – not the other way around.¹⁹² Thus, just as women's access to the temple and specific titles grew during the 21st Dynasty, so also did their social identity outside of marriage expand.

This is not to say that women reached equality to their male counterparts during the 21st Dynasty. It is safe to say that Theban elite women were still very much subject to the control of first their fathers and then their husbands in this elite priestly society. However, the unique economic and political situation that deconstructed the traditional ties of kingship allowed elite women to advance their autonomy in the funerary record in terms of their recorded titles, grave

¹⁹⁰ Shelia Whale, *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A Study of the Representations of the Family in Private Tombs* (Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1989) 239.

¹⁹¹ Peter Dorman, "Family burial and commemoration in the Theban necropolis," *The Theban Necropolis, Past, Present and Future*, editors Nigel Strudwick and John Taylor (London: The British Museum Press, 2003) 30-41.

¹⁹² Alba M^a Villar Gomez, "An Overview of the Servants of Khonsu during the Third Intermediate Period at Thebes," *Cult and Belief in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress for Young Egyptologists 25-27 September 2012, Sofia* (Sofia: New Bulgarian University, 2014) 81-87.

goods, and observable independence from their male family members, as will be demonstrated below.

The titles that are preserved for women can be broken into two major categories: household titles and temple titles. An analysis of the papyri and the titles they contain is a means of understanding female agency and power in the 21st Dynasty. The following sections provide the titles observed on the papyri of 21st Dynasty women, a description of the position the title references, and the relative frequency of the title. While women's titles are much more restrictive than their male counterparts, observations can be made with the variation that is present. Navigating within a narrower range of titles makes the social distinction that is perceptible even more important and outstanding. It also demonstrates that Egyptologists should not focus on titles in isolation, but as one component of the identity of an individual.

3.1.1 Household Titles

Household titles for women during the 21st Dynasty are much more limited in scale and scope than the newly available temple titles. Among the household titles of women, the title *nb.t-pr*, or Lady of the House¹⁹³ is by far the most common. This title suggests a married status wherein the woman is considered the head of the domestic household. Although by no means a comprehensive list, the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* lists 113 attestations of this title ranging in dates from the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period.¹⁹⁴ Of the 224 21st Dynasty papyri with

¹⁹³ This title is referenced as title 993 in Abdul Rahman Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Ismailia: Obelisk Publications, 2006) 285-286. He lists 11 attestations of this title.

¹⁹⁴ "Attestations for Lemma: *nb.t-pr* "Hausherrin" (Wb 2, 232; 1, 512.9-13; FCD 129)," *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (2009)
http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetWcnRefs?u=guest&f=0&l=0&ll=*82090&wt=y&lr=0&mo=1&db=0&of=0.

female owners, 134 title the owner as *nb.t-pr*.¹⁹⁵ This title, coupled with that of *šmꜥ.t n 'Imn (-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w)*, Chantress of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods, (which will be discussed in the following section) constitutes the vast majority of title combinations for women. 78 of the 176 women in this 21st Dynasty dataset are labeled as simply *nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn (-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w)* on at least one of their papyri. Many more women's papyri contain this pair of titles along with other, more rare titles. And, as will be apparent in the next section, the title of *šmꜥ.t n 'Imn (-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w)* is even more common than that of *nb.t-pr*, suggesting a strong emphasis on temple titles versus household titles, especially when the issue of space on funerary materiality is taken into consideration.

The next most frequent household title found on women's papyri is that of *šps.t*, commonly translated as Noble Lady.¹⁹⁶ Within the corpus of 21st Dynasty women's papyri, *šps.t* refers to a noble lady of a household and possible hereditary distinction.¹⁹⁷ This title, in several instances, is elaborated upon. For example, on the respective papyri of Nodjmet,¹⁹⁸ Istemkheb

¹⁹⁵ This statistic is for the number of papyri – many women have two or more papyri as part of their funerary set and sometimes, (though, not always) their titles duplicate themselves between the documents. The 224 papyri with female owners are distributed amongst 176 total women. 110 of the 176 total women as designated as a *nb.t-pr* on their papyri. Please see Appendix B at the end of Chapter 2 for a complete list of female papyri owners and their titles as distributed among the individual papyri.

¹⁹⁶ Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache* (Berlind: Akademie Verlag, 1971) Wb 4, 449.10-450.14.

¹⁹⁷ For example, the papyrus of Nesmutankhti, P. London BM EA 10036, TM 134552, lists her titles as *nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn šps.t*, suggesting that in addition to holding the title of Lady of the House and Chantress of Amun, she was a Noble Lady of extra distinction. Six other women have the same use of *šps.t* as a title on their papyri.

¹⁹⁸ From TT320, Aston burial assemblage TG912, London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook Collection TM 133525. The text labels her as: *mwt ny-sw.t n nb t3.wy mwt n Hnsw p3 hrd wr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w hꜥry šps.wt nb t3.wy*

D,¹⁹⁹ and Nesykhonsupahered,²⁰⁰ the additional qualifiers of *hry* or *tpy* suggest that these women were placed as the chief or head of an elite group of noble women, thus indicating an observed hierarchy of women within this elite subsection of society. Most women, though not all,²⁰¹ were labeled as Lady of the House – married women who oversaw their domestic space. A very few women, on top of this title, received the additional honor of being a Nobel Lady, possibly relating to parentage or lineage of either herself or her husband’s family. In addition, an increasingly limited subset of this group possesses qualifiers that suggest these women were foremost amongst their peers.

The remaining household titles of women listed on their papyri are the few examples of women expressing their relationship to the High Priest of Amun in Thebes, an individual who often defines himself with royal titles. Thus, we have the mother of the “king” denoted in the following titles: *mw.t (n) ny-sw.t (wr.t) (n nb t3.wy)* – (Great) Mother of the King (of the Lord of the Two Lands), *mw.t n p3 hm ntr tpy n 'Imn* – Mother of the High Priest of Amun, *mw.t-m-h3ty* – Mother of the Foremost One, *mw.t n p3 imy-r3 mšc.w wr n t3.wy* – Mother of the Overseer of the Great Army of the Two Lands. Titles labeling the owner as the mother of the

¹⁹⁹ From TT320, Aston burial assemblage TG918, Cairo JE 26228 bis (S.R. IV 525) TM 134464. The text labels her as: *hr.t wr.t hnr.t tp.t n.t 'Imn hm.t ntr n Mwt ʕ3.t n pr n Mwt mw.t ntr n Hnsw p3 hrd hry šps.t*

²⁰⁰ Provenance Unknown, P. Pairs Louvre E. 31856 TM 134589. The text labels her as: *nb.t-pr šm.c.t n 'Imn-Rc ny-sw.t ntr.w wr.t hnrt.t n 'Imn hr s3 tpy šps.t*

²⁰¹ In some instances, it seems as if the title *šm.c.t n 'Imn* was given priority, as many women possess the title of *šm.c.t n 'Imn* without the preceding *nb.t-pr*. Perhaps oftentimes related to issues of space, it appears that many more women would consider themselves to possess the title of *nb.t-pr* than is recorded on the papyri. The example of Itawy is a unique example where the titles of *nb.t-pr* and *šm.c.t n 'Imn* are flipped: she is consistently described as *šm.c.t n 'Imn nb.t-pr*, despite there being no apparent spacing issues on her papyrus (P. Paris BN 60 TM 134381). This is either an indication that despite the seemingly standard epitaph of *nb.t-pr šm.c.t n 'Imn*, there was a social desire to prioritize being a Chantress of Amun when necessary, or a deliberate attempt by a 3,000-year-old woman to mess with my data set.

king appear on the papyri of Nodjmet,²⁰² Hennutawy A,²⁰³ and Maatkare A.²⁰⁴ The daughter of the “king” is identified with the title *s3.t ny-sw.t* – Daughter of the King, and is found on the papyri of Maatkare A,²⁰⁵ Hennutawy B,²⁰⁶ and Nauny.²⁰⁷ The wife of the “king” is denoted by the following titles: *hm.t ny-sw.t wr.t* – Great Royal Wife, *hm.t wr.t tpy n hm=f* – First Great Wife of His Majesty, and *nb.t (n) t3.wy* – Mistress of the Two Lands. Hennutawy A,²⁰⁸ and Maatkare A²⁰⁹ are both labeled as the wife of a king. In addition to being mother and wife of a

²⁰² From TT320, Aston burial assemblage TG912, London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook Collection TM 133525. The text labels her as: *mw.t ny-sw.t n nb t3.wy mwt n Hnsw p3 hrd wr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w hry šps.wt nb t3.wy*

²⁰³ From TT320, Aston burial assemblage TG 916, Cairo CG 40005 (J.E. 95856, S.R. IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22) TM 134430 and Cairo J.E. 95887 (S.R. IV 992) TM 134663. For the first papyrus, the text labels her as: *hm.t wr.t tpy n hm=f nb.t t3.wy hsy ʕ3 'Imn n 'Ip.t hm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t mw.t n p3 hm ntr tpy n 'Imn mw.t n ntr n 'Imn mw.t n ny-sw.t wr.t hm.t ntr Mwt wr.t nb.t 'Isrw ʕ3 n pr n Hnsw m W3st hm.t ntr n inl pt Šw s3-Rꜥ mwt ntr n Hnsw p3 hrd* For the second papyrus, the text labels her as: *hm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t n nb.t t3.wy hm.t wr.t tpy n hm=f mw.t hm.t ntr n 'Imn mw.t n hm.t ntr n 'Imn m 'Ipt-šw.t mw.t n ntr.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w mw.t n hm.t wr.t n nb.t t3.wy mw.t n p3 hm ntr tpy n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w mw.t n p3 imy-r3 mšꜥ.w wr n t3.wy*

²⁰⁴ From TT320, Aston burial assemblage TG 917, Cairo CG 40007 (J.E. 26229, S.R. IV 980) TM 134431. The text labels her as: *mw.t-m-h3t hm.t ntr n 'Imn m 'Ipt swt s3.t ny-sw.t hm.t ny-sw.t wr.t (n) nb t3.wy*

²⁰⁵ From TT320, Aston burial assemblage TG 917, Cairo CG 40007 (J.E. 26229, S.R. IV 980) TM 134431. The text labels her as: *mw.t-m-h3t hm.t ntr n 'Imn m 'Ipt swt s3.t ny-sw.t hm.t ny-sw.t wr.t (n) nb t3.wy*

²⁰⁶ From MMA 60, Aston burial assemblage TG 829, Cairo J.E. 51949 TM 134466 and Cairo JE 51948 a-c TM none. The text of both papyri label her as: *s3.t ny-sw.t*

²⁰⁷ From MMA 65, Aston burial assemblage TG 837, New York MMA 30.3.31 TM 134564. The text labels her as: *nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w hsi.t n nb.w W3st 'Imn Mwt Hnsw s3.t ny-sw.t*

²⁰⁸ From TT320, Aston burial assemblage TG 916, Cairo CG 40005 (J.E. 95856, S.R. IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22) TM 134430 and Cairo J.E. 95887 (S.R. IV 992) TM 134663. For the first papyrus, the text labels her as: *hm.t wr.t tpy n hm=f nb.t t3.wy hsy ʕ3 'Imn n 'Ip.t hm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t mw.t n p3 hm ntr tpy n 'Imn mw.t n ntr n 'Imn mw.t n ny-sw.t wr.t hm.t ntr Mwt wr.t nb.t 'Isrw ʕ3 n pr n Hnsw m W3st hm.t ntr n inl pt Šw s3-Rꜥ mwt ntr n Hnsw p3 hrd* For the second papyrus, the text labels her as: *hm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t n nb.t t3.wy hm.t wr.t tpy n hm=f mw.t hm.t ntr n 'Imn mw.t n hm.t ntr n 'Imn m 'Ipt-šw.t mw.t n ntr.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w mw.t n hm.t wr.t n nb.t t3.wy mw.t n p3 hm ntr tpy n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w mw.t n p3 imy-r3 mšꜥ.w wr n t3.wy*

²⁰⁹ From TT320, Aston burial assemblage TG 917, Cairo CG 40007 (J.E. 26229, S.R. IV 980) TM 134431. The text labels her as: *mw.t-m-h3t hm.t ntr n 'Imn m 'Ipt swt s3.t ny-sw.t hm.t ny-sw.t wr.t (n) nb t3.wy*

“king,” Hennutawy A seems to describe herself as the mother of a wife of a “king” and the mother of a woman who is God’s Wife of Amun,²¹⁰ the same of her three daughters.²¹¹

3.1.2 Temple Titles

Temple titles during the 21st Dynasty largely revolve around the Theban triad of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, although several other deities are represented in the preserved titles. For the clear majority of 21st Dynasty Theban women, the most common title one could possess was *šm.t n ’Imn* (-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w) – Chantress of Amun (-Re, King of the Gods).²¹² 147 of the 176 women of this dataset are Chantresses of Amun. In addition to suggesting the hereditary nature of temple titles, Suzanne Onstine observes that “There is a disproportionate increase in the numbers of women who held the title *šm.t* title between the time of the late 20th Dynasty and middle of the 21st. Such an artificial increase may have been the effect of active recruitment.”²¹³ Since the 21st Dynasty was characterized by the power usurpation of the High Priesthood of Amun in Thebes, it is no surprise that an increase in the number of people loyal to and dependent upon the priesthood would follow. Onstine continues, “By creating a cadre of people loyal to the

²¹⁰ From TT320, Aston burial assemblage TG 916, Cairo J.E. 95887 (S.R. IV 992) TM 134663. The text labels her as: *h̄m.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t n nb.t t̄z.wy h̄m.t wr.t tpy n h̄m=f mw.t h̄m.t ntr n ’Imn mw.t n h̄m.t ntr n ’Imn m ’lpt-šw.t mw.t n ntr.t n ’Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w mw.t n h̄m.t wr.t n nb.t t̄z.wy mw.t n p̄z h̄m ntr tpy n ’Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w mw.t n p̄z imy-r̄z m̄š̄.w wr n t̄z.wy*

²¹¹ The daughter being referenced here is Maatkare A. The genealogy of the High Priesthood of Amun can be found in detail in Dodson 2012, *op. cit.*

²¹² This title and some of its variants are referenced as title numbers 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000, and 2001 in Al-Ayedi, *op. cit.*, 595-599.

²¹³ Suzanne Lynn Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (šm.t) in Ancient Egypt*, BAR International Series 1401 (Oxford: Hadrian Books Ltd., 2005) 31.

priesthood, a foundation of political support could be forged.”²¹⁴ She also explains that, “The proliferation of *šmꜥywt* in the Theban area during the 21st Dynasty can be seen as a predominantly political development, rather than an expression of personal piety by increasing numbers of women.”²¹⁵

With the commonalty of the *šmꜥ.t n ꜥmn* title, the prestige associated with it would have declined, leaving its mark mostly as an honorific notation on the women’s papyri. The title, however, could be augmented to express an elevated level of prestige, as one example attests. The title *wr.t šmꜥ.t n ꜥmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w* – Great Chantress of Amun-Re, King of the Gods²¹⁶ has been attested on the papyrus of Nodjmet,²¹⁷ and suggests a leadership role or advanced level of initiation into the temple. In addition, the titles *ḥsꜥ.t n ꜥmn* – Singer of Amun,²¹⁸ *ḥsꜥ.t ꜥꜣ ꜥmn (n ꜥp.t)* – Chief Singer of Amun (of Thebes),²¹⁹ and *ihꜥ.t n ꜥmn-Rꜥ* – Sistrum Player of Amun Ra²²⁰ suggest a similar songstress function within the temple, although they are much less common.²²¹

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ This title is referenced as title number 1998 in Al-Ayedi, *op. cit.*, 596-597.

²¹⁷ From TT320, Aston burial assemblage TG912, London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook Collection TM 133525. The text labels her as: *mw.t ny-sw.t n nb tꜣ.wy mwt n Ḥnsw pꜣ ḥrd wr šmꜥ.t n ꜥmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w ḥry šps.wt nb tꜣ.wy*

²¹⁸ This title is referenced as title number 1478 in Al-Ayedi, *op. cit.*, 432.

²¹⁹ This title is referenced as title number 1475 in *Ibid.*, 432.

²²⁰ This title is referenced as title number 607 in *Ibid.*, 176.

²²¹ The title *ḥsꜥ.t n ꜥmn* – Singer of Amun is attested on the papyri of Nauny, New York MMA 30.3.32 TM none and New York MMA 30.3.31 TM 134564, where the first papyrus identifies her as *ḥsꜥ n nb.w Wꜥs.t ꜥmn Mwt Ḥnsw nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n ꜥmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w šsp.t sꜣ.t ny-sw.t*, the second papyrus identifies her as *nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n ꜥmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w ḥsꜥ.t n nb.w Wꜣst ꜥmn Mwt Ḥnsw sꜣ.t ny-sw.t*; The title *ḥsꜥ.t ꜥꜣ (ꜥmn n ꜥp.t)* – Chief Singer of Amun (of Thebes) is attested on the papyri of Ta..., P. London BM EA 10012 TM 381294, where she is identified as *nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n ꜥmn ḥsꜥ.t ꜥꜣ.t* and Hennutawy A, Cairo CG 40005 (J.E. 95856, S.R. IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22) TM 134430,

Other titles women have associating them with Amun are much more personal in nature, as the titles of *ḥm.t nṯr n 'Imn-m-'Ip.t* (-sw.t) – Priestess of Amunemipet (Amun of Karnak)²²² and *wr.t ḥnr.t n 'Imn / wr.t ḥnrt.t tp.t n.t 'Imn* (-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w) – (First) Chief Musician of Amun (-Ra, King of the Gods) and variants²²³ suggest. Tashedkhons,²²⁴ Maatkare A,²²⁵ Harweben,²²⁶ Gautseshen A,²²⁷ Istemkheb D,²²⁸ Nesykhonsu A,²²⁹ Nesitanebashru,²³⁰

where she is identified as *ḥm.t wr.t tpy n ḥm=f nb.t t3.wy ḥsī ʿ3 'Imn n 'Ip.t ḥm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t mw.t n p3 ḥm nṯr tpy n 'Imn mw.t n nṯr n 'Imn mw.t n ny-sw.t wr.t ḥm.t nṯr n Mwt wr.t nb.t Isrw ʿ3 n pr n Ḥnsw m W3st ḥm.t nṯr n inī pt Šw s3-R^c mwt nṯr n Ḥnsw p3 ḥrd*; The title *ḥi.t n 'Imn-R^c* – Sistrum Player of Amun Ra is attested on the papyrus of Mutemhab, P. Sydney R 402 TM 134724, where she is identified as *nb.t-pr ḥi.t n 'Imn-R^c šps.t*

²²² This title is referenced as title number 1226 in *Ibid.*, 363-364.

²²³ This title is referenced as title number 847 in *Ibid.*, 247.

²²⁴ From Bab el-Gasus Daressy A.137, Aston TG 810, Cairo CG 40016 (S.R. VII 10240) TM 134433. The text labels her as *ḥsī.t n p3 ʿn Mwt nb.t p.t rsi.t (?) nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn ḥm.t-nṯr n 'Imn-(m-)Ip.t ḥm.t-nṯr n Mwt n pr-msw ḥm.t-nṯr n Nḥb.t ḥd.t Nḥn ʿ3(.t) knt nw.t bīt Mn-m3^c.t-R^c m ḥ.t-f mri-f Mri-Pth šthī*

²²⁵ From TT320, Aston TG 917, Cairo CG 40007 (J.E. 26229, S.R. IV 980) TM 134431. The text labels her as *mw.t-m-ḥ3t ḥm.t nṯr n 'Imn m 'Ipt swt s3.t ny-sw.t ḥm.t ny-sw.t wr.t (n) nb t3.wy*

²²⁶ From Bab el-Gasus Daressy A.133, Aston TG 806, Cairo S.R. VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6) TM 134462. The text labels her as *nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w wr.t ḥnrt.t n 'Imn ḥm-nṯr n Mwt*

²²⁷ From Bab el-Gasus Daressy A.152, Aston TG 825, Cairo CG 40012 (J.E. 95838, S.R. IV 936) TM 134448. The text labels her as *nb.t-pr wr.t ḥnr.t tp.t n 'Imn šm^c.t n 'Imn ḥsī.t ʿ3.t (n) Mwt*

²²⁸ From TT320, Aston TG 918, Cairo JE 26228 bis (S.R. IV 525) TM 134464. The text labels her as *ḥr.t wr.t ḥnr.t tp.t n.t 'Imn ḥm.t nṯr n mw.t ʿ3.t n pr n Mwt mw.t nṯr n Ḥnsw p3 ḥrd ḥry šps.t*

²²⁹ From TT320, Aston TG 919, Cairo J.E. 26230 (S.R. VII 11573, S.R. VII 11485) TM 134444. The text labels her as *wr.t ḥnr.t n 'Imn ḥr.t wr.t tp.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w*

²³⁰ From TT320, Aston TG 921, London BM 10554 (P. Greenfield) TM 134519. The text labels her as *ḥr.t wr.t ḥnr.t tp.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w*

Djedmutesankh A,²³¹ Henettawy C,²³² Istemakhbit,²³³ and Anhay²³⁴ all possess at least one of these titles. Most of these women have attained this status in conjunction with some of the more common religious titles associated with Amun mentioned above. This suggests additional administrative status within the Karnak temple complex, which would thus translate into a higher social status for these women.

For the goddess Mut, we see a similar array of titles, ranging from the musically adoring to more priestly functions. Twenty women have the title of *ḥsī.t n Mwt* – Singer of Mut,²³⁵ *ḥsī.t n p3 ʿn Mwt (wr.t nb.t ʾšrw)* – Singer in the Choir of Mut (Great Lady of the Mut Precinct), or *ḥsī.t ʿ3.t n Mwt (nb.t p.t mr.t n Ḥwt-Ḥr)* Great Singer of Mut (Lady of the Sky, Beloved of Hathor). In addition, a small number of women have priestly titles referring to Mut: *ḥm.t-nṯr n Mwt (n pr-msw)* – Priestess of Mut (of the Birth House), *wr.t ḥm.t-nṯr n Mwt (wr.t nb.t ʾšrw)* – Great Priestess of Mut (Great Lady of the Mut Precinct), and *ʿ3.t n pr n Mwt* – Great One of the House of Mut.²³⁶

²³¹ From MMA 60, Aston TG 830, New York MMA 25.3.27 TM none. The text labels her as *wr.t ḥnr.t n ʾImn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w*

²³² From MMA 60, Aston TG 830, New York MMA 25.3.28 TM none and New York MMA 25.3.29 TM 134562. Both of the papyri identically label her as *wr.t ḥnr.t n ʾImn*

²³³ From the collection of Barker 1833 (209), P. London BM EA 9903 TM 134530. The text labels her as *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n ʾImn wr.t ḥnr.t n ʾImn wsr ḥʿt*

²³⁴ From the collection of Budge 1888, P. London BM EA 10472 TM 134517. The text labels her as *šmʿ.t n ʾImn wr.t ḥnr.t n nb.wt ib.w*

²³⁵ Abdul Rahman Al-Ayedi doesn't list any attestations for a singer of Mut in the New Kingdom in *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*. However, a general title of 'singer' is title 1474 on page 431.

²³⁶ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.133, Aston TG 806, Harweben is listed as a *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n ʾImn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥm.t-nṯr 2-nw n Mwt* on one of her papyri (Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245) TM none), and the other of her two papyri lists her as *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n ʾImn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w wr.t ḥnr.t n ʾImn ḥm.t-nṯr n Mwt* (Cairo S.R. VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6) TM 134462); From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.137, Aston TG 810, Tashedkhons is listed as *ḥsī.t n p3 ʿn Mwt nb.t p.t rsī.t (?) nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n ʾImn ḥm.t-nṯr n ʾImn-(m-)ʾp.t ḥm.t-nṯr n Mwt n pr-msw ḥm.t-nṯr n Nḥb.t ḥd.t Nḥn ʿ3(.t) knt nw.t bit Mn-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ m ḥ.t-f mri-f Mri-Pth šthi* on one of her papyri (Cairo CG 40016 (S.R. VII

Finally, the child-god Khonsu involves his female devotees in a maternal fashion, with titles focusing on being a mother or nursemaid to the young god, in addition to those of a songstress and priestly function. Titles for Khonsu are the least common out of the Theban triad, with only seven women possessing titles related to this deity. Meretamun²³⁷ is provided the title *mnit n Hnsw (-p3-hrd)* – Nursemaid of Khonsu (the Child);²³⁸ Nodjmet²³⁹ and Istemkheb D²⁴⁰ hold the title *mw.t (ntr) n Hnsw-p3-hrd* – (Divine) Mother of Khonsu the Child; Henettawy A²⁴¹ holds this former title as well as *ʕ3 n pr n Hnsw m W3st* – Great One of the House of Khonsu in Thebes. In addition to these motherly titles, Nauny²⁴² possess the chantress title of *h3i.t n (nb*

10240) TM 134433); From TT320, Aston TG 916, Hennutawy A is listed as *hm.t wr.t tpy n hm=f nb.t t3.wy h3i ʕ3 Imn n Ip.t hm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t mw.t n p3 hm ntr tpy n Imn mw.t n ntr n Imn mw.t n ny-sw.t wr.t hm.t ntr n Mwt wr.t nb.t Isrw ʕ3 n pr n Hnsw m W3st hm.t ntr n ini pt Šw s3-Rc mwt ntr n Hnsw p3 hrd* on one of her papyri (Cairo CG 40005 (J.E. 95856, S.R. IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22) TM 134430); From TT320, Aston TG 918, Istemkheb D is listed as *hr.t wr.t hnr.t tp.t n.t Imn hm.t ntr n Mwt ʕ3.t n pr n Mwt mw.t ntr n Hnsw p3 hrd hry šps.t* (Cairo JE 26228 bis (S.R. IV 525) TM 134464).

²³⁷ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.71, Aston TG 744, Cairo J.E. 95836 (S.R. IV 933) TM none. Meretamun is listed as *nb.t-pr šmʕ.t n Imn-Rc ny-sw.t ntr.w h3i.t n p3 ʕn Mwt wr.t nb Isrw mnit n Hnsw-p3-hrd*

²³⁸ All of the titles referring to nurses in Abdul Rahman Al-Ayedi's *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* focus on a palace function for royal individuals, which speaks to the focus and popularity of titles in the New Kingdom, where women were much more relegated to the domestic sphere and the influence of the Theban temple complex was not nearly as strong. The main title of nurse is title number 955 on page 275 of the aforementioned reference.

²³⁹ From TT320, Aston TG 912, London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook Collection TM 133525. Nodjmet is listed as *mw.t ny-sw.t n nb t3.wy mwt n Hnsw p3 hrd wr šmʕ.t n Imn-Rc ny-sw.t ntr.w hry šps.wt nb t3.wy*

²⁴⁰ From TT320, Aston TG 918, Cairo JE 26228 bis (S.R. IV 525) TM 134464. Istemkheb D is listed as *hr.t wr.t hnr.t tp.t n.t Imn hm.t ntr n Mwt ʕ3.t n pr n Mwt mwt ntr n Hnsw p3 hrd hry šps.t*

²⁴¹ From TT320, Aston TG 916, Cairo CG 40005 (J.E. 95856, S.R. IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22) TM 134430. Henettawy A is listed as *hm.t wr.t tpy n hm=f nb.t t3.wy h3i ʕ3 Imn n Ip.t hm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t mw.t n p3 hm ntr tpy n Imn mw.t n ntr n Imn mw.t n ny-sw.t wr.t hm.t ntr n Mwt wr.t nb.t Isrw ʕ3 n pr n Hnsw m W3st hm.t ntr n ini pt Šw s3-Rc mwt ntr n Hnsw p3 hrd*

²⁴² From MMA 65, Aston TG 837. The two papyri of Nauny (New York MMA 30.3.31 TM 134564 and New York MMA 30.3.32 TM none) respectively list her as *nb.t-pr šmʕ.t n Imn-Rc ny-sw.t ntr.w h3i.t n nb.w W3st Imn Mwt Hnsw s3.t ny-sw.t* and *h3i.t n nb.w W3s.t Imn Mwt Hnsw nb.t-pr šmʕ.t n Imn-Rc ny-sw.t ntr.w šps.t s3.t ny-sw.t*

W3st) Hnsw – Singer of (Lord of Thebes) Khonsu,²⁴³ and Tanedjemut²⁴⁴ holds the title of *šmꜥ.t n Hnsw* – Chantress of Khonsu. One unique title held by Nesykhonsu²⁴⁵ and related to this child deity is *hnr.t n Hnsw p3 hrd* – Musician of Khonsu the Child.²⁴⁶

In addition to the titles discussed, there are two women worth mentioning for their unprecedented titles on 21st Dynasty funerary papyri. The first woman is Tawedjatire. In her pair of papyri, she holds the standard titles of Mistress of the House and Chantress of Amun and the less common position of Singer in the Choir of Mut. She also, however, holds the title of *šmꜥ.t n p3 grg wꜥb n Pth* (Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah).²⁴⁷ She is the only woman to hold such a title on her papyri. It is unclear if this title in any way equates to a male equivalent or if this title was one meant to elevate the status of Tawedjatire but does indicate that Tawedjatire was in the service of Ptah, a rarity for women in the 21st Dynasty. The second woman is Tashedkhons, who, in addition to her titles of Singer in the Choir of Mut, Chantress of Amun, Priestess of Amun, and Priestess of Mut, is also a *hm.t-ntr n Nhb.t* (Priestess of Nekhbet) and

²⁴³ Abdul Rahman Al-Ayedi doesn't list any attestations for a singer of Khonsu in the New Kingdom in *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*. However, a general title of 'singer' is title 1474 on page 431.

²⁴⁴ From the 1824 collection of Drovetti, P. Turin 1784 TM none. Tanedjemut is listed as *nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w n Mwt Hnsw*

²⁴⁵ Unprovenanced, P. Vatican 48812 (P. Vatican 31) TM 134622. She is listed as *nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w hnr.t n Hnsw p3 hrd*

²⁴⁶ Abdul Rahman Al-Ayedi doesn't list any attestations for a musician of Khonsu in the New Kingdom in *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*. However, a general title of 'harem woman' is title 1515 on page 441, which shares the etymology of the word *hnr.t*. It is clear in this context, however, that these titles do not refer to a harem.

²⁴⁷ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.144, Aston TG 817, Cairo J.E. 34033 (S.R. VII 11500) TM none and Cairo S.R. VII 11496 TM 134463. Tawedjatire is listed as *nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn šmꜥ.t n p3 grg wꜥb n Pth* in the former papyrus and as *hš.t tꜣ.t n Mwt nb.t p.t mr.t n hwt-hr wsr.t nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w šmꜥ.t n p3 grg wꜥb n Pth hš.t n p3 tꜣ n Mwt t3 šps.t hš.t n p3 tꜣ n Mwt nb.t Išrw* in the latter papyrus.

ꜥꜣ(.t) ꜥnt nw.t bit Mn-mꜥꜥ.t-Rꜥ m ꜥ.t-f mri-f Mri-Pth šthi (Great One at the Seat of King Seti I).²⁴⁸

3.2 Female Burials

The status of women vis-à-vis their male counterparts is often reflected in death. Before the 21st Dynasty's reorganization of burials based on defensive burial practices,²⁴⁹ there were oftentimes very visible disparities between the burials of men and women. Observing this disparity, everything from the tomb to the burial equipment of women was often substandard, somehow diminished in scale or quality, or dependent upon the burial and funerary goods of the women's closest male relatives. Even in the royal sphere, traditional female burials in pharaonic times were conditional on a male's provision or support.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ From Bab el-Gasus Daressy A.137, Aston TG 810, Cairo CG 40016 (S.R. VII 10240) TM 134433. The text labels her as ꜥsi.t n pꜥ ꜥn Mwt nb.t p.t rsi.t (?) nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n Imn ꜥm.t-ntr n Imn-(m-)Ip.t ꜥm.t-ntr n Mwt n pr-msw ꜥm.t-ntr n Nhb.t ꜥd.t Nhn ꜥꜣ(.t) ꜥnt nw.t bit Mn-mꜥꜥ.t-Rꜥ m ꜥ.t-f mri-f Mri-Pth šthi

²⁴⁹ Cooney 2011, *op. cit.*, 3-44.

²⁵⁰ Lines of evidence for women of both the elite and royal sphere being subordinate to their male counterparts in death are numerous. A complete examination of this subordinate position and the social implications of it are outside the scope of this work, but several instances are highlighted for further reference. Regarding elite mastabas of the Old Kingdom, the vast majority were built for a husband and wife, with the wife's recognition within the tomb and burial goods being of secondary importance to her husband. For example, in the decoration of the Saqqara mastaba tomb of Mereruka, Mereuka's wife is so small in scale as compared to her husband that in most of her images, she fits standing under his kilt. The same diminutive status is true for royal women of the Old Kingdom, where queens' burials are quite impressive in their own right, but of significant decreased in size and scale from those of their associated male counterparts. "The Queens of the Old Kingdom and Their Tombs" by Peter János lists all of these queens' burials, which consist of a combination of satellite pyramids, shaft tombs, and mastabas. In addition, Old Kingdom royal burials featured a single burial complex for the pharaoh, with satellite pyramids for females existing within the same mortuary complex space. These combined mortuary complexes reveal just how stark the difference between male and female burials were. For example, Khufu's Great Pyramid is 230 square meters at the base, while the satellite pyramid of Hetepheres in his mortuary complex is only 47.4 square meters at the base. The same patterns hold true for the Middle Kingdom, whereby elite women were associated in burial with a husband and royal women were afforded a small portion of the overall mortuary complex of their associated male counterpart (the seven shaft female burials in the mortuary complex of Montuhotep II and the nine small pyramids for women associated with Senwosret I located outside his enclosure wall are prime examples). The New Kingdom arguably saw more freedom for royal women with the separate valleys of the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens opening up separate royal burials spaces. The construction of the women's tombs within this delineated space, however, was still dependent on the royal sanction of the pharaoh and subordination to him in terms of

In the 21st Dynasty, however, the lack of new tombs commissioned by a husband and wife or small family group led to a restructuring of burial practice and placement.²⁵¹ With the desire for hiddenness and large group caches, burial assemblages became discrete to the individual rather than shared. Tombs were now large, shared, undecorated and frequently reopened for additional internments. As such, space for each individual interred was limited and could grow to be even more limited as time progressed. All of these factors meant that a woman could no longer rely on the burial space, tomb decoration, or funerary materiality of her husband when it came to her own burial.

These discrete and singular burials forced both men and women to manage and manipulate a much smaller burial assemblage, typically consisting of a coffin or coffin set, one or more papyri, and perhaps the addition of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figurine or canopic chest.²⁵² With so much emphasis now placed on the individual procuring a complete burial assemblage (albeit limited), shared objects or iconography could no longer be a viable option for the Theban

construction and content. Arguably, the Ramesside Period represents for the first time a separate and parallel standard for queenly burial in terms of both form and function, but those tombs are dependent on the king. In the tomb of Nefertari (QV 66), the references to Ramesses II much more plentiful in her tomb than the reverse for his tomb in the Valley of the Kings. For elite women of the New Kingdom, the same pattern of being buried with a male counterpart as an individual of secondary importance holds true. The tombs of Maya and Merit at Saqqara and that of Ramose and Meryt-Ptah at Thebes (TT 55) are demonstrative examples of this. For the First and Second Intermediate Periods, women still seem to be at a disadvantage concerning autonomy in burial. This perhaps has to do with the fact that the first two intermediate periods Egypt experienced had less to do with a devaluing of the social hierarchy with association to kingship. In addition, the temples during this time did not see the same type of surge in political and economic power that the Third Intermediate Period conveyed, thus keeping women constricted to the domestic realm with little option in terms of religious or professional expression and more dependence on male counterparts. For example, the First Intermediate Period tomb of Ankhtifi at Mo'allā does not mention the tomb owner's wife by name in his famous and extensive biography, but small depictions of her do exist in parietal scenes. It should be noted that examples of women from the New Kingdom and earlier that defy this observable standard are royal women who acted as regent or as pharaoh and thus afforded themselves with tombs either on par with male rulers (as was the case of Merneith, Sobeknofru, and Tawosret, among others), or, in a possible effort to solidify their power as females, exceed the opulence of closely contemporary male rulers (as exemplified by Hatshepsut).

²⁵¹ Cooney 2011, *op. cit.*

²⁵² Aston, *op. cit.*, 269-390.

elite. These new political and economic restraints, in an interesting twist, freed women: the option to obtain a complete burial assemblage on par with men became not only viable, but also arguably necessary for functional transition into the afterlife.

3.2.1 Burial Assemblage Rates

The archaeological record supports this new-found parity between elite men and women. In TT320, the Royal Cache, there are a total of eleven 21st Dynasty internment, with seven being female. In the Bab el-Gasus Second Cache, there are 153 21st Dynasty internments, with a split of seventy-two men and seventy-one women (and ten of unknown gender).²⁵³ Additionally, in tombs MMA 59, MMA 60, and MMA 65, women outnumber men nine to one out of the ten recorded 21st Dynasty internments.

These three site groups – TT320, Bab el-Gasus, and tomb group MMA 59, MMA 60, and MMA 65 – provide excellent examples for demonstrating the burial equality of men and women of the 21st Dynasty. First, as some of the most secure archaeological data available, these are the most confidently reconstructed burial assemblages. And second, the close family groups of the Theban priesthood provide similarities in social status, and thus access to similar materiality, that would provide the most significant comparisons, in my opinion. Therefore, turning to the rates of coffin set completeness and incorporation of papyri between men and women, the same gender parity holds steady.

²⁵³ In addition, the Bab el-Gasus cache contains a number of funerary objects that remain unconnected with any complete assemblage. As such, the number of interments in this cache probably well exceeded the current 153 reconstructed burial assemblages.

3.2.2 Burial Assemblage Content

In a similar vein to the equality in the burial rates, women have very comparable rates of coffin piece use as compared to men, as the following chart shows.

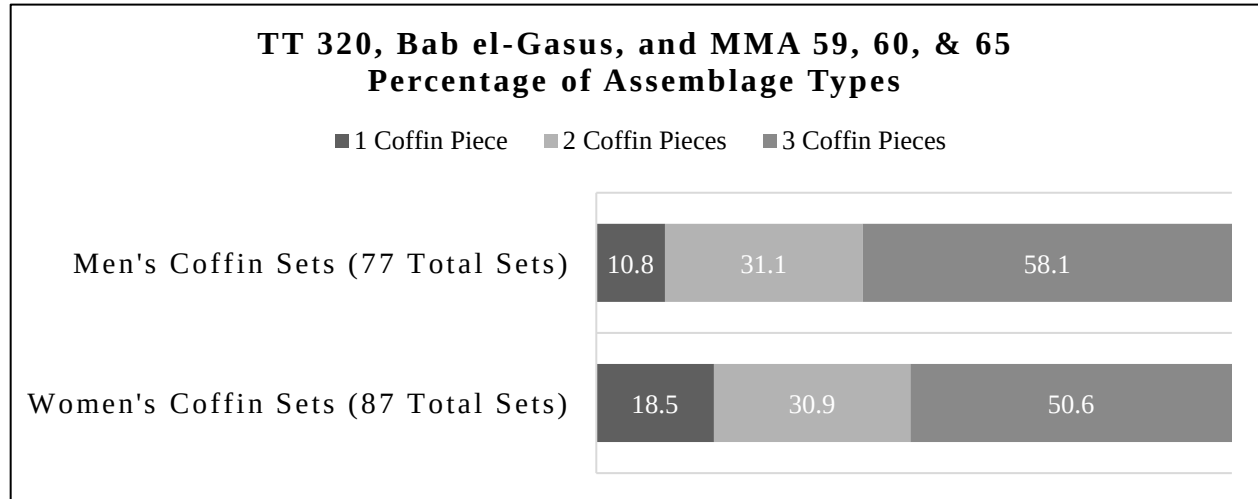


Figure 3.1. TT 320, Bab el-Gasus, and MMA 59, 60, & 65 Assemblage Type Percentages by Gender

During the 21st Dynasty, coffin assemblages could consist of a combination of an outer coffin, an inner coffin, and/or a mummy board.²⁵⁴ By analyzing the 153 Bab el-Gasus burials, it is clear that both men and women have similar usage of a single coffin element, two coffin elements, and three coffin elements (a complete set) in their assemblages. This factor, coupled with the above observation that men and women were buried with full funerary assemblages at consistent rates, suggests an equality of burial for the elites that had yet not been seen in Egyptian society. With this equality in burial, one could strongly suppose that men and women would thus have equal access, knowledge, and resources to obtaining papyri for their burials. Thus, any discrepancies found between genders with respect to their papyri must be intentional on the part of the

²⁵⁴ Aston, *op. cit.*, 269-289.

commissioner. While this observation cannot be absolutely proven in all cases, it seems most likely that the choices regarding the length, content, and quality of the papyri were the result of conscious decisions, and thus contain social meaning.

3.3 Female Funerary Papyri

There are 224 papyri in this dataset that belong to a total of 176 women. The number of female papyri owners and the total number of papyri of women are notable in that they are incredibly similar to the information available for men: there are 243 papyri belonging to a total of 200 men. Additionally, there are 90 papyri belonging to 89 anonymous persons or persons of an unknown gender.²⁵⁵

Even though men are slightly overrepresented, the overall equivalencies are clear and meaningful. There are the same proportions between numbers of papyri and numbers of owners for both genders, suggesting that both men and women had equal access to papyri. Also, regarding the papyri discovered in TT 320, the Bab el-Gasus cache, and MMA 59, 60, & 65, men and women seem to have single papyri and pairs of papyri at equal rates, indicating equal motivations regarding the use of papyri in a burial assemblage.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ Four of these 91 individuals have names (or partial names) that are not gender specific. This, coupled with the fact that they have no recorded titles (many of these papyri are only fragments), they are included with the group of truly anonymous individuals. For a complete list of all papyri included in this study, please see Appendix B at the end of Chapter 2.

²⁵⁶ While this trend does hold true for the entire data set, even for papyri without a known provenance, only the papyri from the known locations of TT320, Bab el-Gasus, and the MMA tombs were taken into consideration for this analysis. This was due to the fact that without provenance, there is no way of truly knowing which papyri constitute the “complete” assemblage for any given individual. Thus, the only way to draw meaningful conclusions about the proportionality between instances of single papyri, sets of two, or sets of three or more is to exclude all instances where one cannot be certain of the completeness of the papyrological record.

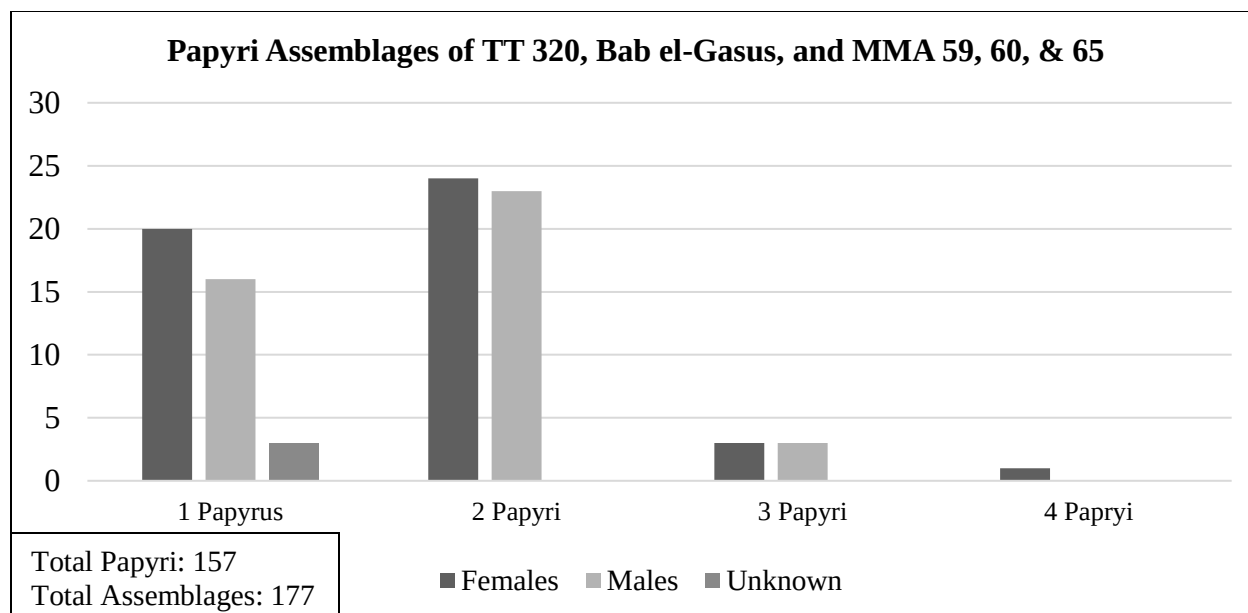


Figure 3.2. TT 320, Bab el-Gasus, and MMA 59, 60, & 65 Papyri Assemblages by Gender

In addition, there are several mentionable features of the group of papyri belonging to women that distinguish it from the papyri of men. These include observations regarding the length and content of the papyri. Also notable are observations regarding quality, which, upon close inspection, do not reveal a difference between the group of papyri belonging to women and those belonging to men. These observations will be discussed in succession in the following sections of this chapter, followed by an interpretation as to what these observations reveal.

3.3.1 Length

Papyri belonging to women exceed the length of men's papyri by a significant margin. The average lengths compare at 2.4 meters to 1.9 meters, respectively. These numbers reflect the

averages of every papyrus in the data set to which both a gender and a length could be assigned.²⁵⁷

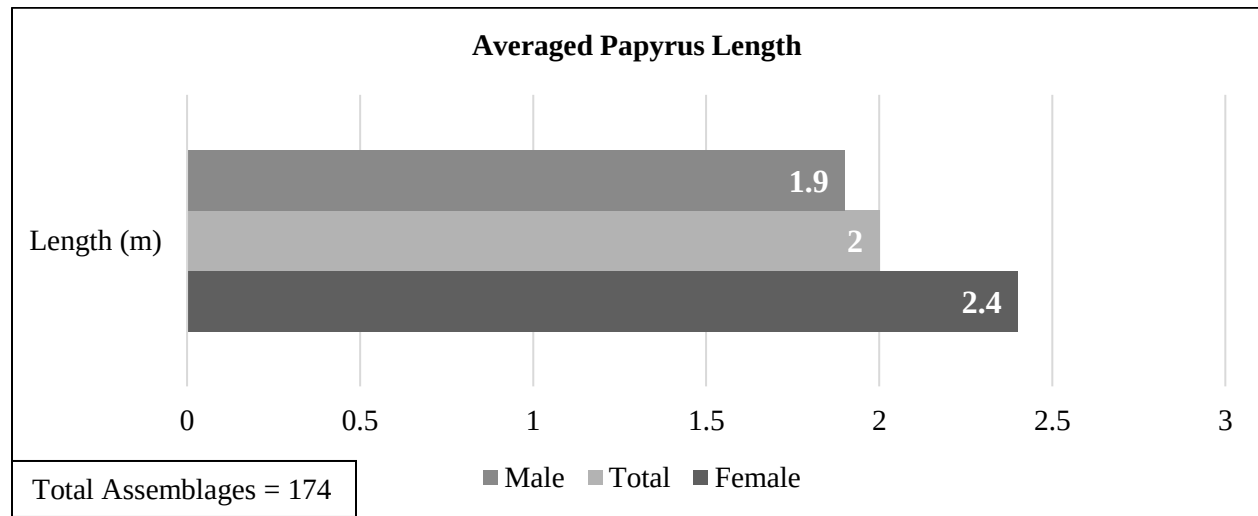


Figure 3.3. Averaged Lengths of Papyri Separated by Gender

Furthermore, this is despite there being strong similarities in the completeness of women's coffin sets versus men's. Both men and women have a similar breakdown regarding 1-, 2-, and 3- piece coffin sets, as previously demonstrated in Figure 3.1 above.²⁵⁸ Because the difference in length between the papyri of women and men is so great despite a similar coffin set distribution, papyrus use among females is clearly unique and meaningful, which sets them apart from both their male counterparts, and possibly amongst one another. In addition to the increased length, there is noticeable equality in the use of content between men and women, but women do use masculinizing content in their papyri. Thus, this equal content and masculinity common in

²⁵⁷ Objects that were known to be fragments were excluded.

²⁵⁸ One-, two-, and three-piece coffin sets are defined by the presence or absence of an outer coffin and lid, inner coffin and lid, and/or a mummy board. For a description of this type of coffin set, see Aston, *op. cit.*, 269-390.

women's papyri exposes the relevance of funerary materiality in socially defining the self. These observations warrant the remaining attention and analysis of this chapter, beginning with a discussion of the content found in 21st Dynasty funerary papyri in general.

3.3.1.1 Scene Types & Introduction of Cosmographic Scenes

It is important to understanding the nature, layout, and content of funerary papyri so that they may be compared socially. This is why it was necessary to analyze the full content of each papyrus and provide classification for the scenes which had yet to be classified by Egyptologists. This section reviews my methodology for categorizing these scenes, as well as how I conceptualized the organized content.

The classification of scenes that appear on papyri and other funerary media is a useful way to conceptualize the employment of certain cosmological motifs. As such, each Amduat Text and the Book of the Dead can be divided into coherent parts. These can be described as spells, chapters, hours, divisions, gates, or numbered vignettes. Standard classification has been followed for this work, with the following abbreviations:

Abbreviation and Description of Underworld Books	
Abbreviation	Description
BD	Book of the Dead. The number indicates the text of the spell. The letter "V" behind the number indicates that the content is a vignette. The text and vignette of a spell are listed separately, as they are rarely mutually inclusive.
BHC	Book of the Hidden Chamber. These divisions are organized by hour.
BG	Book of Gates. This composition is organized into twelve divisions.
BE	Books of the Earth. Joshua Aaron Roberson's divisions ²⁵⁹ are used to number the individual scenes of this composition.
BC	Book of Caverns. These divisions are organized into six sections.
CS	Cosmographic Scene. These scenes consist mostly of images, but they may also contain text. They have been previously uncategorized in scholarly

²⁵⁹ Roberson, *op. cit.*

	literature, sometimes called a mythological scene or vignette or a cosmographic depiction. An explanation of this category and description of each scene is provided below.
PT	Pyramid Texts. The number indicates the text of the spell.
WH	Weighing of the Heart. Clearly associated with the Book of the Dead, this scene is labeled “WH” when it cannot be associated with any specific Book of the Dead spell, such as 30B or 125, due to a lack of associated text.
LR	Litany of Re.

Table 3.3. Abbreviations and Descriptions of Underworld Books

I have attempted to denote all texts and vignettes according to the above schema. It is important to note that the principle of *pars pro toto*, where a part of an image or text can stand to represent the entirety of an image or text, was used here. Thus, abbreviated scenes and full scenes were treated the same way in this classification system.

In addition to this standard notation, two further categorical choices are worth mentioning. The first is the use of the term “Solar Hymn” to designate what other scholars note as being either Book of the Dead Spell 15 or Book of the Dead Spell 16. As John Taylor explains,

On papyri of the Late Period the group of spells which deals with the procession to the tomb and the rituals there (1-14) is often framed by a homage to Osiris and a homage to Ra. The latter consists of a hymn to the sun-god (spell 15), which is often accompanied by a large vignette of the sunrise, conventionally numbered ‘spell 16,’ although it has no text. ‘Spell 15’ is not a standard text: the term is used simply to denote the presence of a solar hymn, of which many different examples have been recorded, not only on Book of the Dead papyri but also in tombs and on stelae. The diverse vignettes which are classified as ‘spell 16’ are among the few which occupy the full height of papyrus rolls. They are not merely expressions of praise to the sun-god but encapsulate in one scene the cyclical path on which Ra and Osiris were thought to be rejuvenated. It is an image both of the beginning of the deceased’s journey and also of its goal.²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ John H. Taylor 2010, *op. cit.*, 89.

These solar hymns are not of a singular textual tradition, and any vignettes that accompany them are not standardized. Rather than group all such solar text and imagery into a single group, I have chosen to denote all such texts as “Solar Hymns,” while all accompanying images have been assigned a Cosmographic Scene designation (see below).

The second important notation is the equivalency of Book of the Dead Spell 168 with the Spell of the Twelve Caves. Scholars use these two designations interchangeably,²⁶¹ and as such I have denoted the presence of this text (and possible accompanying vignette) by both referring to it as the Spell of the Twelve Caves and providing its Book of the Dead distinction.

There are also a few, individually used terms, such as “Deification Decree,” “Speech of Thoth,” “Speech of the Dead Spirit,” “Speech of the Ba,” “Magic Spell,” “Spell for the *Wedjat*-Amulet in *Bia*-Metal,” “Corruption of Text from the Book of Day and the Book of Night,” “Purification Scene,” “Funerary Hymn,” “Offering Formula,” “Offering Scene,” “Ritual Hour Text,” and hymns to designated deities. These designations have been used where appropriate. The term “Explanatory Text” is used for text that elaborates on a particular Book of the Dead spell. The term “Unknown Text” is a text that has not yet been identified as part of any particular genre, and its purpose via the surrounding text is unclear.

There are many scenes on 21st Dynasty funerary papyri that cannot be classified into any of the recognized, standard Amduat texts or Book of the Dead. It was thus imperative to provide a classification system to organize these scenes. Based on the cosmographic nature of these scenes, I have chosen to term the corpus “Cosmographic Scenes.” Other scholars have referred

²⁶¹ Erik Hornung 1999, *op. cit.*, 54-55.

to some scenes that comprise this group as mythological scenes,²⁶² or have simply called them “unidentified” scenes.²⁶³ The content of this group varies greatly, but the one commonality is that they do not have any exacting relationship to the known underworld books that comprise most of the content for 21st Dynasty funerary papyri.

The prevalence of the previously unclassified cosmographic scenes can be attributed in large part to one of the papyri of Djedkhonsuefankh (Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)). This papyrus contains several singular scenes that appear to have never been duplicated – as far as the preservation in the current archaeological record can tell us. This papyrus contains very little text, and almost no scene has a corresponding explanation. As such, it is unclear as to why certain scenes occur, or even what the content of the scenes is supposed to represent.

Other scenes have strong parallels among the papyri and clearly constitute a meaningful scene type. Many scenes are allusions to other, more standardized content from the Book of the Dead or Book of the Hidden Chamber. These scenes, however, blend or elaborate upon the content and themes of the texts to which they refer. This blending and elaboration may take the form of visual and organizational parallels, subject similarity, and/or textual notation that makes certain connections.

As such, I established the groups of Cosmographic Scenes using the layout of the scene, its content, and associated text as guides. I allowed the primary mode of organization to be the

²⁶² Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*

²⁶³ Federico Bottigliengo, “Digging in the Museum: Some Notes on Amduat Papyri in the Museo Egizio of Turin,” *Proceedings of the First Vatican Coffins Conference, 19-22 June 2013*, editors Alessia Amenta and Hélène Guichard (Vatican City: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2017) 89-96.

foundation for the main group, and then divided the group into more narrow subgroups when necessary.

The cosmographic scenes have been loosely organized thematically. **CS 1-4** focus on the solar barque, the movement of the sun on its daily and nightly journey, and the veneration of the solar disk. **CS 4-5** focus on Nut, with the visual depiction of her arching as the sky. **CS 6-9** feature Osiris and Osirian themes of rebirth. **CS 9-15** deal with serpents as one of the feature of the scene. The theme of this group of cosmographic scenes is order over chaos, with the serpents being controlled, restrained, incapacitated, or injured in some way. **CS 16-24** center on the deceased, their journey into the afterlife and transformation into an effective spirit. **CS 25-31** focuses on actions, events, and entities of the underworld. These actions and events may relate to the deceased, and the entities depicted are not considered deities, but rather other underworld inhabitants. **CS 32-33** feature Isis and Nephthys. **CS 34-35** focus on the Four Sons of Horus, other deities evocative of the Four Sons of Horus, and their relationship to protective serpents. **CS 36-38** are thematically grouped by the presence of multiple underworld deities. **CS 39-46** center on symbols in the underworld.

Organizational System and Description of Cosmographic Scenes	
Number	Description
CS 1	This group represents the daily movement of the sun, highlighting its east to west path and its nightly return and symbolic rebirth. There are oftentimes strong allusions to the 12th Hour of the Book of the Hidden Chamber and/or the 12th Division of the Book of Gates, but compositional variation, combination, blending, and adaptation differentiate these scenes from their more traditional counterparts. This group is divided into five subgroups: CS 1a: A semi-circular border symbolic of the Eastern Mountain contains a solar disk or scarab beetle preparing to rise from the Duat, evocative of the 12th Hour of the Book of the Hidden Chamber, this scene may or may not contain the mummy of Osiris reclining in the semi-circle. Oftentimes, a pair of outstretched arms holds

	the solar disk. (See Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 25-27 for a description of this scene type.)²⁶⁴ CS 1b: The solar disk sets in the Western Mountain, evocative of the 12th Division of the Book of Gates. This scene may contain the solar disc embraced by a pair of arms, a deity, or a personified fetish. The presence of a scarab beetle, adoring <i>ba</i> birds, or personified fetishes are possible for this composition. Hathor in the form of a cow may also be emerging from the mountainside. (See Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 39-42 for a description of this scene type.) This is not to be confused with the depiction of the tomb in the Western Mountain with Hathor emerging from the mountain side as a cow (Book of the Dead Spell 186).²⁶⁵ CS 1c: The solar disk is depicted being transferred from the West to the East, representing sunset and sunrise. (See Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 35-39 for a description of this scene type.)²⁶⁶ CS 1d: The solar disk symbolically seated in the West. The sun disk may contain various cultic images, most commonly a fetish, seated child or scarab beetle. Hieroglyphic signs for the West may be present. (See Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 34-35 for a description of this scene type.)²⁶⁷ CS 1e: The solar disk, resting on an <i>akhet</i>-symbol. The deceased may or may not be pictured venerating this image along with a baboon version of Thoth. The sun disk may contain various cultic images, most commonly a fetish, seated child or scarab beetle. (See Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 56 for a description of this scene type. Note: Piankoff and Rambova do not recognize a version of this scene with a double lion as coming from either the Books of Earth scene 5 or the Book of the Dead Spell 17 Vignette.)²⁶⁸
CS 2	A sun disk with a heron inside it is venerated by either fire-spitting serpents with human arms or <i>ba</i> birds.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ Luxor J. 24 (Cairo S.R. VII 10253); P. London BM EA 10010; New York MMA 25.3.31; Cairo S. R. VII 11506; Cairo J.E. 95718 (S.R. IV 652); Cairo S.R. VII 11502

²⁶⁵ Cairo J.E. 95659 (S.R. IV 557); Cairo S.R. VII 10238; Cairo J.E. 95657 (S.R. IV 555); Cairo J.E. 34000 (S.R. VII 10235); P. London BM EA 9919; P. Cambridge E.92.1904; P. London BM EA 9932; P. Paris BN 170-173; P. London BM EA 10004; P. London BM EA 10007; P. Berlin P. 3147; P. London BM EA 10330; P. Paris Louvre N. 3292; P. Berlin P. 3127; P. Berlin P. 3128; P. Turin 1769; P. Paris Louvre N. 3287; P. Cairo No Number; Cairo S.R. 10257

²⁶⁶ Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2); Cairo S.R. VII 11501; P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 A & B

²⁶⁷ Cairo SR 10257; Cairo S.R. IV 541 (J.E. 95644); P. Richmond 54-10

²⁶⁸ P. London BM EA 10018; Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245); Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2); Cairo S.R. VII 11501; Cairo S.R. VII 10231

²⁶⁹ P. Turin 1781; Cairo SR 10257

CS 3	The solar barque of Ra sails across the sky. The bark may be towed (usually by jackals and cobras) and Seth may be present spearing Apophis. The deceased may be depicted venerating this scene, either in human form or as a <i>ba</i> bird. This group may be depicted in one of the following ways that comprise the subdivisions of this group: CS 3a: The solar barque sails on a simple block of sky/water.²⁷⁰ CS 3b: The solar barque sits on the back of Apophis.²⁷¹ CS 3c: The Solar barque is carried by the personified hours of the night seated on cobras.²⁷²
CS 4	An unusual portrayal of arching Nut, depicting the circular movement of the solar barque as it enters and leaves the netherworld. There could be a possible connection to the Books of Day and Night. ²⁷³
CS 5	Nut arches over Geb. She is held aloft by either Shu or an ape-headed god. The deceased may be depicted venerating this scene. (See Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 47-49 for a description of this scene type.) ²⁷⁴
CS 6	Osiris is depicted upside down, with accompanying epitaphs also written upside down. ²⁷⁵
CS 7	A reclining ithyphallic Osiris rests on a hillside, enveloped by a serpent. ²⁷⁶
CS 8	Osiris (or the deceased depicted as an Osiris) rises from the lion-couch. (See Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 57-58 for a description of this scene type.) ²⁷⁷

²⁷⁰ Cairo S.R. VII 10267; Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4); Cairo JE 95648; Luxor J. 24 (Cairo S.R. VII 10253); P. Paris Louvre E. 17400; P. London BM EA 10674; P. Zagreb 885; P. Paris BN 170-173; P. Turin 1781

²⁷¹ P. Paris Louvre N. 3292; Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245); Cairo JE 36465; Cairo S.R. VII 10267; Cairo JE 95645; P. London BM EA 10674; P. London BM EA 10013 (P. Salt 827); P. London BM EA 9941

²⁷² Cairo SR 10257

²⁷³ Cairo JE 95648

²⁷⁴ Cairo CG 40017; P. Paris Louvre E. 17401; Cairo S.R. VII 11501, Cairo S.R. VII 10267; London BM 10554 (P. Greenfield); P. Leiden T 7 (AMS 34); P. London BM EA 10008; P. Paris Louvre E. 17400; P. Paris BN 170-173; P. London BM EA 9941; P. London BM EA 10018

²⁷⁵ P. Berlin P. 3001 A-M

²⁷⁶ P. Richmond 54-10; Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245)

²⁷⁷ Cairo CG 40017; Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2); Cairo CG 40016 (S.R. VII 10240); Cairo S.R. VII 11501; P. Berlin P. 3147

CS 9	This scene depicts the Osirian enthronement on the Double Stairway. This stairway represents the Primeval Hill and the unification of Egypt. (See Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 58-60 for a description of this scene type.) ²⁷⁸
CS 10	Various netherworld beings (baboons, serpent-headed goddess) ride a serpent. These deities, and others that surround them, represent the control of chaos symbolized by the tame serpent. ²⁷⁹
CS 11	Deities grip serpents and carry them like a rope. ²⁸⁰
CS 12	Serpents are being controlled and destroyed by knives wielded by a variety of netherworld deities. The theme of order controlling chaos is prevalent in all scenes, which comprise the following three subcategories: CS 12a: The bodies of the serpents are depicted transfixed with knives, and sometimes the serpents are cut by netherworld deities.²⁸¹ CS 12b: A female goddess with the <i>ma'at</i> feather for a head holds knives, a fire-spitting serpent, and a lizard. The serpent is cut with knives. She, herself, is also cut with several knives.²⁸² CS 12c: A ram-headed god stands atop a double headed serpent, with each neck of the serpent in his fists. Two knives protrude from the god's heels.²⁸³
CS 13	This cosmographic scene centers on the pulling of a serpent from an entity appearing to be associated with the goddess Neith. Only two examples feature this type of activity, and both have features differing enough to warrant two subcategories. It should be noted that both of these scenes appear on the same papyrus, indicating that the variation between scenes was intentional. CS 13a: A mummiform god with the head of a baboon sits under a fire-spitting serpent. What follows is a deity wearing the Red Crown pulling a serpent attached to the waist of an upright mummiform figure. In between them is a two-headed deity with the sign of the goddess Neith above its head. Behind the deity wearing the Red Crown are two figures – the first holds a knife, and the second holds a serpent.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁸ Cairo S.R. VII 11501; Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2); London BM 10554 (P. Greenfield)

²⁷⁹ P. Paris Louvre N. 3069; P. Paris Louvre N. 3297; Cairo S.R. VII 10232; Cairo J.E. 51949; P. Paris Louvre E. 17400

²⁸⁰ New York MMA 25.3.31; Cairo JE 95655

²⁸¹ Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245); Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234); P. London BM EA 9932

²⁸² P. Paris Louvre N. 3069

²⁸³ Cairo J.E. 95718 (S.R. IV 652)

²⁸⁴ Cairo J.E. 95718 (S.R. IV 652)

	CS 13b: A mummiform figure with the head of a vulture kneels in front of a figure offering cloth. Behind this figure are two seated mummiform deities holding knives kneeling below an unknown object similar in shape to the sign of the goddess Neith from which a serpent is being drawn out by an attendant figure. ²⁸⁵
CS 14	A scarab is encircled by an ouroboros. ²⁸⁶
CS 15	A fire-spitting serpent facing rows of stars covers stars and enemies with its body. ²⁸⁷
CS 16	These scenes are composed in the manner of an adoration scene, but they do not appear in the primary place on a papyrus, and they feature more obscure underworld divinities instead of the traditional pantheon of venerated gods and goddesses. CS 16a: The deceased is guided to an offering table by a naked mouse deity. Seated on a throne opposite the deceased is a front-facing donkey deity holding a lizard.²⁸⁸ CS 16b: A mummiform version of the goddess Ma'at venerates both a hawk-headed deity and two goddesses wearing the Crown of the North.²⁸⁹ CS 16c: A large figure of a syncretized seated Osirian/solar deity is venerated by the <i>ba</i> of the deceased.²⁹⁰ CS 16d: A baboon deity seated on a throne is guarded by two standing individuals with royal regalia on either side of the throne. A figure in an <i>atef</i> crown kneels before them.²⁹¹ CS 16e: Adoration of a lion deity.²⁹²

²⁸⁵ Cairo J.E. 95718 (S.R. IV 652)

²⁸⁶ Cairo J.E. 95718 (S.R. IV 652)

²⁸⁷ Cairo J.E. 95718 (S.R. IV 652)

²⁸⁸ Cairo CG 40016 (S.R. VII 10240)

²⁸⁹ P. Paris Louvre E. 17401

²⁹⁰ P. London BM EA 10330

²⁹¹ Cairo CG 40017

²⁹² Cairo J.E. 95660 (S.R.IV 558)

	CS 16f: Adoration of Horus of the Horizon and Insibia. ²⁹³
CS 17	Libation, offering, or veneration scene where the deceased is entering a liminal space. The deceased may be presenting offerings to an undepicted recipient or a depicted deity. If a deity is present, the deceased is holding a pose of veneration while walking, often through a gate. If offering, the deceased either pours water over an altar accompanied by an offering text or stands before a table of offerings in a ritual pose. The deceased may also just hold a pose of veneration without offerings. ²⁹⁴
CS 18	The deceased is depicted in the traditional posture of the Souls of Nekhen and Pe. ²⁹⁵
CS 19	The deceased processes on a ritual boat journey, depicting the deceased traveling to the cultic sites of Heliopolis/Memphis and Abydos. ²⁹⁶
CS 20	The deceased presents his or her heart to a winged serpent. ²⁹⁷
CS 21	The deceased venerates a crocodile, personifying the earth god Geb. This scene may be flanked between two trees. ²⁹⁸
CS 22	The deceased prepares to slaughter a bound donkey to a group of seated Netherworld divinities. (For a discussion of this scene, see Kees, <i>Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer der Ägypter und seiner Symbolik</i> (Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1942) 79.) ²⁹⁹
CS 23	A group of individuals stand in veneration of two signs for temples. ³⁰⁰
CS 24	The deceased kneels in veneration of the tomb entrance. ³⁰¹
CS 25	A goddess with a crocodile and lion head holds knives as she stands in front of a group of human-headed chests, among which flies the <i>ba</i> of the deceased. A

²⁹³ Cairo CG 40017

²⁹⁴ Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234); Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2); P. Paris Louvre E. 17401; Cairo S.R. VII 11501; Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4); New York MMA 25.3.33; Luxor J. 24 (Cairo S.R. VII 10253); Chicago FM 31759; Cairo S.R. VII 11496; Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245); Cairo S.R. VII 11501; Cairo CG 40016 (S.R. VII 10240); Cairo S. R. VII 11506; Cairo CG 40017; Cairo J.E. 95660 (S.R.IV 558); Cairo JE 95645; Cairo S. R. VII 11506

²⁹⁵ Cairo S.R. VII 11496; Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244); London BM 10554 (P. Greenfield); P. Paris Louvre E. 17400

²⁹⁶ Cairo CG 40017; P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 B; P. London BM EA 9932; P. Paris BN 170-173

²⁹⁷ Cairo S.R. VII 10238; Cairo J.E. 95657 (S.R. IV 555); P. London BM EA 10004; P. London BM EA 10007; P. Berlin P. 3127; P. Berlin P. 3128; P. Turin 1769; P. Paris Louvre N. 3287; P. Cairo No Number

²⁹⁸ Cairo S.R. VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6)

²⁹⁹ P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 B

³⁰⁰ New York MMA 30.3.31

³⁰¹ New York MMA 30.3.31

	vulture-headed god wears a panther skin and holds magic wands, and a jackal-headed goddess holds an unrolled papyrus. ³⁰²
CS 26	Four winged jackals precede four women standing by a canal. Each woman holds a jar to be filled by water pouring from a larger jar. ³⁰³
CS 27	Men work construction surrounded by shrines. ³⁰⁴
CS 28	A serpent is coiled in a circle, biting its tail. Inside the enclosure made by the snake are four decapitated seated figures with their heads on their laps. A woman stands with her arms outstretched towards this group, and a goddess with a West sign for her head stands behind her. ³⁰⁵
CS 29	Front facing <i>ba</i> birds each have a lamp associated with them. Behind the <i>ba</i> birds, is a coiled serpent. Above the serpent are four seated figures. In between the coil of the serpent are seated underworld deities and severed heads. ³⁰⁶
CS 30	A row of front facing Osiris-headed jars (?) wear <i>atef</i> crowns and hold crooks and flails. To the left is a recumbent human headed animal, also front facing. Above this creature is a front facing <i>ba</i> bird with wings outstretched. ³⁰⁷
CS 31	This group focuses on mythological animals in the underworld. CS 31a: Mythological winged animal with the body of a lioness and the head of a hippopotamus stands on a shrine with knives in each paw. Possible allusion to Ammit.³⁰⁸ CS 31b: A front facing woman bends and cuts ears of wheat. A female Bes divinity holds a human-faced mask in her outstretched arms. A winged human headed lion holds knives. A recumbent hippopotamus has a crocodile headed god holding a heart sitting on its back. A winged jackal is seated with two seated gods – one with a crocodile head and the other a donkey head – sitting behind.³⁰⁹
CS 32	Isis and Nephthys pour fiery liquid in a circular pattern around small figures holding hoes and two disks referencing the circuit of the sun. This scene alludes to the ceremony of the “Hoeing of the Earth” which preceded the presentation of offerings to the deceased. (See Piankoff and Rambova 1957 p. 93-95 for a description of this scene type. In addition, Isabelle Régen discusses this scene type

³⁰² Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)

³⁰³ Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)

³⁰⁴ Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)

³⁰⁵ Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)

³⁰⁶ Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)

³⁰⁷ Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)

³⁰⁸ Florence 3663

³⁰⁹ Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)

	in “Tradition and Innovation on the Third Intermediate Period Coffins: The Case of an Uncommon Rising Solar and Osirian Scene with Hacking up of the Earth” in <i>Proceedings of the First Vatican Coffins Conference, 19-22 June 2013</i> , editors Alessia Amenta and Hélène Guichard (Vatican City: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2017) 439-450. She provides thirteen examples of this scene. In addition to the four 21 st Dynasty examples studied here, she discusses nine examples on 21 st Dynasty coffins.) ³¹⁰
CS 33	This group of scenes focuses on Isis and/or Nephthys performing an act of adoration or veneration. CS 33a: Isis and/or Nephthys venerates a solar hawk.³¹¹ CS 33b: Isis and Nephthys venerate an Abydos fetish.³¹² CS 33c: Isis and Nephthys adore the solar barque.³¹³
CS 34	This group of scenes focus on either the Four Sons of Horus, or groups of deities that evoke the Four Sons of Hours, with variation. Another key of this group is the placement of these deities with serpents. CS 34a: The Four Sons of Horus featured in a row.³¹⁴ CS 34b: The Four Sons of Horus either stand within the coils of a serpent or are enveloped by a serpent.³¹⁵ CS 34c: Mummiform gods of the netherworld, oftentimes evocative of the Four Sons of Horus, are contained in the coils of a serpent.³¹⁶
CS 35	A row of coiled serpents guards a group of the Lords of the Netherworld, who are then followed by a serpent. ³¹⁷

³¹⁰ Cairo CG 40017; P. Paris Louvre E. 17401; P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 A & B; P. Paris BN 170-173

³¹¹ Florence 3663; P. London BM EA 10472

³¹² Cairo CG 40017; P. Paris Louvre E. 17401

³¹³ Cairo CG 40017

³¹⁴ Cairo S.R. VII 11501; Florence 3663; Cairo CG 40016 (S.R. VII 10240); New York MMA 25.3.34; P. Paris Louvre N. 3292

³¹⁵ Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245); Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234); P. Paris Louvre N. 3069; P. Berlin P. 3147

³¹⁶ Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4); Cairo J.E. 95718 (S.R. IV 652)

³¹⁷ Luxor J.25 (from Cairo SR 10252); Cairo JE 36465

CS 36	The following subgroups share in a subject of various groups of Netherworld deities. CS 36a: The deceased offers to rows of mummiform Netherworld deities, some of which are evocative of the characters of the Litany of Re.³¹⁸ CS 36b: Groups of Netherworld deities are either seated or standing. Some are evocative of the characters of the Litany of Re.³¹⁹
CS 37	Entities representing the cardinal directions being led by a goddess with the head of a snake carrying knives. ³²⁰
CS 38	A ram-headed sun god stands in the center of a personified <i>akhet</i> , consisting of two humans joined at the torso. The humans are holding a serpent. ³²¹
CS 39	A row of cobras sits atop scarabs enclosed in ovals. ³²²
CS 40	A personified wine press is held by two hawk-headed deities who twist a rope containing severed human heads. The bodies lie below, and braziers of fire are placed above the net. Red dots representing blood spurting from the heads surround the scene. ³²³
CS 41	A series of solar barques in a vertical column are situated above a crocodile. Various divinities are seated in the solar barques, including a fire-spitting serpent, a vulture goddess, a cobra goddess, and a scarab beetle. ³²⁴
CS 42	A double group of symbols consisting of two signs for gold, two rectangles, and two signs for sky rest upon signs for Upper and Lower Egypt (clumps of lotuses and papyri plants, respectively). ³²⁵
CS 43	Black and red serpents looped above four cups. ³²⁶

³¹⁸ Cairo S.R. VII 10231; Cairo S.R. VII 10232; Cairo S. R. VII 11506; Cairo J.E. 95659 (S.R. IV 557); Cairo SR 10257; Cairo J.E. 95660 (S.R.IV 558); P. Paris Louvre N. 3292; Florence 3663; Cairo JE 95645; Cairo JE 95655; Cairo S.R. VII 11502

³¹⁹ Cairo S.R. VII 10230; Cairo J.E. 95660 (S.R.IV 558); Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4); Cairo JE 95648; Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2); Cairo J.E. 51949; Cairo S.R. VII 11501; Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4); New York MMA 25.3.31; Cairo JE 95645; Cairo J.E. 95647 (S.R. IV 545); P. Turin 1768

³²⁰ P. Paris BN 170-173

³²¹ Cairo S.R. VII 10267

³²² P. Richmond 54-10

³²³ P. Turin 1781

³²⁴ P. Paris Louvre N. 3069

³²⁵ Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234)

³²⁶ Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)

CS 44	Four lower Egyptian shrines. ³²⁷
CS 45	The deceased stands wrapped in a white cloak that gives him a bell shape. The head of a lion protrudes from the cloak. The deceased wears a crown of two horns, a sun disk, and two plumes. ³²⁸
CS 46	These are scenes that comprise a personified <i>djed</i> pillar. CS 46a: A personified <i>djed</i>-pillar with royal regalia. Isis and Nephthys may be present in veneration.³²⁹ CS 46b: A grouping of enigmatic signs which normally accompany depictions of the <i>Sed</i>-festival. These signs feature a scorpion with the two eastern sections of the sky, the two fans, and the <i>djed</i> pillar. This group of pictorial signs represents rebirth and resurrection. (For a discussion of this group of signs, see Kees, <i>Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs</i> (Leipzig, 1912) 119-134.³³⁰

Table 3.4. Designations of Cosmographic Scene Groups and Subgroups with Scene Descriptions

3.3.2 Content

As previously mentioned in Chapter 2,³³¹ the typology regarding the content of papyri is not nearly as clear as current scholarship suggests. There is not a strict division between Book of the Dead and Amduat-type papyri, nor are papyri that do fall into these categories standardized in their content. Instead of following a regimented pattern of content and pairs, there appears to be much more freedom in the choice of content and the commissioning of documents. The following sections, which discuss etiquettes and vignettes, demonstrate this freedom with the perspective of gender. There appear to be no limitations on women regarding the content of their etiquettes. For the vignettes in the body of each papyrus, women again do not have limitations

³²⁷ Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4); New York MMA 25.3.31

³²⁸ Cairo S.R. VII 10267; P. Richmond 54-10

³²⁹ P. Paris Louvre E. 17401; Cairo S.R. VII 11501; Cairo S.R. IV 541 (J.E. 95644); Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234); Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2)

³³⁰ P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 B

³³¹ See Chapter 2.4.3 for a discussion of this topic.

as compared to their male peers as to what content they could showcase. This supports the interpretation that social competition expressed via funerary materiality does not seem to focus on intergender competition, but rather exists within a context of intragender rivalry.

3.3.2.1 Etiquettes

Of the 557 papyri in this dataset, 242 have identifiable etiquettes. Etiquettes constitute the opening vignette of a funerary papyrus, filling the full height of the papyrus. The content always shows the deceased offering to one or more deities. The etiquette holds much of the identifying information of the deceased, including the name of the individual, his or her titles, and family affiliations. On some of these papyri, there are more than one of these highly formal offering scenes, making the total number of etiquettes 252. It is unsurprising that the deity on which most of the etiquettes focus is Osiris. There are, however, other deities who also receive offerings in some of the etiquettes. Deities may be part of a group or appear on their own. A full list of these deities, their combinations, and their frequency among male and female papyri are presented in the following table.

Deities Receiving Offerings in Etiquettes of Men and Women			
Deities Depicted	Number of Male Offerers	Number of Female Offerers	Number of Anonymous Offerers
Osiris	61	62	0
Osiris + Isis	16	15	0
Osiris + Isis + Nephthys	10	18	0
Osiris + Nephthys	0	2	0
Osiris + Selket	0	1	0
Osiris + Hathor + Isis	0	1	0
Osiris + Isis + Hathor + Nephthys	1	0	0

Ptah-Sokar-Osiris + Isis	1	0	0
Ptah-Sokar-Osiris + Isis + Hathor + Nephthys	0	1	0
Osiris + Thoth	1	0	0
Thoth	2	2	0
Isis + Nephthys + Thoth	1	0	0
Re	0	1	0
Re-Horakhty	19	17	1
Re-Horakhty-Osiris	1	0	0
Re-Horakhty-Atum	12	8	0
Re-Horakhty-Atum + Osiris	1	0	0
Re-Horakhty-Atum + Osiris + Isis + Nephthys	1	0	0
Atum	0	1	0
Re-Atum + Osiris	1	0	0
Amun-Re-Horakhty + Osiris	0	1	0
Horus of the Horizon	1	0	0
Solar Disk	1	0	0
Amenhotep I	1	1	0

Table 3.5. Deities Depicted in Papyri Etiquettes and Their Frequency Based on Gender

The equality between the etiquettes of men and women is striking. Women possess access to the same breadth of deities as the men, and do not appear to be restricted in any way regarding to whom they depicted themselves offering.

These results reflect a very different social situation for women than in the previous dynasties of the New Kingdom. During the peak of New Kingdom of centralization, women were far more restricted in terms of display. The more centralized the society, combined with the higher the status of elite women, results in very strict control over the conditions of social

display for females.³³² Throughout most of Egyptian history, women who were depicted in any public manner were usually not recognized by name or title, but rather given an identity in relationship to a man.³³³

This phenomenon can be clearly demonstrated in many Egyptian datasets, with a comparison to New Kingdom votive stela from Assyt illustrating several meaningful points. In a study conducted by Eric Wells, these stela, which were placed along the route of a ritual procession dedicated to Wepwaut, have extreme differences between those depicting men and those depicting women. Throughout the entire corpus of stela, 509 individuals are depicted. Out of these, only 170 are women – a disproportionately low number. Even more unbalanced is the discrepancy between men and women regarding single-donor stela. Only 30 of these women dedicated a stela independently.³³⁴

In terms of the deity receiving offerings, the Assyt stela again demonstrate that women were much more limited than men concerning their choices for display. Wepwaut is by far the most common deity depicted on the stela of both genders, and this – like Osiris for the funerary papyri – is unsurprising. However, aside from Wepwaut, women are limited to a handful of female deities unlike their male counterparts.³³⁵ Wells explains the limitations that women faced, stating, “While the visible nature of the festival procession of Wepwaut would not have excluded women, it is notable that when women stepped outside of this system they chose to

³³² Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993) 15.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 35, and Gay Robins, “Some Principles of Compositional Dominance and Gender Hierarchy in Egyptian Art,” *JARCE* 31 (1994) 34.

³³⁴ Eric Ryan Wells, *Display and Devotion: A Social and Religious Analysis of New Kingdom Votive Stelae from Assyt*, Ph.D. The University of California, Los Angeles (2014) 225.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 268.

focus on female deities (however limited). This preference may indicate the existence of gender based religious practices at the site.”³³⁶

Votive stela and funerary papyri are not completely comparable, yet the scenes of offering on both object types, and the differing extent to which women could participate in this form of material culture, speak to the shift in women’s freedom within the 21st Dynasty’s changing practices of decorum. In areas where women were once much more restricted they could now, in the decentralization that the Third Intermediate Period afforded them, seemingly acquire and showcase elite objects equal to their male counterparts without control or limitation.

3.3.2.2 Vignettes

Men and women have equal distribution of Book of the Dead and Amduat content as described in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 above. The fact that there appears to be no decorum of restriction on the content of women’s papyri is striking. In addition, there is no content that is restricted just to women. With the longer average length of women’s papyri, women were not filling this extra space with a particular set of extra content, but rather were just including more content on average than that their male counterparts to account for the longer average length.

When considering the Cosmographic Scenes, there are 61 individuals that own at least one papyrus with this type of content. Twenty-nine of these individuals are women, and thirty-one are men. One individual is anonymous with no identifiable gender. The Cosmographic Scenes, as previously described in Section 3.3.1.1, are a grouping of previously unclassified vignettes that may or may not contain associated text. I generally interpret Cosmographic

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

Scenes to be more complex and elevated commentaries of funerary literature. The reasons for this are threefold: First, the rarity of these vignettes speaks to a more controlled, higher elite usage. Generally, the individual that incorporate these vignettes into their papyri are those with higher-ranking titles,³³⁷ which indicates that there may have been an element of decorum associated with their dissemination and usage among the 21st Dynasty priestly elite. Second, the Cosmographic Scenes oftentimes appear to be a syncretization of several Book of the Dead or Amduat text motifs. This melding of imagery with the intent of creating a more religiously elevated concept can be read as a display of social status within the temple system, showcasing higher-level knowledge and understanding of Egyptian funerary motifs. Third, Cosmographic Scenes often appear in combination with other restricted – and arguably controlled – texts such as the Books of the Earth, the Book of Gates, and the Book of Caverns.³³⁸ If these other rarely utilized Amduat content also signal an elevated status within the temple system and access to more restricted knowledge, then their appearance with the Cosmographic Scenes supports the idea that the usage of such texts was a display of social status and competition within the higher-ranking members of the priesthood, regardless of gender.

While both genders have equal access to both Cosmographic Scenes and the rarer Amduat content,³³⁹ there is a distinction about which men and which women have access to such

³³⁷ The interpretation of higher-ranked titles can be subjective, but a combination of the rarity of the title, mixture of titles in certain combinations, numerically ranked title by the Egyptians (i.e. Third High Priest of Amun), and the inclusion of superlatives in the title by the Egyptians (i.e. Chief Singer of Mut versus Singer of Mut) are factors in determining the status of a title within the schema of 21st Dynasty temple titles. This observation is more apparent for men than for women, as women's titles are less varied than men's.

³³⁸ One papyrus of Padiamun (Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2)) also contains a selection of Pyramid Texts. One papyrus of Gautseshen A (Cairo CG 40012 (J.E. 95838, S.R. IV 936)) also contains the Hours of the Night.

³³⁹ Nine women, nine men, and one anonymous individual incorporated the Books of the Earth, the Book of Gates, and/or the Book of Caverns in their papyri.

vignettes. This distinction is different for men and women and, in my interpretation, has to do with women being less able to express their social rank through titles. By studying papyri for which the gender, titles, and content is known, the usage of Cosmographic Scenes and Amduat content³⁴⁰ can be viewed as a showcase of social status. For men, this pattern fits with their ability to express social position through their varied and ranked temple titles. For women, the greater homogeneity of their titles does not align with the incorporation of Cosmographic Scenes and Amduat texts, but rather could elucidate further the social status of individual women in situations when their titles are insufficient for expressing their status.

The men in this study generally use Cosmographic Scenes and Amduat texts in line with their titles and associated ranks. Men who do not utilize Cosmographic Scenes and Amduat content in their papyri are split relatively evenly between the groups of men with higher-ranking titles and those of standard titles for the 21st Dynasty. For men who do incorporate Cosmographic Scenes and Amduat content on their papyri, a strong majority have high-ranking titles.

³⁴⁰ As defined in this context, “Amduat texts” do not refer to Book of the Hidden Chamber content, but rather to the rarer underworld books consisting of the Books of the Earth, the Book of Caverns, and the Book of Gates.

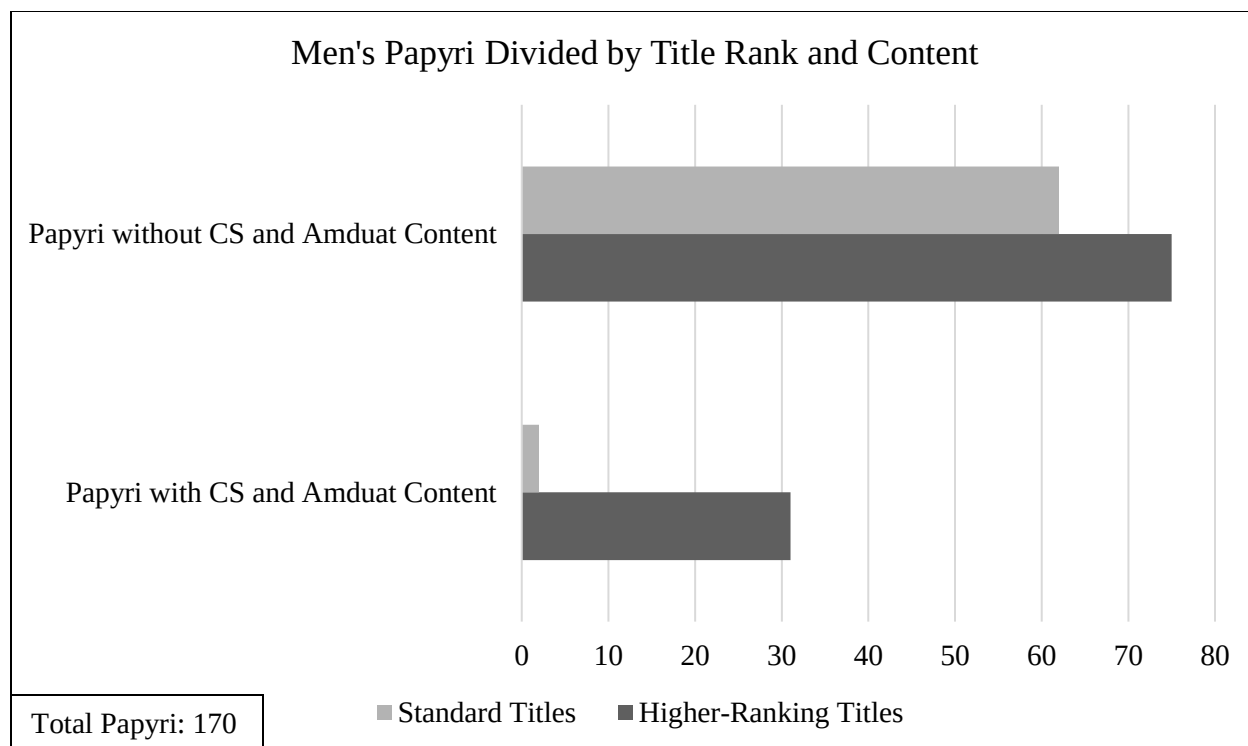


Figure 3.4. Men's Papyri Separated by Title Rank & Divided by Presence or Absence of CS and Amduat Content

This aligns quite well with the division men can create using their titles to reinforce social rank. If a man was to include Cosmographic Scenes and Amduat content in his papyri, he was very likely to be of a high-rank within the temple.

Women, on the other hand, are more restricted in terms of titles that express a hierarchy. Thus, their use of Cosmographic Scenes and Amduat content, does not reflect a division as reflected in their titles, but rather is the driving force behind the division of social rank that their titles cannot express.

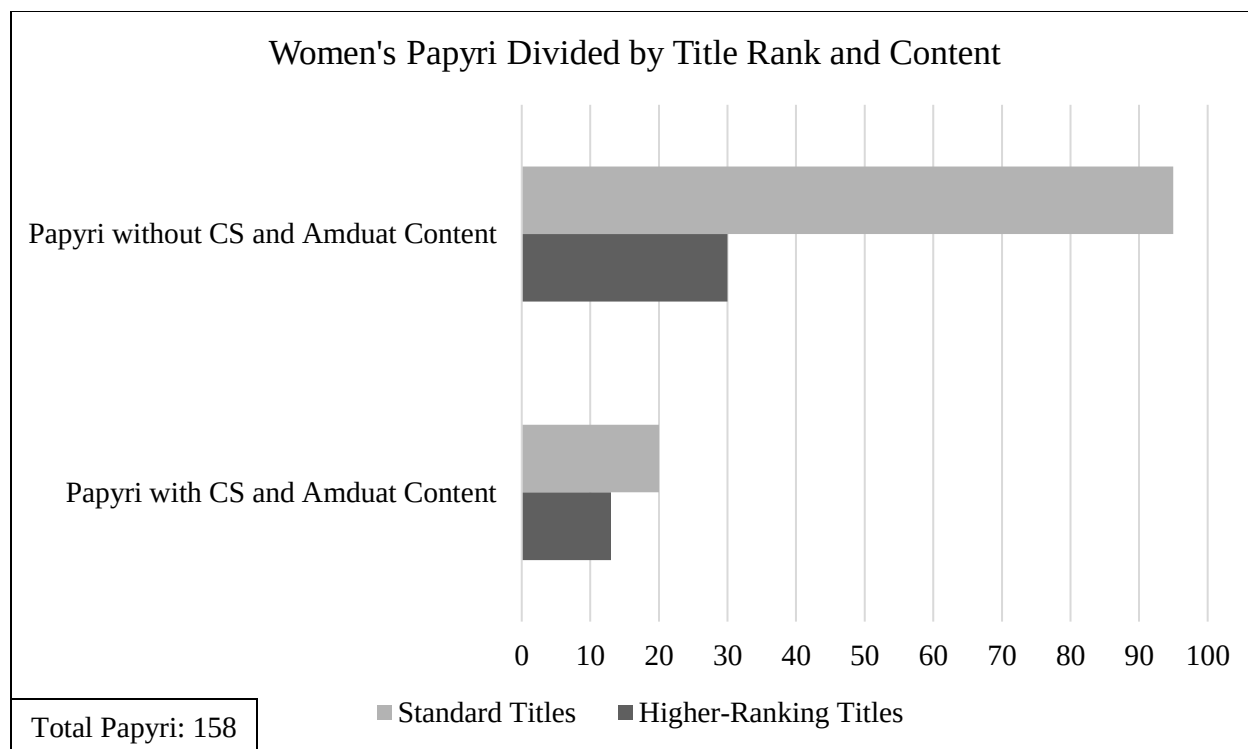


Figure 3.5. Women's Papyri Separated by Title Rank & Divided by Presence or Absence of CS and Amduat Content

For these women, if they were to include Cosmographic Scenes and Amduat content in their papyri, there was no guarantee that their titles would be reflective of their more elite status within society, as the titles women could claim on their papyri were more limiting in role and scope. However, the stronger leaning towards women with higher-ranking titles and Cosmographic Scenes and Amduat content, coupled with the data for men that indicate the correlation between social rank and use of such funerary motifs, suggests women were also using the content of their papyri as a form of social competition. In fact, this distribution of women in Figure 3.5 suggests that women were using their content even more than men as a form of social competition due to their inability to utilize titles in the same manner as their male counterparts.

The longer average length of women's papyri³⁴¹ also supports this interpretation. Indeed, women's papyri on average are longer than men's papyri with the average length of a women's papyrus being 2.4 meters compared with the 1.9-meter average length for a man's papyrus. (The average for the entire data set, disregarding gender, is 2 meters.) For papyri that contain Cosmographic Scenes and Amduat content, each average is higher, illustrating that this content was viewed as "additional" or "extra" material to be incorporated into the papyri of the initiated or those economically superior to afford longer papyri.

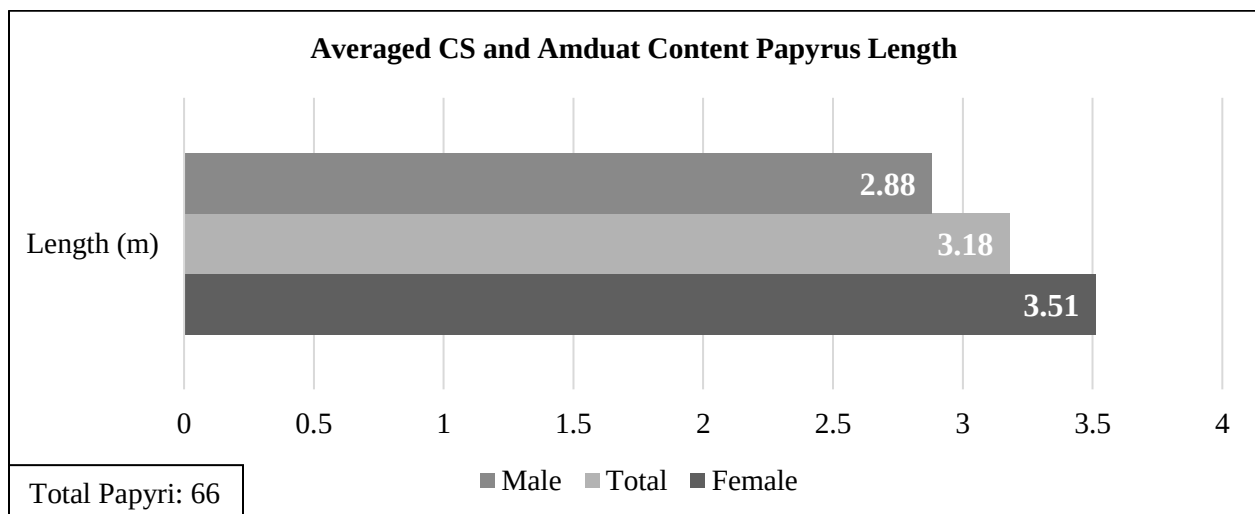


Figure 3.6. Averaged Lengths of Papyrus Containing CS and Amduat Content Separated by Gender

Women maintain a longer average papyrus length over both men and the corpus as a whole. These higher averages, when compared with the averages for all 21st Dynasty papyri, demonstrate that Cosmographic Scenes and Amduat content were being used often in addition to content from the Book of the Dead, the Book of the Hidden Chamber, and other more standard funerary motifs.

³⁴¹ See Section 3.3.1 for the discussion of length of women's papyri.

3.3.3 A Note on Quality

A complete study on quality is outside the scope of this work, as so much of the analysis of quality relies on the production, commodification, and sale of papyri. Quality is also incredibly difficult to define. An emic perspective on quality is impossible – we will never know how the Theban elite ascribed value to these documents, what the optimal combination of elements was for a papyrus, or what the ideal papyrus would have been according to their mindset. The Egyptians themselves are unfortunately quiet on the subject as to the cost and production of funerary papyri, with only one ostrakon from Deir el-Medina (a frequent source of commodity pricing) listing the costs for two Ramesside Book of the Dead. papyri³⁴² A more scientific approach to quality would be possible for future research. If the 557 papyri of this dataset were studied to determine the pigments used, for example, a gradient of value for the materials involved in the papyri's construction could be established. The rarity of pigments used could shed light on how the Egyptians ascribed value to various raw materials.

Until a systematic, scientific study is undertaken, however, one must rely merely on subjective judgement when assessing the quality of each papyrus. Setting aside degradation, fading, lacunae, breakage, and other modern damage, it is clear that there is a wide range in the quality of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri. There are varying skills in the copying of texts and drawing of images. There are differences in quality in the papyrus itself. The amounts of materials used in the construction of a papyrus can also speak to the investment placed in the construction of the document. There is also a time investment for longer, more intricate documents that must be taken into consideration. While it is incredibly difficult to define,

³⁴² Janssen, *op. cit.*, 245-246.

quality is something that we know it when we see it, and we should not try to shy away from defining it in those terms.

That is not to say that our eyes and the eyes of the Egyptians viewed these items in the same light. While seemingly the Egyptians valued an object through a combination of materials and artistry,³⁴³ it is impossible to reconstruct the weight that each of these categories held in the Egyptian mindset, and, more importantly, how each category was conceived. For example, some papyri with skillfully drawn images contain no text. Did the Theban elite ascribe a lesser value to such papyri because of the absence of text? Can the opposite be said for papyri that contain no images? Was there an ideal balance between text and image? Concerning the concept of *pars pro toto*, where a portion of a text or image can suffice for the entirety, did the Egyptian place an elevated value on papyri that contained vignettes or texts that were not abbreviated?

In addition, our modern perceptions of the aesthetic qualities of a papyrus do not factor in the transformative qualities that the papyrus would have for the deceased. After all, these items served a purpose, and the function of such objects cannot be understated. “Religiously charged objects...have social, economic, religious, cultural, material, and aesthetic values, and the separation between them is not at all easy to draw.”³⁴⁴

Regardless of these obstacles, a general assessment of the quality of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri can be started by studying the following categories:

1. The quality of the papyrus as a material. This category is difficult to assess from photographs or by studying papyri behind plated glass. An opportunity to systematically study the 557 papyri in this dataset in such a personal manner was not possible.
2. The type and quality of pigments. This category was not assessed in the current study for the same reasons as the previous category. The type of access needed to study the type

³⁴³ Cooney 2007, *op. cit.*, 176.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 179.

- and quality of pigments was not possible. Future research could include an X-ray fluorescence study to determine the types of pigments used and their frequency of use.
3. The quality of the texts. By studying the copyist's hand, one can determine the skill and care placed in transmitting the text via a particular papyrus. This category centers on the confidence of the hand, the amount of spelling and grammar errors present, and the overall visual appeal of the text. It should be noted that some papyri do not contain any text, and that may not have necessarily detracted from the value and quality in the Egyptian mindset.
 4. The quality of the images. Like the above category, determining the quality of the images focuses on the confidence of the artist's hand, the use of coloring, and overall visual appeal. Some papyri do not contain images, and that may not have influenced the Egyptian's view of their quality. Also, some papyri do not use full polychrome, and it is unclear if such papyri were deemed to be of a lesser quality due to their more limited palette.
 5. The length of the papyrus. The study in this chapter has determined that length was a form of social competition, at least for the papyri of females. As such, it can be assumed that Egyptians would recognize the value of a longer papyrus as being socially significant.
 6. The customization of the papyrus. Particularly seen in the etiquette, papyri vary in the amount of customization for the deceased. Some papyri appear to have names and titles squeezed in as an afterthought, while other papyri seem to craft the content around the identity of the owner. More customized and personalized papyri may have been seen to have possess higher quality by the Egyptians.
 7. The addition of gilding. A few papyri in this dataset have the presence of gilding of certain visual elements. Knowing the value that the Egyptians placed on precious metals, the inclusion of gold on a papyrus would have been seen as a mark of quality of material, if not also of artistic merit.
 8. The association of a papyrus with a container. Some papyri were found in (Ptah-Sokar-) Osiris figurines. Unfortunately, excavation reports from TT 320 (The Royal Cache), Bab el-Gasus (The Second Cache), and the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations oftentimes do not record which papyri were found in such figurines and which were found in the wrappings of a mummy. Sometimes this information is preserved, and perhaps with more research, the specific find spots of more papyri can be determined. One might assume that papyri placed in a special container would be perceived to be of high quality or importance to the Theban elite. However, unless more papyri can be definitively associated with figurines, this assessment cannot be made.

With these potential avenues to assess quality, a cursory study of the 557 papyri do not reveal any differences in quality based on gender. This observation reveals that men and women had equal access to the commissioning, construction, and use of such objects and that women do not appear to be restricted in terms of materiality with regard to funerary papyri.

3.4 Gendered Conclusions

To conclude this discussion on women's papyri, I want to discuss the role of the papyrus in aiding the female in her quest to become a transfigured, effective being – an Osirian entity.

Women utilized papyri to provide the masculine elements necessary for this union with Osiris that would ensure proper placement in the afterlife. In addition, women used papyri as a form of social competition in way that men did not. I believe that the reason for this was an inadequate means of expressing a social hierarchy through the more limiting temple titles that women had available to them in the 21st Dynasty. The following sections address these gendered conclusions.

3.4.1 Being as Osiris

Much of the cosmographic content of women's papyri is very masculine and Osirian in nature.

Women were utilizing singular burials unconnected to male counterparts, and the coffins of those burials were very feminizing for women with flat hands, breasts, earrings, and a modeled feminine body. Perhaps the reason for the masculine elements of the papyri stemmed from burial anxiety of having an overly feminizing coffin set.³⁴⁵ With the belief that one must harness the powers of Osiris for an effective transition into the afterlife, women must have felt the concern of not being able to utilize the funerary equipment and iconography of their husbands' burials to connect to this masculine afterlife entity, as was the case in earlier periods of Egyptian history.

³⁴⁵ This possibility is discussed in Section 3.4.3 below.

One way for women to harness transformative Osirian powers for the afterlife was to center on overtly masculine imagery in their papyri. While this type of emphasis cannot necessarily be quantified, there are several papyri belonging to women that appear to place importance on virial, masculine references. I have chosen to highlight a group of papyri owned by women that best represent this phenomenon below. They include a set of papyri that focus on the deceased in her *ba* form (perhaps to deemphasize her feminine features), several papyri that depict the deceased worshiping Osiris with an *atef* crown, a papyrus that depicts an Osirian Nut with an erect phallus along with other examples of Osiris with an erect phallus, a papyrus that inserts the name of the female deceased into a group of male divinities, and papyri representative of an overall portion of women's papyri that feature mixed pronoun usage.

One of the first observations regarding the masculinization of women's papyri is the possible desire to not depict the deceased with an overtly feminine body. There does not appear to be a strong trend for this, as there is one case where a woman was not depicted with a fully female body. This instance instead featured the deceased purely in her *ba* form, which could suggest that there was a conscious decision by her or the creator of her funerary papyri to not portray the deceased in a female body. This example is pair of papyri belonging to a woman named Tauhenut, Cairo J.E. 36464 (S.R. VII 10243) and Cairo S.R. VII 10270. Both papyri feature Tauhenut only in her *ba* form.

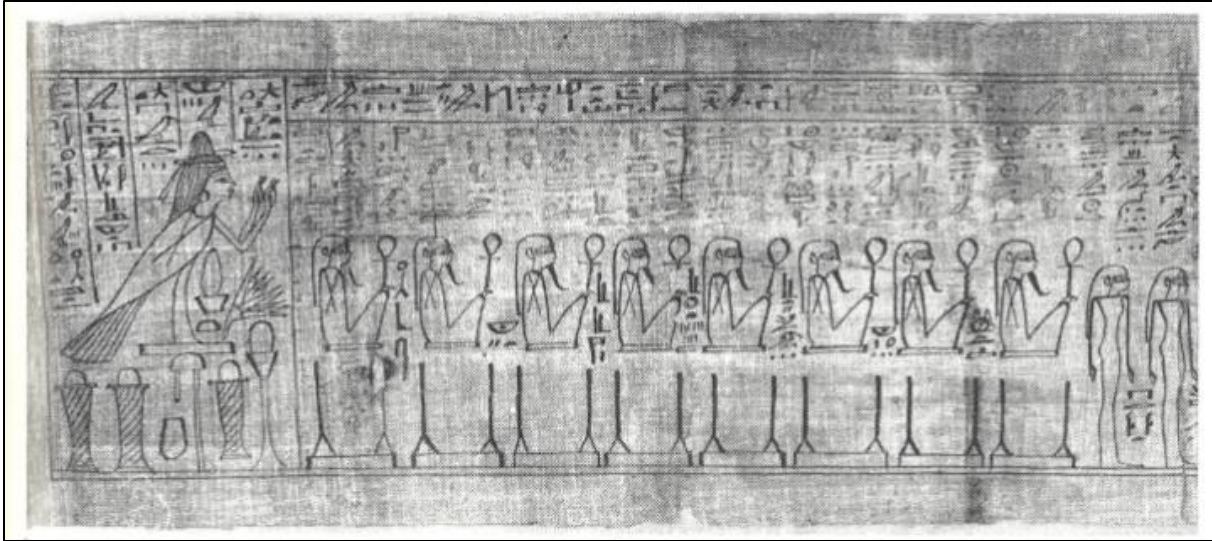


Figure 3.7. Ending Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Tauhenut, Cairo J.E. 36464 (S.R. VII 10243), from Sadek 1985



Figure 3.8. Beginning Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Tauhenut, Cairo S.R. VII 10270, from the Totenbuch Projekt

There are no instances of a male being depicted solely in his *ba* form.

Another noticeable marker on the papyri of some women is the incorporation of a deity in an elaborated *atef* crown with horns and sun disk. This deity is depicted in a secondary adoration

scene. The first example of this is the papyrus of Djedmaatesankh, Cairo J.E. 95655, where, after a typical initial adoration scene, the deceased is depicted venerating an Osiris with an elaborated *atef* crown.



Figure 3.9. Beginning Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Djedmaatesankh, Cairo J.E. 95655, photo by author

A similar example is the papyrus of Meritamun, Cairo CG 40027 (S.R. IV 999), who also has a secondary adoration scene at the end of her papyrus where Osiris wears an elaborated *atef* crown with horns.



Figure 3.10. Ending Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Meritamun, Cairo CG 40027 (S.R. IV 999), from the Totenbuch Projekt

In addition to Osiris, other deities and individuals are recorded on women's papyri as wearing an elaborated *atef* crown. Cairo J.E. 95647 (S.R. IV 545), the papyrus of Kashuenkhonsu, depicts Thoth with such a crown, also in a secondary adoration scene.

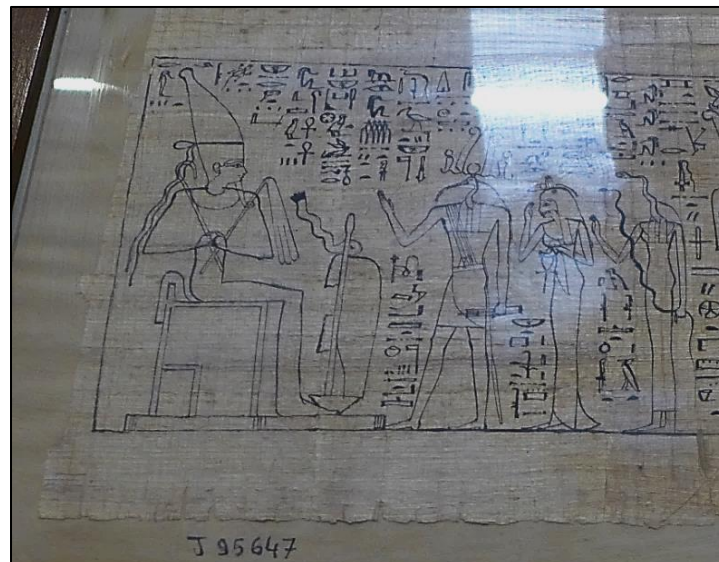


Figure 3.11. Ending Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Kashuenkhonsu, Cairo J.E. 95647 (S.R. IV 545), photo by author

Another papyrus, a papyrus of Nestanebtawy, also features Thoth wearing this elaborated *atef* crown. Thoth both reports the result of the weighing of the heart and makes an offering to Nefertem.

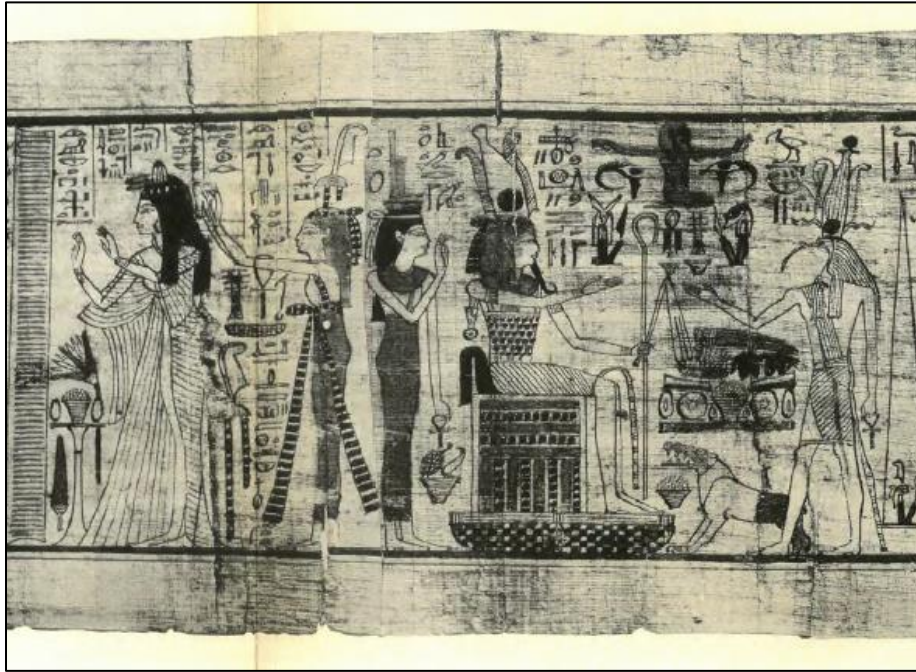


Figure 3.12. Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Nestanebtawy, Cairo CG 40017, from Piankoff and Rambova 1957

The papyrus of Nestanebtawy, Cairo CG 40017, not only features this scene of Thoth but also contains a cosmographic adoration scene in which a figure in an elaborate *atef* crown kneels before a baboon deity.

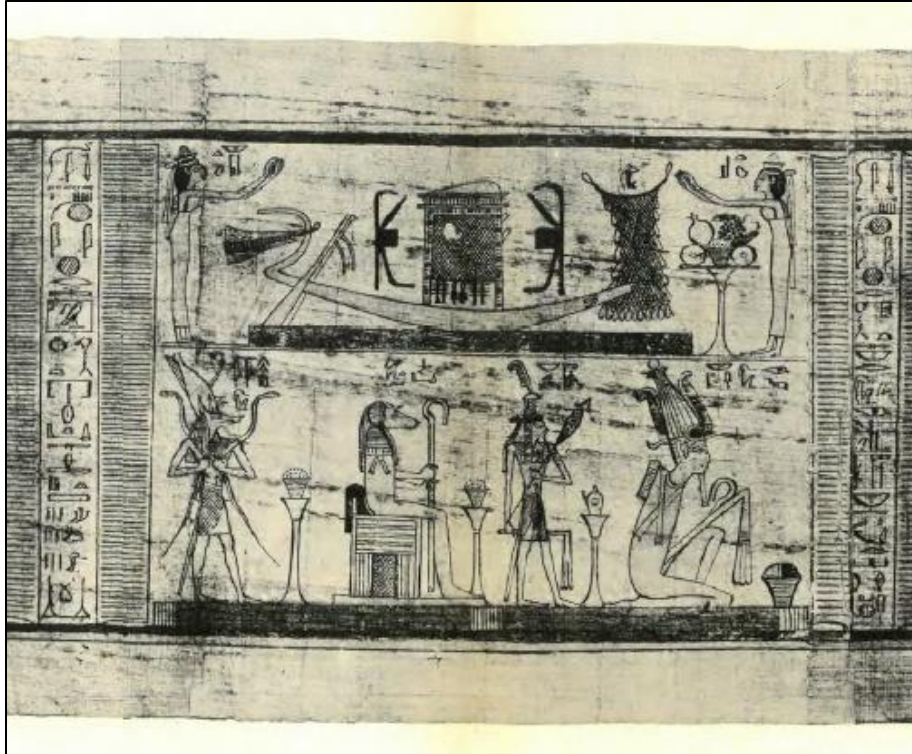


Figure 3.13. Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Nestanebtawy, Cairo CG 40017, from Piankoff and Rambova, 1957

Perhaps this elaborate *atef* crown, like the later *hemhem* crown,³⁴⁶ was a symbol of fertility and rebirth. If women were truly concerned with their femininity interfering with their potential for self-regeneration into the afterlife, they could be using the symbolism of this elaborate *atef* crown as a means of enhancing their transformative potential.

This masculine transformative potential could be depicted much more literally on the papyri of women, with several unique motifs highlighting masculine regenerative qualities. P. London BM EA 10018 features both an ithyphallic Osirian Nut and an autofellating Geb. This masculine potent scene is a variant of the usual scene of the cosmos depicted as female Nut

³⁴⁶ Eleni Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1989) 90.

arching over masculine Geb. The traditional version of the scene was included to the right of the augmented version.



Figure 3.14. Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Hennutawy, P. London BM EA 10018, © Trustees of the British Museum

In the augmented version, however, the night sky is represented as a male who is identified as “Osiris, Foremost of Westerners, maker of sky, maker of earth, maker of the underworld.” The other figure is identified as “Geb, father of the gods, the great god who made the earth and all that the sun encircles.” This and other depictions on women’s papyri of an ithyphallic Osiris (to be discussed below) probably references his potency and potential for resurrection. Geb’s act of autofellatio is possibly a means of representing fertility and self-sustainability. Both the attributes of Osiris and Geb would be traits a female deceased would desire to possess, given the anxiety of needed masculine transformative powers in the afterlife. It should be noted that this papyrus of Hennutawy is the only instance where Geb is depicted in a graphic sex act. His posture is paralleled in other, more traditional, versions of this scene, and he

is sometimes depicted with an erect phallus rising towards Nut.³⁴⁷ Another parallel is a scene on the coffin of Isetemkheb D/Nesykhonsu A, JE 26198; CG 61031, where Geb is curled up underneath a female Nut.



Figure 3.15. Detail of the coffin of Isetemkheb D/Nesykhonsu A, JE 26198 (CG 61031)

In addition, there are also two papyri of women who feature an otherwise unique scene of an ithyphallic Osiris lying on a mound of sand encircled by a serpent. These are the papyri of Hennutawy (P. Richmond 54-10)³⁴⁸ and Harweben (Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245)).

³⁴⁷ See Olaf Kaper, "The Astronomical Ceiling of Deir el-Haggar," JEA 81 (1995) 179-82.

³⁴⁸ This is the same Hennutawy as the previous example. This papyrus is the second papyrus in her attested pair.

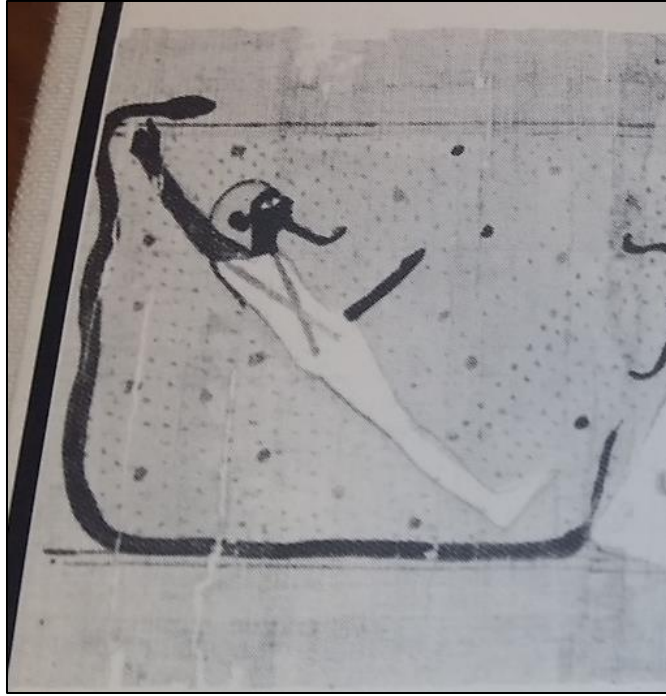


Figure 3.16. Ending Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Hennutawy, P. Richmond 54-10, from the Totenbuch Projekt

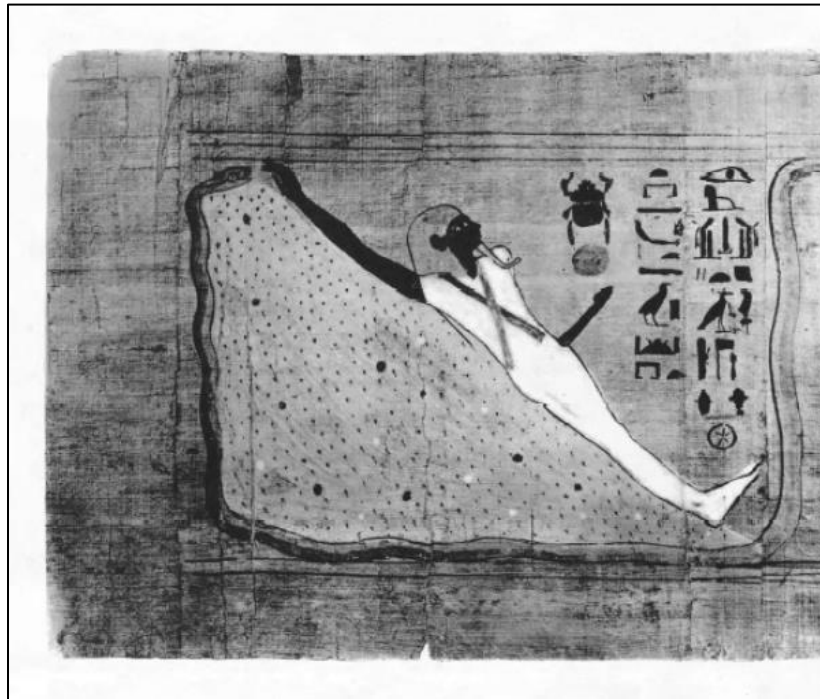


Figure 3.17. Ending Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Harweben, Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245), from Piankoff and Rambova 1957

This scene of an ithyphallic Osiris ends both papyri, framing out the left side.

Transitioning into the textual realm of a woman's afterlife anxiety, the papyrus of Nauny, New York MMA 30.3.32, showcases the injection of Nauny's name into the row of divinities representing the gods of the Litany of Re.

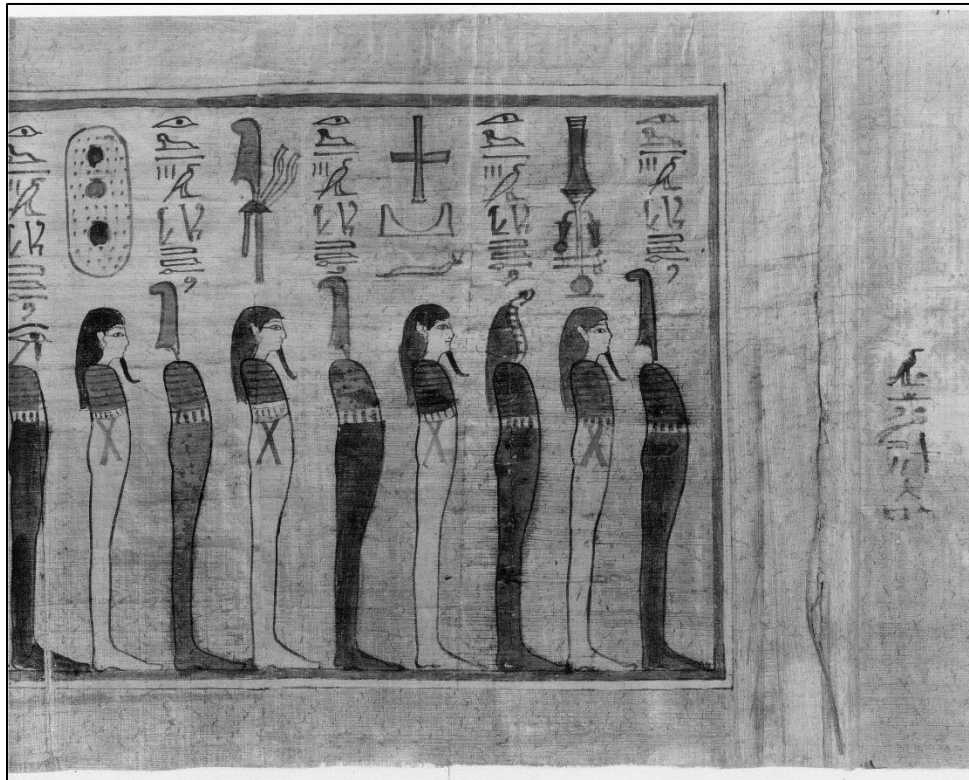


Figure 3.18. Beginning Segment of the Funerary Papyrus of Nauny, New York MMA 30.3.32, © The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Every other underworld deity depicted holds her name. In this masculine row of gods, perhaps Nauny was attempting to become one of this masculine group via the combination of visual and textual efficaciousness.

Just one of the many examples of mixed pronouns featured on women's papyri is that of P. Paris BN 60, the funerary papyrus of Itawy containing a single Book of the Dead spell, BD 17.

Book of the Dead Spell 17 often features what could be interpreted as the misuse of gendered pronouns. Spell 17, one of the longest textual compositions of the corpus of Book of the Dead spells, emphasizes the transformative powers of the deceased by equating him or her with the creator god through a question and response commentary fueled with metaphor and religious analogy. This question and response follows the introductory rubric, depicted, transliterated, and translated here from P. Paris BN 60:

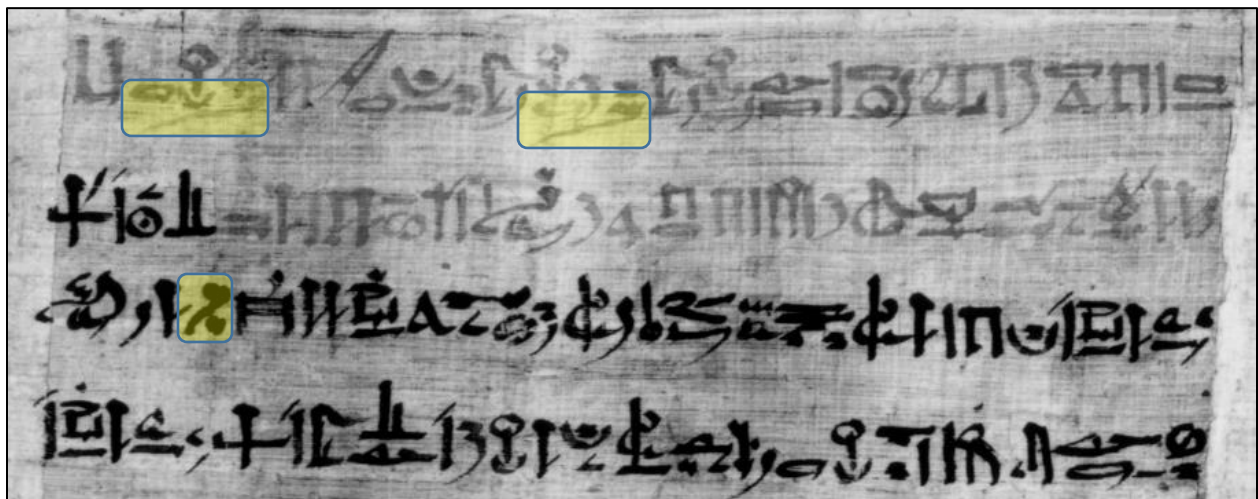


Figure 3.19. Opening Four Lines of Text from the Papyrus of Itawy, P. Paris BN 60, from the Bibliothèque nationale

Transliteration: *R3 n pr m hrw ir hprw=f m hprw nb.w mry=f hpr hbwy sn.t hms m sh pr m 3h
 ʿnh in n Wsjr šmʿy.t n ʾImn nb.t pr ʾIt3.wy m3ʿ-hrw m-ht mny=f jw 3h jr(=w) st tp-t3*

Translation: "Spell to go out in the day, to make his transformations in all his desired forms, to play the senet seated in the pavilion, to go out as an effective one, to be alive, for the Osiris Chantress of Amun and Mistress of the House Itawy, true of voice. After his death it is effective for those who do it on earth."³⁴⁹

³⁴⁹ Transliteration and translation are by the author.

Here in this introduction, the female deceased, Itawy, is referred to with the masculine singular suffix pronoun. The individual responsible for transcribing this spell for Itawy knew she was a woman, as her clear titular designation of Chantress of Amun and Mistress of the House attests. Perhaps the scribe who was copying this spell simply did not pay attention to the gender of the pronouns during the writing process. However, as the creator god to which the deceased will later be equated is masculine, the pronoun usage for the deceased female could reflect the confusion of relating a female deceased with a masculine divinity. In the example above, the pronouns used are all masculine. Were these pronouns meant to reference Itawy as she was in life, or in the transformative moment of the spell in which she is “the Osiris” and being equated to the masculine creative forces necessary for her successful transition into the afterlife?

In another example, the tension and anxiety in justifying the dual gender dilemma is more apparent. The papyrus of Ankhesenaset, BNF Egyptien 62–88, preserves an interesting grammatical feature consistent throughout the question and response section of Spell 17. One line of the text, instead of using the traditional question *ptr rf sw^{HSH}* makes the following adaptations:

³⁵⁰ Allen 1974, *op. cit.*, 26-32.



Figure 3.20. Line of Text from the Papyrus of Ankhesenaset, BNF Egyptien 62–88, from the Bibliothèque nationale

Transliteration: *ptr r=s [sic] st sw R^c pw km3.t ʕ.t=f*

Translation: "Who is she/he? It is Ra who fashions the name of his limbs."³⁵¹

The scribe, in this example, must have had anxiety regarding how to address Ankhesenaset and Ra as one and the same individual when their genders are so clearly misaligned. The scribe first turned the particle *rf* into a preposition plus the feminine singular suffix pronoun, misreading *rf* as a pronoun plus the masculine singular suffix pronoun in need of adaptation for his female client. Then, the scribe seemed unsure as to which gender dependent pronoun should be used. His indecision resulted in the “stacking” of first the feminine and then the masculine dependent pronouns as the predicate of the question. The fact that the feminine dependent pronoun is written first suggests that the scribe did not simply make the error of using a masculine dependent pronoun and then correct his mistake by adding the feminine, but rather deliberately chose to include two predicates – the first referring to Ankhesenaset and the second to Ra. In this manner, the scribe was able to make the metaphorical religious connection between the deceased and the creator god without mis-gendering either of them. This combination of scribal error and adaptation is not just evident in this line of text, it is pervasive and consistent throughout Spell 17 on Ankhesenaset’s papyrus.

³⁵¹ Transliteration and translation are by the author.

3.4.2 Social Competition

The elements of women's papyri discussed in this chapter point to women using funerary papyri as a form of social competition in a way that men did not. This use of funerary materiality in a competitive manner could have been better suited for women during the 21st Dynasty, because even though their temple titles greatly expanded during the onset of the Third Intermediate Period, it in no way matched the range of men's positions within the temple. Elite women achieved equal access to funerary assemblages as compared to men during the 21st Dynasty. Their access to funerary texts and underworld compositions also matched men's. Their use of papyri as social competition rests not with their access to such documents, but rather how they utilized the compositions.

Looking at average papyrus length, women's papyri were longer than men's. This average length is maintained when one studies the papyri with Cosmographic Scenes and Amduat content, two categories of funerary motifs that signal elevated knowledge and access to more restricted materials. Women are not incorporating this material at a more frequent rate than men, but rather are incorporating more of it and in such a way as maintain an almost three-quarters meter advantage to men regarding average papyrus length. In a time of high competition such as the 21st Dynasty, women used previously inaccessible and secret visual and textual knowledge to compete socially with one another when their rank and position in the temple could not demonstrate this hierarchy sufficiently on its own. During the 21st Dynasty, it is clear that temple association was highlighted by the individual, and men had a wide variety of temple titles with which they could socially compete. Women were much more restricted in this realm, mainly being mistresses of the house and chantresses of Amun. Thus, women had to find

outlets for social competition elsewhere. Perhaps these papyri are a social remnant of their efforts.

The equal use of cosmographic content between men and women that resulted in a maintained increased average papyrus length is indicative of a motivation among females to use funerary papyri in a socially defining way. Also, by showcasing access to restricted knowledge, the specialized workshops who had access to such restricted motifs, and the resources to pay for such expanded papyri, women were using this materiality to chart social status.

3.4.3 Anthropomorphic Coffins and the Feminine

A point not to be overlooked in a chapter focused on women is the gendered differences present on coffins of the 21st Dynasty. Egyptian coffins began to be anthropomorphized in the Middle Kingdom,³⁵² and these human features undoubtedly changed the way in which both males and females perceived their burials.³⁵³ Also growing in popularity during the Middle Kingdom was the concept that all who could afford such a burial would become as an Osiris in the afterlife.³⁵⁴

³⁵² These coffins are believed to have developed from the cartonnage masks frequently used in the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom. John H. Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1989) 23-24.

³⁵³ Wolfram Grajetzki, *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt: Life in Death for Rich and Poor*, 2nd Edition (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 2003) 54-65.

³⁵⁴ This is admittedly a very reductive statement, but the association of the deceased with Osiris is one that I believe holds true. Mark Smith, in *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four*, has several deep discussions pertaining to the deceased's relationship to Osiris. When the earliest attestations of *Wsir* NN appear in the Pyramid Texts, Smith notes gendered confusion, whereby queens using the *Wsir* NN epitaph usually have masculine pronouns. However, this gendered pronoun confusion could be a copying error from the texts of kings, and not a philosophical statement of proof of a transformed gender. (See Smith 2017, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3.10.3 for this discussion.) This interpretation is supported by the extant examples of Coffin Texts where the adaptation of pronouns to feminine versions for females is much more complete. (See Smith 2017, *op. cit.*, Chapter 4.10.2 for this discussion.) Smith concludes from this evidence that, "The consistent use of feminine pronouns and demonstratives in conjunction with the locution *Wsir* NN in carefully adapted versions of these spells demonstrates unequivocally that from an ancient Egyptian perspective, the gender of *Wsir* NN was the same as that of simple NN" (Smith 2017, *op. cit.*, 212). Smith continues the discussion, stating that because the pronoun evidence suggests a lack of concern for the deceased being – and remaining – a female, there must not have been a desire to "become" an Osiris in the afterlife (Smith 2017, *op. cit.*, 212-216). I agree that "transforming" or "becoming" Osiris is too extreme an

Thus, a logical and psychological conflict for women arose: How could a woman utilize the transformative powers of Osiris for a secure transition to afterlife when she had feminine features on her burial equipment in a manner previously unseen?

From these early Middle Kingdom anthropoid coffins to the beginnings of the 21st Dynasty, this conflict could be abated by direct association to the burial of a male relative, normally a husband. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter,³⁵⁵ it is not until the 21st Dynasty that elite women had singular burials on par with their male peers. While usually housed in a burial cache with other men and women, these burials did not come with the promise of association with a male figure. Also, with the complications of reuse, there could be no guarantee that a woman's burial would stay in association with a man's. In addition, there was no guarantee that a singular burial assemblage would stay intact.

It is therefore only in the 21st Dynasty that this gendered conflict required a new solution. With the most visible parts of the burial assemblage signaling overt feminine qualities of female headdresses, jewelry, breasts, flat hands, and (at times) a modeled pubic triangle, other components of the assemblage must have been viewed as a solution to the problem of Osirian

interpretation, but I believe that Smith, in arguing against feminine transformation, misses the foundation of female anxiety of entering the afterlife. Looking no further than the title of Smith's book, it was every deceased's desire to follow Osiris and his pattern of transformation and resurrection in the afterlife. One way to do this was to illustrate one's connection to Osiris through funerary materiality and draw meaningful parallels between the deceased and the god – not equating the deceased and the god. These material illustrations put women at a disadvantage that was exacerbated in the 21st Dynasty, when women could not rely on the materiality of a man. This unique period of decentralization and fragmentation is not featured in Smith's publication, which further complicates his interpretation of gender and Osirian qualities.

³⁵⁵ See Section 3.1.

transformation.³⁵⁶ One such solution was the inclusion of masculinizing imagery on funerary papyri, which has been discussed in this chapter.³⁵⁷

The anxiety over masculinizing a feminine burial assemblage lessened in the 22nd Dynasty, when the external anthropomorphic coffins lost many of their gendered features.³⁵⁸ These coffins do not feature hands or modeled torsos of any kind, and they do not retain many of the stylistic decorative features, such as jewelry and wigs, that possess feminine connotations. This shift in coffin decoration marks the same point where papyri are largely absent from the burial assemblage, pointing to gendered conflicts as being one of many possible reasons for their inclusion in 21st Dynasty burials. While there is no singular reason for the inclusion of papyri into any burial, it is probable that one motivation was to correct some of these gendered complications that 21st Dynasty coffins posed to members of the Theban elite. Each of these motivations stemmed from issues regarding choice and agency regarding burial equipment, and while each person would have had a multitude of his or her own reasons for both including

³⁵⁶ It is possible to detect this anxiety for 21st Dynasty women when displaying themselves as overtly feminine. The coffin set of Maatkare Mutemhet (J.E. 26200, CG 61028) displays fisted hands that appear to be a conscious decorative choice. While the coffin set is reused, showing signs of Wood Modification, Plaster Modification, Mismatched Ledges, and Contextual Reuse, the inner lid, outer lid, and mummy board all feature fisted, gilded hands. Reading these masculine fists as evidence of Gender Modification, however, is an incorrect observation. The gilding layer of the hands matches the gilding layer of the feminine face and wig, meaning that the face was consciously chosen to depict female characteristics, while the hands were fashioned as deliberately masculine. Even if the masculine hands were older or reused, it would have been very easy for craftsmen to replace them with feminine flat hands before (re)gilding. The fact that masculine hands were retained illustrates a conscious choice meant to evoke a masculine quality and power in the coffin set. This decision, I believe, was couched in the desire to retain a masculine transformative power in a female's burial assemblage and evoke the unusually high power and position in society that Maatkare Mutemhet held.

³⁵⁷ See Section 3.3.2.2.

³⁵⁸ By the reign of Osorkon I (924-889 BCE), the shape of priestly coffins from Thebes (and much of Upper Egypt) was simplified, with hands, arms, elbows, and modeled body contours eliminated from the construction repertoire. See Taylor 1989 *op. cit.*, 47.

papyri in an assemblage and choosing funerary content, social motivations can only be discovered by studying these assemblages through many lenses.

Appendix C

Auxiliary New Kingdom Tombs

Tomb	Date	Owner	Titles	Scene Location	Number of Named Relatives
TT15	Dynasty 18 Ahmose I	Tetiky	King Based	PM (6): Chapel; Tympanum	2
TT345	Dynasty 18 Tuthmosis I	Amenhotep	King & Temple Based	PM (6): Hall; Double scene	3
TT85	Dynasty 18 Tuthmosis II – Amenhotep II	Amenemhab	King Based	PM (A): Pillar	3
TT18	Dynasty 18 Tuthmosis III	Baki	Temple Based	PM (4): Hall; Two registers	0
TT82	Dynasty 18 Tuthmosis III	Amenemhet	King & Temple Based	PM (4): Hall; Two registers	6
TT122	Dynasty 18 Tuthmosis III	Amenhotep & Amenemhet	Temple Based	PM (5): Passage (Amenhotep); Two registers	3 & 2
TT127	Dynasty 18 Tuthmosis III	Senemiah	King Based	PM (16): Inner room; Outer lintel	4
TT100	Dynasty 18 Tuthmosis III – Amenhotep II	Rekhmire	King Based	PM (9): Hall; Two registers	3
TT71	Dynasty 18 Hatshepsut	Senenmut	King Based	PM (11): Inner room; Statue niche	2
TT353	Dynasty 18 Hatshepsut	Senenmut	King Based	PM (8): Staircase; False door	0
TT17	Dynasty 18 Amenhotep II	Nebamun	King Based	PM (3): Hall; Four registers	2 or 3
TT45*	Dynasty 18 Amenhotep II	Djehuty	King Based	PM (6): Hall; Two registers	0 or 1
TT93	Dynasty 18 Amenhotep II	Kenamun	King Based	PM (16): Outer hall	2
TT96	Dynasty 18 Amenhotep II	Sennefer	King & Temple Based	PM (22): Inner hall; Above niche	10
TT64	Dynasty 18 Tuthmosis IV	Hekerneheh	King Based	PM (7): Hall	1
TT295	Dynasty 18 Tuthmosis IV – Amenhotep III	Dhutmosi	Temple Based	PM (4): Hall; Two registers	5
TT139	Dynasty 18 Amenhotep III	Pairi	Temple Based	PM (3): Hall; Two registers	2
TT181	Dynasty 18 Amenhotep III	Nebamun & Ipuky	King Based	PM (7): Hall; Two registers	2 & 3
TT49	Dynasty 18 Ay	Neferhotep	Temple Based	PM (12): Pillared hall; Outer Lintel	3
TT50	Dynasty 18 Horemheb	Neferhotep	Temple Based	PM (2): Hall; Two registers	7
TT162	Dynasty 18	Kenamun	King & Temple Based	PM (5): Passage	1

TT106	Dynasty 19 Seti I – Ramesses II	Paser	King Based	PM (H): Pillar	5
TT45*	Dynasty 19 Ramesses II	Thutemhab	Temple Based	PM (6): Hall; Two registers	19
TT111	Dynasty 19 Ramesses II	Amenwahsu	Temple Based	PM (3): Hall; Two registers	7
TT183	Dynasty 19 Ramesses II	Nebsumenu	Temple Based	PM (12 & 14): Hall; Three registers & Hall: Three registers	5
TT23	Dynasty 19 Merenptah	Thay	King Based	PM (33-34): Passage; Two registers	4
TT194	Dynasty 19	Dhutemhab	Temple Based	PM (5): Hall; Four registers	3
TT148	Dynasty 20 Ramesses III - V	Amenemopet	Temple Based	PM (2): Hall; Two registers	29
TT112	Ramesside	Ashefyteweset	Temple Based	PM (5): Hall; Three registers	2
TT259	Ramesside	Hori	Temple Based	PM (8): Hall; Niche	3

Appendix D

Measurements and Content of Papyri

Name of Deceased	Gender	Title	Museum Number(s)	Length (m)	Height (cm)	Order of Vignettes
Tawosretempnesu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Luxor J. 24 (Cairo S.R. VII 10253)	1.215	21.5	Adoration of Osiris (Deceased Led by Isis) - CS 1a - Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168) - Solar Hymn - BD 182V - CS 3a - Solar Hymn - CS 17
Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w ḥsī ʿz imnt.t Wꜣs.t</i>	Cairo J.E. 95659 (S.R. IV 557)	1.4	23	CS 1b - Adoration of Osiris + Isis - Solar Hymn - Purification Scene - Solar Hymn - CS 36a
Nestanebtawy	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11492	4.29	22.5	N/A
Tabakenhonsu	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10222	2.46	24	BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 138 - BD 138V - BD 89 - BD 89V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 110V
Pennesuttawy	Male	<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w it-nꜥr n Ḥnsw sš wꜣḥ-ḥtp nꜥr n 'Imn Mw.t Ḥnsw</i>	Cairo J.E. 95881 (S.R. IV 984)	N/A	36	BD 146 - BD 146V - Speech of Thoth - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 126V - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 101 - BD 102 - BD 136/136A - BD 136B - BD136BV - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 150V
Tenetpenherunefer	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo CG 40009 (J.E. 95861, S.R. IV 961)	2.45	20.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 130 - BD 64
		none	Cairo J.E. 95639 (S.R.VII,10258)	1.78	20	BHC 12- BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Tauhenut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 36464 (S.R. VII 10243)	1.26	17	BHC 9
		<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10270	1.25	15.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 145 - BD 145V

Padiamun	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w sš ḥsb it n pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10232	2.36	20.5	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 126V - CS 36a - BD 125 - BD 125V - CS 10 - BD 89
Nespauttawy	Male	<i>w^cb n 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10238	2.25	12	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
Shedsuamun	Male	<i>w^cb sš pr-ḥd n 'Imn w^cb n ^c.wy n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w sš pr-ḥd n pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. IV 1530	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tahuti/Tausretemsuper	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. IV 1544	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	<i>it- ntr n 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. IV 1003	0.76	25	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 12
		<i>it-ntr mry-ntr ḥry sšt^z m pt t^z dw^z.t ḥry ḥmw.tyw n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Vatican 19651	0.965	22.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 133 - BD 136/136A
Nespahoran	Male	none	Bodleian Library No. 2			N/A
Akhesenmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10255	2.45	24	BD 124 - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 86V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84V - BD 130 - BD 130V - BD 133 - BD 190 - BD 42 - BD 42V - BD 32 - BD 32V - BD 31 - BD 166 - BD 166V - BD 151 - BD 151V - BD 92 - BD 92V - BD 42

Amenhotep	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w sš n3 mnhi.w n p3 imy-r3 mš^c</i>	Cairo J.E. 95646 (S.R. IV 543)	1.44	23.5	BD 149 - BD 149V
		<i>it-ntr n 'Imn sš mš^c</i>	Cairo JE 95648	1.37	23	BHC 12 - BE 8 - BHC 10 - BHC 11 - CS 36b - BD 87V - CS 4 - CS 3a - BD 137A - BD 146V - BD 148V
Neskhons	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	Luxor J.25 (from Cairo SR 10252)	1.24	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 145V/146V - CS 35 - BD 149V/150V
		<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo JE 36465	1.55	23	Adoration of Osiris - CS 3b - CS 35 - BD 149V/150V
Nesipakashuty	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w imy-r3 pr-hd n pr dw3.t ntr n 'Imn</i>	Cairo J.E. 95889 (S.R. IV 994)	1.35	23.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 125bV - BD 149 - BD 110 - BD 110V
		<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w imy-r3 pr-hd n pr dw3.t ntr n 'Imn</i>	Cairo SR 10272	1.12	25	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 12
Diekhonsiri	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10236	2.13	24	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Pinedjem	Male	none	Cairo S.R. VII 10237	2.1	23	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Istemkheb K	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11490 (T.R. 14/7/35/1)	3.33	37	N/A
Satkhons	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo CG 58006 (S.R. IV 943, J.E. 95845)	0.214	21.1	BD 166

Amenemint	Male	<i>sš pr-ḥd</i>	CG 40030 (J.E. 95855, S.R. IV 954)	2.28	23	BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B - BD 172 - Solar Hymn
		<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn-R^c sš n pr-ḥd n nb t3.wy n pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo S. R. VII 11506	2.7	22.5	Adoration of Osiris (deceased with ba) -CS 1a - BD4/BHC 11 - Adoration of Re-Horakhty (ba only) - BD 110V - BD 86V - CS 17 - CS 36a - BD126V - CS 17
Istemkheb	Female	none	Cairo S.R. VII 10655 (TR 23/4/40/3)	1.75	23	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 1
Henettawy E	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. IV 1531	N/A	N/A	N/A
Piamun	Male	none	Cairo J.E. 95844 (S.R. IV 942, CG 58004)	0.12	11.4	BD 166
Isis	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo SR 10239	2.23	23	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
		<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	Chicago FM 31326	2.235	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 130 - BD 125b - BD 125bV - BD 110V - BD 149V - BD151V
Meretamun	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥsi.t n p3 'n Mwt wr.t nb 'Išrw mnit n Ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd</i>	Cairo J.E. 95836 (S.R. IV 933)	1.46	24.5	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Nestanebtawy	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥsi.t n p3 'n Mwt wr.t nb.t 'Išrw</i>	Cairo CG 40017	4.29	22.5	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - CS 33b - CS 32 - CS 17 - BD 81V - BD 87V - BD 81 - BD 149V/150V - BD 146V - BD 148V - BD 9V - BD 77V - BD 78V - BD 59V - CS 16f - CS 19 - BD 148V - WH - CS 5 - CS 8 - BD 87V -BD 126V - CS 33c - CS 16d - BD 186V
		<i>nb.t-pr</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11504	1.13	20	N/A

Amenniutnakht	Male	<i>it-nṯr ḥry sštꜣ</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10224	5.13	23	BD 81 - BD 80 - BD 80V - BD 175 - BD 75V - BD 73V - BD 94V - BD 99V - BD 2V - BD 3 - BD 9 - BD 148V - BD 72 - BD 71 - BD 64 - BD 100V - BD 134V - BD 130V - BD 89 - BD 63 - BD 99 - BD 124 - BD 125 A - BD 125B - BD 124V - BD 153AV - BD 138V - BD 140V - BD 30V - BD 6V - BD 125C - BD 126V - BD 57V - BD 59V - BD 87V - BD 127B - BD 137V - BD 42
		none	Cairo CG 58025 (S.R. IV 946, J.E. 95854)	0.112	21	BD 135
Djedkhonsesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo J.E. 33999	1.73	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 145V - BD 146V - BD 58V - BD 77V - BD 86V - BD 87V - BD 81AV
			????	N/A	N/A	N/A
Taamun	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10242	1.05	18	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 10
Pasebkhaenet	Male	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn ḥm-nṯr n 'Inpw</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10273	1.35	24	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 10
Padiamun	Male	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10653 (TR 23/4/40/1)	3.9	21	Adoration of Osiris - BD 124 - BD 124V - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 151 - BD 151V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 119 - BD 119V - BD 125A - BD 126V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 87 - BD 87V - BD 37 - BD 91 - BD 102
Nestanebtawy	Female	<i>nb.t-pr</i>	Cairo J.E. 36259 (S.R. VII 10651)	1.25	21	N/A

Tendetmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 35404 (S.R. VII 10234)	3.11	20	Adoration of Osiris - CS 17 - CS 34b - BD 145V/146V - CS 42 - BE 68 - BD 37V - CS 12a - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - BD 154V - BD 145V/146V - CS 46a - BD 148V - BD 149V/150V - BD 186V
		none	Cairo CG 58005 (J.E. 35413, S.R. IV 997)	0.173	21.8	BD 166
		<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10251	1.71	24	N/A
Bakenmut	Male	<i>wꜥb nbì n pr 'Imn it-ntr n Mwt wr.t nb išrw</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10231	2.52	22	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - CS 36a - BG 1 - BHC 6 - BE 6 - BHC 11 - BHC 4 - CS 1e
		<i>wꜥb nbì n pr 'Imn it-ntr n Mwt</i>	Cairo CG 40023 (J.E. 95880, S.R. IV 982 A-E)	2.45	24	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 194 - BD 135B - BD 125BV - BD 125A - BD125AV - WH - BD 126V - Purification Scene - BD 110V
Nestawedjatakhet	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥsì.t n p3 'n Mwt wr.t nb.t 'Išrw</i>	Cairo J.E. 95660 (S.R.IV 558)	1.33	24	Adoration of Osiris - CS 36a - CS 17 – CS 16e - CS 36b
		<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn ḥsì.t n p3 'n Mwt</i>	Cairo S.R. 11497	1.4	22	N/A
Nespaneferhor	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Mwt imy-r3 nfr.w n pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10229	2.44	23	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11 - BHC 10
		none	Cairo CG 58003 (S.R. IV 941, J.E. 95843)	0.15	23.8	BD 166
		<i>it-ntr mr-ntr ḥry sšt3 m p.t t3 dw3.t imy-r3 nfr.w n pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11503	2.66	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 130 - BD 130V - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 150V - BD 110V
Khaes	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	????	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous			Cairo S.R. VII 11505	3	23	N/A

Userhetmes	Male	<i>wꜥb n ꞓmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w sꜥ pr-ḥꜥ</i>	Cairo J.E. 34023 (S.R. VII 10225)	2.15	23	LR
		<i>wꜥb n ꞓmn sꜥ pr-ḥꜥ wꜥb n Mwt</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10249 (TR 14/7/35/7)	5.2	33	BD 145 - BD 145V - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 110 - BD 110V - BD 125C - WH - BD 186 - BD 186V
Khonsuemheb	Male	none	Cairo S.R. IV 541 (J.E. 95644)	1.49	40	LR Abridged - BHC 11 - BHC 4 - CS 36a - CS 1d - BHC 4 - BD 92V
		<i>it-nꜥr n ꞓmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w it-nꜥr n Ḥnsw ḥm-nꜥr n Ḥnsw-Rꜥ sꜥ ḥsb n pr ꞓmn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10228	2.59	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 186V - BD 194 - BD 194V - WH - BD 110V - BD 146V - BD 148V
Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	none	Cairo J.E. 95835 (S.R. IV 932)	1.38	25	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 30V - BD 146V - BD 148V - BD 149V - BD 17V - BHC 11 - BD 89
Ankhefenkhons	Male	none	Cairo J.E. 95656 (S.R. IV 554)	1.47	23.5	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
		<i>it-nꜥr n ꞓmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w ḥry sꜥtꜥ ḥry tꜥi bsn n pr ꞓmn</i>	Cairo J.E. 95658 (S.R. IV 556)	1.59	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 57 - BD 89 - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 56 - BD 9 - BD 9V
Djedmaatesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n ꞓmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 95645	1.46	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - CS 36a - CS 17 - CS 3b - CS 36b
		<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n ꞓmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 95655	1.55	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - CS 11 - Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - CS 36a - CS 11 - BD 85V
Nesamenopet	Male	none	Cairo S.R. VII10245	1.63	25	BHC 11 - BHC 10
		<i>wꜥb imy s.t-ꜥ n pr ꞓmn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10269	1.65	23	Adoration of Osiris - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 127B - BD 125C

Padiamun	Male	<i>it-ntr mri hry sst3 m p.t t3 dw3.t wn ʕ.wy p.t r3 m ʔpt-sw.t sst3 p.t m33 imy stm r3-ʔtm m Wʕs.t stm m ʒh.t hm-ntr n ʔmn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2)	3.95	23	Adoration of Osiris and Isis - CS 17 - Ritual Text - CS 1c - Solar Hymn - Funerary Hymn - CS 9 -BD 83V - BD 85V - PT 368/427/429/432/446 - CS 46a - BE 68 - BD 9V - CS 1e - CS 8 - CS 36b
		<i>hm-ntr n ʔmn it-ntr mri hry sst3 m p.t t3 dw3.t</i>	Cairo J.E. 95879 (S.R. IV 981)	N/A	22.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 136V - BD 1V - BD 65V - BD 100V - BD 129V - BD 136BV - BD 136AV - BD 98V - BD 99V - BD 77V - BD 82V - BD 78V - BD 86V - BD 85V - BD 83V - BD 84V - BD 81AV - BD 112V - BD 108V - BD 113V - BD 109V - BD 114V - BD 42V - BD 102V - BD 31V - BD 38AV - BD 30BV - BD 105V - BD 103V - BD 96V - BD 97V - BD 104V - BD 145V - BD 137AV - BD 147V - BD 148V - BD 153AV - BD 126V - BD 149V - BD 136V - BD 150V - BD 110V - Purification Scene
Pakharu	Male	<i>it-ntr n ʔmn-Rʕ ny-sw.t ntr.w hry sst3 ʒh.t nhh wn ʕ.wy nw p.t m ʔpt- sw.t sm.t m ʒh.t nhh</i>	Cairo J.E. 95878 (S.R. IV 979)	1.64	22.5	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - LR
		<i>hm-ntr n ʔmn wʕb n ʔmn</i>	Cairo J.E. 95705 (S.R. IV 635)	0.32	21	BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 25
Khonsemreneep	Male	<i>wʕb n ʔmn sʕ shn n pr ʔni-hr.t</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11501	4.3	25.5	Adoration of Osiris with Deceased Led by Thoth - CS 17 - Funerary Hymn - BE 68 - Offering Formula - CS 9 - CS 1c - BD 9V - CS 8 - CS 36b -BD 146V - BD 148V - BD 87V - BD 146V - CS 36b - BD 148V - CS 1e - BD 145V/146V - CS 17 - Adoration of Osiris by Isis and Nephthys - Funerary Hymn - CS 17 - BD 138V - CS 5 - CS 36b - CS 46a - CS 34a - BD 87V
		<i>wʕb n ʔmn sʕ shn n pr ʔni-hr.t</i>	Chicago FM 31759	4.27	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - CS 17 - BD 126V - WH - Speech of Thoth

Direpu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. 10257	2.67	23.5	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys + Four Sons of Horus - CS 3c - CS 1d - BD 83V - BD 90V - BD 125V - CS 2 - CS 36a - BD 149V/150V - BD 146V - BD 149V - BHC 10 - BD 148V - CS 1b
		none	Cairo CG 40018 (J.E. 95860, S.R. IV 960)	2.61	24	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 1 - BD 130 - BD 136 - BD 134 - BD 64 - 133 - BD 136 - BD 134
Amenemhet	Male	none	Cairo S.R. VII 11495	3.88	23	Adoration of Osiris - ? - BD 130
		<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn ḥꜣꜣ ꜥꜣꜣ.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10230	2.45	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 130 - Purification Scene - Hymn to Re-Horakhty- Atum - Adoration of Osiris - CS 36b - BD 110 V - BD 150V
Istemkheb	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo J.E. 95657 (S.R. IV 555)	1.36	23	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
Isis	Female	none	Cairo CG 58026 (S.R. IV 990, J.E. 95886)	0.455	47	BD 182
		<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo J.E. 95654 (S.R. IV 552)	0.94	23	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11
		none	Cairo CG 58001	0.204	24.3	BD 166
		<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 95651 (S.R. IV 549)	5.4	23	BD 180 + BD 136 - BD 134 - BD 134V - BD 1 - BD 65 - BD 65V - BD 136 - BD 136B V - BD 136AV - BD 98 - BD 98V - BD 99 - BD 99V - BD 14 - BD 14V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 80 - BD 111 - BD 111V - BD 112 - BD 112V - BD 113 - BD 113V - BD 109 - BD 109V

Maatkaretashepset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo J.E. 95650 (S.R. VI 548, TR14/7/35/8)	1.33	24	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11
		none	Cairo S.R. IV 959	1.38	24.3	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Harweben	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w ḥm.t-nꜥr Ḥ-nw n Mwt</i>	Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245)	1.91	23.5	CS 3b - CS 12a - CS 1e - BD 9V - CS 17 - CS 34b - CS 7
		<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w wr.t ḥnrt.t n 'Imn ḥm.t-nꜥr n Mwt</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6)	1.98	23.5	Adoration of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris + Isis/Hathor/Nephthys - Purification Scene (Thoth and Horus) - BE 3 - CS 21 - BD 110V
Shedhor	Male	<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w imy-rꜥ pr wr 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w sš wr (n) 'Imn-Rꜥ ny- sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11499	4.45	23	N/A
		<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn imy-rꜥ šnw.wt sš wr (n) 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11494	5.23	23	Adoration of Osiris - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125C - BD 136V - BD 1V - BD 65V - BD 100V - BD 129V - BD 136BV - BD 136AV - BD 98V - BD 99V - BD 82V - BD 77V - BD 86V - BD 85V - BD 83V - BD 84V - BD 81AV - BD 30BV - BD 112V - BD 42V - BD 105V - BD 116V - BD 113V - BD 115V - BD 31V - BD 104V - BD 96/97V - BD 103V - BD 38BV - BD 87V - BD 137V - BD 126V - BD 148V - BD 145V - Purification Scene - BD 110V

Tashedkhons	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Florence 3663	1.25	24	Adoration of Osiris - CS 34a - BD 77V - CS 33a - CS 36a - CS 31a - BD 148 - BD 78V
		<i>ḥsī.t n pꜣ ꜥ n Mwt nb.t p.t rsi.t (?) nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn ḥm.t-ntr n 'Imn-(m-)Ip.t ḥm.t-ntr n Mwt n pr-msw ḥm.t- ntr n Nḥb.t ḥd.t Nḥn ꜥ(.t) knt nw.t bit Mn- mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ m ḥ.t-f mri-f Mri-Pth šthi</i>	Cairo CG 40016 (S.R. VII 10240)	2.75	28	Adoration of Osiris + Nephthys - CS 17 - BD 125 - BD 125V - Solar Hymn - CS 34a - BD 110V - BD 126V - BD 110V - BD 86V - CS 16a - CS 8
Gautseshen	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo SR 10221	2.3	23	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BHC 11
		<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥsī.t n pꜣ ꜥ n Mwt nb.t 'Išrw</i>	Cairo CG 40013 (J.E. 29636, S.R. IV 1001)	1.81	19.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 125 - BD 149 - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 149 - BD 149V
		none	Cairo JE 95846 (CG 58002)	0.25	12	BD 166
Ankhefenmut	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn it-ntr n Mwt</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10274	1.28	36	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
		<i>it-ntr n 'Imn it-ntr n Mwt wr.t nb.t 'Išrw</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10652 (TR 14/7/35/9)	1.17	19	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 150V - BD 126V - BD 99V - BD 136V - BD 110V
Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	<i>ḥsī ꜥꜣ n 'Imn it-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ imy-rꜣ pr imy- rꜣ šnw.tw sš wr n 'Imn-Rꜥ</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11498 (TR 14/7/35/2)	6.15	28	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BD 150V - BD 110V - Offering Scene
		<i>imy-rꜣ šnw.tw sš wr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)	7.14	16.5	CS 36b - BD 151 - BD 148 - CS 3a - CS 43 - CS 17 - BD 182V - CS 44 - CS 34c - BD30V - CS 34c - CS 36b - BD 89 - CS 34c - CS 26 - CS 3a - CS 36b - BD 182V - CS 34c - CS 27 - CS 28 - CS 29 - CS 30 - BD 144V - CS 25 - CS 36b - CS 31b - CS 3a - BD 84V - BD 81V - BD 148V - BD 30V - BD 105V - BD 114V - BD 116 V - BD 112V - BD 113V - BD 137V - Purification Scene

Nespernub	Male	<i>sš t3 hr wr.t hnr.t tp n Imn it-ntr n Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Hnsw m imnt nfr htp hm ntr n Dḥwtj p3 hry st wr.t ʿ3 mh ib n nb=f sš hwt-ntr n pr Mwt wrt nb išrw imy-r3 hm.w ntr n ntr.w nb.w t3wy</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11487	3	35	N/A
		<i>it-ntr n Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Mw.t Hnsw</i>	Cairo J.E. 95854 (S.R. IV 953)	7.87	23.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 180 - BD 181 - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125C - BD 125V - BD 125D - BD 136/136 - BD 136V - BD 134 - BD 124V - BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 65V - BD 68
Hor	Male	none	????	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tawedjatre	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n Imn šm^c.t n p3 grg w^cb n Pth</i>	Cairo J.E. 34033 (S.R. VII 11500)	3.8	28	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - LR
		<i>h3i.t ʿ3.t n Mwt nb.t p.t mr.t n hwt-hr wsr.t nb.t-pr šm^c.t n Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w šm^c.t n p3 grg w^cb n Pth h3i.t n p3 ʿ n Mwt t3 šps.t h3i.t n p3 ʿ n Mwt nb.t Išrw</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11496	4.32	32	Adoration of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys - Adoration of Thoth - WH - BD 8V - BD 77V/BD 78V - CS 18 - BD 9V - BD 85V - BD 17V - BD 86V - BD 146V - BD 148V - BD 125 - CS 17 - BD 110V - BD 126V - BD 110V

Menkheperre B	Male	<i>ḥm-nṯr Ḥ-nw n 'Imn imy-r3 imn.t n pr R^c tpy 'Iwni (n) pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo JE 95638	1.52 + x	25.5	N/A
		<i>ḥm-nṯr Ḥ-nw n 'Imn imy-r3 imn.t n pr R^c tpy 'Iwnw (n) pr 'Imn ḥm-nṯr 2-nw Ḥnsw</i>	Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967)	3.4	33.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 1
Djedmutesankh	Female	????		N/A	N/A	N/A
		????		N/A	N/A	N/A
		????		N/A	N/A	N/A
Tjanefer A	Male	<i>it-nṯr mri nṯr ḥry sšt3 m p.t t3 dw3.t wn 'wy nw p.t m 'Ipt-sw.t ḥm- nṯr Ḥ-nw 'Imn-R^c ny- sw.t nṯr.w ḥm-nṯr n Mntw nb W3st imy-r3 k3.w nw pr-R^c tpy ḥw.t n pr 'Imn ḥm-nṯr n Ḥnm nb kbḥ</i>	Cairo S.R. IV 952	4	25	LR
		<i>it-nṯr mri nṯr ḥry sšt3 m p.t t3 dw3.t ḥm-nṯr n 'Imn wn 'wy nw p.t m 'Ipt-sw.t ḥm-nṯr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥm-nṯr n Mntw nb W3st imy-r3 k3.w nw pr-R^c tpy ḥw.t n pr 'Imn ḥm-nṯr n Ḥnm nb kbḥ</i>	Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244)	5.7	35	Adoration of Osiris + Thoth, Isis, and Nephthys - CS 18 - BD 85V - Hymn to Re-Horakhty - Speech of Thoth - WH - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 126V - BD 186 - BD 86V - BD 110V - BD 17V

		none	Cairo S.R. VII 10265 (T.R. 14/7/35/3)	4.77	45	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
						Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 180 - BD 181 - BD 15B - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 136/136A - BD 1134 - BD 134V - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 68V - BD 69 - BD 70 - BD 101 - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 136B - BD 136BV - BD 136A - BD 136AV - BD 98 - BD 98V - BD 99B - BD 99BV - BD 63B - BD 8 - BD 14 - BD 78 - BD 78V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - 86V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 80 - BD 87 - BD 88 - BD 76 - BD 115 - BD 116 - BD 111 - BD 112 - BD 112V - BD 113 - BD 113V - BD 107 - BD 107V - BD 108 - BD 108V - BD 109 - BD 109V - BD 114 - BD 102 - BD 102V - BD 119 - BD 7 - BD 39 - BD 42 - BD 42V - BD 41 - BD 41B - BD 31 - BD 31V - BD 32 - BD 40 - BD 36 - BD 33 - BD 37 - BD 38B - BD 38BV - BD 54 - Bd 55 - BD 38A - BD 56 - BD 13/121 - BD 138 - BD 123/139 - BD 187 - BD 12/120 - BD 58 - BD 57 - BD 132 - BD 189 - BD 53 - BD 91 - BD 44 - BD 93 - BD 50 - BD 188 - BD 117 - BD 118 - BD 34 - BD 35 - BD 74 - BD 45 - BD 63A - BD 156 - BD 155 - BD 79 - BD 75 - BD 179 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 29 - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 11 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 43 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 105V - BD 47 - BD 103 - BD 104 - BD 104V - BD 96 - BD 97 - BD 97V - BD 94 - BD 103 - BD 103V - BD 10/48 - BD 90 - BD 131 - BD 141/142 - BD 190 - BD 146 - BD 145 - BD 145V BD 137AV - BD 147 - BD 147V - BD 26 - BD 135 - BD 152 - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 153A - BD 153AV - BD 153B - BD 153BV - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125C -
Gautseshen A	Female	<i>nb.t-pr wr.t hnr.t tp.t n 'Imn šm'.t n 'Imn ḥsl.t ʿz.t (n) Mwt</i>	Cairo CG 40012 (J.E. 95838, S.R. IV 936)	17.94	33	

						BD 125D - BD 125V - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD 136BV - BD 151 - Hours of the Night - BD 177 - BD 110 - BD 178 - BD 110V - Purification Scene
Meritamun	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo CG 40027 (S.R. IV 999)			Adoration of Osiris - BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B - BD 180 - BD 166 - BD 101 - BD 155 - BD 156 - Spell for the <i>Wedjat</i> -Amulet in <i>Bia</i> -Metal - Adoration of Osiris
		<i>nb.t-pr</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10227	2.43	23	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Kashuenkhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 95892 (S.R. IV 1000)		22	N/A
		<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo J.E. 95647 (S.R. IV 545)	1.47	22	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - CS 36b - BD 126V - Adoration of Osiris
Anonymous			Cairo S.R. VII 10226	1.53	25	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Pasebahaniut	Male	none	Cairo S.R. VII 10241	1.18	18	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11 - Adoration of Osiris
Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn it-nꜥr n Dḥwty-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10267	3.54	22	BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 132 - BD 38A - BD 56 - BD 13/121 - BD 138 - BD 123/139 - BD 187 - BD 12/120 - BD 30B - BD 75 - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125C
		<i>wꜥb n 'Imn it-nꜥr n Dḥwty nb nīwt n psd.t sš</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10267	3.54	22	Adoration of Osiris - CS 3a - Corruption of Text from the Book of Day and the Book of Night - CS 3b - CS 3a – Solar Hymn - BD 136 - BD 149 - CS 5 - WH - BD 10 - CS 45 - CS 38
Nesyamun	Male	none	Cairo S.R. VII 10268 (T.R. 14/7/35/5)	6.15	36	BHC Abridged - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Amunhatpamesha	Male	<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w ḥm-nꜥr n Ḥrw Bḥdt it-nꜥr n Mwt ḥm-nꜥr Ḥrw</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11502	2.6	23	Adoration of Osiris - BD 26 - BD 30B - Adoration of Thoth - Speech of Thoth - CS 36a - Solar Hymn - CS 1a - BD 136V - BD 149 - BD 149V
		<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10233 (J.E. 34049)	2.18	23	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 12 - BHC 11

Anonymous			Cairo S.R. VII 10248	1.76	24	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Anonymous	Female		Cairo J.E. 95664 (S.R. IV 565)	1.32	24	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Nodjmet	Female	<i>mw.t ny-sw.t n nb t3.wy mwt n Hnsw p3 hrd wr sm̄.t n Imn-R̄ ny-sw.t ntr.w h̄ry šps.wt nb t3.wy</i>	London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook Collection	14.61	34.6	Adoration of Re - Solar Hymn - WH - BD 135V - BD 101 - BD 100 - BD 100V - BD 15V - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 18 - BD 153AV - BD 89V - BD 71V - BD 124 - BD 124V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V BD 110 - BD 110V - BD 134 - BD 136A - BD 64 - BD 2 - BD 132 - BD 141/142 - BD 142V - BD 63A - BD 63AV - BD 106 - BD 79V - BD 102 - BD 136B - BD 136BV - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 146 - BD 146V - BD 148V - Adoration of Osiris + Isis
		none	London BM 10490	4.19	34.8	Adoration of Amun-Re-Horakhty and Osiris - BD 190 - BD 148 - BC 2 -BD 125A - BD 125B - BC 6 - BD 19A - BD 100/129 - BC 4 - BD 101 - BD 91 - BD 1B/172 - BD 1
Pinedjem I	Male	none	Cairo No Number			N/A
		<i>ny-sw.t nb t3.wy sz-R̄ n h.t=f mr=f</i>	Cairo CG 40006 (S.R. VII 11488)	4.44	37	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 23 - BD 23V - BD 72 - BD 72V - BD 26 - BD 26V - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 71 - BD 71V - BD 141/143 - BD 141/143V - BD 110V - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV

		<i>ḥm.t wr.t tpy n ḥm=f nb.t t3.wy ḥsī ʿ3 ʾImn n ʾIp.t ḥm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t mw.t n p3 ḥm nṯr tpy n ʾImn mw.t n nṯr n ʾImn mw.t n ny-sw.t wr.t ḥm.t nṯr n Mwt wr.t nb.t ʾIsrw ʿ3 n pr n Ḥnsw m W3st ḥm.t nṯr n inī pt Šw s3-Rḥ mwt nṯr n Ḥnsw p3 ḥrd</i>	Cairo CG 40005 (J.E. 95856, S.R. IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22)	3.67	45.5	BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - Purification Scene - BD 150V - BD 22 - BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 43 - BD 30A - BD 31 - BD 33 - BD 45 - BD 93 - Adoration Scene - Solar Hymn
Henettawy A	Female	<i>ḥm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny- sw.t n nb.t t3.wy ḥm.t wr.t tpy n ḥm=f mw.t ḥm.t nṯr n ʾImn mw.t n ḥm.t nṯr n ʾImn m ʾIpt- šw.t mw.t n nṯr.t n ʾImn-Rḥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w mw.t n ḥm.t wr.t n nb.t t3.wy mw.t n p3 ḥm nṯr tpy n ʾImn-Rḥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w mw.t n p3 imy-r3 mšḥ.w wr n t3.wy</i>	Cairo J.E. 95887 (S.R. IV 992)	1.43	33.5	Adoration of Osiris and Isis - LR
Maatkare A	Female	<i>mw.t-m-ḥ3t ḥm.t nṯr n ʾImn m ʾIpt swt s3.t ny- sw.t ḥm.t ny-sw.t wr.t (n) nb t3.wy</i>	Cairo CG 40007 (J.E. 26229, S.R. IV 980)	6.12		BD 151F - Offering Scene - BD 1V - BD 79 - BD 1 - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 105 - BD 138 - BD 187 - BD 123/139 - BD 144 - BD 144V - BD 146 - BD 146V - BD 86 - BD 87 - BD 87V - BD 6 - BD 6V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - WH - BD 149B - BD 149BV - BD 150V - BD 110V

Istemkheb D	Female	<i>ḥr.t wr.t ḥnr.t tp.t n.t ʿImn ḥm.t nṯr n Mwt ʿz.t n pr n Mwt mw.t nṯr n Ḥnsw pꜣ ḥrd ḥry šps.t</i>	Cairo JE 26228 bis (S.R. IV 525)	6.12	22.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 69 - BD 70 - BD 100/129 - BD 136B
		none	Cairo CG 58032 (S.R. IV 991, J.E. 26228)	2.66	23.5	Deification Decree
Nesykhonsu A	Female	<i>wr.t ḥnr.t n ʿImn ḥr.t wr.t tp.t n ʿImn-Rꜥ ny- sw.t nṯr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 26230 (S.R. VII 11573, S.R. VII 11485)	6.9	44	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 136/136A - BD 136/136AV - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 2 - BD 65 - BD 65V - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 136/136A - BD 136/136AV - BD 98 - BD 98V - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 63B - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 111 - BD 111V - BD 112 - BD 112V - BD 113 - BD 113V - BD 107 - BD 107V - BD 109 - BD 109V - BD 102 - BD 102V - BD 41 - BD 41V - BD 31 - BD 31V - BD 38B - BD 38BV - BD 55 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 105V - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 104 - BD 104V - BD 96/97 - BD 96/97V - BD 103 - BD 103V - BD 10/48 - BD 153A - BD 153AV - BD 153B - BD 153BV - BD 125A - BD 126V - BD 110V - Purification Scene

Pinedjem II	Male	none	Cairo CG 58033 (J.E. 95684)	2.98	23	Deification Decree
		<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n 'Imn-R' ny-sw.t ntr.w imy-r3 mšꜥ wr ir 3ḥ.t m 'lpt-sw.t</i>	London BM EA 10793 (P. Campbell)	6.8	34	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 38B - BD 40 - BD 36 - BD 33 - BD 37 - BD 56 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 29 - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 11/49 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 43 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 47 - BD 104 - BD 96/97 - BD 94 - BD 103 - BD 36 - BD 55 - BD 117 - BD 118 - BD 21 - BD 12/120 - BD 122 - BD 31 - BD 10/48 - BD 90 - BD 131 - BD 102 - BD 41B - BD 32 - BD 134 - BD 15 - BD 115 - BD 116 - BD 81A - BD 80 - BD 87 - BD 88 - BD 76 - BD 53 - BD 91 - BD 44 - BD 93 - BD 50 - BD 124 - BD 26 - BD 135 - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 125C - BD 125D
		<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n 'Imn-R' ny-sw.t ntr.w imy-r3 mšꜥ wr shrr ḥ.t ntr.w m ph.w ikr.w n mꜥ3.t shb W3st ḥw.t-ḥr ssdf.w ḥw.w ntr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11492	4.8	32	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 9
Nesitanebashru	Female	<i>ḥr.t wr.t ḥnr.t tp.t n 'Imn-R' ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	London BM 10554 (P. Greenfield)	40.538	48	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 1 - BD 1V - Solar Hymn - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 18 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 38B - BD 40 - BD 36 - BD 33 - BD 37 - BD 56 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 29 - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 11/49 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 43 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 47 - BD 104 - BD 96 - BD 97 - BD 94 - BD 103 - BD 36 - BD 55 - BD 117 - BD 118 - BD 21 - BD 12/120 - BD 122 - BD 31 - BD 10/48 - BD 90 - BD 131 - BD 102 - BD 41B - BD 32 - BD 134 - Solar Hymn - Hymn to Atum - BD 99/99B - BD 111 - BD 112 - BD 113 - BD 107 - BD 108 - BD 109 - BD 114 - BD 115 - BD 116 - BD 81A - BD 80 - BD 87 - BD 88 - BD 76 - BD 53 - BD 91 - BD 44 - BD 93 - BD 50 - BD 188 - Solar Hymn - BD 141/142 - BD 124 - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125C - BD 26 - BD 135 - BD 148 -

						BD 147 - BD 193 - Hymn to Osiris - BD 146 - BD 145 - Thoth before Re-Horakhty - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD 126V - BD 182 - Adoration of Thoth - Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 183 - WH - Hymn to Re-Horakhty - WH - BD 126V - BD 110V - BD 144 - BD 144V - BD 145 - BD 145V - BG 12 - CS 18 - CS 5 - CS 9 - Adoration of Osiris - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 101 - BD 141/142 - BD 190 -BD 133; Upper Vignettes: BD 1V - BD 17V - BD 18V - BD 21V - BD 23V - BD 38BV - BD 75V - BD 56V - BD 105V - BD 105V - BD 95V - BD 40V - BD 103V - BD 104V - BD 37V - BD 31V - BD 32V - BD 99/99BV - BD 102V - BD 114V - BD 112V - BD 113V - BD 108V - BD 86V - BD 77V - BD 78V - BD 87V - BD 88V - BD 82V - BD 85V - BD 83V - BD 84V - BD 81AV - BD 80V - BD 89V - BD 152V - BD 85V - BD 94V - BD 99/99BV - BD 136/136A/136BV - BD 18V - BD 148V - BD 17V - BD 89V - BD 17V - BD 99/99BV - BD 148V - BD 17V - BD 89V - BD 17V - BD 99/99BV - BD 148V - Purification Scene - BD 145V - BD 140V - BD 136/136A/136BBV - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD 136/136A/136BV - BD 126V - BD 153AV - BD 153BV - BD 147V - BD 95V - BD 104BD -BD 194V - BD 61V - BD 134V - BD 17V -BD 194V - BD 61V - BD 110V - BD 144V - BD 141V
Djedptahefankh	Male	<i>hm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo SR 10246	2.84	23	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
		none	Collection Brocklehurst	2.75	30.5	N/A
		none	LOST			Deification Decree
Henettawy B	Female	<i>sz.t ny-sw.t</i>	Cairo J.E. 51948 a-c	1.33	21	N/A
		<i>sz.t ny-sw.t</i>	Cairo J.E. 51949	1.29	21	BD 149V - CS 36b - WH - CS 10 - BHC 6 - BD126V

Djedmutesankh A	Female	<i>wr.t hnr.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	New York MMA 25.3.27	2.27	24.5	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
		none	Cairo JE 49165	N/A	N/A	N/A
Henettawy C	Female	<i>wr.t hnr.t n 'Imn</i>	New York MMA 25.3.28	1.39	23.5	BHC 10
		<i>wr.t hnr.t n 'Imn</i>	New York MMA 25.3.29	1.66	20	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 130 - BD 64 - BD 133
Nesitiset	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	New York MMA 25.3.30	1.86	23	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Tiye	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	New York MMA 25.3.33	1.23	28.6	Adoration of Osiris - BD 9V - CS 17 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
		<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	New York MMA 25.3.34	1.225	28.6	Adoration of Osiris - WH - CS 34a - Opening of the Mouth
Gautseshen	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	New York MMA 25.3.31	1.195	24	Adoration of Osiris + Selket - CS 1a - BE 3 - BE 68 - CS 36b - BHC 10 - CS 11 - BHC 10 - CS 44
		<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	New York MMA 25.3.32	1.2	27.9	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn

Nauny	Female	<i>ḥsī.t n nb.w Wꜥs.t 'Imn Mwt Ḥnsw nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w šsp.t sꜣ.t ny-sw.t</i>	New York MMA 30.3.32	2.032	36.8	LR
		<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥsī.t n nb.w Wꜣst 'Imn Mwt Ḥnsw sꜣ.t ny-sw.t</i>	New York MMA 30.3.31	5.64	35	BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 125A - BD 38B - BD 75 - WH - BD 93 - BD 152 - BD 132 -BD 94 - BD 71 - BD 72R - BD 126V - BD 72 - Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 72 - BD 105 - Adoration of Osiris; Upper Vignettes: BD 85V - BD 38BV -CS 24 - BD 149V - CS 23 - BD 94V - BD 77V - BD 72V - BD 86V - BD 85V - BD 105V - BD 151V - BD 86V - BD 83V - BD 94V - BD 110V
Shedefpanebinu	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn</i>	New York MMA 28.3.112	1		BHC 11
Amenmese	Male	<i>it-nṯr 4-nw n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr n Ḥnsw</i>	Cairo J.E. 6262 (S.R. VII 10250, Boulaq 9)	1.7	23.7	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Mepwi	Male	<i>ḥry sštz n pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10271	0.59	24	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 26 -BD 28 -BD 27 - BD 162
Osorkon	Male	<i>ḥm-nṯr n 'Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg SSL 1 (P. Denon B + C)	0.79	23.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 30A - BD 29 - BD 180
		<i>ḥm-nṯr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny- sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. St. Petersburg SSL2	0.8	23.5	N/A
Anonymous			P. London BM EA 10000	1.21	12.5	BHC 12
Djedkhonsiusankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10044	1.32	24.1	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162 - BD 180

Tentshedkhons	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c</i>	P. London BM EA 9938 (P. Salt 1, 70-1 ?)	0.48	12.7	BD 126V - BD 145V - Adoration of Osiris - Purification Scene
Neskashuty	Male	none	P. Avignon A. 71	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nesyanebtawy	Female	none	P. Avignon A.73			BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 27 - BD 28
Amenhotep	Male	<i>w^cb n 'Imn w^cb n Mwt hm ntr n 'Imn nb prt p³ wdb.w n 'Imn-R^c</i>	P. Avignon A.69	1.93	23.5	N/A
Djedkhonsuiuesankh	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg 1108	1.115	24	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134
Nestikhonsutapahered	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Leiden T 9 (CI.10)	0.63	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 126V
Anonymous			P. Leiden No Number	0.945	20	N/A
Ankhefenkhons	Male	<i>hm- ntr n wiz n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3013 A-B	1.29	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 64 - BD 30B - BD 133
Padikhonsu	Male	<i>hry ^c.t n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Leiden R.A. 58A	2.255	24.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 15B - BD 180
Tentosorkon	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 9919	1.7	24	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 130 - BD 130V - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 149V - BD 110V - CS 1b
Bakenweren	Male	<i>w^cb n 'Imn-R^c nb t³.wy hry hb n 'Imn m 'lpt-sw.t</i>	none	3.25	33.5	Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168B - BD 168BV) - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 99 - BD 99V - BD 100 - BD 100V - BD 110V - BD 90 - BD 90V - BD 186 - BD 186V
Inpehefnakht	Male	<i>hry nfw.w wiz n pr 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Cambridge E.92.1904	1.765	38	LR - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 86V - Solar Hymn -CS 1b - BD 126V
		<i>hry nfw.w wiz n pr 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 9932	1.52	44	BD 125B - BD 125BV - WH - BD 99/99BV - CS 19 - CS 1b - CS 12a
Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	<i>w^cb n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Mineapolis 16.675	1	24.7	N/A
Nesytkhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hsi.t Mwt</i>	P. Houston 31-37	0.6	24	N/A

Inipehefenhet	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hry nfw.w wiz n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Cologne C	3.78	22	BD 1 - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 130 - BD 81A - BD 77 - BD 71 - BD 146 - BD 100/129 - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 110V
Iuesankh	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Brüssel 19391	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 136/136A - BD 134
Anonymous			P. Berlin P. 3165	0.4	24	N/A
Taiuhenetmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Chicago OIM 18039	1.01	24.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w tzi bsn n pr-'Imn</i>	P. Oxford Bodleian Library No Number	1.2	24	N/A
Khonsumes	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn m 'Ipt-sw.t it-ntr sš hw.t-ntr n Mwt hry sšw sš.w n pr-hd n pr 'Imn sš nš hw.t nb.w n 'Imn Mwt Hnsw</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3070	4	26.8	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum, Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys - BD 94 - BD 71 - BD 72 -BD 110 - BD 110V - BD 125 - BD 108 - BD 108V - BD 109 - BD 109V - BD 126V - Solar Hymn - BD 151V verso: BD 110V
		<i>hry sšw sš.w n pr-hd n pr 'Imn it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 A & B	4.205	15.3	BD 8V - BD 9V - CS 1c - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD 151V - BD 87V - BD 81V - BD 86V - BD 77/78V - BD 149V - CS 32 - BD 59V - Adoration of Horus of the Horizon - BD 148V - BD 126V - WH - CS 46b - CS 22 - CS 19 - BD 151V
Panefernefer	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hry sšw.ti sš n pr-hd n pr 'Imn imy-rš kšt imy-rš hw.wt nb.w n 'Imn</i>	P. Vienna ÄS 3860 (No. 14)	2.55	20	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 151V - BD 125A - BD 125AV - WH - BD 126V - BD 110V
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre 3288	N/A	24	N/A
Shedsukhons	Male	<i>imy-rš nfr.w n pr 'Imn- R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hsi 'š n pr 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w sš</i>	P. London BM EA 10674	3.2	11	Adoration of Osiris - CS 3a - CS 3a - CS 3a - CS 3a - CS 3a - CS 3b - LR
Anonymous			P. Zagreb 883	1.495	43.5	N/A
Anonymous			P. Zagreb 884	0.54	19.5	N/A
Tchauenhui	Male	<i>hry sšw.ti sš.w n pr-hd n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Zagreb 885	2	16.5	BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - Speech of Thoth - WH - CS 3a - BD 148V - Adoration of Re-Horakhty

Iiditukhonsukheper	Male	<i>wꜥb (n) 'Imn</i>	P. Zagreb 601 (alt 887)	0.93	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
[..]-tamenet	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10448	0.19	15.5	BD 17
Djedmutiuefankh	Male	<i>it-nꜥr n Mwt</i>	P. St. Petersburg SSL 4	1.12		N/A
Nesykhonsupahered Ikauhered	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Colmar o.Nr.	0.505	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 30 - BD 5 - BD 51
		<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Colmar o.Nr.	0.5	25	BHC 12
Tanetamun	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w ḥsi.t n pꜣ ꜥ n Mwt wr.t nb.t 'Išrw</i>	P. Paris BN 170-173	3.25	22	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - Adoration of Thoth - WH - Solar Hymn - BD 78V - BD 86V - CS 3a - CS 37 -BD 62V -CS 5 - BD 87V – BD 81AV - BD 126V - CS 32 - CS 1b - CS 19 - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD 30BV - BD 148V - BD 186V
Mutemhab	Female	<i>nb.t-pr iḥi.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ šps.t</i>	P. Sydney R 402	54.7	24.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - Unknown Text - BD 26
Tanytbastet	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Paris BN 128	0.497	22.7	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - Offering Text - Speech of the Ba - BD 162 - Unknown Text
Khonsumes	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w nbi n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Paris BN 20-23		25	Adoration of Horakhty-Atum - BD 92 - BD 89 - BD 138 - BD 118 - BD 94 - BD 26 - BD 75 - BD 137A
		<i>wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w nbi n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Paris BN 153-155	1.705	24	BHC 12 - BG 12 - BHC 12 - BE 4 - BE 9 - BE 8 - BE 9 - BE 3 - BE 5 - BE 4 - BE 10 - BE 49 - BD 30
Sutymes	Male	<i>ḥry sš.w (n) ḥw.t- nꜥr n 'Imn wꜥb ḥry ḥꜣw.t sš.w (n) ḥw.t-nꜥr m 'Ip.t-sw.t ḥry sꜣw.ti sš.w n pr-ḥꜥ n pr (n) 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	P. Paris BN 38-45	6.04	35.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 1 - BD 68 - BD 89 - BD 89V - BD 92 - BD 92V - BD 63A - BD 63AV - BD 105 - BD 105V - BD 42 - BD 42V - BD 26 - BD 26V - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 22 - BD 22V - BD 5 - BD 5V - BD 67 - BD 61 - BD 61V - BD 79 - BD 79V - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 110 - BD 110V - BD 149 - BD 149V
Anonymous			P. Paris BN 156	0.73	22	BHC 12
Pennesuttawy	Male	<i>wꜥb ḥry nfw.w wiꜣ n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10064	10.54	32.4	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 180 - BD 181 - Solar Hymn - BD 130 - BD 136/136A -

BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 133V - BD
 136/136A - BD 136/136AV - BD 134 - BD 1 -
 BD 1V - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - D 65 - BD 65V
 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 69 - BD 70 - BD 101 -
 BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 136B - BD
 136BV - BD 136/136A - BD 136/36AV - BD 98
 - BD 98V - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD
 63B - BD 8 - BD 14 - BD 78 - BD 78V - BD 82
 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - BD 86V
 - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 -
 BD 84V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 80 - BD 87
 - BD 87V - BD 88 - BD 88V - BD 76 - BD 115
 - BD 116 - BD 116V - BD 111 - BD 112 - BD
 112V - BD 113 - BD 113V - BD 107 - BD 108 -
 BD 109 - BD 109V - BD 114 - BD 114V - BD
 102 - BD 102V - BD 119 - BD 119V - BD 7 -
 BD 39 - BD 42 - BD 42V - BD 41 - BD 41B -
 BD 31 - BD 31V - BD 32 - BD 32V - BD 40 -
 BD 40V - BD 36 - BD 36V - BD 33 - BD 33V -
 BD 37 - BD 37V - BD 38B - BD 54 - BD 55 -
 BD 38A - BD 38AV - BD 56 - BD 13/121 - BD
 138 - BD 123/139 - BD 187 - BD 12/120 - BD
 58 - BD 57 - BD 132 - BD 189 - BD 53 - BD 91
 - BD 44 - BD 93 - BD 50 - BD 188 - BD 117 -
 BD 118 - BD 34 - BD 35 - BD 74 - BD 45 - BD
 63A - BD 156 - BD 155 - BD 79 - BD 75 - BD
 179 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 29 -
 BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 11/49 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD
 43 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 105V
 - BD 47 - BD 103 - BD 104 - BD 104V - BD
 96/97 - BD 96/97V - BD 94 - BD 94V - BD 103
 - BD 103V - BD 10/48 - BD 90 - BD 131 - BD
 141/142 - BD 190 - BD 146 - BD 145 - BD
 145V - BD 147 - BD 147V - BD 26 - BD 135 -
 BD 152 - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 153A - BD
 153AV - BD 153 - BD 153BV - BD 125A - BD
 125C - BD 125D - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD
 125CV - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD
 136/136A/136BV - BD 151 - Ritual Hour Text -

						BD 177 - BD 110 - BD 178 - BD 110V - Purification Scene
Djedmut	Male	<i>it-ntr (n) 'Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3130	0.5	25	Adoration of Osiris
Nespahertahat	Male	<i>it-ntr n Mwt</i>	P. London BM EA 9981	0.78	21.6	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Nesmutaaneru	Female	none	P. London BM EA 9982	0.84	24.1	BHC 12
Djedkhonsu	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9983	1.016	16.5	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Djedmutiufankh	Male	<i>wꜥb n ḥꜣ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Mwt wr.t nb.t ḏsrw</i>	P. London BM EA 10096 (P. Salt 1,134-136)	1.42	20.7	Adoration of Osiris - BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172
Astemakhbit	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10062	1.09	25	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Anonymous			P. London BM EA 9985	0.8	12.8	N/A
Anonymous			P. London BM EA 9987	0.37	22.9	N/A
Amenmose	Male	<i>wꜥb sš pr-ḥꜣ n pr 'Imn- Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10011	1.59	23.5	LR
Hornefer	Male	<i>sš n pr 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10013 (P. Salt 827)	1.55	23	Re-Horakhty before Osiris in Worship - Speech of Thoth - Hymn to Osiris - WH - CS 3b - Solar Hymn - BD 100/129V
Padikhons	Male	<i>it-ntr n Ḥnsw m Wꜣs.t nfr ḥtp ꜣbh.w it-ntr mri-ntr ḥsi n ntr=f</i>	P. London BM EA 10312	0.5	22.8	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 180
Mehytemiry	Female	<i>nb.t-pr</i>	P. London BM EA 9992	0.55	26.7	BD 148 - Solar Hymn
Padikhons	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn it-ntr n Mwt sš ḥtp.w ntr n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10004	1.25	19	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
Mehmuthat	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10005	0.96	20.5	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9

		<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10035	0.81	22.2	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Nesy	Male	<i>w^cb ꜥꜥ m 'Ipt-sw.t</i>	P. London BM EA 10031	1.19	22.9	BD 145 - Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 147 - BD 26 - BD 135 - BD 152 - BD 148 – Unknown Text
Nesmutankhti	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn šps.t</i>	P. London BM EA 10036	0.775	25.1	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 1 - BD 23 - BD 56 - BD 61 - BD 81A
Pashebutmutwabethet	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10007	1.969	14.6	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
		none	P. Berlin P. 3031 A-G	2.86	11	BD 162 - BD 166 - BD 4
Anonymous			P. Berlin P. 3007 A-F	2.16	22	N/A
Anonymous			P. Berlin P. 3129	1.19	23	N/A
Anonymous			P. Berlin P. 3130	0.95	24	N/A
Isety	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Berlin P. 3143	1.06	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BHC 12
Djedmehitiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3009	0.45	24	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 136/136A
Nesypaahasebek	Male	<i>wn n pr 'Imn (?)...</i>	P. Berlin P. 3010	0.3	22	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - Opening of the Mouth
Khonsu	Male	<i>w^cb n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3011; P. Genf D 190	0.39	28	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 162
Hor	Male	<i>it-ntr mri-ntr wn ꜥꜥ wy n.w p.t m 'Ipt-sw.t</i>	P. Berlin P. 3121	0.83	24	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Anonymous			P. Berlin P. 3123	0.75	23.5	N/A
Hered	Male	<i>hry ꜥ.t</i>	P. Berlin P. 3124	1.07	16	N/A
Djedkhonsuiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3125	1.23	23	N/A
Djedmut	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Berlin P. 3126	1.24	24	N/A
Anonymous	Female	none	P. Berlin P. 3148	1.4	19	N/A
Anonymous	Female	<i>nb.t-pr</i>	P. Berlin P. 3152			N/A
Nesyamuntawy	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w ꜥꜥ n mw pr (n) 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3153	1.57	22.5	N/A

Mutemwia	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3157	N/A	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 110V
Anonymous			P. Berlin P. 3004	0.27	20	N/A
Amenhotep	Male	<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w wꜥb m 'lpt-sw.t ḥry sš ḥwt-nꜥr n pr 'Imn ḥry sš ḥwt-nꜥr n nꜥr.w nꜥr.wt nb.w it- nꜥr n Mwt it-nꜥr n Ḥnsw it mri m pt t3 dw3t</i>	P. Berlin P. 3005 A-D	2.36	39	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11
Sesu	Male	<i>ḥry ꜥ.t n Mwt</i>	P. Berlin P. 3147	1.2	24	Adoration of Osiris + Hathor/Isis and Nephthys - CS 1b - CS 8 - CS 34b - BD 9
		<i>ḥry ꜥ.t n Mwt</i>	P. London BM EA 9941	1.27	17.8	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - CS 5 - CS 3b - BD 186
Nesypaheran	Male	<i>wꜥb sš ḥtp.w nꜥr n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Berlin P. 3006	1.43	41	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168)
		<i>wꜥb sš ḥtp.w nꜥr n pr 'Imn it-nꜥr n mri ꜥ.t n Mwt</i>	Bodleian Library No Number	2.44	24	LR
Amunenwia	Male	<i>ḥry ꜥ.t n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Berlin P. 3127	1.72	23	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
		<i>ḥry ꜥ.t n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Paris BN 33- 37	3.18	22.5	Adoration of the Sun - Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 130 - BD 130V - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 150V - BD 110V
Tahemenmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Berlin P. 3128	1.35	23	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
		<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Narodowe 199628 MN	1.26	23	N/A
Horemhabit	Male	<i>it-nꜥr mry nꜥr wꜥb ḥry ḥ3w.t ḥry sš.w ḥw.t- nꜥr n pr 'Imn ḥry sš.w ḥw.t-nꜥr n nꜥr.w nꜥr.wt nb.w(t) šmꜥ mḥi</i>	P. Berlin P. 3001 A-M	7.56	34	WH - BD 126 - BD 126V - BHC 12 - BHC 10 - BHC 9 - CS 6
		<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w wꜥb ḥry ḥ3w.t ḥry sš.w ḥw.t-nꜥr n nꜥr.w nb.w šmꜥ mḥi</i>	P. Leiden T 6 (AMS 33)	6.48	35	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum and Osiris - BD 130 - BD 130V - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 91 - BD 147 - BD 147V - BD 146 - BD 146V - BD 109 - BD 110V - BD 149 -

					BD 149V - BD 125A - BD 125AV- BD 125B - BD 125BV	
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3110	N/A	20	N/A
Nebhepet	Male	<i>wꜥb sš m šh.t hḥ imy-r3 nfr.w m s.t M3ꜥ.t imy-r3 k3.t m pr d.t sš n pr hr</i>	P. Turin 1768	3	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 136BV - BD 126V - BD 110V - CS 36b - BD 110V
Meshsebek	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin 1769	1.74	16.5	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
Paemhat	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w nbi (n) pr 'Imn</i>	P. Turin 1770	0.97	25	N/A
Aaneru	Male	<i>wꜥb ʕ3 (n) h3.t n Mwt it-ntr n Mwt ʕ3.t nrw</i>	P. Turin 1771	3.44	20	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - Adoration of Thoth - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 110V - WH - BD 126V - BD 87 - BD 87V - BD 9 - BD 9V
Anonymous			P. Turin 1776	4.16	24	BHC 9 - BHC 10 - BHC 11 - BHC 12 - BHC Abridged
Padi...	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin 1777	1.44	24	BHC 11 - BHC 10
Anonymous			P. Turin 1778	1.54	12	N/A
Djedkhonsuiuefankh	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn pr...m šh.t...n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Turin 1779	1.23	25	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BD 148V - BD 149V
Nesyamun	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ it-ntr n Mwt it-ntr n Hnsw</i>	P. Turin 1780	1.06	24	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Djhutymes	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w wꜥb n Mwt sš it-ntr n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Turin 1781	1.02	24	CS 3a - Solar Hymn - CS 40 - CS 2
Nesyiuiset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin 1782	1.04	20	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Anonymous			P. Turin 1783	0.94	24	BHC 12
Tanedjemut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w n Mwt Hnsw</i>	P. Turin 1784	1.57	24	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Penaa	Male	none	P. Turin 1785	0.6	25	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Anonymous			P. Turin 1786	0.38	23	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Mutred	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin 1787	0.6	22	BHC 11
Anonymous			P. Turin 1788	0.275	24	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Anonymous			P. Turin 1789	1.25	13	N/A
Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr sš</i>	P. Turin 1790	0.6	22	BHC 11 - BHC 10

Tameret	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥsī.t n p3^c n Mwt wr.t nb.t 'Išrw</i>	P. Turin CGT 53001 (Nr. 1849)	2.31	25	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn - BD 180 - BD 190 - BD 133 - BD 134
Nesytanetasheru	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53003 (Nr. 1850)	1.24	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 17
Gautseshen	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53010 (Nr. 1852)	1.14	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 180
Anmesu	Female	none	P. Turin CGT 53006 (Nr. 1853)	0.97	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Djedkhonsuiuefankh	Male	<i>w^cb (n) ḥ3.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53004 (Nr. 1854)	1.02	15	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Djedmutiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53008 (Nr. 1855)	0.89	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Pasherienhuther	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥry s3w sš(.w)</i>	P. Turin CGT 53011 (Nr. 1857)	0.65	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 25 - Unknown Text - BD 14 - Unknown Text
Padikhonsu	Male	<i>w^cb n 'Imn it-ntr n Mwt sš šnw.tw 'Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53002 (Nr. 1859 / 2)	1.89	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn
Djedbastet	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53009 (Nr. 1862 / 2)	0.61	14	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23- BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Muthat	Female	<i>nb.t-pr</i>	P. Turin CGT 53013 (Nr. 1862 / 3)	0.59	13	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - Hymn to Osiris
Nesyamun	Male	none	P. Turin CGT 53005 (Nr. 1856)	0.7	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Nesykhonsupahered	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Leiden T 25 (AMS 43)	1.97	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 38B - BD 30B - BD 11/49 -BD 94 - BD 162 - BD 166
Tanetpasu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Leiden T 26 (AMS 39)	0.6	25	Adoration of Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Anonymous	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Leiden T 27 (AMS 48)	1.22	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Nesykhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Leiden T 28 (AMS 35)	1.29	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27

Iuefenmut	Male	<i>k3w.ti n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Leiden T 29 (AMS 50)	1	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 180 - BD 181
Mutemipet	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Leiden T 30 (AMS 42)	0.79	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 162
Anonymous			P. Leiden AMS 32	4.55	48	N/A
Nesytarenaset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr</i>	P. Leiden AMS 47b	0.375	24	N/A
Buharuumun	Male	<i>hry ˘.t (n) 'Imn-R^c</i>	P. Leiden AMS 51	0.65	11	N/A
Ankhefkhonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Leiden AMS 46	1.235	24	N/A
Djedmenetch	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn ny-sw.t ntr.w s3b sš n 'Imn-R^c</i>	P. Leiden AMS 36	1.33	22.5	N/A
Anonymous			P. Leiden AMS 49	0.59	25	N/A
Anonymous			P. Leiden ACS 10	1.85	23	N/A
Tayukhertiu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hs.t ˘3.t n p3 ˘ n Mwt</i>	P. Leiden T 3 (AMS 40)	11	33	Recto: BD 45 - BD 45V - BD 31 - BD 31V - BD 35 - BD 35V - BD 93 - BD 93V - Solar Hymn - BD 108 - BD 108V - BD 109 - BD 109V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 87 - BD 87V; Verso: BD 88 - BD 88V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 78 - BD 78V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 80 - BD 80V - BD 81A - 81AV - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 3V - BD 71 - BD 71V - BD 64 - BD 64V - BD 141/142 - BD 141/142V - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 110 - BD 110V - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 153A - BD 153AV - BD 89 - BD 89V - BD 125A - Purification Scene - BD 126V - WH - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 194 - BD 194V - BD 151 - BD 151AV - BD 193 - BD 193V - BD 145 - BD 145V - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 150V - Adoration of Osiris

Paser	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w m 'lpt-sw.t m W3st hsi ʕ3 n ntr=f 'Imn w^cb^c.wy m 'lpt-sw.t it- ntr n 'Imn m irw=f nb kk (?)</i>	P. Leiden T 7 (AMS 34)	3.65	39	Adoration of Osiris and Isis - BD 141-143 - BD 141/143V - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 126V - BD 86V - BD 85V - BD 110V - CS 5
		<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr mry n 'Imn m 'lpt-sw.t hry-tp t3ty shtpw h3t 'Imn-R^c ny- sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Paris BN 158-161	1.91	37	Adoration of Osiris - LR
Amenmese	Male	<i>it-ntr mry hry k3.t n pr 'Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg P-1-1952 (P. Tallinn)	0.985	19.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 61 - BD 30B
Buhar	Male	none	P. London BM EA 9974	0.4	12.7	Adoration of Re-Horakhty
Anonymous			P. London BM EA 9975	0.6	23	BHC 12
Ankhefenkhons	Male	<i>w^cb n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w s3 n ntr htp.w pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9980	0.622	24.1	BHC 12 - BG 8
Nesmut	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 9984	0.635	17.8	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Penmaat	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn s3 hw.t- ntr</i>	P. London BM EA 10029	1.08	25.4	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 38B - BD 40 - BD 36
Padimut	Male	<i>hm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny- sw.t ntr.w s3 mš^c.wt n t3 dr</i>	P. London BM EA 10093	1.24	24.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Neskhons	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10329	0.86	22.8	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Tadiipetweret	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10330	0.73	23.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 24 - CS 16c - BHC 12 - CS 1b
Djedamunetiusankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10307	0.5	25	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Nesypawittawy	Male	<i>iry ʕ3 n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Berlin P. 3012 A + B	0.82	23	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26
Nesytanebetisheru	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Paris Louvre E. 3227	1.085	24.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17

Djeddjhutyuiefankh	Male	none	P. Paris Louvre E. 3238 (P. Anastasi 1037)	0.46	8.5	BD 1
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3235	N/A	N/A	BD 166
Ankhefenamun	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn sš nfr. w n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Dresden Aeg. 775	2.81	22.5	Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168) - Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 151 - BD 151V - Speech by Thoth - BD 125 - BD 125V - WH - Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys
Anonymous			P. Leiden L.I.1	4.6	24	N/A
Anonymous			P. Leiden L.1.3	1.37	24	N/A
Padimut	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn</i>	P. Dresden Aeg. 776	0.81	24.5	N/A
Anonymous			P. Dublin MS 1665	1.17	21.5	N/A
Amenmese	Male	<i>wꜥb sš n pr-ḥd n 'Imn</i>	P. Dublin MS 1666	1.6	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - WH - BD 86V - BD 85V - BD 125B - BD 125BV
Pashedkhons	Male	<i>ḥry ꜥ.t n pr 'Imn-Rꜥ ny- sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Dublin MS 1667	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nesypawitiheryhat	Male	<i>sš n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Dublin MS 1668	1.2	24.5	BD 148V - BD 60 - BD 62 - Degraded Vignette - BD 4 - BD 117 - BD 117V
Shedsukhonsu	Male	<i>sš n pr 'Imn wꜥb sš n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Dublin MS 1671	3.39	23.4	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 29 - BD 31 - BD 102 - BD 119 - BD 81A - BD 80 - BD 116 - BD 85 - BD 77 - BD 99/99B - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125C - BD 125D - BD 125DV - BD 110V
Anonymous	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥsi.t n Mwt mꜣꜥ.t ḥrw</i>	P. Dublin MS 1672	1.94	23.7	Adoration of Osiris - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 29 - BD 31 - BD 102 - BD 119 - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 80 - BD 80V - BD 116 - BD 85 - BD 77 - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 125B
Djedkhonsu	Male	<i>ḥm-ntr n 'Imn wꜥb n 'Imn</i>	P. Dublin MS 1673	3.94	12.7	Adoration of Osiris and Re-Atum - BD 133 - BD 136/136A - BD 134
Isetnofret	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Dublin MS 1674	1.795	14.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Herusaiset	Female	none	P. Dublin MS 1675	0.48	8.3	N/A
Anonymous			P. E.1026	0.72	24	N/A

Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn hry šn' n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Bologna KS 3163	0.65	16	Adoration of ? - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 24 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162 - BD 61
Ahmose	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Bologna KS 3164	0.75	21	Adoration of Osiris and Isis - BD 17
Anonymous			P. Bologna KS 3169	0.36	22	N/A
Istemakhbit	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm'.t n 'Imn wr.t hnr.t n 'Imn wsr hzt</i>	P. London BM EA 9903	1.58	25.4	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 8 - BD 8V - BD 44 - BD 71 - BD 71V - BD 60 - BD 60V - BD 33 - BD 35 - BD 35V - BD 123-139 - BD 123/139V - BD 26 - BD 26V - BD 27
Isetemakhbit	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm'.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9904	4.11	28	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 56 - BD 56V - BD 9 - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 89 - BD 89V - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 89 - BD 17 - BD 60 - BD 60V - BD 138 - BD 138V - BD 6 - BD 61 - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125BV - WH - BD 126V
Tameniu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm'.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10002	1.43	28	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 148V - BD 126V - BD 81AV - BD 87V - BD 59V - BD 63V
		<i>nb.t-pr šm'.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10008	1.613	9.52	BD 149 - BD 150 - BD 125B - WH - CS 5
Mutemwia	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm'.t n 'Imn hsi.t n.t p3 'n Mwt wr.t nb.t 'Išrw</i>	P. London BM EA 10003	1.49	20.3	Adoration of Osiris and Isis - WH - BD 125A - BD 126V - BD 110V
		<i>nb.t-pr</i>	P. London BM EA 10006	1.93	22	LR
Ta...	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm'.t n 'Imn hsi.t '3.t</i>	P. London BM EA 10012	3.33	21.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Aaamun	Male	<i>it-ntr mry ntr w' b 'wy m 'Ipt-sw.t hry sšt3 m 'Ipt-sw.t hry nfw.w wi3 n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10014	2.79	33	Adoration of Osiris - BD 9 - BD 181 - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 138 - BD 138V - BD 57 - BD 57V - BD 147 - BD 147V - BD 144 - BD 144V - BD 89 - BD 89V - BD 53 - BD 187 - BD 187V - BD 125 - BD 125BV - BD 150V - BD 110V
Astemkhebit	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm'.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10019	2.63	20.3	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9

Penmaat	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w sš md3.t ntr n pr 'Imn hry s3w.ti sš n pr- ḥd n pr 'Imn w^cb pr md3.t ntr imy-r3 pr-ḥd n pr 'Imn sš.w pr-ḥd n pr 'Imn imy-r3 šnw.wt</i>	P. London BM EA 10020	2.74	44.1	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 13/121 - BD 8 - BD 60 - BD 60V - BD 33- BD 33V - BD 36V - BD 81AV - BD 77V - BD 83V - BD 86V - BD 89 - BD 89V - BD 138 - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 30B - BD 30BV - WH - BD 126V - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 150V - BD 110V
Amenmese	Male	<i>imy-r3 ḳd.w n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9918 (P. Salt 341)	1.65	19	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 125A - BD 125C - Solar Hymn
Paneferher	Male	<i>hry-tp ^c.t n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10327	0.48	24.1	N/A
Amenkhau	Male	<i>ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny- sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10041	0.97	24.1	Adoration of Osiris - BD 149 - BD 149V
Padiamenet	Male	<i>hry-tp ^c.t n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10063	0.91	24.7	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Paditef	Male	<i>w^cb n 'Imn hry s3w n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10119	0.71	25.4	BD 23 - BD 101 - BD 100/129 - BD 30B - BD 26
Anonymous			P. London BM EA 10024	1.105	17	N/A
Nesamun	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10040	0.54	24.1	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Djhuty	Male	<i>s3b ḳ3r</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3245 (E. 850)	N/A	17.5	Recto: BD 125; Verso: 125 - BD 126 - BD 126V
Djedimentetieufankh	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Marseille 292	0.503	57.2	BD 23 - BD 100/129 - BD 5 - BD 157 - BD 175 - BD 30B - BD 26
Anonymous			P. Marseille 293	N/A	N/A	BHC 12
Anonymous			P. Marseille 295	N/A	N/A	BHC 3
Djedkhonsiusankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn hr.it sš.t (n) pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10328	0.39	24.1	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - Unknown Texts - BD 162
Djedkhonsiufankh	Male	none	P. London BM EA 74135	0.87	21	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162

Dimutiudu	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 74136	0.944	20	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Tiubes (?)			P. Berlin P. 3016	0.32	24	N/A
Ankhefenmut	Male	<i>nbi n 'Imn-Rꜥ</i>	P. Berlin P. 3017	0.35	23	N/A
Anonymous			P. London BM EA 9979	0.73	25.4	BHC 12
Ankhefenmut	Male	<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg SSL 3	0.84	24.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 25B - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Ankhefenamun	Male	<i>hꜣry kꜣ.t hꜣnty pr 'Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg 1109	0.775	24.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Muthetepti	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10010	2.89	33.66	CS 1a - Solar Hymn - Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168) - BD 174 - BD 174V - BD 182 - BD 182V - BD 151 - BD 151V
Hennutawy	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10018	1.23	19.7	CS 1e - CS 5 - CS 5 - BHC 11 - BE 3
		<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	P. Richmond 54-10	1.1	20.32	Adoration of Osiris - Purification Scene - CS 39 - CS 1d - CS 45 - CS 7
Nesytanebtawy	Female	none	P. Paris BN 138-140, E. 3661	5	41	BD 180 - BD 181 - BD 79 - BD 127A - BD 180 - BD 79 - Solar Hymn - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 1 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 180 - BD 181 - Solar Hymn - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 69 - BD 70 - BD 101
Seramun	Male	<i>wꜥb n hꜣ.t n 'Imn imy-rꜣ nꜥr.w n pr 'Imn wꜥb n hꜣ.t n Mwt</i>	P. Paris BN Cabinet des Medailles			N/A
		<i>imy-rꜣ nꜥr.w n pr 'Imn wꜥb n hꜣ.t n 'Imn hm-nꜥr n 'Imn hꜣpr-hꜣr-hꜣ.t imy-rꜣ kꜣ.w n pꜣ-nb-šfi.t hꜣsy ꜥꜣ m rh 'Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre E. 17400	1.8	22	Adoration of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris + Isis - BD 89V - BD 54V - BD 23V - BD 92V - BD 138V - BD 81AV - BD 85V - BD 83V - BD 77V - LR -CS 10 - CS 3a - CS 5 - CS 18

Horemakhbit	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn- R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w sš hw.t-ntr n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10339	0.24	11	BD 72
Tentshedmut	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9970	2.16	24.8	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
		<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c</i>	P. Paris N.3286		24	Adoration of Osiris + Nephthys - BD 104 - BD 96 - BD 97 - BD 94 - BD 103 - BD 10/48 - BD 90 - BD 75 - BD 125
Iufankh	Male	<i>w^cb n 'Imn sš kd</i>	P. London 10207	1	19.68	N/A
Disuenmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9948	1.21	21.6	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 18V
Khay	Male	<i>hry sšw.tw sš.w n nb tš.wy</i>	P. London BM EA 9953 B P. New York Amherst 17 [A]	0.6	41	BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 87 - BD 87V - BD 88 - BD 88V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 181 - BD 173 - Solar Hymn - 80/86 - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 18V BD 181 - BD 181V - BD 1 - BD 1V
Ramose	Male	<i>hm-ntr sn.w</i>	P. London BM EA 9966	N/A	N/A	Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168)
Anonymous			P. London BM EA 10001	1.26	19	BD 166 - BHC 12
Anonymous			P. London BM EA 10267 (P. Harris 505)	0.75	23	N/A
Ankhes	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10203 (P. Harris 506)	0.51	24.7	Adoration of Osiris - BD 180
Anhay	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn wrt hnr.t n nb.wt ib.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10472	4.43	42	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 15 - BD 125 - BD 146BD 125V - WH - BD 110V - BD 125 - BD 82 - BD 79 - CS 33a
Anonymous			P. Hermitage 2509	0.59	21	N/A
Djedmut	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Norwich 1921.37.262.3 A	N/A	N/A	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26
Penrenu	Male	<i>it-ntr sš hwt-ntr n pr mš^c.t</i>	P. Manchester Hieroglyphic 1	0.98	24.3	BHC 10
Iset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Manchester Hieratic 2	0.495	21.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 30B - BD 26 - BD 162 - Unknown Text
Anonymous			P. Lowie 5-267	0.36	26	BHC 12 - BHC 9 - BHC 5 - BHC 6
			P. Lowie 5-268			BD 146 - BD 147 - BD 148 - BD 149

Serdjehuty	Male	<i>w^cb ḥ3.t n Mwt w^cb idnw n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10747	2.085	22	Adoration of Osiris - BD 53 - BD 91 - BD 44 - BD 93 - BD 50 - BD 188 - BD 117 - BD 34 - BD 35 - BD 74 - BD 45 - BD 63A - Unknown Text - BD 41 - BD 31 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 29 - BD 27 - BD 28 - Unknown Text - BD 105 - Unknown Text
Astemakhbit	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w šps.t ḥsi.t m^c n Mwt</i>	P. London BM EA 10743	1.28	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134
Padief	Male	none	Oriental Museum, 1952-7	N/A	14	N/A
Bakenkhonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn ḥry sšt3^c.t</i>	P. Paris Louvre E. 17399	2.11	34.5	BD 110 - BD 125
Nesypaqashuty	Male	<i>sš ḥsb it-ntr n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre E. 17401	2.56	19.3	CS 17 - WH - BD 59V - CS 46a - CS 32 - CS 5 - BD 126V - BD 87V - BD 81V - CS 16b - BD 148V - CS 33b
Djedisetiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c</i>	P.Garstang 56.22.673	0.59	24.5	N/A
		<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c</i>	P.Garstang 56.22.674	0.688	24.5	N/A
Ankhefkonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn ḥry sšt3^c s3b wn n.t^c ḳ m 'Ipt- sw.t ḥry-tp n 3ḥt nhḥ</i>	P. Unknown	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nesymut	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Los Angeles 83.AI.46.5	0.5	25	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 -BD 26
Ankhesenaset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Los Angeles 83.AI.46.6	0.59	19.5	BD 23 - BD 24 -BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Ast	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Los Angeles 83.AI.46.7	0.66	24	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 38B
Anonymous			P. Los Angeles 83.AI.46.3	1.84	19	N/A
Pamer	Male	<i>ḥry nfw n p3 wi3 n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 73665	0.595	23.5	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Hat (?)		none	P. London BM EA 75026	0.17	19.4	BD 166
Tamiu (?)		none	P. London BM EA 75027	N/A	7	BD 166 - BHC 11
Neskhons	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 75032		15.5	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11

Djedmontiufankh	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w sš ny-sw.t hz (?) n nb tš.wy</i>	P. London BM EA 75034	N/A	21.6	BD 31V - BD 33V - BD 149 - BD 82V
Nebmaat	Male	none	P. London BM EA 75035	N/A	21.1	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 1
Paiefadjani	Male	<i>hry hb hry hzw.t</i>	Cairo CG 40020 (S. R. IV 1532)	3.146	23	BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn - BD 180 - BD 190 - BD 133 - BD 134 - BD 136/136A - BD 130 - BD 166
Merefenmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo CG 40021 (J.E. 95858, S.R. IV 957)	N/A	22.5	Osiris with Offering - BD 130 - BD 130V - BD 125B - BD 125BV
Khapefenhakhonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr mry ntr imy-rš šn^c n pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo CG 58024 (J.E. 96275, S.R. IV 1533)	0.2	26	BD 27 - Unknown Text
Dhutynakht	Male	<i>w^cb n 'Imn nbi n pš sšm hw n 'Imn</i>	Cairo J.E. 26231 (J.E. 26191, S.R. IV 995)	0.37	21.5	BD 180 - BD 181 - BD 181V
Anonymous			Cairo J.E. 94508	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous			Cairo J.E. 94536	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ankhesenmut	Female	<i>hsī.t n pš^c n Mwt wr.t nb.t 'Išrw nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 95637 a-d (S.R. IV 528)	2.22	34	Adoration of Osiris - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 125A - BD 150V - BHC 11 - BD 110V
Ikhy	Male	none	Cairo J.E. 95663 (S.R. IV 564)	1.405	23.5	BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn
Anonymous			Cairo J.E. 95692	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nesykhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 95706 (S.R. IV 638)	0.49	26	Adoration of Re-Horakhty- BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26
Amenemipet	Male	<i>hm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hry sštš hry sš kd.wt n pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo J.E. 95713 (S.R. IV 646)	1.5	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 18
Djedamuniuefankh	Male	<i>hm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 95716 (S.R. IV 650)	0.645	26	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 162
		<i>hm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 95718 (S.R. IV 652)	0.99	27	CS 1a - CS 13a - CS 13b - CS 14 - BD 1V - CS 34c - CS 12c - CS 15
Anonymous			Cairo J.E. 95724	N/A	N/A	N/A
Henibesenes	Female	none	Cairo J.E. 96272 (S. R. IV 1528)	14.5	18.3	BD 162
Anonymous			Cairo J.E. 99067	N/A	N/A	N/A

Djedmutiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10223	1.32	13	Adoration of Osiris + Hathor and Isis - BD 136/136AV - BD 104V - WH - BD 126V - BD 110V - BD 86V - BD 150V - Adoration of Osiris - BD 63AV - Purification Scene
		<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10220	0.92	13	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Djedamuniuefankh	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w sꜣb n tꜣ knbt n niwt</i>	Cairo S.R. IV 530 (J.E. 4891)	0.64	24	BHC 12
Anonymous			Cairo J.E. 95701 (S.R. IV 631)	4.11	11.5	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Tchensarekna	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 95712 (S.R. IV 645)	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous			Cairo J.E. 95721 (S.R. IV 655)	2.75	23.5	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Anonymous			Cairo J.E. 34000 (S.R. VII 10235)	1.65	24	Right: BG 5 - BG 8 - BHC 10 - BG 10/BHC 9 - BHC 11 - BG 5 Left: CS 1b - BE 8
Anonymous			Cairo S.R. VII 11491	4.35	45	N/A
Nesyamun	Male	<i>wꜥb n Mꜣꜥ.t wꜥb n 'Imn</i>	New York MMA 26.2.51	1	22	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
		<i>wꜥb n Mꜣꜥ.t wꜥb n 'Imn</i>	New York MMA 26.2.52	0.205	24.5	BD 166
Anonymous			Brooklyn Museum 37.1699 E	N/A	N/A	N/A
Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	<i>it-ntr mry imy st n ꜥ.t n pr 'Imn</i>	Brooklyn Museum 37.1782 E	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ankhenkhonsuenmut	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Brooklyn Museum 37.1826 E	N/A	N/A	N/A
Isetenkhonsumut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	Brooklyn Museum 37.1801 E	N/A	N/A	BD 136/136A - BD 17
Ha	Male	<i>hry sꜣ.wty sš.w</i>	P. New York Amherst 17 [B]	N/A	N/A	Hymn to Osiris - Solar Hymn - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 173 - BD 173V

Nesyamunemipet	Male	<i>it-ntr Dḥwty</i>	P. New York Amherst fragments group 6	N/A	N/A	BD 17
Patawemdjeretmut	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w imy s.t-^c.t n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Ann Arbor 2725; P. Dublin Chester Beatty Library	1.262	7.6	Michigan: BD 40 - BD 36 - BD 33 - BD 37 - BD 56 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 29 - BD 11/49 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 43 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 47 - BD 96/97 - BD 94 - BD 55 - BD 118 - BD 69 - BD 70 - BD 10/48 - BD 90 - BD 102 - BD 32; Dublin: BD 28 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 12/120 - BD 31 - BD 102 - Speech of the Dead Spirit - BD 38
Djedmutiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Ann Arbor 3524; P. Munich ÄS 30 + 719	0.78	9.3	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 162
Anonymous			P. Aylesbury 430	0.3048	22.86	N/A
Anonymous			P. Aylesbury 431	0.6604	25.4	N/A
Anonymous			P. Aylesbury 434	0.00508	86.36	N/A
Anonymous			P. Aylesbury 435	0.1905	24.13	N/A
Pawiaenadjdiu	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 10466	0.94	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Anonymous			P. Berlin P. 3051	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nesyamun	Male	<i>it-ntr n Mntw</i>	P. Boston MFA o.Nr.			
Anonymous			Budapest 51.2547	1	N/A	N/A
Anonymous			P. Cambridge E.26 c - 1940			
Merimaat	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Chantilly OA 1931	1.05	23	Adoration of Osiris - BD 29 - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 11/49 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 43 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 47 - BD 104
Buiruharmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Cleveland 1914.725	0.48	24.2	N/A
Buiruharmut	Male	none	P. Cleveland 1914.733	N/A	24.3	BD 23 - Unknown Text
Bakenmut	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Cleveland 1914.724	N/A	20.6	N/A

Bakenmut	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Cleveland 1914.882	0.72	20.5	BD 23 - BD 162 - BD 61 - BD 29 - BD 6
Hori	Male	<i>hry šn^c it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w imy-r3 šn^c n 'Imn š3(i)^c n h3.t 'Imn w^cb n 'Imn hry šn^c n pr 'Imn w^cb š3i n h3.t 'Imn</i>	P. Cleveland 1921.1032	1..8	24	Adoration - BD 161 - BD 161V - BD 146 - BD 146V - BD 151A - BD 151AV - BD 138V
Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Cologny CI	1.18	23.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 1
Taenimnetheretib	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Cologny CII	1.2	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - 17V - BD 1
Nebnetru	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Cologny CIII	1.002	24	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - Explanatory Text - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 6 - BD 162 - Explanatory Text - BD 61 - BD 28
Nesypernebu	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w mri-ntr wn ʿ3.wy h.w hry m 'lpt- sw.t</i>	P. Cologny CVI	0.6	26	BD 26 - BD 162 - Explanatory Text - Unknown Text - Explanatory Text
Paenpai	Male	<i>iry ʿ3 n pr Mwt</i>	P. Cologny CVII	1	24	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - Solar Hymn - BHC 12
Djedmaatiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Cologny CVIII	1.277	27	BHC 12 - BD 30A - BD 30B - Solar Hymn
Sesiusheri	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Cologny CXI	1.065	23	BD 136B - BD 136/136A - BD 98 - BD 77 - BD 86 - BD 85
Djedkhonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Cortona 187	0.23	8	BD 149 - BD 3V
Anonymous			P. Cortona 394	0.635	22.5	N/A
Iuesenhasutmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Darmstadt 269	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous			P. Den Hagg 37	2.66	33	N/A
Hor	Male	none	P. Den Hagg 40/86	N/A	N/A	BD 181 - BD 29 - BD 30B - BD 30A - BD 162 - BD 28
Ankhesenaset	Female	none	P. Den Haag 43/89	0.24	21	BD 166
Nesytanebetisheru	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Edinburgh 1958.850	0.64	23	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 108 - Unknown Text
Paiestchenef	Male	<i>it-ntr mry-ntr</i>	P. Edinburgh 212.113 (2)+(3)	0.49	19	BD 170 - BD 171

Inienpheufwedjtu	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hry-tp t3w wiz n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Bodmer C	3.73	21	N/A
Anonymous			P. Genf D 406	0.35	12	BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Nesymut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Hamm 2236	1.03	22.1	Adoration of Osiris - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 70 - BD 101
Anonymous			P. Heidelberg von Portheim Stiftung 5	N/A	N/A	BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 162
Isetemakhbit	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Heidelberg Ä.I. Hieratisch II	N/A	14	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 136/136A
Anonymous	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Kazan 1	0.295	19	BD 23 - BD 25 - BD 26
Anonymous			P. Kazan 2	0.17	7.8	N/A
Amenhotep	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hm-ntr n Mwt t3 hry st wr.t hm-ntr n Hnsw pz hry st wr.(t) hm-ntr n 'Imn hry ib lpt-sw.t sš.w hw.t-ntr n pr 'Imn hry sš hw.wt- ntr ntr.w ntr.wt nb hm-ntr Sbk nb smnw</i>	P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250	1.82	33.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn - BD 180
Nesykhonsu	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn šps.t</i>	P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 488 (37.1); P. Houston 31.72		25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Aseti	Female	none	P. Leiden T 37	0.233	21.8	BD 166
Anonymous			P. Liège No Number	0.515	25.5	BHC 12
Tefrerwaset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10094	0.68	20.3	Solar Hymn - BD 180
		<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Louvre N.3119	N/A	20	N/A

Asti	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w šps.t</i>	P. London BM EA 10084	3.4	32	BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 180 - BD 181 - Solar Hymn - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 69 - BD 70 - BD 101 - BD 100/129 - BD 136B - BD 136/136A - BD 98 - BD 99/99B - BD 63B - BD 8 - BD 82 - BD 77 - BD 86 - BD 85 - BD 83 - BD 102 - BD 57 - BD 53 - BD 93 - BD 75 - BD 61 - BD 28 - BD 61 - BD 153A - BD 125A
Ast	Female	none	P. London BM EA 10703	0.081	15.6	BD 1
Pashebmwtwebkhet	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10988	N/A	N/A	Adoration Scene - BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn - BD 180 - BD 190 - BD 133 - BD 134 - BD 136/136A - BD 130 - BD 166 - BD 101 - BD 155 - BD 156 - Unknown Text - BD 137A - BD 100/129 - BD 137B - BD 137A
Anonymous			P. London UC 32801	N/A	N/A	BD 28
Herusaiset	Male	<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn-Rꜥ</i>	P. Lüttich I/627 bis	0.39	19.5	BD 23 - Unknown Text - BD 26 - Unknown Text
Anonymous	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn it-nꜥr n Hnsw sš [...]</i>	P. Mainz PJG 96	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris
Anonymous			P. Munich 89	N/A	N/A	N/A
Aset	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Munich ÄS 17	N/A	N/A	Unknown Texts - BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 22 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 27 - BD 162 - BD 125B - BD 125C
Hathat	Male	<i>ḥry ꜥ.t n pr 'Imn</i>	P. New Haven Ct YBR 2755	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - Unknown Text
Djedasetiuesankh	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w šps.t</i>	P. Moscow I, 1b, 130	2.917	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - Unknown Text
Anonymous			P. Moscow I, 1b, 8	N/A	N/A	N/A
Padiamun	Male	none	P. Moscow I, 1b, 83	N/A	N/A	BD 100/129

Djedefenkonsu called Penpy	Male	<i>wꜥb ꜥꜥ n pr ꜥmn</i>	P. Oberlin AMAM 52.12	0.73	24.4	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 162
Nesypaneferher	Male	<i>wꜥb n ꜥmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w sꜥ</i>	P. Oslo MS 126	1.016	16	Adoration of Osiris - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 110V - BD 149V - BD 110V
Nesytanetasheru	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n ꜥmn</i>	P. Oxford 1892.618	N/A	N/A	BD 101
		<i>šmꜥ.t n ꜥmn</i>	P. Oxford 1892.619	N/A	N/A	BD 135 - BD 166
Djedkhonsuiuesankh	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n ꜥmn</i>	P. Oxford Ms. Egypt. d. 10 (P) + d. 11 (P)	N/A	21	BD 166 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 27
Amenemipet	Male	none	P. Oxford 1878.236	0.53	20	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 29
Ankhesenaset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n ꜥmn ḥꜥi.t n.t pꜥ ꜥ n Mwt</i>	P. Paris BN 62-88	5.365	23	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 65 - BD 65V - BD 136/136A - BD 136/136AV - BD 98 - BD 98V - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 14 - BD 78 - BD 78V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 80 - BD 87 - BD 88 - BD 76 - BD 102 - BD 102V - BD 119 - BD 7 - BD 31 - BD 31V - BD 32 - BD 38B - BD 38BV - BD 54 - BD 55 - BD 38A - BD 56 - BD 13/121 - BD 138 - BD 123/139 - BD 187 - BD 57 - BD 53 - BD 93 - BD 75 - BD 61 - BD 189 - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 29 - BD 28 - BD 11/49 - BD 27 - BD 145 - BD 145V - BD 110 - BD 178 - BD 110V
Anonymous			P. Pairs Louvre N. 3062	N/A	32	N/A
Baumuternehktu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n ꜥmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3069	1.06	21.6	Adoration of Osiris (deceased with ba) - BD 149V/150V - CS 34b - BD 148V - CS 41 - CS 10 - CS 12b
Anonymous			P. Pairs Louvre N. 3071	N/A	37	N/A
Tchaiheruiautef	Male	<i>wꜥb n ꜥmn ꜥꜥ šmꜥt</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3080	N/A	24.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 136/136A A - BD 134 - BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68

		<i>ḥry ḳrꜥ.w ʕz.w nt ḥry wr m ḥ.t</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3294	N/A	25	N/A
Amenhotep	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn wꜥb (n) Mwt ḥm-nṯr n ny-sw.t bi.ty Dsr-ḳz-Rꜥ 'Imn-ḥtp pꜣ ibib n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3095	1.32	17.2	Adoration of Osiris - BD 33 - BD 35
Ankheseniset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥsi.t n.t pꜣ ʕ n Mwt wr nb.t 'Išrw</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3109	N/A	44	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3111	N/A	24	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3118	0.62	10.5	N/A
Djhutyiii	Female	none	P. Paris Louvre N. 3127	N/A	33	BD 148V
Shebeniset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3131	N/A	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 27 - BD 124
...ef	Male	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3134	N/A	24	N/A
Pdiamun	Male	<i>mry-nṯr</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3139	N/A	26	N/A
Nesykhonsupahered	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w šps.t</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3140	N/A	14	N/A
		<i>nb.t-pršmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w šps.t</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3141	0.42	14	Solar Hymn - Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum
Iuefenmut	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3150	0.53	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3179	N/A	30	WH
Djedkhonsuiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. Pairs Louvre N. 3276	N/A	25	Introduction: BD 149 Upper Register: BD 151V - BG 8 - BHC 12 - BE 6 - BE 8 - BE 9 - BE 10 - BHC 12 Middle Register: BE 3 - BE 6 - BE 10 - BHC 12 Lower Register: BE 3b - BE 3 - BHC 11 - BE 7 - BE 10 - BHC 12

		<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3280	2.18	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Tabakenkhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w ḥsi.t n.t pꜣ ꜥ n Mwt wr nb 'Išrw</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3287	1.06	21.4	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
Amunemsaef	Male	<i>ḥry ḳrꜥ.w</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3292	4.49	38	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - Solar Hymn - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 30B - BD 30BV - WH - CS 3b - CS 34a - CS 36a - BE 3 - Adoration of Osiris - Solar Hymn - BD 150V - BD 125B - BD 125BV - CS 1b
		<i>ḳrꜥ.w</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3293	2.68	23.5	N/A
Bakenmut	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w it-nꜥr n Ḥnsw n Wꜣst nꜥr ḥtp sš nꜥr ḥtp.w n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3297	0.99	22	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - CS 10 - BHC 10 - BD 126V/BG 9/BHC 10
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3374	N/A	9	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3451	N/A	25	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 5451	N/A	18	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre E. 6257	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nesykhonsupahered	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w wr.t ḥnrt.t n 'Imn ḥr sꜣ tpy šps.t</i>	P. Pairs Louvre E. 31856	0.86	21.7	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Mutmeres	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3132 P. Paris Louvre E. 18965 P. New Haven P. Ct YBR 2754 (1)-(6)	1.764	17	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Merenkhonsu	Male	none	P. Paris BN 59	0.5	24	Adoration of Amenhotep I - BD 30B
Itawy	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn nb.t-pr</i>	P. Paris BN 60	0.56	24	BD 17
Djedhor	Male	none	P. Paris BN 61		14	BD 22 - BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 28

Nesykhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Paris Louvre E. 19.167	0.385	24	Adoration of Osiris - Solar Hymn
Pentaperuser	Male	none	P. Paris Louvre E. 20257	N/A	N/A	BD 162
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3142 A	0.051	20.8	BD 166
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3160	N/A	N/A	BD 166
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3172	0.134	8	BD 166
Ankhesenmut	Female	none	P. Paris Louvre N. 3244	N/A	46	BD 23 - Unknown Texts - BD 162 - Unknown Texts
Anonymous			P. Perm, Nr.?	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Re-Horakhty
Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	<i>it- ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny- sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Private Collection Paris 1	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris and Isis - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134
Amenemipet	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn</i>	P. Private Collection [1] (P. Fischer)	0.48	22	Unknown Text - BD 27/29 - BD 26 - BD 6 - Magic Spell
Nesykhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin 1818	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 1
Aset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w šps.t</i>	P. Turin CGT 53007 (Nr. 1851)	1.16	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 33 - BD 37 - BD 38B - BD 54 - BD 55 - BD 38A - BD 56 - BD 13/121 - BD 138 - BD 123/139 - BD 187 - BD 12/120 - BD 122/58 - BD 57 - BD 132
Iimut	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Vatican 38566 (P. Vatican 56)	1.16	24	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 90 - BD 61 - BD 5 - BD 6 - BD 105 - BD 47 - BD 104 - BD 23 - BD 94 - BD 15
Djedimentetiuiesankh	Female	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Vatican 38579	0.225	31.3	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25
Anonymous			P. Vatican 38590	0.286	6.2	N/A
Nesyamun	Male	<i>sš hꜣw.t-ntr Hꜣsw pꜣ iri shr(.w) mry-ntr</i>	P. Vatican 38592 (P. Vatican 44-45)	1.072	22.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 180 - BD 28 - BD 30A - BD 19 - Unknown Text
Horu	Male	<i>sꜥm.w n pr-'Imn</i>	P. Vatican 38593	0.62	24	BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 162 - BD 181
Merenkhonsu	Male	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn sš</i>	P. Vatican 38606	0.6	24.2	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 162
Sutymes	Male	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Vatican 38607 (P. Vatican 30)	0.69	24.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 -BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 27
Nesykhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w hꜣnr.t n Hꜣsw pꜣ hꜣrd</i>	P. Vatican 48812 (P. Vatican 31)	0.69	23	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17

Djedamuniuesankh	Female	none	P. Vatican 46	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous			P. Vatican 52	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous			P. Vatican 91	N/A	N/A	N/A
...amun	Male	 <i>Imn sš pr-ḥd</i>	P. Vienna no number	N/A	N/A	N/A
Isetemakhbit	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 12000	1.1	24	Adoration of Osiris + Isis -BD 134 - BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 101 - Unknown Text
Iueshesienmut	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 12459	0.67	23	BD 65 - BD 102 - BD 68
Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	none	P. Warrington WAGMG : RA 298	1.03	25	Adortaion of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Swnerpaneb	Male	<i>tzw mḏz.t n 'Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg 1113; P. Odessa Nr. 52974	N/A	N/A	Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168) - BD 125 - BD 110
Anonymous			P. St. Petersburg 1114	N/A	N/A	BD 166
Djedkhonsu	Male	<i>w^cb n 'Imn sš pr Mwt</i>	P. St. Petersburg 18587	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 1
Payespermeh	Female	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. St. Petersburg 84449 + 84450	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 25 - BD 26
Tentosorkon	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Cairo No Number			CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b

CHAPTER 4.

PRIESTLY AFFILIATIONS REPRESENTED ON PAPYRI

4.1 Discussion of Priestly Titles

As discussed at the beginning of Chapter 3, there was a growth in the breadth and usage of titles related to the temple during the Ramesside Period. This growth continued into the 21st Dynasty and resulted in most of the titles recorded being associated with the priesthood. The number of titles referenced by men far outstretched those used by women, with women utilizing a corpus of titles only about one-third the size the amount of titles available to men, as preserved on the corpus of 557 21st Dynasty papyri. The larger number of distinct titles represent the greater range provided to men to express their rank and position within the temple.

The following is an admittedly dense discussion which provide a breakdown of the titles recorded in the papyri of men in much the same way that Chapter 3 did for women. Due to the overwhelming tendency of 21st Dynasty titles to focus on the temple and the three major deities of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, the titles examined below have been organized by deity. Within each category, a discussion of the various positions and breadth of titles for each deity is provided.

Generally, men's titles fall into several major categories, including the *wꜥb*-priest, the *ḥsi*-singer, the *it-ntr*,³⁵⁹ the *ḥm-ntr*, the scribe,³⁶⁰ and the overseer of certain temple institutions or

³⁵⁹ Several men are designated as an *it-ntr* without distinction, meaning that there is no associated deity the individual serves. There are thirteen examples of this, which may be found in Appendix D.

³⁶⁰ Several men are designated as a *sš* without distinction, meaning that there is no associated deity the individual serves. Examples of this include the papyrus of Ankhefenkhonsu from the Drovetti 1824 collection, P. Turin 1790 TM none; the papyrus of Merenkhonsu from an unknown source, P. Vatican 38606 TM 134620; the papyrus of Nesypaneferher from an unknown source, P. Oslo MS 126 TM 134614; the papyrus of Shedsukhons from the

works. In addition to these broad categories, men sometimes further qualified these positions with terms such as “great,” “chief,” or “foremost.” Other deities not part of the Theban triad are referenced and discussed below. Also, there are several titles that do no reference a deity, either due to a lack of qualification or because the title references a non-temple entity. The largest category of this subset of titles relate to the military.

4.1.1 Associations with Amun

Most of the temple titles of men center on the chief deity of Amun. These titles represent the greatest diversity and opportunity for social competition among men. Usually, a man’s affiliation with Amun could be supplemented with affiliations to additional deities.

The title of God’s Father (*it-ntr*) is employed by 71 men in relation to Amun, making it one of the most popular titles among the male Theban elite. This title has accompanying counterparts for Mut and Khonsu, and many individuals are the God’s Father to more than one deity. There is one individual, Amenmese,³⁶¹ who has a ranked God’s Father position, indicating that there was a hierarchy of this title. He was a 4th God’s Father of Amun-Ra, revealing that there were at least four different divisions of rank within this title category.

collection of Lord Lindsay, P. London BM EA 10674 TM 380696; and the papyrus of Djedkhonsuefankh from Bab el-Gasus with unknown Daressy number, Cairo S.R. VII 10267 TM none. Ankhefenkhonsu is listed as *it-ntr sš* Merenkhonsu is listed as *wḥb n 'Imn sš* Nesypañferher is listed as *wḥb n 'Imn-Rḥ ny-sw.t ntr.w sš* Shedsukhons is listed as *imy-rz nfr.w n pr 'Imn-Rḥ ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥsy ʿz n pr 'Imn-Rḥ ny-sw.t ntr.w sš* Djedkhonsuefankh is listed as *wḥb n 'Imn it-ntr n Dḥwty nb niwt n psd.t sš*

³⁶¹ From Assassif, found before 1871, Cairo J.E. 6262 (S.R. VII 10250, Boulaq 9) TM none. Amenmese is listed as *it-ntr 4-nw n 'Imn-Rḥ ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Hnsw*

Another common title for men is that of *wꜥb*-priest,³⁶² with 59 men holding this position in at least one form. Relating to Amun, 35 men hold the title of *wꜥb n ꜥmn* (*-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w*). Additionally, men could clarify their service to a particular institution relating to Amun. These titles include *wꜥb n ꜥ.wy n ꜥmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w* (Priest of the Doors of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods),³⁶³ *wꜥb ꜥ.wy n ꜥpt-sw.t* (Priest of the Doors of Karnak),³⁶⁴ *wꜥb ꜥꜥ n pr ꜥmn* (Priest at the Entrance to the House of Amun),³⁶⁵ *wꜥb ꜥꜥ m ꜥpt-sw.t* (Priest at the Entrance to Karnak),³⁶⁶ *wꜥb m ꜥpt-sw.t* (Priest of Karnak),³⁶⁷ *wꜥb n ꜥꜥ.t n ꜥmn* (*-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w*) (Priest at the Front of

³⁶² While traditionally translated as a type of priest, the term *wꜥb* can also be used as an adjective describe the pure state of an individual. In some of the following titles, the term “pure,” rather than the classification of priest, is more appropriate and used to designate the temple association of the title.

³⁶³ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.30, Aston TG 703, Cairo S.R. IV 1530 TM none. The text labels Shedsuamun as *wꜥb sꜥ pr-ꜥꜥ n ꜥmn wꜥb n ꜥ.wy n ꜥmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w sꜥ pr-ꜥꜥ n pr ꜥmn*

³⁶⁴ From Anastasi 1828 collection, P. Leiden T 7 (AMS 34) TM 134499. The text labels Paser as *it-nꜥr n ꜥmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w m ꜥpt-sw.t m Wꜥst ꜥꜥ n nꜥr=f ꜥmn wꜥb ꜥ.wy m ꜥpt-sw.t it-nꜥr n ꜥmn m irw=f nb kk (?)*; and from Barker (212) 1833 collection, P. London BM EA 10014 TM 134531. The text labels Aaamun as *it-nꜥr mꜥr nꜥr wꜥb ꜥ.wy m ꜥpt-sw.t ꜥꜥ sꜥtꜥ m ꜥpt-sw.t ꜥꜥ nꜥr.w wꜥꜥ n pr ꜥmn*

³⁶⁵ From an unknown provenance, P. Oberlin AMAM 52.12 TM 134649. Djedefenkonsu called Penpy is listed as *wꜥb ꜥꜥ n pr ꜥmn*

³⁶⁶ From Sams (40) 1834, P. London BM EA 10031 TM 134553. Nesy is listed as *wꜥb ꜥꜥ m ꜥpt-sw.t*

³⁶⁷ From Minutoli 1823 collection, P. Berlin P. 3005 A-D TM none. Amenhotep is listed as *it-nꜥr n ꜥmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w wꜥb m ꜥpt-sw.t ꜥꜥ sꜥ ꜥwt-nꜥr n pr ꜥmn ꜥꜥ sꜥ ꜥwt-nꜥr n nꜥr.w nꜥr.wt nb.w it nꜥr n Mwt it nꜥr n ꜥnsw it mꜥr m pt tꜥ dwꜥt*

Amun (-Ra, King of the Gods)),³⁶⁸ and *wꜥb imy s.t ꜥz.t n pr 'Imn* (Priest In the Place of Works of the House of Amun).³⁶⁹

Another category of priest is the *ḥm-nṯr*-priest. There are fourteen men that hold this title in some form as it pertains to Amun. In addition to the standard *ḥm-nṯr n 'Imn* title, there exist several variants that express rank. Two men have the title of *ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n 'Imn* (-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w) (Third High-Priest of Amun (-Ra, King of the Gods)).³⁷⁰ One man holds the title of *ḥm-nṯr sn.w* (Second High Priest (of Amun)).³⁷¹ Above that rank, there is *ḥm-nṯr tpy n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* (High Priest of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods).³⁷² Furthermore, there is the recorded position of *ḥry ḥmw.tyw n pr 'Imn* (Chief of the Servants of the House of Amun) that may in some way be related to the organization and administration of the *ḥm-nṯr*-priests. In addition to these ranked positions, the titles *ḥm-nṯr n wīz n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* (Priest of the Barque of

³⁶⁸ Three men hold this title. First, Seramun holds this title in both of his papyri, the first from de Lyones 1862 collection, P. Paris BN Cabinet des Medailles TM none; and the second from Mallet 1951 P. Paris Louvre E. 17400 TM 134583. In the first papyrus, Seramun is listed as *wꜥb n ḥz.t n 'Imn imy-rꜥ nṯr.w n pr 'Imn wꜥb n ḥz.t n Mwt* and in the second papyrus, he is listed as *imy-rꜥ nṯr.w n pr 'Imn wꜥb n ḥz.t n 'Imn ḥm-nṯr n 'Imn ḥpr-ḥr-ḥz.t imy-rꜥ kꜥ.w n pꜥ-nb-šf.t ḥsy ꜥz m rh 'Imn*. Second, Djedmutiufankh holds this title in his papyrus, P. London BM EA 10096 (P. Salt 1,134-136) TM 134546 from the 1821 collection of Salt. He is listed as *wꜥb n ḥz.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr n Mwt wr.t nb.t Išrw*. Third, Djedkhonsuiuefankh holds this title in his papyrus, P. Turin CGT 53004 (Nr. 1854) TM 134608 from the Drovetti 1824 collection. He is listed as *wꜥb (n) ḥz.t n 'Imn*

³⁶⁹ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.113, Daressy TG 786, Cairo S.R. VII 10269 TM 134478. Nesamenopet is listed as *wꜥb imy s.t-ꜥ n pr 'Imn*

³⁷⁰ Cairo JE 95638; Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967); Cairo S.R. IV 952

³⁷¹ Ramose holds this title on his papyrus from the Hay 1868 collection, P. London BM EA 9966 TM 134364, where is his listed as *ḥm-nṯr sn.w*

³⁷² Pinedjem II holds this title on his papyri from the Royal Cache, TT320, Aston TG 920 London BM EA 10793 (P. Campbell) TM 134515 and Cairo S.R. VII 11492 TM none. On the first, he is listed as *ḥm-nṯr tpy n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w imy-rꜥ mšꜥ wr ḥr ḥt m 'Ipt-sw.t* and on the second, he is listed as *ḥm-nṯr tpy n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w imy-rꜥ mšꜥ wr shrr ḥt nṯr.w m ph.w iḳr.w n mꜥz.t shb wꜥst ḥw.t-ḥr ssdf.w ḥw.w nṯr.w*

Amun-Ra, King of the Gods),³⁷³ *hry nfw.w wīz n pr 'Imn (-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w)* (Chief of the Sailing Barque of the House of Amun (-Ra, King of the Gods)),³⁷⁴ *w^cb hry nfw.w wīz n pr 'Imn* (Pure Chief of the Sailing Barque of the House of Amun),³⁷⁵ and *hry-tp tẓw wīz n pr 'Imn* (First Chief of the Sailing Barque of the House of Amun)³⁷⁶ also exist and possibly attest to the responsibilities of the *hm-ntr*-priests.

Men are much more rarely designated as singers than women. There are, however, several instances of men serving Amun in this capacity. The title *hṣi ʿz n 'Imn* (Great Singer of Amun) is found on the papyri of Djedkhonsuefankh³⁷⁷ and Paser.³⁷⁸ The title *hṣi ʿz n pr 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w* (Great Singer of the House of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods) is recorded on the papyrus of Shedsukhons.³⁷⁹ Seramun³⁸⁰ holds the title of *hṣi ʿz m rh 'Imn* (Great Singer in the Service of Amun).

³⁷³ Ankhefenkhons holds this title on his papyrus from an 1842 Purchase, P. Berlin P. 3013 A-B TM 134391. He is listed as *hm- ntr n wīz n 'Imn- R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w*

³⁷⁴ P. Cambridge E.92.1904; P. London BM EA 9932; P. Cologny C; P. London BM EA 10014; P. London BM EA 73665

³⁷⁵ Pennesuttawy holds this title on his papyrus from the Salt collection, P. London BM EA 10064 TM 134545. He is listed as *w^cb hry nfw.w wīz n pr 'Imn*

³⁷⁶ Inienpheufwedjtu holds this title on his unprovenanced papyrus, P. Bodmer C TM none. He is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hry-tp tẓw wīz n pr 'Imn*

³⁷⁷ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.141, Aston TG 814, Cairo S.R. VII 11498 (TR 14/7/35/2) TM 134460. He is listed as *hṣi ʿz n 'Imn it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c imy-r3 pr imy-r3 šnw.tw sš wr n 'Imn-R^c*

³⁷⁸ From the Anastasi 1828 collection, P. Leiden T 7 (AMS 34) TM 134499. He is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w m 'lpt-sw.t m W3st hṣi ʿz n ntr=f 'Imn w^cb ʿ.wy m 'lpt-sw.t it-ntr n 'Imn m irw=f nb kk (?)*

³⁷⁹ From the collection of Lord Lindsay, P. London BM EA 10674 TM 380696. He is listed as *imy-r3 nfr.w n pr 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hṣi ʿz n pr 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w sš*

³⁸⁰ From the Mallet 1951 collection, P. Paris Louvre E. 17400 TM 134583. He is listed as *imy-r3 nfr.w n pr-'Imn w^cb n h3.t n 'Imn hm-ntr n 'Imn hpr-hr-h3.t imy-r3 k3.w n p3-nb-šfi.t hṣi ʿz m rh 'Imn*

A category of title unseen on the papyri of women is that of scribe. While an administrative role, the Theban elite of the 21st Dynasty associated the majority of their scribal practices with the temple administration. Thus, the connection of scribes with the Karnak temple complex is most strong. One man, Pennesuttawy, even holds the combined title of *sš wšh-ḥtp ntr n 'Imn Mw.t Hnsw* (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu)³⁸¹ and another man, Khonsumes, holds the similarly combined title of *sš nš ḥw.t nb.w n 'Imn Mwt Hnsw* (Scribe of All Temples of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu).³⁸² This provides some insight into the administrative organization of the Karnak temple complex, and suggests that there was a combined or central treasury and economic center for the entirety of the temple. There is also an overseer position associated with the scribal administration of the Theban triad. Three men, named Amenhotep,³⁸³ Horemhabit,³⁸⁴ and Amenhotep³⁸⁵ held the title of *ḥry sš ḥwt-ntr n ntr.w ntr.wt nb.w* (Chief Scribe of the Temples of All Gods and Goddesses).

³⁸¹ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.11, Aston TG 684, Cairo J.E. 95881 (S.R. IV 984) TM 134461. The text labels him as *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Hnsw sš wšh-ḥtp ntr n 'Imn Mw.t Hnsw*

³⁸² From an unknown provenance, P. Paris Louvre N. 3070 TM 134591. Khonsumes is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn m 'lpt-sw.t it-ntr sš ḥw.t-ntr n Mwt ḥry szw sš.w n pr-ḥd n pr 'Imn sš nš ḥw.t nb.w n 'Imn Mwt Hnsw šsp in.w Hšrw Ks*

³⁸³ From the Minutoli 1823 collection, P. Berlin P. 3005 A-D TM none. He is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w w^cb m 'lpt-sw.t ḥry sš ḥwt-ntr n pr 'Imn ḥry sš ḥwt-ntr n ntr.w ntr.wt nb.w it-ntr n Mwt it-ntr n Hnsw it mri m pt tš dwzt*

³⁸⁴ From the Minutoli 1823 collection, P. Berlin P. 3001 A-M TM 134392. He is listed as *it-ntr mry ntr w^cb ḥry ḥzw.t ḥry sš.w ḥw.t-ntr n pr 'Imn ḥry sš.w ḥw.t-ntr n ntr.w ntr.wt nb.w(t) šm^c mḥi*; and from the Anastasi 1828 collection, P. Leiden T 6 (AMS 33) TM 134502 lists him as *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w w^cb ḥry ḥzw.t ḥry sš.w ḥw.t-ntr n ntr.w nb.w šm^c mḥi*

³⁸⁵ From an unknown provenance, P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250 TM 134495. He is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥm-ntr n Mwt tš ḥry st wr.t ḥm-ntr n Hnsw pš ḥry st wr.(t) ḥm-ntr n 'Imn ḥry ib 'lpt-sw.t sš.w ḥw.t-ntr n pr 'Imn ḥry sš ḥw.wt-ntr ntr.w ntr.wt nb ḥm-ntr Sbk nb smnw*

Additional scribal titles are associated just with Amun (or each of the other Theban triad deities in turn). These titles include *sš n 'Imn-R^c* (Scribe of Amun-Ra),³⁸⁶ *sš n pr 'Imn (-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w)* (Scribe in the House of Amun (-Ra, King of the Gods)),³⁸⁷ *w^cb sš n pr 'Imn* (Pure Scribe in the House of Amun),³⁸⁸ *sš pr-ḥd (n (pr) 'Imn)* (Scribe in the House of Silver (of the House of Amun)),³⁸⁹ *w^cb sš pr-ḥd (n (pr) 'Imn)* (Pure Scribe in the House of Silver (of the House of Amun)),³⁹⁰ *sš n pr-ḥd n nb t3.wy n pr 'Imn* (Scribe of the House of Silver of Lord of the Two Lands of the House of Amun),³⁹¹ *sš ḥw.t-ntr n pr 'Imn* (Scribe of the Temple of Amun),³⁹² *sš ḥsb (it n pr 'Imn)* (Scribe of (Grain) Counting (in the House of Amun)),³⁹³ *sš ḥtp.w ntr n pr 'Imn*

³⁸⁶ From Anastasi 1828 collection, P. Leiden AMS 36 TM none. Djedmenetch holds the titles of *it-ntr n 'Imn ny-sw.t ntr.w s3b sš n 'Imn-R^c*

³⁸⁷ P. London BM EA 10013 (P. Salt 827); P. Dublin MS 1668; P. Dublin MS 1671; P. London BM EA 10020

³⁸⁸ Shedsukhonsu holds this titles in his papyrus from the Kingsborough 1830s collection, P. Dublin MS 1671 TM 134417, where he is listed as *sš n pr 'Imn w^cb sš n pr 'Imn*

³⁸⁹ Cairo S.R. IV 1530; CG 40030 (J.E. 95855, S.R. IV 954); Cairo J.E. 34023 (S.R. VII 10225); Cairo S.R. VII 10249 (TR 14/7/35/7); P. Vienna no number

³⁹⁰ Cairo S.R. IV 1530; P. London BM EA 10011; P. Dublin MS 1666

³⁹¹ Amenemint holds this title, on papyrus Cairo S. R. VII 11506, but it appears to be a derivative of the *sš n pr-ḥd n nb t3.wy n pr 'Imn* title, as his other papyrus (CG 40030 (J.E. 95855, S.R. IV 954)) lists him just as a *sš pr-ḥd* without qualification. On Cairo S. R. VII 11506, from Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.61, Aston TG 734, he is listed as *it-nTr n Imn-Ra sS n pr-HD n nb tA.wy n pr Imn*

³⁹² Horemakhbit holds this title in his papyrus from the Joscelyne 1863 collection, P. London BM EA 10339 TM 134542. He is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn- R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w sš ḥw.t-ntr n pr 'Imn* Amenhotep holds this title in his papyrus from and unknown provenance, P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250 TM 134495. He is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥm-ntr n Mwt t3 ḥry st wr.t ḥm-ntr n Ḥnsw p3 ḥry st wr.(t) ḥm-ntr n 'Imn ḥry ib 'lpt-sw.t sš.w ḥw.t-ntr n pr 'Imn ḥry sš ḥw.wt-ntr ntr.w ntr.wt nb ḥm-ntr Sbk nb smnw*

³⁹³ From the papyrus of Padiamun. From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.24, Aston TG 697, Cairo S.R. VII 10232 TM 134489. He is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w sš ḥsb it n pr 'Imn*; From the papyrus of Khonsuemheb. From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.106, Aston TG 779, Cairo S.R. VII 10228 TM 134488. He is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Ḥnsw ḥm-ntr n Ḥnsw-R^c sš ḥsb n pr 'Imn*; From the papyrus of Nesypaqashuty. From the Mallet 1951 collection, P. Paris Louvre E. 17401 TM 134712. He is listed as *sš ḥsb it-ntr n pr 'Imn*

(Scribe of Divine Offering of the House of Amun),³⁹⁴ *wꜥb sš ḥtp.w ntr n pr 'Imn* (Pure Scribe of Divine Offering of the House of Amun),³⁹⁵ and *sš nfr.w n pr 'Imn* (Scribe of the Goods of the House of Amun).³⁹⁶

One unique feature of the titles *sš n pr 'Imn* (Scribe in the House of Amun) and *wꜥb sš n pr 'Imn* (Pure Scribe in the House of Amun) is that several men hold both of these titles, indicating that there must have been a perceived distinction between the function and rank of these positions.³⁹⁷ The same is true of the titles *sš pr-ḥd (n (pr) 'Imn)* (Scribe in the House of Silver (of the House of Amun)) and *wꜥb sš pr-ḥd (n (pr) 'Imn)* (Pure Scribe in the House of Silver (of the House of Amun)).³⁹⁸ There are also a number of ranked scribal positions, including *sš wr (n) 'Imn (-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w)* (Great Scribe in the House of Amun (-Ra, King of the Gods)),³⁹⁹ *ḥry sš ḥwt-ntr n (pr) 'Imn* (Chief Scribe of the Temple of (the House) of Amun),⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁴ From the papyrus of Ankhefenkhons, from the Anastasi 1839 collection, P. London BM EA 9980 TM 381239. He is listed as *wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w sš n ntr ḥtp.w pr 'Imn*

³⁹⁵ From the papyri of Nesypaheran from the Minutoli 1823 collection, P. Berlin P. 3006 TM 134390, he is listed as *wꜥb sš ḥtp.w ntr n pr 'Imn* and from a 1913 Purchase, Bodleian Library No Number TM none, he is listed as *wꜥb sš ḥtp.w ntr n pr 'Imn it-ntr n mri ꜥ.t n Mwt* From the papyrus of Bakenmut, unknown provenance, P. Paris Louvre N. 3297 TM none. He is listed as *wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Hnsw n wꜣst nfr ḥtp sš ntr ḥtp.w n pr 'Imn* From the papyrus of Padikhons, from the Sams (15) 1834 collection, P. London BM EA 10004 TM 381230. He is listed as *wꜥb n 'Imn it-ntr n Mwt sš ḥtp.w ntr n pr 'Imn*

³⁹⁶ From the papyrus of Ankhefenamun. From the A. Ricci 1829 collection, P. Dresden Aeg. 775 TM 134414. He holds the titles of *wꜥb n 'Imn sš nfr.w n pr 'Imn*

³⁹⁷ For example, Shedsukhonsu holds both of these titles in his papyrus, P. Dublin MS 1671 TM 134417, from the Kingsborough 1830s collection. He is listed as *sš n pr 'Imn wꜥb sš n pr 'Imn*

³⁹⁸ Shedsuamun holds both of these titles in his papyrus, Cairo S.R. IV 1530 TM none, from Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.30, Aston TG 703. He is listed as *wꜥb sš pr-ḥd n 'Imn wꜥb n ꜥ.wy n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w sš pr-ḥd n pr 'Imn*

³⁹⁹ Cairo S.R. VII 11499; Cairo S.R. VII 11494; Cairo S.R. VII 11498 (TR 14/7/35/2); Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)

⁴⁰⁰ P. Paris BN 38-45; P. Berlin P. 3005 A-D; P. Berlin P. 3001 A-M

ḥry sš ḳd.wt n pr 'Imn (Chief Scribe of Works of the House of Amun),⁴⁰¹ *ḥry sšw sš.w (n pr-ḥd n pr 'Imn)* (Chief Archivist of Scribes (of the House of Silver of Amun)),⁴⁰² and *w^cb ḥry ḥšw.t sš.w (n) ḥw.t-nṯr m 'Ip.t-sw.t* (Pure Chief Altar Scribe of the Temple of Karnak).⁴⁰³

The title of overseer (*imy-r3*) is used in an administrative capacity only – not to denote the rank of a member of the priesthood. As such, two main division of the use of this title become clear. The first is the scribal/organizational category and the second is the temple works category. For the scribal/organizational category, the following titles are attested: *imy-r3 pr-ḥd n pr dw3.t nṯr n 'Imn* (Overseer of the House of Silver of the Divine House of Amun),⁴⁰⁴ *imy-r3 pr wr 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w* (Overseer of the Great House of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods),⁴⁰⁵ *imy-r3 imn.t n pr R^c tpy 'Iwni (n) pr 'Imn* (Overseer of the First Hidden Place of Ra in Karnak in the House of Amun),⁴⁰⁶ and *imy-r3 ḥw.wt nb.w n 'Imn* (Overseer of All Temples of Amun).⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰¹ Amenemipet holds this title in his papyrus from an unknown provenance, Cairo J.E. 95713 (S.R. IV 646) TM 134484. He is listed as *ḥm-nṯr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥry sšt3 ḥry sš ḳd.wt n pr 'Imn*

⁴⁰² P. Paris Louvre N. 3070; P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 A & B; P. Vienna ÄS 3860 (No. 14); P. Zagreb 885; P. Paris BN 38-45; P. Turin CGT 53011 (Nr. 1857); P. London BM EA 10020; P. New York Amherst 17 [B]

⁴⁰³ From the papyrus of Sutymes. From the Cailliaud 1820-1821 collection, P. Paris BN 38-45 TM 134567. He holds the titles of *ḥry sš.w (n) ḥw.t-nṯr n 'Imn ḥry ḥmw.w w^cb ḥry ḥšw.t sš.w (n) ḥw.t-nṯr m 'Ip.t-sw.t ḥry sšw.ti sš.w n pr-ḥd n pr (n) 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w*

⁴⁰⁴ Cairo J.E. 95889 (S.R. IV 994); Cairo SR 10272; P. London BM EA 10020

⁴⁰⁵ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.134, Aston TG 807, Cairo S.R. VII 11499 TM none. Shedhor is listed as *it-nṯr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w imy-r3 pr wr 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš wr (n) 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w*

⁴⁰⁶ Menkheperre B holds this title on both of his papyri from Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.147, Aston TG 820, Cairo JE 95638 TM none and Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967) TM 134452. On the former papyrus, he is listed as *ḥm-nṯr Ḥ-nw n 'Imn imy-r3 imn.t n pr R^c tpy 'Iwni (n) pr 'Imn* and on the latter papyrus he is listed as *ḥm-nṯr Ḥ-nw n 'Imn imy-r3 imn.t n pr R^c tpy 'Iwnw (n) pr 'Imn ḥm-nṯr Ḥ-nw Ḥnsw*

⁴⁰⁷ Panefernefer holds this title on his papyrus from an unknown provenance, P. Vienna ÄS 3860 (No. 14) TM 134623. He is listed as *it-nṯr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥry sšw.ti sš n pr-ḥd n pr 'Imn imy-r3 k3t imy-r3 ḥw.wt nb.w n 'Imn*

For the temple works category, the breadth of titles speaks to the organization and associated ranks of each position and include more than just overseer positions. The general titles include *nbi n pr 'Imn* (Goldsmith of the House of Amun),⁴⁰⁸ and the slightly elevated title of *w^cb nbi n pr 'Imn* (Pure Goldsmith of the House of Amun).⁴⁰⁹ In addition, there are also the titles of *t3w md3.t n 'Imn* (Sculptor of Amun),⁴¹⁰ *t3i bsn n pr 'Imn* (Metalworker of the House of Amun),⁴¹¹ *hry t3i bsn n pr 'Imn* (Chief Metalworker of the House of Amun),⁴¹² *hry hmw.tyw n pr 'Imn* (Chief of the Craftsmen of the House of Amun),⁴¹³ *iry 3 n pr 'Imn* (Great Worker in the House of Amun),⁴¹⁴ *k3w.ti n pr 'Imn* (Porter of the House of Amun),⁴¹⁵ the ranked *hry k3.t n pr 'Imn* (Chief of Work of the House of Amun),⁴¹⁶ and the more highly ranked *imy-r3 k3.w (nw pr-R^c tpy h^w.t n pr 'Imn)* (Overseer of Works (of the First House of Ra and the Temple of the House

⁴⁰⁸ P. Paris BN 20-23; P. Paris BN 153-155; P. Turin 1770; P. Berlin P. 3017; Cairo J.E. 26231 (J.E. 26191, S.R. IV 995)

⁴⁰⁹ Bakenmut holds this title on both of his papyri from Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A. 94, Aston TG 767, Cairo S.R. VII 10231 TM none and Cairo CG 40023 (J.E. 95880, S.R. IV 982 A-E) TM 13447. He is listed as *w^cb nbi n pr 'Imn it-ntr n Mwt (wr.t nb i3rw)* on both papyri.

⁴¹⁰ Swnerpanebe holds this title on his unprovenanced papyrus, P. St. Petersburg 1113; P. Odessa Nr. 52974 TM 134595. He is listed as *t3w md3.t n 'Imn*

⁴¹¹ From a 1913 acquisition, P. Oxford Bodleian Library No Number TM no number. Ankhefenkhonsu holds the titles of *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w t3i bsn n pr-'Imn*

⁴¹² From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.108, Aston TG 781, Cairo J.E. 95658 (S.R. IV 556) TM 134446. Ankhefenkhonsu holds the titles of *it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w hry s3t3 hry t3i bsn n pr 'Imn*

⁴¹³ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.33, Aston TG 706, P. Vatican 19651 TM 134617. Ankhefenkhonsu holds the titles of *it-ntr mry-ntr hry s3t3 m pt t3 dw3.t hry hmw.tyw n pr 'Imn*

⁴¹⁴ Nesypawittawy holds this title on his papyri from the Anastasi 1857 collection, P. Berlin P. 3012 A + B TM 134393, where he is listed as *iry 3 n pr 'Imn*

⁴¹⁵ Iuefenmut holds this title on his papyrus from the Anastasi 1828 collection, P. Leiden T 29 (AMS 50) TM 134505, where he is listed as *k3w.ti n pr 'Imn*

⁴¹⁶ P. St. Petersburg P-1-1952 (P. Tallinn); P. St. Petersburg 1109

of Amun)).⁴¹⁷ Finally, there are the additional overseer positions of *imy-r3 ḳd.w n pr 'Imn* (Overseer of Building of the House of Amun),⁴¹⁸ *hry šnꜥ n pr 'Imn* (Chief of Production of the House of Amun),⁴¹⁹ *imy-r3 šnꜥ n pr 'Imn* (Overseer of Production of the House of Amun),⁴²⁰ *imy-r3 nfr.w n pr 'Imn* (Overseer of Goods of the House of Amun),⁴²¹ and *imy-r3 nfr.w m s.t M3ꜥ.t* (Overseer of Goods in the Place of Truth).⁴²²

Another group of titles associated with Amun are the Chief or Keeper of Secrets (*hry sšt3*) titles. Fourteen men hold the title of *hry sšt3* in some capacity. Some of these titles, such as *hry sšt3 (n pr 'Imn)* (Keeper of Secrets (in the House of Amun)), relate directly to Amun. Others, however, could be more related to the funerary realm, and will thus be discussed in section 4.1.5 below.

There are also several titles associated with Amun that are rarer and vaguer in terms of their function within the temple. These include *sdm.w n pr-'Imn* (Servant of the House of

⁴¹⁷ Cairo S.R. IV 952; Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244); P. Vienna ÄS 3860 (No. 14); P. Turin 1768; P. Paris Louvre E. 17400

⁴¹⁸ Amenmese holds this title on his papyrus from the Lavoratori (341) 1833 collection, P. London BM EA 9918 (P. Salt 341) TM 134544, where he is listed as *imy-r3 ḳd.w n pr 'Imn*

⁴¹⁹ P. Cleveland 1921.1032 TM 134408; P. Bologna KS 3163

⁴²⁰ Cairo CG 58024 (J.E. 96275, S.R. IV 1533); P. Cleveland 1921.1032

⁴²¹ Cairo S.R. VII 10229; Cairo S.R. VII 11503; P. London BM EA 10674; P. Paris BN Cabinet des Medailles; P. Paris Louvre E. 17400

⁴²² Nebhepet holds this title on his papyrus from the Drovetti 1824 collection, P. Turin 1768 TM 134604, where he is listed as *wꜥb sš m šh.t ḥḥ imy-r3 nfr.w m s.t M3ꜥ.t imy-r3 k3.t m pr ḳ.t sš n pr hr*

Amun),⁴²³ *pꜣ wdb.w n 'Imn-Rꜥ* (The Butler of Amun-Ra),⁴²⁴ *ḥry ḥb (n 'Imn m 'Ipt-sw.t)* (Chief of Festivals (of Amun at Karnak)),⁴²⁵ *ḥry m 'Ipt-sw.t* (Chief of Karnak),⁴²⁶ *ḥry (-tp) ʿ.t (n pr 'Imn)* (Chief of the Chamber (of the House of Amun)),⁴²⁷ *ḥry sꜣw n pr 'Imn* (Chief Archivist of the House of Amun)⁴²⁸ *ḥry-tp tꜣty štpw ḥꜣt 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* (Chief Overseer of the Censer Bearers Before Amun-Ra, King of the Gods),⁴²⁹ *wꜥb idnw n pr 'Imn* (Pure Deputy in the House of Amun)⁴³⁰ *wn ʿ.wy nw p.t m 'Ipt-sw.t* (Opener of the Two Wings to the Sky of Karnak),⁴³¹ and *imy st ʿ.t n pr 'Imn* (One Who Is in the Chamber of the House of Amun).⁴³²

⁴²³ Horu holds this title on his unprovenanced papyrus P. Vatican 38593 TM 134706, where he is listed as *sdm.w n pr-'Imn*

⁴²⁴ Amenhotep holds this title on his papyrus from the Casati 1823 collection, P. Avignon A.69 TM none, where he is listed as *wꜥb n 'Imn wꜥb n Mwt ḥm nṯr n 'Imn nb prt pꜣ wdb.w n 'Imn-Rꜥ*

⁴²⁵ Bakenweren holds this title on his papyrus purchased in 1858 and currently known as Niwiński Havana 1 due to it having no current museum number. He is listed as *wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ nb tꜣ.wy ḥry ḥb n 'Imn m 'Ipt-sw.t* Paiefadjani also holds this title on his unprovenanced papyrus, Cairo CG 40020 (S. R. IV 1532) TM 134661, where he is listed as *ḥry ḥb ḥry wt.w*

⁴²⁶ Nesypernebu holds this title on his unprovenanced papyrus, P. Cologny CVI TM 134682, where he is listed as *it-nṯr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w mri-nṯr wn ʿꜣ.wy ḥ.w ḥry m 'Ipt-sw.t*

⁴²⁷ P. Leiden R.A. 58A; P. Berlin P. 3124; P. Berlin P. 3127; P. Paris BN 33-37; P. Leiden AMS 51; P. Dublin MS 1667; P. New Haven Ct YBR 2755; P. London BM EA 10327; P. London BM EA 10063

⁴²⁸ Paditef holds this title on his papyrus from the Athanasi 1837 collection, P. London BM EA 10119 TM 134541. He is listed as *wꜥb n 'Imn ḥry sꜣw n pr 'Imn*

⁴²⁹ Paser holds this title on his papyrus from the Cailliaud 1820-1821 collection, P. Paris BN 158-161, *it-nṯr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr mry n 'Imn m 'Ipt-sw.t ḥry-tp tꜣty štpw ḥꜣt 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w*

⁴³⁰ Serdjehuty holds this title on his papyrus from the Curzon 1917 collection, P. London BM EA 10747 TM 134555. He is listed as *wꜥb ḥꜣ.t n Mwt wꜥb idnw n pr 'Imn*

⁴³¹ Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2); Cairo J.E. 95878 (S.R. IV 979); Cairo S.R. IV 952; Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244); P. Berlin P. 3121; P. Unknown; P. Cologny CVI

⁴³² P. Ann Arbor 2725; P. Dublin Chester Beatty Library; Brooklyn Museum 37.1782 E

4.1.2 Associations with Mut

There are fewer temple titles for men associated with Mut than for chief deity Amun. There are only fourteen men who hold the title of *it-ntr n Mwt* (*wr.t nb išrw*) (God's Father of Mut, Great Lady of the Mut Precinct). There is a similarly low number of *wꜥb*-priests associated with the goddess, with only two titles attested: *wꜥb n Mwt* (Priest of Mut)⁴³³ and *wꜥb n ḥꜣ.t n Mwt* (Priest at the Front of Mut).⁴³⁴ There is only one person holding the title of *ḥm-ntr n Mwt* (Priest of Mut).⁴³⁵ Regarding ranked temple positions in the Mut Precinct, there are again only two titles attested: *ḥry ꜥt (n Mwt)* (Chief of the Doors of Mut)⁴³⁶ and *iry ꜥꜣ n pr Mwt* (Great Doer in the House of Mut).⁴³⁷

The majority of the positions for the goddess are scribal administrative positions. In addition to the scribes serving the Theban triad as a whole, there are the positions of *sš pr Mwt* (Scribe of the House of Mut),⁴³⁸ *sš ḥw.t-ntr n Mwt* (Scribe of the Temple of Mut),⁴³⁹ and *sš ḥwt-*

⁴³³ Cairo S.R. VII 10249 (TR 14/7/35/7); P. Avignon A.69; P. Turin 1781; P. Paris Louvre N. 3095

⁴³⁴ P. Turin 1771; P. Paris BN Cabinet des Medailles; P. London BM EA 10747

⁴³⁵ Amenhotep holds this title on his unprovenanced papyrus, P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250 TM 134495. He is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥm-ntr n Mwt tꜣ ḥry st wr.t ḥm-ntr n Ḥnsw pꜣ ḥry st wr.(t) ḥm-ntr n 'Imn ḥry ib 'lpt-sw.t sš.w ḥw.t-ntr n pr 'Imn ḥry sš ḥw.wt-ntr ntr.w ntr.wt nb ḥm-ntr Sbk nb smnw*

⁴³⁶ Sesu holds these titles on his papyri. The first is from the Minutoli 1823 collection, P. Berlin P. 3147 TM none, and the second is from the Lavoratori (339) 1833 collection, P. London BM EA 9941 TM 381247. On both papyri, he is listed as *ḥry ꜥt n Mwt*

⁴³⁷ Paenpai holds these titles on his unprovenanced papyrus, P. Cologny CVII TM 134727. He is listed as *iry ꜥꜣ n pr Mwt*

⁴³⁸ Djedkhonsu holds this title on his unprovenanced papyrus, P. St. Petersburg 18587 TM 134777. He is listed as *wꜥb n 'Imn sš pr Mwt*

⁴³⁹ Khonsumes holds this title on his unprovenanced papyrus, P. Paris Louvre N. 3070 TM 134591. He is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn m 'lpt-sw.t it-ntr sš ḥw.t-ntr n Mwt ḥry sꜣw sš.w n pr-ḥꜣ n pr 'Imn sš nꜣ ḥw.t nb.w n 'Imn Mwt Ḥnsw šsp in.w Ḥꜣrw Ks*

ntr n pr Mwt wrt nb išrw (Scribe of the Temple of the House of Mut, Great Lady of the Mut Precinct).⁴⁴⁰

4.1.3 Associations with Khonsu

Male temple titles relating to Khonsu are preserved even more sparingly than those for Mut.

There are only nine men that hold the title of *it-ntr n Hnsw* (God's Father of Khonsu). It should be noted that while women often use the qualification of "the Child" when referring to the god Khonsu, no men use such an epithet when describing the deity. Men must have held ranked priestly positions for Khonsu, as there is an attestation of the title *hm-ntr 2-nw Hnsw* (Second High Priest of Khonsu),⁴⁴¹ however this is the only ranked title that is preserved. One man, Amenhotep, holds the unranked position of *hm-ntr n Hnsw* (Priest of Khonsu).⁴⁴² There is also one man who holds the title of *hm-ntr n Hnsw-R* (Priest of Khonsu-Ra),⁴⁴³ which either refers to a syncretized deity or a scribal error of a copyist who confused the titles of Priest of Khonsu and Priest of Amun-Ra. Finally, the vague title of *hšf n ntr=f* (Singer of His God) is attested on the

⁴⁴⁰ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.142, Aston TG 815, Cairo S.R. VII 11487 TM none. Nespernub is listed as *sš t3 hr wr.t hnr.t tp n 'Imn it-ntr n 'Imn-R ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Hnsw m imnt nfr htp hm ntr n Dhwty p3 hry st wr.t 3 mh ib n nb=f sš hwt-ntr n pr Mwt wrt nb išrw imy-r3 hm.w ntr n ntr.w nb.w t3wy*

⁴⁴¹ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.147, Aston TG 820, Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967) TM 134452. Menkheperre B hold the titles of *hm-ntr H-nw n 'Imn imy-r3 imn.t n pr R tpy 'Iwnw (n) pr 'Imn hm-ntr H-nw Hnsw*

⁴⁴² Amenhotep holds this title on his unprovenanced papyrus, P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250 TM 134495. He is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn-R ny-sw.t ntr.w hm-ntr n Mwt t3 hry st wr.t hm-ntr n Hnsw p3 hry st wr.(t) hm-ntr n 'Imn hry ib 'Ipt-sw.t sš.w hw.t-ntr n pr 'Imn hry sš hw.wt-ntr ntr.w ntr.wt nb hm-ntr Sbk nb smnw*

⁴⁴³ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.106, Aston TG 779, Cairo S.R. VII 10228 TM 134488. Khonsuemheb holds the titles of *it-ntr n 'Imn-R ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Hnsw hm-ntr n Hnsw-R sš hsb n pr 'Imn*

papyrus of Padikhons⁴⁴⁴ and probably refers to Khonsu because Padikhons's other titles refer to this deity.

The remaining male titles associated with Khonsu are administrative and equally associated with the other two deities of the Theban triad. They are the two previously mentioned examples of Pennesuttawy and Khonsumes, who hold the titles of *sš w3h-ḥtp ntr n 'Imn Mw.t Hnsw* (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu) and *sš n3 ḥw.t nb.w n 'Imn Mwt Hnsw* (Scribe of All Temples of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu), respectively. There is also one Scribe of Khonsu who Makes Plans (*sš ḥw.t-ntr Hnsw p3 iri šhr(.w)*).⁴⁴⁵

4.1.4 Associations with Other Deities

There are a small number of titles pertaining to deities other than the Theban triad. These include Thoth, Montu, Maat, Anubis, Ra-Atum, Khnum, Horus, Sobek, Onuris, and a deified Amenhotep I. There are two titles pertaining to Thoth in the form of the positions of *it-ntr n Dḥwty* (*-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w*) (God's Father of Thoth (-Ra, King of the Gods))⁴⁴⁶ and *ḥm-ntr n Dḥwty* (Priest of Thoth).⁴⁴⁷ There are also two titles that refer to service for Montu: *it-ntr n*

⁴⁴⁴ From the Salt (124) 1835 collection, P. London BM EA 10312 TM 134548. He is listed as *it-ntr n Hnsw m W3s.t nfr ḥtp kbḥ.w it-ntr mri-ntr ḥsi n ntr=f*

⁴⁴⁵ Nesyamun is listed on his papyrus of unknown provenance, P. Vatican 38592 (P. Vatican 44-45) TM 134619 as *sš ḥw.t-ntr Hnsw p3 iri šhr(.w) mry-ntr*

⁴⁴⁶ From Bab el-Gasus, unknown Daressy number, Cairo S.R. VII 10267 TM 134456. Djedkhonsuefankh is listed as *w^cb n 'Imn it-ntr n Dḥwty-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w*. A second papyrus belonging to Djedkhonsuefankh, which was given the same Cairo museum number, lists his titles as *w^cb n 'Imn it-ntr n Dḥwty nb niwt n psd.t sš*

⁴⁴⁷ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.142, Aston TG 815, Cairo S.R. VII 11487 TM none. Nespernub is listed as *sš t3 ḥr wr.t ḥnr.t tp n 'Imn it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Hnsw m imnt nfr ḥtp ḥm ntr n Dḥwty p3 ḥry st wr.t '3 mḥ ib n nb=f sš ḥwt-ntr n pr Mwt wrt nb išrw imy-r3 ḥm.w ntr n ntr.w nb.w t3wy*

Mntw (God's Father of Montu)⁴⁴⁸ and *hm-ntr n Mntw nb w3st* (Priest of Montu, Lord of Thebes).⁴⁴⁹ Finally, there are two titles for Maat. The first is *wcb n M3c.t* (Priest of Maat),⁴⁵⁰ and the second is *sš hwt-ntr n pr m3c.t* (Scribe of the Temple of the House of Maat).⁴⁵¹

The remaining deities only have one title attested on 21st Dynasty papyri. They are *hm-ntr n Inpw* (Priest of Anubis),⁴⁵² *stm rz-Itm m Wcs.t* (Priest of Ra-Atum in Thebes),⁴⁵³ *hm-ntr n Hnm nb kbh* (Priest of Khnum, Lord of the Cataract Region),⁴⁵⁴ *hm-ntr n Hrw (Bhdt)* (Priest of

⁴⁴⁸ From the unknown provenanced papyrus of Nesyamun, P. Boston MFA o.Nr. TM 134404. He holds the title of *it-ntr n Mntw*

⁴⁴⁹ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.151, Aston TG 824, Cairo S.R. IV 952 TM none and Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244) TM 134465. Tjanefer A holds the titles of *it-ntr mri ntr hry sštz m p.t t3 dw3.t wn c.wy nw p.t m Ipt-sw.t hm-ntr H-nw Imn-Rc ny-sw.t ntr.w hm-ntr n Mntw nb w3st imy-r3 k3.w nw pr-Rc tpy hw.t n pr Imn hm-ntr n Hnm nb kbh* on the first papyrus and *it-ntr mri ntr hry sštz m p.t t3 dw3.t hm-ntr n Imn wn c.wy nw p.t m Ipt-sw.t hm-ntr n Imn-Rc ny-sw.t ntr.w hm-ntr n Mntw nb w3st imy-r3 k3.w nw pr-Rc tpy hw.t n pr Imn hm-ntr n Hnm nb kbh* on the second papyrus.

⁴⁵⁰ From the unknown provenanced papyri of Nesyamun, New York MMA 26.2.51 TM 134565 and New York MMA 26.2.52 TM 134648. On both papyri, he holds the titles of *wcb n M3c.t* *wcb n Imn*

⁴⁵¹ Penrenu holds this title on his papyrus from the Crawford and Balcarres 1901 collection, P. Manchester Hieroglyphic 1 TM none. He is listed as *it-ntr sš hwt-ntr n pr m3c.t*

⁴⁵² From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.85, Aston TG 758, Cairo S.R. VII 10273 TM none. Pasebkhaenet holds the titles of *it-ntr n Imn hm-ntr n Inpw*

⁴⁵³ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.114, Aston TG 787, Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2) TM 134725. He is listed as *it-ntr mri hry sštz m p.t t3 dw3.t wn c.wy p.t r3 m Ipt-sw.t sštz p.t m33 imy stm rz-Itm m Wcs.t stm m 3h.t hm-ntr n Imn*

⁴⁵⁴ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.151, Aston TG 824, Cairo S.R. IV 952 TM none and Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244) TM 134465. Tjanefer A holds the titles of *it-ntr mri ntr hry sštz m p.t t3 dw3.t wn c.wy nw p.t m Ipt-sw.t hm-ntr H-nw Imn-Rc ny-sw.t ntr.w hm-ntr n Mntw nb w3st imy-r3 k3.w nw pr-Rc tpy hw.t n pr Imn hm-ntr n Hnm nb kbh* on the first papyrus and *it-ntr mri ntr hry sštz m p.t t3 dw3.t hm-ntr n Imn wn c.wy nw p.t m Ipt-sw.t hm-ntr n Imn-Rc ny-sw.t ntr.w hm-ntr n Mntw nb w3st imy-r3 k3.w nw pr-Rc tpy hw.t n pr Imn hm-ntr n Hnm nb kbh* on the second papyrus.

Horus (of Edfu)),⁴⁵⁵ *ḥm-nṯr Sbk nb smnw* (Priest of Sobek, Lord of Semenu-Hor),⁴⁵⁶ and *ḥm-nṯr n ny-sw.t bī.ty Dsr-k3-Rc 'Imn-ḥtp p3 ibib n 'Imn-Rc ny-sw.t nṯr.w* (Priest of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djoser-Ka-Ra Amenhotep, Darling of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods).⁴⁵⁷ Finally, One individual holds the administrative title *sš šḥn n pr 'Ini-ḥr.t* (Superintendent Scribe of the House of Onuris) listed on both his papyri.⁴⁵⁸ This rare title features Onuris, literally “the one who brings the distant one,” referring to the eye of Ra. Onuris was the main deity of This and is often connected to the god Shu.⁴⁵⁹

One final title in this category is the title of (*wꜥb*) *ḥry ḥ3w.t* ((Pure Master) of Offering Tables).⁴⁶⁰ The holders of this title do not associate it with any particular deity, making it unclear if this title pertained to the service of a single god or multiple deities within the Karnak temple complex and/or elsewhere.

4.1.5 Other Titles

For titles not directly holding a religious function, there are several categories to mention. The first group of titles are those pertaining to the military. These titles feature administrative and

⁴⁵⁵ From Bab el-Gasus, unknown Daressy number, Cairo S.R. VII 11502 TM 134459. Amunhatpamesha is listed as *it-nṯr n 'Imn-Rc ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥm-nṯr n Ḥrw Bḥdt it-nṯr n Mwt ḥm-nṯr Ḥrw*

⁴⁵⁶ Amenhotep holds this title on his unprovenanced papyrus, P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250 TM 134495. He is listed as *it-nṯr n 'Imn-Rc ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥm-nṯr n Mwt t3 ḥry st wr.t ḥm-nṯr n Ḥnsw p3 ḥry st wr.(t) ḥm-nṯr n 'Imn ḥry ib 'Ipt-sw.t sš.w ḥw.t-nṯr n pr 'Imn ḥry sš ḥw.wt-nṯr nṯr.w nṯr.wt nb ḥm-nṯr Sbk nb smnw*

⁴⁵⁷ Amenhotep holds this title on his unprovenanced papyrus, P. Paris Louvre N. 3095 TM 134573. He is listed as *wꜥb n 'Imn wꜥb (n) Mwt ḥm-nṯr n ny-sw.t bī.ty Dsr-k3-Rc 'Imn-ḥtp p3 ibib n 'Imn-Rc ny-sw.t nṯr.w*

⁴⁵⁸ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.120, Aston TG 793, Cairo S.R. VII 11501 TM none and Chicago FM 31759 TM 134406. On the both papyri, Khonsemrenep holds the titles of *wꜥb n 'Imn sš šḥn n pr 'Ini-ḥr.t*

⁴⁵⁹ Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*, 117.

⁴⁶⁰ P. Berlin P. 3001 A-M; P. Leiden T 6 (AMS 33); Cairo CG 40020 (S. R. IV 1532)

overseer functions and include *sš mšꜥ* (Scribe of the Military),⁴⁶¹ *sš nꜥ mnḥi.w n pꜥ imy-rꜥ mšꜥ* (Scribe of the Records of the Overseer of the Military),⁴⁶² and *imy-rꜥ mšꜥ* (Overseer of the Military).⁴⁶³ In addition, there is the ranked position of (*hry*) *krꜥ.w* ((Chief of the) Shield Bearers).⁴⁶⁴

The second group of titles focuses on funerary services. These titles include *ḥsi ꜥꜥ imnt.t wꜥs.t* (Great Singer of Western Thebes),⁴⁶⁵ *hry sštꜥ (m pt tꜥ dwꜥ.t)* (Keeper of Secrets of Sky, Earth, and Underworld),⁴⁶⁶ *stm m ꜥḥ.t (nḥḥ)* (Priest of the Horizon (of Eternity)),⁴⁶⁷ *hry-tp n ꜥḥt nḥḥ* (Overseer of the Horizon of Eternity),⁴⁶⁸ *wꜥb sš m ꜥḥ.t ḥḥ* (Pure Scribe of the Horizon of Eternity),⁴⁶⁹ and *hry sštꜥ ꜥḥ.t nḥḥ* (Keeper of Secrets of the Horizon of Eternity).⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶¹ Cairo JE 95648; P. London BM EA 10093

⁴⁶² From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.39, Aston TG 712, Cairo J.E. 95646 (S.R. IV 543) TM 134468. Amenhotep is listed as *it-nṯr n Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš nꜥ mnḥi.w n pꜥ imy-rꜥ mšꜥ*

⁴⁶³ Cairo S.R. VII 11492; London BM EA 10793 (P. Campbell)

⁴⁶⁴ Cairo S.R. VII 10230; P. Paris Louvre N. 3294; P. Paris Louvre N. 3292; P. Paris Louvre N. 3293

⁴⁶⁵ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.8, Aston TG 681, Cairo J.E. 95659 (S.R. IV 557) TM 134470. Djedkhonsuefankh holds the titles of *wꜥb n Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥsi ꜥꜥ imnt.t Wꜥs.t*

⁴⁶⁶ P. Vatican 19651; Cairo S.R. VII 11503; Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2); Cairo J.E. 95879 (S.R. IV 981); Cairo S.R. IV 952; Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244)

⁴⁶⁷ Cairo J.E. 95878 (S.R. IV 979); Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2)

⁴⁶⁸ Ankhefkhonsu holds this title on his papyrus from the Hearst 1972 collection, P. Unknown, where he is listed as *it-nṯr n Imn hry sštꜥ sꜥb wn n.t ꜥꜥ m ṯpt-sw.t hry-tp n ꜥḥt nḥḥ*

⁴⁶⁹ Nebhepet holds this title on his papyrus from the Drovetti 1824 collection, P. Turin 1768 TM 134604, where he is listed as *wꜥb sš m ꜥḥ.t ḥḥ imy-rꜥ nṯr.w m s.t Mꜥꜥ.t imy-rꜥ kꜥ.t m pr ḏ.t sš n pr ḥr*

⁴⁷⁰ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.115, Aston TG 788, Cairo J.E. 95878 (S.R. IV 979) TM none. Pakharu holds the titles of *it-nṯr n Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w hry sštꜥ ꜥḥ.t nḥḥ wn ꜥ.wy nw p.t m ṯpt-sw.t sm.t m ꜥḥ.t nḥḥ*

Civil administrative titles constitute the third group. Within this group, the main function is that of the judge. Titles include *s3b* (Judge),⁴⁷¹ and the more specific title of *s3b n t3 knbt n niwt* (Scribe of the Court of the City).⁴⁷² In addition, there are also titles that indicate personal service to another individual or group of people. It is unclear if the individual holding these titles is directly involved in temple service or if they are only secondarily involved in temple service via their position subservient to others who are involved with the temple. These titles include *sš kd* (Scribe of Building Works)⁴⁷³ *sš šnw.tw 'Imn* (Scribe of the People of Amun),⁴⁷⁴ *sš t3 hry wr.t hnr.t tp n 'Imn* (Scribe of the Chief to the Principle of the First Harem of Amun),⁴⁷⁵ *imy-r3 šnw.wt* (Overseer of the People),⁴⁷⁶ *imy-r3 pr* (Overseer of the House),⁴⁷⁷ and *imy-r3 hm.w ntr n ntr.w nb.w t3wy* (Overseer of All Gods and Goddesses in the Land).⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷¹ P. Leiden AMS 36; P. Paris Louvre N. 3245 (E. 850); P. Unknown

⁴⁷² Djedamuniuefankh holds this title on his unprovenanced papyrus, Cairo S.R. IV 530 (J.E. 4891) TM none, where he is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn-R ny-sw.t ntr.w s3b n t3 knbt n niwt*

⁴⁷³ Iufankh holds this title on his papyrus from the Bremner-Rhind 1865 collection, P. London 10207 TM 134537, where he is listed as *w3b n 'Imn sš kd*

⁴⁷⁴ Padikhonsu holds this title on his papyrus from the Drovetti 1824 collection, P. Turin CGT 53002 (Nr. 1859 / 2) TM 134611, where he is listed as *w3b n 'Imn it-ntr n Mwt sš šnw.tw 'Imn*

⁴⁷⁵ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.142, Aston TG 815, Cairo S.R. VII 11487 TM none. Nespernub is listed as *sš t3 hry wr.t hnr.t tp n 'Imn it-ntr n 'Imn-R ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Hns w m imnt nfr htp hm ntr n Dhwt p3 hry st wr.t 3 mh ib n nb=f sš hwt-ntr n pr Mwt wrt nb i3rw imy-r3 hm.w ntr n ntr.w nb.w t3wy*

⁴⁷⁶ Cairo S.R. VII 11494; Cairo S.R. VII 11498 (TR 14/7/35/2); Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4); P. London BM EA 10020

⁴⁷⁷ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.141, Aston TG 814, Cairo S.R. VII 11498 (TR 14/7/35/2) TM 134460. Djedkhonsuefankh is listed as *hsi 3 n 'Imn it-ntr n 'Imn-R imy-r3 pr imy-r3 šnw.tw sš wr n 'Imn-R*

⁴⁷⁸ From Bab el-Gasus, Daressy A.142, Aston TG 815, Cairo S.R. VII 11487 TM none. Nespernub is listed as *sš t3 hr wr.t hnr.t tp n 'Imn it-ntr n 'Imn-R ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Hns w m imnt nfr htp hm ntr n Dhwt p3 hry st wr.t 3 mh ib n nb=f sš hwt-ntr n pr Mwt wrt nb i3rw imy-r3 hm.w ntr n ntr.w nb.w t3wy*

Finally, there are titles that are royal in nature, and refer to the High Priests who took on the traditional titles of kingship during their theocratic reigns in Thebes. As attested on his papyrus, Pinedjem I took on the title of *ny-sw.t nb t3.wy s3-R^c n h.t=f* (King, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Ra of His Body).⁴⁷⁹ Following this lead, one man held the position of *sš ny-sw.t h3 (?) n nb t3.wy* (Scribe of the King of (His) Body, Lord of the Two Lands)⁴⁸⁰ and another man assumed the more prestigious position of *hry s3w.tw sš.w n nb t3.wy* (Chief of the Scribes of the Lord of the Two Lands).⁴⁸¹

4.2 Characteristics of Papyri Based on Priestly Group

The second half of this chapter is dedicated to an analysis of the content of the papyri based on priestly group. For this study, it is best to present the sub-groups of titles in the opposite order to what has been introduced in the study of the titles themselves. Priests of deities outside the Theban triad represent the smallest group, while the priesthood of Amun represents the largest group. This analysis will also include the data for women when appropriate in addition to the men discussed in the first half of this chapter.

⁴⁷⁹ From the Royal Cache TT 320, Aston TG 915, Cairo CG 40006 (S.R. VII 11488) TM 134432. Pinedjem I holds the titles of *ny-sw.t nb t3.wy s3-R^c n h.t=f mr=f*

⁴⁸⁰ Djedmontiufankh holds this title on his papyrus from the Bankes 1996 collection, P. London BM EA 75034 TM 134786, where he is listed as *it-ntr n 'Imn it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w sš ny-sw.t h3 (?) n nb t3.wy*

⁴⁸¹ Khay holds this title on his papyrus from the Hay 1868 collection, P. London BM EA 9953 B TM 133558; TM 133575, where he is listed as *hry s3w.tw sš.w n nb t3.wy*

4.2.1 Personnel of Other Deities

The group of individuals in service to deities other than the Theban triad (or in addition to the Theban triad) constitutes the smallest sub-division within the assemblage. Only seventeen individuals, comprising fifteen men and two women, hold titles pertaining to deities outside the Theban triad common for 21st Dynasty Theban elite. The inclusion of such titles outside the norm must have signaled to the Theban elite a rare, and possibly elevated, social status. Perhaps, with the regional associations of particular deities, such titles signaled lineage or kinship connections outside the Theban area. Such a regional distinction could emphasize a larger sphere of influence of control for the individual stressing a connection to a deity of a different region.

In terms of content, three observations are worth mentioning. The first is that the overall content of a papyrus of this category does not reflect a stressing of the deities referenced in the titles of the deceased. For example, the papyrus of Pasebkhaenet,⁴⁸² God's Father of Amun and God's Father of Anubis, does not in any way reflect an allegiance or association with Anubis in terms of content. The etiquette is a standard depiction of the deceased venerating Osiris, and the content of the papyrus is a standard transmission of the 10th Hour of the Book of the Hidden Chamber.

This disassociation between the deities served and deities depicted is consistent throughout the papyri of the seventeen individuals of this sub-group. It is, however, not surprising, as the content of the papyri is meant to be primarily Osirian and secondarily solar in theme. Serving a funerary function and holding transformative properties for the deceased, the

⁴⁸² Cairo S.R. VII 10273

content is not meant to be a reflection of the details of a profession in that regard. Instead of focusing on deities that directly correlate with titles, the general content of the papyri of this category features more complex funerary motifs, an abundance of rare Cosmographic Scenes, and incorporates more ritual hymns than the corpus of papyri as a whole.

This choice in more unique content is the second observation for this sub-group. Consisting of twenty-seven papyri distributed among seventeen individuals, a majority feature Cosmographic Scenes and/or other rare funerary compositions. Two papyri of this group have unknown content due to incomplete preservation and lack of photographic evidence. Out of the remaining twenty-five papyri, fourteen contain Cosmographic Scenes or the Litany of Re. In addition, a selection of Pyramid Texts, Books of the Earth compositions, and portions of the Book of the Day and the Book of the Night are represented in this papyrus sub-group.

The apparent preference for what can be argued as more elevated content within this sub-group reflects the socially unique status of the owners of these papyri. In addition, the content of this sub-group also contains a number of solar hymns, funerary hymns, and a written record of a number of priestly rituals that reinforce the status of the owner as one who is highly initiated into the Egyptian religious system. For example, one of the papyri of Padiamun⁴⁸³ centers on a description and written record of priestly mysteries, providing a strong connection to cultic practice in the text of this papyrus. One text describes the ritual act of opening the doors to the shrine of Amun in Karnak to behold and care for the god every morning. Another describes Padiamun's role (as a member of the effective dead) in the Feast of Sokaris at Memphis. The

⁴⁸³ Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2)

remaining content is a mixture of Book of the Dead spells, Cosmographic Scenes, Pyramid Texts, a Books of the Earth scene, and Solar Hymns.

Finally, there is an observation about length of papyri in this sub-group worthy of discussion. The average length of papyri in this category is 3.37 meters, which is markedly above the two-meter average length for the entire corpus of papyri.⁴⁸⁴ This longer average length again falls in line with the idea that individual with rarer titles chose to express their unique social positions via the extended materiality of their funerary papyri, commissioning documents that contained elevated content and were longer. These two traits would arguably make the papyri more expensive and perhaps require the ritual knowledge of specialists beyond the standard craftsmen responsible for making more standard papyri in terms of content.

4.2.2 Personnel of Khonsu

For the personnel of Khonsu, a similar pattern appears to that of the personnel of non-Theban triad deities. The papyri of the personnel of Khonsu, consisting of twenty-seven papyri distributed amongst twenty individuals, have an average length of 3.35 meters. This number is well above the overall average of two meters for the whole data set and indicates that these individuals were investing more in the construction of their funerary papyri. The question, again, is what content is being recorded that accounts for this additional length, and possibly speaks to the social identity of this group of individuals?

Of the twenty papyri, two have unknown content. Of the remaining eighteen, there are seven that have rarer Cosmographic Scenes, the Litany of Re, Book of Caverns, and Book of

⁴⁸⁴ See Chapter 3.3.1 for a discussion of papyrus length.

Gates content. While this is a similar trend to that of the personnel of the non-Theban triad deities, it is not as strong. Instead, the majority of papyri of this group feature Book of the Dead spells. No other patterns or trends of content can be observed for this sub-group of papyri.

4.2.3 Personnel of Mut

Just like the personnel of Khonsu, little can be said for the personnel of Mut as a group. This group is larger, with forty-nine individuals owning a total of seventy-one papyri. As the size of the sub-group grows, the elements of their papyri that signal elite status decrease, indicating that for those operating in the formal Karnak temple complex, the larger the social circle, the less prestigious the group. For example, the average papyrus length for this category is 2.69 meters, much closer to the overall average. In addition, the presence of rare funerary content is restricted to twenty-six of the sixty-three papyri for which the full breadth of content is known. While a still significant number, it matches that of the frequency of rare funerary content for the sub-group of papyri relating to Khonsu, indicating less access to highly restricted knowledge.

4.2.4 Personnel of Amun

The personnel of Amun constitute the largest sub-group of priestly affiliates. Three-hundred seven individuals in this data set hold at least one title pertaining to this chief deity in Thebes. Two-hundred forty-eight of these individuals reference just Amun in their titles. With such a large group, there is little to be said about the group as a whole that cannot be said for the entire corpus of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri or their owners. The average papyrus length for the 248 individuals who reference just Amun in their papyri is exactly two meters, and exactly the

average for the whole dataset. The content and quality of the papyri of this sub-group is also just as varied as the entire corpus.

Therefore, it is more beneficial to break this sub-group down even further. With the individuals who only reference Amun in their titles, there are clear distinctions between the three main types of priest in service to this main deity. They are the God's Father (*it-ntr*), the *hm-ntr* Priest, and the *wꜥb* Priest. The Egyptians must have viewed serving in these positions as separate functions ill-compatible with crossover service. The evidence for this is the clear lack of individuals holding a multiple of these titles. Of the seventy-one men serving Amun as a God's Father, only one man, Pakharu,⁴⁸⁵ also holds the titles of both *hm-ntr* Priest of Amun and *wꜥb* Priest of Amun. He holds these two additional titles on one papyrus, and only describes himself as a God's Father of Amun on his second papyrus. Additionally, Djhutymes⁴⁸⁶ holds both the titles of God's Father of Amun and *wꜥb* Priest of Amun. Amenhotep⁴⁸⁷ holds both the titles of God's Father of Amun and *hm-ntr* Priest of Amun. For *hm-ntr* priests, in addition to Pakharu and Amehotep just described, there is only one additional man who holds both the *hm-ntr* Priest title and the *wꜥb* Priest title.⁴⁸⁸

Regarding content, for *wꜥb* priests of Amun who serve no other deities, 30% of their funerary papyri employ rarer content. For *wꜥb* priests of Amun who serve other deities and thus have greater access to additional stores of temple knowledge, 38.46% have rarer content on their

⁴⁸⁵ Cairo J.E. 95878 (S.R. IV 979) and Cairo J.E. 95705 (S.R. IV 635)

⁴⁸⁶ P. Turin 1781

⁴⁸⁷ P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250

⁴⁸⁸ Djedkhonsu, P. Dublin MS 1673

papyri. For individuals holding just the *hm-ntr* Priest of Amun title in some form, 16% of their funerary papyri contain such scenes. When those who serve other deities are included in this analysis, this percentage increases to 28.6%. And for the God's Father of Amun position to the exclusion of other deities, only 13% of their papyri have such content. For God's Fathers of Amun who hold titles referring to other deities, this percentage again increases to 17.9%. This pattern generally matches the trend for men to utilize such scenes in a context that reflects their associated rank within the temple system. Those men with higher titles or titles that show a broader range of influence within the temple system utilize rarer content to reinforce their social status.

4.2.5 Pseudo-Royal Persons

One final category to highlight is that of pseudo-royal persons.⁴⁸⁹ While the concept of royalty is one intrinsically tied to family lineage, the "royalty" of the 21st Dynasty was linked to the highest of elite status in the temple, as the authority of these individuals arguably derived from the temple rather than any perceived or claimed royal blood. Individuals making a royal claim hold the highest positions within the temple, namely the High Priest of Amun. All others following in this royal pattern are connected to the High Priest in some way. Because the royal claim is only derived through status in the temple, and the value of the royal claim is only supported by the temple, the royal status of individuals in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty is priestly in nature. Thus, this information is best presented in this chapter focused on the priesthood, rather in the following chapter on family relations.

⁴⁸⁹ The term "pseudo-royal" is used here because these individuals, although claiming royal titles and/or royal lineage, were not acknowledged outside themselves and their inner circle as being a legitimate ruler of Egypt.

There are thirteen individuals that make a royal claim on their papyri. They are presented below in Table 4.1.

Individuals with Royal Claims on Their Papyri			
Provenance	Name of Deceased	Papyrus	Royal Claim
Bab el-Gasus, A.133	Harweben	Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245)	
		Cairo S.R. VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6)	- Menkheperre listed as her grandfather - Pinedjem I listed as her father
Bab el-Gasus, A.137	Tashedkhons	Florence 3663	
		Cairo CG 40016 (S.R. VII 10240)	Claims to be a descendant of Seti I
Bab el-Gasus, A.140	Ankhefenmut	Cairo S.R. VII 10274	Menkheperre listed as his father
		Cairo S.R. VII 10652 (TR 14/7/35/9)	Menkheperre listed as his father
Bab el-Gasus, A.147	Menkheperre B	Cairo JE 95638	
		Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967)	Menkheperre listed as his grandfather
Bab el-Gasus, A.151	Tjanefer A	Cairo S.R. IV 952	
		Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244)	Menkheperre listed as his father
Bab el-Gasus, A.152	Gautseshen A	Cairo S.R. VII 10265 (T.R. 14/7/35/3)	
		Cairo CG 40012 (J.E. 95838, S.R. IV 936)	Menkheperre listed as her father
TT 320	Nodjmet	London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex	- Holds the title “Mother of the King” - Herihor listed as her husband

		Mook Collection	
		London BM 10490	• Herihor listed as her husband
TT 320	Pinedjem I	Cairo No Number	
		Cairo CG 40006 (S.R. VII 11488)	• Holds the title “King, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Re”
TT320	Henettawy A	Cairo CG 40005 (J.E. 95856, S.R. IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22)	• Pinedjem I listed as her husband • Holds the title “Mother of the King” • Holds the title “Wife of the King”
		Cairo J.E. 95887 (S.R. IV 992)	• Pinedjem I listed as her husband • Ramesses XI listed as her father • Holds the title “Mother of the King” • Holds the title “Wife of the King” • Holds the title “Mother of the Wife of a King”
TT 320	Maatkare A	Cairo CG 40007 (J.E. 26229, S.R. IV 980)	• Pinedjem I listed as her father • Holds the title “Daughter of the King” • Holds the title “Mother of the King”
MMA 60	Henettawy B	Cairo J.E. 51948 a-c	• Holds the title “Daughter of the King”
		Cairo J.E. 51949	• Holds the title “Daughter of the King” • Pinedjem I listed as her father
MMA 60	Henettawy C	New York MMA 25.3.28	
		New York MMA 25.3.29	• Menkheperre listed as her father
MMA 65	Nauny	New York MMA 30.3.32	
		New York MMA 30.3.31	• Holds the title “Daughter of the King”

Table 4.1. Individuals with Royal Claims on Their Papyri

There are two important observations to be made with these individuals, both of which are based on a division between provenances. The first is that while both individuals from the Bab el-Gasus cache and the Royal Cache/Metropolitan Museum of Art tombs make royal claims, only individual from the Royal Cache/MMA tombs do so with formal titles. Individuals from Bab el-Gasus reference the specific person to which they are related, and do not express such relationship in a formal title. The individuals from the Royal Cache/MMA tombs express such relationships by both listing family members and using formal titles. These formal titles do not always provide the actual name of the relative. For example, Nauny uses the title of “Daughter of the King,” but she does not state who this “king” is. Scholars generally speculate that her father must be Pinedjem I, but it is just as probable that her father was Herihor or even Nesibanebdjedet I.⁴⁹⁰ At the time of her burial, Nauny’s social status and identity must have been so well known that no clarification seemed necessary. It would be akin to someone today referencing “Prince Harry” and receiving a response of “prince of what?” In addition, it should be noted that by being buried in the Royal Cache/MMA tombs, one was building a direct physical connection to the royalty of Egypt’s recent past. This connection would have been well noted by the Theban elite.

Conversely, the individuals buried in the Bab el-Gasus cache were less directly connected to those individuals in the Royal Cache/MMA tombs. As such, they always mention by name the individual to whom they are trying to connect. Perhaps because their social identity was less stable or overt to the Theban elite, these individuals felt the need to specify without any ambiguity their relationship to individuals of a higher social rank.

⁴⁹⁰ Dodson 2012, *op. cit.*, 246 no. 32

The second observation pertains to the content of the papyri delineated by provenance and by gender. The papyri from Bab el-Gasus have a higher concentration of rare content (consisting of Cosmographic Scenes and Litany of Re content), whereas the content of the Royal Cache/MMA tombs contains much more traditional Book of the Dead and Book of the Hidden Chamber content. Within the Royal Cache/MMA tombs group, it is only the women who use rarer content in the form of included Cosmographic Scenes, Litany of Re, and Book of Caverns. This content is used more sparingly than what is found in the Bab el-Gasus cache. In both groups, however, it is overwhelmingly the women who utilize such content, with only one man, Tjanefer A,⁴⁹¹ using such material.

This observation, although differing from the overall trend of content being equal between men and women (as discussed in Chapter 3)⁴⁹² illustrates the need for women – even women of a higher social status – to compete socially with one another using materiality instead of titles. As discussed previously, men with higher ranking titles used their titles to illustrate their social position within the temple. More elite women use Cosmographic Scenes more frequently as a means of illustrating or perhaps further supplementing their elevated social status.

4.3 Priesthood Identity and Social Competition

One problem with the type of analysis presented in this chapter is the fact that most members of the Theban elite described themselves with titles associated with multiple deities. With this in mind, it becomes impossible to ascertain whether a particular funerary vignette on a papyrus was

⁴⁹¹ Cairo S.R. IV 952 and Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244)

⁴⁹² See Chapter 3.3.2.2 for a full discussion of this gendered discussion of papyrological content.

meant to reference their service to Khonsu or to Amun, for example. If we are to accept that this content had meaning to the deceased, his or her family, and the larger Theban elite community, then it stands to reason that the particular content of a papyrus must have reflected the multifaceted persona of the owner, and that choosing certain content reinforced the roles and definitions of that person within the community. But teasing out the meaning of the content from the multiple identities that each person held is an elusive process.

For the personnel of Khonsu, for example, there are two individuals, Padikhons and Nesyamun, who describe themselves just as in the service of Khonsu and no other deities.⁴⁹³ It is with these two individuals that perhaps something can be said about aligning the usage of certain content to a sub-group of the priesthood. And while two individuals certainly cannot be viewed as a pattern, the similarities between their papyri are striking. Both etiquettes are of the deceased adoring Re-Horakhty-Atum, and both etiquettes are followed by Book of the Dead Spell 180. Here, the papyrus of Padikhons breaks off, but the papyrus of Nesyamun continues to include Book of the Dead Spells 28, 30A, and 19. It ends with an unknown text.

I want to stress again that in no way can two individuals form a pattern. Also, the similarities between these two papyri should not be interpreted as indicative of a “standard” of content for personnel of Khonsu: the adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum and Book of the Dead Spells 180, 28, 30A, and 19 do not signal a relationship to Khonsu. Indeed, there are twenty-one etiquettes of adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum, and only three of the associated owners are personnel of Khonsu.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ These two men are Padikhons (P. London BM EA 10312 TM 134548) and Nesyamun (P. Vatican 38592 (P. Vatican 44-45) TM 134619).

⁴⁹⁴ See Chapter 3.3.2.1 for a discussion of etiquettes.

Instead, what I want to suggest is that this content could possibly reflect differing access to workshops, craftsmen, and artists that in turn have differing access to content. Perhaps the personnel of different deities – and different ranks of personnel – had access to different facilities responsible for the creation of funerary papyri. With different access comes different patterns of content. Padikhons and Nesyamun, as personnel of only Khonsu, could have been more limited in terms of access to production centers, which resulted in the similarities in their papyri. Both men could have accessed the same facility or group of craftsmen for the production of their papyri, and thus both men obtained papyri of similar content and layout.

Other individuals who were personnel of not only Khonsu but also other deities, could have utilized the same production center, or additional ones to which they had access through other temple connections. Perhaps some individuals with multiple connections used multiple production centers for different parts of their papyri. Certain papyri, for example, appear to be made from papyrus sheets joined together post-production. Examples of this include the papyri of Khonsemrenep,⁴⁹⁵ Gautseshen,⁴⁹⁶ Djedmehituesankh,⁴⁹⁷ Isetemakhbit,⁴⁹⁸ and Asti.⁴⁹⁹

The papyri of Khonsemrenep and Gautseshen both contain an etiquette that is ill-fitting for the rest of the papyrus. Khonsemrenep's papyrus, a portion of which is shown in Figure 4.1, shows that the height of the etiquette (particularly its borders) does not match in height to the rest of the papyrus. The height of the papyrus itself (25.5 centimeters) matches, but the date at which

⁴⁹⁵ Cairo S.R. VII 11501

⁴⁹⁶ New York MMA 25.3.31

⁴⁹⁷ P. Berlin P. 3009

⁴⁹⁸ P. Heidelberg Ä.I. Hieratisch II

⁴⁹⁹ P. London BM EA 10084

it was trimmed to its final height is unknown. The sheets of papyrus, once joined, could have been trimmed immediately post-production or at some point after the object reached the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in 1881. What does seem clear is that the sheet containing the etiquette and the rest of the papyrus were joined post-production, as there is no other way to account for the mismatched heights of these two portions of content.

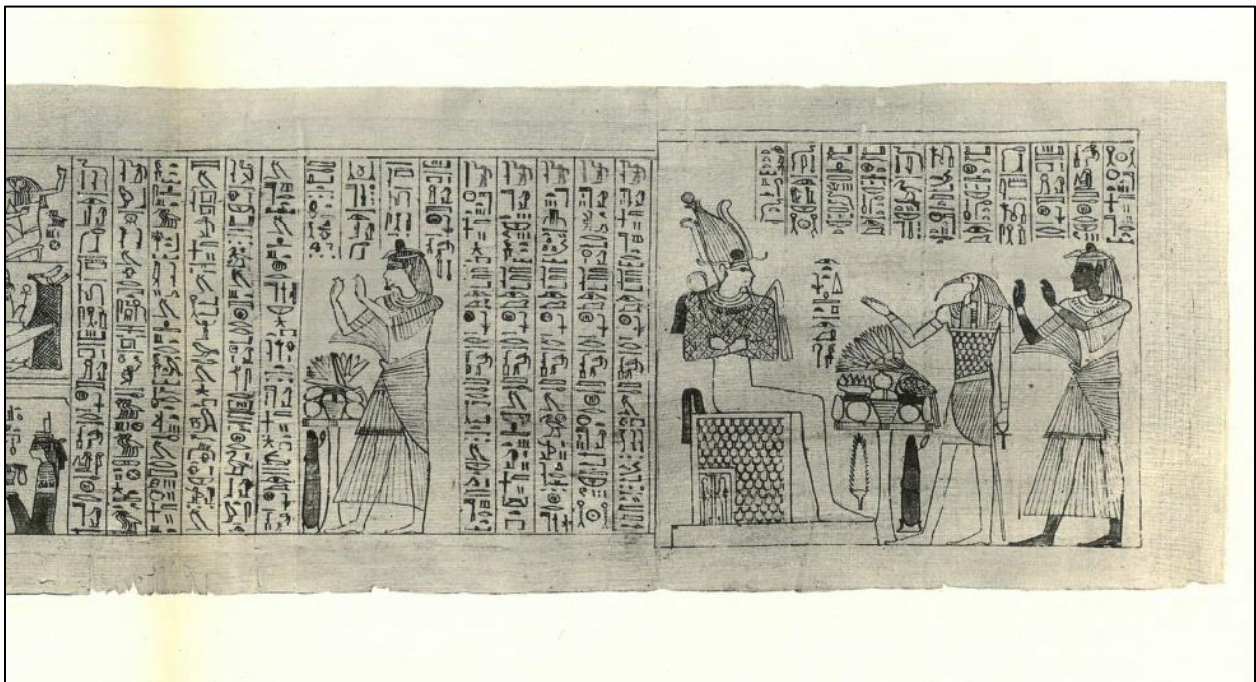


Figure 4.1. Funerary Papyrus of Khonsemrenep, P Cairo S.R. VII 11501, from Piankoff and Rambova 1957

Gautseshen features a similar issue. While the heights of the etiquette and the body of the papyrus match, the borders clearly do not, as shown in Figure 4.2. The red and yellow border featured on the top and bottom of the underworld content does not continue onto the etiquette. Instead, it is immediately replaced by a black border on the top only and a thin black ground line at the bottom. It thus appears as if the etiquette was attached separately after the content of the body of the papyrus was produced, or vice versa.



Figure 4.2. Funerary Papyrus of Gautseshen, New York MMA 25.3.31, © Metropolitan Museum of Art

The papyrus of Djedmehitiuesankh takes this issue to the extreme, as shown in Figure 4.3, with a hieratic spell of Book of the Dead 136/136A attached to the etiquette sideways. Clearly produced separately, these two elements were joined post production in a way where the final format of the object superseded the layout of the text. Kathlyn Cooney has demonstrated with coffin sets that pieces were opportunistically acquired and joined in new and unplanned combinations.⁵⁰⁰ It is not outside the realm of possibility that papyri sheets were joined together in a similar fashion to create new documents for new owners.

⁵⁰⁰ Cooney 2017, *op. cit.*



Figure 4.3. Funerary Papyrus of Djedmehituesankh, P. Berlin P. 3009, from the Totenbuch Projekt

Figure 4.4 shows a scaled, stitched image of the papyrus of Isetemakhbit to illustrate that the first and second sections of the papyrus appear to have been created as separate documents. The etiquette and the first column are consistent in height, but the second and third columns of text are of a different hand, sign size, and column height. It seems most probable that the first and second halves of this papyrus were joined post-production and may not have been intended to be part of the same final document at their inception.

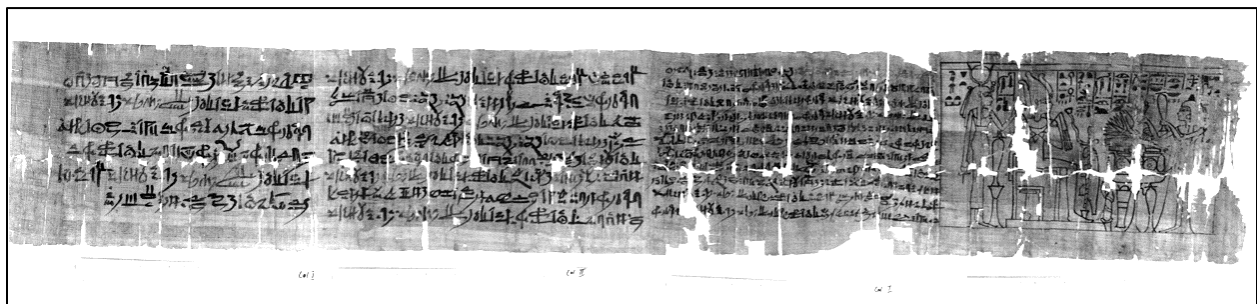


Figure 4.4. Funerary Papyrus of Isetemakhbit, P. Heidelberg Ä.I. Hieratisch II, from the Totenbuch Projekt

Finally, portion of the papyrus of Asti shown in Figure 4.5 below highlights the joining of two documents, in two different hands. Like the example of Isetemakhbit, it seems unlikely that these texts were intended to be joined from the outset, but rather were combined into a single papyrus once both documents were completed separately.

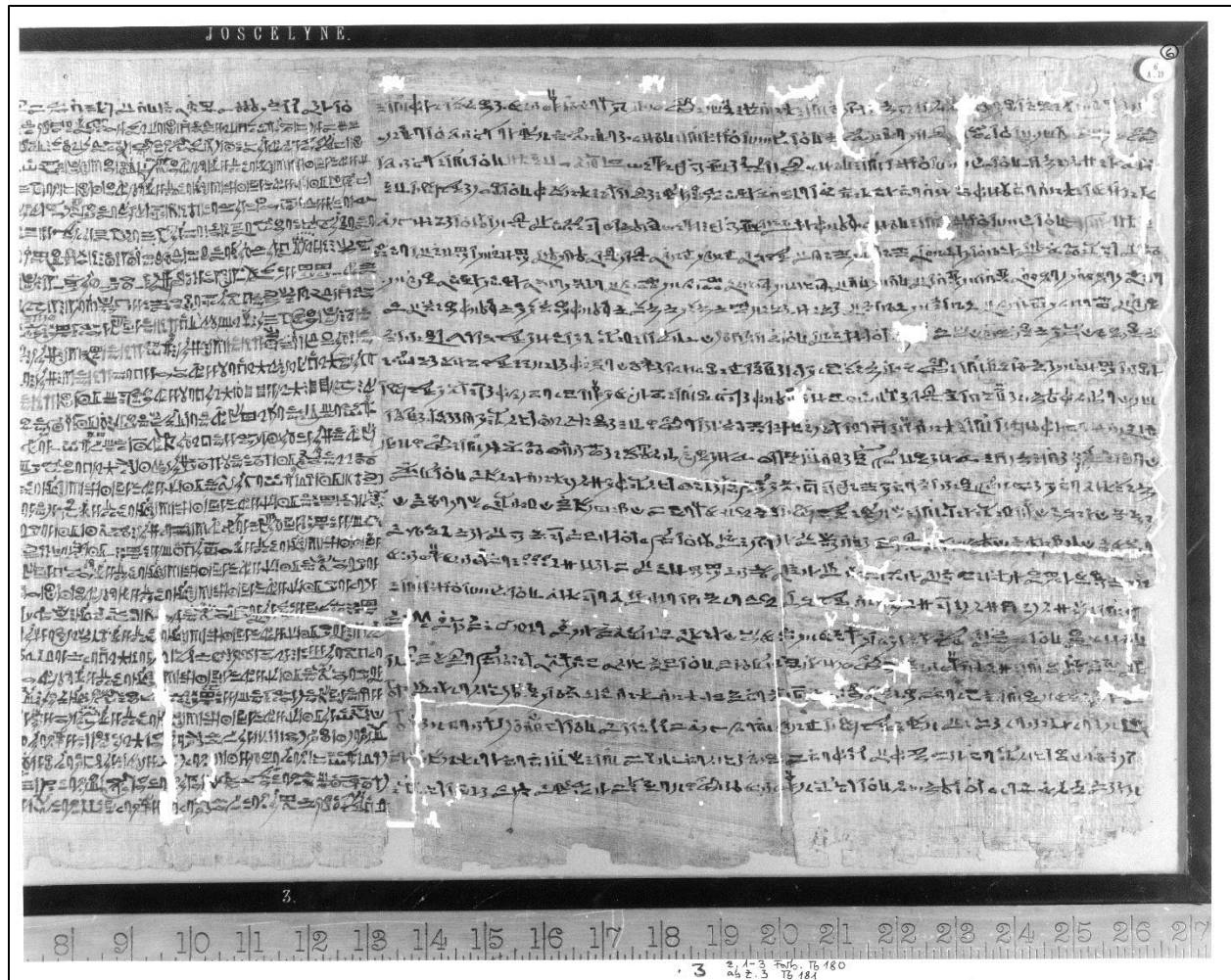


Figure 4.5. Funerary Papyrus of Asti, P. London BM EA 10084, © Trustees of the British Museum

These examples show that individuals were not limited to a single option for papyrus production, and that some individuals indeed opted to combine portions of documents acquired from different origins. It also shows that not all content was created with a final document in

mind, but rather this content was viewed as fluid and able to be added to other documents with little concern for order, flow, or continuity.

At the core of this discussion, however, is the concept that individuals were using the resources afforded to them to commission and purchase papyri that reflected their social selves and could act a form of social competition among their peers. For some individuals, the content reflected a more singular social identity (as with the personnel of a single deity only). But for most of the 21st Dynasty Theban elite, these papyri were meant to reflect their multifaceted social identities and compete socially with several different sub-groups of elite society.

CHAPTER 5.

FAMILY ASSOCIATIONS

5.1 Family Referenced on Papyri

Understanding family in ancient Egypt is incredibly difficult. Social conceptualization and expectations of the family system is poorly understood in pharaonic times. 21st Dynasty funerary papyri provide an opportunity to reveal elite Egyptian perspectives on the family, especially during a decentralized time in which stressing family connections were useful in terms of inheritance and hereditary position within the temple. In a system in which the maintenance of the nuclear family was a main mode conveying social identity, the inclusion of family members on papyri can provide much information about the Egyptian social system beyond genealogy. A study of family members, particularly the listed parents of the deceased, also inherently reveals the influence that the “third generation” – those that are burying the dead and have the most to gain from an uninterrupted inheritance pattern of both physical wealth and titles.

Of the 557 papyri in this study, 139 include identified family members of the deceased in the preserved texts.⁵⁰¹ Thus, the inclusion of identified family members on funerary papyri was not a necessity, as what seems to be the case with other types of papyri – such as oracular amuletic decrees⁵⁰² – but rather an optional component utilized to identify socially the deceased. Regarding these options, choices, and motivations of social identification, this chapter aims to

⁵⁰¹ See Appendix E for a list of these papyri, along with the titles of the deceased and names and titles of preserved family members.

⁵⁰² I.E.S. Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fourth Series: Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom* (London, 1960) and Briant Bohleke, “An Oracular Amuletic Decree of Khonsu in the Cleveland Museum of Art,” *JEA* 83 (1997) 155-167.

demonstrate that first, there is a marked distinction between the rank of an individual's temple titles and the way in which family members are referenced. Second, the inclusion and exclusion of certain individual's titles – particularly named mothers – seems to follow a deliberate practice that could shed light on the perceived inheritance of titles.

The titles and positions referenced on 21st Dynasty funerary papyri are greatly expanded from the positions afforded to the elite of the New Kingdom, particularly for women. Priestly positions for women in New Kingdom Thebes were primarily songstress functions related to the gods Amun and Mut. While this songstress function survived as the primary method of female involvement in the temple into the 21st Dynasty, the number of opportunities grew. For example, Betsy M. Bryan, in her contribution to *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, states, “Of 114 Eighteenth Dynasty women, only three or four held the title of *ḥesyt* of Hathor during the combined reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III; there were five under Amenhotep II, three under Thutmose IV, eight under Amenhotep III, and six (plus one *shemayit*) for the last reign of the dynasty.”⁵⁰³ 147 of the 177 women of this 21st Dynasty dataset were titled as Chantresses of Amun. In addition, 20 women from the 21st Dynasty were singers of Mut.

The variety of titles in the 21st Dynasty can be attributed to a growth of the influence and power of the priesthood, which became much more hereditary in nature as compared to the structure of the priesthood in the New Kingdom. Women had more roles to fill in this expanded, hereditary temple system. The lack of authoritative kingship in the Theban area also meant that

⁵⁰³ Betsy M. Bryan, “Women’s work: Some occupations of nonroyal women as depicted in ancient Egyptian art,” *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*, editors Anne K. Capel and Glenn Markoe (New York: Hudson Hills Press, Inc., 1996) 42.

priestly positions were viewed as the most influential, thus making their associated titles the ones to stress to gain social prestige. As attested on the papyri of the 21st Dynasty, women carried around 25 distinct titles⁵⁰⁴ and men defined themselves with close to 100 different temple and administrative positions.⁵⁰⁵

The obvious primary way to compete socially both while alive and in death is by referencing one's own titles and the positions within the temple that they reflected. The titles of the deceased take clear precedence of inclusion on funerary papyri. Beyond the titles of the deceased, many family members are also identified by name, and some are provided with titles of their own.

5.1.1 Patterns of Temple Rank

Concerning the choices to include named and titled family members, there are clear patterns of which family members are identified by name and title, and clear distinctions as to which deceased individuals are most likely to include titled family members. There is a correlation between the inclusion of family members with titles and higher-ranking titles for the deceased, with higher-ranked individuals including more family members with titles. In addition, men stress hereditary temple titles in their papyri.

To illustrate these trends, I divided the owners of papyri into two main groups: Those with higher-ranking titles, and those with standard titles. While this at times can be a subjective judgement, the overall range of titles surveyed on 21st Dynasty papyri reveals clear distinctions

⁵⁰⁴ Discussed in Chapter 3.

⁵⁰⁵ Discussed in Chapter 4.

between more standard titles and those that are more prestigious. For example, the titles of Mistress of the House and Chantress of Amun are the two most standard epitaphs for women. Chief Singer and Chief Priestess positions are much rarer and constitute higher-ranking titles. For men, the obvious highest-ranking title is High Priest of Amun. Other high-ranking titles involve being the overseer of certain temple works, holding numerically ranked temple titles, or acting in an administrative capacity within the temple. Standard titles for men often involve being a simple *wꜥb* Priest or God's Father of Amun.⁵⁰⁶

The first observation to be made regarding the correlation between temple rank and family references is that highly ranked individuals include more family members with titles on their papyri, as opposed to including family members without provided titles. Within this observation, the picture is strikingly equal between men and women regarding their choice of which named family members are provided with titles. However, the motivations for this choice between men and women are notably different.

Thirty-two men with high-ranking titles include family members on their papyri. Of these individuals, 24 have at least one family member with provided titles.

⁵⁰⁶ A full list of titles for both men and women can be found in Appendix D. Titles for just individuals with named family members (and the titles of those family members) can be found in Appendix E.

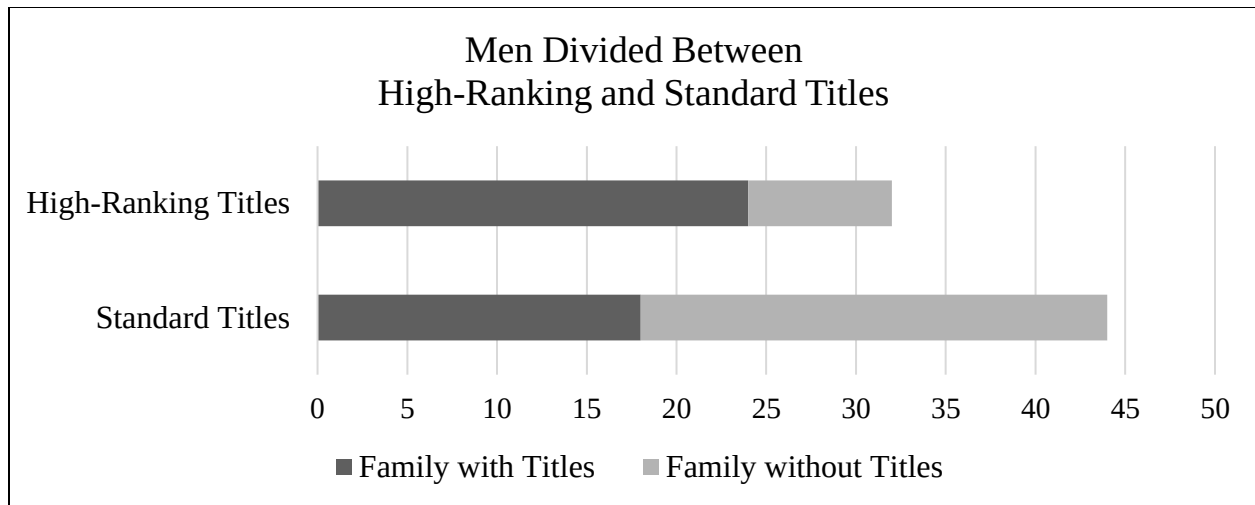


Figure 5.1. Attestations of Family Members with and without Titles Divided among Men of High-Ranking and Standard Titles

Of the 44 men with standard titles, only 18 include titles for at least one family member listed. This is a strong contrast that illustrates a trend of higher-ranked individuals stressing the importance of family members with titles of their own.

For women with high-ranking titles, 15 list family members on their papyri. 10 of these cases include family with titles. The only family members listed with titles are male relatives, with a single exception. Of these male relatives with titles, all but one was the current or former High Priest of Amun. There are nine cases where women list a husband, father, and/or paternal grandfather as a High Priest of Amun. The single exception to this pattern of including just male relatives is the papyrus of Tayuherit, who is titled as Mistress of the House, Chantress of Amun, and Chief Singer in the Choir of Mut.⁵⁰⁷ She lists her father, Khonsumes, as a God's Father of Amun and Overseer of Monuments in Karnak, Scribe in the House of Mut, Chief Scribe in the House of Amun-Re, Overseer of the House of Gold of Amun-Re, and Overseer of the House of

⁵⁰⁷ P. Leiden T 3 (AMS 40)

Silver of Amun-Re. She also names her mother, Tanetamun, including her titles of Mistress of the House and Chantress of Amun. It is a rare choice to list a mother with titles. This rare phenomenon will be discussed below in Section 5.3.1.

For both men and women, these choices of which family members to include as both named and titled speak to motivations of illustrating social prestige and inheritance. It is in these two stressed topics, however, that the incentives between men and women differ.

5.1.2 Patterns of Gender

The examples of the high-ranking women and the trend they represent speak to a larger picture of who had access to which titles and how social status within the family was maintained. Of course, a connection to the High Priest of Amun is a source for social prestige in and of itself, but it is through this connection to the High Priest of Amun that both men and women can gain access to high-status titles for themselves. As described in the previous section, there are 10 cases where high-ranking women list the titles of a husband, father, or paternal grandfather. This is out of a total group of 15 high-ranking women. Just like for men, women with standard titles are much less likely to list family members with titles of their own. There are 34 women with standard titles who list family members on their papyri, but only 11 of these women include titles for at least one named family member.

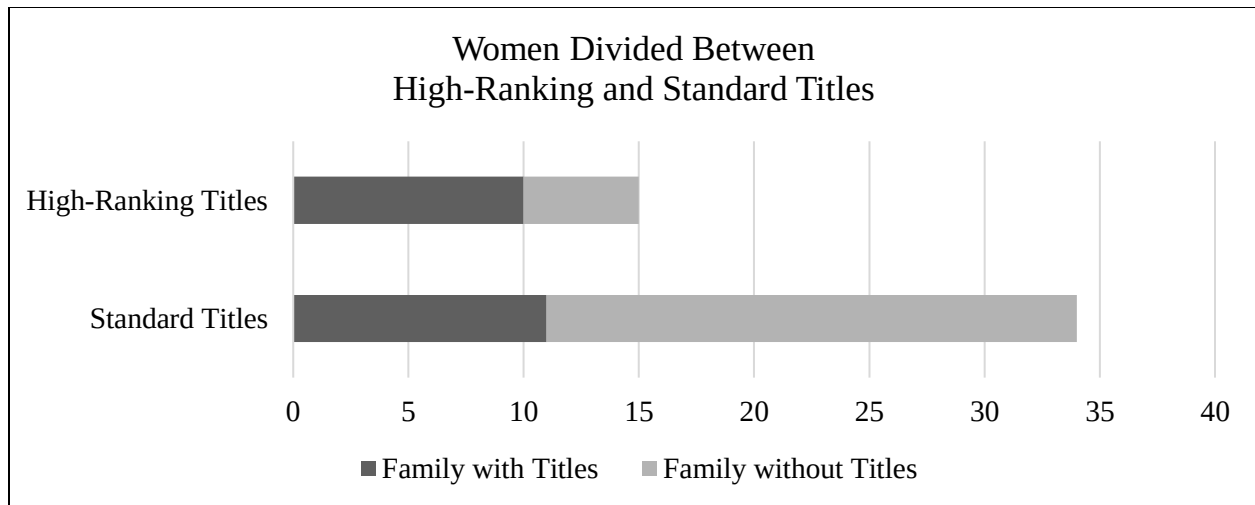


Figure 5.2. Attestations of Family Members with and without Titles Divided among Women of High-Ranking and Standard Titles

Men, just like women, seem to stress a relationship to their father. Unlike women, however, men stress the hereditary nature of their temple titles by including oftentimes duplicate titles for fathers, grandfathers, sometimes great-grandfathers, and in one instance, a great-great-grandfather. Sons are also occasionally mentioned, showcasing the hereditary titles to be passed down to the next generation.

5.2 Hereditary Temple Titles

During most of the early New Kingdom, the Karnak temple complex was staffed by administrators and priests who also held other positions outside the temple complex in the broader Theban area. Throughout the New Kingdom, the positions available within the temple became increasingly differentiated,⁵⁰⁸ but these positions were distributed by kings to palace

⁵⁰⁸ S.S. Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des "Houses des Amun" in der 18. Dynastie* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 2000) 217.

official as bribes and rewards,⁵⁰⁹ and were not at the time considered to be hereditary positions. Even as the temple grew in the 18th Dynasty, positions within the religious complex remained unstable. Under the reign of Amenhotep III, the temple workers often held positions within the palace and military administrations as well as temple works.⁵¹⁰ As a result, the temple positions were often deemphasized in favor of elevated positions elsewhere in the Egyptian government.⁵¹¹

With the decline of royal power at the end of the 20th Dynasty, however, the perspective of temple titles had changed. With less social benefit deriving from political and military administrative positions, more individuals turned to temple titles as a source of prestige. With this increased importance in temple positions came the motivation to preserve these titles through the generations and focus on the hereditary possibility of these positions. As Ben Haring states in “The Rising Power of the House of Amun in the New Kingdom,”

More generally speaking, the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty appears to be a period in which royal power had diminished in southern Egypt, of which Thebes had always been the administrative centre. It was in this period that the high priests of Amun rose to prominence. The basis for this development was not only the power vacuum left by the last Ramesside kings and their viziers, or the fact that they were the head of Egypt’s richest and most prestigious temple. A very important point to consider as well is the management of the greatest Theban temples (i.e., Karnak and Medinet Habu) as a family business.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁹ This is especially demonstrable under the reigns of Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III, and Amenhotep II with respect to the positions of Overseer of All Offices of the House of Amun (*imy-rꜥ iꜣw.t nb.t n pr ’Imn*) given to Ineni and Hapuseneb Steward of the House of Amun (*imy-rꜥ pr n pr ’Imn*) given to Senenmut, Sennefer, Mery, Amenemhet, and Ptahmose, and High Steward of Amun (*imy-rꜥ pr wr n ’Imn*) given to Rau.

⁵¹⁰ Eichler, *op. cit.*, 193-234.

⁵¹¹ Betsy M. Bryan, “The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period (1550-1352 B.C.),” *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, editor Ian Shaw (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 218-271; Arielle P. Kozloff, *Amenhotep III: Egypt’s Radiant Pharaoh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 92-93.

⁵¹² Ben Haring, “The Rising Power of the House of Amun in the New Kingdom,” *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, editor Juan Carlos Moreno García (Leiden: Brill, 2013) 633.

The example of Ramessesnakht, who was a high priest in Karnak and *sm*-priest in Medinet Habu first under the reign of Ramesses VI, continued in his position until Ramesses IX when his sons succeeded him in both positions. With Ramessesnakht's father also serving as a *sm*-priest at Medinet Habu, the inheritance of these temple positions spanned at least three generations and lasted over fifty years.⁵¹³ This pattern, and others like it, set a precedence for the 21st Dynasty and the extreme inheritance of temple titles that prevailed during this decentralized time period.

5.2.1 Male Inheritance Patterns

In all, 21 men in this study list hereditary titles on their papyri. Hereditary titles are defined as titles that are provided for both the deceased and at least one family member of an elder generation (such as a father or grandfather) on the same papyrus. This inheritance pattern is the one most commonly stressed. In addition to the simple inheritance of titles, a deceased male may define his father with less titles, or titles of a lower rank. This may indicate professional growth within the temple and associated social advancement with this elevation in position. A deceased male also stresses a connection to the High Priest of Amun in the same way women highlight such a social connection. One last trend that speaks to male inheritance patterns is recording a father with no titles at all. This last trend might showcase an unwillingness on the part of the deceased (or family of the deceased responsible for burial) to record a loss of titles and the associated temple position and social prestige. Many of these fathers are known to have had positions within the temple system, thus clouding the motivation of the son to omit such titles for the father.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, 633-634.

5.2.1.1 Sons Advancing Their Position

The improvement of titles through the generations occurs on several papyri of high-status men, where the father is provided with less titles or titles of a lower rank. Rather than focus on the lower origins of the family, the emphasis in these examples is placed on the deceased being able to improve his social status by his own merit and talent in a traditional Egyptian motif of achieving more than one's parents.

This excerpt from one of two papyri of Padiamun is a clear example of hereditary titles and family growth through the generations. In it, Padiamun not only provides himself with titles, but also lists his father with a similar, yet more limited, array of titles. He also lists his grandfather, Hori, and his great-grandfather, Ahaneferaumn, and provides them with titles as well.



Figure 5.3. Excerpt from a Papyrus of Padiamun, Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2), from Piankoff and Rambova 1957

All four men are titled as a God's Father and a Chief of Secrets (with various qualifications), but Padiamun's father, Ahaneferamun, is also a *ḥm-nṯr* Priest. This title is passed on to Padiamun. In addition, Padiamun secured the prestigious position of Opener of the Doors, Great Seer, and *stm*-Priest, meaning he had the additional privilege of seeing and interacting with the gods during the daily offering ritual. It is in this example that we can read an increase in position and prestige for Padiamun that he and his surviving family members obviously wished to highlight in

the way these four generations of men were identified and preserved on Padiamun's funerary papyrus.

5.2.1.2 Sons Artificially Advancing Their Position

Another phenomenon seen in papyri is for a son to devalue the titles of a father when he did not achieve the same titles for himself. With the exception of listing a father as the High Priest of Amun, there are no cases where a son lists a father with higher titles than his own outright. This indicates that there was a real caution surrounding the recording of a downslide of social status. It also stresses that a point of pride and status stemmed not from the family, but from the individual – the family was only a means to establishing one's own identity. For example, in one of his funerary papyri,⁵¹⁴ Menkheperre B identifies himself as a 3rd *ḥm-ntr* Priest of Amun (*ḥm-ntr 3-nw n 'Imn*). Also in that papyrus, he names his father Tjanefer A, but only provides the selected title of 3rd *ḥm-ntr* Priest of Amun (*ḥm-ntr 3-nw n 'Imn*) for his father. From Tjanefer A's own papyri,⁵¹⁵ he is identified as God's Father, Beloved of the God, Chief of secrets of Heaven, Earth, and Duat, *ḥm-ntr* Priest of Amun, Opener of Doors of Heaven in Karnak, 3rd *ḥm-ntr* Priest of Amun-Ra King of the Gods, *ḥm-ntr* Priest of Montu Lord of Thebes, Overseer of Works of the House of Ra, First Steward in the House of Amun, *ḥm-ntr* Priest of Khnum Lord of the First Cataract Region.⁵¹⁶ It thus appears that Menkheperre B was deemphasizing the achievements of his father that he did not share, while focusing on the hereditary nature of the 3rd

⁵¹⁴ Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967)

⁵¹⁵ Cairo S.R. IV 952 and Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244)

⁵¹⁶ *it-ntr mri ntr ḥry sst3 m p.t t3 dw3.t ḥm-ntr n 'Imn wn ʿ.wy nw p.t m 'Ipt-sw.t ḥm-ntr 3-nw 'Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥm-ntr n Mnṯw nb w3st imy-r3 k3.w nw pr-Rʿ tpy ḥw.t n pr 'Imn ḥm-ntr n Hnm nb kbḥ*

hm-ntr Priest of Amun position that he did inherit from his father. It is also quite possible that space may have been an issue – the decisions regarding the exclusion of most of Tjanefer A's titles need not be cynical. When space is an issue, however, it is worth noting that the most prestigious titles of a father are not the ones to be mentioned, but those of a hereditary nature take clear precedence for the deceased and surviving relatives making burial decisions.

5.2.1.3 Sons of the High Priest of Amun

There are two exceptions to this trend of emphasizing the hereditary nature of temple titles. The first is when a father or grandfather was a High Priest of Amun. Even when the owner of the papyrus did not reach that status, it is still a highly important family connection to make. Four men with high-ranking titles list a father or grandfather as a High Priest of Amun.⁵¹⁷ No men with standard titles claim a male relative as a High Priest of Amun, further reinforcing the idea that family connections played a large role in the temple positions available to each member of the Theban elite. This is unsurprising, as the late 20th Dynasty family examples of the inheritance of temple titles, as discussed in Section 5.2, shows that elite positions were kept within the same priestly families for generations. While upward social mobility within the temple system was possible, the most elite positions remained entrenched within the same priestly family that retained political and kinship connections to the Tanite royal family in Lower Egypt.

⁵¹⁷ Ankhefenmut names his father, Menkheperre A, as High Priest of Amun on his two papyri, Cairo S.R. VII 10274 and Cairo S.R. VII 10652 (TR 14/7/35/9). Menkheperre B names his grandfather, Menkheperre A, as High Priest of Amun on one of his papyri, Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967). Tjanefer A names his father, Menkheperre A, as High Priest of Amun on one of his two papyri, Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244). Osorkon names his father, Shoshenq as High Priest of Amun on his two papyri, P. St. Petersburg SSL 1 (P. Denon B + C) and P. St. Petersburg SSL2.

5.2.1.4 Sons without Titled Fathers

The second exception is to list a father with no titles at all. This is much more common on the papyri of men with standard titles. In most cases, these fathers must have had positions within the temple, and in many cases, we know that they did in fact have prestigious positions of their own. The previous example of Menkheperre B and his father Tjanefer A is one example of this, although not to the extreme of eliminating all titles pertaining to the father.

But perhaps when studying the examples of the titles of a father being excluded or absent, one could read a devaluing of the deceased and his family lineage. Did these title-less fathers in reality achieve more than their sons, resulting in the son not wanting to mention the titles of the father for fear of pointing out his own shortcomings? Or, is this a simple issue of utilizing the limited space of a papyrus in the most economical way possible? In some cases, as with the example of Nesypaa's name shown here, space does seem to be an issue.



Figure 5.4. Excerpt from a Papyrus of Padikhonsu Illustrating the Name of Father Nesypaa, P. Leiden R.A. 58A, from the Totenbuch Projekt

However, with the stress that most men put on hereditary temple titles and personal advancement, it seems possible that many of these sons wanted to downplay either the loss of certain positions in the temple, or the fact that he was overlooked in favor of a brother who was given these titles instead.

5.2.2 Female Inheritance Patterns

Unlike men who stress the inheritance of specific temple titles and the social rank that accompanies it, women only stress the hereditary nature of their family's status. Even high-ranking women with strongly differentiated titles do not reference their mothers as having those

same titles, even when we know that was the case. For example, the coffin set last used for Nesykhonsu A in the Royal Cache was once used for her mother-in-law Isetemheb.⁵¹⁸ Both women held the titles of First Chief Musician of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods (*wr.t hnr.t n 'Imn hr.t wr.t tp.t n 'Imn-R' ny-sw.t ntr.w*), a fact that made Isetemheb's coffins more easily reused by Nesykhonsu A. However, in the deification decree of Nesykhonsu A,⁵¹⁹ Isetemheb's name is listed, but she is not provided with titles. In fact, none of the individuals listed are provided with titles. Because this was a deification decree, it was clearly done after the death of Nesykhonsu A, and she had no influence on the composition of the document. With a strong connection between Nesykhonsu A and her mother-in-law Isetemheb, with no intention to erase fully the name or memory from the coffin set once belonging to Isetemheb, it is an odd choice to not reference the inheritance of such a unique temple position outright. It is pertinent to explore these differences by first looking at the overall absence of mothers' titles, and by comparison, the abundance of fathers' titles on the papyri of both men and women.

5.3 Including Parents' Titles

Parents are by far the most common relatives included on funerary papyri for both men and women. Eighty-three fathers and fifty-four mothers are named in the corpus of 139 21st Dynasty funerary papyri with named relatives. Despite these high numbers, it does appear to be a choice to identify parents by name and/or titles on a funerary papyrus. The possibilities for the reason why parents might be named stem from the inheritance of temple positions and related social

⁵¹⁸ JE 26199; CG 61030

⁵¹⁹ Cairo CG 58032 (S.R. IV 991, J.E. 26228)

status, as the inclusion of parents follow a different pattern from other contemporary papyri groups.

For example, the corpus of 21st and 22nd Dynasty oracular amuletic decrees comprise 22 documents, twenty-one of which were published by I.E.S. Edwards (1960)⁵²⁰ and one of which was published by Briant Bohleke (1997).⁵²¹ Oracular amuletic decrees were recorded by scribes as if they were dictated by the gods regarding the protection of a certain individual. They appear to be Theban in origin, and thus the most popular gods mentioned are Amun, Mut, and Khonsu. As these texts were amulets, they are very narrow given their length (widths between 3 and 8.2 cm and lengths between 18.5 and 147 cm). They would be rolled and placed in a container to be worn around the neck. It appears that these decrees were written for infants or young children, as they provide promises of protection for a multitude of situations, including assurances of growth and a safe childhood. The decrees include protection from illness, injury, demons, angry gods, hostile magic, physical attack, issues of childbirth (for women) and all evil deeds that could befall a person.⁵²² Of these 22 decrees, 15 have the name of the mother of the individual in question preserved. There are 12 named references to fathers. According to Egyptian magical practice, naming a mother was of much greater importance with regards to effective magic, as only the mother of an individual could truly be known without question. Thus, naming an incorrect father would make the magical amulet ineffective for the wearer.

In comparison, 21st Dynasty funerary papyri focus on the father, indicating that effectiveness of the document was not dependent on correctly documenting parentage. There is

⁵²⁰ Edwards 1960, *op. cit.*

⁵²¹ Bohleke, *op. cit.*

⁵²² Geraldine Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London: The British Museum Press, 1994) 117-118.

demonstrable anxiety to identify the correct person via proper parentage, as demonstrated in not only oracular amuletic decrees, but also execration texts, where both mothers and fathers are frequently mentioned.⁵²³ 21st Dynasty funerary papyri seem to function independently of identifying the deceased correctly with his or her parentage, as only 139 of the 557 papyri of this corpus list any family members at all. Instead, the focus on the fathers who are included has much to do with the inheritance provided to the child in terms of position, property, and status.

5.3.1 Mothers' Titles

Mothers' titles are almost completely absent from papyri. No men list the titles of their mothers, despite 24 mothers being listed by name only. There are 30 mothers listed by name on women's papyri, with only three being provided with titles.

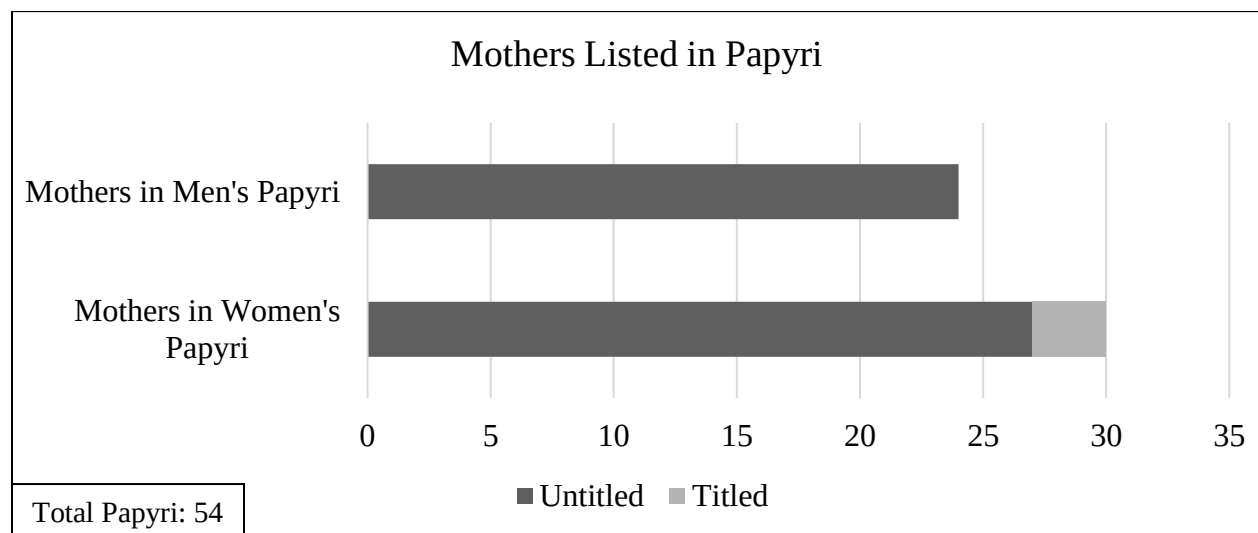


Figure 5.5. Attestations of Mothers Listed in Papyri Divided by Men and Women, Titled and Untitled

⁵²³ Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54, Fourth Printing (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) 140-141.

These three cases, however, appear under unique circumstances. The first is the previously mentioned example of Tayuherit,⁵²⁴ who lists her mother as a Mistress of the House and Chantress of Amun. Tayuherit herself is a Mistress of the House, Chantress of Amun, and Chief Singer in the Choir of Mut. It thus seems that referencing her mother in this manner is showcasing Tayuherit's advancement within the temple and accompanying elevated social status in the same vein as the example with Padiamun.⁵²⁵

The second time a mother is listed with titles is the case of Nesykhonsu.⁵²⁶ She and her mother are both Mistresses of the House and Chantresses of Amun. However, after her mother's name, there is an additional *sꜣ.t*, indicating that a third generation was to be added, but the scribe seemed to run out of space.

⁵²⁴ P. Leiden T 3 (AMS 40)

⁵²⁵ See Section 5.2.1.1.

⁵²⁶ Cairo J.E. 95706 (S.R. IV 638)

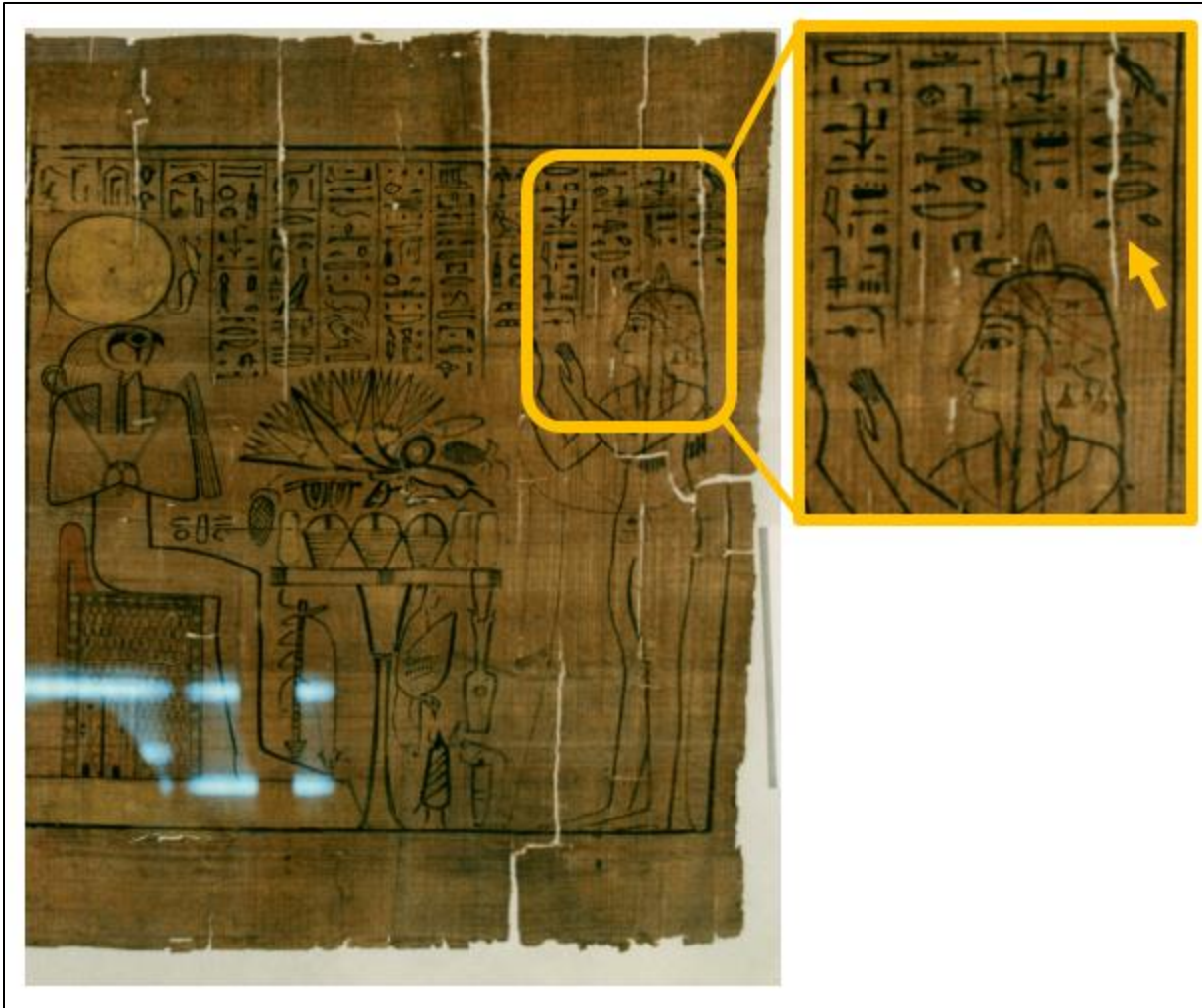


Figure 5.6. Excerpt from the Papyrus of Nesykhonsu, Cairo J.E. 95706 (S.R. IV 638), photo by author

Perhaps the mother's titles were listed not as an end unto themselves, but to show what was intended to be a multi-generational list of women and the continuity of their status through time.

The third case of a mother being listed with titles is tenuous. Both Andrzej Niwiński and the Totenbuch Projekt lists the papyrus of Djhutyiu⁵²⁷ as a fragment containing a vignette to Book of the Dead 148. Both also state that the mother, Taamuniu, is titled as a *nb.t pr*, while

⁵²⁷ Paris Louvre N. 3127

Djhutyiu herself has no titles listed. This papyrus was unavailable for study, and photographs of it could not be obtained. Because of its fragmentary state and a lack of first-hand experience studying this document, it is unclear if Djhutyiu never had titles, or if they are simply not preserved. With the facts presented and accepted at face value, it seems that the mother's title could have been included because Djhutyiu herself had none. This reference to a *nb.t pr* could be the only association to status (albeit limited) that Djhutyiu could reference for herself.⁵²⁸

5.3.2 Fathers' Titles

It has already been demonstrated that men tend to focus on the hereditary nature of titles, with an emphasis on their fathers. Fifty-four fathers are listed on men's papyri, which constitutes more than all of the other categories of identified family members combined. With the hereditary nature of temple titles, this paternal reference is not at all surprising. The consequences of inherited temple titles for both men and women, however, will be discussed below in Section 5.4.

⁵²⁸ It is also possible that the title of *nb.t pr* was only held by one woman of the household. This could indicate that Djhutyiu's mother (or mother-in-law) was still alive at the time of Djhutyiu's death.

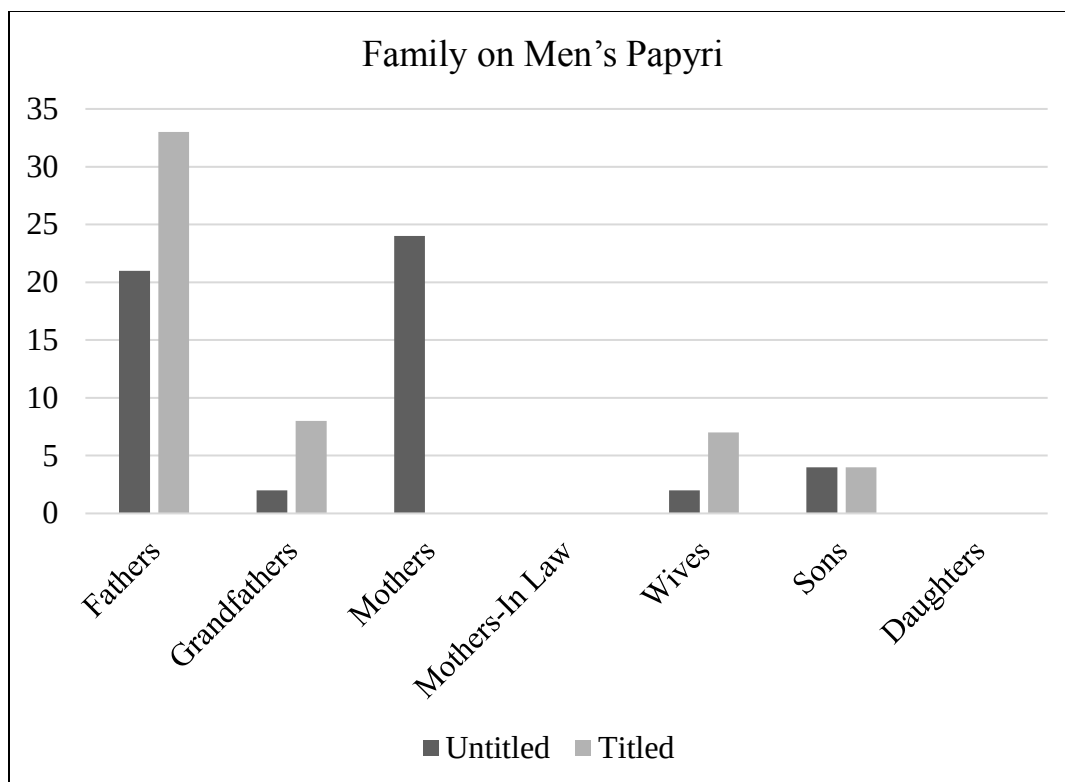


Figure 5.7. Family Members Listed on Men's Papyri

Women, too, also focus on the status of the men in their lives, with 19 papyri featuring the temple titles of fathers and husbands.

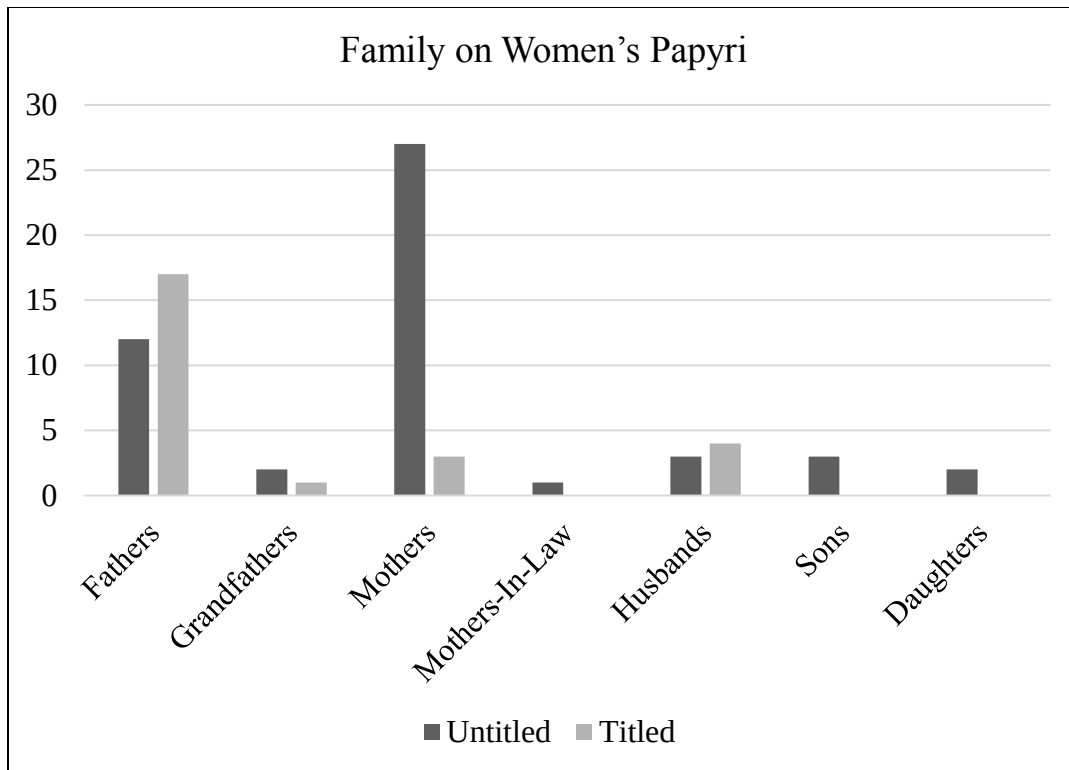


Figure 5.8. Family Members Listed on Women's Papyri

It is here that the concept of the decorum of providing titles on funerary papyri can be addressed. There is a noticeable impetus for both men and women to utilize the titles of male family members to gain social prestige.

In addition, there is almost a complete absence of mothers being presented with titles, and this is surprising considering many women did share the same temple positions with their mothers. One final point of scrutiny is the observable unimportance of spouses for both men and women. For women in particular, one might assume that a relationship to a husband would be important, but it is not reflected in the papyri as such. It seems little emphasis was placed on marital relationships in papyri. This may be due to the new freedoms afforded to women in the 21st Dynasty regarding their independent burials on equal status and frequency to men, as discussed in Chapter 3.

5.4 Inheritance Conclusions

To conclude, perhaps with this study of family relationships recorded on funerary papyri, one can begin to understand a potential fundamental difference in how the titles and positions of men and women were perceived: Men inherited titles and associated positions from their fathers, while women possibly “shared” the same temple positions with their mothers. In this conclusion, I pose two theories for this difference. It is by understanding this core difference that the importance of highlighting family connections on documents such as funerary papyri can be understood.

First, the inheritance of male titles could revolve around the death of the father as the moment in which the son can assume his inherited temple position and take ownership of the titles. These sons would have known during the lifetime of their father that they were due to inherit certain temple positions from their father, but they might not have had the opportunity to serve in that capacity until the death of their father. This seems particularly possible for the more elite and specific positions where only a certain number of men were permitted to perform their temple duties.

Women, on the other hand, may have been able to share in many temple positions during life in a way that men did not. Women may have been able to serve alongside their living mothers, as most of the temple positions for women do not have restrictions in the number of women who could participate in any given role. The fact that these women could share temple positions in life deemphasized the inherited aspect of the titles. It is therefore quite probable that the Egyptians did not view women’s temple positions as being inherited in the same way that a son had to wait for the death of his father to subsume a role within the temple.

Second, the inheritance of male titles might have come with the inheritance of physical property and wealth, making the aspect of inheritance much more controlled and emphasized. Many temple positions came with certain endowments of land, products to be received, and a certain amount of the reversion of offerings. These types of income associated with the temple positions were of limited quantity, thus restricting both the number of sons who could inherit titles from their fathers and the moment in time in which that inheritance could occur. Physical inheritance of property in Egypt was strictly regulated, thus making the titles associated with each income held to just as high a standard.

Here, too, could be the reason that women also stressed the titles of male relatives – they could have also benefited from a physical inheritance from these associations. This also accounts for the fact that so few women stress an association to a husband. If inheritance was meant to be passed from an elder generation to a younger, such a marital connection would not be of use to a woman. A connection to a father and a patrilineal line of inheritance could be of benefit, though, and it seems that the emphasis placed on fathers in funerary papyri is evidence towards that mindset. It seems that in addition to the written identities of the deceased, there is much to read in between the lines in terms of position, titles, and ownership related to the family and the social status maintained by continued reference to these relationships.

Appendix E

Papyri and Recorded Family Relationships

Name of Deceased	Title	Museum Number(s)	Relationship	Family Members Name	Titles
Amenhotep	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš n3 mnḥi.w n p3 imy-r3 mš^c</i>	Cairo J.E. 95646 (S.R. IV 543)			
	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn sš mš^c</i>	Cairo JE 95648	Mother	Iset	none
Satkhons	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	Cairo CG 58006 (S.R. IV 943, J.E. 95845)	Father	Ihry	none
Isis	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo SR 10239			
	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	Chicago FM 31326	Father	Serdjhuty	none
Padiamun	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10653 (TR 23/4/40/1)	Mother	Hered	none
			Wife	Hennutawy	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n.t 'Imn</i>
Nespaneferhor	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr n Mwt imy-r3 nfr.w n pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10229	Father	Serdjhuty	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn imy-r3 nfr.w n pr 'Imn</i>
	none	Cairo CG 58003 (S.R. IV 941, J.E. 95843)			
	<i>it-nṯr mr-nṯr ḥry sšt3 m p.t t3 dw3.t imy-r3 nfr.w n pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11503	Father	Serdjhuty	none
Userhetmes	<i>w^cb n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš pr-ḥḏ</i>	Cairo J.E. 34023 (S.R. VII 10225)			
	<i>w^cb n 'Imn sš pr-ḥḏ w^cb n Mwt</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10249 (TR 14/7/35/7)	Wife	Shebit	<i>nb.t-pr</i>

Padiamun	<i>it-ntr hm-ntr n 'Imn wn ʕ.wy nw p.t m 'lpt-sw.t sm.t m ʒh.t</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2)	Father	Ahaneferamun	<i>it-ntr hm-ntr n 'Imn</i>
			Grandfather	Hori	<i>it-ntr</i>
			Great-grandfather	Ahaneferamun	<i>it-ntr</i>
	<i>hm-ntr n 'Imn it-ntr mri hry sšt3 m p.t t3 dw3.t</i>	Cairo J.E. 95879 (S.R. IV 981)			
Amenemhet	none	Cairo S.R. VII 11495	Father	Ankhefmut	none
	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn hry kr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10230	Father	Serdjhuty	none
Maatkaretashepset	<i>nb.t-pr šmʕ.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo J.E. 95650 (S.R. VI 548, TR14/7/35/8)			
	none	Cairo S.R. IV 959	Mother	Isetemahkbit	none
			Father	Pinudjem II	High Priest of Amun
Harweben	<i>nb.t-pr šmʕ.t n 'Imn-Rʕ ny-sw.t ntr.w hm.t-ntr 2-nw n Mwt</i>	Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245)			
	<i>nb.t-pr šmʕ.t n 'Imn-Rʕ ny-sw.t ntr.w wr.t hnrt.t n 'Imn hm.t-ntr n Mwt</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6)	Paternal Grandfather	Menkheperre A	High Priest of Amun
			Mother	Isetemakhbit (D)	none
			Father	Pinudjem II	High Priest of Amun
Ankhefenmut	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn it-ntr n Mwt</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10274	Father	Menkheperre A	High Priest of Amun
	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn it-ntr n Mwt wr.t nb.t 'Išrw</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10652 (TR 14/7/35/9)	Father	Menkheperre A	High Priest of Amun
Djedkhonsuefankh	<i>hsl ʕ3 n 'Imn it-ntr n 'Imn-Rʕ imy-r3 pr imy-r3 šnw.ti sš wr n 'Imn-Rʕ</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11498 (TR 14/7/35/2)	Father	Shedsuheru	none
	<i>imy-r3 šnw.ti sš wr n 'Imn-Rʕ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4)			

Tawedjatre	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn šmꜥ.t n p3 ʿ n wꜥb n hpt</i>	Cairo J.E. 34033 (S.R. VII 11500)			
	<i>ḥsī.t ʿ3.t n Mwt nb.t p.t mr.t n ḥwt- ḥr wsr.t nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w šmꜥ.t n p3 grg wꜥb n Pth ḥsī.t n p3 ʿ n Mwt t3 šps.t ḥsī.t n p3 ʿ n Mwt nb.t 'Išrw</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11496	Mother	Taiuherit	none
Menkheperre B	<i>ḥm-ntr 3-nw n 'Imn imy-r3 imn.t n pr Rꜥ tpy 'Iwni (n) pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo JE 95638			
	<i>ḥm-ntr 3-nw n 'Imn imy-r3 imn.t n pr Rꜥ tpy 'Iwnw (n) pr 'Imn ḥm-ntr 2-nw Hnsw</i>	Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967)	Grandfather	Menkheperre A	High Priest of Amun
			Mother	Gauetseshen	none
Tjanefer A	<i>it-ntr mri ntr ḥry sšt3 m p.t t3 dw3.t wn ʿ.wy nw p.t m 'Ipt-sw.t ḥm-ntr 3-nw 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥm-ntr n Mntw nb w3st imy-r3 k3.w nw pr-Rꜥ tpy ḥw.t n pr 'Imn ḥm-ntr n Hnm nb kbḥ</i>	Cairo S.R. IV 952			
	<i>it-ntr mri ntr ḥry sšt3 m p.t t3 dw3.t ḥm-ntr n 'Imn wn ʿ.wy nw p.t m 'Ipt-sw.t ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥm-ntr n Mntw nb w3st imy-r3 k3.w nw pr-Rꜥ tpy ḥw.t n pr 'Imn ḥm-ntr n Hnm nb kbḥ</i>	Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244)	Wife	Gauetseshen	none
			Mother	Isetemakhbit (C)	none
Gautseshen A	none	Cairo S.R. VII 10265 (T.R. 14/7/35/3)			
	<i>nb.t-pr wr.t ḥnr.t tp.t n 'Imn šmꜥ.t n 'Imn ḥsī.t ʿ3.t (n) Mwt</i>	Cairo CG 40012 (J.E. 95838, S.R. IV 936)	Father	Menkheperre A	High Priest of Amun

Nodjmet	<i>mw.t ny-sw.t n nb t3.wy mwt n Hnsw p3 hrd wr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w hry šps.wt nb t3.wy</i>	London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook Collection	Husband	Herihor	High Priest of Amun
	none	London BM 10490	Husband Mother	Herihor Herer	High Priest of Amun none
Pinedjem I	?	Cairo No Number			
	<i>ny-sw.t nb t3.wy s3-Rꜥ n h.t=f mr=f</i>	Cairo CG 40006 (S.R. VII 11488)	Wife	Henuttawy A	none
Henettawy A	<i>hm.t wr.t tpy n hm=f nb.t t3.wy hsi ꜥ3 'Imn n 'Ip.t hm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t mw.t n p3 hm ntr tpy n 'Imn mw.t n ntr n 'Imn mw.t n ny-sw.t wr.t hm.t ntr n Mwt wr.t nb.t 'Isrw ꜥ3 n pr n Hnsw m Wꜥst hm.t ntr n ini pt Šw s3-Rꜥ mwt ntr n Hnsw p3 hrd</i>	Cairo CG 40005 (J.E. 95856, S.R. IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22)	Husband	Pinudjem I	High Priest of Amun
	<i>hm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t n nb.t t3.wy hm.t wr.t tpy n hm=f mw.t hm.t ntr n 'Imn mw.t n hm.t ntr n 'Imn m 'Ipt-šw.t mw.t n ntr.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w mw.t n hm.t wr.t n nb.t t3.wy mw.t n p3 hm ntr tpy n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w mw.t n p3 imy-r3 mšꜥ.w wr n t3.wy</i>	Cairo J.E. 95887 (S.R. IV 992)	Husband Father	Pinudjem I Ramesses XI	High Priest of Amun King
Maatkare A	<i>mw.t-m-h3t hm.t ntr n 'Imn m 'Ipt swt s3.t ny-sw.t hm.t ny-sw.t wr.t (n) nb t3.wy</i>	Cairo CG 40007 (J.E. 26229, S.R. IV 980)	Father	Pinudjem I	High Priest of Amun

Neskhons A	none	Cairo CG 58032 (S.R. IV 991, J.E. 26228)	Mother	Tahenudjhuty	none
			Husband	Pinedjem II	none
			Mother-In-Law	Istemkheb	none
			Daughter	Ihtawy	none
			Daughter	Nesytanebishru	none
			Son	Masaharta	none
			Son	Tchainefer	none
	<i>wr.t hnr.t n 'Imn hr.t wr.t tp.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 26230 (S.R. VII 11573, S.R. VII 11485)			
Pinedjem II	none	Cairo CG 58033 (J.E. 95684)	Mother	Istemkheb	none
	<i>hm-ntr tpy n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w imy-r3 mš^c wr ir 3h.t m 'Ipt-sw.t</i>	London BM EA 10793 (P. Campbell)			
	<i>hm-ntr tpy n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w imy-r3 mš^c wr shrr h.t ntr.w m ph.w ikr.w n mš^c.t shb wst hw.t-hr ssdf.w hw.w ntr.w</i>	Cairo S.R. VII 11492			
Nesitanebashru	<i>hr.t wr.t hnr.t tp.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	London BM 10554 (P. Greenfield)	Mother	Nesikhonsu	none
			Father	Pinudjem II	High Priest of Amun
Djedptahefankh	<i>hm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo SR 10246	Father	Masaharta	none
	none	Collection Brocklehurst			
	none	LOST			
Henettawy B	<i>s3.t ny-sw.t</i>	Cairo J.E. 51948 a-c			
	<i>s3.t ny-sw.t</i>	Cairo J.E. 51949	Father	Pinudjem I	High Priest of Amun
Henettawy C	<i>wr.t hnr.t n 'Imn</i>	New York MMA 25.3.28	Mother	Isetemakhbit	none
	<i>wr.t hnr.t n 'Imn</i>	New York MMA 25.3.29	Mother	Isetemakhbit	none
			Father	Menheperre	High Priest of Amun

Nauny	<i>ḥsī.t n nb.w Wꜣs.t 'Imn Mwt Ḥnsw nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny- sw.t nṯr.w šsp.t sꜣ.t ny-sw.t</i>	New York MMA 30.3.32			
	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥsī.t n nb.w Wꜣst 'Imn Mwt Ḥnsw sꜣ.t ny-sw.t</i>	New York MMA 30.3.31	Mother	Tenetbekhen	none
Amenmese	<i>it-nṯr 4-nw n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr n Ḥnsw</i>	Cairo J.E. 6262 (S.R. VII 10250, Boulaq 9)	Father	Nesypawittawy	<i>ḥm-nṯr n 'Imn</i>
			Son	Amenhotep	<i>ḥm-nṯr 4-nw n 'Imn</i>
			Son	Ahaen	<i>ḥm-nṯr 4-nw n 'Imn</i>
			Son	Amenmese	<i>ḥm-nṯr 4-nw n 'Imn</i>
Osorkon	<i>ḥm-nṯr n 'Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg SSL 1 (P. Denon B + C)	Grandfather	Osorkon I	King
			Mother	Nesytawedjatakhet	
			Father	Shoshenq	High Priest of Amun
	<i>ḥm-nṯr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. St. Petersburg SSL2	Grandfather	Osorkon I	King
			Mother	none	none
			Father	Shoshenq	High Priest of Amun
Amenhotep	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn wꜥb n Mwt ḥm nṯr n 'Imn nb prt pꜣ wdb.w n 'Imn-Rꜥ</i>	P. Avignon A.69	Father	Nesyamun	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn wꜥb n Mwt ḥm-nṯr n 'Imn nb prt pꜣ wdb.w n 'Imn- Rꜥ</i>
			Grandfather	none	<i>wꜥb n Mḥt wꜥb n Ḥnsw wꜥb n 'lst</i>
Ankhefenkhons	<i>ḥm- nṯr n wīꜣ n 'Imn- Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3013 A-B	Mother	Nesykhonsupahered	none
			Father	Djediah	none
Padikhonsu	<i>ḥry ꜥt n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Leiden R.A. 58A	Father	Nesypaaa	none
Tentosorkon	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 9919	Mother	Taremetenbast	none
Bakenweren	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ nb tꜣ.wy ḥry ḥb n 'Imn m 'Ipt-sw.t</i>	none	Wife	Miaa	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>
			Son	Amenhotep	none
			Son	Paennesytawy	none
Inpehefnakht	<i>ḥry nfw.w wīꜣ n pr 'Imn-Rꜥ ny- sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. Cambridge E.92.1904	Father	Ashaikhet	<i>ḥry nfw.w wīꜣ n pr 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>
	<i>ḥry nfw.w wīꜣ n pr 'Imn-Rꜥ ny- sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 9932	Father	Ashaikhet	<i>ḥry nfw.w wīꜣ n pr 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>
Inipehefenhet	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥry nfw.w wīꜣ n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Cologny C	Son	Gairuebwab	none

Taiuhenetmut	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w</i>	P. Chicago OIM 18039	Father	Nesypaherenhat	<i>sš pr-ḥd</i>
Ankhefenkhonsu	<i>it-n_{tr} n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w t₃ty bsn n pr-'Imn</i>	P. Oxford Bodleian Library No Number	Father	Amenemipet	<i>it-n_{tr} wn.w n.t pt n 'Ipt-sw.t</i>
			Son	Hor	<i>it-n_{tr} n 'Imn</i>
Djedmutiuefankh	<i>it-n_{tr} n Mwt</i>	P. St. Petersburg SSL 4	Father	Djedkhonsuiuefankh	<i>it-n_{tr} n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w</i>
Nesykhonsupahered Ikauhered	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Colmar o.Nr.	Father	Djedhoriuefankh	<i>ḥry 'thw</i>
	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Colmar o.Nr.	Father	Djedhoriuefankh	<i>ḥry 'thw</i>
Tanytbastet	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Paris BN 128	Mother	Djedimenetiuiesankh	none
			Father	Dikhonsuiudu	none
Khonsumes	<i>w^cb n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w nbi n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Paris BN 20-23	Father	Paenamun	<i>s₃b w^cb n 'Imn</i>
	<i>w^cb n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w nbi n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Paris BN 153-155			
Sutymes	<i>ḥry sš.w (n) ḥw.t-n_{tr} n 'Imn ḥry ḥmw.w w^cb ḥry ḥ₃w.t sš.w (n) ḥw.t-n_{tr} m 'Ip.t-sw.t ḥry s₃w.ti sš.w n pr-ḥd n pr (n) 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w</i>	P. Paris BN 38-45	Wife	Henutneteru	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>
Pennesuttawy	<i>w^cb ḥry nfw.w w₃ n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10064	Father	Inipehefnakht	none
			Mother	Tamenu	none
Nesmutaaneru	none	P. London BM EA 9982	Mother	Tamedmut	none
Djedmutiufankh	<i>w^cb n ḥ₃.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w it-n_{tr} n Mwt wr.t nb.t 'Išrw</i>	P. London BM EA 10096 (P. Salt 1,134-136)	Father	Khonsmose	<i>it-n_{tr} n Mwt</i>
Padikhons	<i>it-n_{tr} n Ḥnsw m W₃s.t nfr ḥtp kbḥ.w it-n_{tr} mri-n_{tr} ḥsy n n_{tr}=f</i>	P. London BM EA 10312	Mother	Nesytawedjatakhet	none
			Father	Iuefenkhonsu	none
Mehmuthat	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10005			
	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10035	Father	Shenperduat	none
Nesy	<i>w^cb 'k m 'Ipt-sw.t</i>	P. London BM EA 10031	Father	Pendjehuty	<i>w^cb 'k m 'Ipt-sw.t</i>
			Mother	Ankhesenast	none
Nesmutankhti	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn šps.t</i>	P. London BM EA 10036	Father	Djedkhonsuiuefankh	<i>ḥm-n_{tr} n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w</i>

Khonsu	<i>w^cb n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3011; P. Genf D 190	Mother	Tjenetperneb	none
			Father	Djedkhonsu	<i>s3b w^cb n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w</i>
Hor	<i>it-n_{tr} mri-n_{tr} wn ^c3.wy n.w p.t m 'Ipt-sw.t</i>	P. Berlin P. 3121	Father	Patawendiamun	<i>it-n_{tr} mry-n_{tr}</i>
Nesyamuntawy	<i>it-n_{tr} n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w ^c3 n mw pr (n) 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3153	Father	Hor	none
Nesyamun	<i>it-n_{tr} n 'Imn-R^c it-n_{tr} n Mwt it-n_{tr} n H_{ns}w</i>	P. Turin 1780	Father	Paneferher	none
Tanedjemut	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w n Mwt H_{ns}w</i>	P. Turin 1784	Father	Ahmesneferu	<i>it-n_{tr}</i>
Nesytanetasheru	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53003 (Nr. 1850)	Mother	Nesmut	none
			Father	Nesmut	none
Gautseshen	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53010 (Nr. 1852)	Mother	Itawy	none
Anmesu	none	P. Turin CGT 53006 (Nr. 1853)	Mother	Djedaset	none
Djedkhonsuiuefankh	<i>w^cb (n) h3.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53004 (Nr. 1854)	Father	Iimiseba	<i>w^cb n 'Imn</i>
Padikhonsu	<i>w^cb n 'Imn it-n_{tr} n Mwt sš šnw.t 'Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53002 (Nr. 1859 / 2)	Father	Hori	<i>n t3 šnw.ty 'Imn</i>
Nesyamun	none	P. Turin CGT 53005 (Nr. 1856)	Mother	Aset	none
			Father	Pdiamun	none
			Mother	Tabaketenmut	none
Nesykhonsupahered	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Leiden T 25 (AMS 43)	Father	Nesysueramun	<i>hm-n_{tr} n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w sš hw.t-n_{tr} n pr 'Imn</i>
Iuefenmut	<i>k3w.ti n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Leiden T 29 (AMS 50)	Mother	Mehmuthat	none
			Father	Nesyamun	none
Djedmenetch	<i>it-n_{tr} n 'Imn ny-sw.t n_{tr}.w s^cb sš n 'Imn-R^c</i>	P. Leiden AMS 36	Father	Djedkhonsu	<i>w^cb n 'Imn sš n 'Imn</i>
			Son	Amenmese	none

Tayukhertiu	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥs.t ʿz.t n pz ʿ n Mwt</i>	P. Leiden T 3 (AMS 40)	Mother	Tanetamun	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>
			Father	Khonsumes	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr sš.w ḥw.t-ntr n pr n Mwt. ḥry sš.w pr-ḥd n pr 'Imn imy-rz ḥw.wt nwb n 'Imn imy-rz n mn.w m 'lpt-sw.t imy-rz pr-ḥd n 'Imn</i>
Paser	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w m 'lpt-sw.t m Wzst ḥsy ʿz n ntr=f 'Imn wꜥbꜥ.wy m 'lpt-sw.t it-ntr n 'Imn m irw=f nb kk (?)</i> <i>it-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr mry n 'Imn m 'lpt-sw.t ḥry-tp tꜣty šḥtpw ḥzt 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Leiden T 7 (AMS 34)	Wife	Taertapet	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>
			Mother	none	none
Amenmese	<i>it-ntr mry ḥry kꜣ.t n pr 'Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg P-1-1952 (P. Tallinn)	Father	Padiamun-nebnsutawwy	<i>it-ntr mry.n it-ntr ḥry ḥmw.w n pr 'Imn</i>
Penmaat	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn sš ḥw.t-ntr</i>	P. London BM EA 10029	Father	Merenmaat	<i>it-ntr sš ḥw.t- ntr n pr Mꜣꜥt</i>
			Grandfather	Penrenenutet	none
Padimut	<i>ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w sš mšꜥ.wt n tꜣ dr</i>	P. London BM EA 10093	Father	Nespautytawwy	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>
Neskhons	<i>šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10329	Father	Bakenamun	none
Nesypawittawwy	<i>iry ʿz n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Berlin P. 3012 A + B	Father	Dehutymaat	<i>iry ʿz n pr 'Imn</i>
Djeddjhutuyuefankh	none	P. Paris Louvre E. 3238 (P. Anastasi 1037)	Mother	Tanetirubastet	none
			Father	Djedmontu	none
Padimut	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn</i>	P. Dresden Aeg. 776	Father	Ankhefkhonsu	none
Shedsukhonsu	<i>sš n pr 'Imn wꜥb sš n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Dublin MS 1671	Father	Paennesytawwy	<i>wꜥb ḥry nfw.t wiꜣ n pr 'Imn</i>

Herusaiset	none	P. Dublin MS 1675	Father	Isetresy	none
Isetemakhbit	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9904	Mother	Maatemheb	none
Tameniu	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10002	Husband	Inypehefnakht	none
			Son	Paennesytawy	none
	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10008	Husband	Inypehefnakht	none
			Son	Paennesytawy	none
Amenmese	<i>imy-r3 kḏ.w n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9918 (P. Salt 341)	Mother	Taremetenbast	none
Paneferher	<i>ḥry-tp ^c.t n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10327	Father	Dikhonsiry	<i>ḥry-tp ^c.t n pr 'Imn</i>
			Grandfather	Nesmut	<i>ḥry-tp ^c.t n pr 'Imn</i>
			Great-grandfather	Anonymous	<i>ḥry-tp ^c.t n pr 'Imn</i>
			Great-Great-Grandfather	Amenemheb	<i>ḥry-tp ^c.t n pr 'Imn</i>
Djhuty	<i>s3b k3r</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3245 (E. 850)	Wife	Tchii	<i>nb.t-pr</i>
Djedmentetieufankh	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. Marseille 292	Father	Iuefenamun	none
			Wife	Hennutawy	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>
Djedkhonsiufankh	none	P. London BM EA 74135	Mother	Nesirty	none
			Father	Bakenkhons	none
Ankhefenmut	<i>nby n 'Imn-R^c</i>	P. Berlin P. 3017	Father	Nesypaswnuhryhat	none
Ankhefenmut	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg SSL 3	Father	Suauyamun	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn</i>
Ankhefenamun	<i>ḥry k3.t ḥnty pr 'Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg 1109	Father	Djedkhonsiuefankh	none
Hennutawy	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10018	Grandfather	Menkheperre	none
			Father	Hor	none
			Mother	Ankhesenmut	none
	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. Richmond 54-10	Grandfather	Menkheperra	none
			Father	Hor	none
			Mother	Ankhesenmut	none
Nesytanebtawy	none	P. Paris BN 138-140, E. 3661	Mother	Tanetdikhonsu	none
Horemakhbit	<i>it-nṯr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš ḥw.t-nṯr n pr 'Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10339	Mother	Kakaia	none

Anhay	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn wrt ḥnr.t n nb.wt ib.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10472	Mother	Neferiyti	none
			Husband	Nebsumenu	none
Merefenmut	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	Cairo CG 40021 (J.E. 95858, S.R. IV 957)	Father	Serdjhuty	none
			Husband	Nesypakaef	<i>w^cb n 'Imn</i>
Dhutynakht	<i>w^cb n 'Imn nbi n p3 sšm ḥw n 'Imn</i>	Cairo J.E. 26231 (J.E. 26191, S.R. IV 995)	Mother	Nesytanebetisheru	none
Ikhy	none	Cairo J.E. 95663 (S.R. IV 564)	Father	Ikhy	none
Nesykhonsu	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 95706 (S.R. IV 638)	Mother	Tarer	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c</i>
Amenemipet	<i>ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥry sšt3 ḥry sš kd.wt n pr 'Imn</i>	Cairo J.E. 95713 (S.R. IV 646)	Father	Ankhy	none
Djedamuniuefankh	<i>ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 95716 (S.R. IV 650)	Father	Iuthek	<i>ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w imy-r3 t3ty niwt</i>
	<i>ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo J.E. 95718 (S.R. IV 652)	Father	Iuthek	<i>ḥm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w imy-r3 t3ty niwt</i>
Djedamuniuefankh	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w s3b n t3 knbt n niwt</i>	Cairo S.R. IV 530 (J.E. 4891)	Father	Iuefenamun	none
Nesyamun	<i>w^cb n M3^c.t w^cb n 'Imn</i>	New York MMA 26.2.51	Father	Merenmaat	<i>it-ntr sš ḥw.t-ntr</i>
	<i>w^cb n M3^c.t w^cb n 'Imn</i>	New York MMA 26.2.52	Mother	Taenwenmetherib	none
Djedkhonsuefankh	<i>it-ntr mry imy st n 3.t n pr 'Imn</i>	Brooklyn Museum 37.1782 E	Father	Nesyamun	<i>ḥm-ntr n 'Imn sš ḥw.t-ntr n 'Imn</i>
			Grandfather	Hor	none
Ankhenkhonsunmut	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Brooklyn Museum 37.1826 E	Father	Mitetenwennefer	none
Djedmutiuesankh	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Ann Arbor 3524; P. Munich ÄS 30 + 719	Mother	Mutemip	none
Buiruharmut	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Cleveland 1914.725	Father	Bakenmut	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>
			Grandfather	Meryamunhotep	none

Bakenmut	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Cleveland 1914.724	Father	Amenhotep	<i>s^cb</i>
Bakenmut	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Cleveland 1914.882	Father	Amenhotep	<i>s^cb</i>
Ankhefenkhonsu	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn</i>	P. Cologne CI	Father	Nakhefmaat	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>
Taenimnetheretib	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Cologne CII	Mother	Amenhat	none
			Father	Iuefkhonsu	<i>hm-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>
Nesypernebu	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w mri-ntr wn ʿz.wy ḥ.w ḥry m 'lpt-sw.t</i>	P. Cologne CVI	Father	Mehamenhat	<i>it-ntr n 'Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w mry-ntr</i>
Djedmaatiuesankh	<i>nb.t-pr šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Cologne CVIII	Mother	Anan	none
Hor	none	P. Den Haag 40/86	Mother	Butirtyharkhonsu	none
			Father	Ankhefenkhonsu	none
Ankhesenaset	none	P. Den Haag 43/89	Mother	Nebetakhty	none
Paiestchenef	<i>it-ntr mry-ntr</i>	P. Edinburgh 212.113 (2)+(3)	Father	Meryennefer	none
Isetemakhbit	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Heidelberg Ä.I. Hieratisch II	Mother	Tami	none
Nesykhonsu	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn šps.t</i>	P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 488 (37.1); P. Houston 31.72	Mother	Iuesenhesimut	none
Ast	none	P. London BM EA 10703	Mother	Ta-[...]-resy	none
			Father	Kapef-[...]	none
Aset	<i>šm^c.t n 'Imn</i>	P. Munich ÄS 17	Mother	Ankhesenaset	none
Amenemipet	none	P. Oxford 1878.236	Aset	Mother	none
Djhutyiiu	none	P. Paris Louvre N. 3127	Mother	Taamuniiu	<i>nb.t-pr</i>
Padiamun	<i>mry-ntr</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3139	Father	Padikhonsu	none

Nesykhonsupahered	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w šps.t</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3140	Father/ Husaband?	Nesypawitawy	<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn</i>
			Father/ Husaband?	Padimut	none
	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w šps.t</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3141	Father/ Husaband?	Nesypawitawy	<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn</i>
			Father/ Husaband?	Padimut	none
Bakenmut	<i>wꜥb n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w it-nꜥr n Ḥnsw n wꜣst nꜥr ḥtp sš nꜥr ḥtp.w n pr 'Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3297	Father	Horiset	<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn</i>
Nesykhonsupahered	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w wr.t ḥnrt.t n 'Imn ḥr sꜣ tpy šps.t</i>	P. Pairs Louvre E. 31856	Mother	Nesitanebetasheru	none
			Father	Pinudjem II	High Priest of Amun
Pentaperuser	none	P. Paris Louvre E. 20257	Mother	Tanehmetes	none
Sutymes	<i>it-nꜥr n 'Imn</i>	P. Vatican 38607 (P. Vatican 30)	Father	Djedtuef	none
Isetemakhbit	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n 'Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nꜥr.w</i>	P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 12000	Father	Webenpashuenmut	none
Ankhefenkhonsu	none	P. Warrington WAGMG : RA 298	Mother	Taaatempawia	none
Swnerpaneb	<i>tꜣw mꜥꜥ.t n 'Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg 1113; P. Odessa Nr. 52974	Wife	Mutu	<i>nb.t-pr</i>

CHAPTER 6.

THE ROLE OF PAPYRI IN BURIAL ASSEMBLAGE REUSE

6.1 21st Dynasty Coffin Reuse

As remnants of social crisis, 21st Dynasty funerary papyri can illuminate much about the anxiety of being limited to an abbreviated burial assemblage or a lack of resources for the construction of other types of funerary materiality. One subject that was a clear point of crisis in the 21st Dynasty was the overwhelming need to reuse coffins. The reuse of 21st Dynasty coffins has been well documented in recent years, stemming from the research of Kathlyn Cooney.⁵²⁹ Observations regarding usurpation,⁵³⁰ theft in the late Ramesside Period and early Third Intermediate Period,⁵³¹ and reburial with the reuse of royal funerary equipment have long been known.⁵³² The recognition that reuse was a widespread, frequently sanctioned, and practiced social norm of the 21st Dynasty, however, is a new development in Egyptology stemming from the systematic study of coffins by the UCLA 21st Dynasty Coffins Project.⁵³³ While the research

⁵²⁹ Kathlyn Cooney, “In the Coffin Reuse: Ritual Materialism in the Context of Scarcity,” *Proceedings of the First Vatican Coffin Conference: 19-22 June 2013*, editors Alessia Amenta and Hélène Guichard (Vatican City: Musei Vaticani Città del Vaticano, 2017) 101-112 provides an overview of the UCLA 21st Dynasty Coffins Project as well as recent project statistics.

⁵³⁰ Andrzej Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies* (Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern, 1988) 54-55.

⁵³¹ Daniel Polz, “Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung in der thebanischen Nekropole,” *MDAIK* (1990) 301-336; Kathlyn Cooney, “Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification,” *JARCE* 47 (2011) 11-12.

⁵³² David A. Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25: Chronology, Typology, Developments*. Denkschriften Der Gesamtakademie Bd. 56. (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009) 220-231.

⁵³³ This project has worked in cooperation with a multitude of museums and research entities, including: Musei Vaticani, Vatican City (Dr. Alessia Amenta); Museo Egizio, Turin (Dr. Christian Greco); Museo Archaeologico, Florence (Dr. Maria-Christina Guidotti); The Louvre, Paris (Dr. Hélène Guichard); Kunsthistorischesmuseum, Vienna (Dr. Regina Hoelzl); Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden (Dr. Christian Greco; Elsbeth Geldhof); The Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm (Dr. Fredrik Helander); Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (Dr. Anne Haslund-Hansen);

of this project is ongoing, preliminary results clearly reveal that over half of coffins from the 21st Dynasty exhibit some form of reuse.

Coffin Reuse Rates by Dynasty							
Dating	Number of Coffin Pieces Studied	Reuse Confidence Score ⁵³⁴					Reuse Percentage
		0	1	2	3	TBD	
19 th Dynasty	58	57	1	0	0	0	1.72%
20 th Dynasty	41	15	7	4	15	0	63.41%
21 st Dynasty	188	45	36	18	81	8	71.81%
Late 21 st /Early 22 nd Dynasty	45	23	10	1	11	0	48.89%
Totals	332	140	54	23	107	8	46.5%
Totals for Reuse with High Confidence				23	107		39.16%

Table 6.1. Coffin Reuse Rates by Dynasty

In addition, some distinct groups of coffins, organized by provenance in the Theban region, have much higher reuse rates than the overall corpus. For example, all the coffins of the Royal Cache exhibit strong signs of reuse.

Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen *Nationalmuseet* (Dr. Mogens Jørgensen); The British Museum, London (Dr. John Taylor); National Museums Liverpool World Museum, Liverpool (Dr. Ashley Cooke); The University of Manchester Museum, Manchester (Dr. Campbell Price); Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (Dr. Frederike Seyfried); Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Dr. Janice Kamrin); Musée Royaux d'Arte et Histoire, Brussels (Dr. Luc Delvaux); The Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Sara Hassan).

⁵³⁴ The Reuse Confidence Score is based on the ongoing research of Kathlyn Cooney and the UCLA 21st Dynasty Coffins Project. The 0-3-point reuse score is meant to grade the confidence of observable reuse, with a score of 0 indicating that no reuse can be seen, and a score of 3 indicating that there is definite reuse on a coffin piece. A score of 1 means possible, yet unconfirmable reuse based on the current research methods of the project, and a score of 2 means there are signs of what are probably reuse, but other factors, such as damage, restoration, craftsmanship errors, etc., are complicating the ability to observe definite reuse. For a more detailed discussion of the Reuse Confidence Score, see Marissa Stevens and Kathlyn Cooney, “The Ongoing Study of Coffin Reuse in 21st Dynasty Egypt,” *Backdirt: Annual Review of the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA* (Los Angeles: UC Regents, 2015) 42-47.

Coffin Reuse Rates by Location							
Provenance	Number of Coffin Pieces Studied	Reuse Confidence Score					Reuse Percentage
		0	1	2	3	TBD	
Bab el-Gasus	69	11	20	6	32	0	84.06%
TT 320	31	0	3	3	25	0	100%
MMA Tombs 59, 60, & 65	24	4	2	0	12	6	58.33%
Totals	124	15	25	9	69	6	83.33%
Totals for Reuse with High Confidence				9	69		63.49%

Table 6.2. 21st Dynasty Coffin Reuse Rates by Provenance

The ways in which a coffin could be reused by the Theban priesthood of the 21st Dynasty are numerous and vary in terms of the amount of time invested, the resources obtainable, the skill and availability of the craftsmen, and the quality of the coffin to be reused. The UCLA 21st Dynasty Coffins Project utilizes a protocol for recognizing and documenting types of reuse. This protocol constantly develops as more is learned about coffin construction, decoration, and style. Currently, the project recognizes the following types of reuse, which may be independently visible or occurring in combination with other reuse types.

UCLA 21 st Dynasty Coffins Project Reuse Categories	
Reuse Type	Definition
Name Reuse	The space containing the name of the deceased on the coffin exhibits signs where an older name has been scrubbed or chiseled away, and a new name has been added. It is sometimes possible to read the old name. Some coffins retain more than one name – a name has been erased and a new name added in some places, but in other places, the old name remains with no modification.
Blank Space for Name	The space for the name was never filled-in, and a blank space remains. Oftentimes, this blank space has been varnished over, indicating that there was never the intention to fill in the name. It is possible that names were written over the varnish to make it easier for them to be erased at a later date.

Decorative Reuse	This category refers any number of decorative changes that could take place to update a coffin. Earlier decoration could be changed to meet a more current style for the time period. Decoration could be modified to match areas that had previously been broken (for example, around the broken mortars and tenons), or to update style (for example, the wig or collar).
Wood Modification	The structure of the coffin has been modified for several reasons. The wood could have been purposely shaved down in order to fit the size of a coffin to a coffin set for which it was not originally intended. This is most commonly seen around the shoulders, which could be too wide to fit the inner and outer coffin together. Also, mummy boards are often cut to shorten the height so that they fit inside an inner coffin. Lids exhibit signs of modification to fit cases for which they were not intended, and vice versa.
Plaster Modification	Wood modifications can lead to plaster modifications, as gaps in the structure of a coffin were filled with large amounts of plaster. In addition, other changes, such as filling in the relief work of a wig intended to be covered, were done with plaster and then repainted.
Mismatched Construction and Decoration	This category refers to coffins where the quality or type of construction does not match the quality or type of decoration. For example, some coffins have a very high quality of wood and construction technique, but very poor-quality decoration, indicating that these pieces were reused and redecorated. Also, a coffin might exhibit the physical structure of one coffin type but have the decoration of another. For example, a Ramesside “daily dress” coffin, which has the modeling of the human body, including posed arms, legs, and feet visible would have the decoration of a “yellow coffin” instead of “daily dress” decoration.
Mismatched Lid and Case	Like the above category, this refers to lids and cases that do not fit in terms of their construction quality and/or decoration. Sometimes it is obvious that the decoration does not match and no effort was placed into rectifying cut-off lines of texts, friezes that do not match, etc. Sometimes the wood species and quality do not match between lid and case, suggesting that these pieces were not intended for one other but combined into a single coffin at a later date. Occasionally, the mortars and tenons do not match between a lid and a case, or the size of the lid and case differ, again suggesting these pieces were not made for one another.
Mismatched Ledges	Traditionally, coffin lids and cases are either both stepped or both flat, ensuring a close fit of the two pieces. Lids and cases that have been reused to fit one other sometimes exhibit features where the lid may have a step, but the case is flat, or vice versa. This suggests that the pieces were not made with the intent to function together, but have been opportunistically acquired and reused together.
Multiple Reuse	This category refers to coffins where multiple, discrete occasions of reuse can be observed and validated. This category has a wide range of possible examples, including the visibility of three or more names, three or more plaster and paint layers with older decoration visible, evidence that the wood was joined and re-joined in different ways multiple times, and pieces

	that exhibit a type of reuse on their own and also do not match one another as a set.
18th Dynasty Markers	Coffins in this category show traditional signs of 18 th Dynasty construction and/or decoration. They may exhibit the traditional size, shape, and physical style of an 18 th Dynasty coffin and/or still retain the decorative features of a coffin from that time period.
Ramesside Markers	Just like the above category, these coffins show traditional signs of Ramesside construction and/or decoration. They may exhibit the traditional size, shape, and physical style of a Ramesside coffin and/or still retain the decorative features of a coffin from that time period.
Gender Modification	This category refers to coffins that have switched from a male to female coffin, or vice versa. 21 st Dynasty coffins have several unique gendered features: The wigs are different and distinct for males and females. The ears are either exposed ears for men, or just rounded jewelry visible for women. Males' hands are fistled and females' hands are flat. Women have breasts depicted at the bottom of their wig lappets. Men have elongated beards. Some or all of these physical features are observably changed. In addition, sometimes names and/or titles of the wrong gender are present on a coffin.
Contextual Reuse	A single coffin piece might not exhibit any signs of reuse itself, but a known provenance and associated burial assemblage can be indicative of reuse. For example, an inner and outer coffin of the same final assemblage might have different names and titles preserved on the pieces. The funerary papyri of an assemblage might identify a different person than who is named on the coffin or might be for a different gender than the one who was intended for the coffin.

Table 6.3. 21st Dynasty Coffin Reuse Categories and Definitions

These reuse types also highlight the important conflict of inherently understanding reuse itself. Reuse is a binary: an object is either reused, or it is not. Observable reuse, however, lies on a gradient. If a coffin was reused without any modifications, or if the reuse was so complete that no changes to the construction or decoration can be detected by modern research methods, we may lose valuable information about the social life and recommodification of a coffin set. Studying whole assemblages, however, can aid in reconstructing the complex social history of some of these objects and aid in our understanding of the recommodification of ritualized objects and, by extension, the temporality of the rituals themselves. If social consensus, decorum, and

trends of high culture⁵³⁵ dictated that coffin reuse was standard practice in Thebes during the 21st Dynasty, then it must have been understood that coffin use was temporary. Rituals involving the coffin, therefore, would have been viewed as transformative and ephemeral, rather than enduring and eternal.⁵³⁶

Perhaps it was because of the more temporary functions of the coffin or coffin set that funerary papyri grew popular in burials of the Theban elite. These funerary papyri functioned as a defensive burial practice in their own right, with the ability both to mirror the content of coffins and tomb walls, and to go beyond traditional burial motifs and expand to incorporate new content. Now, funerary papyri are by no means a new feature of 21st Dynasty Egyptian burials. At the transition to the 18th Dynasty, Books of the Dead were incorporated into many elite burial assemblages. However, these New Kingdom funerary papyri only include Book of the Dead content and are more limited in terms of their layout of both text and image. The Theban priestly elite of the 21st Dynasty were able to utilize – for a number of reasons – a greater breadth of religious and ritual content in their papyri than previously seen. Here, I argue that this expansion of content represents much more than a religious shift or newfound freedom resulting from a lack of authoritative kingship in Thebes. The inclusion of a greater variety of content in these papyri is a societal trend meant to reflect one's unique social status and access to restricted knowledge, traits that the Theban priesthood prized. Here it seems that papyri can function as a more concealed repository of restricted and ritualized content acting as a counterpart to the displayed decoration on coffins. The issue of reused coffins, however, prompts additional

⁵³⁵ John Baines, *High Culture and Experience in Ancient Egypt* (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2013) 6-11.

⁵³⁶ Cooney 2011, op. cit., 3-44.

questions regarding the identifying information and personalization presented on both the coffins and papyri of 21st Dynasty burial assemblages.

The usage of papyri among 21st Dynasty assemblages suggest that they were not considered a necessary component of the burial, as section 6.1.1 will demonstrate. Their expanded use and content, however, suggest a greater emphasis on the papyrus as an object type that is directly related to the issues surrounding the navigation of coffin reuse. This relationship suggests that first, one of the functions of funerary papyri in the 21st Dynasty was to act as a strategic reaction to coffin reuse. This use of papyri was not as widespread as some may think, but rather a specific, planned reaction to less successful coffin reuse. Second, the type of coffin reuse is directly linked to whether or not a burial assemblage contained papyri.

6.1.1 Complete Burial Assemblages

Of the 557 known 21st Dynasty funerary papyri, 161 were found in relatively secure archaeological contexts.⁵³⁷ While the burial cache of Bab el-Gasus in particular is fraught with inconsistencies and problems of accurate burial assemblage reconstruction, 153 assemblages have been identified through museum scholarship and have been included in this study.⁵³⁸ To the well-known burial caches listed here, one can add 14 additional burial assemblages from

⁵³⁷ See section Chapter Two section 2.3 and relevant subsections for a full discussion of these archaeological context, their excavations, and the material preserved.

⁵³⁸ As Discussed in Chapter Two section 2.3.2, the excavations by Eugène Grébaut and Georges Daressy were done in haste and produced incomplete records of the objects found and incorrect notes on the assemblages. In addition, Daressy compiled two lists (the A List and B List) of the objects and their division into lots intended for various museums worldwide. These two lists have significant discrepancies that are not able to be rectified. For the earliest publications on the Bab el-Gasus cache, see Georges Daressy, “Les sépultures des prêtre d’Amon à Deir el-Bahari,” *Annales du service des antiquités de l’Égypte*, Number 1 (1900) 141-148 and Georges Daressy, “Les Cercueils des Prêtres D’Amon (Deuxième Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari),” *Annales du service des antiquités de l’Égypte*, Number 8 (1907) 3-38.

early collections with relatively secure provenance and reconstruction. This brings the total of secure burial assemblages to 188. Of these 188 assemblages, 98 – or a little more than half – have papyri.⁵³⁹

Location of Archaeological Contexts and Associated Assemblages			
Location	21st Dynasty Coffin Assemblages	Assemblages with Papyri	Papyri
TT 320	11	9	17
Bab el-Gasus	153	68	112
MMA 59, 60, & 65	10	7	13
Other Secure Contexts	14	14	19
Total	188	98	161

Table 6.4. Location of Secure Contexts with Associated Reconstructed Assemblages

This suggests that papyri were not considered an absolutely necessary part of a burial assemblage, but rather were used in strategically and under particular circumstances, as the following statistics for Bab el-Gasus will demonstrate.

As noted in Table 6.2 above, the Bab el-Gasus cache has a coffin reuse rate of just over 84%. Regarding the coffin sets of this cache with evidence of reuse, shown in Figure 6.1, 58% of these assemblages contain papyri.

⁵³⁹ See Appendix A at the end of Chapter Two for a full list of these reconstructed assemblages.

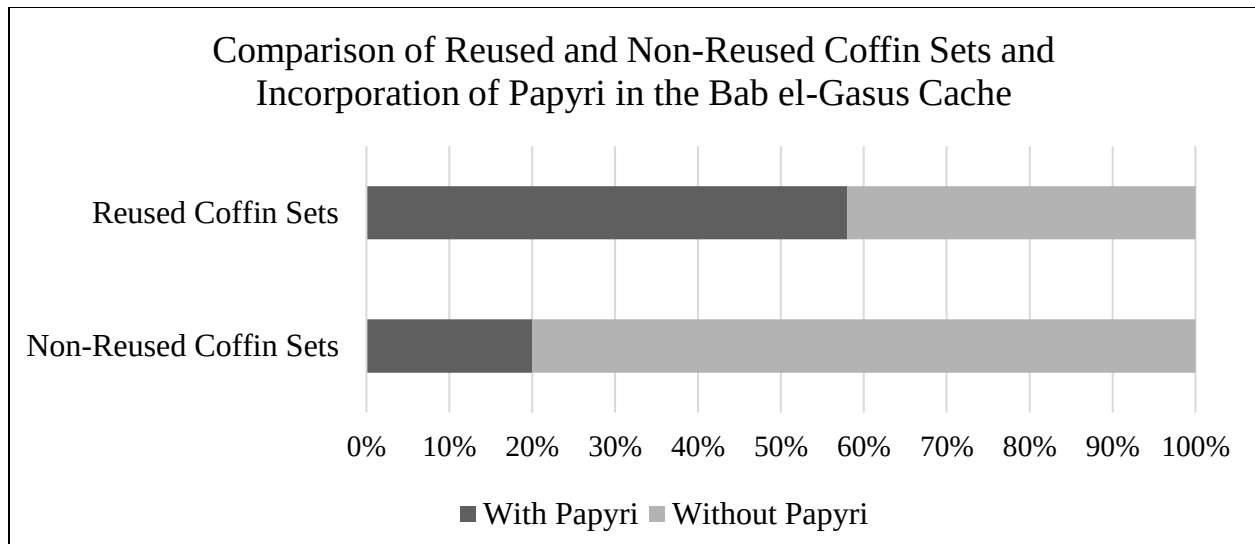


Figure 6.1. Percentages of Assemblages with and without Papyri Based on Coffin Reuse Status in the Bab el-Gasus Cache

This number appears very low, as one assumption is that the widespread use of papyri in 21st Dynasty burials was a blanket addition to reused coffin sets in order to “complete” the assemblage and provide additional content. This, however, is too simplistic an interpretation. When one turns to non-reused coffin sets, the situation becomes clearer. This category refers to coffins studied by the UCLA 21st Dynasty Coffins Project where no reuse could be detected, which means either the piece is of new construction, or the reuse is so skilled and thorough that it cannot be detected with the current research methods of the project. These non-reused coffin sets have a very low occurrence of accompanying funerary papyri, as Figure 6.1 illustrates. Thus, it seems that the necessity to incorporate papyri into a reused coffin set does not stem from the acknowledgement of the reuse itself, but rather from the acknowledgement that sufficient changes could not be made to a coffin set, making its iconography unsatisfactory or inappropriate for the usurper. In addition, the reuser could have also feared that the coffin set would be reused again, making the funerary papyri an even more critical component of the

burial, as papyri located inside the mummy wrappings have a greater likelihood of staying with the body.

6.2 Appropriate Versus Inappropriate Coffin Reuse

It is therefore – in this particular research context – more beneficial to consider these coffins as “appropriate” versus “inappropriate” in terms of their fit to the owners’ identities, rather than operate within the complex gradient of reuse. For the actual reused status of a coffin was of secondary importance to the Theban elite if it was thoroughly and convincingly reworked. In addition, the social understanding of the time assumed that reused coffins were standard burial practice, thus shifting the issue from reuse to one of result.

The categories of appropriate and inappropriate reuse are not based on the extent of the reuse – a coffin might have very little work completed to reuse the piece, yet the final product fits the identity of the new owner quite well. These terms only reference the correctness of the final product in matching the identity of the new owner. An appropriate reuse fits the new owner while an inappropriate coffin reuse does not. While incorporation of papyri into a burial assemblage does not appear to be based on the reuse itself, there do appear to be clear patterns of papyri use when appropriate and inappropriate reuse are considered. Appropriate reuse has less inclusion of papyri, and arguably less need to augment or complete the assemblage by using papyri in that fashion, while inappropriate reuse reflects greater inclusion of papyri, as if the inappropriate reuse was viewed as a disappointment or failure that needed to be corrected with the inclusion of an additional funerary medium.

6.2.1 Appropriate Reuse

As previously stated, an appropriate reuse fits the identity of the new owner. This could be the result of extensive reworking to ensure the proper style, design, and decoration for the coffin(s), or it could involve minimal necessary reworking, as the coffin(s) were initially close to fitting the new owner properly. The example in Figure 6.2 illustrates a situation where the redecoration of the coffin set⁵⁴⁰ was detailed and thorough to the point that the final product was an accurate reflection of the social identity of the deceased, a woman named Tayuherit. Even still, the construction and decoration of this coffin set betray the original Ramesside coffin. This is clearer to us today, as large portions of plaster have broken away from the bottom, exposing a foot from a Ramesside “daily dress” coffin. This earlier style – although hidden with skill – seems to be less important than the final specificity of the decoration.



Figure 6.2. Coffin set of Tayuherit, Consisting of an Inner Coffin and Mummy Board, Copenhagen NM 3912, photographs by Remy Hiramoto

⁵⁴⁰ Copenhagen NM 3912

No papyri were included in the assemblage of Tayuherit,⁵⁴¹ possibly because the identity of the deceased was secure in the context of the coffin. If this interpretation is correct, it confirms the suspicion that one function of funerary papyri was to identify socially the deceased with personalized ownership when the coffin or coffin set failed to do so properly.

Continuing with the concept that papyri are strategically used in certain reuse contexts, and demonstrating this function on a broader scale, one can further complicate the topic of reuse by highlighting several types where papyri are not included in an assemblage. To illustrate this point, I would like to address the specific cases of Gender Modification and Ramesside Markers on 21st Dynasty coffins.

6.2.1.1 Gender Modifications & Ramesside Markers

Looking to the types of reuse within the UCLA 21st Dynasty Coffins Project protocol,⁵⁴² it is apparent that Gender Modification and Ramesside Markers require the most intensive modifications. Compare these types of reuse to that of a simple Name Reuse, and it becomes clear as to which types of reuse warrant the most effort. Interestingly, these highly intensive reuse types have a disproportionately low incorporation of papyri into the burial assemblage as compared to the entire corpus of Bab el-Gasus coffins.⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ This statement is based on what has been documented from the clearance from the Bab el-Gasus cache. The methods of clearance of the Bab el-Gasus cache leads to speculation over the completeness of the resulting assemblages. It is quite probable that individuals were buried with papyri that are now lost. The absence of an object in the archaeological record does not demonstrate that the object was never there, simply that it was never recovered. However, in an attempt to work with the data available, I want to make the tentative observation based on the presence or absence of a papyrus in a given assemblage.

⁵⁴² See Table 6.3 for a list of reuse types.

⁵⁴³ As elsewhere in this dissertation, the Bab el-Gasus cache has been chosen as a specific group of study because of the relatively secure complete burial assemblages.

Out of the assemblages studied by the UCLA 21st Dynasty Coffins Project, there are eight assemblages with documented Gender Modifications and nine assemblages with Markers of Ramesside construction.⁵⁴⁴ Of these seventeen assemblages, only one contains papyri.

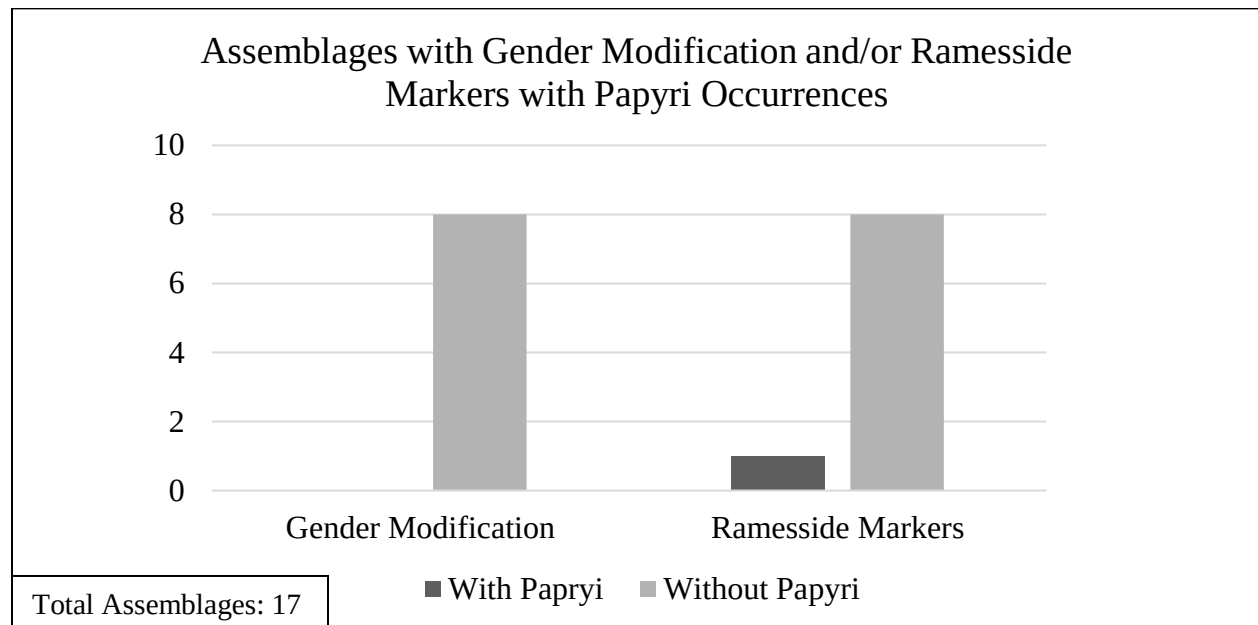


Figure 6.3. Number of Assemblages with Gender Modification and/or Ramesside Markers with Papyri Occurrences

As previously established, about half of all provenanced burial assemblages contain papyri, and this statistic holds true for the Bab el-Gasus cache, with 68 of the 153 assemblages containing papyri. When these two specific types of reuse are considered, however, the numbers are highly skewed in favor burial assemblages without papyri.

⁵⁴⁴ The eight assemblages from the Bab el-Gasus cache with Gender Modification are: Niwiński Florence 189 (JE 29701, 8523); Niwiński Florence 192 (8526); Niwiński Brussels 52 (E.5887); Niwiński London 265 (JE 29657, BM EA 24791, BM EA 24796, BM EA 24797); Niwiński Florence 193 (JE 29676, 8527); Niwiński Copenhagen 167 (E.5884, NM 3912); Niwiński Florence 190 (8524); Niwiński Leiden 229 (F93/10.2a-b). The nine assemblages from the Bab el-Gasus cache with Ramesside Markers are: Niwiński Vienna 416 + London (ÄS 6267a, BM EA 24797); Niwiński Florence 192 (8526); Niwiński Leiden 231 (F93/10.3a-b); Niwiński Copenhagen 166 (NM 3911, NM 3911-1); Niwiński Oslo 320 + Stockholm (JE 29627, NME 891, EM 8124-8125); Niwiński London 267 (BM EA 24793, BM EA 24794, BM EA 24795); Niwiński Florence 193 (JE 29676, 8527); Niwiński Copenhagen 167 (E.5884, NM 3912); Niwiński Brussels 51 (E.5909, E.5884).

6.2.2 Inappropriate Reuse

Inappropriate reuse results in a coffin that, despite any amount of reworking, does not fit the identity of the new owner. This could occur for any number of reasons, including gender confusion, outdated decoration, intrusive old names and/or titles, incomplete decoration, and visibly damaged pieces. For example, the coffin shown in Figure 6.4 would not have constituted the proper reconstruction and decorative changes necessary to be an appropriate coffin for a member of the Theban elite.



Figure 6.4. Coffin of Tauhenut, Consisting of an Inner Coffin, Florence 8525, photographs by Remy Hiramoto

The final use of this coffin was for a Chantress of Amun named Tauhenut.⁵⁴⁵ Clearly, this coffin,⁵⁴⁶ with male wig, beard, and fisted hands did not fit the necessary parameters for a 21st Dynasty female's coffin. In addition, the title on the foot of the lid states that the coffin is for an anonymous *wꜥb* Priest of Amun. In addition to the coffin, Tauhenut was buried with two funerary papyri to complete the assemblage.⁵⁴⁷ With these many uncorrected issues on this coffin, it seems probable that the funerary papyri were utilized to provide a complete identity for the deceased woman. Were it not for her funerary papyri, it would be impossible to identify Tauhenut, and it would be much more difficult to confidently address the reuse occurring with this coffin.

6.2.2.1 Name Reuse

To make this point on a broader scale, I would now like to turn to a more abbreviated type of reuse – that of Name Reuse. One important feature of this category is that it requires a limited amount of other types of reuse for Name Reuse to be seen. For example, a coffin that has undergone a complete Decorative Reuse also has had names changed – along with everything else. However, because so much of the decorative surface has been augmented, the Name Reuse can no longer be observed as a distinct type of reuse. Compare this scenario with the coffin of

⁵⁴⁵ Some publications suggest that the final usage of this coffin was for a woman named Nesytanebshru, with the papyri for Tauhenut remaining unexplained. The earliest publications of this set and reports of the unwrapping of the mummy both identify the mummy as a woman named “Tauherit,” a misreading of the currently accepted name. See Georges Daressy, “Ouverture des momies provenant de la seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari: Procès d’ouverture,” *Annales du service des antiquités de l’Égypte*, Number 4 (1903) 150-155 and G. Elliot-Smith, “Ouverture des momies provenant de la seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari: Report on the four mummies,” *Annales du service des antiquités de l’Égypte*, Number 4 (1903) 156-160. Later confusion associated the mummy of Nesytanebshru with this coffin.

⁵⁴⁶ Florence 8525

⁵⁴⁷ Cairo J.E. 36464 (S.R. VII 10243) and Cairo S.R. VII 10270

Nesykhonsu A from the Royal Cache,⁵⁴⁸ pictured in Figure 6.5. Her inner coffin, which originally belonged to a woman named Isetemkheb, has had no other decorative change other than a changed name in certain places. On the sides of the coffin lid two names are preserved, that of Isetemkheb⁵⁴⁹ and Nesykhonsu A, with the name of Nesykhonsu A clearly being the name that was secondarily inscribed.



Figure 6.5. Coffin of Nesykhonsu A, Set Consisting of Outer Coffin (Not Pictured) and Inner Coffin, Cairo JE 26199; CG 61030, photo (left) by Remy Hiramoto, photos (right) by author

Concerning the assemblages of the Bab el-Gasus cache, twelve assemblages studied by the UCLA 21st Dynasty Coffins Project have Name Reuse.⁵⁵⁰ Some of these twelve assemblages

⁵⁴⁸ Cairo JE 26199; CG 61030

⁵⁴⁹ Based on the names and titles of family members preserved on Nesykhonsu A's Deification Decree, Cairo CG 58032 (S.R. IV 991, J.E. 26228), Isetemkheb might be the mother-in-law of Nesykhonsu A.

⁵⁵⁰ The twelve assemblages from the Bab el-Gasus cache with Name Reuse are: Niwiński Copenhagen 167 (NM 3912); Niwiński Florence 193 (JE 29676, 8527); Niwiński Vienna 413 (ÄS 6263, ÄS 6262, ÄS 6261); Niwiński London 267 (BM EA 24793, BM EA 24794, BM EA 24795); Niwiński London 265 (JE 29657, BM EA 24791, BM EA 24796, BM EA 24797); Niwiński Leiden 231 (F93/10.3a-b); Niwiński Brussels 52 (E.5887); Niwiński Florence

also have other, more intensive types of reuse, such as Gender Modification and Ramesside Markers. When these more intensive types of reuse are excluded from analysis, all the remaining sets – those with a simple Name Reuse – have papyri. Thus, it appears that for coffin sets where little was changed other than the name, and no personalizing elements were added or removed from the previous use of the coffin, papyri were considered a solution to supplement the inadequate decoration for the new owner, prompting one reason for their inclusion in the burial assemblage.

Daressy's A. 139 assemblage from Bab el-Gasus demonstrates this phenomenon in a single example. This assemblage, created for a woman named Gautseshen, consists of a full coffin set and three papyri – one of Book of the Dead spells, one of Book of the Hidden Chamber content, and a third “magical” papyrus⁵⁵¹ with a single Book of the Dead chapter.⁵⁵² Gautseshen's coffins,⁵⁵³ however, contain generic content unfitting for her status as a Mistress of the House, Chantress of Amun, and Singer in the Choir of Mut. While the outer lid, shown in Figure 6.6 has the features of a woman's coffin, a closer inspection reveals a male deceased depicted on the sides of the lid suggestive of a generic decorative scheme not meant to identify socially the deceased in any meaningful or specific way. In addition, a male deceased is depicted on the case sides of the assemblage.

192 (8526); Niwiński Florence 189 (JE 29701, 8523); Niwiński Berlin 34 (ÄM 11981, ÄM 11982, ÄM 11983); Niwiński Leiden 228 (F93/10.1a-c); and Niwiński Vienna 417 (ÄS 6270, ÄS 6269, ÄS 6268).

⁵⁵¹ Although referred to as such in the literature, the term “magical papyrus” is not the best fitting in this situation. The papyri of this category are all small, non-illustrated documents that contain Book of the Dead Chapter 162, 166, or 182, and are sometimes included in the burial in a folded, amuletic form. They are thus best described as a textual amulet for the deceased.

⁵⁵² Cairo S.R. 10221, Cairo J.E. 95846 (CG 58002), and Cairo CG 40013 (J.E. 29636, S.R. IV 1001)

⁵⁵³ Leiden F93/10.1a-c

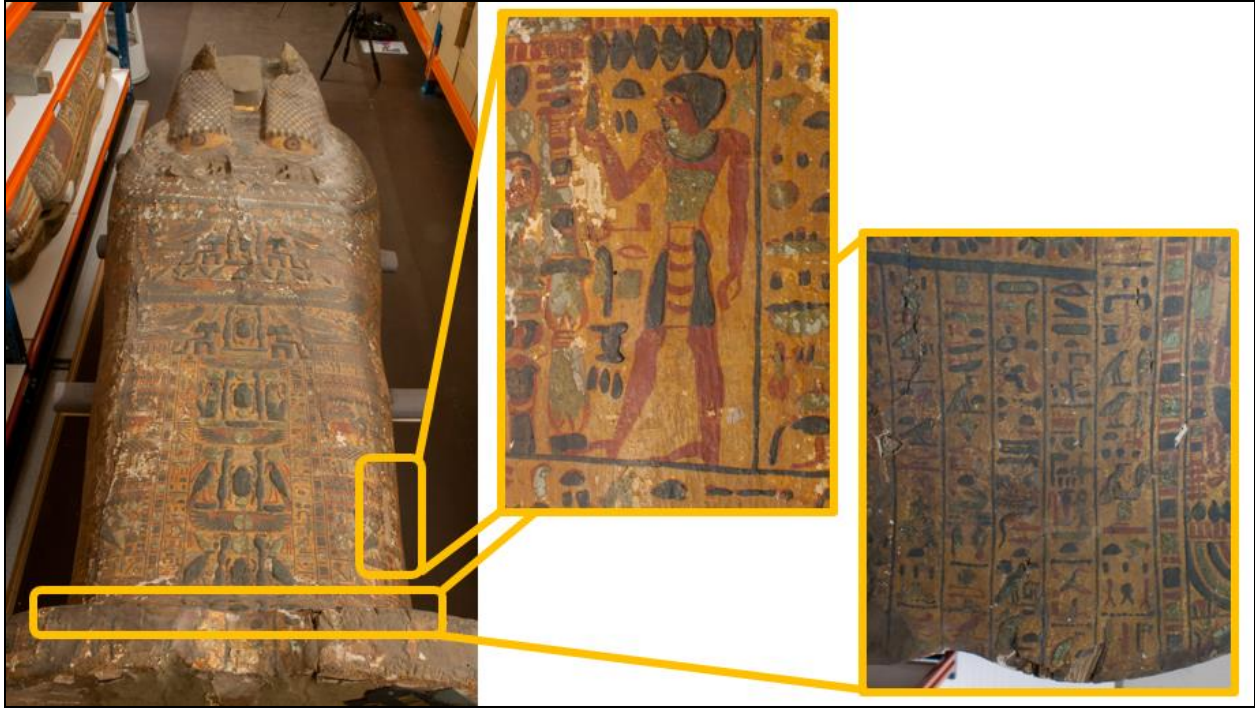


Figure 6.6. Coffin Lid of Gautseshen, Set Consisting of Outer Coffin, Inner Coffin (Not Pictured), and Mummy Board (Not Pictured) Leiden F93/10.1a-c, photographs by Remy Hiramoto

While the inner is anonymous, the outer coffin does mention Gautseshen by name on the lid as well as her full set of titles.⁵⁵⁴ This name, however, is the only occurrence on her entire coffin set. On the case of her outer coffin, pictured in Figure 6.7, her full set of titles appears, but the space for her name is left blank.

⁵⁵⁴ A detail of this can be seen in Figure 6.6.



Figure 6.7. Coffin Case of Gautseshen, Set Consisting of Outer Coffin, Inner Coffin (Not Pictured), and Mummy Board (Not Pictured) Leiden F93/10.1a-c, photographs by Remy Hiramoto

Gautseshen was the last owner of these coffins, but questions pertaining to the male deceased depicted on the female coffin, and the singular name despite matching titles throughout the outer coffin remain. Whatever the scenario that led to her acquisition and use of this coffin set, it seems apparent that whoever prepared for her burial felt the decoration and representation on this coffin set were inadequate for Gautseshen. Because this set did not result in an appropriate final product, three papyri were included in her assemblage to compensate by providing full names and titles as well as images of the deceased and specifically chosen funerary content.

6.3 Influences of Reuse on Papyri

It is in this limited use of papyri that an explanation for one of the functions and usages of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri can be made. In addition to providing the deceased with restricted, priestly knowledge, one of the main functions of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri was to incorporate text and image into a burial assemblage that, just like the rest of the assemblage, socially identified the deceased in a symbolic and meaningful way. When a reused coffin set did not

adequately reflect the deceased in terms of gender, position and title, or family relationships, it appears papyri were incorporated into the burial assemblage to fill this void. Papyri were incorporated into burial assemblages as a strategic supplement to coffins or coffin sets that were less successfully reused in terms of their reworked construction and decoration. Conversely, coffins that were more successfully reused, with greater investment in their recrafting, did not need to rely on the inclusion of funerary papyri to represent the owner's social identity properly.

This interpretation hinges on the fact that modifying gender and reworking Ramesside coffins are the two most intensive types of reuse. If that much effort was invested into reworking a coffin set, the outcome would probably be a coffin set that, while reused, adequately reflected the social identity of the deceased. If that was indeed the outcome, no papyri were perhaps needed to supplement the coffin set, but could be provided in the burial for other reasons, as seen in instances of the Royal Cache.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁵ The Royal Cache is unique because those buried in TT 320 are of an even higher status than the average member of the Theban elite priesthood. These High Priests of Amun and their immediate families had even greater access to funerary materiality, namely the burials of the New Kingdom pharaohs in the Valley of the Kings. As such, their burials largely reused this earlier royal material. The 21st Dynasty burials from the Royal Cache have a 100% reuse rate. Many of the coffins have Markers of Ramesside reuse, or even the more rarely seen Markers of 18th Dynasty reuse due to their previous use in New Kingdom royal tomb contexts. It appears for the High Priests of Amun their families, stressing their connection to the New Kingdom kings through funerary materiality was of utmost importance – if anyone in 21st Dynasty Egyptian society could have afforded new coffins, or at least afford the complete reworking of materials into new pieces – it would have been this first family of Egyptian religion. Instead, it seems this family used coffins to highlight their connection to past rulers. Thus, the patterns explained in this chapter of appropriate versus inappropriate coffin reuse and the resulting inclusion of funerary papyri do not immediately fit the TT 320 model, yet I believe the inclusion of funerary papyri do stem from similar motivations. These same individuals who emphasized their consistent reuse of older royal funerary material must have been aware that to a certain extent their coffins could not masquerade as their own, new constructions. Perhaps as much as these individuals desired a connection to past rulers, so too did they want their own personalized funerary content in the form of papyri. Despite the amount of reworking on the coffins the High Priests of Amun, the result often remained clear that these were older, royal funerary materials being reused. Of course, it must also be stated that these highest of elite individuals were even less restricted in terms of wealth, resources, materials, and craftsman: Other elites probably needed to make choices between affording to rework a coffin or purchase a papyrus. The High Priests of Amun and their families would not have been restricted by such choices, thus making their decision to include papyri in their burial less about a perceived necessity and more about a display of wealth.

6.3.1 Possibility of Reused Papyri

At the beginning of this chapter, I offered the hypothesis that one of the reasons that papyri were used in 21st Dynasty internments was that they functioned as a defensive burial practice. If the social consensus dictated that coffins were a commodity to be reused, then the only way to ensure that chosen religious and ritual content stay with the deceased was for it to be recorded on papyrus and secured within the mummy wrappings of the individual. Of course, this hypothesis does not explain the numerous Osiris and Ptah-Sokar Osiris figurines that initially contained papyri associated with 21st Dynasty Theban burials.⁵⁵⁶ Perhaps concern for the body becoming disassociated with these figurines is the reason that many burials contained more than one papyrus, with at least one papyrus being securely wrapped with the mummy.

This chapter on reuse, however, has prompted questions regarding the possible reuse of papyri. While it is clearly possible to reuse papyrus as a material, with palimpsests being a fairly common occurrence,⁵⁵⁷ examples of reused papyri are usually found with administrative or personal documents of a more temporary nature.⁵⁵⁸ Some ritual texts and Book of the Dead Chapters even instruct that a copy should be produced on a new sheet of papyrus.⁵⁵⁹ There are, however, examples of funerary papyri from the 21st Dynasty that suggest possible reuse

⁵⁵⁶ For example, David Aston (Aston, *op. cit.*, 196-197) states that 77 Osirian figurines were found in the Bab el-Gasus cache. Only six figurines, however, can be confidently connected with a burial assemblage, leaving the remaining 71 unassociated with any burial assemblage. In most instances, the papyri were removed from figurines without recording a specific find spot. For most assemblages, it is unclear if a particular papyrus was found within the mummy wrapping, on or under the mummy, or inside a figurine. It is also possible that like canopic jars of the 21st Dynasty, these figurines were never meant to contain a papyrus, but were just a dummy object of an associated burial assemblage.

⁵⁵⁷ Richard Parkinson and Stephen Quirke, *Papyrus* (London: British Museum Press, 1995) 46-48.

⁵⁵⁸ Joachim Friedrich Quack, "Totenbuch und Getreideabrechnung Von der Vereinbarkeit von profanen und religiösen Texten auf einem Schriftträger im Alten Ägypten," *Erscheinungsformen und Handhabungen Heiliger Schriften*, editors Joachim Friedrich Quack and Daniela Christina Luft (Berlin, De Gruyter, 2014) 111-135.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

(although reuse remains only one of a number of explanations for each example). While widespread reuse, such as what is seen with coffins, cannot be observed with papyri, and a systematic study of papyri reuse is outside the scope of this dissertation, it is worth noting the few cases that are apparent while the topic of reuse is raised. In addition to these cases are those mentioned in Chapter 4 where the papyri appear to be constructed from sheets joined post-production. It is possible that the sheets of these papyri were independently and opportunistically acquired and joined into the final document. As such, the individual sheets could have been reused from earlier documents, although without a very detailed study of the joins, individual sheets, and age of the sheets, no definitive statements can be made.

The most obvious example of a 21st Dynasty funerary papyrus possibly intended for reuse is that of Buhar, pictured in Figure 6.8.



Figure 6.8. Funerary Papyrus of Buhar, P. London BM EA 9974, © Trustees of the British Museum

This papyrus has clearly undergone a complete erasure of all text, but it has an etiquette which is in pristine condition. This elimination of text evokes the question why an individual would be buried with an incomplete papyrus? If this document was originally someone else's funerary

papyrus, intended to be reused, one might expect the name of the deceased to be equally smudged. If a new etiquette was attached, why was it affixed to a document that was incomplete? While this example is a clear demonstration of the reuse of papyrus as a material, it does not illustrate that the papyrus was originally a funerary papyrus. The remnants of text preserved on the palimpsest suggest it was documentary in nature: several numbers at the end of the uneven lines can be read. The etiquette is the only part that is funerary in content, and that portion is probably of new composition. It seems most likely that it was attached post-production to a reused sheet of papyrus from an originally non-funerary context.

The closest example to a name erasure and reinscription, which would be so indicative of reuse of a funerary papyrus, is from the set of papyri found with the burial of Gautseshen from tomb MMA 60.⁵⁶⁰ This example, however, is also not without its complications.



Figure 6.9. Funerary Papyri of Gautseshen, New York MMA 25.3.31 (Top) and New York MMA 25.3.32 (Bottom), photos © Metropolitan Museum of Art

⁵⁶⁰ New York MMA 25.3.31 and New York MMA 25.3.32

The two papyri of Gautseshen have many similarities. The etiquettes both look strikingly similar, and both appear to be attached to the rest of the respective papyrus post-production. In the case of New York MMA 25.3.31, this is most clear, as the borders of the etiquette and the body of the papyrus do not match in terms of coloring or design.

Gautseshen's names preserved on each etiquette appear smudged in comparison to the rest of the text. This is much more apparent on New York MMA 25.3.32.



Figure 6.10. Details of Gautseshen's Names, New York MMA 25.3.31 (Left) and New York MMA 25.3.32 (Right), photos © Metropolitan Museum of Art

While it is possible that these smudges may suggest a form of name reuse, there are other plausible explanations. First, it seems just as likely that her name was inscribed on each document at the point of purchase, resulting in ink that was more wet and therefore more likely to smudge. This also explains why the second name is more smudged than the first – the first

name had more time to dry as the second name was being written. Second, these names could have been written in a moment of ritual activation, possibly in the events leading up to or during the funeral, which also accounts for the smudging. The ritual activation of names has been demonstrated with other document types, such as the oracular amuletic decrees of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties.⁵⁶¹

Two final examples show cases where it seems that full burial assemblage data results in a situation where papyri are contextually associated with someone other than their original owner. If early excavation notes are to be believed fully, it appears these papyri were reused with no augmentation. The first example is the Book of the Dead papyrus of Tenetpenherunefer.⁵⁶² This anonymous papyrus⁵⁶³ actually depicts a man in the etiquette, as shown in Figure 6.11.

⁵⁶¹ Edwards 1960, *op. cit.* and Bohleke *op. cit.*

⁵⁶² Cairo CG 40009 (J.E. 95861, S.R. IV 961)

⁵⁶³ This papyrus is sometimes associated with a woman named Isetemakhbit/Isetemheb. However, it is part of Daressy's A.17, Aston's TG 690, which is the funerary assemblage of Tenetpenherunefer.



Figure 6.11. First Section of the Book of the Dead Papyrus of Tenetpenherunefer, Cairo CG 40009 (J.E. 95861, S.R. IV 961), from the Totenbuch Projekt

This papyrus was part of a pair, and the other papyrus⁵⁶⁴ is also anonymous. The second papyrus contains no text, only showing a pictorial representation of the last four hours of the Book of the Hidden Chamber. It is possible that this Book of the Dead papyrus (and perhaps its Book of the Hidden Chamber pair) has been reused from other burials. The image of the male deceased on the Book of the Dead papyrus makes this scenario plausible. One should not overlook the possibility, however, that this papyrus was simply a cheaper, albeit ill-fitting, pre-fabricated alternative to a customized papyrus for a female.

The second example is the Book of the Hidden Chamber papyrus of Isis.⁵⁶⁵ The female in the etiquette is clearly named Taamun, as depicted in Figure 6.12.

⁵⁶⁴ Cairo J.E. 95639 (S.R.VII.10258)

⁵⁶⁵ Cairo J.E. 95654 (S.R. IV 552)



Figure 6.12. First Section of the Book of the Hidden Chamber Papyrus of Isis/Taamun, Cairo J.E. 95654 (S.R. IV 552)

Thus, this marks the clearest case of reuse, even if the reuse is only detectable via the context of the burial assemblage.⁵⁶⁶ It seems as if Isis reused this papyrus, perhaps because Taamun was a family member, or perhaps because she also reused some of Taamun's coffin set. The examples given here do not provide absolute evidence for the reuse of funerary papyri. Thus, it seems that papyri were a reaction to reuse rather than a result of it.

⁵⁶⁶ There is debate and confusion over the content of this assemblage, Daressy's A.130. Personal notes of Georges Daressy, provided by David Aston (Aston, *op. cit.*, 175 & 188) state that this papyrus was found "under the mummy" of Isis. Andrzej Niwiński identifies this papyrus belonging to a group of three others: Cairo CG 58026 (S.R. IV 990, J.E. 95886), Cairo CG 58001, Cairo J.E. 95651 (S.R. IV 549). Aston challenges this reconstruction of the burial assemblage, claiming that no assemblage would contain two "magical papyri" (Cairo CG 58001 and Cairo J.E. 95651 (S.R. IV 549)). Aston would rather assign one of these two papyri to Daressy's A.66 because this assemblage belonged to another woman named Isis with the same titles. Aston, however, also confuses Daressy A.66 with that of Siamun (*Ibid.*, 188), Daressy's A.127, assigning the wrong owners' names to these two assemblages.

CHAPTER 7.

CONCLUSION

The main question of the research presented here is: how did the Theban elite of Egypt's 21st Dynasty perceive their social status and personal identity and how did they, or their heirs, utilize funerary papyri to manifest this perception? With the theoretical frameworks of structural functionalism and symbolic interactionism, the commissioning, creation, and implementation of such papyri was demonstrably deliberate. The social meaning of the ownership of papyri and the content of these documents was collectively agreed upon by society and held a fixed place in the consciousness of the Theban elite culture of the time. By examining a single object type prevalent among the Theban elite, we have gained a better understanding of their professional organization, reinforcement of status, and navigation of the social milieu. Through the perspectives of gender, professional priesthood, family, and the complication of coffin reuse, I illustrate the complexity of the display and reception of individual personhood and untangle the way in which the Theban elite utilized their funerary materiality to reflect it

With the analysis of gender, I demonstrate that while men and women have equal access to papyri commissioning, production, content, and quality, the ways in which men and women utilize their papyri differ. Women's papyri are on average longer than men's, and while this extra length is not filled with any specific content restricted to women, it is used as a form of social competition among women and as a means of masculinizing display (See below and Chapter 3). Women's titles are not as varied as men's, but instead considerable variety is brought into women's funerary papyri by utilizing more rare texts and imagery, such as

Cosmographic Scenes.⁵⁶⁷ These scenes reinforced an elevated social status when a woman's titles failed to capture completely the unique position she held. Indeed, the average papyrus length for papyri with Cosmographic Scenes is longer than the average of the entire corpus, indicating that these types of scenes were added as extra, unique, and possibly personalized content. The additional subject matter reflected and reinforced the status of the owner, who thus demonstrated that he/she was situated, economically or socially, to include such material on his or her papyri.

The other function of this additional content was to establish the masculine transformative powers of the female deceased. There are several scenes that allude to this masculine element of rebirth that were discussed in Chapter 3. In addition, there exists textual evidence that speaks to the anxiety of the artist – and possibly the commissioner – about the gendered differences between the deceased and the masculine gods to which she was being compared. The evidence shows that the mixed use of pronouns, for example, goes far beyond scribal error and enters into the realm of the renegotiation of text to be efficacious for the female deceased, who, in the 21st Dynasty, had to navigate death and rebirth into the afterlife without any guarantee of a male counterpart.

Turning to the priesthood, one's role(s) within the temple complex, or exemption therefrom, revealed different ways in which papyri were utilized. There is clear evidence for rarer content coinciding with more exclusionary titles, and thus expressing the unique social status of the owner. While none of the papyri studied reflected the deities served by the deceased

⁵⁶⁷ Part of this discussion revolves around what I have termed as Cosmographic Scenes. These are previously unidentified scenes that have not been studied completely. Previous scholarship has attempted to describe each scene (See Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.* and Bottigliengo, *op. cit.*) but a classification system had not previously been attempted. It is my hope that the classification I have provided in Section 2.4.2.1 will be a beginning for more research and discussion of these difficult to define compositions.

in life, the inclusion of certain hymns, priestly mysteries, and rarer texts fit well with those individuals who hold titles of serving deities outside the Theban triad. It appears as if these individuals wanted to reinforce their unique status among their Theban peers with papyri that were as unique as their positions, serving less popular deities, or deities with more restricted cults.

When we turn to the personnel of the temples of the Theban triad of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, the papyrological content proves to be quite standard. Within the three groups of priests, the content is especially standardized for those individuals serving only one of the three deities. Content is more varied when an individual claims service to two or three of the Theban triad. This observation leads to two important conclusions. The first is that an individual serving more than one deity perhaps viewed his or her social self as multifaceted, and thus tried to incorporate a wide breadth of content on his or her papyri to reflect that multifaceted persona.

The second conclusion is related to the production of papyri. Perhaps by serving more than one deity, an individual would have gained access to multiple production centers for their papyri and other funerary equipment. Different manufacturers of papyri would have had different content to offer their clients. There are several examples of papyri that show evidence for different techniques and seem to imply the existence of different workshops working on parts of a papyrus, with the final document being combined into a single papyrus post-production. It could have been a source of pride and distinction to showcase access to multiple workshops and their associated craftsmen. Holding multiple positions within the Karnak temple complex would have meant the deceased operated in a wider social circle. It can be argued that utilizing content from each of the sub-groups to which he or she belonged illustrates the breadth of knowledge, experience and influence of the deceased as a temple professional.

The professional priesthood meant that titles were hereditary, and it is therefore no surprise that family is stressed quite frequently on 21st Dynasty funerary papyri. The incorporation of family ties onto papyri served two primary functions. The first was to reinforce one's own status within the temple. A man, for example, either had the same titles as his father, or had elevated titles from those of his father, indicating a growth in social status. A man never listed his father as having higher titles than himself, even though we know that this must have occurred at least occasionally. This unwillingness to admit a downslide of social status reveals just how important temple rank was for the Theban elite.

The second reason titles of relatives were included on funerary papyri centers on inheritance. While it is clear that temple titles were inherited through family generations in the 21st Dynasty, it appears that stressing these titles on funerary papyri were one way for the next generation to ensure that an untroubled transition took place. It is also quite possible that this inheritance centered on more than just the title, but also dealt with physical property and wealth. The fact that women stress the titles of their fathers just as much as men seems to indicate that this was the case. Women, too, stood to benefit from the inheritance of their father – either in the form of social status or physical wealth. An almost complete lack of titled mothers lends credence to this theory. Because a man's titles were more distinct, citing his titles on a papyrus – even on the papyrus of a daughter who could not inherit or pass down the positions within the temple herself – meant that the surviving family stood to benefit from the position and property of the deceased.

The complication of coffin reuse within the 21st Dynasty resulted in a level of anxiety for the Theban elite regarding the security of their funerary assemblages. It was quite possible that for a large portion of the Theban elite, the only originally commissioned and composed

components of their funerary assemblage were their papyri. With this knowledge, those same elite would have easily recognized the probability that their burial equipment would be stripped from them after death and reused again. With this knowledge, those same members of the elite would have recognized and perhaps even condoned the probability that their burial equipment would be stripped from them after death and reused again. With the knowledge of impending separation from their coffins, the importance placed on papyri – hidden and secured within the wrappings of the mummy – grew. As a result, the use of papyri increased dramatically during the 21st Dynasty.

There are, however, patterns for how the use of papyri grew. If an individual could reuse a coffin in an “appropriate” way, meaning the reuse was thorough and created a convincing final product for the new owner, papyri were not needed to reinforce the social identity of the deceased in the burial. If the reuse of a coffin or coffin set was “inappropriate” for the new owner and did not fit his or her social identity, then papyri were incorporated into the burial as a supplement to the inadequate coffins. Thus, one function of papyri was an insurance that the social identity of the deceased would be preserved if their coffins were taken and reused for another individual. A second function was as a supplement to a reused coffin or coffin set that did not fit the identity of the reuser.

In addition, the context of decentralization itself must not be overlooked. All of what has just been described existed because the atmosphere of decentralization during the 21st Dynasty made it possible. The Theban elite were required to renegotiate their social identity via the temple because of a lack of royal presence in Egypt’s south. This absence of active kingship from the area meant that the priestly elite could utilize previously royal funerary iconography for their own repurposing to create new levels of social exclusion and competition by showing to

have access to such motifs. And the lack of authoritative kingship in Thebes meant that the High Priest of Amun and his family could access the burials of the Valley of the Kings – both for its stores of wealth and connection to a royal heritage – and use such access to their social advantage. It is only within the context of decentralization that the social organization of the temple elite and the levels of prestige within the temple system could develop this extent of meaning and importance. Decentralization is critical to understanding how the Theban elite could organize themselves in such a way and utilize funerary materiality to reinforce their social identity and status.

This research brought to light a number of motivations and methods for papyrus use among the Theban elite as a means to display their identity within the framework of society. Fundamentally, however, the arguments developed here go beyond an attempt to understand the use value of one object type of the Theban 21st Dynasty, but instead uses funerary papyri as a case study for how all individuals use their materiality to construct social identity. The Egyptians, to be sure, were masters of manipulating their physical world for their own designs, utilizing materials to socially define themselves, even in death. But their choices, construction, and implementation of materiality in a socially defining way is not unique. All societies perform such tasks. The benefit of this study to Egyptology rests in the fact that the lost secondary layer of meaning that these papyri acquired in their function as social documents can be reconstructed via the analysis of value placed on certain elements and characteristics of the physical documents. The benefit to the broader field of social history, however, manifests in the ways in which the methods of this study could be replicated for other societies, civilizations, and peoples. Furthermore, a cross-cultural comparison between an Egyptian data set, rich in detail, could go a long way to help uncover the social organization of other, lesser-known cultures.

The use of materiality to define the social self is pervasive in our own culture. In fact, modern society is perhaps the most apt in employing materiality in such a manner. Whether it involves the construction of social identity or the creation of social competition, we constantly navigate and manipulate the material world around us to build and perpetuate both individual and group social identity. From the use of wedding rings to signal marital status to the oneness of designer labels and their escalating price tags, modern society uses materials in the same way as the Egyptians did to display social identity to one's peers. My research focused on a group of Egyptians who lived 3,000 years ago and demonstrated that they felt the same anxiety and pressure to navigate the social world as we do today. By learning from the past, we as a society are better equipped to understand our own motivations to construct social identity through materiality.

The late Stephen Hawking once said, "Remember to look up at the stars and now down at your feet."⁵⁶⁸ For a theoretical physicist and cosmologist, this is perhaps sound advice. But for an Egyptologist who studies things once buried in the ground, looking down at one's feet is a particularly important skill. The tension here, between up and down, outward and inward, lies in the potential significance in the answer to the question that one's research poses. For Professor Hawking, the most fundamental question that his research asked was "Why do we live?" For the social historian, the most fundamental question is "What do we live for?" With all due respect to the scientists, for the answer to their question to hold any meaning, my question – that of the social historian – must be answered first.

⁵⁶⁸ Stephen Hawking, "The Conversation: Stephen and Lucy Hawking," Interview by Diane Sawyer, *ABC News' World News Tonight* (June 10, 2010).

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