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Tamás Mekis

The Cartonnage of Nestanetjeretten (Louvre AF 12859; MG E 1082) and its Enigma.

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The Cartonnage of Nestanetjeretten (Louvre AF 12859; MG E 1082) and its Enigma[1]

TAMÁS MEKIS

Modern History of the Cartonnage

The provenience of the cartonnage is Thebes, probably Dra abu el-Naga where some pieces of the funerary ensemble of Nestanetjeretten's daughter Nehemsyrattaui were found in 1922 by the campaign of the Pennsylvania University Museum headed by Clarence S. Fisher.[2]

Concerning its history, the cartonnage case was purchased by Alexander Rhind in the late 1850's or in the early 1860's, after his death the major part of his bequest was moved to Edinburgh in 1863.[3] In 1899, Margaret Murray (1863-1963) described the cartonnage in her *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities* for the National Museum of Antiquities.[4] Later, at an unknown date, but certainly before 1918, Mr. Émile Guimet (1839-1918), a private collector from Lyon, acquired the case. In 1948, the main part of the Egyptian antiquities of Mr. Guimet was transferred to the Louvre where the piece can now be found.[5]

1 I would like to thank Jonathan P. Elias and Malcolm Mosher Jr. for proofreading this article and especially for their comments.

2 The excavation is unpublished. For the objects, see PM I.2, p. 611. The hypocephalus (Philadelphia 29.86.436) of *Nḫm-s(t)-Rʿ-ṯȝ.wy* (*PN* I, p. 208, 16) is in the University Museum of Pennsylvania. H. De Meulenaere, "Recherches sur un *Pȝ-wrm* Thébain", in E. Christopher *et al.* (ed.), *The Unbroken Reed. Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore*, *OPEES* 11, 1994, p. 216-220. For details of the "dossier" of Nestanetjeretten, see T. Mekis, "L'équipement funéraire de la prêtresse thébaine Nestanetjeretten", *CdE* 86, 2011, p. 41-81.

3 B. Manley, A. Dodson, *Life Everlasting*, Edinburgh, 2010, p. 2-10. I would like to express my thanks to Bill Manley who shared this information with me.

4 M. Murray, "Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the National Museum of Antiquities", *PSAS* 33, 1899, p. 497, p. 522, no. 532, XXV.

5 Ch. Ziegler *et al.*, *The Louvre. Egyptian Antiquities*, Paris, 1997, (2nd ed.), p. 7; S. Guichard, "La collection égyptienne du musée Guimet au musée du Louvre", in G. Galliano *et al.* (ed.), *Un jour, j'achetai une momie. Émile Guimet et l'Égypte antique*, Paris, Lyon, 2012, p. 60-71. I would like to take the opportunity here to thank the kind assistance of colleagues with whom I worked at the Louvre, especially to Guillemette Andreu-Lanoë, Catherine Bridonneau, Élisabeth David, Sylvie Guichard, Patricia Rigault-Deon, Sophie Sagay and Marc Étienne.

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The cartonnage is now kept in the store room of the Louvre due to its poor state of preservation. It seems likely that Mr. Guimet attempted to preserve the fragile state of the "coffin" by adding small nails to hold it together, and it is certain that the edge of the cartonnage was repainted because the paint was placed over the nails. Unfortunately the painting also covers some of the texts. The coffin in its entirety has remained unpublished until now.[6]

General Description

The cartonnage case is 171 cm long (fig. 1), its largest width is 40,7 cm, and its greatest depth is 28,5 cm. The one-piece mummiform cartonnage is made of two layers of textile covered with stucco. Gilded elements include: the face, a *ba*-bird with upturned wings in contact with a disc (Ra), a pectoral design on the chest, a sun disc (held aloft by the winged scarab-*ḫpy*), two deities (Osiris and Sokar), a scene of a mummy joined by a *ba*-bird with downturned wings (BD 89), the Abydos fetish, and lastly, the axial naming strip[7] on the leg-section. The gilding stands out from the polychrome treatment of the rest of the cartonnage which is done in a light-on-dark style.[8] On the top of the head there is a winged scarab pushing a sun disc a scene that clearly expresses the Egyptian concept of the rebirth. The head is surrounded by two bands of inscription and between the bands a stylized "wreath of justification" is represented by polychrome triangles (fig. 2).

The stylized tripartite wig is black (fig. 3). The gilded face is framed by a red line. On the jaw line there is a thin line representing the string for affixing the Osirian beard which somehow looks strange on the delicate feminine face, but the cartonnage represented the deceased transformed into an Osiris. It seems that the allusion to the beard and the golden "flesh" clarify the divine nature of the revivified Nestanetjeretten. At her neck a small necklace with an *ib*-pendant is depicted, and fifteen rows of alternating floral motifs (similar to the main *wesekh*-collar) are painted below it between the lappets of the wig.



FIG. 1. Cartonnage of Nestanetjeretten, musée du Louvre, Paris, AF 12859.

6 Partially described on the basis of the black and white photo of J.-L. de Cenival by T. Mekis. (T. MEKIS, *op. cit.*, p. 57-60).

7 New terminology suggested by J. P. Elias.

8 G. SCHREIBER, "Ptolemaic Cartonnages from Thebes", in H. Győry (ed.), *Acta Symposii anno 2004, AegetPann* 3, 2006, p. 227-247, pl. 57-68.

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FIG. 2.

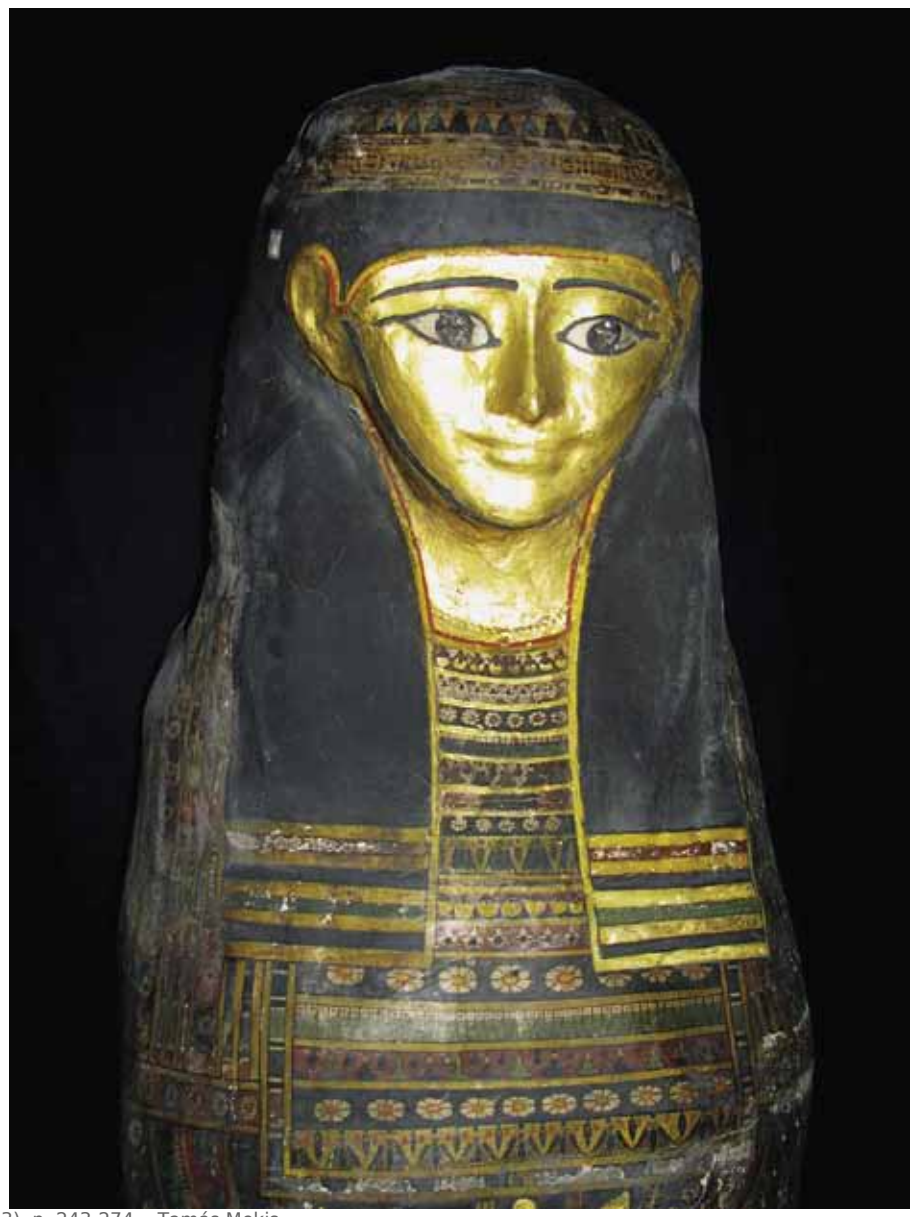


FIG. 3.

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FIG. 4.

Both shoulders are decorated with strips of floral ornamentation (fig. 4). This is in marked contrast to the standard handling of the shoulder zone of many cartonnages, which features falcon head terminals related to the wesekh collar. Here the collar consists of ten strips of floral rosettes with the fourth strip having instead a decorative motif of *wedjat*-eyes. In relief, on the top of the chest is a winged emanation with sun disc on its head, a *ba*-bird or Ra-Horachte holding an *ankh*-sign in each foot and,[9] on a dotted chain hanging from the neck, a naos-form-pectoral with three deities (Osiris, Isis and Nephthys). Below, a winged scarab pushes the gilded sun disc which is adored by four baboons hands raised in adoration on each side, identified by labels as the Hermopolitan primordial gods, Amun's Ogdoad. In Theban

9 Above the wings on each side the following texts can be read: . May endure and live (2x)!

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FIG. 5.

context they are *Niau* and *Niaut*, *Kek* and *Keket*, *Nun* and *Naunet*, *Heh* and *Hehet*[10] they are followed on each side by three *ba*-birds also with hands raised in adoration. Immediately below the scarab-beetle is a representation of the kneeling goddess Nut with outstretched wings and arms, and on either side of her head a version of the Nut-formula is presented. The scene is adored by one-one squatting man on both sides.

The topic of the next register (fig. 5), below a floral band, is a scene depicting the mummy of the deceased resting on a lion-bear, with the hovering *ba*-bird above and the four canopic vases below. Isis and Nephthys stand on either side offering the sign of life, behind Nephthys

10 K. SETHE, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des Ägyptischen Götterkönigs*, Berlin, 1929, p. 66-69, § 126-137; Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, "L'Ogdoade à Thèbes à l'époque ptolémaïque et ses antécédents, in Chr. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de théologies thébaines tardives (D3T1)*, *CENIM* 3, 2009, p. 167-226.

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FIG. 6.

are three jackal-headed genies, and behind Isis are three ibis-headed ones. In the next register below appears a standing representation of Osiris, mummiform with crook and flail, standing back to back with a standing representation of Sokar, also mummiform with crook and flail. Labels in the register identify all participants. The Osiris figure is protected by a winged figure of Isis as a *khuit*-goddess,[11] followed by two of the four sons of Horus, Imseti and Duamutef, followed by a human-headed genie. The Sokar figure is protected by a winged figure of Nephthys as a *menkhet*-goddess,[12] followed by the two other sons of Horus, Hapi and Quebehsenuef, and again followed by a human-headed genie.

The main scene of the next register is the gilded Abydos-fetish (fig. 6), protected by Thot and Horus; on each side behind the aforementioned deities stands the figure of Anubis with the label "who is at the embalming place", each representation of Anubis holds a vase and a purple bandage,[13] and each Anubis is followed by a deity representing one of the four winds. The deity on the right side is identified as the North wind (*Mḥy.t*), has the head of a snake,[14] and holds forth an *ankh*-sign; the deity on the left side is probably the South wind (*Rsw*), has the head of a bull.[15] The gods representing the winds of east and west are shown on the next register, with the same iconography but now the sides of the deities are changed. In the center lies a gilded strip with text that invokes Anubis to protect and offer gifts to the deceased. In the upper register Shu and Tefnut are depicted on the left side of the axis while on the opposite side, Geb and Nut can be seen, collectively representing the second and third divine generations of

11 "Protectoress", P. WILSON, A *Ptolemaic Lexikon. A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, *OLA* 78, 1997, p. 711.

12 "The Excellent Goddess", *ibid.*, p. 434-435.

13 D. KURTH, *Der Sarg der Teüris. Ein Studie zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten, AegTrev* 6, 1990, p. 56.

14 *LGG* III, p. 379-380, Urk. 23.

15 *LGG* IV, p. 725. The label is damaged. For an interpretation of the deities, see G. SCHREIBER, "Remarks on the Iconography of Wind-Gods", *RRE* 2-3, 1998-1999, p. 92-94.

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the Heliopolitan cosmogony. Below, two leonine-headed deities stand, on each side, it is difficult to read the label texts, but it is likely that the first one, on both sides, refers to Sekhmet and the second one to Bastet. The goddesses are accompanied on each side by the four sons of Osiris, grouped in pairs: on the left, Qefdenu (*LGG* VII, 186) and Bastet-tjai (*LGG* II, 739); on the right Hor-hery-neset-ef (*LGG* V, 276), and Anubis-imy-ut (*LGG* I, 233).[16] In the next register, already on the lower part of the legs, above the ankles a single line of the decorative pattern of *djed* and *tjet* amulets finishes the scene. On the ankles two "golden" Horuses stand on the hieroglyphic character of the gold spreading their wings around two *shen*-amulets and cartouches, on the left the royal hypostasis of Osiris-Wennefer appears while on the right the Abydenian Osiris-khenti-imenti. Above, two recumbent jackals representing the northern and southern aspects of Wep-wawet protect the feet, and finally each toe of each foot is shown as small uraeus.

On the sides of the cartonnage a single strip of inscription on dark green background (fig. 7.) cites a text relating to the *sḫ-mr.t* ritual.[17] The foot panel did not survive; at one time (with all probability) it carried the design of two bound enemies (see for analogy Renfrewshire, EG 203, *infra*).

In comparison with other cartonnages from the same period we can suppose that the stucco-covered linen was formed directly to the shape of the mummy, while others were just put on to the mummy as a simple cover (fig. 8, 9).



FIG. 7. Paris, Louvre, AF 12859 © Musée du Louvre, Paris (T. Mekis).

16 "The four sons of Osiris" as protective genies used to appear in the Late-and Ptolemaic Periods on sarcophagi, cartonnages, and often on canopic chests: København Inv. no. 3547 = Collection Sabattier no. 99. (G. LEGRAIN, "Textes recueillis dans quelques collections particulières. I. Collection Sabattier", *RecTrav* 14, 1893, p. 62-64; Wien, A 2123, E. HASLAUER *et al.*, *Funde aus Ägypten*, Wien, 1979, p. 107-108 (M6), Ermitage Inv. no. 822 (Б. А. ТУРАЕВ, "Ящики для египетских погребальных статуэток, называемых «Ушебти»", *Древности* 25, 1914, p. 13-15, detailed publication is in progress by T. Mekis and M. Mosher). For further details, see the doctoral thesis of M.-C. BRUWIER, *Les coffrets à viscères humains en Égypte (de la 30e dynastie à l'époque romaine)*, Leuven, 1991 (non vidi); L. COULON, "Les *uræi* gardiens du fétiche abydénien. Un motif osirien et sa diffusion à l'époque saïte", in D. Devauchelle, *La XXVIe dynastie continuités et ruptures. Actes du Colloque international organisé les 26 et 27 novembre 2004 à l'université Charles-de-Gaulle – Lille 3. Promenade saïte avec Jean Yoyotte*, Paris, Lille, 2011, p. 99-102.

17 See *infra*.

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FIG. 8. Florence, inv. no. 5708 © Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana.[18]



FIG. 9. London, BM, EA 6679 © Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.[19]

This kind of articulation resembles that seen in cartonnages of the earlier periods, but it is difficult to ascertain conclusion on the date of the cartonnages, because of the complexity of the late Pharaonic stylistic sequence. Ptolemaic mummies were arrayed in a great variety of different cartonnage ornaments.[20] One-, two-, four- and multiple-piece cartonnages were used simultaneously in workshops. Seemingly one- and two- piece-cartonnages represented an archaizing style, while four- and multiple-piece sets can be interpreted as clear developments of Saite faience or gilded patterns.[21]

18 To the dossier of Takerheb (*PN* I, 371,12, *PN* II, 397, *DN* I, 1153), see M.A. Saleh (ed.), *Arte sublime nell'Antico Egitto, Firenze, Palazzo Strazzi 6 Marzo-4 Luglio 1999*, Firenze-Milano, p. 234; M.C. Guidotti, *Le mummie del Museo Egizio di Firenze, Maat. Materiali del Museo Egizio di Firenze* 1, Firenze, 2001, p. 40-43; M.C. Guidotti, "A proposito del sarcofago tolemaico della defunta Takerheb", in N. Bonacasa *et al.* (ed.), *Faraoni come dei Tolemei come faraoni. Atti del V Congresso Internazionale Italo-Egiziano. Torino, Archivo di Stato 8-12 dicembre 2001*, Torino-Palermo, 2003, p. 23-26; G. Rosati, "Le bende inscritte di Takerheb", in N. Bonacasa *et al.* (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 44-49; L. Miatello, "The Hypocephalus of Takerheb in Firenze and the Scheme of the Solar Cycle", *SAK* 37, 2008, p. 277-287; G. Rosati, "Il Libro dei Morti di Takerheb ritrovato", *Aegyptus* 89, 2009, p. 9-19; M.C. Guidotti, "Il corredo della defunta Takerheb nel Museo Egizio di Firenze", *Aegyptus* 89, 2009, p. 21-25; G. Rosati, "Novità su Takerheb", *forthcoming*.

19 To the dossier of Hornedjitef (*PN* I, 249, 13, *DN* I, 825-827, *PP* IX, 5459), see *PM* I.2, p. 623-624, J. Quaegebeur, "À la recherche du haut clergé thébain à l'époque gréco-romaine", in S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, *P. L. Bat.* 27, 1995, p. 139-161; S. Walker, M. Bierbrier (ed.), *Fayum. Misteriosi volti dall'Egitto. Catalogo della mostra*, Roma, 1997, 58., no. 28; N. Strudwick, *Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt from the British Museum*, London, 2006, p. 294-297; T. Mekis, "Données nouvelles sur les hypocéphales", *KÚT* 7/2, 2008, p. 38-40; G. Gorre, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides d'après les sources privées*, *StudHell.* 45, 2009, p. 78-80.

20 For difficulties of dating see D.A. Aston, "Dynasty 26, Dynasty 30, or Dynasty 27? In search of the funerary archaeology of the Persian Period", in A. Leahy, J. Tait (ed.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith, OPEES* 13, 1999, p. 17-22.

21 G. Schreiber, *op. cit.*, p. 227-247; I would like to thank J.P. Elias for our discussions on the development of Theban Ptolemaic cartonnages.

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Inscriptions of the Envelope

On the top of the head of the cartonnage there is a winged scarab pushing the sun disc. The scarab is surrounded with a single line of text which is divided into three parts by the wings of the beetle and the *tjet*-bundle on the back of the head.

The text of the upper strip which represents a "wreath of justification" is related to BD 19 (Spell 19 from the Book of the Dead) constituting its version on masks:

- The wreath spell [fig. 10a]

→

[1] 

[2] 

(sic)

[3]  22

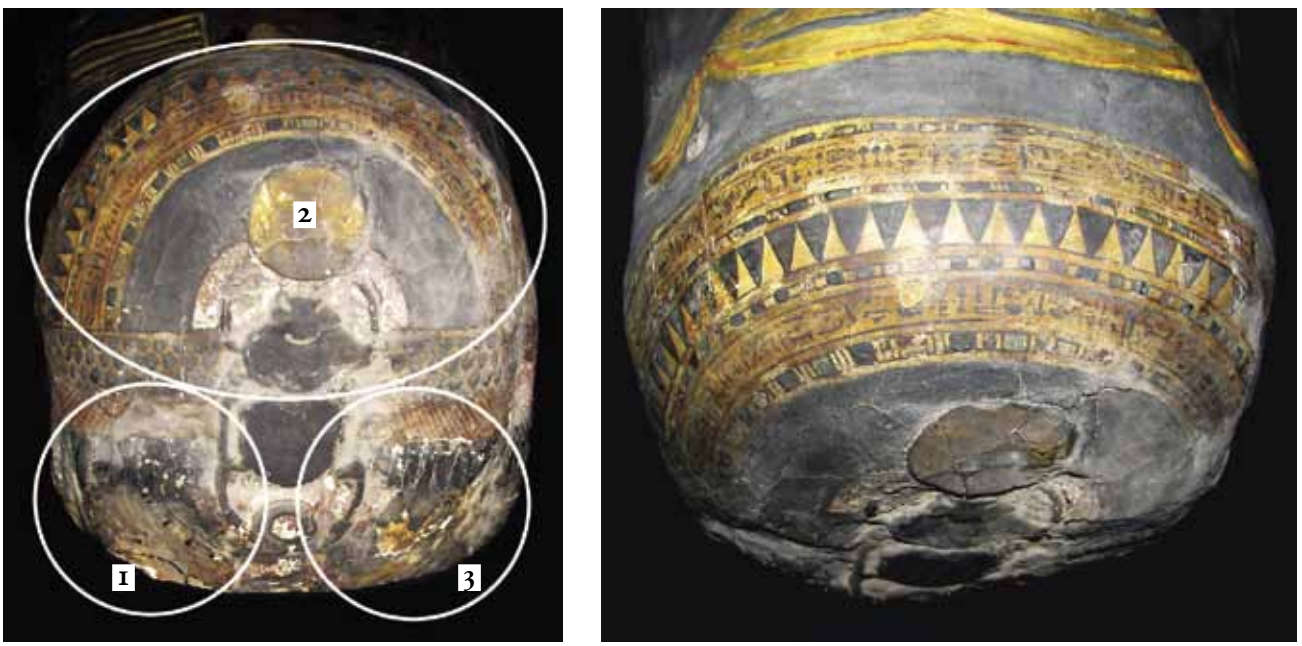


FIG. 10a-b.

22 The surface is dirty and it is completely impossible to see the text.

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Transliteration

[1] *[ḥy Wsjr jt-nṯr Pꜣ-jw-Ḥr mꜣʿ-ḫrw zꜣ Ḥr]*
[2] *jr.t n nb(.t) pr jḥy.t Jmn-Rʿ Tꜣy-ḫy-bjꜣ.t mꜣʿ-ḫrw ṯz n=k jt=k*[a] *jt nṯr.w mꜣḥ pfy nfr n mꜣʿ-ḫrw*[b] *mḏḥ tw m mꜣḥ špss ḫnty ḫw.t-bnw.t m W-pgꜣ*[c] *tp=k n=k tp=k n=k*[d] *smn ḥr {wꜣs} <ḥḥ>=k*[e] *jt ʿnḫ ḥr mr nṯr.w [r] mr nṯr.w […]*[f]
[3] *[…]*

Notes

a. An omission of the name of Atum. The Book of the Dead chapter 19 identifies Atum as the father of the gods. M. Mosher, "Five Versions of Spell 19 from the Late Period Book of the Dead," in P. Der Manuelian, S.E. Thompson (ed.), *Egypt and Beyond. Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University, June 2005*, 2008, *passim*; M. Roth-Müller, "Der Kranz der Rechtfertigung", in B. Rothöhler, A. Manisali (ed.), *Mythos und Ritual: Festschrift für Jan Assmann zum 70. Geburtstag, Religionswissenschaft - Forschung und Wissenschaft* 5, 2008, p. 143-162.

b. After this point the text differs from BD 19. As far as I know there is no Book of Dead papyrus which continues chapter 19 like appears here.

c. H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, T. 1, Le Caire, 1925, p. 189. "C'est également dans ce district que s'élevait le tombeau sacré d'Osiris, dieu des morts, et qu'étaient célébrées les nombreuses fêtes en son honneur." We-pega is identified as the tomb of Osiris in Umm el-Kab (see J. von Beckerath, *LÄ* I, 1975, col. 27-42, *s. v.* "Abydos".)
The mention of We-poker/We-pega is clearly related to the crown of justification. Many sources inform us that, on day 4 of month Thoth, Sokar-Osiris received the wreath from Horus-protector-of-his-father (Hornedjitef) at We-pega/We-poker during the feast of *Wag*. Ph. Derchain, "La couronne de la justification. Essai d'analyse d'un rite ptolémaïque", *CdE* 30, 1955, p. 234-237; Fr.R. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité, OLA* 58, 1994, p. 150. On *W-pḳr* see H. Schäfer, "Das Osirisgrab von Abydos und der Baum pqr", *ZÄS* 41, 1904, p. 107-110; H. De Meulenaere, "Le vizir Harsiesis de la 30e Dynastie", *MDAIK* 16, 1958, p. 235, n. 7, É. Chassinat, *Le Mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, Le Caire, 1966, p. 253-260; J. Budka, "Die Osiris-Mysterien in Abydos und das Osirisgrab", *Kemet* 9/2, 2000, p. 11-14.

d. Literally: *tp=k n=k zp sn*, abbreviation by the scribe.

e. Confusion between  (F12) and  (F10).

f. Again we can recognize the sentence coming from BD, chapter 19. "Live, beloved of the gods," M. Mosher, *op. cit.*, p. 237-238.

Translation

[1] *[Hail Osiris god's father Pa-iu-Hor,*[23] *true of voice, son of Hor]*
[2] *born of the sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Tay-khy-biat, true of voice, your father fastens for you, father of the gods, this beautiful wreath of justification.*

23 For the names see "the enigma", see *infra*.

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May be encircled by the noble wreath which is the foremost of the temple of the phoenix in We-pega, your head, to you. Your head to you is fixed to your neck by (your) father. Live because of the desire of the gods according to the desire of the gods […]

[3] *[…]*

The occurrence of the wreath spell is not too common on mummy masks of the Ptolemaic Period. One can often observe a wreath of justification painted on the mask, and in some cases we find an actual wreath made from leaves or metal on the mummy mask.[24] On some Theban and Abydenian examples the spell such as the stylized wreath are present on the cartonnage masks.[25]

Wreath spells of Late and Ptolemaic masks have not yet been examined from the viewpoint of textual typology.[26] I suggest we identify this new text on the cartonnage of Nestanetjeretten as BD 19a following the same reasoning used to justify the text identified today as BD 151a.[27]

Below the band there is a stylized wreath of justification consisting of polychrome triangles on the analogy of leaves (fig. 10b). This motif is followed by a new band of text on the forehead which is BD 151a:



(sic)

Transliteration

Jnḏ ḥr=k nfr-ḥr nb-mɜ.wy ṯz.n Ptḥ-Skr skȝ Jnpw ḥ.w=k Ḏḥwty sṯz.f ḥr=k
nfr r mɜȝ nfr.w jr.t=k jmn.t m mskt.t[a] jr.t=k jȝb.t m mnḏ.t[b] jnḥ.wy=k m psḏ.t wp.t=k m Jnpw[c]
ḥnzk.t=k[d] m[e] Ptḥ ḥȝ.t=k m Rˁ mɜȝ.f jm=k[f] sšm.f[g] tw=k[h] ḥr ḥr.t nfr(.t) […][i]

Notes

a.  - *mskt.t* - *Valeurs*, p. 559, 119.
b.  - *mnḏ.t* - *Valeurs*, p. 560, 133.
c. Confusion between  (F10) and (C6).
d.  The order of the signs is changed.
e.  the phonetic value of the sign is m.

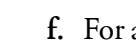
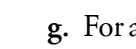
24 Elfriede Haslauer examined a mask with the text from Saqqara. E. Haslauer, "Ein Mumienmaske mit dem 'Kranz der Rechtfertgung'", *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 6/7, 2004-2005, p. 232-239. For girlands, see W. Pleyte, "La couronne de la justification", in *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leide*. 4e partie, 1885, p. 3-30, pl. I-XXV.

25 For further Theban examples, see Florence inv. no. 5708B, BM EA 6679, Paisley EG 239; from Abydos, see BM EA 51147 (Abydos E 437 = T.E. Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos, II. 1911-1912*, *ExcMem* 34, 1914, p. 93, fig. 54.).

26 Jonathan P. Elias mentions only some Third Intermediate Period coffins from Thebes which cite the wreath spell "a segment" of text of BD 19. J.P. Elias, *Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation*, Chicago, 1993, p. 629.

27 B. Lüscher, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*, *SAT* 2, 1998, p. 52-54.

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f. For analogy, see  BM EA 6680 (cartonnage mask of Horemheb – unpublished).
g. For analogy, see  Louvre E 26834 (cartonnage mask of Shakheper – unpublished).
h. *Wb* V, p. 246, 8. *tw=k* from the Late Period onwards used as *ṯw* (dependent pronoun).
i. For comments in general, see B. Lüscher, *op. cit.*, p. 245-250.

Translation

Hail to you beautiful of face, lord of sight, Ptah-Sokar has fastened and Anubis raises up your limbs. Thot, he elevates your beautiful face in order to see beauty. Your right eye is the Evening Boat and your left eye is the Morning Boat; your eyebrows are as the Nine Gods (Ennead); your brow is as Anubis; your tresses are as Ptah; your forehead is as Ra, he sees thanks to you, he leads you onto the right way […]

The version of Book of the Dead chapter 151 differs slightly from that scheme which was presented by Barbara Lüscher in her in-depth study of this important spell (*op. cit.*, n. 24.). Several sentences are missing or modified during the Late Period.[28] Chapter 151a is rather frequent on masks of the Ptolemaic Period.[29]

Texts from the Corpus of the Case

The Axial Naming Strip

- On the gilded axial naming strip



28 E. Varga, "L'apparition du CT 531 sur des masques de cartonnage à la Basse Époque", *L'Égyptologie en 1979. Axes prioritaires de recherches, vol. II*, Paris, 1982, p. 68.

29 Theban Masks: London BM EA 6679, EA 6680, EA 6959; Florence MEF inv. no. 5708B (Guidotti 2001, 43; Paisley EG 239; Leiden RMO L. XII.2 (Leemans M47); Reykjavík NMI 15 (G. J. Guðmundsson, "Egypsku munirnir í dánargjöf Willards Fiske", *Árbók Hins Íslenska Fornleifafélags* 95, 1997, p. 58-59; Asasif, TT414, Grab X/2, reg. no. 874 (M. Bietak, E. Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor. Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris*. 2, *UZK* 5, Wien, 1982, p. 207; El-Khokha, TT32, Room I, reg. no. 2005. Ca.025 (Schreiber 2006, cat. no. 5 (pl. 64), TT-43-, reg. no. 2009.951 (T. Mekis, "Two Hypocephali and Some Other Ptolemaic Finds from Theban Tomb (Kampp) 43", *JSSEA* 37, 2012, p. 9-37). Provenance unknown: Bonn L. 879 (L. Gestermann, "Gegrüßest seiest Du, Schöngesichtiger" - Zur Bonner Mumienmaske des Imhotep", in H. Győry (ed.), *"Le Lotus qui sort de terre": Mélange offerts a Edith Varga*, *BMHBA* Supplément, 2001, p.101-112); Louvre E26834a (J. Vandier, "Nouvelles Acquisitions - Musée du Louvre", *RevLouvre* 21, 1971, p. 98-99); Berlin VÄGM 1983/14 (J. Settgast, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, Mainz, 1984, p. 81); BM EA 29472 (J.H. Taylor (ed.), *Journey through the afterlife. Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, London, 2010, p.127, no. 58; EA 29474; *Christie's*, South Kensington, 25 April 2001, lot 117; *Royal Athena Galleries*, New York, London, vol. XVIII, 2007, lot 236; *Christie's*, New York, 18 December 1998, lot 52; *Sotheby's*, London, 8 December 1994,

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FIG. 11. Goddess Nut with the Nut formula above her wings.

Transliteration

Ḏd-mdw ḥy Wsjr jḫy.t n Jmn-Rᶜ Ns-tɜ-nṯr.t-tn[30] *mɜᶜ-ḫrw zɜ.t n jt-nṯr ḥp.t-wḏɜ.t ḥnḳ(-nw.w)*[31]
Jᶜḥ-ms[32] *mɜᶜ-ḫrw jr.t n nb(.t) pr jḫy.t n Jmn-Rᶜ Tɜ-wkš*[33] *mɜᶜ-ḫrw*
Jw n=ṯ Jnpw jmy w.t nb tɜ ḏsr.t dj.f n=ṯ ḳrs.t nfr.t [m jmnt.t]

Translation

Words spoken: O, Osiris sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Nestanetjeretten, true of voice, daughter of the god's father, ḥp.t-wḏɜ.t, ḥnḳ(-nw.w) Jahmes, true of voice, born of the lady of the house, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, Taukesh, true of voice, may come to you Anubis, who is at the place of embalmment, lord of the necropolis. May he give you a beautiful burial [in the West.]

The Nut formula below the chest belongs to the version of Elias' Nut text 5 (Parts 3a-b = *PT* Utt. 368).[34]

lot 106; *Drouot*, Paris, 7 December 1995, 52 C = *Christie's,* New York, 7 December 2000, lot 386; *Sotheby's*, London, 1985, lot 174 = *Sotheby's*, New York, 23 June 1989, lot 97. Akhmimic masks: Graz Inv. no. 4149/4155 (?) (E. Haslauer, "Wie ein Sarg seinen Namen wiederbekommt", *Schild von Steier. Archaeologische und Numismatische Beitraege aus dem Landesmuseum Joanneum* 20, Graz, 2007, p. 13-16; *Ead*, "Aegyptiaca im Archeologiemuseum Schloss Eggenberg, Teil I", *ibid* 25, 2012, p. 204-205. Pushkin Inv. no. 1,1a 6877 (S.I. Hodjash, *The Way to Immortality. Monuments of Ancient Egyptian Art from the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts*, Moscow, 2002, 65-66, no. 133). Abydenian mask: Brooklyn MFA s. n. (Abydos E 422 = T.E. Peet, *op. cit.*, p. 92, fig. 52).

30 *PN* I, p. 179, 19; *PN* II, p. 365; *PP* IX, 7112c.

31 For the title, see H. Selim, "Three Unpublished Late Period Statues," *SAK* 32, 2004, p. 367 (h). Ch. Di Cerbo, R. Jasnow, "Recent Documentation of Medinet Habu Graffiti by the Epigraphic Survey", in P.F. Dorman, B.M. Bryan (ed.), *Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes. Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop, SAOC* 65, 2011, p. 39-40, n. 14.

32 *Jᶜḥ-ms* (Αμασις) *PN* I, p. 12,19; *PN* II, p. 338; *DN* I, p. 58; *PP* IX, 5430a.

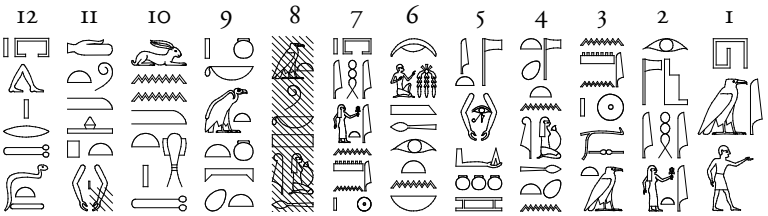
33 *Tɜ-wkš/Tɜ-wgš/Tɜ-kɜš.t* (Τακυσις) *PN* I, p. 371, 7; *PN* II, p. 327, 29, p. 397; *DN* I, 1052; *PP* IX, 7245b.

34 J.P. Elias, *op. cit.*, p. 604; N. Billing, *Nut: The Goddess of Life in Text and Iconography*, *USE* 5, 2002, p. 126, p. 142-143.

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- On the right of the cartonnage above the wings of Nut

→



[1] *ḥy, jɜw*
[2] *Wsjr jḫy.t*
[3] *n Jmn-Rᶜ Ns-tɜ-*
[4] *nṯr.t-tn mɜᶜ-ḫrw zɜ.t n*
[5] *jt-nṯr ḥp.t-wḏɜ.t ḥnḳ(-nw.w)*
[6] *Jᶜḥ-ms mɜᶜ-ḫrw jr.t n nb(.t)*
[7] *pr jḫy.t n Jmn-Rᶜ*
[8] *[Tɜ-wkš mɜᶜ-ḫrw]*[a]
[9] *jnk mw.t Nw.t*
[10] *wnn m zɜ.ṯ*
[11] *šzp tw m ḥp.t*[b]
[12] *pr r=ṯ ḏ.t*

[1] *O, hail*
[2] *Osiris, sistrum-player*
[3] *of Amun-Ra, Nesta-*
[4] *netjeretten, true of voice, daughter of*
[5] *god's father, ḥp.t-wḏɜ.t, ḥnḳ(-nw.w),*
[6] *Jahmes, true of voice, born of the mistress*
[7] *of the house, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra.*
[8] *[Taukesh, true of voice.]*
[9] *I am the mother, Nut*
[10] *who will be as your protectress*
[11] *who accepts you in an embrace*
[12] *who goes to you forever.*

- Among the two *šw*-feather, above the arms of Nut[35]
  Nut Formula of text 5 of J. Elias.[36]

→



[1] *ḥy Wsjr jḫy.t*
[2] *n Jmn-Rᶜ*
[3] *Ns-tɜ-nṯr.t-tn*
[4] *mɜᶜ-ḫrw zɜ.t n jt-nṯr*
[5] *Jᶜḥ-ms mɜᶜ-ḫrw jr.t*
[6] *n nb(.t) pr jḫy.t*
[7] *n Jmn-Rᶜ Tɜ-wkš*
[8] *mɜᶜ-ḫrw pzš.t=s*

[1] *O, Osiris, sistrum-player*
[2] *of Amun-Ra,*
[3] *Nestanetjeretten,*
[4] *true of voice, daughter of god's father*
[5] *Jahmes, true of voice, born of*
[6] *the mistress of the house, sistrum-player*
[7] *of Amun-Ra, Taukesh,*
[8] *true of voice, spreads*

35 For another Ptolemaic analogy, see O.H. MYERS, H.W. FAIRMAN, "Excavations at Armant, 1929-31", *JEA* 17 (nos. 3-4), 1931, p. 225-228, pl. LV-LVII.

36 See *supra*.

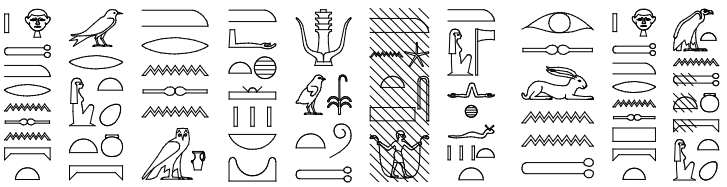
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[9] *mw.t=ṯ Nw.t*
[10] *ḥr=ṯ m rn=s n Š(.t) p.t*
[11] *štɜ.t nn ḥrj*

[9] *your mother, Nut*
[10] *over you in her name of the secret Shet-pet*
[11] *will not be distant.*

- On the right of goddess Nut
  The text continues:
  →

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1



[1] *mw.t n=ṯ Nw.t*
[2] *ḥr=ṯ m rn=s š(.t) p.t*
[3] *jr.s wnn=ṯ*
[4] *m nṯr n ḥfty.w=t*
[5] *[m nṯr n Stš (m) qs]*[c]
[6] *ḫnm.s{w} tw=ṯ* [d]
[7] *m-ᶜ ḥt nb ḏw*
[8] *m rn=s n Ḥnm-*
[9] *wr.t Nw.t*
[10] *ḥr=ṯ m rn=s n p.t*

[1] *the mother to you, Nut (is)*
[2] *over you in her name of Shet-pet.*
[3] *She allows you to exist*
[4] *as a god without your enemies*
[5] *[as a god to Seth as a "bone"].*
[6] *She protects you*
[7] *from everything evil*
[8] *in her name of Henem-*
[9] *weret, Nut (is)*
[10] *above you in her name of the Sky.*

Notes

a. Due to the green background the text is almost unreadable.
b. The determinative clarifies the reading of the verb.
c. Damaged place, reconstruction on the basis of analogies. See J.P. Elias, *op. cit.*, p. 204-205.
d. *Wb* V, p. 247, 1. *tw=ṯ* from the Late Period onwards used as *ṯw* (dependent pronoun).

- On the lower edge of the cartonnage
  From its left side:

→



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Transliteration

[Ḏd-mdw jn Wsjr jḫy.t n J][a] *mn-Rʿ Ns-tɜ-nṯr.t-tn mɜʿ-ḫrw zɜ.t n jt-nṯr ḥp.t-wḏɜ.t ḥnk(-nw.w) <Jʿḥ->*[b] *ms [mɜʿ-ḫrw ms n]*[c] *nb(.t) pr jḫy.t n Jmn-Rʿ Tɜ-wkš mɜʿ-ḫrw ḥḏ.t m ḥḏ.t*[d] *wɜḏ.t m wɜḏ.t*[e] *zmɜ.t jrtyw*[f] *dmj.ṯ*[g] *jdmj*[h] *sṯɜm*[i] *jḫʿw=ṯ*[j] *m ḏbɜ-n-R{m}<nn>.t*[k] *ʿ.wy Tɜy.t*[l] *ḥɜ jwf=ṯ wd.wt m dr=ṯ*[m] *Rs-N.t, Mḥ-N.t*[n] *mnḫ.t=t ḥr ʿ.wy sbḳ.ty*[o] *ḏɜy.t*[p] *nṯr.(ty) mj m […]*[q]

Notes

a. An almost certain reconstruction of the damaged part. See for analogy: Cairo Tr. 26.11.25.9 (Sr. 6381) and Florence inv. no. 5708B (both unpublished).

b. Scribal error, the sign N12 is missing.

c. A possible reconstruction of the damaged surface.

d. P. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 697-698. In different rituals it is also mentioned together with *wɜḏ.t*, *jrtyw* and *jdmj* cloths. See *Edfou* I, p. 44, 19; p. 45, 7; 124, 16; p. 296, 7; 423, 5.; *Edfou* VI, 248, 13; p. 249, 3; *Dend.* IV, 247, 3. In the Apis embalming ritual it is Isis and Nephthys who are carrying the *ḥḏ.t* bandage. R.L. Vos, *The Apis Embalming Ritual, OLA* 50, 1993, p. 52, 165. In general see É.G. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak (Fascicule II)*, *Dendara*, 1968, p. 451-454.

e. On the offering of the green textile see J.-Cl. Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l'Ancienne Égypte. Le Rituel de l'Embaumement. Le Rituel de l'Ouverture de la Bouche. Les Livres des Respirations*, Paris, 1972, p. 144, Scene LI of the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth; see for details: E. Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, *ÄA* 3, 1960, Bd. I., p. 127-128; Bd. II., p. 116-117; *Edfou* I, p. 124, 16; p. 244, 15; p. 296, 7; p. 423, 14-17; *Dend*. IV, 248, 4. In general see É.G. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 451-454.

f. There are different opinions on the colour of *jrty*-textile, as blue: Fr.R. Herbin, *op. cit.*, p. 208-209, based on: Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, "Une coutume égyptienne méconnue", *BIFAO* 45, 1947, p. 213-214; E. Edel, "Die Stoffbezeichnungen in den Kleiderlisten des Alten Reiches", *ZÄS* 102, 1975, p. 20-23; as red (purple): A.H. Gardiner, "The Colour of Mourning," *ZÄS* 47, 1910, p. 162-163; P. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 99-100; *Edfou* I, p. 31, 2-8; p. 126, 113; p. 289, 13; p. 432, 9-15; *Edfou* VI, p. 249, 14; *Dend.* IV, 265, 8. For detailed bibliography and for texts mentioning the textile see M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 1050, CDPBM* III, 1987, p. 93, n. 391-393; H. Kockelmann, "Ein neuer funerärer Spruch mit Anrufung der Mumienbinde. Mumienbinde Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vindob. Aeg. 8345* und Parallelen", in B. Backes *et al.* (ed.), *Augestattet mit den Schriften des Thot. Festschrift für Irmtraut Munro zu ihrem 65. Geburstag*, *SAT* 14, 2009, p. 95-96, comment "f"; According to the newest researches of A. Egberts, the colour of the textile was "some variety of red": A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the "Meret"-Chests and Driving the Calves*, *EgUit* 8, 1995, p. 139-142, n. 8.

g. *dmj*, *Valeurs*, p. 349, 9. P. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 1196.

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h. P. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 126-127. See J.-Cl. Goyon, *op. cit.*, p. 146 and E. Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 118-119, Scene LII; *Edfou* I, p. 31, 10; p. 126, 14 – 127, 13; p. 289, 14 – 290, 5; p. 432, 17 – 433, 7; p. 588, 9; p. 566, 13; *Edfou* IV, p. 48, 6; *Dend.* IV, p. 265, 7 – 266, 10, E. Edel, *op. cit.*, p. 24-27. M. Smith, *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing*, Oxford, 1993, p. 46, Line 10, c: Smith states that the *jdmy*-cloth "was applied to the feet of the deceased. The *jtmy* was supposed to give freedom of movement." "In the Embalming Ritual, *jtmy.(t)*-cloth is employed to secure artificial nails made of gold and electrum to the fingers and toes of the deceased, and it is these nails which restore to him the activity of his limbs" – *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 1987, p. 93-95, citing S. Sauneron, *Rituel de l'embaumement. Pap. Boulaq III. Pap. Louvre 5158*, Le Caire, 1952, p. 8, 12 – 11, 8. According to p.BM EA 10588, col. 7 and p.BN 8351, col. IV, 13-14 it is Isis and Nephthys who carry red bandages when they enter Duat with Osiris. H.I. Bell *et al.*, *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum*, *PBA* XVII, 1932, p. 17. In the opinion of R. Voss, the two textiles *šsd/jrty* and *jdmy* had part in the solar-Osirian union. R. Voss, *op. cit.*, p. 150. For detailed bibliography and for further texts mentioning the textile, see M. Smith, *op. cit.*, 1987, p. 93, comment to line 15; A. Egberts, *op. cit.*, p.139, n. 4.

i. P. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 968, causative form of *ṯ3m* = to bandage.

j. *jḥʿ.w* is a late version of *ḥʿ.w* (*Wb* III, p. 37).

k. Scribal error:  correctly: . For *ḏbȝ-n-Rnn.t,* see P. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 1231: "In the case of Osiris this may indicate funeral wrappings." It seems that it was a type of *mnḫ.t*, white bandage used during the embalming. See for the colour: Fr. Daumas, "Sur trois représentations de Nout à Dendara", *ASAE* 51, 1951, p. 381, n. 3; p. 391, n. 4., Fr.R. Herbin, *op. cit.*, p. 139, comment on II, 26-27.

l. M.L. Bierbrier, *LÄ* VI, 1986, col. 185-186, *s. v.* "Tait"; *Wb* V, p. 232, 1-14; *Wb* V, *Beleg.*, p. 35: 232, 4 (Philae <2913>, Phot. 855).

m. P. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 1203.

n. S. Schott, "*Rs-N.t* und *Mḫ-N.t* als Häuser der Neith", *RdE* 19, 1967, p. 99-110; S. Sauneron, *op. cit.*, p.11, 7; J.-Cl. Goyon, *op. cit.*, p. 42, n. 2, p. 54. See for parallel: F. Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nes-min, BiAeg* 14, 1970, p. 64, n. 55; p. 55; p. 80: p.Louvre N 3079, CXI, 37-39; p.BM EA 10208, III, 20-22.

o. *LGG* VI, p. 265; *Urk.* VIII, p. 106, no. 133, d; S. Schott, *op. cit.*, p. 107; R. El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*, *BdE* 69, 1975, p. 71; D. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram. Five Hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis, YES* 6, 2003, p. 111 (col. 28-29.), 113; A. Kucharek, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien 4. Die Klagelieder von Isis und Nephthys in Texten der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit, SSPAHW* 22, 2010, p. 156. See for an explicit identification the rectangular textile London, BM, EA 10270. A. Shimbun *et al.*, *Art and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt: From the British Museum*, Tokyo, 1999, p. 170, fig. 14.

p. P. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 1218, "cloak of Osiris." See also É. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 1966, p. 230, É. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 1968, p. 585-587; p. 751; Fr.R. Herbin, *op. cit.*, p. 219, comment on VI, 7; D. Kurth, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

q. The text probably continued on the missing foot panel. Unfortunately, on Cairo Sr. 6381 the text after this point also damaged. Florence inv. no. 5708 B cites different text.

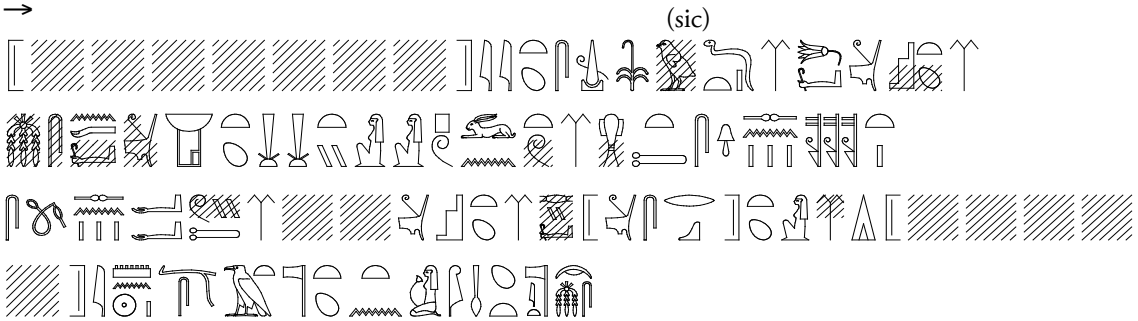
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Translation

[Words spoken by the Osiris] Nestanetjeretten, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, true of voice, daughter of the god's father, ḥp.t-wḏȝ.t ḥnk(-nw.w) <Jah>-mes, [true of voice, born of] the mistress of the house, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Taukesh, true of voice:
Be brightened by the white bandage, be prospering by the green bandage, be united by the purple bandage, be touched by the red bandage,[37] *be bandaged your limbs by the funeral wrappings;*[38] *the arms of goddess Tait are around your flesh. Be clothed with your garment of Res-Net and Meh-Net, with your mnḫ-cloth upon the hands of the Two Crocodiles, with divine shroud as […]*

- From the right side of the envelope:

→



Transliteration

[Ḏd-mdw jn Wsjr jḫy.t n Jmn-Rʿ Ns-tȝ-nṯr.t-tn mȝʿ-ḫrw zȝ.t n jt-nṯr ḥp.t-wḏȝ.t ḥnḳ(-nww) Jʿḥ- ms mȝʿ-ḫrw ms n nb(.t) pr jḫy.t n Jmn-Rʿ Tȝ-wkš mȝʿ-ḫrw jj Tȝ].yt[a] *swḏȝ s{w} ḏ.t m sšn n ȝs.t msn n Nb.t-ḥw.t*[b] *sn(.t)-sn.ty pw wn.tw m zȝ.t=ṯ smnḫ.sn ks.w=t*
srwḏ.sn ʿ.wy=ṯ m [sḫt][c] *n ȝs.t m ʿḏ [n Srḳ].t*[d] *m dj […]*[e] *Jmn-Rʿ Ns-tȝ-nṯr.t-tn mȝʿ ḫrw zȝ.t jt-nṯr Jʿḥ-ms*

Notes

a. The beginning of the text is unreadable thanks to the restoration done on the cartonnage during the first half of the 20th century. Reconstruction is on the basis of Florence inv. no. 5708 B.
b. For parallel texts see F.Ll. Griffith, H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden, London*, 1904, p. 52-53, col. VI, 12; A. Mariette, *Les papyrus du musée de Boulaq,* I, Le Caire, 1871, Vol. 1, pl. 12, l.1; G. Maspero, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, Paris, 1875, p. 35; *Edfou* VI, p. 248.
c. Reconstruction is on the basis of Florence 5708 B.
d. The black ink dimmed, but on the basis of the analogy the reading is certain.

37 "*ḫḏ=k m ḥḏ.t wȝḏ=k m wȝḏ.t smȝ=k jrtjw dmj=k jdmj*", A. Paulet, *Le temple d'Opet*, in R. Preys, *Leuven Online Index of Ptolemaic and Roman Hieroglyphic texts*, 2005, http://www.arts.kuleuven.be/ptt/temples/opet8.htm (05.05.2011.), p. 206 = *Opet* I, p. 206.

38 "*jrty jdmj sṯȝm ḫʿ.w=k*", *Opet* I, p. 124, 6.

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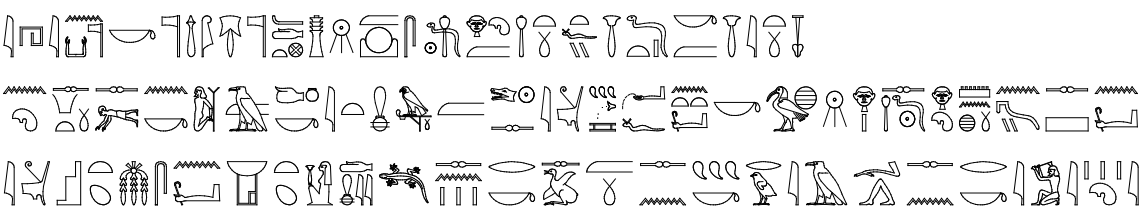
e. Emendation on the basis of Florence inv. no. 5708 B, the continuation of the text seemingly differs from the cartonnage of Florence, where the text follows as "by making you strong Ptah-Sokar, be given your limbs forever".

Translation

[Words spoken by the Osiris Nestanetjeretten, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra, true of voice daughter of the god's father, ḥp.t-wḏȝ.t ḥnk(-nw.w) Jahmes, true of voice, born of the mistress of the house, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Taukesh, true of voice:
May come (to you) goddess Tait] making her sound forever by rolling around by Isis, by bandaging round by Nephthys, the two sisters are those who are as your protectors. They make excellent your bones they make your arms strong by [being spun] by Isis by keeping saved by [Selkis], by giving […to the Osiris sistrum-player of] Amun-Ra, Nestanetjeretten, true of voice, daughter of the god's father Jahmes.

As for the analogies of the text on the lower edge of the cartonnage, up-to-now we know of two other Theban cartonnages that used the same text with some smaller modifications. These are Cairo Tr. 26.11.25.9 (Sr. 6381) and Florence inv. no. 5708B. In the text we recognize the name of those bandages that appear in funerary context in the *Opening of the Mouth Ritual* and in the *Embalming Ritual*. As Otto noted the offering of different textiles certainly comes from a temple ritual,[39] we can find scenes in Abydos, Edfu, Dendera such as in the Opet temple of Karnak, where the king offers those same textiles that are mentioned in the text.

The offering of the four bandages together,[40] the *ḥḏ.t*, *wȝḏ.t*, *jrtj* and *jdmj* appears in the ritual of consecrating of the *mr.(w)t*-chests. *Mr.wt* are boxes which contain the four bandages, each one in separate boxes, representing the four cardinal points and all Egypt itself.[41] The ritual among others has a funerary aspect that is most interesting to us. Penelope Wilson informs us about the importance of the rite: "The cloth is individually named in the boxes, they represent the four corners of the earth, drive away foes and are for mummification purposes. The rite therefore concerns the correct performance of funerary rituals."[42] The closest analogy of our text on the cartonnages comes from Edfu[43] as follows:



39 E. Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

40 Fr.R. Herbin, "Trois papyrus hiéroglyphiques d'époque romaine", *RdE* 59, 2008: P. Berlin 3164 + Moscow 4661, line 2, p. 128-130; P. Moscow 4659, line 4, p. 142-145.

41 For the monography of the topic, see A. Egberts, *op. cit.*, *passim*, but especially p. 173-202. See also: É. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 1968, p. 647, citing *Edfou* II, p. 58.

42 P. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 446-447. The text besides its funerary nature has a strong solar aspect as well. The colour bandages emphasise the *sȝb*-feature of Ra-Horachte as well as the deified nature of the deceased.

43 *Edfou* VI, p. 248; H. Kees, *Farbensymbolik in ägyptischen religiösen Texten, NAWG* 11, 1943, p. 476-479; É. Chassinat, *op. cit.,* vol. 2, 1968, p. 649.

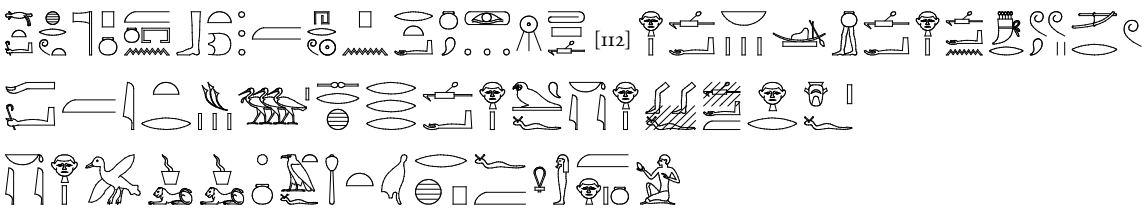
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Joy to your Ka, great god, colorful of plumage, Behdetite, who shines on the horizon, your face is illuminated by the white cloth; your body is prospering by the green cloth; joins you the purple cloth,[44] *and overthrow to you the enemy: you seize the red cloth in its moment, Hapy washes your textile*[45] *and the sunshine brightens your face. These textiles are woven by Isis, spun by Nephthys, they cluster you together, they dress your flesh and they repel your opponents.*

Isis and Nephthys such as Neith appear as the makers of the funerary textiles, in such aspect they are usually called goddess *Tȝy.t*.[46] It is the Apis stela of Nektanebos II dated to 377 BC that yields further information about the preparation of the textiles: "*Seine Majestät liess Stoffe bringen aus dem Stoffmaterial aller Götter und Stoffe aus dem Süd-und Nordzimmer, gewebt von der Göttin Tait Am 19 Choiak*."[47] The text explicitly identifies the garment of *Rs-N.t* and *Mḥ-N.t*[48] with the linen that the goddess *Tait* made during the *Osiris mysteries* on the 19th day of the Khoiak month. Resnet and Mehnet were two chapels in the city of goddess Neith, in Sais.[49]

To understand better the passage let us observe some events of the Osiris mystery during month Khoiak. From Dendara we are informed that on day 19 the Osiris figure was taken out from the Sokar-mould, it was dried out while it was swaddled and rubbed on each day until day 24, and then it was put into the crypt.[50] The shroud that the Osiris-figure received on day 19 was a *ḏȝy.t*-cloth.[51] Now we know that this garment is possibly identical with the garment of Resnet and Mehnet.

On day 21 further preparations were done:



44 *sšt* is synonym of *jrty*. *Ibid.*, p. 695; A. Egberts, *op. cit.*, p. 137-143 (A.a-Ptol.9-Ed.1).

45 In the translation of Egberts: "It is the inundation that washes away your sweat." *Ibid.*, p. 138-139, n. 6.

46 M. Bierbrier, *LÄ* VI, 1986, col. 185-186, *s. v.* "Tait".

47 W. Spiegelberg, "Die Nektanebès-stele", in J.E. Quibell (ed.), *Excavations at Saqqara 1907-1908*, *Fouilles Saqq*, 1909, p. 89-91, line 16.

48 The textile of the two chapels were clearly used for a funerary purpose during the Khoiak feast, J.-Cl. Goyon, "Le cérémonial de glorification d'Osiris du papyrus du Louvre I. 3079 (colonnes 110 à 112)", *BIFAO* 65, 1967, p. 130, n. 193.

49 M. Bierbrier, *op. cit.*, col. 185. In BD 142 Osiris is mentioned as "Osiris presiding over the southern and northern sanctuaries of Sais". In Sais Osiris had cult in the temple of *ḥw.t-bj.t*, whose sanctuary was called *ḥw.t-ḥmȝg*, and this represented the tomb of Osiris. *ḥmȝg* is an epithet of Osiris in Sais, and it means "the one who is surrounded by bandages". The epithet clarifies the importance of the textiles of the two chapels. In the district of *ḥw.t-bj.t* stood once the chapels of *Rs-N.t* and *Mḥ-N.t*. R. El-Sayed, *op. cit.*, p. 207-213, É. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vol. 2., 1968, p. 485-486. *Edfou* I, p. 331; H. Beinlich, *Die "Osirisreliquien". Zum Motiv der Körperzergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion, ÄA* 42, 1984, p. 244-245.

50 É. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 1968, p. 748-750, 818.

51 É. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 1968, p. 306.

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On this day (21) this god is taken out from the mould. Be given to him Myrrh of Shu, 1 deben, [112] *on each one of its (parts). May be brought one to the other from the two sides. Be bound by ropes*[52] *accordingly: one to his chest, another to his feet, one to his heart, another to the top of the white crown, to become mummiform in the visage of a man.*[53]

It seems possible that the locations of the four ropes also indicate the locations for the four colour bandages.[54] The above text states that on day 21 a new garment was made, again a *ḏ3y.t*-shroud.[55] According to the liturgy of the Osiris mysteries the *st3-mr.t* ritual took place on 23 of Khoiak. The four chests, each associated with one of the Four Sons of Horus, were taken out. Each contained a textile that was used during the embalming ritual.[56] This was also the day when the final acts of embalming were done before the "burial" took place on day 24.

The Enigma

In the upper strip of the cartonnage of Nestanetjeretten that contains text tentatively identified as BD 19a, we discover an unexpected genealogy of god's father Pa-iu-(en)-Hor,[57] son of Hor and the mistress of the house, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Tay-khy-biat.[58]

This man is certainly identical with *PP* IX 5775j, whose burial is represented by several objects: his Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue (Louvre N 3520A + N 3514B + AF 1567), stela (Turin Cat. no. 1569), canopic chest (State Hermitage Museum inv. no. 822), hypocephalus (Turin Cat. no. 2321), Book of the Dead papyrus (München Statl. Bib. Pap. Cod. Hier. 1, 4.a, 4.b) and now we can add a further object to the known pieces of his funerary equipment, a cartonnage case.[59]

One may ask how we can be so sure about the identity. The answer is not a simple task and I think it is useful to review the evidence.

We have to return to the Catalogue of Margaret Murray in which she described some cartonnage fragments under lot 539, 540 and 543. Let us turn first to the last two:

– no. 540 Fragments of Cartonnage:
Gives a woman's name "Ka-beḥ"; and a man's titles, "the Osiris, the divine father, prophet of Amen," and the name? Au-ana.[60]

52 *Jtr*, P. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

53 É. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 1968, p. 766-768 = col. 111-112.

54 See M. Smith, *op. cit.*, 1993, p. 46, line 10, c, on the placement of *jdmy*-textile.

55 É. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, 1966-1968, p. 308, 585, 751.

56 É. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 1968, 637 sq.

57 *PN* I, p. 100, 9; *DN* I, p. 156; *PP* IX, 5775j.

58 Note, the name of Hor and of the owner are hardly readable, because they are at the lower part of the head, and the surface is dirty.

59 Fr.R. Herbin supposes that Pa-iu-Hor possibly had a Book of Breathings papyrus as well (BM EA 10048) - Fr.R. Herbin, *Books of Breathing and Related Texts*, *CBDBM* IV, 2008, 11 sq. For a detailed description of the objects see the forthcoming article on "The dossier of Pa-iu-Hor" of M. Mosher, T. Mekis.

60 M. Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 522, XXVI. Seemingly this part of the text caused some difficulties and uncertainty to Murray indicating it with a question mark. In my opinion, the name "Au-ana" may correspond to [P3]-*jw-n-Ḥr*, but M. Murray possibly changed *Ḥr* (G5) to an *3* (G1) and so, she received the form […]-*jw-n-3*. For a similar kind of problem regarding this name, see H. De Meulenaere, "Notes d'onomastique tardive (Quatrième série)", *BiOr* 38, nos. 3-4, 1981, p. 254.

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– no. 543 Fragments of gilded cartonnage:
… The Osiris, the divine father, the prophet of Amen in Thebes, Pa-tshesem-Ḥor, deceased. Son of the divine father the prophet of Amen in Thebes, Ḥor. Deceased. Born of the Lady of the house, the sistrum-bearer of Amen, Ta-senni, deceased…[61]

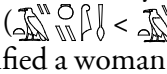
The owner of the cartonnage of 543 is "Pa-tjesem-hor", in hieroglyphic characters: . Although the phonetic value of the dog in this case is not *ṯsm* rather *jw* (see *PN* I, 100, 9). So in the Late and Ptolemaic Periods the name was read as Pa-iu-(en)-Hor, its Greek version is Πιυῶρις.

During my research on the ensemble of Nestanetjeretten, I frequently encountered the name of a Pa-iu-(en)-Hor on other objects that offered analogies to the equipment of the woman. This Pa-iu-Hor is *PP* IX 5775j, whose father is Hor and whose mother is Tay-khy-biat (*PP* IX, 7248a). In my opinion we can suppose that he is the owner of the cartonnage no. 543.

The mothers' name, "Tasenni", however, is slightly problematic and I have not encountered it anywhere else.

We should consider that this name may have been a misreading of Tay-khy-biat, a name that is also problematic because it has many differing forms.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. …[62]

Murray may have read the *nisbe* after *T3* (see example 2 and 4) as *sn* =2 () the velar fricative *ḫ* () as it appears several times as a filled circle, may have been read as a *nw*-vessel (), and we immediately see the form Ta-sen-nui ( < …).

Now consider her no. 540 where she identified a woman named "Ka-beh" . We can suppose that it is again part of the name of *T3y-ḫy-bj3.t*. (See the second hieroglyphic form) It seems that Murray recognized the first elements of the name in no. 543, but she did not associate it with the second half of the name in fragment no. 540.

First of all we must answer the question why the scribe wrote the name of Paiuhor onto the cartonnage of Nestanetjeretten.

61 M. Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 522, XXVII.

62 *PN* I, p. 366, 18-20; *PN* II, p. 396, 324, 22; *DN* I, p.1081; see also H. De Meulenaere, "Quatre noms propres de Basse Époque", *BIFAO* 55, 1955, p. 147-148, J.Fr. Quack, "Zwei demotische Ausdrücke zur Bezeichnung des Charakters", *ZÄS* 123, 1996, p. 65.

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FIG. 12. Details from the head of the cartonnage of Nestanetjeretten, Louvre AF 12859.



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FIG. 13. Details from the head of the cartonnage of Nestanetjeretten Louvre AF 12859.

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FIG. 14. Paisley Museum, Renfrewshire, EG 239.


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FIG. 15. Paisley Museum, Renfrewshire, EG 212.

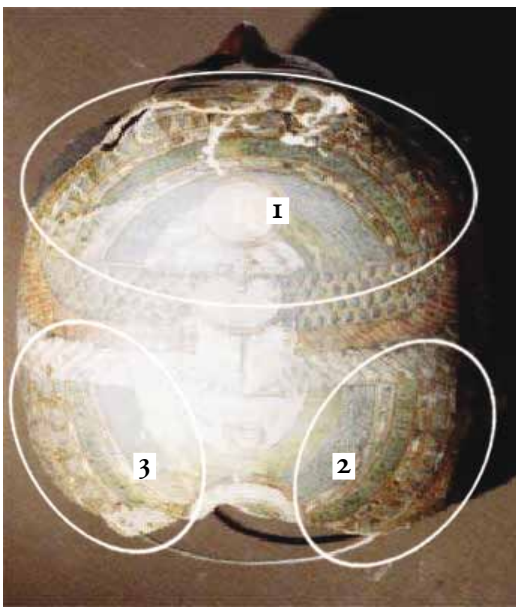

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FIG. 16. Paisley Museum, Renfrewshire, EG 203.

I believe I found the answer when I looked for the supra mentioned fragments of the cartonnage of Paiuhor in Edinburgh. After much correspondence with Bill Manley it seemed that it would be impossible to find the surviving portions of the cartonnage due to the storage of antiquities during World War II and subsequent years.[63] Luckily, three fragments of the cartonnage, due to the transfer of antiquities in the 1950's, were located in the Museum of Paisley, Renfrewshire: the mask (EG 239) (fig. 14), the foot-panel (EG 203) (fig. 15) and a small fragment from the chest (EG 212) (fig. 16). [64]

It is still Margaret Murray who first attributed the cartonnage case to Nestanetjeretten, and she was likely the first to recognize a problem with the names.

Let us now direct our attention to the cartonnage mask EG 239 of Paisley Museum. In structure this mask is very similar to the mask of the one-piece-cartonnage belonging to Nestanetjeretten. On the top of the mask there is a winged scarab, pushing the sun disc. The scarab is surrounded with a single line of text which is divided into three parts by the wings of the scarab and the *tjet*-bundle on the back of the head.



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FIG. 17. Details from the head of the cartonnage of Paiuhor, Renfrewshire, EG 239.

63 B. MANLEY, A. DODSON, *op. cit.*, p. 7-9.

64 R. HUNTER, S. HUNTER, *The Egyptian Collection of Paisley Museum, Renfrewshire Local History Forum*, Renfrewshire, 2005, p. 16. For the easier comprehension of the way of antiquities see Annex 1.

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- The text related to BD 19

→

[1] 

[2] 

[3] 

Transliteration

[1] *Hy Wsjr jḥy.t n Jmn-Rʿ Ns-t3-ntr.t-tn mɜʿ-ḫrw z3.t n jt-ntr ḥp.t-wḏ3.t ḥnḳ(-nww) Jʿḥ-ms mɜʿ-ḫrw ms n nb.t pr [jḥy].t n Jmn-Rʿ T3-wkš mɜʿ-ḫrw ṯz*

[2] *nꜥt jtꜥṯ Rʿ jt nṯr.w mɜḥ pfy nfr n mɜʿ-ḫrw*

[3] *[…] mɜḥ špss ḫnty ḥw.t-bnw.t m W-pg3*



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FIG. 18. Renfrewshire, EG 239.

BIFAO 112 (2013), p. 243-274 © Tarek Mahis
The Cartonnage of Nestanetjeretten (Louvre AF 12859; MG E 1082) and its Enigma.
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Translation

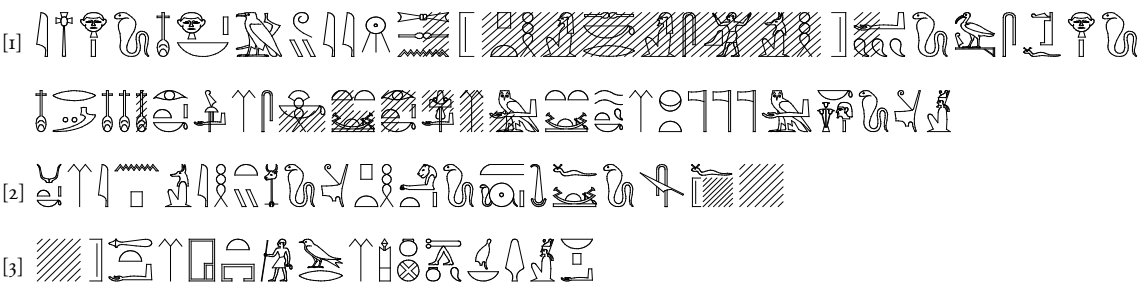
[1] *Hail, Osiris, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Nestanetjeretten, true of voice, daughter of the god's father, ḥp.t-wḏ3.t, ḥnḳ(-nww), Jahmes, true of voice, born of the lady of the house, sistrum-player of Amun-Ra Taukesh, true of voice. Fastens*

[2] *for you your father, Ra, father of the gods this beautiful wreath of justification*

[3] *[…] the noble wreath which is the foremost of the temple of the phoenix in We-pega.*

Below this band there is a stylized wreath of justification consisting of polychrome triangles on the analogy of leaves. This motive is followed by a new band of text on the forehead that is the expected passage from BD 151a:

→



Transliteration

[1] *Jnḏ ḥr=k nfr-ḥr nb-mȝ.wy ṯz.n [Ptḥ-Skr sḳȝ Jnpw] ḥ‘.w=k Ḏḥwtyṯz.f ḥr=k nfr r mȝȝ nfr.w jr.t=k jmn.t m mskt.t jr.t=k jȝb.t m m‘nḏ.t jnḥ.wy=k m psḏ.t mkḫȝ=k n Ḥr*

[2] *wp.t=k m Jnpw j(w) ḥnzky.t=k n Ptḥ ḫȝ.t=k m R‘ mn.f jm=k šm.f […*

[3] *…] ‘ȝ.t m ḥw.t-sr-wr m Jwnw jṯj.n=f wrr.t jm Ḥr nb p‘.t*

Translation

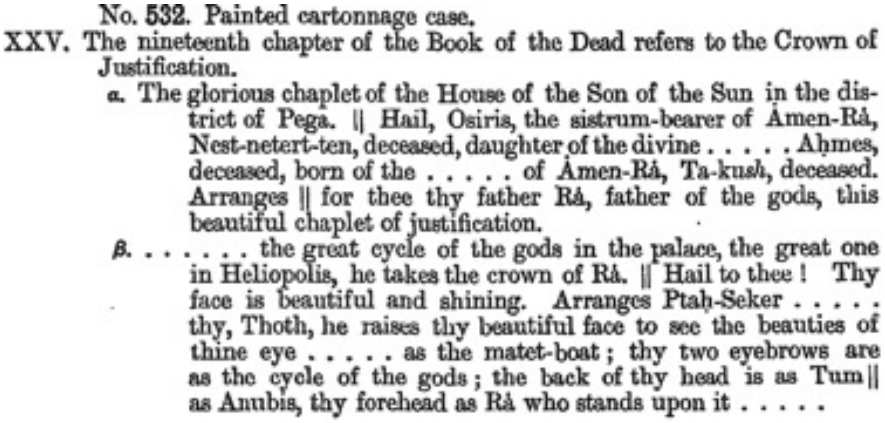
[1] *Hail beautiful of face, lord of sight, Ptah-Sokar has fastened and Anubis raises up your limbs. Thot, he elevates your beautiful face in order to see beauty. Your right eye is the Evening Boat and your left eye is the Morning Boat; your eyebrows are as the Nine Gods (Ennead); the back of the head is of Horus;*

[2] *your brow is as Anubis; your tresses are of Ptah; your forehead is as Ra. He is confirmed thanks to you, he leads [...*

[3] *…] the great (Ennead) in the Mansion of the Great Prince in Heliopolis, when he obtained the Upper-Egyptian crown of Horus, Lord of the people.*

It seems that Margaret Murray might have paired the mask of Paiuhor and the cartonnage of Nestanetjeretten, correcting the change of the names of the ancient scribe. She surely read the whole text of both cartonnage cases and she realized that on the forehead of Nestanetjeretten's one-piece-cartonnage the invocation in the wreath addressed Paiuhor, while the mask of Paiuhor the same invocation was erroneously addressed to Nestanetjeretten. So, when she translated the text of the mask no. 539 (Paisley EG 239) it would seem she already attributed the text to no. 532 (Louvre AF 12859), to the cartonnage of Nestanetjeretten (fig. 19).

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No. 532. Painted cartonnage case.

XXV. The nineteenth chapter of the Book of the Dead refers to the Crown of Justification.

α. The glorious chaplet of the House of the Son of the Sun in the district of Pega. || Hail, Osiris, the sistrum-bearer of Ámen-Rá, Nest-netert-ten, deceased, daughter of the divine . . . . . Aḥmes, deceased, born of the . . . . . of Ámen-Rá, Ta-kusḥ, deceased. Arranges || for thee thy father Rá, father of the gods, this beautiful chaplet of justification.

β. . . . . the great cycle of the gods in the palace, the great one in Heliopolis, he takes the crown of Rá. || Hail to thee! Thy face is beautiful and shining. Arranges Ptaḥ-Seker . . . . . thy, Thoth, he raises thy beautiful face to see the beauties of thine eye . . . . . as the matet-boat; thy two eyebrows are as the cycle of the gods; the back of thy head is as Tum || as Anubis, thy forehead as Rá who stands upon it . . . . .

FIG. 19. M. Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

Inscription no. XXV (fig. 19) is practically the text of mask no. 539 (Paisley EG 239) and not the text of no. 532 (Louvre AF 12859). The only thing that M. Murray forgot was to indicate that she did correct the scribe's mistake by associating cartonnages and texts.

Conclusions

When the cartonnage case of Nestanetjeretten was being made, it seems probable that another order of the same arrived for Paiuhor, resulting in the craftsmen working on both at the same time. The scribe responsible for the texts somehow confused the two cartonnages and mistakenly wrote the name of Paiuhor on the forehead of the cartonnage for Nestanetjeretten, and wrote the name of Nestanetjeretten on the forehead of the cartonnage for Paiuhor. We can just suppose that *choachytes* who were responsible for selecting suitable tombs for burial chose a single tomb for Nestanetjeretten and Paiuhor.[65]

In the nineteenth century the tomb was found; the smaller, museologically valuable objects (Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues, stelae, Book of the Dead papyri, so called canopic chests) were immediately sold in the early 1820s, and these elements of the funerary equipment found their way into different collections of Italy (Drovetti and Castiglione) and to France (Drovetti). The two cartonnage cases were eventually purchased by Rhind just in the 1850s. By 1863 the two pieces were donated to the NMAS. In 1899, Margaret Murray described the two mummy cases,

65 It is almost certain to my mind that the choachytes installed these two people in the same tomb. During my researches I managed to establish that there was not any familiar relationship between the two individuals. Anyway there is good evidence to supporting the idea that the "reused" tomb chosen for Paiuhor, housed also the burial of Nestanetjeretten. In a certain group of demotic papyri (see in the attachment) in the Louvre (N 2424, 2431) is mentioned a tomb in Djeme of a certain Paiuhor respectively from 267 BC and 243 BC. Of course, we cannot be sure of the identity, but I think it is worth playing with the idea of the possible identification. One may argue against this hypothesis (see Annex 2, doc. 1 for a different idea of W. Clarysse), but I ask do we know any other god's father Paiuhor from the first half of the IIIrd century BC from Thebes of whom we know the almost complete funerary ensemble? The set of our Paiuhor *is* and certainly *was* noteworthy in his time as well, to be referred to the tomb of him and his descendents (who are possibly mentioned in *Graff. Medinet Habu* 236, 13 = Annex 2, doc. 28) by his contemporaries as "the tomb of Pa-iu-Hor". We could just compare it to the set of Nesmin (*PP* IX, 5569a), son of Takerheb and Pa-heb, whose tomb was recently identified as TT32, which was mentioned certainly in P. Marseille 298+299, recto 7. G. Vittmann, "Ein thebanischer Verpfründungsvertrag aus der Zeit Ptolemaios' III. Euergetes P. Marseille 298+299", *Enchoria* 10, 1980, p. 128-133, pl. 12-15.

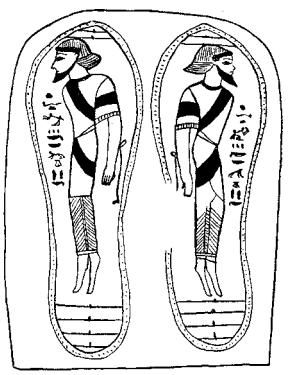
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the complete case of Nestanetjeretten (no. 532) and fragments of the cartonnage of Paiuhor (nos. 539, 540 and 543). For one (no. 540) she gave the second part of the name of the mother as Ka-beh, and for the other (no. 543) she gave the name of Pa-tjesem-Hor (mistaken reading of Pa-iu-Hor), and Ta-sennï, reading only the first part of the name of the mother.

Although some questions still remain about these pieces, such as how they were acquired by É. Guimet,[66] it is nevertheless a significant fact that we can be sure Nestanetjeretten and Paiuhor were contemporaries possibly due to a distracted scribe who wrote the wrong names on the area around the heads of the two masks.

Annex 1

Way of the two cartonnages

Purchase of Rhind in Luxor During his Visits in Egypt (1855-1863)	**The Catalogue Entry of Margaret Murray to the Royal Scottish Museum**	**Present Location**
One-piece-cartonnage of Nes-ta-netjeret-ten	No. 532 Cartonnage case, painted and inscribed	Louvre AF 12859 (MG E 1082)
Two-piece-cartonnage of Pa-iu-Hor	No. 539 Cartonnage head	Paisley Museum EG 239
	No. 540 Fragments of cartonnage with black lettering	Destroyed
	No. 540a "Footpiece of coffin. On the underside is a painting of two captives, with an inscription; on the sides, a border of rosettes; on the front, groups of ankh and two was."	Certain parts destroyed, but the main part is in the Paisley Museum EG 203 
	No. 540b "Breastpiece. Raised work, painted and gilded; Figures of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys; The ba-bird, crowned with the disk, holding ankh (the sign of life) in each foot."	Paisley Museum EG 212
	No. 543 "Fragments of gilded cartonnage with raised hieroglyphs."	Destroyed

66 I tried to clue for Guimet's acquisition, and I received the answer from Lyon that he did not note anything on the provenance of the cartonnage. I would like to thank Geneviève Galliano and Sylvie Guichard for the information.

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Annex 2

Theban occurances of the name of *Pȝ-jwjw-ḥr* (*DN* I, 156) in Ptolemaic demotic documents:

1. P. Brux. Dem. 2., x+5
   jt-nṯr Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr (*PP* IX 5775b) *zȝ Pȝ-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-tȝ.wy*, December 301/January 300 BC, A.F. Shore, "The Sale of the House of Senkhonsis Daughter of Phibis," *JEA* 54, 1968, p. 194-195. W. Clarysse, "Prosopography and the Dating of Egyptian Monuments of the Ptolemaic Period," in H. Maehler, M. Strocka (ed.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des Internationalen Symposions 22-29. September, 1976 in Berlin*, Mainz, 1978, p. 242-243.
2. O. Bruxelles E 354 (D14)
   ḥm-nṯr Jmn Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr, 330-299 BC, M. Depauw, "A Demotic Business Letter O. Brux E354," *OLP* 26, 1995, p. 39-49.
3. P. Louvre N 2426, verso 2
   Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr zȝ Pȝ-hb,[67] September 294 BC, E. Revillout, *Chrestomatie démotique*, Paris, 1880, 227f; K.-T. Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertraditon in Aufbau. Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus Ptolemäischer Zeit*, *ÄA* 19, 1968, p. 76-77, Urk. 100.
4. P. Ryl. 11 B/1 + verso 4
   Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr zȝ Ns-Mnw mw.t=f ȝs.t-wr.t, May 284 BC, F.Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester with Facsimiles and Complete Translations, Volume III, Key-list, Translations, Commentaries and Indices*, Manchester, London, 1909, p. 123.
5. P. Philadelphia 10, l. 5 + verso 16
   zḫȝ Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr (*PP* IX, 7805) *zȝ Ns-Mnw*, March 282 BC, M. El-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes. Demotic Papyri in the Philadelphia and Cairo Museums from the Ptolemaic Period*, Cairo, 1959, p. 45-48.
6. P. Ryl. 12, A/1 (l, 6)
   zḫȝ Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr zȝ Ns-Mnw, November 281 BC, F.Ll. Griffith, *op. cit.*, p.124.
7. P. Ryl. 13, A/1, (l, 5)
   zḫȝ Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr zȝ Ns-Mnw, November 281 BC, F.Ll. Griffith, *op. cit.*, p.126-127.
8. P. Louvre N 2434, 8 + 2437, 8
   zḫȝ Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr (*PP* IX, 7805) *zȝ Ns-Mnw*, October 276/October 275 BC, W. Erichsen, *Demotische Lesestücke II*, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, Leipzig, 1939, p. 102.
9. P. Philadelphia 13, l. 4
   zḫȝ Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr (*PP* IX, 7805) *zȝ Ns-Mnw*, February 273 BC, M. El-Amir, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
10. P. BM. EA 10827/5, last line,
    zḫȝ Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr (*PP* IX, 7805) *zȝ Ns-Mnw*, January-February 272 BC, C.A.R. Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, *CDPBM* IV, 1990, p. 48-49, cat. 14.
11. P. BM. EA 10078,2
    Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr zȝ Pȝ-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-tȝ.wj, September 271 BC, N.J. Reich, *Papyri Juristischen Inhalts in Hieratischer und Demotischer Schrift aus dem British Museum. Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 55,3, Wien, 1914, p. 82.
12. P. Louvre N 2424, 2 Kop., 3
    The tomb of *Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr*, December 267/January 266 BC, E. Revillout, *op. cit.*, p. 231ff (Pa-fufi-Hor); K.-T. Zauzich, *op. cit.*, p. 19-21, Urk. 11, n. 135.

67 I am thankful to Sophie Sagay for the reading of the name of the father.

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13. P. Louvre N 2443, 6
The tomb of *Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr*, March-April 249 BC, E. Revillout, *op. cit.*, p. 246-256, pl. 24; K.-T. Zauzich, *op. cit.*, p. 22-26, Urk. 14, n. 135.
14. P. Louvre N 2431, 4
The tomb of *Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr*, June-July 243 BC, K.-T. Zauzich, *op. cit.*, p. 26-29, Urk. 15.
15. P. Marseille 298+299
Pꜣ-ḥjꜣ ꜣ Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr, December 235/January 234 BC, G. Vittmann, *op. cit.*, p. 128-133, pl. 12-15.
16. O. Leid. 416, verso 3
Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr ꜣ […], 230-210 BC; M.A.A. Nur el-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 318-319.
17. P. BM EA 10721/9 verso 8
Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr ꜣ Ḥr, 12th of November 182 BC, C.A.R. Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 39, cat. 9.
18. Louvre N 3440
The tomb of *jt-nṯr Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr ꜣ Ḏd-Ptḥ-jwf-ʿnḫ*, 23rd of Februay 175 BC, K.-T. Zauzich, *op. cit.*, p 88-93, Urk. 118, n. 691. W. Clarysse, *op. cit.*, p. 242-243.
19. Berlin P 3112, 6
jt-nṯr Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr ꜣ Ḏd-Ptḥ-jwf-ʿnḫ, 22nd of February 175 BC, W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig, Berlin, 1902, p. 8; S. Grunert, *Thebanische Kaufverträge des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts v. u. Z.*, *Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, *Lieferung II*, Berlin, 1981.
20. Tur. Suppl. 6078, verso 1
Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr ꜣ Pꜣ-dj-Nfr-ḥtp, 29th of October 150 BC, G. Botti, *L'Archivo Demotico da Deir el-Medineh. Catalogo del Museo Egizio*, Serie 1, *Monumenti e Testi*, vol. 1, Firenze, 1967, p. 63.
21. Tur. Cat. no. (FRL) 2137, 9 = P. Tor. Choach. 1,9
Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr, 10th of March 123 BC, P.W. Pestman, *Il processo di Hermias e altri documenti dell'archivio dei Choachiti (P. Tor. Choachiti). Papiri greci e demotici conservati e in altre collezioni d'Italia. Catalogo del Museo Egizio*, Serie 1, *Monumenti e Testi*, vol. 6, Torino, 1992, p. 3-17.
22. Glasgow, Hunterian Museum D 1925.95, 15 = P. Zauzich 36, 15
Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr ꜣ Ḥtr, 5th of April 110 BC, U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Rund um die thebanischen Tempel (Demotische Ostraka zur Pfründen-Wirtschaft)", in F. Hoffmann, H. Thissen (ed.), *Res Severa Verum Gaudium. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004, Studia Demotica* 6, 2004, p. 283-337.
23. O. Leid. 144, verso 5
Ḥr ꜣ Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr (?), Ptolemaic; M.A.A. Nur el-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, *Collection of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, vol. I, Leiden, 1974, p. 118-119.
24. O. Leid. 369, 1 = AES 36
Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr ꜣ Pꜣj-rt, Ptolemaic; M.A.A. Nur el-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 293.
25. O. Leid. 369, 3 = AES 36
Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr ꜣ …; M.A.A. Nur el-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 293.
26. Graff. Medinet Habu 61, 11
Ḏd-Ḥnsw-jwf-ʿnḫ ꜣ […] *ꜣ Pꜣ-dj-Jmn-jp.t ꜣ Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr*, Ptolemaic; W.F. Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti. Facsimiles, OIP* 36, 1937, fig. 7; H.-J. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu. Zeugnisse zu Tempel und Kult im ptolemäischen Ägypten. Transkription, DemStud* 10, 1989, p. 62.
27. Graff. Medinet Habu 232, 2
Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr […], Ptolemaic; W.F. Edgerton, *op. cit.*, fig. 9.; H.-J. Thissen, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
28. Graff. Medinet Habu 236, 13
jt nṯr Ns-pꜣwtj-(tꜣ.wj) ꜣ Jj-m-ḥtp ꜣ Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr ꜣ Ḥr ꜣ […] *ꜣ Ḥr ꜣ Ḥrj=w*, Ptolemaic; W. F. Edgerton, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.; H.-J. Thissen, *op. cit.*, p. 146-147.
29. Graff. Medinet Habu 237, 11
Pꜣ-(n-)Mnṯw ꜣ Pꜣ-jwjw-Ḥr ꜣ Pꜣ-dj-Jmn-jp.t, Ptolemaic; W.F. Edgerton, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.; H.-J. Thissen, *op. cit.*, p. 148-149.

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30. O. Leid. 390, col. II.4
Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr zȝ Ns-pȝ-mtj, Roman; M.A.A. Nur el-Din, *op. cit.*
31. O. Wien KHM 5997, 7
Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr zȝ Pȝ-šrj-Ḏḥwtj, Roman, S.V. Wångstedt, Demotische Ostraka. Varia III, *OrSu* 31-32, 1982-1983, p. 19-20, no. XII.
32. O. Berlin P 6585
jt-nṯr Pȝ-šrj-n-tȝ-jḥt zȝ Pȝ-jwjw-Ḥr, 98 AC, G. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraka. From the Collections at Oxford, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Cairo. Introduction, Texts and Indexes, PSFP* VI, 1945, p. 191, no. 265.

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