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## THE ANTHROPOID WOODEN COFFIN OF *Sn(=j)-JW* IN CAIRO MUSEUM (CG. 61010.1-2)

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### ABSTRACT

This paper studies an anthropoid wooden coffin in Cairo's Egyptian Museum (CG. 61010.1-2). The coffin's owner is *Sn(=j)-jw*, the scribe and high steward of an unmentioned god's wife. The coffin is typical of the early Eighteenth Dynasty white-type, covered by hieroglyph, cursive hieroglyph and hieratic which contain *hṯp (r)dj(w) nsw, jm3hjj* formulae and parts of chapter no. 151 of the Book of the Dead. Iconographical, textual and orthographical evidences date this coffin between the reign of Amenhotep I and Hatshepsut.

### المخلص

تهدف تلك الورقة البحثية إلى دراسة تابوت خشبي في شكل إنساني محفوظ في المتحف المصري بالقاهرة تحت رقم الكتالوج العام 61010. وهذا التابوت يخص المدعو سن ايو الكاتب والمشرف على أملاك الزوجة الإلهية التي لم يُذكر اسمها في نصوص التابوت. التابوت من النوع أبيض اللون الخاص بالفترة المبكرة للأسرة الثامنة عشرة مغطى بنصوص هيروغليفية، هيروغليفية مختصرة وهيراطيقية تمثل صيغة القربان والتبرئة وأجزاء من فصل 151 من كتاب الموتى. وتشير الخصائص والأدلة الفنية والنصية والتهجئة إلى تاريخ التابوت بين عهدي كل من أمنحتب الأول وحتشبسوت.

### KEYWORDS

Anthropoid Coffin, Eighteenth Dynasty, God's wife, High steward, White Type, *Sn(=j)-jw*

### الكلمات الدالة

تابوت في شكل إنساني، الأسرة الثامنة عشرة، الزوجة الإلهية، مشرف الأملاك، تابوت أبيض اللون، سن ايو

### INTRODUCTION

The first attestation for the anthropoid coffin dates to the Middle Kingdom as it was used side by side with the rectangular shaped one<sup>1</sup>. Later, in the Seventeenth Dynasty, it

<sup>1</sup>Lapp, G., "Sarg. Särge des AR und MR", 430; Niwiński, A., "Sarg NR-SpZt", 434; Lapp, G. & Niwiński, A., "Coffins, Sarcophagi and Cartonnages", 281.

was the sole container of the body and became more popular in the New Kingdom. Mythologically, the anthropoid-shaped coffin was identified with Osiris himself in his mummy wrappings<sup>1</sup>. The anthropoid coffin in question was discovered in Deir el- Bahri tomb TT320, the first royal cache, by G. Maspero and E. Brugsch of the Egyptian Antiquities Service (EAS) in 1881. It consists of the coffin-case (CG.61010.1, JE. 26206(a).1, SR. 7/ 19427(a).1, SR. 1/10358(a).1) and its anthropoid-shaped lid (CG. 61010.2, JE. 26206(a).2, SR 7/ 19427(2).2, SR 1/10358(a).2) which are exhibited in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The coffin belongs to *Sn(ꜥj)-jw*, the scribe and the high steward of the god's wife, whose name appears in several places on the coffin.

## DESCRIPTION

**Material:** cedar

**Length:** 216 cm.

**Width:** 59 cm.

This anthropoid coffin is covered with white stucco as foundation for the brown-color face and blue tripartite wig, divided by horizontal yellow strips which rest on the shoulders and chest. The face is almost destroyed except for traces of white eyes and black eye brows. Most probably, its features were intentionally scrapped. Similarly, the two ears seem to be deliberately damaged or taken off. They were apparent outside the two frontal lappets of the wig, fixed by wooden dowels which their lower parts can still be seen, implanted in the layer of stucco. The long beard which once existed was also severely destroyed. It looks as if it was attached to his lower chin. Furthermore, there are several small cracks, abrasions, fractures and scratches on the coffin, particularly on its lid, on the area of the two feet and on the back of the head. The paint, the coloration, the texts and the scenes are in a good condition of preservation.

The texts on the coffin-case are a combination of hieroglyph; cursive hieroglyph and hieratic. They were written with a nib using black ink. Four bands of hieroglyphs surrounding the coffin-case and its lid are painted in black ink on a yellow background and flanked by black thin borders. Another single vertical column of hieroglyph, painted in the same way that contains the *hꜥp dj nsw* formula stretches along the middle of the lid and cuts the four horizontal bands. It starts from the upper part of the body beneath the destroyed beard and ends at the edge of the feet toes. Both the four horizontal hieroglyphic bands and the vertical one are imitating the mummy bandages.

Three standing figures of the deceased are painted in black on the panels of both narrow sides of the coffin trough. They are flanked by the horizontal hieroglyphic bands, raising their hands in a worshipping posture before the cursive hieroglyphic and hieratic texts which are recited by the four sons of Horus. The depiction of the god *hꜥh* in a human figure sitting and raising his two arms was illustrated twice; the first is under the feet toes painted in black on white and the second is on the back of the head painted in yellow on a blue background. The coffin contains a mummy which is heavily decayed, but at least the linen wrappings remained.

<sup>1</sup>Niwiński, A., "Coffins, Sarcophagi and Cartonnages", 283.

## THE NAME AND THE TITLES OF THE COFFIN'S OWNER

The Texts of the coffin bearing the name *Sn(εj)-jw* which translates as "the (or my) brother has come"<sup>1</sup>. This name has been listed in *Ranke, Personennamen* under *Sn(εj?)-jw* which is translated as (ein "meinen?" Bruder ist gekommen)<sup>2</sup>. According to Ranke, it was attested twice; once in the Middle Kingdom (Cairo 20250e), while the second time in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The latter is most probably the name of this coffin's owner. *Sn(εj)-jw* bears two titles; the first is *sš*<sup>3</sup> (the scribe) while the second is *jmjj-r pr wr nj hm.t ntr* (the high steward of god's wife)<sup>4</sup>. These two titles are interchangeably indicated on the four hieroglyphic bands of the coffin's left side, while they are mentioned side by side on the second hieroglyphic band of the coffin's right side. It should be noted that *Sn(εj)-jw* bears respectively the titles *jmjj-r pr nj hm.t ntr* and *jmjj-r pr wr nj hm.t ntr* on the third and the fourth bands of such side.

A question arises here if the title *jmjj-r pr* was written without *wr* because the lack of space or if these two titles indicate his official hierarchy. Comparison with some other officials who held the same titles in the Eighteenth Dynasty<sup>5</sup>, the titles *sš*, *jmjj-r pr nj hm.t ntr* and *jmjj-r pr wr nj hm.t ntr* essentially reflect the normal and progressive official hierarchy of *Sn(εj)-jw*, and in turn his office as a high steward of the god's wife represents the end of his tenure. Beginning with the title *jmjj-r pr wr*, Al-Ayedi points out that this title's bearer was the administrator of the god's temple property, the administrator of the estate of the king or his funerary temple endowments, or the administrator of the estate of a member of the royal family<sup>6</sup>. *Sn(εj)-jw* was the high steward of the god- wife *hm.t ntr* i.e. he was responsible of managing all the estates and the endowments of the god's wife.

*hm.t ntr* was a political office more than sacerdotal which seems to appear in the Middle Kingdom<sup>7</sup> and became more important with the foundation of the Eighteenth Dynasty<sup>8</sup>. It did disappear in the reign of Amentotep III until the end of this Dynasty<sup>9</sup>. Once more, it was revived in the Nineteenth Dynasty and reached the apex in Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties<sup>10</sup>. During the Eighteenth Dynasty, this title was held by ten of

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Ranke, H., *Personennamen*, I, 280 (15); 285 (19).

<sup>2</sup>Ranke, H., *Personennamen*, I, 308 (11).

<sup>3</sup>Al-Ayedi, A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, 506 (1716).

<sup>4</sup>Al-Ayedi, A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, 41 (131).

<sup>5</sup>Cf., the scribe and steward Djehuty: Urk. IV, 336 [2]; the steward and the high steward Senmut: Urk. IV, 381 [17]; 395 [2].

<sup>6</sup>Al-Ayedi, A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, 33 (131), no.280. The title *jmjj-r pr* (steward of the house or estate) appeared in the Old Kingdom, but with a different notion. See: Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, 114, (461); *Wb.* I, 514, 10-14; Hassan, S., *Excavations at Giza 1929-1930*, I, 96, fig. 163; *Excavations at Giza 1930-1931*, II, 7; *Excavations at Giza 1931-1932*, III, 14 (4); *Excavations at Giza 1934-1935*, VI<sup>3</sup>, 44. It continued and its highest rank *jmjj-r pr wr* in the Middle Kingdom, see: Ward, W., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 21 (132), 22 (141).

<sup>7</sup>Giton, M. & Leclant, J., "Gottesgemahlin", in *LÄ* II, 792-93, 802.

<sup>8</sup>Ayad, M., "Some Thoughts on the Disappearance of the Office of the God's Wife of Amun", in *JSSEA* 28, 9; Korenga, T., *The Office of the Divine Wife of Amen in 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties*, 4, 85.

<sup>9</sup>Giton, M. & Leclant, J., in *LÄ* II, 794; Korenga, T., *The Office of the Divine Wife of Amen in 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties*, 71.

<sup>10</sup>Ankhnesnefreibre was the last god's wife: Ayad, A., in *JSSEA* 28, 5; "On the Identity and Role of the God's Wife of Amun in Rites of Royal and Divine Dominion", 1-11; Korenga, T., *The Office of the Divine Wife of Amen in 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties*, 96. For the office *hm.t ntr* and its administrative officials, see.

queens and princesses *Jḥ htp, jḥ ms Nfrtrjj, S3.t K3ms, S3.t Imn, Tḥ ms mrjj.t Imn, H3t-špsw.t* and her daughter *Nfrw Rḥ, Mrjj.t Jmn II* the daughter of Thutmose III and perhaps his mother *Js.t, H3t-špsw.t Mrjj.t Rḥ* the wife of Thutmose III and the mother of King Amenhotep II and *j ʿ3* mother of king Thutmose IV.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the title of *Sn(ʿj)-jw* doesn't mention the name of the god's wife and to which divinity she is attached. The conclusion argues the probable name of the god's wife depending on the iconographical and philological features.

## TEXTS AND EXPLANATION

The texts and scenes are in good state of preservation except the upper part of the lid which is lost that was once inscribed with *htp (r)dj(w) nsw* formula in hieroglyph. The texts of the bands are *htp (r)dj(w) nsw* and *jm3hjj hr* formulae, while the cursive hieroglyphic and hieratic texts are parts of chapter no. 151 of Book of the Dead which was recited by the four sons of Horus as well as the titles of Anubis. All texts are readable, even the lost part of the texts can be reconstructed in accordance with the contemporary *htp (r)dj(w) nsw* formula.

### *The Text of the lid (Fig.1)*

The vertical hieroglyphic column on the lid contains *htp (r)dj(w) nsw*<sup>2</sup> formula which can be read as:

////////[Dd]w ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw diʿf pr.t-hrw k3.w 3pd.w šs mnht sntr mrḥ.t ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t  
wḥb.t ḥḥ.tj ntr jm

[An offering which the king has given to Osiris<sup>3</sup> lord of] *Ddw* the great god lord of Abydos. May he give an Invocation- offering (namely) oxen, fowls, alabaster, clothing, incense, oil and all the good and pure things in which a god lives.

Despite losing the name of the god in *htp (r)dj(w) nsw* formula, both the titles *nb Ddw* and *nb 3bdw* affirm the name of god Osiris. The lost part of the formula should be reconstructed as *htp (r)dj(w) nsw (n) Wsjr* and the *sdmḥf* form (*diʿf*) represents Osiris

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Graefe, E., *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun von Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätezeit*, 1981; Koch, C., *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen. Gottesgemahlinnen und Musikerinnen im thebanischen Amunstaat von der 22. Bis zur 26. Dynastie*. Dettelheim, (2012).

<sup>1</sup>Urk. IV, 29, 14; (IaH Htp); Urk. IV, 25, 6: 26, 14; 77, 17; 78, 1; (*Tḥ ms*); *Urk.* IV, 34, 15; 60, 1 (*M3ḥ.t k3 Rḥ*); *Urk.* IV, 192, 14; 193, 2 (*H3t šps.wt*); *Urk.* IV, 391, 17; 406, 8 (*Nfr.w Rḥ*); Giton, M. & Leclant, J., in *LÄ II*, 802-803; Korenga, T., *The Office of the Divine Wife of Amen in 25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties*, 96. See also: Gitton, A., *Les divine epouses de la 18<sup>e</sup> dynastie*; Robins, G., "The God's Wife of Amun in 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in Egypt", 65-78. Urk is it italic or NOT, please be consistent??

<sup>2</sup>For *htp dj nsw* formula, see. Gardiner, A., "The Meaning of the Formula *htp dj nswt*", in Davies N. de. G. & Gardiner A. H., *The Tomb of Amenemhat*, 79-93; Barta, W., *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 263-295; *Der altägyptische Opferliste*, 65-67; Lapp, G., *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches*, 172; Satzinger, H., "Beobachtung zur Opferformel: Theorie und Praxis", in *LingAeg* 5, 177-188; Franke, D., "The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas", in *JEA* 89, 39-41.

<sup>3</sup>I follow grammatically both Satzinger and Franke who have considered that *(r)dj(w)* is a *perfective relative form* with the god Osiris as a subject. See. Satzinger, "Beobachtung zur Opferformel: Theorie und Praxis", 177-188. Franke, in *JEA* 89, 46. Did Franke translate it "...to Osiris" or "an offering that the king gives of Osiris"??

alone as the boon's giver which contain oxen, fowls, alabaster, clothing, incense, oil. In this formula, Osiris sustained the titles *nb Ddw* and *nb 3bdw* (Lord of Abusir and lord of Abydos); the same titles he enjoyed during the Old and Middle Kingdoms. In the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the reign of Amenhotep I and occasionally in the reign of Hatshepsut, Osiris precedes the formula *htp (r)dj(w) nsw*, bearing the same titles<sup>1</sup>. However, Osiris' titles mentioned above, particularly in *htp (r)dj(w) nsw* formula, from the reign of Thutmose I to the reign of Thutmose III, except few examples from the reign of Hatshepsut<sup>2</sup>, indicate his role as the foremost of westerners and lord of the eternity. He bears the titles *Wsjr hntjj Imn.tjj.w*<sup>3</sup>, *Wsjr hk3 (nb) d.t*<sup>4</sup> and others<sup>5</sup> instead of his traditional titles as the lord of Abusir and Abydos mentioned on this coffin. Additionally, the name of Osiris in the offering formula belongings to this period has been disappeared<sup>6</sup> or relegated<sup>7</sup> behind the name of the god Amun or other Theban deities. This disappearance or retreating actually began from the reign of Amenhotep I<sup>8</sup> and continued in the reign of both the kings Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV with some exceptions which retrieved the position of Osiris in the forefront of *htp (r)dj(w) nsw* formula.<sup>9</sup>

Although Osiris titles *hntjj jmn.tjj.w* and *nb d.t* predominantly continued, few examples retrieved the two typical titles *nb Ddw* and *nb 3bdw*<sup>10</sup>. Unfortunately, the writing way of Osiris' name is unknown, since the part containing the name is completely damaged. Actually, it will not help in dating, because the orthographical and paleographical writing of his name whether with the sign <sup>11</sup>, representing a portable seat and the phonogram *ws* after the sign  *jr*, or with the sign <sup>12</sup>, representing a seat and the bi-consonants *st* after the sign  *jr*, interchangeably appeared throughout the first half

<sup>1</sup> *Urk.* IV, 51, 2-3. In the reign of Hatshepsut, Osiris sometimes precedes *htp (r)dj(w) nsw* formula, bearing the titles *hntjj jmntjj ntr 3 nb 3bdw*. *Urk.* 241, 6. *hntjj jmntjj (Sn nfr)*. *Urk.* IV, 544, 17; Or only *nb 3bdw (Snmwt)*. *Urk.* IV, 404, 9. It also appeared in the reign of Thutmose III. *Urk.* IV, 1002, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Urk.* IV, 404, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Urk.* IV, 103, 1; 146, 7; 205, 9; 241, 6; 432, 4; 480, 16; 937, 16; 937, 16; 964, 17; 998, 9; 1002, 11; 1010, 7; 1024, 10; 1182, 6; 1376, 8; 1404, 15; 1466, 8, 1469, 5; 1453, 12; 1495, 7; 1498, 5; 1616, 3; 1617, 2; 1625, 18; 1640, 13; 1641, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Urk.* IV, 103, 1; 451, 17; 464, 9; 937, 16; 941, 12; 1010, 11; 1014, 15; 1370, 3; 1466, 8; 1471, 6; 1482, 10; 1489, 2; 1488, 8; 1493, 5; 1495, 8; 1504, 2; 1505, 19; 1610, 14; 1635, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Wsjr hntjj r-st3w* *Urk.* IV, 482, 6; 1512, 16. *Wsjr nb st3jj.t*. *Urk.* IV, 992, 1. *Wsjr nb nhh*. *Urk.* IV, 1466, 8. *Wsjr nb r dr*. *Urk.* IV, 1487, 13. *Wsjr nb t3 dsr*. *Urk.* IV, 1014, 15; 1496, 4; 1641, 4. *Wnn nfr*. *Urk.* IV, 964, 17; 1513, 21. *Wsjr hk3 jmnt.t*. *Urk.* IV, 944, 6. *Wsjr hrjj-jb sm.t jmnt.t*. *Urk.* IV, 1014, 15

<sup>6</sup> *Urk.* IV, 52, 14; 111, 7; 130, 13; 134, 3; 404, 5; 412, 14; 451, 15; 469, 10; 478, 10, 14; 517, 13; 521, 16; 964, 17; 1013, 16; 1035, 13; 1034, 17; 1186, 1; 1201, 16; 1225, 1; 1370, 4; 1372, 7; 1407, 13; 1435, 9; 1436, 2, 1436, 13; 1437, 8; 1446, 9; 1453, 18; 1473, 16; 1486, 12; 1615, 5; 1615, 11; 1629, 3. Be consistent re italic here and above

<sup>7</sup> *Urk.* IV, 144, 4; 432, 2; 451, 17; 464, 9; 480, 15-16; 482, 6; 937, 13-17; 992, 1; 1030, 4; 1182, 6; 1188, 12; 1370, 3; 1376, 8; 1414, 15; 1466, 8; 1469, 5; 1487, 13; 1488, 8; 14489, 2, 1490, 18, 1610, 14; 1625, 18.

<sup>8</sup> *Urk.* IV, 52, 14; 74, 9; 76, 6. Be consistent re Italic

<sup>9</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1447, 5; 1453, 12; 1482, 10, 1490, 14; 1493, 5; 1495, 7; 1495, 8; 1496, 4; 1498, 5; 1504, 2; 1505, 19; 1511, 1; 1512, 16; 1513, 12; 1616, 3; 1617, 2; 1635, 2; 1640, 13; 1641, 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1447, 5; 1490, 14; 1495, 7; 1498, 8; 1511, 1, 1513, 21 (*hrjj-jb 3bdw*); 1616, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar*, S.L. Q2, 500; Allen, J., *Middle Egyptian*, 492.

<sup>12</sup> Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar*, S.L. Q1, 500; Allen, J., *Middle Egyptian*, 492.



of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The writing with the sign  followed by the sign  is very likely compared with the orthographical writing of Osiris' name in the coffin hieroglyphic bands. As a result, the position of the god Osiris' name in the *hṯp dj nsw* formula and particularly his titles constitute philological criteria of dating.






Fig.1. The texts of the coffin's lid (Drawing by Hoda Kamal)


### *The Text on the footboard (Fig.2)*

The *hṯp (r)dj(w) nsw* formula ended on the edge of the footboard. It is dedicated to the high steward of the god's wife.

[n] k3 n jmjj-r pr wr nj hm.t ntr sn(εj)- jw

To the soul of the high steward of the god's  
wife Sn(εj)-jw

The name of sSn(εj)-jw is incorrectly written regarding the orientation of the second part of the name jw. The sign (S.L. G 55)  is written instead of the sign (S.L. G 54) . Outside the border of the text, to the left, is a sign  *hw.t* which is written by cursive

hieroglyph . It was written with the same hand and tool with which the texts of the panels were written.

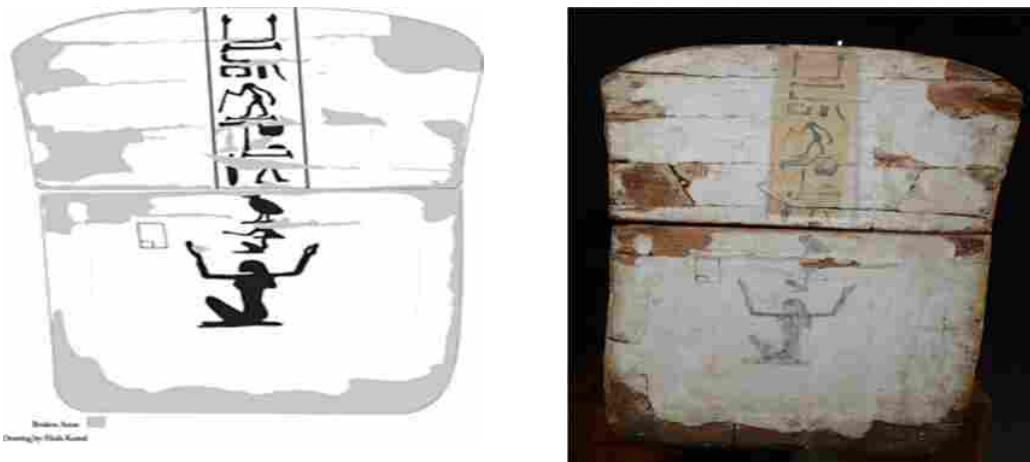


Fig.2. The texts and scene of the footboard (Drawing by Hoda Kamal)

### ***On the left side of the coffin (hieroglyphic bands) (Fig.3)***

The texts of the horizontal hieroglyphic bands inked on the coffin's left side surrounding the coffin-case are *jm3hjj* formula invoking four gods from right to left, Imsety, Duamutef, Osiris and Horus.

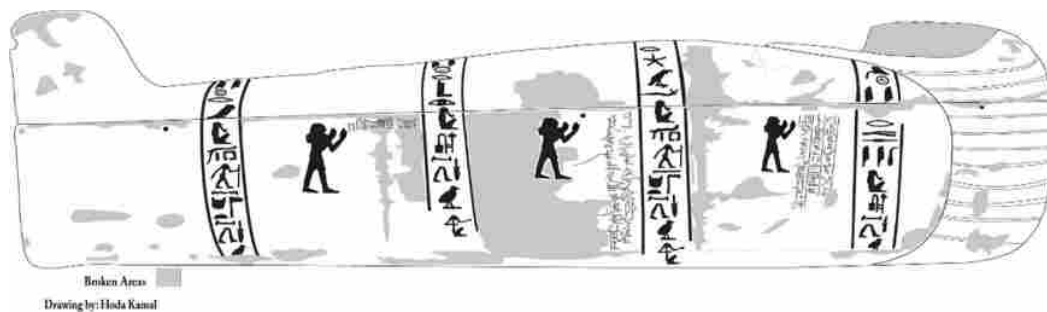


Fig. 3. The left side of the coffin  
Drawing by Hoda Kamal

*jm3hjj hr Imstjj sš Sn(εj)-jw jm3hjj hr Dw3 mw.tf jmjj-r pr wr nj hm.t ntr Sn(εj)-jw*  
*jm3hjj hr Wsjr sš Sn(εj)-jw jm3hjj hr Hr jmjj-r pr wr nj hm.t ntr Sn(εj)-jw*

Revered before Imsety, the scribe *sn(εj)-jw*. Revered before Duamutef, the high steward of the god's wife *Sn(εj)-jw*. Revered before Osiris, the scribe, *Sn(εj)-jw*. Revered before Horus, the high steward of god's wife *Sn(εj)-jw*.

### ***On the right side of the coffin (hieroglyphic bands) (Fig.4)***

The texts of the horizontal hieroglyphic bands inked on the coffin's right side and surrounding the coffin body are *jm3hjj* formula invoking four gods from left to right, Hapi, Qebhsenuf, Dwenanwy and Thoth.

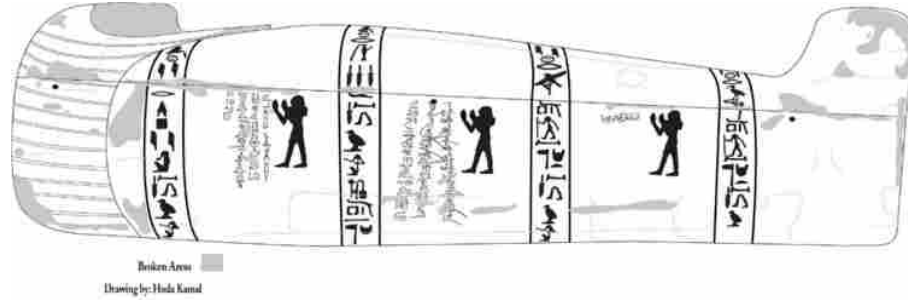


Fig. 4. The right side of the coffin (Drawing by Hoda Kamal)

*jm3hjj hr Hp Sn(εj)-jw jm3hjj hr Kbh snwεf Sn(εj)-jw sš jmjj-r pr nj hm.t ntr im3hjj hr  
Dwn-εwjj imjj-r pr wr nj hm.t ntr Sn(εj)-jw jm3hjj hr Dhwtj jmjj-r pr wr nj hm.t ntr  
Sn(εj)-jw*

Revered before Hapi, the scribe *Sn(εj)-jw*. Revered before Qebhsenuf, the high steward of the god's wife *Sn(εj)-jw*. Revered before Dewnanwy, the scribe *Sn(εj)-jw*.

Revered before Thoth, the high steward of god's wife *Sn(εj)-jw*

The orthography and paleography of the word *jm3hjj* is typical of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>1</sup> with very few exceptions.<sup>2</sup> *jm3hjj hr* is rendered as (revered before),<sup>3</sup> evoking the names of the four sons of Horus, Osiris, Horus, Thoth and Dewnanwy. The four sons of Horus are the mythical protectors of embalming and burial whose roles are first attested in the Pyramid Texts.<sup>4</sup> They are not only responsible for protecting the dead, but also for resurrecting and reviving him.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Horus, Thoth, Dewnanwy and Seth, not Osiris like our present case, are the four cardinal points who cense and purify the dead as proven in the Pyramid Texts.<sup>6</sup> This continued in the Eighteenth Dynasty with the same word forms, slightly different, which were used in the rite of purification performed before the statue of the dead.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, *Sn(εj)-jw* is revered before his protectors and purifiers who prepare him to ascend and to enter the realm of Osiris.

### On the coffin panels

The texts inked on the panels of this coffin are parts of chapter no. 151<sup>8</sup> of the Book of the Dead which occurred in the religious papyri from the Eighteenth Dynasty<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Urk.* IV, 133, 14; 1196, 11; 1216, 16; 1440, 13; 1452, 15, 17; 1487, 7, 10; 1489, 10; 1534, 13, 15; 1576, 3; 1603, 18; Hayes, W., *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, 184-187.

<sup>2</sup> *Urk.* IV, 151, 5 (Thutmose II); (Sarcophagus of Thutmose VI). Hayes, W., *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, 184-187.

<sup>3</sup> For the dilemma applying the epithet *jm3hjj* to both the dead and the living, see: Janssen-Winkeln, K., "Zur Bedeutung von *jm3h*", in *BSEG* 20, 30-33; Chauvet, V., *The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom*, 143-147; Helck, W., "Wirtschaftliche Bemerkungen zum privaten Grabbesitz im Alten Reich", 63-75; Allen, J., "Some aspects of the non-royal afterlife in the Old Kingdom", 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Pyr.* 643b; 1333a-c; 1334a;


<sup>5</sup> *Pyr.* 619a-; 1338a-c; 1823a-b; 1824h-j.

<sup>6</sup> *Pyr.* 27a-b.

<sup>7</sup> Gardiner, A., "The Baptism of Pharaoh", 9; Otto, E., *Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, 73 no.2; Altenmüller, B., *Reinigungsriten im Ägyptischen Kult*, 75; Ogdon, J., "Dnit: jar of Embalming (?)", in *DE* 6 26f.

<sup>8</sup> For this chapter, see: Lüscher, B., *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch 151*, Bd. 2, SAT; Munro, I., "Totenbuch-Spruch 151 des wieder Lebenden (PLouvre n. 3047)", in: Behlmer, H., *Fs. Westendorf*,



became the main subject on the coffins of kings and queens from the reign of Hatshepsut to the reign of Thutmose IV.<sup>2</sup> The title of chapter no. 151 is (spell for a secret head) or, in another variation, (spell for lowering the head of the blessed one) while its vignette<sup>3</sup> represents a burial chamber which its walls contain the texts and some other small sub-vignettes as Anubis bending over a mummy lying on a bier, Isis and Nephthys are kneeling with hands resting on *sn*  sign and between them the mummy lying on a bier in the shape of a lion. These vignettes display the process of the deceased's burial and embalming; the same process that was made for Osiris after his death. All these vignettes are accompanied with texts beginning with *dd-mdw* (recitation or words spoken). This explicates the reason of choosing this chapter as the main subject of the royal and non-royal sarcophagi and coffins of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Likewise, the four sons of Horus are the subject of an additional sub-vignette which depicts them with the heads of falcon, ape, jackal, and man respectively, corresponding to Qebehsenuef, Hapi, Duamutef and Imesty. Their figures are accompanied with *dd-mdw* rites recited by them, one after the other. These *dd-mdw* rites occupied the panels of our coffin without any vignette; only four figures of the deceased, painted in black, standing and raising his two hands in worshipping posture before *dd-mdw* rites.

***On the left-side panels of the coffin (from the head to the feet)***



**Fig. 5 (1). The panels' texts of the coffin's left side (Drawing by Hoda Kamal)**

Gottingen 1994, 143-155; Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, 147-150; Theis, Ch., *Magie und Raum. Der magische Schutz ausgewählter Räume im Alten Ägypten nebst einem Vergleich zu angrenzenden Kulturbereichen*, 538-584.

<sup>1</sup>Pap. BM 9900 of *Nb snjj*; Pap. BM 9964 of *Nb Imn*; Pap. Boulaq 21 of *Imn htp*; Pap. Cairo 51189 of *Ywju*; Pap. BM 10477 of *Nwnw*; Pap. L 3074 of *7nn3*. Lepsius, R., *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*, LXXIV; Naville, E., *Das Aegyptische Tottenbuch*, III, 48, 57-58, 78-79, 98-100, 180-182; Allen, T., *The Book of the Dead*, 242, 244, 246.

<sup>2</sup>Hayes, W., *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, 190-204.

<sup>3</sup>Lepsius, R., *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter*, LXXIV.

*dd-mdw jn Imsty jnk Gb wsjr Sn(εj)-jw jj.nεj wn.εj m sεk srwdεj prεk Sn(εj)-jw sp-sn  
(m) wd Pth mj wd.t R<sup>c</sup> dsεf*

Recitation by Imesty, I am Geb "O" Osiris *Sn(εj)-jw*. I have come that I may protect you and that I may strengthen your house twice "O" *Sn(εj)-jw*, as Ptah has commanded and as Re himself has commanded.

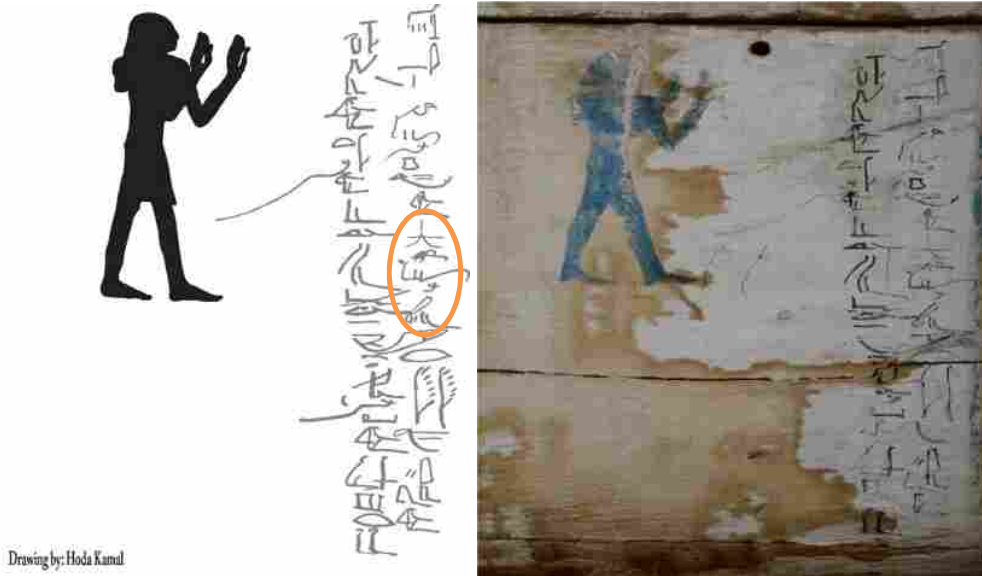


Fig. 5 (2). The panels' texts of the coffin's left side (Drawing by Hoda Kamal)

*dd-mdw jn Dw3 mwtεf jnk Dw3 mwtεf Hr mrjjεk jjεj jndεj jtεj Wsjr m-<sup>c</sup> jrj nknεf djεj  
sw hr rd.wjj(εk)*

Recitation by Duamutef. I am Duamutef Horus, your beloved. I have come that I may save (*nd<sup>1</sup>*) you, "O" my father Osiris, from who is doing his harm (*nknεf<sup>2</sup>*). I put him under (your) feet.

Duamutef is identified with Horus who is performing the role of saving Osiris and punishing his enemy who has injured Osiris. This role is also occurred originally in the Pyramid Texts where Horus is described as *s3 ndεj jtεf* (The son who protects his father)<sup>3</sup> or *nd.tjεf* (His protector)<sup>4</sup>. However, it is not only Horus who is described as the protector of Osiris, but also the Great Ennead, Geb, Isis, Nephthys and the four sons of Horus are described alike<sup>5</sup>. *Nknεf* refers to the evil which was done by Seth<sup>6</sup> whose

<sup>1</sup>For the meaning of *jnd*, see. *Wb.*, II, 370-371; Griffiths, L., "The Meaning of *nd* and *nd-hr*", 32-35; Assmann, J., *Stein und Zeit*, 127.

<sup>2</sup>*Wb.* II, 346, 13.

<sup>3</sup>Pyr. 633b.

<sup>4</sup>The title of Horus from the Middle Kingdom to the Greek Period. *Wb.*, II, 376, 9.

<sup>5</sup>Pyr. 215b-c, 584a-c, 1334a.

<sup>6</sup>CT, VI, 532k.

punishment and humiliation is to lift or carry Osiris as first attested in the Pyramid Texts<sup>1</sup> and as proved in the statement *djzj sw hr rd.wjj(=k)* (I put him under (your) feet).<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 5 (3). The panels' texts of the coffin's left side (Drawing by Hoda Kamal)

*Inpw hntjj sh-ntr*  
Anubis who is in front of the divine tent *sh-ntr*<sup>3</sup>

The connection between Anubis and *sh-ntr* (the tent of purification) first appeared in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts and *hnp (r)dj(w) nsw* formula in the context of his sacerdotal role as a purifier of the deceased<sup>4</sup>. This tent also connected with Anubis in the frame of his role as the deceased's embalmer. This role was not attested before the Middle Kingdom<sup>5</sup>. Orthographically, the complete writing of the Anubis name with all its unilateral signs is typical of its writing on the sarcophagus of Hatshepsut<sup>6</sup> and texts of Anubis chapel in her temple at Deir el Bahri<sup>7</sup>.

*On the panels of the coffin's right side (from the leg to the head)*



Fig. 6 (1). The panels' texts of the coffin's right side (Drawing by Hoda Kamal)

<sup>1</sup>Pyr. 581 a-c, 642 a-b, 650a.

<sup>2</sup>From what so-called Sed-Festival of Osorkon II in Tell Bastet, the king is depicted sitting on his throne putting his leg on the head of Seth. Naville, E., *The Fest Hall of Osorkon II*, piii/8; Barta, "Die Sed-Fest Darstellung Osorkon II", pl. 1.

<sup>3</sup>For *sh-ntr*, see. Hoffmeier, J., "The Possible Origins of the Tent of Purification in the Egyptian funerary Cult", *SAK 9* why you add a year here and below ??167-177. In his opinion *sh-ntr* was a celestial prototype for the purification which emulates the march of reeds *sh.t j3r.w*. Hoffmeier, J., in *SAK 9* (1981) 175f. For the Purification in *sh-ntr*, see. Altenmüller, B., *Reinigungsriten im Ägypten Kult*, 80.

<sup>4</sup>Pyr. 2012b-c; 1122c.

<sup>5</sup>CT. VII, spell. 908, 112; Doxey, D., Anubis, in *OEAE 1*, , 97; Duquesene, T., *Jackal Divinities of Egypt*, 382. An indication in Pyr. 1380c refers presumably to the role of Anubis as the deceased's embalmer *tzj sw Inpw mjn.w* (Raise him up "O" Anubis of *mjn.w*). According to Mercer. *mjn.w* is a shrine in which Osiris was set by Isis after his death. Mercer, S., *The Pyramid Texts*, III, 682.

<sup>6</sup>Hayes, W., *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, 185 (4A), 186 (9A).

<sup>7</sup>*Urk.*, IV, 299, 13, 16

*Inpw jmjj wt*  
Anubis who is in mummy-wrappings

Although *hntjj sh-ntr* is one of the main epithets of Anubis. It is usually mentioned together with his most well-known epithet *jmjj-wt* which is inked on the third panel of the coffin's right side close to the feet in a symmetric way with *hntjj sh-ntr*. Presumably, the mention of Anubis titles only seems to be a substitute of his full recitation as a part of chapter no. 151.

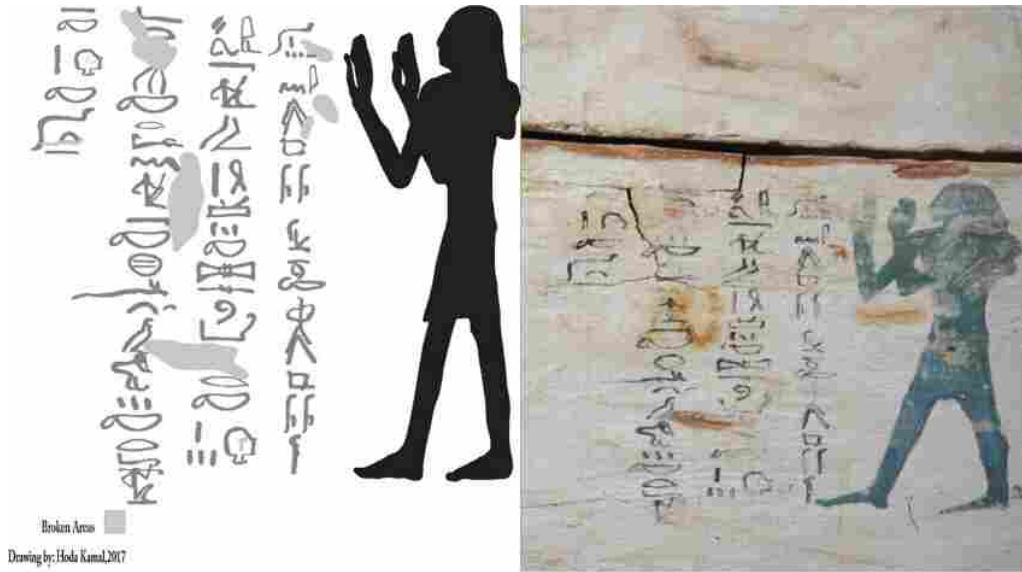


Fig. 6 (2). The panels' texts of the coffin's right (Drawing by Hoda Kamal)

*dd-mdw jn Hpjj jnk Hpjj jj.nzj m s3zk tsw(zj) nzk tp wtzk rdj.nzj nzk hf.tjj.wzk rdjzj nzk  
tpzk d.t*

Recitation by Hapi. I am Hapi. I have come to be your protection, so that I re-unite (your) head and your limbs for you. I have given your enemies for you. I have put your head for you forever.

Spells of resurrection were attested first in the Pyramid Texts<sup>1</sup>. They were originally Osirian<sup>2</sup>; this role which was played initially by Isis and Nephthys<sup>3</sup>. The identification of the deceased with Osiris clarifies the speculation of re-uniting the limbs of the deceased which were not actually separated. This can also be understood in the frame of reviving rituals taking into consideration the concept of the ritual spell, not the meaning of its details. The funeral and burial rites of re-uniting ensure that the limbs will remain enduringly united and intact<sup>4</sup>; which is proven by the statement (*jrj nzf jrtj n jtzf Wsjr (m) hrw pw nj ts ksw*) (do for him what was done for his father Osiris on that day of re-

<sup>1</sup>Pyr. 1296b; 1297a-d; 2016a-b; 1368b-c; 1616a-b; 1934b; 1947b.

<sup>2</sup>Griffiths, L., *The origins of Osiris*, 14f.

<sup>3</sup>Pyr. 172 a-b; 616 a-b; 1008 b; 1789; 1981b-c-1981a. This role has later played by Horus, while Isis and Nephthys have acted under his supervisor. Pyr. 584b (P/C/ ant E 28). Leclant, J., *Les textes de la pyramide de Pepi I<sup>er</sup>*, pl. xix, 28.

<sup>4</sup>Griffiths, L., *The origins of Osiris*, 16, Zandee, J., *Death as an Enemy*, 104f.

uniting the bones)<sup>1</sup>. Actually, this role of re-uniting the limbs of the deceased in the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts was performed by many gods excluding the four sons of Horus. Philologically, the verb *rdj* was substituted by the verb *hwj* which became predominating in chapter no. 151 versions from the reign of Hatshepsut onwards<sup>2</sup>.

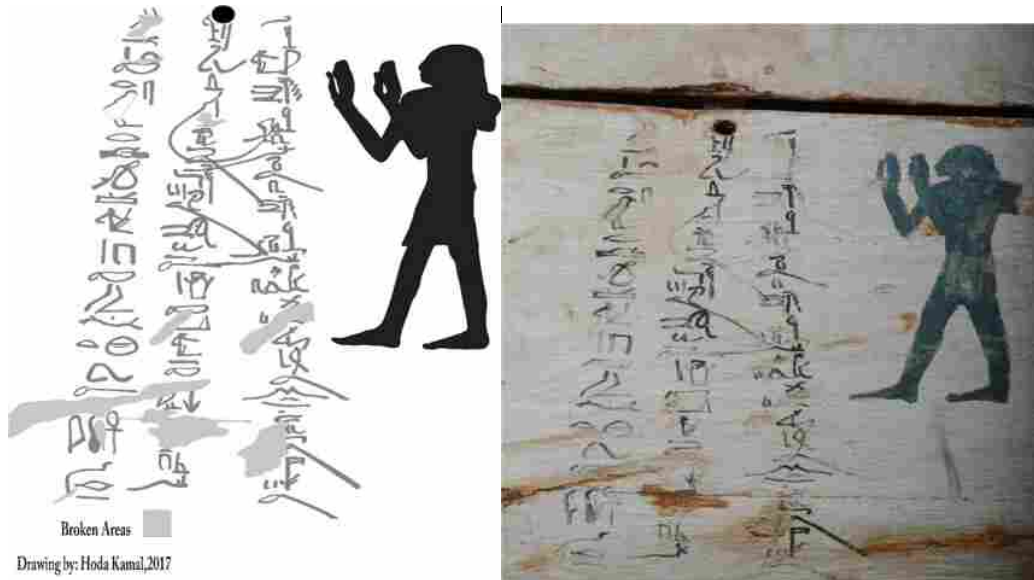


Fig. 6 (3). The panels' text of the coffin's right (Drawing by Hoda Kamal)

*dd-mdw jn Kbh snwꜣf jnk Kbh snwꜣf jjꜣj [wnꜣj] m sꜣꜣk dmd.nꜣj nꜣk kswꜣk sꜣkꜣj nꜣk  
hꜣwꜣk jn.nꜣj nꜣk jbꜣk djꜣj nꜣk sw (hr) s.tꜣf (m) dtꜣk srwdꜣj prꜣk m htꜣk ꜣnh.tj dt*

Recitation by Qebhsenuf. I am Qebhsenuf. I have come that I may be your protection and that I may unite your bones for you. I have assembled your limbs for you. I have brought your heart in its place in your body. I have strengthened your house after you, as you live forever.

Comparison with other contemporary versions of chapter no. 151 of the Book of the Dead, Qebhsenuf is identified with the son of Osiris.<sup>3</sup> This text is a continuation of the resurrection rituals which were first attested in the Pyramid Texts as mentioned above. Likewise, spells of bringing the heart of the deceased are first attested in the Pyramid Texts; a role which has been performed by many gods excluding the four sons of Horus.<sup>4</sup> As attested in the Pyramid Texts, the desire of the deceased is to keep his heart not to be taken away from him.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the same concept is repeated in chapters 27, 28 of the Book of the Dead which entitled as: *rꜣ n tmt rdj.t it.tw hꜣtjj nj 4 m-ꜣf* (Spells for not letting the heart of the man to be taken away from him).<sup>6</sup> *m jtt jb pn nj Wsjr NN* (Don not seize the heart of Osiris the deceased).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Pyr. 1368 b-c.CF. CT. VI, 532e-f.

<sup>2</sup>Hayes, W., *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, 199 (39 E, F, G, H); Budge, W., *The Book of the Dead. The Chapters Coming Forth by Day*, 385. Cf. CT. VI, 531e.
























































<sup>3</sup>Hayes, W., *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, 200 (41C-H).

<sup>4</sup>Pyr. 3b-e; 617a; 828a-c; 1786a-b; 1884-1885.

<sup>5</sup>Pyr. 748a.

<sup>6</sup>Budge, W., *The Book of the Dead. The Chapters Coming Forth by Day*, 90,1.

*Paleographical Study*

		Fig 5(1)	Fig 5(2)	Fig 5(3)	Fig 6(1)	Fig 6(2)	Fig 6(3)
A1							
D21							
D46							
G7							
G17							
G43							
I9							
M1 7							
M1 8							
N35							
Q1							

<sup>1</sup>Budge, W., *The Book of the Dead. The Chapters Coming Forth by Day*, 90,2. See also. Fábíán, Z., "Heart Chapters in the Context of the Book of The Dead", 255-259; Allen, T., *The Book of the Dead*, 37-39.

Q3							
V31							,
W2 4							
X1		,					,
Y1							

After the examination of the epigraphy of the panel's texts, they could be divided into two units; the first is the text of (figs. 5(1), 5(3), 6(2)), while the second is the text of (figs. 5(2), 6(1), 6(3)). The paleographical comparison between the two units indicates that two different scribes did participated in writing the two textual units, one for each unit. Paleographically, the two units incorporate cursive hieroglyphic signs as

, , , , , and . All the signs of the first unit represent very clearly cursive hieroglyph rather than hieratic, the signs of the second unit are less clear and the majority of them are hieratic including a number of ligatures as and . Moreover, the signs of fig.6 (1) seem to be almost purely hieratic.

The differentiation between the two units is very obvious, particularly the thinning, sharp angles and elongation of the second unit signs. Besides, the inscriber of the second unit utilized more than one variation for the same sign as , and for the sign ; and for the sign ; , and for the

sign . Actually, the forms of signs of each unit reflect the character of each inscriber and his writing skills. According to the inscriber of the second unit, his writing skills are obvious in utilizing a mix of cursive hieroglyphic and hieratic signs. He also used one or more forms and variations for the same sign. His skill was shown in his ability to ornament the writing through thinning out, elongating, ligature and sharpening the angles of the signs.

## CONCLUSION

The foregoing argument demonstrates a main issue of the probable name of the god's wife whom *Sn(εj)-jw* was her high steward. This anthropoid coffin represents the provincial Theban white-type which was the most characteristic type of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. This type emerged before the reign of Thutmose I and continued to the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>1</sup> From the reign of Thutmose III, the figures and texts of non-royal coffins were painted in yellow on black in contrast with our present coffin.<sup>2</sup> These iconographical features put the exact date of this coffin before the reign of Thutmose III. Furthermore, *Ssn(εj)-jw* had not served under Ahhotep,<sup>3</sup> Ahomse-Nefertari, Hatshepsut or her daughter Neferura for many reasons. One of the reasons is that their stewards are already known; Rau the high steward of Amun in the reign of Thutmose III has very likely began his career as the steward of the god's wife Ahomse- Nefertari.<sup>4</sup> Both Senmut and Senimen were the stewards of the god's wife Neferura while Senmut, Amenhotep, Wadjetrenput and possibly Djehutyhotep and Meryra were those of the god's wife Hatshepsut.<sup>5</sup> Philologically, the exclusive appearance of Osiris name and his titles *nb Ddw* and *nb 3bdw* in the *htp (r)dj(w) nsw* formula strongly supported the dating between Amenhotep I and Hatshepsut. After this exclusion, I argue that Ahmose Merit-Amen the wife of Amenhotep I is probably the god's wife under whom *Sn(εj)-jw* served as a high steward. This leads to a major conclusion that the coffin was initially inscribed with only *htp (r)dj(w) nsw* and *jm3hjj* formulae. Then, the parts of chapter no. 151 were hastily added during/after his burial, because the inscribers did not insert the name of *Sn(εj)-jw* after the name of Osiris (as Osiris the deceased)<sup>6</sup> except in one case (Fig. 5(1)). *Sn(εj)-jw* may have lived till the reign of Hatshepsut as the inscription of chapter no. 151 of the Book of the Dead started during her reign.<sup>7</sup> Besides, the coffin-case division into panels, each of which includes part of chapter no. 151, is a feature which dates to the reign of Hatshepsut.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lapp, G., "Sarg. Särge des AR und MR", 436, 437

<sup>2</sup>Niwiński, A., "Coffins, Sarcophagi and Cartonnages", 284.

<sup>3</sup>*Urk.* IV, 29, 14. There is a speculation that she was given this title after her death as a posthumous honorific designation, for the text described her as *mAa xrw*, see. Gitton, A., *les divine epouses de la 18e dynastie*, 21-23; Karenga, T., *The Office of the Divine Wife of Amen*, 86. This speculation could be supported by the titles of *K3rs* the official of *JaH Htp* who held both the titles *jmjj-r pr* and *jmjj-r pr wr* of *Jch htp* as the mother of the king *mw.t. nsw*, and not as a god's wife. *Urk.* IV, 45, 14-15; 46, 8; 47, 13; 48, 10; 49, 10.

<sup>4</sup>Shirley, J., "The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut's Regency and Coregency", 205; Hayes, W., "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dēir el-Bahari", 37.

<sup>5</sup>Shirley, J., "The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut's Regency and Coregency", 86, 204-205.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Hayes, W., *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, 199 (39 D, E, F, G, H); There are many other reliable options

<sup>7</sup>She also inscribed this chapter on Thutmose I's wooden coffin, while Thutmose III inscribed the same chapter in Thutmose I's cartouche-shaped sarcophagus. Brovarski, E., "Sarkophag", in *LÄ V*, 475-76.

<sup>8</sup>Brovarski, E., in *LÄ V*, 475.



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