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**THE CARTONNAGE AND COFFIN
OF JS.T-M-3ḤBJ.T
IN THE CZARTORYSKI MUSEUM,
CRACOW ***

The changes in Egyptian art cannot usually be attached to the beginning or end of a dynasty. This is true principally in the case when conflict is not at all noticeable, but on the contrary, transition and continuity can be revealed. Things are like this at the turning point of the 21st and the 22nd dynasties. In the earliest decades of the 22nd dynasty, the coffins of the 21st dynasty-type, used for the burials of the Amon-priesthood at Thebes, were in fashion still; however, this was suddenly followed by a new style. This moment is hardly determinable, and likewise, its explanation is not easy¹.

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¹ According to A. Niwiński, the earliest coffins of the "new type" can be dated back to the time of Osorkon I, since on these pieces leather straps are put with his cartouches. It is probable that the last pieces of the older type were used in parallel with the new ones. The last burials occurred at the time of Sheshonq I to the cache of Bab el-Gusus. Nevertheless, two mummies are known (from an uncertain place), on which the cartouche of Osorkon I was found, but the coffins containing them were pieces of the old type (A. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes* [Theben, Bd. V], Mainz 1988, § 78). A good example for the transition between the two styles is a piece from Hamburg, which unambiguously shows the characteristics of the 21st dynasty coffins, but also quite a few features of the new type (H. Altenmüller, *Grab und Totenreich der Alten Ägypter*, Hamburg 1976, pl. 2 = Hamburg C 4057 b).

These changes have more levels: there are greater and smaller alterations in the technique, the shape and even the iconography². This new type changed the decoration in two ways. The "type with wings" prefers the defending deities with wings of vultures and hawks³: both in symmetrical arrangements on both sides of the lid of the anthropoid cartonnage or coffin, and representing them with wings outspread over the scenes. The single vertical line of the text runs upwards from the feet, reaching the knees or even the hips.

This type perhaps originated in the north⁴. The findings coming from the tombs of kings at Tanis⁵ certainly suggest this. However, it is necessary to add that the phenomenon had already occurred at Thebes as early as the 21st dynasty⁶. The "type with horizontal registers"⁷ did not retain the above mentioned vertical divisions, but its horizontal registers following each other under the collar toward the feet are separated by coloured stripes. The text is placed inside the scenes or on the sides of the cartonnage/coffin.

The most significant method initiated at this time was the manufacture of cartonnage cases forming a single-piece envelope surrounding the mummy⁸.

² Literature concerning the cartonnages of the early 22nd dynasty: A. Niwiński, *Sarg NR-SpZt*, in: LÄ V, col. 445—452; J. H. Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins*, Aylesbury 1989, pp. 46—52; S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara, C. H. Roehrig (eds.), *Mummies and Magic*, Boston 1988, pp. 166—171 and 220—221.

³ The first examples for the type are the pieces mentioned in the note 1, with the name of Osorkon I: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam E. 8. 1896, in: J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, London 1898, pl. XVI; Hamburg C 3834, in: H. Altenmüller, *Grab und Totenreich*, fig. 7 and pl. 2—3. On the basis of their similarity other pieces can be also dated back to this time: Brooklyn 72.4833, in: *Mummies and Magic*, pp. 169—170 (No. 121); Warsaw 147801 and 147802, in: E. Dąbrowska-Smektała, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, Vol. VII, 1963, pp. 23—52; Grenoble 1998, in: G. Kuény, J. Yoyotte, *Grenoble. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Collection égyptienne*, Paris 1979, No. 119; Luxor J. 106, in: L. Habachi, *ASAE* 55, 1958, pl. XVI.

⁴ J. H. Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins*, p. 48.

⁵ P. Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis*, Paris 1951, pls. CI, XVII and *ASAE* 39, 1939, pp. 534—539; Z. Iskander, *ASAE* 40, 1940, pl. LXI.

⁶ A. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, No. 143 = Pl. VIII B.

⁷ About the first examples of this type, see below in connection with the discussion on the parallels to the piece in Cracow, and besides: Brooklyn 72.4837, in: *Mummies and Magic*, No. 122, pp. 170—171; British Museum 29577, in: C. Andrews, *Egyptian Mummies*, London 1984, figs. 53—54; Basel III 129, in: E. Hornung, *Särge [So lebten die Ägypter]*, Basel 1976; Copenhagen AEIN 298, in: O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiennes*, Copenhagen 1951, pls. LXXXVII—XCII.

⁸ The mode of preparation of these are well-known by now: C.V.A. Adams, *The Smithsonian Journal of History* Vol. 1. 1966, pp. 55—66. The cartonnage was placed in one, two or three larger wooden coffins. These are unadorned at the beginning of the dynasty, except for the face, the wig, the collar and the single column of inscription on the lid (J. H. Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins*, p. 47 and A. Niwiński, LÄ V, col. 446).

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A uniquely beautiful coffin set is kept at the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow⁹. The cartonnage (Pl. I) formed a single-piece envelope surrounding the mummy, and the wooden coffin (Pl. VII) containing the former belonged to a priestess of Amun, according to the inscriptions. I am not aware of the provenance of it, but the rank of this lady and the outstanding quality of the pieces themselves indicate that they must have been prepared in Thebes¹⁰. The only remains from the mummy itself were found between the linens from the cartonnage¹¹. The coffin set can obviously be dated back to the early 22nd dynasty.

The cartonnage¹²

The gilded wooden face (Pl. I, II) showing a sort of charming beauty is framed with a white and blue striped wig¹³. On the forehead, upon the slim border of the wig, the body and the outstretched wings of the vulture-goddess are shaped¹⁴. Upon this ornament there are three streaks divided from each other by dark stripes, which form the coloured hairband of the priestess; each stripe has a different pattern.

⁹ Inv. No. MNK XI—482 a and b. The measures are as follows: the cartonnage — 1.82 m, and the outer coffin — 1.95 m. I owe Prof. J. Śliwa and prof. U. Luft thanks for providing an opportunity for me to publish this piece, as well as Prof. U. Luft and Dr. Edith Varga for their philological help.

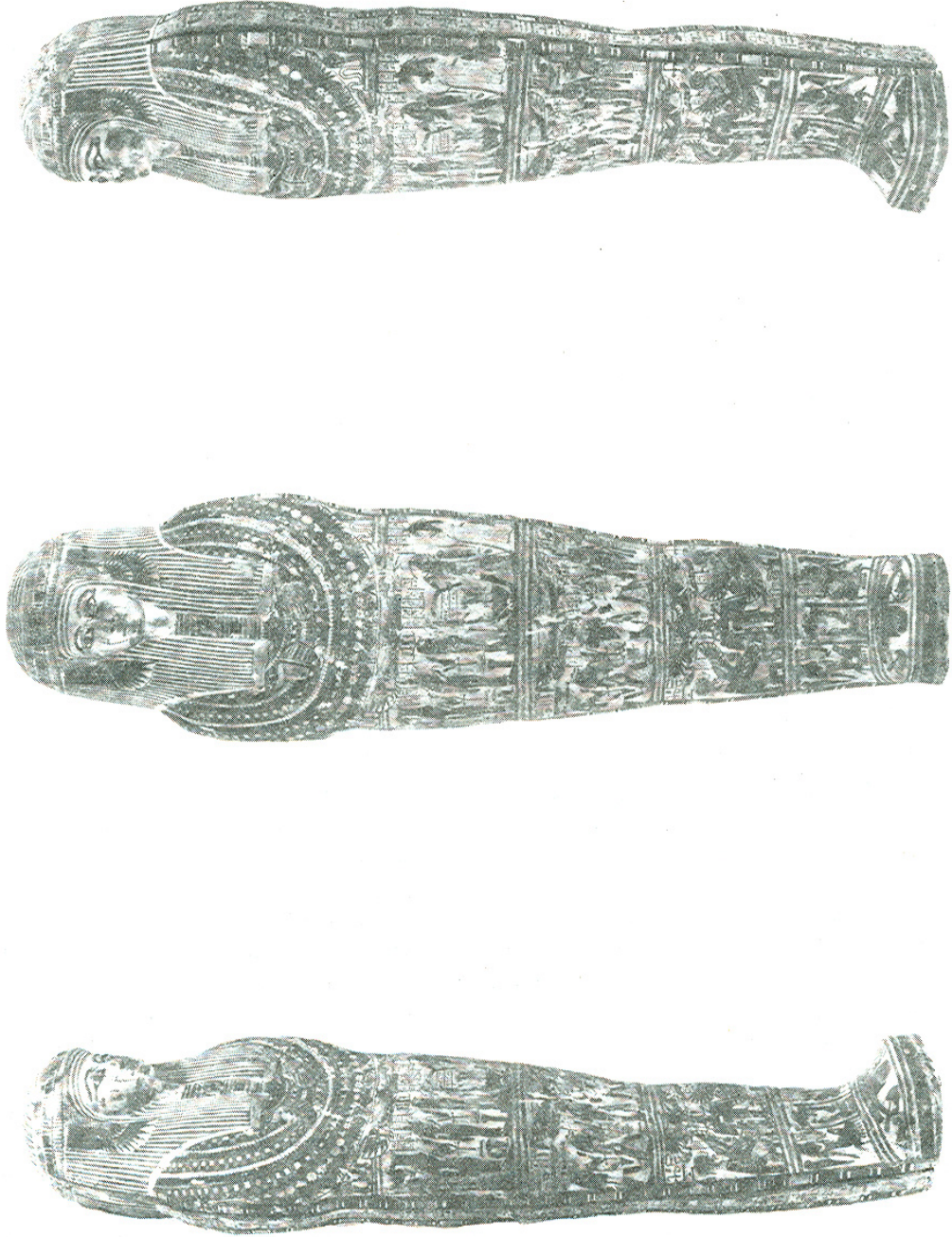
¹⁰ The cartonnage and coffin were purchased in 1884 in Egypt following the commission by prince Władysław Czartoryski (at the price of 400.00 French Francs). In the preserved list of the objects shipped then from Egypt, Chemmis (Akhmim) is given as the place of the purchase. Cf. K. Moczulska, J. Śliwa, *Identyfikacja zabytków egipskich ze Zbiorów Czartoryskich z wykazami zakupów z lat 1884 i 1885*, *Prace Archeologiczne* 14, *Studia z Archeologii Śródziemnomorskiej* 1, Kraków 1972, p. 93 (at the end of List I).

¹¹ Yet, in accordance with the above quoted list, an "intact mummy of a woman" was dispatched in 1884 to Cracow (cf. K. Moczulska, J. Śliwa, *Identyfikacja ...*, p. 93).

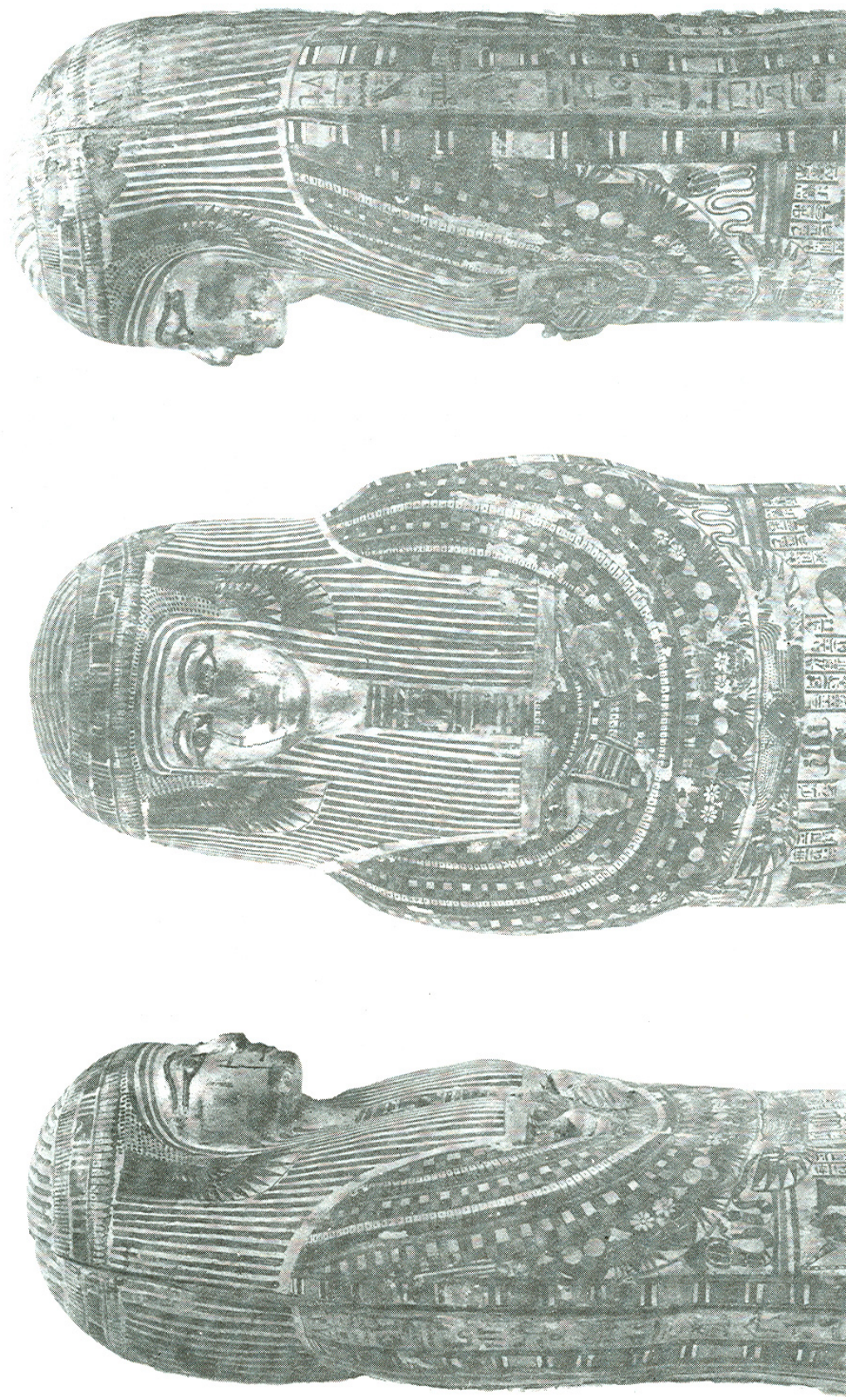
¹² The cartonnage (Inv. No. MNK XI—482 b) underwent careful conservation in 1988 (Marian Paciorek, M.A.; Ireneusz Płuska, M.A.). It was ascertained then that it had been made of several layers of flax linen, joined by a glutin glue (fish glue). Also detailed analyses of pigments were conducted then, as well as those of the binders (Maria Rogóż, M.A.; Paweł Karaszkievicz, Ph.D.). The documentation is kept in the Czartoryski Collection (Department of Ancient Art).

¹³ It is noticeable also here, but conspicuous particularly in the case of the outer coffin, that the proportion of the face and the head shifts towards the latter (*Mummies and Magic*, p. 220).

¹⁴ The wig with wings of a vulture occurs in the end of the preceding dynasty on the coffins of women, cf. J.H. Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins*, p. 51.



Pl. I. The cartonnage of Js.t-m-3hbj.t in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow. Phot. by Jacek Książek



Pl. II. The head of the cartonnage of Js.t-m-3hbj.t in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow. Phot. by Jacek Książek

Both side-locks of the three-partite wig fall down the breasts, reaching the wooden hands, which are separately shaped. Between these two hair-locks the small, seated figure of the goddess Maat can be seen, holding an ʿnh-sign in her hand¹⁵. The clenched hands rise from the collar¹⁶, under which the concealed arms are crossing each other.

The large and ornate collar reaches as far as the line of the breasts (Pl. II). The upper ornamental motifs are followed below by a stylized garland: blooming lotus flowers, buds, and small white daisies alternate with each other.

The two corners below the elbows are decorated with lion-headed cobras. The fine lineament of the face discloses the portrait of a young, beautiful woman to us. The eyes and eyebrows are inlaid¹⁷. The gilding of the face has cracked in some places, and the nose is slightly damaged. The colours of the piece are green, yellow, red, blue, and black on a yellowish-white background.

Below the collar, the whole surface of the cartonnage lid is decorated (Pl. I). Under the hip, the lid is divided into five registers. The cartonnage is classed with the "type with registers".

1st scene: Becoming Justified (Pl. III)

The first scene is framed on its upper part¹⁸ by a winged solar disc. On the right Osiris stands on a rectangular platform, with uraeus-snake and hmhm.t-crown on the head, his insignia in his hands. The net-figured decoration of the body imitates the mummy bandages. The inscription belonging to this figure runs as follows: "Htp-dj-njsw-offering from Osiris, at the head of the West, from the great god, from the ruler of the living: may they

¹⁵ It seems to be the typical feature of the cartonnage of the early 22nd dynasty (see notes 3 and 7).

¹⁶ Shaping of the hands appears under the influence of the 21st dynasty sometimes in Thebes (H. Altenmüller, *Grab und Totenreich*, pl. 2; J.E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, pl. XXVIII; E.A. Wallis Budge, *British Museum Guide*, London 1924, pl. VI (= BM 6660) and in other places (P. Montet, *Les constructions...*; E. Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh*, London 1894, pls. VII—VIII; G. Botti, *Le casse di mummie e i sarcofagi da El Hibeh nel Museo Egizio di Firenze*, Firenze 1958, pls. XXVIII, XXIX, XXXII—XXXIV; J.H. Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins*, p. 51). Note: Similarly to the shaping of the hands, the cross-shaped bandage motif on the breasts, which is a characteristic feature of the late 21st dynasty coffins, also appears later: often in the early 22nd dynasty (see above, notes 3, 7 and 15).

¹⁷ In the course of the conservation made in 1988, it was proved that the eyes were made of ivory and enamel, whereas in the place of the eyebrows, pieces of wooden twigs were inserted (cf. also below, note 57).

¹⁸ The kneeling Nut with wings situated under the collar is replaced for awhile by the winged scarab or hawk with ram-head. This phenomenon also becomes visible in the time of the preceding dynasty (Cairo 29666, in: A. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, pl. XI a).



Pl. III. The cartonnage of Js.t-m-3hbj.t in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow. First scene: Becoming justified. Phot. by Jacek Książek.

provide (you) with the offering meal". Behind him, Isis ("the spell of the great Isis") and Nephtys ("the lady of the sky, Nephtys, the divine sister, who protects Osiris every day!") can be found; "nh-sign hangs on their arms, and the following text characterizes their features ("the protectresses of Osiris"). Behind the two goddesses, a man-headed bird adores the scene: the b3 of the deceased, standing on a huge hieroglyph of the West, in the usual place of the hawk¹⁹. The sign of the West is complemented with some supplementary signs. This manifests the phenomenon frequently occurring in the Third Intermediate Period, that this sign is a semi-linguistic, semi-iconographic symbol and occupies an intermediate position between the linguistic symbols ("texts" or "inscriptions") and the iconographic motifs ("figures") in the same scene. On the left part of the first register, in front of Osiris, there is a big lotus flower, upon which the four sons of Horus appear.

¹⁹ Compare with Chapter 186th of the Book of the Dead: "Mayest thou give offerings to me, even me. Make for me a seat in the necropolis (of) the righteous, that I may stay sound on earth" (Th.G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, Chicago 1974, p. 210 = Spell 186 Aa).

Towards the figures enumerated till now, Thoth approaches with ibis-head, the "Lord of Hmnw". He holds papyrus-roll in one of his hands, while with the other he greets Osiris. Behind Thoth, the priestess herself appears, raising her hand similarly to her leader, Thoth. Her dress is a sort of translucent, feasting robe reaching to the ground, with wide sleeves and a large collar on the shoulders²⁰. Her wig is parted in the way we have seen on the cartonnage lid. She bears a band on her forehead, and the top of the head is decorated with balsam cones and lotus flowers: the latter also occurs on the forehead of the outer wooden coffin. The face and the body seem to be older than that of the cartonnage and the coffin; her portrait is not idealized here.

The text which can be read above her head names the deceased: "Incense, linen, ox-head and fowl for the k3 of Osiris, the chantress of Amun, the lady of the house²¹, Js.t-m-3hbj.t". Between Thoth and her, a large m3^c.t-feather "may be read", since — similarly to the sign of West — it is complemented by a supplementary sign and a determinative. The West and the M3^c.t, the most important symbols of the fortune of the deceased in the Underworld; are counterparts here²². The gods receiving Js.t-m-3hbj.t are the representatives of the latter, the others accompanying the lady come in the spirit of the realized M3^c.t. The first scene is a summary of the 125th Chapter of the Book of the Dead, and therefore its meaning is that the divine secretary has considered the deceased as one "True of Voice" and worthy of leading out to Osiris.

At the back of the deceased lady, the scene is framed by a sign of the East, so practically composed that an opposition with the sign of the West above appears on the right. This position corresponds to the traditional situation of the mummy in the coffin²³. The right side of the mummy is the equivalent of the West, the left side of the East.

2nd scene: Rebirth (Pl. IV)

The second scene is situated below a hawk with outspread wings. Among the talons, šn-rings and feathers are kept²⁴. On both sides of the hawk the

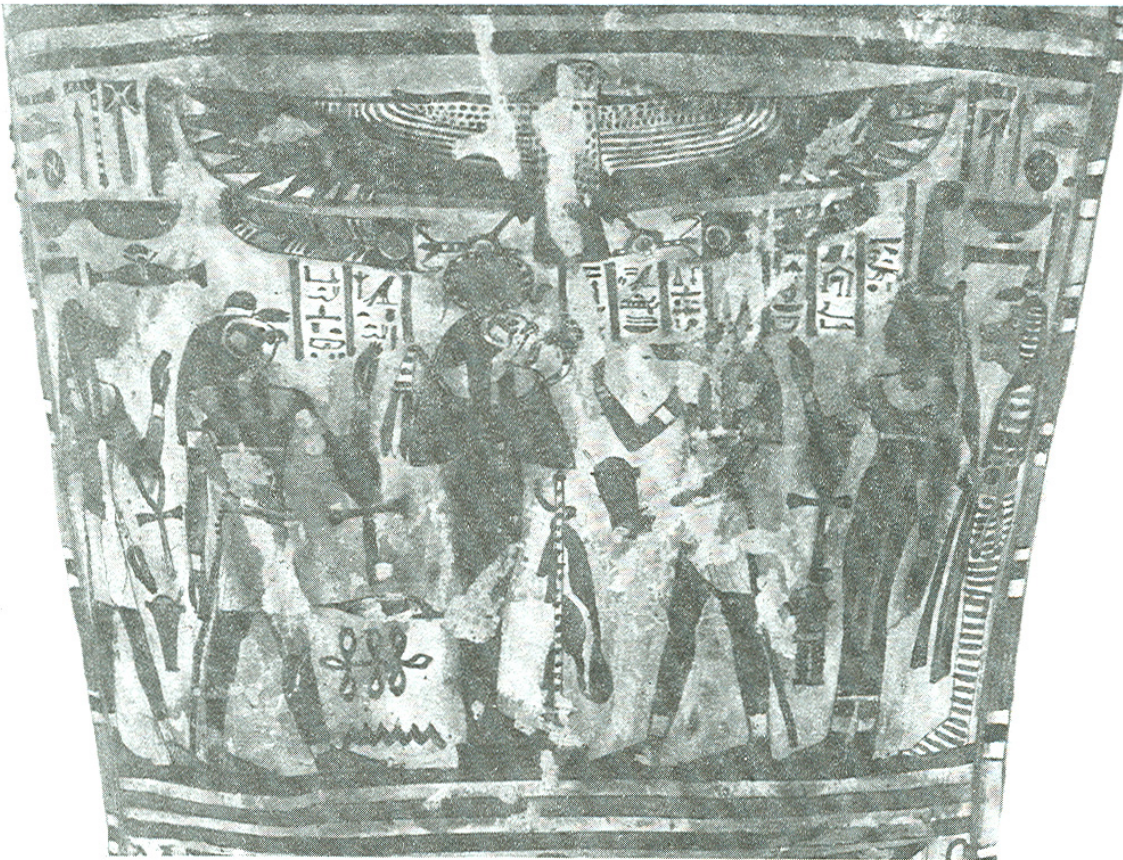
²⁰ The deceased is represented always in this way on the scene under discussion, on the coffins similar to this one (see the parallel pieces below).

²¹ The title with the determinative appears in the 22nd—23rd dynasties: WB IV, p. 449, 14.

²² The counterparts of the West-symbol in the time of the Third Intermediate Period: the m3^c.t-feather (as we have seen here); the symbol of the East (see above); and the htp-sign or the offerings themselves (for example A. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, pl. XV A, and G. Englund, *Propos sur l'iconographie d'un sarcophage de la 21^e dynastie*, Boreas 6, 1974, pp. 37—69, fig. 4.

²³ About the orientation of the scenes appearing on the coffins see A. Niwiński, GM 109, 1989, pp. 53—66 and the author of this article *Deux fragments de cercueil de la XXI^{ème} dynastie*, BMHBA, 1992 pp. 3—13.

²⁴ So indicating his epithet: "many-coloured of plumage".



Pl. IV. The cartonnage of Js.t-m-3hbj.t in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow. Second scene: Rebirth. Phot. by Jacek Książek

following name can be read: "The Bhd.tj, the great god, the many-coloured of plumage, the lord of the sky"²⁵.

In the center of the scene, a mummiform deity appears again. Now he has a head in the shape of a hawk. His arms are crossed, while the hands are holding the Osirian attributes. In front of the god is, the *jmj-wt* symbol, another sign indicating the Osirian features of the central figure. He is the nightly form of the sun-god, represented in the moment of the rebirth. The Osirian character of the sun-god is fortified by the fact that the figure standing behind him is Horus (*nḏ jt = f*), and in front of him there is Anubis with his jackal head ("The lord of the Sacred Land, who is at the head of the divine booth"): both figures are connected with the sphere of the Osirian resurrection. Nevertheless, the text attached to this principal figure reads thus: "Htp-dj-njsw-offering from Re-Harachtī, from Atum, the lord of the Two Lands, the great god, the lord of the sky".

The goddess who is standing behind Anubis is Maat; she holds *ḥnh*-sign, in front of her there is an offering vessel which is similar to those in the hand of Anubis and to the other one before the ape-headed demon, the last figure on

²⁵ The epithet "the lord of Mšn" is added to this on the left.

the right side, resembling the demons with knives in the Mythological Papyri. At the end of the row on the other side, there is another demon, with an ape-head like the former. Perhaps these demons behind the "greater" deities in the scenes are the visualizations or hypostases of the creative/magic/divine force of them²⁶.

The inscription at the feet of Horus corresponds to the one, which appeared in the same place on the preceding scene, and it indicates the defensive character of the deities behind the central god. However, in this scene the conditions of the rebirth are the offerings provided for the deceased in solar context.

3rd scene: Rising from the dead (Pl. V)

The third picture is opened by Nehbet, the vulture-goddess. In the center one can behold the personified — and Osirian — djed-column. On both sides of it/him, two hawks ("the Bḥd.tj") spread their wings to protect him. They stand on a shrine, and their heads are adorned by a solar disc and uraei. At the feet the well-known inscription is repeated: "they are the protectors of Osiris".

4th scene: Participation in the divine feature (Pl. VI)

In the middle of the fourth register we can find a shrine, which is crown by the hawk-head of Sokaris²⁷. Within, there is a base including a sign of gold, on which an ape-headed god is seated²⁸, holding the m3°.t-feather.

On both sides of the structure a goddess is situated: Selket and Neith ("The ladies of the sky"), again on signs of gold. Their task is to protect the shrine and the god living inside it.

Becoming a golden image (or statue) of the god is equal with the participation in his nature as it is expressed in the 77th Chapter of the Book of

²⁶ For example Heka, Hu, Sia and other figures without names in the solar bark in the hours of Amduat or the Book of the Gates or the popular scene with Osiris upon the huge serpent and the double staircase in the 21st dynasty, on coffins and in mythological papyri (A. Piankoff, N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, New York 1957, fig. 45, No. 11, and in many other places).

²⁷ This motif became a returning, important element of the representations related to the Underworld in the New Kingdom, and of the coffins in the Third Intermediate Period (C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten*, München 1976, p. 126).

²⁸ On another cartonnage, on the same place, the four sons of Horus appear, and thus this unnamed figure could be one of them: Hapi (see the cartonnage from Alexandria: E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, Bergamo 1922, fig. 74).



Pl. V. The cartonnage of Js.t-m-3ḥbj.t in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow. Third scene: Rising from the dead. Phot. by Jacek Książek

the Dead²⁹: "They give praise to me who am dawned and united as a beautiful falcon of gold..."

At the back of the two goddesses, two m³.t-feathers flank the scene.

5th scene: Solar bark (Pl. VI)

The last scene has got to the feet: the solar bark represented upside down compared with the other scene discussed above, is sailing on the sky.

²⁹ See Th. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 66 (= Spell 77); R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, New York 1972, fig. on the p. 76.



Pl. VI. The cartonnage of Js.t-m-3ḥbj.t in the Czartoryski Museum, Cracow. Fourth scene: Participation in the divine feature, and (below) fifth scene: Solar bark. Phot. by Jacek Książek

The god is symbolized by the picture of the horizon in the center of the bark, while the crew appears in the form of the šms-sign in the poop, behind the god³⁰. The members of this crew are depicted in the books of the Underworld: on the walls of the tombs and in the papyri³¹. Both upcurled ends of the boat are decorated with lotus flowers, and in the corners m³.t-feathers can be seen.

The scenes following each other on the lid emphasize the same motif in each case: they enumerate the conditions of the resurrection of the deceased (sun-god), and hereby they evidently think it assured for the person who lies in the coffin. These motifs are as follows:

- 1) the central figure enjoys the protection of the gods,
- 2) the central figure is provided with all kinds of offerings,
- 3) through these two above mentioned conditions, it may be possible for him to become justified (1st scene); to revive as the sun (2nd scene); to rise up from the dead as the djed-column (3rd scene); and to participate in the divine feature, i.e. to become "golden" (4th scene). It is discernible that these are the various formulations of the same desire, or perhaps the various phases of the same process. But the solar bark on the feet (5th scene) indicates the realization itself, compared with the former ones.

Therefore it is very important for the deceased to sight it first of all.

The two edges of the cartonnage case at the back were perforated by holes and then strings were laced through these edges³². The six scenes represented on the back are separated from each other by geometrical and check patterned coloured stripes. In comparison with other pieces, one can establish that there is a tremendous difference in the decoration of the back of the cartonnage: both the number and the theme of the registers are varied³³.

The long row of the protecting deities who are situated here in symmetrical registers, are meant for guarding the mummy lying in the coffin. These gods and demons were originally put on the sides of the coffin case. But in the case of the cartonnages of the 22nd dynasty, this side was too thin, so these protectors are confined to the back. This arrangement appears on the vignettes of the 182nd Chapter of the Book of the Dead which shows the mummy in the middle (inside the coffin) and the above-mentioned gods around him. If one can imagine this scene in perspective form, the actual decoration of the existing coffin set will show up³⁴. The symmetrical parts of the scenes connect with each other in subject.

³⁰ This position certainly refers again to the protecting of the god.

³¹ Cf. note 26.

³² About the method: C. V. A. Adams, *The Smithsonian Journal of History* Vol. 1, 1966, pp. 55—66; *Mummies and Magic*, pp. 166—167; L. Habachi, *ASAE* 55, 1958, pp. 338—345.

³³ See for example O. Kefted-Petersen, *Catalogue...*, pl. XCII.

³⁴ The defending deities at the back or besides the mummy protect him effectively with the weapons and magic spells which they possess. For BD 182 represented on the coffins see P. Montet, *Les constructions...*, pls. LXXIX, LXXXIV and LXXXVI; O. Kefted-Petersen, *Catalogue...*, pp. 41—44, pls. XCIII—CII (= AEIN 299); V. Schmidt, *Sarkofager, Mumiekister, og Mumiehylstre i det gamle Aegypten*, Copenhagen 1919, figs. 1094—1112.

Where the wig does not cover the shoulders, two goddesses are sitting on gold signs with the sky above their heads³⁵. Their hands are in the gesture of mourning — obviously they are Isis and Nephtys, the two mourners of the deceased. The head of the figure on the left is decorated by balsam cone and lotus flower; the right is crowned by a ḥnw.t-sign. At the back of both figures, West symbols are represented. The figure on the left is complemented with linguistic signs continuing into the next scene.

On both sides of the first register, two sons of Horus are standing, provided with feathers and knives. Between Duamutef and Qebehsenuf, there is a high staff (standard?).

In the second scene, one can see the shrine which has already appeared on the lid, which is ornated by the head of Sokaris³⁶, crowned by a feather³⁷. This construction is supported by a goddess with vulture wings in a position of bending forward. Beyond them there is a m3^c.t-feather again, and under the wings one can read the name of Osiris³⁸. On the left side, the lying Anubis can be seen on a chapel. The doors of the sacred building are provided with two bolts³⁹, just as it occurred on the third scene of the lid. Both deities belong to the sphere of the Underworld, but the feather upon the head of Sokaris makes him a figure of solar character.

In the next scene, the standing figure of Nut shows up on the right, and her name can be read in line with her head. In one of her hands she holds a nw-pot, in the other a small mummiform man⁴⁰. On her arms two objects hang down: an ʿnh-sign and a long body of a snake. On the left a personified tt-symbol is depicted with the head of Isis. She is lifting her hand in the gesture of protection. According to the inscription, she is "the spell of Isis, the lady of the sky". In this context, it is worth mentioning the 156th Chapter

³⁵ The goddess on the right side wears a striped dress, the other's costume is like the one on the fourth scene of the cartonnage lid.

³⁶ Cf. note 27.

³⁷ Since in the case of certain words we can notice the following change of determinative: Gardiner S 28, V 12, the feather placed on the head of Sokaris (for example WB I 323—324 and 319), we can presume that this object is originally a linen cloth on the head. Still the wearing of a linen cloth on the head has — besides quite prosaic reasons such as protection against the heat and sunshine on a scene, to which my colleague, Tamás Bács called my attention in L. Manniche, *City of the Dead*, London 1987, fig. 57 — rich symbolic meaning, and together with the feather, is connected to the sun-cult. Sun wears this feather or linen cloth on the head, on the scene of Separation of Heaven and Earth. This linen cloth is a royal/divine ornament on the one side (*Coffin Texts* VII, 348 f, 478, 521 and *Mythological Papyri* Nos. 22 and 27), but on the other side protects the head of the sun-god and so the deceased (Ph. Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 9, 1981, pp. 352—353 with further literature).

³⁸ This side of the cartonnage has been damaged at the height of the second scene. This damage caused a small defect in the text on this side.

³⁹ Examples for the bolt on a shrine: *Mythological Papyri* No. 23, in A. Piankoff, N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*; Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians*, New York repr. 1989, fig. 16/2.

⁴⁰ Goddess in the same position: A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, New York 1954, fig. 112 and note 25 (with further references).

of the Book of the Dead where the Isis-knot is identified with the magic power of the goddess, or her magic spells. The representations and the epithets indicate that both goddesses are responsible for passing the deceased to the sky, the solar sphere.

In the fourth register, a kneeling figure with a crocodile head appears on the right in the function of a doorkeeper demon. He holds a solar disc upon his head and a knife in the hand⁴¹. His name is also recorded: Pḥr-ḥr⁴². In front of his figure, a semi-hieroglyphic, semi-iconographic ḥtp-sign complements the picture as the symbol of providing the deceased/god with offerings. Opposite to the demon, the central figure of the left scene is a djed-column headed by a solar disc; one can notice the unity of the Osirian and solar world, again. Beside the column, a huge ḥq3-staff is illustrated with a complementary t-sign under it⁴³. In the upper left corner, we can see a ḥtp-sign. The main subject of these two parts of the scene can be expressed in one word: ḥtp as the "earthly" condition of the resurrection.

In the fifth scene, there is a sign of the East on both sides, but only the sign on the right is supplemented with the following text: "The lord of the sky and the earth, the West". The completion is perspicuous, since it can actually be found on the right/west side of the mummy.

The above-examined line of scenes is followed by the ordinary separating frieze and then closed by a dark stripe of paint.

In the case of the decoration of the back, three conceptions mingle with each other.

1. As we mentioned, the symmetrically situated scenes on the right and left sides are in close connection with each other.

2. The above-discussed aspect in connection with the situation of the mummy in the coffin or the coffin in the tomb has an influence also on the back of the cartonnage, as we have seen in the last scene.

3. But there is a third conception which is manifested in the "dramaturgy" from above down: from the West-signs on the shoulders, one can reach the East-symbols at the feet. This may be a fortification of the statement that the scenes following each other on the lid and the back are the phases of the course of events which the deceased experienced after leaving this world.

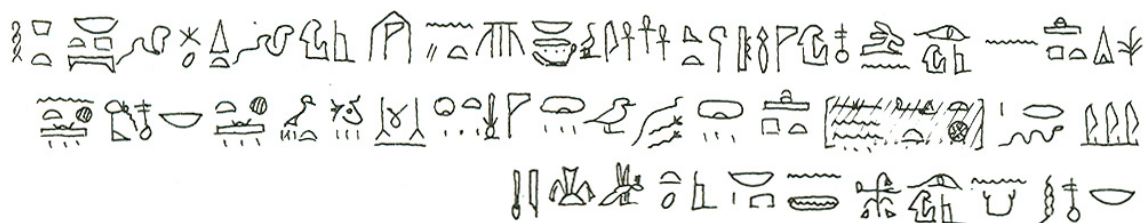
On both sides of the cartonnage, an inscription may be read, at full length: an offering formula in favour of the deceased. These texts are separated by a frieze composed from various coloured stripes (red-blue-yellow-red-yellow-green) from the representations of the lid and the case. The hieroglyphic

⁴¹ He is one of the popular demons in the books of the Underworld, who often appears in the shape of a snake. These sort of defending figures flank the djed-column covered by wings on the inner decoration of the case (cf. A. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, pl. XXII A—B).

⁴² WB I 548.

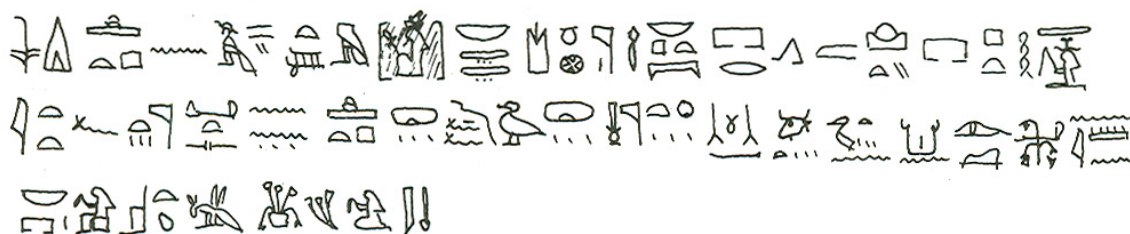
⁴³ See WB II 178, 8 as the divine scepter or as the name of the god himself in the title ḥm-ntr n p3 mdw/hq3.t šps (A. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, No. 279). Obviously, this scene can be interpreted linguistically: <p3>ḥq3<.t>mdw n NN — who is the nightly form of the sun-god and the Osirian column rising from the dead.

signs are painted in green on bright ground. The text on the right side reads as follows:



”Htp-dj-njsw offering from Osiris, Wenennefer, the great god, from the ruler of the living, the lord of the Sacred Land, the lord of the divine booth, from Isis, Sepdet, lady of the sky, lady of the fields of <R3-st3.w>⁴⁴. May they provide the offering meal: incense, linen, ox-head, fowls, every kind of good and pure things, every kind of sweet and perfect things for the k3 of Osiris, the priestess of Amun, lady of the house, Js.t-m-3hbj.t, the True-of-Voice”.

The inscription of the left side:



”Htp-dj-njsw offering from Re-Harakhti, Atum, the lord of the Two Lands, who rises up to the horizon, Ptah-Tatenen, lord of the gods. May they provide the offering meal: incense, linen, ox-head, fowls for the k3 of Osiris, the chantress of Amun, lady of the house, Js.t-m-3hbj.t, the True-of-Voice”.

As we mentioned above, the cartonnage of Js.t-m-3hbj.t is classed among the pieces of the type ”with horizontal registers” of the two new types which occurred in the early 22nd dynasty. The pieces comparable in their type and age are as follows: a piece from Alexandria⁴⁵, another one from Saint Louis⁴⁶, a third from the British Museum⁴⁷, the fourth at San Francisco⁴⁸, and the last one at the Brooklyn Museum⁴⁹. All of them can be dated back to the early 22nd dynasty. The ground colour of the coffin from Alexandria is

⁴⁴ See note 38. On the basis of the below discussed stela this damage can be completed. I owe my colleague, Peter Gaboda, thanks for his help in the completion.

⁴⁵ See reference of the note 28.

⁴⁶ Saint Louis 109:1989 (*Egyptian and Near Eastern Art*, in: *The Saint Louis Art Museum Bulletin*, Summer 1990, pp. 14–15).

⁴⁷ E.A. Wallis Budge, *British Museum Guide*, pl. XIII (= BM 22939).

⁴⁸ A.L. Becker-Colonna, *Myths and Symbols in a Cartonnage Coffin of the XXIst Dynasty from the Sutro Collection at San Francisco State University*, in: *Acts of the 1st International Congress of Egyptology in Cairo, Berlin-East 1979*, pp. 95–101.

⁴⁹ *Mummies and Magic*, No. 170, pp. 220–221 (= Brooklyn 72.4838).

a particular one: it is painted in dark blue, and so it differs from the others with some similar pieces together⁵⁰. Both of the last ones are thrown with bitumen from top to bottom as a result of a curious, but customary proceeding of this time⁵¹. Therefore, the representations were more or less discernible only with the aid of restoration and cleaning. On the other hand, about the second and third pieces, it can be said that their colour schemes are very similar to the cartonnage at Cracow.

One can find several overlappings also among the registers following each other on the lids of the five cartonnages. In all cases the first scene presents the shortened version of 125th Chapter of the Book of the Dead: Horus and Thoth lead the blessed deceased to the throne of Osiris. The possibilities are manifold in the case of the second scene. By all means, it seems that this register deals with the god of the Underworld as the nightly form of the sun-god, in one way or another⁵². In the third scene, the god is usually represented in emblematic form: in the shape of djed-column or Abydos-symbol⁵³, encircled by protecting deities. The fourth register has two variants. One depicts the sons of Horus in the shrine of Sokaris⁵⁴, and on the other the purifying of the deceased is presented⁵⁵. On the feet in general the solar bark or other symbols of the rising sun appear — upside down. On the basis of all these, the closest parallel to the cartonnage of Js.t-m-3ḥbj.t is the piece from Alexandria, in regards to the characteristics of the iconography.

The outer coffin

The outer wooden coffin was in much worse condition than the inner cartonnage⁵⁶. In spite of this, one can see that the craftsmen have covered

⁵⁰ The piece from Alexandria, see note 28; *Mummies and Magic*, No. 122, pp. 170—171 (= Brooklyn 72.4837); C. Andrews, *Egyptian Mummies*, figs. 53—54 (= BM 29577); H. Altenmüller, *Grab und Totenreich*, pl. 2 (= Hamburg C 4057 b).

⁵¹ *Mummies and Magic*, p. 220 and A.L. Becker-Colonna, *Myths and Symbols*, p. 95.

⁵² For example Osiris with sun-disc on the head: on the cartonnage from Alexandria or the bark of Sokaris in the shrine on the piece from San Francisco.

⁵³ The motif of the djed-column is equal in each place, except for the coffin from San Francisco, where the Abydos-emblem is placed there.

⁵⁴ See note 28.

⁵⁵ BM 29939, Saint Louis 109:1989 and on the piece at San Francisco an alternative version can be seen with the Hathor-cow and the b3 of the deceased.

⁵⁶ Also the coffin (Inv. No. MNK XI—482 a), like the cartonnage, underwent careful treatment in 1988, conducted by Marian Paciorek, M.A., and Ireneusz Płuska, M.A. It was ascertained then that the straight planks of the sarcophagus bottom were reused (this is indicated by the arrangement of apertures and geometrical cuts; they may come from the dismantling of an

with painting only the face, the wig and the collar. From the collar to the feet a single vertical column of inscription runs with the offering formula.

The wooden coffin is ornated with a huge wig, which is similar to that of the cartonnage, but more decorative than the latter. Both locks falling down the breasts are decorated with coloured stripes composed of a frieze from wd3.t-eyes. The vulture throwing above the forehead holds šn-rings with the talons on both sides. The hairbands are decorated with a lotus-flower. Her face is a shade graver than that of the cartonnage. By any reckoning, there is a conspicuous similarity between them. The eyes and the eyebrows are inlaid⁵⁷.

The single line of the inscription is the following:



”Htp-dj-njsw offering from Osiris, at the head of the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos, may he give the offering meal to the k3 of Osiris, the priestess of Amun, the lady of the house, Js.t-m-3hbj.t, the wife of the jt-ntr of Min, Hr, son of P3-mr-Hr, the True-of-Voice”.

An important comparative material is to be found on a stela, which contained the family genealogy going right back to the lady and her husband: the lineage begins in the Ramesside period⁵⁸. Her husband’s family inherited from generation to generation the titles of jt-ntr of Anubis and stolest of Min. The father of the husband is the only exception: he is a priest of Isis.

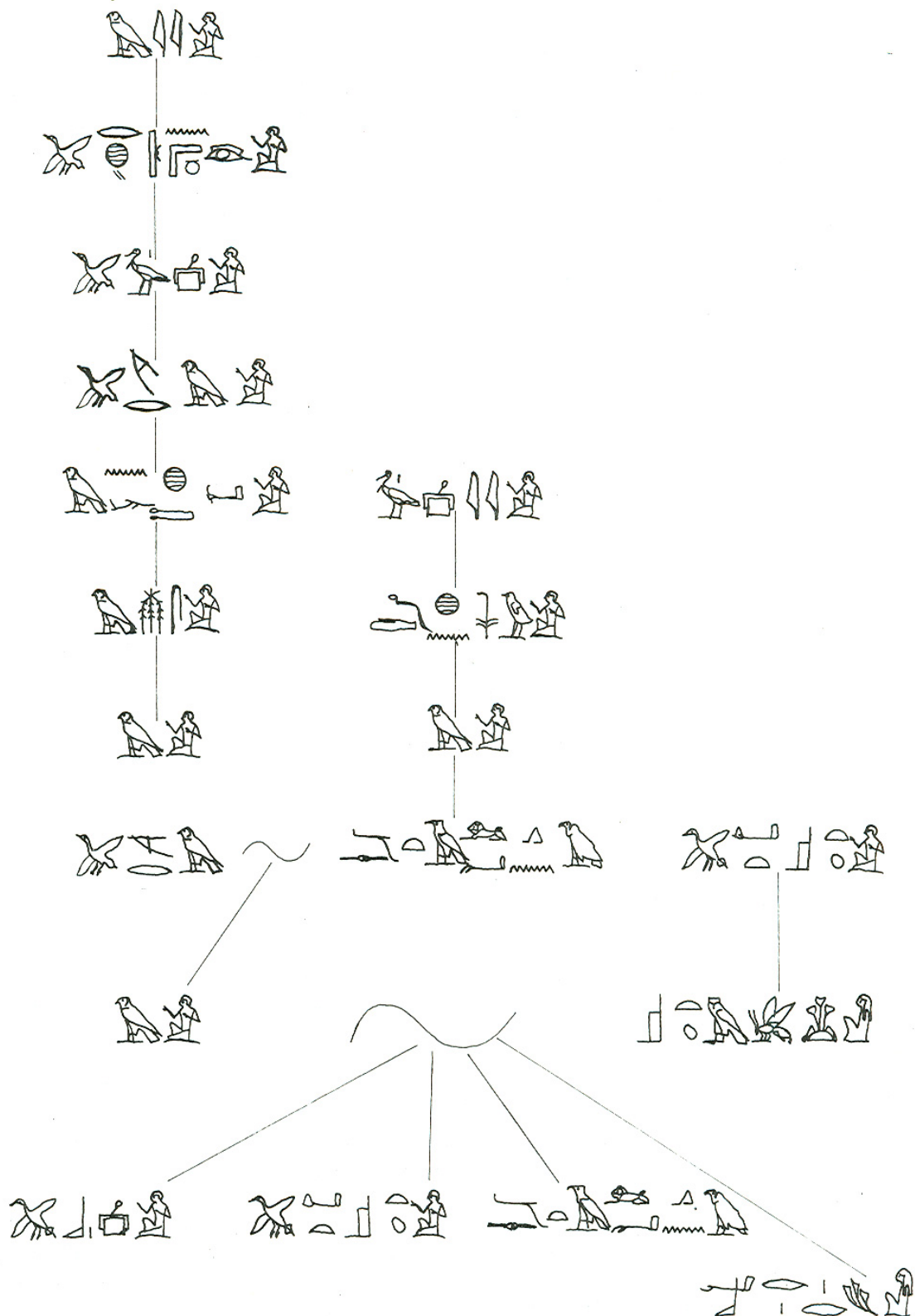
As we mentioned, the name of the husband was Hr. His father was called P3-mr-Hr. The father of the priestess was P3-dj-js.t. The couple had four children: two girls and two boys. P3-bs and P3-dj-js.t — the latter inherited the name of his grandfather — were in the same office as their ancestors. As for the girls, Ns-t3-rwj-n-Mw.t and B°3rr, the first took over the name of her

old boat). Part of the timber is burned. The wood is joint by means of glutin glue (fish glue) and structural reinforcement in the form of wooden pegs. Daps and roughnesses of the planks were made up with the Nile mud, and some chinks were stuck up with linen. Simultaneously to the restoration works, dendrological investigations were conducted, which proved that the coffin lid was made of African kossipo wood (*entandophragma candollei* Harms), whereas the side planks and bottom are of yew (*taxus baccata*). Numerous structural elements and pegs were made of two variations of African mahogany (*khaya anotheca* C.D.C.; *khaya ivorensis* A. Chey) and black poplar (*populus nigra* L.). The dendrological research was done by prof. Maria Niedzielska (documentation in the Czartoryski Collection, Cracow).

⁵⁷ In the course of the conservation works (cf. above, notes 17 and 56) it has been ascertained that the eyes were also inlaid with ivory and enamel, while the eyebrows and eyelashes were made of inserted thin pieces of wooden twigs.

⁵⁸ J. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques publié d’après les monuments égyptiens*, Leipzig 1892 (repr. 1991), No. 2295, p. 866; MMAF, tome I, fasc. 3, Paris 1887, pp. 369—370.

grandmother and the office of her mother as Amun-chantress. Except for P3-dj-js.t, the epithet *m3^c-hrw* can be found after the names of every child, consequently he must have put up the stela to the memory of his historic family. Thus, the stylistic dating of the cartonnage and the coffin is fortified by this family tree:



The names of the first ancestors reflect the fashion of the Ramesside period⁵⁹. The later names — presumably from the 21st dynasty — are influenced by the Theban triad: in that time they contained the names of Khonsu and Mut. The offering formula of the stela is written for Isis and Osiris like the inscription of the coffin set. The epithets and sincretistic figures of these gods correspond nearly word for word to the ones on the cartonnage! On the basis of the stela, the fragmentary parts of the inscription in the middle of the right side, where the cartonnage has been damaged, can be completed (cf. p. 22). This marriage again seems to be one which has been contracted between a wealthy provincial and a Theban noble priest-family⁶⁰. However, for the detailed investigation of the history of this family or for finding the coffin sets of its members, further research is required.

⁵⁹ H. R a n k e, *Keilschriftliches*, ZÄS 58, 1923, pp. 133—134.

⁶⁰ It was the time of the 21st dynasty when a certain Tjaneferi lived, who also originated from a provincial family, and thus he seemed to be able to climb a rung of the social ladder by means of his mother (Js.t-m-3hbj.t J) and later his wife, the daughter of the high-priest Menkheperre (G3w.t-sšn I) in the Theban theocracy. Literature on this family: K.A. K i t c h e n, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, Warminster 1973, § 54 D and passim; M.L. B i e r b r i e r, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt*, Liverpool 1975, p. 49; H. K e e s, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopenzeit*, Leiden 1964, pp. 68—71.