

**A stylistic comparison of selected visual representations on
Egyptian funerary papyri of the 21st Dynasty and wooden
funerary stelae of the 22nd Dynasty
(c. 1069 – 715 B. C. E.)**



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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature: 

Date: 25/10/2004

Abstract

This dissertation examines illustrated funerary papyri and wooden funerary stelae for information they can provide about the organization of artists in the 21st and 22nd Dynasty. It is an inquiry into the relationship between visual representation on the funerary papyri of the 21st Dynasty and wooden stelae of the 22nd Dynasty. An attempt is made to determine whether it is possible to identify the work of individual artists and workshops involved in producing the illustrated funerary papyri and wooden stelae, and in what way they may be related. This study covers a representative sample of workshops or individuals from around the beginning of the 21st Dynasty to the early 22nd Dynasty.

Methodology involved undertaking the research on a descriptive and interpretative/comparative level. Panofsky's (1972: *passim*) model for describing pictorial works was used to interpret the iconography. The comparisons between the papyri and stelae were based upon a combination of the models developed by Freed (1996: *passim*) and Niwinski (1989a: *passim*). These models functioned as a control or corrective in order to formulate an interpretation.

It was possible to definitively place 208 manuscripts out of 214 papyri into seven individual workshops. This was based upon their stylistic similarities and corresponding content. Papyri Workshop 1 is comprised of fifty-six manuscripts, and constitutes the largest group. The highest quality manuscripts were produced in this workshop, which was patronized by the high priests of Amun and their families. Papyri Workshop 2 is the smallest group consisting of only seven manuscripts. These two workshops contain the earliest manuscripts, which were generally executed in the Ramesside tradition. Papyri Workshop 3 contains the second largest grouping with fifty-two, and Papyri Workshop 4 consists of eleven. The majority of the members of this workshop belong to a homogenous, almost analogous group, in terms of content and composition. In the twenty-five manuscripts that belong to Papyri Workshop 5, it can be observed that the artists have taken complete liberties with the mass of iconography at their disposal. They have adapted and transformed the existing symbols into new compositions, so that no two manuscripts are alike. Papyri Workshop 6 is comprised of thirty manuscripts, and Papyri Workshop 7 has twenty. As opposed to Workshop 5, these two workshops display an economy of style and execution. They are also generally outlined in black. Furthermore, several subgroups are evident in the workshops, especially those that span many decades, such as Papyri Workshop 1 and 3.

From a comprehensive examination of 103 stelae, it was possible to group 100 stelae into nine workshops. It is important to note that Stelae Workshop 1 is, in fact, linked to Papyri Workshop 1, to which thirteen stelae can be attributed. The stelae contain the same attributes and style of execution as the papyri. Stelae Workshop 2 consists of fifteen stelae, these are skilfully executed, and appear to be custom-made for the deceased. Workshop 3 comprises of fourteen stelae. Stelae Workshop 4 contains five, and Workshop 5 has nine. In contrast to Stelae Workshop 1, the principal representations within the stelae from Stelae Workshops 2 to 5 are generally standardized in form and format. Stelae Workshop 6 has six, while 7 and 8 are the two largest workshops with sixteen members each. These three workshops represent a general degradation of proficiency, culminating in a provincial folk-art quality of Stelae Workshop 7 and 8. Stelae Workshop 8 represents the final transition in style and format to the stelae of the Late Period. Stelae Workshop 9 is comprised of five stelae. The style of execution corresponds to the first phase of the Late Period stelae style.

It is possible to observe the hand/s of individual artists or a master and student in the study selection, even within one workshop.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis ondersoek geïllustreerde begrafnispapiri en hout stelae met die oog op die inligting wat hulle oor die kunstenaarsorganisasie in die 21^{ste} en 22^{ste} dinastie kan verskaf. Die navorsing ondersoek die verband tussen visuele afbeeldings op die begrafnispapiri van die 21^{ste} dinastie en hout stelae van die 22^{ste} dinastie. Daar word gepoog om vas te stel of dit moontlik is om die werk van individuele kunstenaars en "werkswinkels" wat by die totstandkoming van die geïllustreerde begrafnispapiri en hout stelae betrokke was, asook die wyse waarop hulle moontlik verwant is, te identifiseer. Die navorsing dek 'n verteenwoordigende korpus van die werkswinkels of individue uit die tydperk van die begin van die 21^{ste} dinastie tot die vroeë 22^{ste} dinastie.

Die metodologie het navorsing op 'n deskriptiewe en interpretatiewe/vergelykende vlak behels. Panofsky (1972: *passim*) se model vir die beskrywing van kunswerke is gebruik om die ikonografie te interpreteer. Die vergelykings tussen die papiri en die stelae is gebaseer op 'n kombinasie van die modelle wat deur Freed (1996: *passim*) en Niwinski (1989a: *passim*) ontwikkel is. Hierdie modelle het as 'n kontrole of korrektief gedien vir die formulering van 'n interpretasie.

Dit was moontlik om 208 manuskripte uit 214 papiri met sekerheid in sewe individuele "werkswinkels" in te deel. Dié indeling is gebaseer op die stilistiese ooreenkomste en ooreenstemming in die inhoud. Papyruswerkswinkel 1 bestaan uit 56 manuskripte, en maak die grootste groep uit. Die hoogste gehalte manuskripte het in hierdie werkswinkel ontstaan en kan met die hoëpriesters van Amun en hulle gesinne verbind word. Werkswinkel 2 is die kleinste groepie en bestaan uit net sewe manuskripte. Hierdie twee werkswinkels bevat die vroegste manuskripte. Papyruswerkswinkel 3 bevat die tweede grootste groepering met 52 manuskripte, en Papyruswerkswinkel 4 bestaan uit 11. Die meerderheid van die manuskripte van hierdie werkswinkel behoort aan 'n homogene, byna analoë groep, wat betref inhoud en samestelling. Uit die 25 manuskripte wat aan Papiwerkswinkel 5 behoort, is dit duidelik dat die kunstenaars hulle vryhede veroorloof het met die massa ikonografieë tot hulle beskikking. Hulle het die bestaande simbole aangepas en tot nuwe komposisies verander, sodat nie twee manuskripte dieselfde is nie. Papyruswerkswinkel 6 en 7 is saamgestel uit onderskeidelik 30 en 20. In teenstelling met Werkswinkel 5 vertoon hierdie twee werkswinkels 'n "ekonomie" van styl en uitbeelding. Hulle het ook oor die algemeen 'n swart buitelyn. Daarbenewens is dit duidelik dat daar verskeie subgroepe

in die werksinkels is, in die besonder dié wat oor baie dekades strek, soos Papyruswerksinkels 1 en 3.

Uit 'n omvattende ondersoek van 103 stelae was dit moontlik om 100 stelae in nege werksinkels te groepeer. Dit is belangrik om daarop te let dat Werksinkel 1 in werklikheid met Papyruswerksinkel 1, waaraan 13 stelae toegeskryf kan word, verbind kan word. Die stelae vertoon dieselfde kenmerke en styl as die papiri. Werksinkel 2 bestaan uit 15 stelae wat kunstig gemaak is en wat lyk asof hulle op bestelling vir die oorledenes vervaardig is. Werksinkel 3 bestaan uit 14 stelae. Werksinkel 4 bevat vyf, en in Werksinkel 5 is daar nege. In teenstelling met Werksinkel 1 is die belangrikste afbeeldings by die stelae in Werksinkels 2 tot 5 meestal gestandaardiseer wat betref vorm en formaat. Werksinkel 6 het ses, terwyl 7 en 8 die twee grootste werksinkels is met 16 stelae elk. Hierdie drie werksinkels verteenwoordig 'n algemene degradering van vakmanskap, wat daartoe lei dat die gehalte van Werksinkels 7 en 8 dié is van 'n "provinsiale volkskuns". Werksinkel 8 verteenwoordig die finale oorgang in styl en formaat na die stelae van die Laattyd. Werksinkel 9 bestaan uit vyf items. Die styl stem ooreen met die eerste fase van die styl van die stelae uit die Laattyd.

Die studie toon aan dat dit wel moontlik is om die hand(e) van individuele kunstenaars of 'n meester en sy student te onderskei, selfs binne net een werksinkel.

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Section 1: Introduction

1.1. General Introduction

The term "Third Intermediate Period" denotes the four hundred year period comprising of the 21st to the 25th Dynasties in ancient Egypt. The period from c. 1069 – c. 664 B. C. E is characterized by major changes within the Egyptian political, social, cultural and economic arenas. Many scholars disagree as to the extent of these transformations in terms of violence, corruption, and political and economic instability. Silverman (1997: 36) holds the belief that the entire Egyptian state was wracked by civil unrest, "strikes, inflation and rampant criminality at all levels of society". Taylor (2000: 330) takes into account that although the period was "marked by tensions over the control of territory and resources, leading on occasion to conflicts, violence was not endemic, the period as a whole was stable and represents far more than a temporary lapse of Pharaonic rule".

The period from c. 1080 – 880 B. C. E. incorporates the Renaissance Era in the last decade of the Ramessides, which refers to the period of martial law resulting from an accumulation of adverse circumstances in the late 20th Dynasty, as well as the 21st and early 22nd Dynasties. These two eras form the pinnacle of the development of pictorial means of expression of religious thought of the Theban priesthood. There is also no indication of any decadence or decline of religious doctrine. Theological ideas were integrated into iconographic compositions, and reflected in the numerous papyri and coffins of the period (Niwiński, 1989c: 89). Thus, the greatest diversity of types of the funerary papyri occurred as a result of the dynamic combination of numerous factors of religious and socio-economic nature. All these papyri differ markedly in form, style and quality of execution.

However, by the early 22nd Dynasty, the variety and quality of the papyri are dramatically reduced and manufacture appears to have ceased. Around this time, the production of small wooden funerary stelae increased and replaced the papyri in the tombs of the Theban citizenry. The subsequent change in funerary practice coincided with the new rule of the Libyan-Bubastite kings of the 22nd Dynasty, who appear to have held greater power over the denizens of Thebes, and may have influenced their choices pertaining to their funerary ensemble.

It is within this framework that the present study is set. This dissertation is intended to examine illustrated funerary papyri and wooden funerary stelae for the information they can provide about the organization of artists in the 21st Dynasty and 22nd Dynasty.

It is an inquiry into the relationship between visual representations on funerary papyri of the 21st Dynasty and wooden funerary stelae of the 22nd Dynasty. An attempt is made to determine whether it is possible to identify the work of individual artists and workshops involved in producing the illustrated funerary papyri and wooden stelae, and in what way they may be related. This study covers a representative sample of workshops or individuals from about the middle 21st Dynasty to the early 22nd Dynasty.

The first part of this study is an introduction to the papyri and stelae within the context of the historical background of the 21st and 22nd Dynasty.

This also includes an examination of the specific theology and political structure operating between Thebes and Tanis, which is reflected in the development of the funerary papyri and stelae. The funerary practices of the Third Intermediate Period pertaining to the use of tombs, their decoration and accompanying ensembles are discussed, as are the function and history of the papyri and stelae. This is followed by an examination into the lives of the artists in terms of the structure of their workshops, reparation, working conditions, and production processes.

The physical aspects of the papyri and stelae are analysed, such as, materials and construction, representational features, pictorial representation of figural types, and the utilisation of specific iconography. A concise discussion on the dating of the papyri and stelae is also included.

The second section investigates the number of workshops producing illustrated funerary papyri in the 21st Dynasty and stelae of the 22nd Dynasty, and if possible, the number of artists involved. In doing so, it attempts to group the papyri and stelae stylistically, and investigate if the different groupings are products of different workshops. This is based on the premise that works with significant elements in common are considered to come from the same "workshop". In order to achieve this goal, a detailed analysis of the ensemble of the formal elements of the papyri and stelae has been undertaken. Consequently, a set of criteria has been established to differentiate between the various groups of papyri and stelae. These range from an examination of the quality of execution, the iconographic elements, such as the introduction and use (or re-use) of new or established elements within the representation, and the arrangement of these specific elements, including religious content. Additional inquiry was conducted into the figural forms that include the use of the canon of proportion, or lack of it, and the style of clothing worn by the deceased and deities. The physical aspects, such as the use of colour, dimensions of the study selection, the location of the representation within the papyri or stelae, and materials (such as wood or stone in the stelae) were also analysed.

Attention was also paid to the type of bordering patterns, arrangement of dividing lines on the papyri and stelae surfaces, and for the papyri, the number and density of the illustrating vignettes.

The subsequent groupings were examined in order to determine if it is possible to recognize different “hands” – perhaps a “master” and his students/apprentices. Finally, it will be seen if any of the hands on the latest papyri are the same as the hands found on the earliest stelae. Consequently, the papyri and stelae will be grouped together on the basis of their similar style or iconography.

The second section terminates with a concise discussion on the findings that were observed within the papyri and stelae, and will attempt to make a comparison between the relationship of stylistic groupings of the papyri and stelae to each other. An investigation will also be conducted into what happened to these artists when funerary papyri ceased to be made in the 22nd Dynasty. It will be seen if they could have switched to producing the painted wooden funerary stelae that came into fashion at the time, thus working in more than one medium.

The third part of this study comprises of a detailed catalogued source database of the representative papyri and stelae upon which the study was conducted. The catalogues include the name of the owner, their respective titles, dimensions, provenance, bibliography, colours, and the materials used in the stelae.

1.1.1. Methodology and Approach

The entire corpus of stelae and a vast majority of the papyri in the dissertation study selection are primarily pictorial, containing symbolic representations of condensed mythological conceptions and magical formulae, with little or no textual material, thus, “for the study of religious symbolism they are of peculiar importance” (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 3). It is for this reason that the dissertation has been restricted to analysing and comparing pictorial material contained within the papyri and stelae. An analysis of the texts has been disregarded as this is beyond the scope of this study, additionally; an extensive corpus of literature concerning the examination of the funerary texts themselves already exists (see 1.2. Research and Publication of the Papyri and Stelae), however, where necessary, references to the texts have been made.

Symbolism is defined by Wilkinson (2001: 329) as the representation of something other than what it is, based on conventionally agreed upon meanings. With the aid of symbols, the ancient Egyptians represented and confirmed the majority of their ideas, beliefs and outlook toward the nature of life and reality. Therefore, symbolism has been described as the primary form of ancient Egyptian thought. Egyptian religion relied

heavily upon symbols to achieve their ends; as a result, the symbolism inherent in a specific composition is often an expression of underlying religious beliefs that give that composition life, meaning and power. Wilkinson (2001: 334) cautions that the meaning of the Egyptian symbols can be fluid. These symbols utilized in art may also display different meanings in different contexts even within the same period. For example, the feathered patterning in the funerary context may be symbolic of the protective function of a specific goddess, or the avian aspects of the *ba* of the deceased. Textual evidence implies more possibilities, such as identifying the deceased with a hawk, swallow or another bird species, so that in certain cases the context is not clear, making it difficult to interpret the significance of a specific symbol. On the other hand, many different symbols may be used to impart the same symbolic reference. The Egyptians were aware of the ambivalence of their own symbolism, and glosses in religious texts often provided several different explanations. This also holds true for the representational use of symbols. Thus, there is often a wide range of possible meanings for a specific symbol, and a flexible approach must always be upheld in order to understand its mechanisms. Successful analysis needs to avoid unfounded speculation; nevertheless it must endeavour to incorporate the “intellectual flexibility” the Egyptians displayed (Wilkinson, 2001: 334).

Thus, due to the graphic nature of the dissertation, research has been undertaken on two levels: descriptive and interpretative/comparative. The description and interpretation of the representations are theoretically based on Panofsky's (1972: passim) iconographical model for describing visual material. By means of this model, the analysis of the various representations and images have been undertaken on three levels, summarized as follows:

The first is *primary* or *natural subject matter*, in short, *identification* through familiarity, which can be interpreted through practical experience. This category can be subdivided further into *factual* and *expressional*, which is comprehended through: identifying pure forms, identifying their mutual relationships as events, and perceiving their expressional qualities, such as gestures, poses, or surroundings. Thus, the world of pure forms is recognised as carriers of primary or natural meanings, and could be called the world of artistic motifs. A list of these motifs constitutes a pre-iconological description of the representation.

Panofsky has labeled the second level or *stratum secondary* or *conventional subject matter*. This division deals with *iconography*, where the artistic motifs and combinations of artistic motifs (compositions) are linked with themes or concepts. The

motifs are, in this manner, recognized as the carriers of a secondary or conventional meaning called *images*. Knowledge of literary sources provides grounds for a formal iconographical analysis. Presupposing a correct identification of motifs, formal analysis would consist of an examination of the motifs and combinations of motifs.

The third stratum comprises of the *intrinsic meaning* or *content*, which is essentially, the *iconology*. It is comprehended by determining the underlying principles, that reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, and a religious or philosophical persuasion – unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into one work. The deepest level of the work is grasped through intuition and insight into the essential tendencies of the human mind. Additionally, the introduction of new themes, compositions and varying technical procedures can be illuminated through an in-depth interpretation of the intrinsic meaning or content.

Although the meaning of the representations or motifs can be determined using the three-level model, it is possible for the analyst to make subjective and irrational interpretations based on their individual psychology and “Weltanschauung”. Thus, it is necessary to apply correctives and controls by checking against other contemporary or related works, themes or concepts. Therefore, “in the search for intrinsic meanings or content, the various humanistic disciplines meet on a common plane...” (Panofsky, 1972: 16).

Panofsky (1972: 16 – 17) has summarized his methodology in a synoptical table (**Table 1**) that although appear to be three independent processes of research, they “merge with each other into one organic and indivisible process”.

OBJECT OF INTERPRETATION	ACT OF INTERPRETATION	EQUIPMENT FOR INTERPRETATION	CORRECTIVE PRINCIPLE OF INTERPRETATION (History of Tradition)
I. <i>Primary or natural</i> subject matter – (A) factual, (B) expressional – constituting the world of artistic motifs	<i>Pre-iconographical description</i> (and pseudo-formal analysis)	<i>Practical experience</i> (familiarity with objects and events).	<i>History of style</i> (insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, objects and events were expressed by forms).
II. <i>Secondary or conventional subject matter</i> , constituting the world of images, stories and allegories.	<i>Iconographical analysis</i>	Knowledge of literary sources (familiarity with specific themes and concepts).	<i>History of types</i> (insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions specific themes or

			concepts were expressed by objects and events).
III. <i>Intrinsic meaning or content, constituting the world of "symbolical" values.</i>	<i>Iconological interpretation</i>	<i>Synthetic intuition</i> (familiarity with the essential tendencies of the human mind), conditioned by personal psychology and "Weltanschauung"	<i>History of cultural symptoms or "symbols" in general</i> (insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, essential tendencies of the human mind were expressed by specific themes)

Table 1

In her study of symbolism from the Late Period, Goff (1979: 9) has followed a parallel approach by applying what she terms, the "horizontal method" of studying symbols. The inquiry is confined to the symbols of a specific period, and the way in which they were used in that period. Thus, the significance of the symbol is made clear by its context, and by its relationship to other symbols among which it stands. And, as with Panofsky's controls, the historical background of each period that the symbols were used was constantly borne in mind.

In order to achieve a consistent level of comparison throughout this dissertation, the papyri and stelae examined are classified into the various workshops according to analogies in their style and iconography and content, based on a combination of the model of comparison developed by Freed (1996: passim) and Niwiński (1989a: passim).

These models have functioned as a control or corrective since every interpretation is subjective, based on the reality that every intuitive approach is conditioned by the interpreter's perception.

This approach has also been deemed necessary in order to overcome the problem of accessibility and intent. Due to the secretive nature of the burial during the Third Intermediate Period and the lack of publicly accessible tomb chapels attached to the burial chamber, all the papyri and stelae mentioned here were intended for interment with the deceased, never to be seen by other mortals. This indicates a change in the target audience, to that of the deceased patron and the deities. As the artist's intention is unknown, an obstacle may arise in interpreting the meaning of various scenes and motifs. It can only be construed based on comparisons with contemporaneous material as to the conscious or unconscious use of various elements, such as patterning and placement.

1.1.2. Remarks on Presentation and Sources

To avoid confusion, the letter “p” is placed before the museum accession number to denote a papyrus manuscript and the letter “s” represents a stele.

The names of the stelae and papyri owners have been left in the original transliterated form in the tables and catalogues. However, when mention is made of various individuals by name within the text, the commonly accepted “English” versions are employed for ease of reading. This form is also used for the names of deities, kings, and frequently encountered symbols within the text.

Due to the limited scope of this dissertation, it was decided that when referring to funerary literature, such as the *Book of the Dead* and the *Amduat*, certain limits had to be set. Thus, only the chapter/spell number or division number is mentioned. A full explanation or citation of all their titles has not been deemed necessary, and would make the text far too cumbersome. Almost all of the *Book of the Dead* translations have been taken from Faulkner & Andrews (1985: passim); the *Amduat* and other Netherworldly compositions have been taken from Hornung (1999: passim) unless otherwise referenced.

In order to preserve consistency, the chronology and dates for the Third Intermediate Period are taken entirely from Kitchen (1986: passim).

1.2. Research and Publication of the Papyri and Stelae

1.2.1. Overview of the History into the Research of 21st Dynasty Papyri and 22nd Dynasty Stelae

Niwiński (1989a: 47) attributes the interest in the study of the papyri to Napoleon's scientific expedition to Egypt in 1798. As a result of this mission, Denon was among the first to publish reproductions of the funerary manuscripts (1802: plates 137-138). Another papyrus, pLouvre 3288 was published by the Expedition in the *Description de l'Égypte. Antiquités*. Volume V, pl. 44. Champollion (1827) published a description of the major artifacts in the Louvre that included 21st Dynasty funerary papyri. This work differentiated between the *Book of the Dead* papyri and other manuscripts comprising of religious scenes and symbolic imagery. He also made a distinction between the hieroglyphic and the hieratic papyri.

During this period, excavation reports, such as those of Athanasi in 1836, and publications of catalogues from museum collections, were the primary source of information concerning 21st Dynasty papyri. The catalogues of Rosellini (1838), Leemans (1840), British Museum (1843), and Hincks (1843) mainly contained descriptions of the papyri, however, the works of Hincks and Leemans tended to lean

towards the facsimile-version of the papyri. This inspired the latter to publish a series of reproductions in 1887 and 1888. Additional 21st Dynasty papyri were also published in the same manner by Mariette (1871-1876), Guieysse and Lefébure (1877), Jéquier (1894), Lanzone (1879) and Budge (1899).

In 1874, the Second Congress of Orientalists in London decided upon the publication of a complete edition of the *Book of the Dead*. The project was given to Naville (1886) who published seventy-one papyri from the New Kingdom and Late Period. Around the same time in 1881, Pleyte published additional spells from manuscripts dating to the Late Period.

Ledrain published several 21st Dynasty papyri in the form of descriptions and drawings during the 1870's; and this trend was followed in the works of Rossi (1878), Lanzone (1882), Levi (1884), and Menedoht (1893). The illustrations of various 21st Dynasty papyri from Lanzone's 1882 work: *Dizionario Mitologia* served as an invaluable resource for the study of the iconography of the time.

Devéria undertook a major study on classification of papyri from the Louvre, from 1861 till his death in 1871. Pierret subsequently completed the study in 1874 (albeit without illustrations). Devéria classified papyri into three types:

- i. Mythological Papyri composed of primarily figural compositions
- ii. *Amduat*-type manuscripts
- iii. *Book of the Dead* papyri

This study provided the necessary stimulus into the study of the mythological papyri, and was the inspiration for research taken on by Wiedeman in 1878, who used the mythological papyri as a source of information about Egyptian religious ideas.

Chassinat attempted the first-ever-comparative analysis of several analogous manuscripts (1903). In this study, he analysed the mythological papyri based on manuscripts unearthed in the recently discovered Bab el-Gusus tomb in 1891.

The research into 21st Dynasty *Book of the Dead* papyri was taken up by Budge in 1912, with his publication of pBM 10554. Naville published one manuscript from the same cache within the same year (1912), which was followed by another in 1914. Within the next five years, Blackman published two papyri from the Bodleian Library in Oxford, consisting of photographic plates and explanations (1917-1918).

Golénischeff published a number of non-illustrated hieratic papyri from the first and second cache in Deir el-Bahari in 1927. In 1929, Nagel defended the first doctoral thesis on a 21st Dynasty papyrus at the University of Neuchâtel. In this work, he carefully analysed the papyrus, and provided illustrations and commentary along with a

translation of the texts, which were given philological comments. The study was subsequently published as an article (1929)

Piankoff published two articles with reference to pictorial manuscripts (1935, 1938).

In 1938 Schott wrote another article in this genre and Shorter (1938) discussed several 21st Dynasty papyri.

The classification of "Mythological Papyri" came to be associated with Piankoff after the publication of two funerary manuscripts in 1949. Together with Rambova in 1957, he republished these along with twenty-eight others from several museums in Europe under the title: *Mythological Papyri*. Their study examined the content and representations of the papyri, providing interpretations as to their meaning, and included black and white plates of the thirty papyri under discussion. In the same year, Evgenova (1957) published four papyri from Leningrad.

Andrzejewski published the first critical analysis of the *Litany of the Sun*-type papyrus in 1959. Following closely on his heels, Piankoff published eight more *Litany of the Sun* papyri in 1964.

Morenz completed an analytical study of papyri containing an analogous series of figures in 1964 and Köhler undertook further study of this genre in 1972 (presented in this study under 6.4. Papyri Workshop 4). These works represent the first comparative study of papyri of a homogenous nature (Niwiński, 1989a: 69). After Piankoff's death in 1966, a posthumously edited volume of various papyri containing Chapter 168 of the *Book of the Dead, The Wandering of the Soul* appeared in 1974.

The *Amduat*-type papyri form the most recent area of study with the publication of one papyrus by Hornung in 1967 and another by Abdulhamid Youssef (1982). Sadek published thirty-three papyri in his 1985 work. This included commentary, black and white plates, and translations of the texts.

Other contemporary publications have been limited to the use of papyri as source material for particular studies, such as the study of the iconography of Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*, specifically for the Judgment of the Dead by Seeber (1976).

Heerma van Voss has included a discussion of 21st Dynasty papyri in his catalogue (1982). Here, he has provided an attempt at classifying the papyri of the period into:

- i. Mythological papyri
- ii. *Book of the Dead*
- iii. Underworld Books.

Descriptions, photographs and plates from museum catalogues make up the next field of publication in recent years. Monet-Saleh published a catalogue in 1970, which contains four papyri. Also of mention are the catalogues of Wenig and Raumschüssel (1977), Romano (1979), Lipinska (1982), and Saleh and Sourizian (1987).

While the funerary stelae of the Middle and New Kingdoms, the Late Period and the Graeco-Roman Period have been studied in great detail, very few Third Intermediate Period funerary stelae have been published, let alone comparative studies between the various stelae. Portner has produced two catalogues in which he specifically discuss the Third Intermediate and Late Period stelae in the collections of south Germany, published in 1906, and those in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens and the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in 1908. Descriptions of several Late Period wooden stelae in the Cairo Museum were published by Zayed in 1968, and more from the collection by Abdalla in 1988. These both contain a combination of 21st to 25th Dynasty stelae.

Munro specifically mentions 22nd Dynasty stelae as a class of study in a prosopographical analysis of Third Intermediate and Late Period stelae in his 1973 work. Here, he discusses all aspects of the stelae and divides them up into categories dependant upon their date and typology. He mentions that the lack of research into the stelae is due to the fact that the texts usually consist of well-known prayers and hymns, which are present in other sources (and are usually more complete) and they offer limited research directed towards written material. They only refer to historic events in exceptional cases and have very little significance to linguistics.

Bierbrier (1987) produced a catalogue that deals specifically with Third Intermediate and Late Period stelae, and briefly describes a number of 22nd Dynasty stelae in the British Museum.

Quibell mentions the discovery of thirteen 22nd Dynasty wooden stelae in the excavation report of the Ramessuem in 1898, where he included brief descriptions and illustrations. Additional 22nd Dynasty stelae have been published in excavation reports, such as Winlock (1926 – 1942), on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum, and the stelae represented in museum catalogues, such as those compiled by the Archeological Museum of Bologna (1990) for the museum.

1.2.2. Studies and Publications of 21st Dynasty Papyri and 22nd Dynasty Wooden Funerary Stelae in the Late Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Century

In the study of 21st Dynasty papyri and their iconography, Niwiński has made a great contribution through his 1989 publication of *Studies on Illustrated Theban funerary Papyri of the Tenth and Eleventh century B.C.* He has conducted extensive research into

the extremely rich religious iconography of the 21st Dynasty through a detailed study of 427 manuscripts on their typology and dating. This work encompasses all categories of illustrated papyri of the 11th to 10th century B. C. E.; it also contains a comprehensive list of sources. This is the most extensive study of 21st Dynasty funerary papyri of its kind and is still the yardstick to which scholars measure their work.

Building upon Niwiński's research are numerous articles regarding previously unpublished papyri, such as Valloggia's study on pBodmer 103 and 108 (1991 and 1998). Mirecki (2000) has published a translation and analysis of the Ballard Papyrus in the University of Kansas Collection. In 1997, Bohleke published a commentary on a 21st Dynasty papyrus in the Beineke Library and a fragment from the same piece in the Louvre. Quirke and Tait (1994) mention a 21st Dynasty papyrus in a descriptive article on the "Egyptian Manuscripts in the Wellcome Collection". Lesko has published a comparative commentary on the *Book of the Dead* composed for the High Priests Pinudjem I and II in 1994. In all the above cases, the papyri have been categorised according to the typology laid out by Niwiński.

The use of papyri as source material for particular studies is attested to in the 1991 study where Milde has conducted a comparison of 21st Dynasty papyri vignettes with those of the New Kingdom, Late Kingdom, and Ptolemaic periods, shedding light on the various theological and iconographical trends from each period. Niwiński's 2000 work, the *Iconography of the 21st Dynasty: its Main Features, Levels of Attestation, the Media and their Diffusion*, is a study of 21st Dynasty iconography of vignettes from papyri and coffins. Irmtraut Munro has called attention to the vignettes in her 1988 study. Rossler-Kohler's 1999 study of the *Book of the Dead* is an investigation of the ancient Egyptian textual traditions.

The publication of literature dealing specifically with the stelae of the 22nd Dynasty in the traditional printed format is very sparse, with the exception of museum catalogues and references to stelae as source material or imagery. However, many museums have, in varying degrees, digitised their collections, and allow online searches of their collections. The Centre for Computer-aided Egyptological Research (CCER) has produced a CD set, *The Global Egyptian Museum*, containing Egyptian collections from major European museums from which several stelae have obtained. A few previously unpublished stelae have also been gleaned from personal web pages.

2. 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri and 22nd Dynasty Funerary Stelae Within the Context of the Third Intermediate Period

2.1. Historical Overview

2.1.1. The Late 20th Dynasty to the End of the 21st Dynasty (c. 1098 – 945 B. C. E.)

During the late 20th Dynasty, Egypt sustained persistent incursions from the Sea People, and the Libyan tribes from the Western desert, such as the Mesh-Wesh and the Libu. The Egyptians ultimately defeated the invaders, but during the final years of the 20th Dynasty the country fell into a state of steady decline. The Libyans, especially the Mesh-Wesh had gradually filtered into Egypt, where they were hired as mercenaries in the Egyptian army. Later, they succeeded in accumulating considerable authority within the Egyptian power structure.

Weakened by the influx of the new settlers, Egypt's earlier hold on her neighbours loosened; and the economy appears to have simultaneously deteriorated. At this time, the economy was severely undermined by bad harvests which led to famine, and this in turn, encouraged extensive criminality and corruption, as is evidenced by the assassination of Ramesses III in c.1163 B. C. E. (David, 1975: 27).

The succeeding rulers, Ramesses IV to Ramesses XI presided over a weakening state after failing to establish a strong central authority in the face of the ongoing discord both within Egypt and beyond her borders.

The reign of Ramesses XI (c. 1098 – 1069 B. C. E.), the last Ramesside ruler, was characterised by a civil war with Panehsy, the viceroy of Nubia, who was vying for control of the Theban area. Ramesses XI responded by sending General Piankh, who waged a successful campaign against the southern upstart. The conflict weakened the Egyptian economy further, consequently ending the Egyptian occupation of Nubia. Accordingly, the failure to restore Nubia as a colony resulted in the loss of control of important resources from sub-Saharan Africa, and led to a significant reduction in revenue for the Egyptian treasury (Taylor, 2000: 330).

Thus, at the end of the 20th Dynasty, the legacy of Ramesses III was reduced to nothing: its eight descendants had proven to be unable to maintain the large kingdom of the last king and the sacrilege of the royal mummies, including that of Ramesses III, the 20th Dynasty had been an ultimate disaster (Fèvre, 1992: 237).

The subsequent death of Ramesses XI paved the way for the foundation of a new power structure and a smooth transition to a new regime. Smendes assumed kingship of Egypt, ruling from Tanis around 1080 – 1069 B. C. E. The area from Aswan to el-Hiba was governed by General Piankh (c. 1074 – 1070 B. C. E.). According to the

Tale of Wenamun, an envoy of Amun at Thebes during the reign of Smendes (c. 1069 – 1043 B. C. E.), an agreement of this nature had existed between Ramesses XI and General Herihor (c. 1080 – 1074 B. C. E.) at Thebes (Quirke & Spencer, 1996: 45). Herihor had also supplanted the previous line of high priests, and set the trend for the installation of military men into top religious positions in the Third Intermediate Period.

Control of Egypt was now firmly divided between a line of kings in the north and army commanders in the South, who functioned simultaneously as the high priests of Amun. Thus, by the beginning of the 21st Dynasty, Egypt was divided in two, with the legitimate lineage of kings ruling from Tanis and the high priests of Amun establishing their own “line” at Thebes (**Figs. 1a – b**).

Tanis was developed as the northern counterpart to Thebes. The architecture duplicated the monumental buildings of Thebes, and large temples (**Fig. 1c**) were erected for the various gods, the main deity being Amun-Re. Geographically, Tanis was ideally suited for traffic on a tributary of the Nile, and the kings of the north maintained trade contacts with Byblos and Assyria (Schulz & Seidel, 1997: 271). The city's importance was enhanced further by the relocation of the royal tombs from the Valley of the Kings to Tanis (Mysliwiec, 2000: 27).

An amicable relationship seems to have existed between the northern and southern halves, which Taylor (1998: 1154) attributes to the family relations existing between Smendes, who was the brother-in-law of Piankh. This arrangement effectively allowed the high priests of Amun to become virtual rulers of a separate state, however, it appears that they did acknowledge the rule of the Tanite kings (Baines & Malek, 1991: 48), and made only limited claims to royal status.

Piankh's lineage became entrenched further by the promotion of three of his sons into key posts within the Theban hierarchy. Heqanefer became the Second Prophet of Amun, and Heqamaat, assumed the role of the *sm*-priest of the great temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. Ankhefenmut B became the High Steward of Amun, and “...thus did the new dynasty of military high priests begin to develop its hold on the major benefices in the Thebaid” (Kitchen, 1986: 253). Furthermore, the position of High Priest of Amun became hereditary with the succession of Piankh's eldest son, Pinudjem I as the High Priest of Amun. During the last twenty years of Pinudjem I's thirty-seven year reign (c. 1070 – 1032 B. C. E.), he dropped all pretensions of being a royal vassal and assumed royal status.

The deterioration of the Egyptian economy resulted in the loss of status abroad, as can be observed in the *Tale of Wenamun*. The narrative describes the adventures of

Wenamun, a vassal for Ramesses XI, who had great difficulty in procuring cedar-wood to build a new barque for Amun (Kitchen, 1986: 428). Lichtheim (1997: 89) mentions that it may not reflect a factual assignment, but portrays a true historical situation and a precise moment that took place around the third decade of Ramesses XI reign, where even the purchase of timber from Lebanon could be depicted as a “perilous adventure”. Egypt’s reputation abroad had still not improved nearly a century later, as is evidenced by the marriage of a daughter of Siamun (c. 978 – 959 B. C. E.) to Solomon, who received the city of Gezer as a dowry (Mysliwiec, 2000: 41). Furthermore, the political geography of the international arena was challenged by the total dominance of Syria/Palestine by the Philistines and Phoenicians, and the new “super-state, Assyria, which was expanding in the north” (David: 1975: 28). The Egyptian kings had to increasingly rely on mercenaries to protect her borders, thus ending the great campaigns into Asia (David: 1975: 28).

A characteristic feature of this period was the inability of the Theban authorities to protect the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings from desecration and robbery by thieves. The high priests’ solution to this predicament was the methodical dismantling of the New Kingdom royal tombs. The burial contents were then re-appropriated and the mummies concealed in secret caches (Taylor, 2000: 332). A number of mummies were originally placed in the tomb of Sety I, others in a side room of the burial chamber of Amenemophis II and the tomb of Ramesses XI. Sheshonq I continued this process through the 22nd Dynasty and authorised the reburial of the last royal mummies in the tomb of Pinudjem II (Hornung, 1982: 47). In the course of the later 21st Dynasty through to the Saite Period, Thebes was a breeding ground of intense political intrigue. According to Eyre (1999: 249) “there was fierce economical rivalry between the initiated priesthood (with the titles of *it-ntr* and *hm-ntr*) who controlled the cult image, and the *wꜥb*-priests who carried and controlled the processional image (the oracle)”. It appears that at this time, the local priesthood was rallying all available resources at their disposal to claim the hereditary tenet that only the descendants of these local priests were able to have access to the priesthood, and they were thus using the oracle for that purpose. The impression given is one of an entrenched consciousness of personal and political insecurity (Eyre, 1999: 249).

2.1.2. The 22nd Dynasty, The Libyan Period (c. 945 – 715 B. C. E.)

From the reign of Sethos I (c. 1306 – 1290 B. C. E.), conflict between the Egyptians and Libyans had increased sharply. Several theories exist as to the cause and nature of these Libyan incursions into Egypt, which will be briefly described below:

Kitchen (1990: 20) attributes the intensification of Libyan penetration from borders of Egypt up to the Nile, to famine and the need for productive land. He maintains that the situation was aggravated by the arrival of immigrant groups of Sea Peoples joining the Libyans in search for whatever they could obtain. Merenptah (c. 1224 – 1214 B. C. E.) claimed success in the military campaigns against the Libyans, securing peace, which lasted about twenty years. During the 20th Dynasty, in the reigns of Ramesses II and III, the problem of Libyan infiltration into Egypt intensified. Nonetheless, both kings declared success in the ensuing battles. According to pharaonic policy of the time, the Libyan prisoners were largely conscripted into the Egyptian military, and settled in forts and garrisons inside Egypt. They were required to assimilate Egyptian culture and forced to speak Egyptian, not their native tongue. Kitchen (1990: 21) concludes that as a result of this policy, the Libyans were settled in the Eastern Delta, including the city of Bubastis.

O'Connor (2000: 93 – 94) believes that from an anthropological point of view, the Libyans had reached a phase in their political, social and economic development, which made the option of "aggressive expansion into territory occupied by sedentary agriculturists a viable one". Since it is stated in Egyptian texts (Kitchen, 2000: 20) that the Libyans intended to settle permanently in the Western Delta of Egypt, an area that supported both pastoralism and agriculture, O'Connor (2000:106 – 108) maintains that the aggression demonstrated by the Libyans was not simply a manifestation of nomadic marauding, but an aspiration by the Libyan leaders to establish a nomadic state. Thus, by securing domination over the existing population in the western Delta, the Libyan leaders would also be securing a strategically better location from which to exploit north and middle Egypt (O'Connor, 2000: 94).

Richardson (1999: 151 – 162) proposes that the Libyan incursions into Egypt were spill over events peripheral to the major disruptions in Marmarica (**Fig. 1a**). He believes that the Libyans consisted of comparatively homogenous groups of semi-nomadic pastoralists and traders, whose economy was based upon substantial independent trade with Mediterranean traders. The principal export was the plant called silphium. Its commercial value lay in its pharmacological powers, which served primarily as a digestive, wound and muscle salve, and birth control/abortificant, in addition to forming a base for many other medicines. It grew in the barren steppes behind the territory of Cyrene, and was therefore, harvested by the Libyan tribes who controlled the interior. Thus, expanded silphium cultivation for export could have severely overburdened the fragile balance between rainfall and pasturage in Marmarica, as

silphium was also the staple fodder for the Libyan herds. This triggered what Richardson (1999: 162) describes as “a series of boom and bust cycle of exploitation”, resulting in serious economic and environmental consequences for the Libyan tribes. It is also probable that competition for the control of point-of-trade on the coastline ensued between the various groups, such as the year-round cattle-herders and the seasonal sheepherders. Accordingly, the cattle-herding group, composed primarily of the Mesh-Wesh may have either blocked other groups from selling their products, charged an access fee to the coast, or became profiting middle-men, which in turn led to local conflict and social disruption, the result of which spilled over into Egypt around the time of the New Kingdom (Richardson, 1999: 162). Ritner (2000: lecture) agrees with this, but attributes the spread of Libyan settlers as a consequence of general population pressures due to an increase in economic wealth from silphium.

Due to the growing military and political efficiency of the Libyan settlers towards the end of the New Kingdom, the Libyan chiefs were able to secure positions of local influence, as they had been rewarded with land for their services and were promoted to high positions within the government. The initial decentralisation of government during the 21st Dynasty also contributed to the growth of provincial power bases. As a result, local dynasties of Libyan chieftains, the descendants of the settlers of the late New Kingdom, were able to increase their autonomy. Consequently, a number of principalities developed, each based at an important town, and at each strategic point controlled by a Libyan chief. Kitchen (1990: 23) maintains that the Libyans were well entrenched in Egypt by the end of the 20th Dynasty, and states that even though the high priest of Amun during the late 20th Dynasty (c. 1080 – 1074 B. C. E.), Herihor and his wife, Nodjmet, had Egyptian names, they were both Libyan or of Libyan descent. Five of Herihor's sons had Libyan names: Masaharta, Masqaharta, Mawasun, Osorkon and Madenen.

By the reign of Psusennes II (c. 959 – 945 B. C. E.) the last ruler of the 21st Dynasty, the Libyans had become a serious and powerful force in Egypt, with a series of provinces progressively falling under their control. The Mesh-Wesh in particular exercised an escalating influence over the development of events at Tanis and Memphis. In Middle Egypt where the fortress at Teudjoi defended the boundary of the Theban theocracy of Amun, the Mesh-Wesh tribe built its own stronghold (this fort had been built in the late New Kingdom to protect Thebes from marauding bands of Libyans), and brought the nearby city of Herakleopolis under its authority.

Shortly after marching his army into Thebes, Shoshenq I (c. 945 – 924 B. C. E.) proclaimed himself pharaoh with the divine approval of the oracle of Amun. Thus, successfully founding the 22nd Dynasty, also known as the Bubastid Dynasty after the city of Bubastis, which functioned as the principal centre of the goddess, Bastet.

Shoshenq I's reign was characterised by a change in attitude of the king towards the integrity of the country (Taylor, 2000: 335). Under the Bubastid Dynasty, Egypt was united once again, and the title "Lord of Two Lands" once more applied to the ruler. The reunited Egyptian empire developed into a strong political and military power (Mysliwiec, 2000: 43 – 44). Shoshenq I intervened aggressively on the foreign front, chronicling a military expedition against Israel, Judah and major towns of southern Palestine around c. 925 B. C. E. He revived trade with Byblos, which was maintained by his successors, and also embarked upon an ambitious building programme. The Bubastids displayed a rather shrewd domestic policy, with the strategic marriage of Osorkon I to Maatkare, daughter of Psusennes II, and the mother of Shoshenq II (the third king in the Libyan Dynasty). Calculated appointments of his sons to various high offices meant that he exercised specific control over the most important areas of the country by uniting the religious and secular realms. His son, Iuput, was simultaneously the Governor of Upper Egypt, the High Priest of Amun and commander-in-chief of the armies. His second son, Djedptahaufankh, was the Third Prophet of Amun, and his third son acted as the military commander at Herakleopolis, who could keep the citizens of Thebes in check if the need arose (Clayton, 1994: 184).

The rulers of the 22nd Dynasty seem to have demonstrated a great generosity towards the priests of the most important deities, as they represented a potential source of unrest. Mysliwiec (2000: 48) notes how Nimlot (another son of Shoshenq I) took it upon himself to provide sixty bulls that the temple of the Herishef in Herakleopolis had not or could not contribute. This show of fealty greatly impressed the king who showered him with praise, and the act undoubtedly placed him in good standing with that cult.

Taylor (2000:340) attributes the Libyan attainment of power to the development of a theocratic form of government, which reinforced their accession to the throne by imparting divine authority to their policies. The succession was also facilitated through the process of integration into Egyptian society through acculturation and the highly cosmopolitan nature of the Egyptian society during the New Kingdom. Although there is no trace of characteristic Libyan material culture in Egypt, there is evidence that indicates they retained much of their ethnic identities. This can be seen in use of non-Egyptian names, and long genealogies that were not produced before the 21st Dynasty

(Taylor, 2000: 340). The increase of these records implies the importance of kinship and the perpetuation of extensive lines of descent, which Taylor (2000: 340) ascribes to oral tradition, "constituting a large component of non-literate societies such as the Libyans".

Leahy (1985: 58 – 61) proposes that the "Libyan" attribute survived the long period of assimilation and acculturation in Egypt, to emerge in the form of decentralisation, and an institutional mode of government, changes in linguistic patterns, and "move toward mass family vaults in preference to individual burial".

After the reigns of Shoshenq I, Osorkon I (c. 924 – 889 B. C. E.) Takeloth I (c. 889 – 874 B. C. E.), and Osorkon II (c. 874 – 850 B. C. E.), which comprised of nearly a century, the unity of Egypt was in danger. New generations of Libyan commanders sprang up in the important administrative and religious centers, each vying for a piece of the crown (Mysliwiec, 2000: 49). The successors of the 22nd Dynasty tried to unify the realm, but the re-growth of the provincial power-bases increasingly weakened royal control, and once again led to the division of the country. The reign of Takeloth II (c. 850 – 825 B. C. E.) heralded a period of conflict, the major cause of which was the appointment of his son, Osorkon, as the High Priest of Amun. A recurring feature of the tenth to the eighth centuries was the resistance of Thebes to Northern control. The claims of Osorkon to the pontificate incited intense resistance, as the Thebans preferred to recognise the authority of the 23rd Dynasty kings, Pedubast I (c. 818 – 793 B. C. E.) and Iuput I (c. 804 – 783 B. C. E.), who acted as co-regent (Taylor, 2000: 345).

From the inauguration of Shoshenq III (c. 825 – 773 B. C. E.), who had evidently usurped the throne from the High Priest Osorkon, kingship became split between different candidates: Pedubast I, of the 23rd Dynasty, was recognised alongside Shoshenq III. Pimay became the next ruler of the 22nd Dynasty, whose reign lasted from c. 773 – 767 B. C. E.; he was followed by Shoshenq V, who ruled from c. 767 – 730 B. C. E. The last king of the 22nd Dynasty was Osorkon IV (c. 730 – 715 B. C. E.). By the eighth century there were numerous kings in the country, with the 22nd to 25th Dynasty ruling simultaneously.

The deteriorated state of kingship and the priesthood of Amun paved the way for the subsequent Kushite invasion into Egypt. The Kushites were able to establish their own power bases following the withdrawal of Egypt at the end of the New Kingdom. The most important of these cities developed at el-Kurru, down stream of the fourth cataract, but by the late Eighth Century, Napata had become the religious and political centre. Kashta, the first ruler of Kush, was recognised as king of Nubia as far north as Aswan. Under Piye, the son of Kashta, an agreement of some kind was reached with the Theban

rulers of the 23rd Dynasty, who accepted his authority. His sister, Amenirdis I was adopted by the God's Wife of Amun, Shepenwepet as her successor.

Around 730 B. C. E., the Kushites recorded a military campaign into the delta region and successfully took over the area. The following years appear to be fairly politically stable, however, the local dynasts of the 24th Dynasty in the north who had been left to control their provinces were once again trying to expand their territories. These aspirations were severely quashed by the new Kushite ruler, Shabaqo who re-conquered Egypt in 715 B. C. E. (Taylor, 2000: 352 – 353).

2.2. Kingship and the Cult of Amun

The 21st Dynasty is characterised by a separation between the kings of Tanis and the high priests of Amun at Thebes. The discord between the cult of Amun and the monarchy can be traced back to the Amarna Period, with the assumption of political rule by a devoted follower of Amun, Aya (c. 1323 – 1319 B. C. E.) who was succeeded by Horemheb in c. 1319 – 1307 B. C. E. The increasing political activity of this cult from the 18th Dynasty, and the spatial division of the theocratic state of Amun in the south and the royal state in the north, were responsible for the consequent divergence from the traditional concept of united Egyptian kingdom in the 21st Dynasty.

In Thebes, the cult of Amun and its officials developed a considerable sphere of influence and power, having benefited significantly from the decline of royal authority in the late 20th Dynasty. Their autonomy was achieved by the ability of the Theban nobility to remain independent from the crown, and obtaining their income from estates through the priestly service of Amun. According to Clayton (1994: 175), the priesthood of Amun possessed substantial wealth, for example, they owned at least two-thirds of all temple land in Egypt, ninety percent of all ships, and eighty percent of all factories. Thus, it was merely a short step for Herihor to create a ruling class of high priests at Thebes.

Politically, the government of Egypt had developed into a theocracy where supreme political authority was vested in the god, Amun (Taylor, 2000: 331). The high priests of Amun acquired their executive authority from oracles of Amun, Mut and Khons, by whom religious appointments and important policy decisions of the pharaohs were confirmed (Taylor, 2000: 333). Amun was addressed as the superior of all gods, the foundation of creation, and the true king of Egypt. The pharaohs became exclusively temporal leaders, who were believed to be Amun's appointees to whom the gods' ruling was imparted via oracles (Taylor, 2000: 332). During the New Kingdom, the will of the god was only consulted in special occasions, but during the late New Kingdom and 21st Dynasty, written petitions were regularly laid out before Amun. Under the supervision of

the high priests, the deity either signified or withheld his approval (White, 1970: 85). Eyre (1999: 246) justifies the expansion into the use of oracles as just one problem in a general religious debate on the issue of divine causality. He mentions further that there is a strong impression that the regime appropriated the divine word of the oracles as a tool against political opposition, which is a classical fundamentalist technique that condemns opposition as heresy (Eyre, 1999: 246).

The royal birthright of the king in securing universal order fell to the priesthood, which had culminated into a full-time position. The monarchy had become a completely political organisation that was required to concentrate all its efforts on maintaining power. Moreover, the king was no longer a mediator between the gods and the people, which meant that private individuals were required to address the god directly, or a lesser-known god as the intermediary (Schulz & Seidel, 1997: 426). Therefore, the power over the fate of the deceased lay in the hands of the deities, representing a shift of power away from the pharaoh towards the gods, whose clergy stripped the king of an ever-increasing number of rights (Schulz & Seidel, 1997: 428).

During the 21st Dynasty, women became increasingly powerful within the temple, adopting titles such as the "First Great Chief of the Musical Troupe of Amun", culminating into the position of "God's Wife of Amun" in the 22nd Dynasty (**Fig. 2**). The wives and daughters of the high priests at Thebes (Taylor, 2000: 362) were employed in these positions. Thus, through strategic marriages within the Theban bureaucracy, the power structure of the ruling families was strengthened and maintained. During the 22nd Dynasty, the office of the "God's Wife of Amun" was usually held by the king's daughter. It is believed that they were expected to be celibate, an innovation that coincided with the decline of the authority of the high priest. The 22nd Dynasty kings may have sanctioned this move as a manoeuvre to prevent Theban secessionism, thus, successfully disabling the growth of sub-dynasties. The rise of prominence of women in the temple cult is marked by an increase in importance attached to divine triads, with the child-god perceived as the king as the progeny of the two gods. The triads of Isis, Osiris and Horus (**Fig. 3**), and Amun, Mut and Khons are the most prominent in this era (Taylor, 2000: 361).

The presentation of *maʿat* (Teeter 1997, *passim*), which was previously an exclusively royal privilege in the Ramesside Period, was now increasingly employed by private individuals, and is especially characteristic of the members of the Theban clergy. The God's Wives of Amun exhibited a strong desire to have themselves represented offering *maʿat*. From representations located in small chapels north of the Temple of

Amun and the tomb chapels at Medinet Habu, each God's Wife, from Shepenwepet, the daughter of Osorkon III, to and including Ankhesneferibre are portrayed presenting *ma'at*. In each of these scenes, the God's Wife is depicted on the same scale as the god indicating her exalted status (Teeter, 1997: 13). Inside the Temple of Osiris *Hek-Djet* at Karnak on the east wall (**Fig. 4**), the top register shows Shepenwepet presenting *Ma'at* to Amun (top left) and receiving the *menat* from Hathor (top right). Below the representations of Shepenwepet, Amenirdis holds the sistrum on her shoulder and receives the three Keys of Life given to her by Amun in her left hand. In an inscription from the base of a statue recovered from the Karnak cache, the God's Wife, Karomama Merymet boasts of presenting *ma'at* to her father, Amunopet (Teeter, 1997: 13). Lichtheim (1992: 85) maintains that the scarcity of *ma'at* representations and statements by women confirms that doing *ma'at* was an activity that involved primarily people in public life, and with the exception of temple service, women did not hold office. "Thus, the testimony of being truthful is the only aspect of *ma'at* -doing accorded a noble lady" (Lichtheim, 1992: 85). Therefore, demonstrating that the offering of *ma'at* may have had various connotations other than an indication of status, for example, among other clerical figures that offer *ma'at*, are the High Priests Osorkon and Iuuelot. Teeter (1997: 13) asserts that the depiction of these high priests practicing a ritual typically reserved for royalty, is characteristic of their aspirations to full kingship. The offering of *ma'at* in the funerary context can be seen in the wooden funerary stelae of a priest, Harsiese (**Fig. 5a**). Teeter (1997: 83) maintains that the scene is entirely funerary, related to either the association of *Ma'at* and Re, or to *Ma'at*'s role in the justification of the deceased.

With the political powers having moved north, the cults of the Southern regions enjoyed increasing significance. While the dominance of the cult of Amun-Re seems to have remained undisputed in the 21st Dynasty, the following period of Libyan rule saw it progressively limited to the Theban area and decrease in significance. Leahy (1985: 166) states that in fact most of the Libyan period temples at Karnak are dedicated to Osiris rather than Amun.

2.3. Theology of the 21st and 22nd Dynasty Reflected in the Development of the Funerary Papyri and Stelae

During the New Kingdom, many different types of funerary literature were available to the pharaoh upon his death. The *Book of the Dead*, titled *pry m hrw prt* ("coming forth by day") by the Egyptians, was included in the funerary ensemble in order to assist the deceased in the afterworld. It provided necessary sustenance and protected

the deceased from harm and eternal damnation through the use of spells (Hornung, 1999: 19).

The *Amduat* provided the deceased with indispensable knowledge to successfully navigate through twelve specific zones of the underworld by means of a summary description of the inhabitants and regions of the netherworld in the form of the nocturnal journey of the sun god. The *Litany of Re* presented the deceased with an understanding of the manifestations of the forms of Re, in order to facilitate their revivification in the afterlife. The *Book of Gates* called attention to the gates at the end of every twelve hours. Each gate had a guardian in the form of a serpent on its door, and additional two guardians with ominous names and fire-spitting uraei (Hornung, 1999: 58). The *Book of Caverns* provided the deceased with the appropriate knowledge to navigate through the netherworld, which at the time was believed to be divided into a series of caverns.

The *Book of the Earth* illustrated the journey of the sun through the earth god, Aker, and the *Books of the Sky* laid emphasis on the representation of the sky goddess, Nut. The nocturnal journey of the sun took place inside her body, where she gave birth to it in the morning, and it traveled back to her mouth by the evening at which time she swallowed it. In the *Book of Nut*, she was depicted arched over the body of Shu, the god of the air, who held her aloft (Fig. 51a – b). This is a popular motif in the 21st Dynasty papyri. The *Book of the Day* described the diurnal journey of the sun, and the complementary book; the *Book of the Night*, in turn illustrated the sun god's nocturnal journey. These books were intended to supply the deceased with knowledge of the topography of the sun, and understanding of its daily course (Hornung: 1999: 117).

The *Book of the Heavenly Cow* focused on the rebellion of humankind against the aged sun god, Re, and its punishment by the "fiery eye" of the god, by the goddess Hathor (Hornung: 1999: 149).

The 21st Dynasty clergy of Amun usurped the above-mentioned funerary books and imagery from the royal tombs and manipulated them into the current Theban theology with the addition of contemporary ideas. However, many traditional *Book of the Dead* concepts were continued (Goff: 1979: 29). According to Lesko (1994: 181) the *Book of the Dead* manuscripts from the New Kingdom to the Roman Period contain introductions or opening hymns to Re, Osiris and sometimes, Thoth, which can indicate a solar, Osirian or even lunar religious preference. However, the funerary literature of the 21st Dynasty became a fusion of Re (solar) and Osiris, which Niwiński (1989b: passim) has termed the "solar-Osirian unity". The development of the funerary papyri and stelae,

therefore, manifests the theological concepts established by the Theban authorities. Consequently, one can identify characteristics of the regime that determined the theology, and Niwiński (1989a: *passim*) has developed a typology of the various funerary books that were utilised during the 21st Dynasty.

2.3.1. The Late New Kingdom and Early 21st Dynasty

During the New Kingdom, the common theological view was that the sun, the source of life, belonged to the upper, visible half of the earth; and that Osiris and the subterranean foundation of life belonged to the lower, invisible half. These concepts are manifest in various cosmogonies, and are cosmologically complementary to each other. The destiny of the god and the source of his power were, in both sequences, seen as being determined by death and rebirth repeating themselves in cyclical periods. Through this concept, the solar-Osirian unity, the deceased could be identified with the numerous solar and Osirian aspect of the great god. The fusion of the two doctrines was represented in two groups of religious compositions, the royal *Books of the Underworld* and the *Book of the Dead*.

The political situation between Thebes and the north facilitated the use of previously exclusive royal funerary compositions in private burials, and incorporation of the old royal doctrine into the current theological system. This resulted in the extensive enrichment of the iconography of the period with many royal motifs. However, this also created the problem of devising enough space to accommodate the extended theology. The dilemma was solved by the introduction of a second papyrus along with the *Book of the Dead*. The expanded theology was represented in a new funerary composition titled *t3 mḏ3t imy ḏꜣt* (Script of the Hidden Chamber) that emphasised the idea of the post-mortem journey and rebirth in the underworld (Niwiński, 1989a: 162).

The *Book of What is in the Hereafter* that replicated the 18th Dynasty *Litany of Re* (*Book of Adoration of Re in the West*), is classified A. I.1 by Niwiński (1989a: 162 – 168) (e.g. Plates 31 – 37, 54 – 56). He considers this category to be one of the earliest forms of the *mḏ3t imy ḏꜣt* due to the fact that several of these papyri have the title *mḏ3t imy ḏꜣt* recorded on them, and were found in the same funerary ensemble together with *Book of the Dead* manuscripts, for example, pMMA 30.3.31 (Plate 17) and pMMA 30.3.32 (Plate 32), pSRIV 952 (Plate 33) and pSRVII 10244 (Plate 2). The arrangement consisted of a long series of ithyphallic mummiform creatures with various heads representing forms of the great god mixed with the solar-Osirian attributes (Niwiński, 1989b: 95). It was believed that after death, the deceased, who was considered to be an embodiment of the solar-aspect of the god, could expect to eternally traverse the upper, visible, daily

part of the earth, as well as the lower, invisible, nightly part. During the journey the deceased-incarnate passed through an endless number of transformations that were understood as multiple creations of Osiris “with many faces, or with many forms, or else with many names” (Niwiński, 1989b: 38). These texts were often inscribed near the entrances of royal 18th Dynasty tombs, which were readily accessible to scribes of the 21st Dynasty. However, the 21st Dynasty papyri are limited to sixty forms of the sun god, and not the entire seventy-five that decorated the 18th Dynasty royal tombs (Quirke & Foreman, 1996: 142). The manuscripts are characterised further by the avoidance of pure royal funerary elements, which may indicate deference to the Royal House in Tanis. The etiquette was generally placed on the right in a vertical composition.

As mentioned earlier, *The Book of What is in the Hereafter* became a supplement to the *Book of the Dead*, which up until the end of the Ramesside period, had been the only papyrus of the funerary ensemble. The early 21st Dynasty versions of the *Book of the Dead* were still in keeping with Ramesside traditions, and were lavishly illustrated. The texts were furthermore considered to be of greater importance than the vignettes.

It appears that two distinct types of *Book of the Dead* were in use at the same time, and were probably produced in separate workshops. The first category, termed BD. II.1 by Niwiński (1989a: 118 – 129) (e.g. **Plates 1, 3, 61, 116, 164**), was presumably created by the older workshops that were still using the traditional Ramesside patterns. In accordance with the Ramesside tradition, the emphasis was placed primarily on the texts, which were usually retrograde and written in cursive hieroglyphs. The etiquette could be located in various places on the papyri, or be absent, and the legends in the etiquettes were often executed in highly ornamental hieroglyphs.

New figural compositions and a higher percentage of coloured vignettes characterise the second category of *Book of the Dead* manuscript, BD. III.1a (Niwiński, 1989a: 132 – 151) (e.g. **Plates 53, 58, 59, 133**). Many manuscripts from this period began to exhibit the tendency of the vignettes exclusively representing a number of *Book of the Dead* chapters instead of vast passages of hieroglyphs, as was previously preferred. Niwiński (1989a: 230) believes that the vignettes of this type of funerary papyri took on the function of substituting the entire tomb decoration.

2.3.2. The Middle 21st Dynasty

The papyri from the middle 21st Dynasty are characterised by a blurring of distinction between the iconography and texts of the *Book of the Dead* and the *Amduat*-type funerary literature of the early 21st Dynasty. The decision to adapt previously

exclusively royal iconography from the New Kingdom royal tombs seems to point to the reign of Menkheperre (c. 1045 – 992 B. C. E.), who claimed royal status towards the end of his pontificate. Niwiński (1997: 37 – 38) believes that the oracle of Amun announced that the High Priest become King, being simultaneously the co-regent of his brother Psusennes at Tanis and the High Priest of Amun at Thebes. He began to place his name within a cartouche and adopted his own regnal years. As a royal privilege, the entire decoration of the eastern wall of the sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of king Amenhotep II, containing the Ninth to Twelfth Hours and the abbreviated version of the *Amduat* were copied. It is possible that the composition was plagiarised by scribes or artists while the royal mummies were being cached to safer resting places in the 21st Dynasty (Berman, 1999: 375). By the end of Menkheperre's reign, many officials began using the same composition in their private burials, which Niwiński (1997: 38) asserts was the price Menkheperre had to pay in order to have his royal status accepted.

Thus, the *Amduat* or *Script of the Hidden Chamber of the Underworld*, specifically the type A. II.1a (Niwiński, 1989a: 174), appears in private funerary ensembles from this period onwards (e.g. **Plates 45, 79, 80, 85**). During this time, the *Amduat* was generally composed of faithful copies of the last four hours of the royal *Amduat*, arranged horizontally in three registers. Niwiński (1989a: 180 – 184) sees the *Amduat* sub-type, A. II.1b (e.g. **Plates 47, 94, 103, 178**) as a later progression of the illustrated and completely abbreviated version of the *Amduat*. He believes that these were manufactured in the same workshops, and considers them to be a by-product of the former papyri.

The *Book of the Dead* papyri of this time, classified as BD. II.2 (Niwiński, 1989a: 129 – 132) (e.g. **Plates 20, 21, 22, 28**) still followed the Ramesside traditions, forming a transition from the BD. II.1 to BD. I.2-type of the early 22nd Dynasty. The papyri of the BD. III.1b-type (Niwiński, 1989a: 152 – 155) (e.g. **Plates 12, 133, 110**) customarily reproduce the content of BD. III.1a, but the vignettes and etiquettes were not coloured, only outlined in black. These represented a poor quality, economy version of the figural BD. III.1a-group.

The *Book of the Dead* together with the *Amduat* was now as a rule placed in the burial of each person who could afford it. It appears that new workshops manufacturing papyri in hieratic came into existence around this time (compare Papyri Workshops 3 to 7).

2.3.3. The Late 21st Dynasty

The development of a pictorial mode of expression of religious ideas reached its peak in the late 21st Dynasty. The diversity of papyri is the main characteristic of this time period, where all-possible combinations of motifs from the *Book of the Dead* occurred in the papyri and coffins from the late pontificate of Pinudjem II (c. 990 – 969 B. C. E.) ending with Psusennes III (c. 969 – 945 B. C. E.). From the profusion of rich iconography, it appears that the Theban artists were at liberty to experiment with an extensive range of elements from every type of funerary text instead of restricting the theme of each manuscript to a single source.

However, the physical division of papyri was nonetheless limited to two categories, the *Book of the Dead* and the *Amduat*, although the titles were the only indication of which manuscript belonged to which category, as there was virtually no distinction between the two.

From this time on, the *Amduat* was composed of motifs derived from the royal *Amduat*, but recorded in a myriad of ways. The A. II.1-category (Niwinski, 1989a: 174 – 184), dating from the middle 21st Dynasty, was made up of faithful copies of the last four divisions of the *Amduat*. These manuscripts were compositionally divided into three registers or could form a second group, which were executed on one or two registers. The rendering of the vignettes was strongly reminiscent of the 18th Dynasty royal tombs. The next classification A. II.2 (Niwinski, 1989a: 184 – 188), contain extremely abbreviated and altered adaptations of the last four divisions of the royal *Amduat* (see Papyri Workshops 6 and 7, **Plates 145 – 164, 167 – 184**). These could also be divided into three, two or one registers. They represented low-cost facsimiles of the A. II.1a-type (Niwinski, 1989a: 174 – 180), with their small size, simplified renderings, and often second-rate workmanship. The type, A. III.1a (Niwinski, 1989a: 192 – 197) (**e.g. Plates 106 – 113**) was composed of exclusively of *Book of the Dead* motifs, and recalled the scheme of the A. I.-classification of the early 21st Dynasty. Many of these manuscripts replicated the same sequence, with *Book of the Dead* chapters 87 (serpent), 30 (heart), 83 (heron), 8 (the goddess, Imemtet), 145/146 (representations of the Guardians), 149 (the Mounds), 148 (the four oars, or cows), and 186 (the cosmic cow emerging from the Western Mountain) (**Figs. 87 – 98d**). According to an analysis of the iconography and content, these papyri seem to have been manufactured in the same workshop using the same pattern books (discussed further in 6.4. Papyri Workshop 4 – Analogous kneeling figures).

The A. III.1b-category (Niwiński, 1989a: 197 – 203) (e.g. **Plates 70, 121, 122, 123, 126**) generally consists of figural representations, which were frequently painted in various colours. These included the addition of motifs derived from the “classical” iconography of the early 21st Dynasty. The group A. I.2 (Niwiński, 1989a: 169 – 174) was composed of a combination of the figures of the divine forms of Re and Osiris containing a number of *Amduat* motifs. The A. III.2 (Niwiński, 1989a: 203 – 209) (e.g. **Plates 72, 73, 151, 154**) papyri combined scenes from various origins with motifs from the various books of the underworld, other than the *Amduat*. These could be differentiated further into manuscripts written in hieroglyphics and those written in hieratic.

The *Book of the Dead* manuscripts from this period could also be divided into textual and figural versions; the latter influenced by the repertoire of the *Amduat* papyri. Some of these consisted of “magical” manuscripts written in hieratic. The new version of the *Book of the Dead*, type BD. 1.2 (Niwiński, 1989a: 112 – 118) (e.g. **Plates 23 – 27, 165 – 167**) consist of an opening etiquette and are typically composed of Chapters 17, and 23 to 28 written in sheets or pages of hieratic (Quirke & Foreman, 1996: 146). Hereafter, the BD. 1.2-type became the predominant style.

Based on a comparison between the *Books of the Dead* of Pinudjem I, from the early 21st Dynasty, and his grandson, Pinudjem II, Lesko (1994: 185) believes that the religious beliefs encompassed by the former are different to the latter, reflecting a deep and significant change in philosophy and religion, even though they occupied the same priestly position, were created in the same workshop, and were only separated by a period of forty-years.

2.3.4. The 22nd Dynasty

A major aspect of religion of the Late Period was the rise in importance of the cults of Osiris. He had been a major funerary deity for a long time, but was now progressively viewed as a god of the living. Accordingly, Isis, who helped revive her murdered husband, became the model for the dutiful wife as well as mother. She also became a great protectress and saviour in life and death.

The cults of both Osiris and Isis achieved prominence throughout Egypt. The new beliefs are reflected by numerous statues and images of Osiris, and of Isis nursing Horus seated on her lap, that originate in the 21st or 22nd Dynasty (Fazzini, 1997:11). Fazzini (1997: 8) believes that from the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, the prominence of motifs of the falcon, Horus, and Isis protecting the young Horus in the marshes of Chemmis, near Buto, may echo the shift in political power to the Delta.

There was also a rise in popularity since the 21st Dynasty of personal names combined with that of Isis. Fazzini (1997: 11) suggests that the rise in significance of the cult of Isis originally began in the court of the 22nd Dynasty kings, who were not as bound to the cult of the Theban triad as those who exercised power in the 21st Dynasty. They expressed a formerly unattested identification of the earthly ruler with young Horus in the use of titles such as “Son of Isis” or “Horus, son of Isis”. They also introduced a new form of cult of Osiris that required buildings separate from that of the Temple of Amun, at Karnak.

During the early 22nd Dynasty, from the time of Shoshenq I to Osorkon I, the Theban workshops were still producing papyri; however, these were limited to the pairing of the *Book of the Dead* of the type BD. 1.2 (Niwinski, 1989a: 112 – 118) with the *Amduat* types A. II.1 and A. II. 2 (Niwinski, 1989a: 174 – 180). These consisted of rigid imitations of the royal *Amduat* with the last four hours of the night, and the latter was composed of highly abbreviated manuscripts involving transformed versions of the last four divisions (see the early 22nd Dynasty manuscripts from Papyri Workshop 6 and 7)

The disappearance of funerary manuscript coincides with an extreme simplification of the iconographic repertoire on coffin decoration, the disappearance of Osiris figures, and Chapter 16 of the *Book of the Dead* on *shabtis*. The texts on the coffin surfaces were now reduced to repetitious offering formulae and speeches of the gods (Taylor, 2000: 363).

The latest dateable pair of funerary papyri, pSt. Petersburg 1 (**Plate 167**) and 2 (**Plate 173**) have been found with the mummy of Osorkon, son of the high priest Shoshenq, and the grandson of king Osorkon I. It is probable that Shoshenq died around 890 B. C. E., and his son probably passed away approximately thirty to forty years later (Niwinski, 1989a: 42). It does not seem accidental that the termination of these traditions came at a time when relations existed between the north and south, with the imposition of stronger royal central authority over the south during the reign of Shoshenq I and his successors'. The only occurrence of any funerary literature from c. 850 – 700 B. C. E. is the use of *Book of the Dead* and underworld books excerpts in the decoration of the tombs of Osorkon II and Shoshenq II in Tanis, and the High Priest of Ptah, Shoshenq, at Memphis (Quirke, 1993: 56).

It is from this time on that *wooden funerary stelae* became increasingly popular within the funerary ensemble of the Theban nobles. Whereas in the 21st Dynasty, they were added as supplementary funerary items to only a few burials, they were now included in nearly every 22nd Dynasty burial.

The iconographic repertoire found on the stelae and coffins exhibits an impoverishment in of the selection of iconography available to the private individuals at Thebes. This coincides with tighter controls of funerary decorations for private Theban citizens by the Tanite royalty, maybe as a reaction to the excessive use of royal motifs by private citizens in the previous period, or perhaps a shift in emphasis on the mortuary theology by the ruling party.

These stelae closely resemble papyri belonging to the types BD. I.1 and BD. 1.2 (Niwiński, 1989a: 112 – 118), and are more than likely related. It may be presumed that they were manufactured simultaneously in the same workshops, or as direct predecessors. The focus of the stelae is on the symmetrical arrangements of the deceased and deity, and a bolder use of colour. A single scene showing the more contemporary composition of the deceased adoring a deity superseded the long-established stela scene of the deceased seated before offerings. The deity was increasingly represented as Re-Horakhty, more so than Osiris, reflecting the growing solar emphasis of the funerary beliefs (cf. 7.1. Stelae Workshop 1). The tradition of including a wooden funerary stele in burial ensemble was continued well into the Ptolomaic Period; however, their format was adapted to include more text at the bottom, figures of the deities, and family of the deceased (a development reflected in 7.9. Stelae Workshop 9).

The 26th Dynasty saw a revival of the *Book of the Dead*, commonly referred to as the *Saite Recession* (Fig. 6), where it underwent a significant revision. The corpus of spells was codified at 165, consisting mostly of older spells along with new ones that have not been attested to in earlier periods. Furthermore, the sequence of spells was generally regulated (providing the modern instrument for identification). The majority of vignettes were considerably revised from the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period versions, and accompanied almost all of the spells. These also underwent significant standardisation and there is not much variation between the vignettes from various manuscripts (Mosher, 1992: 143 – 144)

The spells were once again written on tomb walls and coffins, and from the 30th Dynasty, on mummy bandages continuing until the Roman Period (Niwiński, 1989a: 14).

2.4. Funerary Practices

The 21st and 22nd Dynasties are characterised by significant changes in funerary practices within the scale, location and type of burials and funerary ensembles. After the death of Ramesses XI, the Valley of the Kings ceased to be utilised as a royal necropolis and the tomb-builders' community of Deir el Medina was subsequently disbanded. The

degradation of the economy attributed to the civil war as well as famine, tomb robbery and strikes by the necropolis workers over the lack of reparation created an adverse environment for tomb building of any type at Thebes.

2.4.1. Tombs

All Third Intermediate Period tombs were created either in the form of rock caches containing the shaft, a corridor, and one or more rough, irregular chambers, or older tombs were usurped and occupied with fresh burials (Taylor, 1992:186).

The 21st Dynasty kings built their tombs in their residence at Tanis in the east Delta, where they developed a new type of tomb, the *temenos* (Hornung, 1982: 31). The *temenos* consists of a small subterranean burial chamber below a funerary chapel within the temple precincts (**Fig. 7**). Only the sub-structures of these burial complexes remain, which appear to be fairly modest in size, the largest one, belonging to Psusennes I (c. 990 – 969 B. C. E.) measures no more than 18 by 10.6 metres (**Figs. 8a – b**). The tomb of Psusennes I comprises of a double burial chamber dedicated to the king and his wife (**Fig. 7**). The presence of an additional chamber for the queen breaks with the tradition of the New Kingdom pertaining to the separate burials in the Valley of the Kings and Queens respectively (Lull, 2002: 254). Furthermore, the 21st Dynasty sepulchres appear to have been inspired by the small funerary chapels built in the forecourt of the Temple of Amun at Karnak towards the end of the 19th Dynasty, during the reign of Seti II (c. 1214 – 1204 B. C. E.) (Hornung, 1982: 31). Thus, 21st Dynasty royal burials were once more connected to small tomb chapels, a change from the New Kingdom whose mortuary chapels were located at a distance from the tomb. The 21st Dynasty chapels were constructed of brick; some had inscribed stone blocks, and a few contained painted decoration (Robins, 1998: 203). The Gods' Wives of Amun emulated these temple burials in Thebes by erecting stone or brick tombs in the Medinet Habu temple precinct (**Fig. 9**), and Hornung (1982: 31) believes, possibly at the Ramesseum as well.

In Thebes, private burials were generally located in cemeteries separate from neighbouring temple grounds, or the old tombs in the Theban necropolis and the Valley of the Kings were re-used for private burials. This period is marked by an increase in the number of collective burials, where individuals of all ranks were interred in group-sites or caches. The High Priests of Amun established a number of mummy caches around the temples of Deir el-Bahari in which they brought together individual burials of their relatives. Some of these were included in the Royal Cache, but most were in the Second Cache in Bab el-Gusus, discovered by Daressy in 1891 (Hornung, 1982: 190). The tomb of the Second Cache, which originally belonged to a 19th Dynasty official, was deepened

and excavated by Menkheperre (c. 1045 – 992 B. C. E.). It is entered into via a shaft measuring 14.9 metres deep, the bottom of which commences with a gallery 120 metres long and has a side corridor (Mysliwiec, 1998: 38). It initially served as the burial place of the High Priest of Amun, Menkheperre and his family, but it was also reused later. Therefore, not only were the occupants members of the clergy of Amun, but, chisellers, recruit scribes, corn scribes, singers of Amun and divine fathers (Manniche, 1987: 89 – 90). The Royal Cache (DB 320) was interred in a re-appropriated 11th Dynasty shaft tomb. This tomb contained forty mummies of pharaohs such as, Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, Thutmosis I, II, III, Ramesses II, III, IX, Pinudjem I, II, Seti I and Siamun. From this cache, two groups could be distinguished: the New Kingdom pharaohs, and the 21st Dynasty priests, who all appear to be descendants of Herihor. The priests were the only ones buried in sets of distinctive, highly decorated coffins that fitted perfectly inside the other (Romer, 1981: 141).

After a brief reign as the co-regent to Osorkon II (c. 874 – 850 B. C. E.), Harsiese (c. 870 – 860 B. C. E.) was buried in the enclosure of the funerary temple of Ramesses II in Medinet Habu near the meridional wall of the courtyard of a small temple constructed during the 18th Dynasty. The substructure of Harsiese's tomb consists of an inclined access corridor, an antechamber and a burial chamber, the walls of which are undecorated (Lull, 2002: 257). Lull (2002: 257) believes that a funerary chapel accompanied this burial, and the building was completely dismantled.

During the course of the early 22nd Dynasty, the over-ground cult chambers disappeared; it appears that the tomb complexes accessible above ground had become unsafe. This meant that a regular, traditional mortuary cult for private individuals was often impossible. The performance of the cult of the deceased was more than likely practised in an area separate from the burial, such as the precinct of the Hatshepsut temple in Deir el-Bahari (Niwinski, 1989a: 36). In 1858, Mariette discovered a cache of the priests of Monthu dating from the 22nd to the 26th Dynasty within the subterranean chambers of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari (Manniche, 1987: 90).

These factors suggest a changed attitude to the dead that may perhaps be directly associated with the presence of the Libyans in the Egyptian society. The construction of elaborate physical surroundings provisions for the dead and a focus for mortuary cults was not a principle feature of semi-nomadic societies such as theirs (Taylor, 2000: 364). Munro (1973: 6) attributes this to a transformation in the cult of the dead, specifically to the abandonment of tomb superstructures. It is conceivable that the deceased would create easily portable, wooden stele if the tomb did not have its own

cult area. Archaeologically, it can be seen that no owner of a wooden stele possesses an over-ground mortuary chapel together with a wooden stele. The reverse is also true, that no owner with an over-ground mortuary chapel possesses a wooden stele. The account of the original status of the stele is obscured, as the necropolis has been unmethodically excavated or destroyed. However, in the Bubastite cemetery in the Ramesseum excavated by Quibell in 1898, there does not seem to be any connection between the overhead buildings and the funerary equipment (Munro, 1973: 6).

Quibell (1898: 2) examined more than two hundred 22nd Dynasty burials, some of which he discovered beneath the floor of the Ramesseum. These are dug through the floor of the various chambers in the shape of tomb-wells, measuring around 1.14 metres square, and 2.3 metres deep. They often had a wall approximately 1 metre high and half a brick thick, surrounding their mouths to keep brick debris from falling down the mouth of the well. The earlier 12th to 18th Dynasty tomb shafts were cleared out and reused by the owners of the 22nd Dynasty burials. Quibell (1898: 9) notes that by the 22nd Dynasty, the Ramesseum had fallen into disrepair, and “was adopted as a cemetery by certain families of Theban priests related to the royal house”.

2.4.2. The Funerary Ensemble and Decoration

The effect of the abandonment of the tomb chapel and tomb decoration, the simplification of tomb construction, and the widespread degradation of the economy are mirrored in the contents of the funerary equipment of the early 21st Dynasty at Thebes. Substantial items of burial equipment such as stone sarcophagi were mostly restricted to royalty, and were often usurped from earlier periods. The third sarcophagus of Merenptah (c. 1224 – 1214 B. C. E.) was removed and appropriated to the burial of Psusennes I at Tanis (Taylor, 1992: 190). The upper register of the antechamber of Psusennes I's tomb duplicates the decoration of the sarcophagus of Merenptah, showing a procession of divinities, a motif that is also found in the tomb of Shoshenq III in the Awakening of Osiris scene. This decorative scheme in the tomb of Psusennes I generally follows the iconographic traditions of the New Kingdom, in that the tomb is symbolically partitioned into two areas through the use of iconography and texts. The king is shown offering to a row of divinities whose symbolic characteristics are emphasised by their position. Hence, Re-Horakhty is found near the entrance on the east wall, and Sokar and Osiris are located in the burial chamber, on the west side. This scene can also be found in the tombs of Seti I, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX (Lull, 2002: 254). A second group of divinities can be observed on the east wall of the antechamber, these are protective in nature and appear on many coffins from the Third

Intermediate and Late Period. Three of these divinities can be recognised in tombs from the Valley of the Queens (QV), for example, in QV 38, 40, 42, 43, 52 and 74 (Lull, 2002: 254).

The recycling of funerary equipment included the re-use of less valuable objects, for instance, the widespread recycling of coffins at Thebes, such as the re-appropriation of the coffins of Thutmosis I (c. 1504 – 1492 B. C. E.) by Pinudjem I (c. 1070 – 1055 B. C. E.), and the conversion of New Kingdom royal shabtis into Osiris statuettes to accommodate papyri (Taylor, 1992: 191, 193). Correlating with the reduction in expenditure on elaborate tombs came the overall reduction in burial equipment, which was now limited to canopic jars, coffins, papyri, and shabtis. A papyrus sheath, a hollowed-out Osirian statuette (**Fig. 10**), was introduced into the funerary ensemble as a repository for the *Book of the Dead* manuscripts.

The Second Cache found by Daressy in 1891 contained 153 coffins, including 101 double coffins, 70 papyri, shabti boxes, papyri sheaths, and other miscellaneous smaller objects. In all, the excavators removed over six thousand accompanying items with the occupants. The cache of the priests of Monthu unearthed by Mariette in Deir el Bahari contained 71 coffins (Manniche, 1991: 89; Mysliwiec, 1997: 38).

Funerary manuscripts and coffins became the surrogate receptacles for funerary texts and representations that traditionally would have been painted in the tombs of the previous period. The funerary papyri, coffins and stelae were thus intended to be a substitute for the entire tomb decoration, forming the basis of all decoration. The texts and vignettes on the coffins and papyri of the 21st Dynasty to a great extent tended to supplement each other rather than repeat the same scenes. Nevertheless, by the late 21st Dynasty the artists had a propensity to fuse the motifs creating parallels in decoration between the two.

It was in the course of the 21st Dynasty that the status of the mummy as an idealised image of the transfigured deceased was developed. This resulted in a climax in the art of mummification, instead of just preserving the flesh; the embalmers strove to transform the mummy into an image of the deceased as they were in life. Sawdust and lichen, etc, were stuffed under the skin, and then painted to look more life-like. The mummified internal organs were returned to the bodies, thus making the canopic jars obsolete, however, these were often retained for symbolic value (Ikram & Dodson, 1998: 44). This level of production was faithfully maintained throughout the following period. The lack of tomb decoration together with the perfection of mummification indicates a

shift away from the tomb to greater emphasis on the physical being, manifesting a desire to make the body as complete and as perfect as possible.

Together with the change of canopic equipment from the private burial, the sarcophagus disappeared. The majority of 21st Dynasty burials were comprised solely of a “nest” of yellow coffins, with a mummy and a mummy-board, and were occasionally accompanied by *shabtis* in a *shabti*-box (Ikram & Dodson, 1998: 44). Taylor (2000: 364) states that the security of the deceased was guaranteed by an increase in coffins numbering at least two and sometimes up to four per burial (**Fig. 11**).

Coffin exteriors of the 21st Dynasty preserved the late New Kingdom traditions with scenes painted in red, light and dark blue on a yellow ground. Older motifs and decoration, such as the crossed hands of the deceased, and the Four Sons of Horus, continued to be represented on the outer coffins. The inner coffins were painted with a new collection of scenes from the journey of the sun god through the underworld and the sky (Robins, 1997: 202). These were also decorated with multi-coloured motifs on a yellow and red ground with extensive variation. Under the reign of the High Priest Menkheperre, an increase in the number of vignettes took place, subsequently extending horizontally onto the sides of the coffins during the reigns of Pinudjem II and Psusennes II. This culminated into the 21st Dynasty trend of *horror vacui* (Ikram & Dodson, 1998: 231).

It was during this period that mummy-braces were introduced into the funerary ensemble. These typically consisted of red leather bands approximately 4 centimetres wide and 52 centimetres long crossed over the body. The purpose of the braces is unknown and may have served in a ritual capacity, as they were not necessary to hold the shroud in place (Ikram & Dodson, 1998: 175).

The first part of the 22nd Dynasty continued the late 21st Dynasty burial traditions. However, significant changes in funerary practices occurred during the reign of Osorkon I. The mummy-boards were replaced by rigid cartonnage cases encompassing the entire body and abundantly decorated with mythical figures. However, the designs are much less crowded than during the previous period, and are dominated by depictions of winged deities (Ikram & Dodson, 1998: 175), which are painted on a white ground.

During the reign of Osorkon II (c. 874 – 850 B. C. E.), the “classically” adorned coffins of the 21st Dynasty were replaced by a new style (**Fig. 12a**). The multi-coloured design was painted on a light/white ground on the cartonnage cases, but most of the coffins were predominantly black, reddish or yellow-brown. The crossed hands were also no longer represented. Decoration was simplified to consist of more general motifs of

rebirth and protection, comprising of divine emblems and winged deities rather than specific excerpts of from funerary compositions. Solar symbolism became even more important, and Re-Horakhty was depicted more frequently than Osiris was. The divine boat of the Memphite deity, Sokar, was also a common motif. Despite the numerous depictions of deities, the deceased is hardly ever shown with them. The images were drawn on a larger scale, and the custom of filling every space was curtailed. Texts became much shorter, consisting primarily of the *hṯp di nsw* formula and descriptions identifying the figures written in single bands across the coffin lid and case (Robins, 1997: 203; Taylor, 2003: 103). The royal coffins from Tanis also display significant changes. The traditional *rishi* (feathered) ornamentation was abandoned for a new falcon-headed design. However, the human-headed design was reintroduced by the end of the 22nd Dynasty (Ikram & Dodson, 1998: 45).

Subsequently, around the same time that yellow coffins gave way to white coffins with their simplified designs, the funerary papyri disappeared, as did the Osiris figures in which they were placed. During the 22nd Dynasty, the custom of providing brightly painted wooden funerary stelae prevailed, taking over the role of the bearer of offering texts and representations in the tomb. Thus, along with the coffin, the stele became the most important tomb furnishing. Robins (1997: 206) ascribes the disappearance of underworld texts from coffins, and the discontinuation of funerary papyri to a shift in funerary beliefs, conceivably to the influence of the north, where the funerary papyri do not appear to have been utilised. Taylor (2003: 104) ascribes the motivation for change as not only a measure instituted by Shoshenq I to restore the balance of power and curb Theban ambitions, but reflects the projection of traditional concepts of the afterlife in a new way. It, therefore, can be observed that the innovations of this period were not just restricted to coffins and stelae, but all funerary equipment underwent changes.

Wooden box-shaped sarcophagi return into use during this time and well into the later periods (**Fig. 12b**). They consist of rectangular cases with archer tops and posts at the end. These appear to have been influenced by containers used for the burials of the Apis bulls in the 18th and 19th Dynasties (Ikram & Dodson, 1998: 267).

Running parallel to the coffins of the latter half of the 22nd Dynasty, images of Nut became commonplace inside coffins of the 23rd Dynasty, and were sometimes shown full-faced on either the trough or the lid (cf. sMMA 22.3.33, **Plate 210b**). Additionally, representations of falcon-headed figures of Sokar, supported by Isis and Nephthys are found inside the troughs. The shape of the coffin also changed to include a pedestal-type dais at the feet. The 25th and 26th Dynasties continued the same iconographic

traditions, but the size and number of vignettes decreased, which was complemented by an increase in the quantity of texts, typically taken from the *Book of the Dead* (Ikram & Dodson, 1998: 236 – 237).

Evidence for the decoration of private tombs of the Libyan Bubastite Period is extremely limited. The most complete monument being a decorated burial chamber of the High Priest of Memphis, Shoshenq, son of King Osorkon II, one of a group of otherwise undecorated tombs of members of his family at Memphis. This decorative repertoire includes a depiction of a resurrected and enthroned Osiris on top of a stairway protected by various deities, Chapter 118 of the *Book of the Dead*, Chapter 186 of the *Book of the Dead*: Shoshenq and his wife adoring the cow of Hathor emerging from a mountain and papyrus thicket, and the creation of the world by the separation of Nut from Geb by Shu (Fazzini, 1997: 26). These motifs are all known from funerary papyri from the 21st Dynasty.

The decorated Libyan Bubastite Period tombs at Tanis are those of Osorkon II and Shoshenq III (**Fig. 13a**), whose scenes include episodes from solar and Osirian mythological cycles (Quirke & Foreman, 1996: 148). They form a mixture between the traditional royal repertoire and non-traditional iconography. The iconographical scheme of the tomb of Osorkon II most resembles that of a tomb from the Ramesside era. Following the tradition used up till Ramesses VI of the 20th Dynasty, Scenes A6 and A10 from the *Book of the Earth* are placed in the burial chamber. The *Books of the Day and Night*, and the Negative Confession from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* are located in the antechamber, and the ceiling is covered with the astronomic arrangement of the decans. Thus, illustrating the sun's journey through the day and night, and emulating the sequence created during the New Kingdom. The scenes from the Judgment of Osiris from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* are a new feature in the Tanite tombs, and are not represented in any of the royal New Kingdom sepulchres (**Fig. 13b**). However, the Judgment scenes are commonly found throughout the New Kingdom in private tombs such as TT 69 and 78. Lull (2002: 256) states that the inclusion of the Weighing of the Heart from the Judgment scene not only exhibits the importance of the *Book of the Dead* in the royal iconography, but also reveals the extent of the changes in religious and funerary concepts related to the status of the new monarchy. Hence, during the Third Intermediate Period, the king was seen less as the irrefutable deity that was manifested during the zenith of the New Kingdom. The Judgment scene of Chapter 125 is the second depiction of this spell. The chapter showing Osorkon twice adoring,

with Isis and Nephthys, a personified *Djed*-column from which rises a life-sign with arms supporting a solar disc is a new invention (**Fig. 13c**) (Mysliwiec, 1978: 48).

The iconographical scheme adopted by Shoshenq III also generally follows the New Kingdom Ramesside traditions. The *Book of the Night* is located on the walls of the burial chamber, as opposed to being painted on the ceiling in the New Kingdom. The Judgment scene from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* is also prominently displayed, in addition to Chapters 151, 152 and 154. The vignettes to Chapter 151 can be found in the tombs of Ramesses II, Merenptah, Siptah, Tawsert and Ramesses III.

A major change in the iconographical programme is the absence of the *Litany of Re* in the Tanite tombs, which were typically placed after Chapter 151 in the New Kingdom. Other major compositions missing from these tombs include: the *Book of Gates* and the *Book of Caverns* (Lull, 2002: 256).

The burial equipment from 22nd Dynasty burials in the Ramesseum generally consist of coffins, cartonnage cases, canopic jars, mummy-cloths, jewellery, various amulets in frit, faience, stone, red glass, and jasper, stelae, and *ushabtis* (Quibell, 1898: 9). The canopic jars were generally created out of limestone with a small cavity about five centimetres deep, empty and unused, these were often supplemented with dummy-vases in solid stone.

2.5. Funerary Papyri

The Egyptian theology of the 21st Dynasty is based on the premise that true knowledge about the world, life and the heavenly material can be only be divulged to an individual upon their death (Niwinski, 1989b: 89). Hornung (1982: 184) states that during the New Kingdom, neither tomb nor mummification was considered essential for survival in the afterlife. The Egyptians believed that upon failing the examination on the Day of Judgment, it nullified all expenditures for the funeral, while the poor man who emerged justified had all the possibilities of eternity in the afterlife. Nevertheless, regardless of theoretical equality among all people in the afterlife, the Egyptians constantly endeavoured to protect themselves from the inevitabilities of death through the emulation of the royal tomb complex. In periods of political and economic weaknesses following the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and the New Kingdom, royalty conceded many prerogatives, which were immediately adapted for private use (Hornung, 1982: 184). Thus, in the course of the 21st Dynasty, the use of previously exclusive royal funerary texts became available to private individuals. The nature of the mortuary texts and representations are entirely funerary (Pinch, 1994: 23), and the emphasis of the funerary literature is on eschatological works, chiefly those that deal with life after death

in the company of the gods, basically serving as guidebooks to the beyond (Lesko, 2001: 570)

2.5.1. Function of the 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri

Through numerous studies of illustrated manuscripts, Piankoff & Rambova (1957: 4) assert that the 21st Dynasty Egyptians believed that death was not static; they saw it as a continuous movement of changing forms. The deceased are believed to have the ability to go in and out of the Netherworld. They are to be sufficiently provided with air, food and water, and they also have the ability to undergo all the transformations they choose. Thus, the funerary papyri were designed to function on a number of different levels in order to satisfy the requirements for a successful afterlife. This was achieved through the use of symbolic representations of mythical concepts and magical formulae (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 3).

The ancient Egyptian mortuary cult depended upon magical texts, formulae and representations to assist the deceased in the afterlife. These were then represented on tomb walls, mummy-wrappings, various funerary equipment, coffins and papyri. After the abandonment of decorated tombs in the 21st Dynasty, the function of bearer of the funerary texts and motifs was completely taken over by the papyri and walls of the coffin cases (Niwinski, 1989a: 34).

The second goal of the funerary papyri was to take over the role of the mortuary cult. The funerary manuscripts were designed by the Theban clergy as "a stand-alone", and could, therefore, act as a replacement for the mortuary cult. Morenz (1992: 229) believes that apart from the magical/cosmological aspect of the texts and vignettes, the spells were written down so the deceased could "proclaim the provision of supplies" themselves, instead of them being performed by undependable priests. The papyri also acted as a proverbial safety net once the deceased's mortuary cult disappeared over time. This, according to Morenz (1992: 229) was the nucleus around which the texts took form.

Thirdly, the manuscripts operated to provision and protect the deceased. James (1985: 51) states that the fundamental purpose of funerary papyri was to enable the deceased to achieve their proper, posthumous existence, ultimately serving to furnish the deceased with whatever they require, and safeguard them in the hereafter. The *Book of the Dead* (*Book of Coming out by Day*) rendered practical help and magical assistance to the deceased in the afterworld. The idea of a Judgment of the Dead in Chapter 125, to which every deceased person was subject, played a central role. The deceased, to whom this iconographic information was aimed at, was always depicted as

having successfully passed through the Last Judgment in the Hall of the Double Truth after proclaiming the forty-two compulsory negative confessions. The deceased's heart was then weighed against the feather of *Ma'at*, thereupon, gaining their share of divinity that was guaranteed at birth. Through their *ba*, they would become a part of the solar aspect of the God, and through their *ka*, a part of their Osirian aspect. Chapters 54 to 56 of the *Book of the Dead* guaranteed breath in the afterlife, Chapters 57 and 63 assured the availability of air and water for the deceased, Chapter 72 acted to fulfil all material needs, Chapter 106 secured gifts for the deceased in the afterlife, and Chapter 148 secured nourishment. Chapter 18 allowed the deceased to prevail over opponents before any divine tribunal, Chapters 31 to 32 were aimed at warding off crocodiles, Chapters 33 to 35 against snakes, Chapter 179 was directed against enemies, and Chapter 182 served to protect and regenerate the deceased. Many spells contained inscriptions or glosses between the texts and margins pertaining to specific instructions on their use or application.

Illustrated papyri at this time were often placed in the same location as amulets (Goff, 1979: 124), and thus seem to have the same protective function as the amulets (Pinch, 1994:105).

The fourth function of the papyri was to reveal knowledge to the deceased. The Egyptians believed that the Underworld was fraught with danger. They, therefore, provided guides, imparting information on the topography, correct responses to the guardians of the various gates, and knowledge of their names, etc. Hornung (1999: 27) states that all the *Books of the Netherworld*, the focus of which is the journey of the sun, furnished knowledge of the ordering and creative principle in the areas in the afterworld. These books demonstrated what powers of renewal were at work on the distant side of death, which occur simultaneously within the spaces of the human soul. The journey is represented as twelve hours of the night, which culminates into the final, twelfth hour, resulting in the rebirth of the sun at dawn and with it, the rebirth of the deceased. The high priests of Amun added a supplementary funerary papyrus, the *Amduat*, to the funerary repertoire. The *Amduat* stressed knowledge of phenomena in the netherworld. Thus, providing the deceased with an annotated map of the netherworld, described in all its aspects, both promising and terrifying, of the secret confines of the beyond, and recorded them in pictures (Hornung, 1982: 71). The *Book of What is in the Hereafter*, or the *Litany of Re*, gave the deceased knowledge of Re's nocturnal forms of manifestation together with their names, and added the deceased's hope that they would open the netherworld for them and their *ba*; as they were the image of the sun god. The

characteristic feature is that the deceased speaks directly to the god (Hornung, 1999: 143). Specific spells from the *Book of the Dead* are concerned with imparting knowledge to the deceased, for example, Chapters 107 to 109 and 111 to 116 assures knowledge of the *ba* (soul), and Chapters 144 to 147 are related to the gateways of the hereafter by which the deceased may only pass through knowledge of their names and reciting the correct spells.

Finally, the papyri act as a form of large-scale communication. Niwiński (2000: 22) believes the funerary papyri serve as a form of “mass media”, disseminating post-mortem information to millions of deceased in the same way that the modern media functions to distribute information to a live audience.

2.6. Wooden Funerary Stelae

Due to a shift in the focus on death and the mortuary cult of the Libyan pharaohs of the 22nd Dynasty, small wooden funerary stelae replaced the funerary papyri in the tomb. Emphasis was transferred from the progress of the soul through the realm of the dead, as represented in the papyri, to the deceased themselves in the presence of the gods, as if they had successfully attained eternal life. This simplification can also be seen in the “new” style of decoration on the cartonnage cases. Taylor (2003; 104) notes that “all the decoration was orientated as to be viewed when the mummy was upright, an indication of the resurrected state of the deceased and an allusion to his/her reanimation through the Opening of the Mouth ceremony”. Additional symbols of resurrection can be seen in the repetitive *ankh-neb-was* motif on the foot-support, the representation of *Ma'at* at the throat of the coffin, and the presentation to Re-Horakhty or Osiris on the breast (Taylor, 2003; 105). It can, therefore, be assumed that during the 21st Dynasty, the Egyptians believed that the deceased had to succeed in their mission through the netherworld in order to arrive at eternal life. On the contrary in the 22nd Dynasty, the deceased, by default, could instantly attain eternal life. Therefore, manuscripts containing texts with complex iconography were no longer deemed necessary as only the end result need be recorded.

2.6.1. Function of Wooden Funerary Stelae

The multiple purposes of the stelae mirror several of functions of the papyri, even with the change in funerary focus, materials, and impoverishment of iconography from the 21st to the 22nd Dynasty. However, unlike the papyri, they do not furnish the deceased with knowledge of navigational aids, or spells on how to deal with various situations in the afterworld, as this was possibly no longer considered important. The stelae are more concerned with the practical aspects of death, such as supplies, protection and being in the presence of the gods.

The stelae also act as a substitute for the mortuary cult. Together with the radical change in the location, representation and material, the stelae underwent a modification in their function during the 22nd Dynasty. Because they were now interred with the deceased, the target audience shifted from the general public on whom the deceased relied to recite the offering formulae, to the gods themselves. They became more of a “memorandum for the gods” (Munro, 1973: 5) than for humans.

The stelae ultimately functioned to provision and protect the deceased, continuing the task of the funerary papyri. The deceased were represented at a table laden with offerings before a deity. The lavishly painted offering-table now served to invite the deity to make himself responsible for the prosperity of the deceased in the afterlife (Schulz & Seidel, 1997: 487). Here, the deceased swapped the role of a passive recipient to that of an active donor.

To ensure the deceased's security, the stelae contain a host of protective iconography and appropriate representations of rebirth that would ensure a proper afterlife. The iconography often recalls the combination of symbols that were commonly utilised in tomb decoration of the 18th Dynasty, such as the *shen*-sign above the water-sign flanked by two *udjat*-eyes, two jackals facing each other and the vase-sign (Figs. 13d – e). The images include the extensive use of a winged sun disk (Fig. 13e), which was previously employed exclusively by royalty, but was adopted in the late New Kingdom by private individuals (Robins, 1997: 204), and were often used in the papyri of the 21st Dynasty. Together, these symbols represented the idea that the deceased has the power not only to leave the tomb at will, but they could also travel the course of the sun, go on board the solar barque and be with the solar god. The addition of “magical text” together with these images served to protect the deceased from vandalism and the ravages of nature (Schneider & Raven, 1981: 120).

The stelae acted as a replacement for the tomb and tomb decorations. During the 22nd Dynasty, a wooden funerary stele was placed in the burial chamber instead of the over-ground chapel. Maspero (1903: 82) defines the general role of the tomb stele as a summary or expression of the tomb. To a certain extent, the stele becomes an expression of the universe through which the deceased was expecting to traverse. This is true for the stelae of the 22nd Dynasty, evidenced by the resignation of tomb decoration, and over-ground cult chambers. The tomb stele and the coffin, together with the mummy, became the most important elements in Egyptian tombs in the 22nd Dynasty.

The stelae performed an additional function of safeguarding the names of the deceased, and place them directly in the protection of the gods (Schulz & Seidel, 1998: 486 – 487). Through the hieroglyphic inscription painted above the figures, they preserved the name of the deceased by identifying them by their name and titles, thus “making [their] name live” (Baines & Malek, 1991: 63). The deceased, was furthermore, represented in the company of gods, and thus, represented as being under their direct protection. This was the ideal state that everyone wished for his or her *ka*, and the stele, therefore, helped to preserve it eternally.

2.7. The Origins and Development of the Funerary Papyri and Wooden Funerary Stelae

The origins of both the funerary papyri and stelae are deeply rooted in Egyptian history. Their inclusion into the funerary ensembles of the 21st and 22nd Dynasty was neither quick nor instantaneous, rather, an ongoing evolution of theological beliefs and political change.

2.7.1. Funerary Texts

Ancient Egyptian funerary literature includes various collections of texts associated with elite burials from almost all of Pharaonic Egypt. The origins of mortuary texts can be traced back to set phrases found on the walls of Pre-dynastic and early Old Kingdom private tomb chapels. The phrases were designed to guarantee the survival of the deceased in the afterlife by preserving the name, a magical supply of food and drink, and the body and spirit forms. Among the principal concerns was, the security of the tomb, the successful life of the deceased, and their good character (Quirke, 1992: 97). A number of the spells, known as the *Pyramid Texts*, derived from the inscriptions in the chambers and on the sarcophagi of the pyramids of the Old Kingdom. These originated from the time of Unas, the last ruler of the 5th Dynasty (Faulkner & Andrews, 1985: 11). While the texts ensured the protection of the body from the harmful forces such as snakes and scorpions, they were mainly concerned with the ascent of the king to join the sun or stars, and thereby achieve resurrection (Quirke, 1992: 97). Additionally, the spells conveyed knowledge to the pharaoh about the ways and places in the afterworld, as well as the hazards he may encounter. Specific knowledge was supplied in the form of conversations with the guardians of the gateways and a ferryman that allowed the king to answer all pertinent questions correctly in order to make his way freely through the afterworld (Hornung, 1999: 6).

During the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, the texts went through a process of democratisation, and were inscribed on the interior of the coffins of private

individuals. These like-named *Coffin Texts* incorporated many local and non-royal traditions, such as the resurrection of the individual based on the daily cycle of the sun, the inclusion of the family in the afterlife, the right to appeal to a tribunal, and the increasing importance of Osiris. From this point, all deceased were identified with Osiris (Hornung, 1999: 6). Maps containing guides for the afterlife, known as the *Book of Two Ways*, can be found on the floors of 12th Dynasty coffins. Some spells in the later versions of the *Coffin Texts* take the form of the corresponding spells in the New Kingdom *Book of the Dead*. Examples of spells from the *Book of the Dead* are found on mummy cloths and coffins of the early New Kingdom, appearing later on papyri and in several tomb chambers. Thebes was an especially important religious centre for this development. Spells from the *Book of the Dead* began to be used regularly by officials from the beginning of Thutmosis III's reign. Production of the *Book of the Dead* was briefly interrupted during the Amarna Period, though certain spells were still used in tombs or funerary equipment. Many important *Book of the Dead* manuscripts appeared during the transition to the Ramesside period, with some spells occurring on temple walls and scarabs.

Parallel to the development of the *Coffin Texts* into the *Book of the Dead* in the New Kingdom, was the development of a new, exclusively royal corpus of funerary texts. They were named the [*Books of*] *What is in the Duat* (Netherworld) by the Egyptians. These books constituted the first unchanging content, unlike that of the *Book of the Dead*. Additionally, they were thoroughly illustrated with vignettes, which can be read as a solid unity (Hornung, 1999: 26). Hornung (1999: 22) believes that the *Amduat* can be dated back to before the New Kingdom, although the first copies originated from the tombs of Tuthmosis III (**Fig. 14a**) and his vizier, Useramun. These two tombs also contain copies of the *Litany of Re*.

The *Book of Gates* is assumed to belong to the same time period as the *Amduat*. The oldest copies to date belonged to the Tomb of Horemheb, which are, albeit incomplete. *The Book of Caverns*, which were first painted in the Osireion, followed these. Serving as a counterpart to the *Book of Caverns* in the tombs of Merenptah, Twosre and Ramesses III, is the *Book of the Earth* (**Fig. 14b**).

After the Amarna Period, a new genre of books of the netherworld came to light. They focused on the representation of the goddess Nut and the journey of the sun god from her mouth, through her body, and back to her mouth again. The *Book of Nut* is attested to on the cenotaph of Sethos I at Abydos and in the tomb of Ramesses IV. His

tomb also contained representations of the *Book of the Day*. The earliest representation of the *Book of the Night* is that of Sethos I on the Osireion (Hornung, 1999: 122).

2.7.2. Funerary Stelae

Throughout the history of ancient Egypt, the form, function, allocation of the surface to figures and text selection of the funerary stelae were subject to change, but one integral element, unchanged since the earliest times, was the name, and almost always, a representative portrait of the deceased (Munro, 1973: 6).

The origins of stelae go back to the employment of false doors in Old Kingdom tomb chapels (**Fig. 15**). The false door served as a point of contact and transition between the temporal world and the next where the *ka* could pass freely through it. The stelae became the focal point where contact with the deceased could be established, and provided a place where offerings could be presented by the family and descendants of the deceased or by their personal mortuary cult. It was believed that the deceased dwelt in the stelae, and served as reminders for those on earth. The deceased sat before the altar, and passively received offerings brought by a descendant, who could either be depicted or absent, although in each case were presumed to be present (**Fig. 16**), and thus be effective in this world (Munro, 1973: 6). Written formulae guaranteed the provision of supplies through the king, who served as an intercessor between the gods and the deceased, to fulfil their desires in the afterlife. The square-door form is the most common shape of Old Kingdom stelae. In many stelae, this concept is emphasised where the door leaves are sharply defined, and the locking mechanism of the door is carved in relief (Portner, 1911: 11). The door leaf motif was still used to frame the sides of the stelae by the artists of the 22nd Dynasty (**Fig. 52c**).

During the later part of the Old Kingdom, the need for the presentation of real offerings was abandoned as it was increasingly assumed that if the offering formulae was recited by the living in the presence of the stelae, the "magical" effect would be accomplished and the deceased would receive the provisions (**Fig. 17**). The stele was of its own accord sufficient provision for the deceased, even if the tomb decoration disappeared. Thus, it can be inferred that the stele was the equivalent of the entire tomb and could replace it entirely (Maspero, 1903: 23; Portner, 1911: 11).

During the First Intermediate Period, the walls of superstructures over private burial chambers became practically devoid of decoration. The stelae were the only surface on which texts and images appeared. They constituted the indispensable minimum decoration of a tomb, sufficient to provide an adequate afterlife if they contained the following three elements:

- i. Inscriptions with offering texts that consist of requests for provision of all necessary items for the afterlife, prayers, the name of the deceased, title, dates and genealogical information.
- ii. A representation of the tomb owner, who could thus live in eternity.
- iii. An offering table piled high with food, guaranteeing that the deceased will always be provided for (Schulz & Seidel, 1997: 127).

Stelae of the Middle Kingdom developed from those of the First Intermediate Period, and were either round-topped or rectangular in shape. From this period onwards, a representation of the tomb was drawn onto many stelae. This motif functioned as a double of the tomb, as the statue was to the mummy. Through its decoration, the tomb represented an image of the world, thus, the stele was also perceived as an image of the world, portraying decorative elements akin to that of the tomb. Cosmic images of the sky, winged solar discs, and the rounded top, etc., are motifs that have been carried through in tomb decoration from the Middle Kingdom (Quibell, 1898: 18). It was during this period that the current theology liberated the deceased from the confines of the tomb and empowering them to move freely, while during the Old Kingdom, it was held that the deceased had to be present at the presentation of the offerings in order to benefit from them (Maspero, 1903: 76 – 77).

Stelae were inscribed with texts addressed to all people who visited the funerary chapel to recite the formulae. This was understood to not only serve the deceased, but to secure the favour of the gods in the afterlife. Unlike the burial chamber, the tomb chapel was customarily publicly accessible. The stelae formed the focus of the funerary cult of the deceased; it was a place where the cult of the dead could be carried out, where they received offerings and gifts from their descendants on prescribed days. A parallel development was the custom of dedicating a second stele along the processional route to the temple of Osiris at Abydos, creating a point of contact between this world and the next. The deceased, who was buried in another location, could mark their double tomb near the town of Osiris. The stelae essentially became a rest stop for the soul in Abydos, facilitating its journey through the mouth of the gorge to the solar bark.

A number of changes occurred within the functional and representational sphere of the stelae, especially in the 13th and 14th Dynasties. Gods were represented with the deceased in the main scenes, and all family members and friends were included, as if to continue the funeral feast in the afterworld.

There were no significant changes within the form and function of the stelae from the 18th Dynasty onwards. However, as the New Kingdom progressed, the more intellectualised the content of the prayers became. It was during this time that the deceased was granted the privilege of boarding the solar barque to partake in the celestial journey each night. From the 18th Dynasty, the portrayals of this ascension became increasingly richer in iconography becoming closer and closer to the funerary literature of the period (Portner, 1911: 54).

However, the end of the 8th Century B. C. E. began with a process of change within the Theban funerary stelae, which by the Saite Period, resulted in the completed development of the actual Late Period Theban stela-type. This type, which is characterised by the division of the picture-surface into fixed sections, remained obligatory until Roman times. Munro (1973: passim) has divided the transition into five phases based on their style, iconography, text and historical timeframe, ending with the Roman Phase 5. These five phases share one characteristic, with some exceptions, they generally consist of a wooden stela placed in the burial chamber (Munro, 1973: 10).

The 22nd Dynasty Bubastide stelae are placed within the first transitional Theban 1 Phase. They belong to, what Munro (1973: 11) has coined, the *Ganzbild*-type, which typically consist of only one field of representation, and the surface of the stelae is customarily not partitioned. The main focus is on the sun-disc on the head of Re-Horakhty, the eye then moves upward to the sun in the lunette then to the deceased.

2.8. Placement in the Tomb

Book of the Dead papyri were often deposited within hollowed-out statuettes of Osiris, known as papyrus sheaths, or in their bases (**Fig. 10**), which were typically shaped in the form of the *ma'at*-hieroglyph. At times, portions of the human body and papyri were both deposited inside the figures. The cavity of the papyrus sheath was regarded as a tomb; it was believed that as long as the portion of the body was preserved intact, the body in the tomb would remain untouched by damp and decay (British Museum, 1922: 29). In undisturbed tomb-caches, these statuettes were found placed near the coffin, and sometimes standing directly over it, only very rarely have they been discovered inside the coffin. The *Amduat*-type papyri were regularly placed directly between the legs of the mummy, although *Book of the Dead* papyri have been found on a few occasions enveloped between the legs. Quibell (1898: 11) describes how he found a 22nd Dynasty *Book of the Dead*, pFitzwilliam E. 100.1896, of Nakht-ef-Mut lying flat upon the thighs of the deceased.

As the wooden stelae were easily destructible, they were deposited in the only secure location, the burial chamber; and in several cases, findings acknowledge this conclusion. It appears that there was no set location for the placement of the stelae. Munro (1973: 8) states that they could be placed with the body in the burial-chamber outside the coffin. Quibell (1898: 15) found stelae on the north side of undisturbed tombs, with the coffin correspondingly laid out to the north. When of a large size, they were mounted on bases, and placed either at the head or foot of the coffin, and when small they were placed inside it (British Museum, 1922: 106).

Fakhry (1943: 410) recounts how he retrieved two wooden stelae from two burial pits that were cut into the pillared hall. These burials had been robbed of all their valuable contents, and only the stelae were left behind in the tomb. Winlock (1942: 53), however, reports finding four painted wooden stelae of a family of priests and priestesses of Amun, who were also officials of the Vicereine of Thebes, lying near the doorway of a re-appropriated 11th Dynasty mortuary chapel in Deir el-Bahari. Mond (1904: 73) discovered sBM 65354 (**Plates 267a – b**) in front of the entrance to a mummy pit in Qurnah.

3. The Artists

Very little is known concerning the activities of artists within the Third Intermediate Period. Texts and monuments from this time describing the occupation of artists are not as prolific as those of the New Kingdom. Therefore, paintings and reliefs of the 18th Dynasty Theban tombs have been referenced in order to recreate the working methods and processes of the craftsmen who utilised the materials and unchanged techniques.

It can thus be assumed that like their predecessors, all craftsmen (including artists) of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties operated from workshops belonging to the large temples or the sovereign. At this time, the traditional centers of activity were still flourishing, in Memphis and in Thebes within the precinct of the large temple of Amun (Yoyotte, 1975: 100).

The papyri and stelae were the products of artists who created the work for consumers, that is, the tomb owners who commissioned them, or bought them "off-the-shelf". They were of major importance to the Theban economy; Drenkhahn (1995: 331) maintains that the production of works stimulated economic activities from trade in raw materials, transportation, to setting up and maintaining the distribution channels for supplying the large amounts of people who produced the works.

Through a study of price lists from inscribed New Kingdom material, Janssen (1975: *passim*) has calculated the approximate costs of funerary equipment, such as coffins, papyri, *shabtis*, *shabti*-boxes and canopic jars. The value of a commodity was compared to copper of a specific weight, referred to in texts as a *deben* weighing approximately 91 grams (Janssen, 1975: 101).

Coffins were sold in various stages dependent upon the needs of the client. Those that were ready-made, including all decorations and varnish, cost roughly around twenty to thirty *deben*. The customer had a choice of purchasing the wood and having the coffin constructed by a carpenter, who would probably charge around five to fifteen *deben*. The price also varied depending upon the type of wood used. Wente (1982: 17) mentions that for a set of decorated coffins, a worker could expect to pay an amount that exceeded his annual income. The cost of decorating a ready-made coffin ranged from eight to twelve *deben* (Janssen, 1975: 443).

Book of the Dead papyri painted with vignettes, are considered to be relatively expensive, costing the consumer approximately sixty- to one hundred *deben* of copper. Papyri in the form of prepared writing material, was arranged in rolls measuring between forty to forty-eight centimetres in height and up to four metres in length, each of these rolls cost approximately two *deben*. The rolls could be halved or quartered, which indicates that half a roll at four metres would cost one *deben* (Janssen, 1975: 448). Thus, a blank roll of papyrus was “relatively inexpensive”, costing approximately one fifth of a worker’s monthly salary, but one inscribed with funerary material could cost as much as half the annual income of a skilled artisan (Wente, 1982: 17).

A wooden *shabti*-box from the 20th Dynasty cost around 2 *deben*, however *shabtis* are never mentioned individually in the price texts, the cost with “several other funerary objects” were given as one *deben* (Janssen, 1975: 243). One price text for canopic jars gave the cost as being five *deben*.

3.1. The Artist in 21st and 22nd Dynasty Society

The papyri and stelae served to provide the consumer with a tangible opportunity for everlasting life. It can therefore be assumed that the artist would have played an important role in the organisation of society. Due to the highly specialised nature of the production process, the Egyptians themselves made no distinction between an artist and a craftsman. Aldred (1987: 195) mentions that artists were primarily considered craftsmen; and sculptors and painters are often depicted working in the same studios as joiners, metalworkers, potters, and other artisans. Representational and textual sources illustrate that the artists of the court and temples enjoyed a higher status than the

craftsmen who manufactured coffins, furniture, stone vessels and similar products. However, the highest prestige among both artists and craftsmen was attached to the overseer, who supervised production (Eaton-Krauss, 2001:137).

Because artists belonged to workshops in the service of the state, they could not have formed a separate group within Egyptian society (Drenkhahn, 1995: 335). They were anonymous members of a group of craftsmen/artisans in which individuality had no place. According to Aldred (1995: 195), "the artist was of little account, a despised and humble work-man devilling away for a literate official who took all the credit". This may be too harsh a view, as painters and sculptors were at times distinguished in art by their names in captions outside their craft activities, such as offering-bearers and depicted accompanying the tomb owner on a hunt. Achievements that were perceived as worth mentioning were the skill and quality of execution, knowledge of specific rules and any technological innovations they may have instituted.

The artists also received the designation "provided with gifts" from the patron placed before their professional titles, indicating a special favour bestowed upon them by the patron (Drenkhahn, 1995: 338), indicating a separate and higher status among craftsmen.

As can be determined from the titles on the stelae and papyri, for example, *w^cb*-priest, the craftsmen served in a part-time capacity as priests of the local gods, officiating at the temple.

3.2. Organisational Structure and Training

Artists and craftsmen worked in workshops that were not independent ventures, but belonged to the estates of high-ranking officials, royal palaces, or temples, the latter was especially prodigious in the New Kingdom and later. In works of art, the workshops are depicted as consisting of a number of different groups of craftsmen, each group forming a team who worked on different projects (**Fig. 18a**). These teams were supervised by an "overseer of the workshop", who directed the various activities and examined the finished products. The temple, palace, or private estate storehouses distributed materials to be worked on by its craftsmen in its own workshops.

James (1985: 8) suggests that due to the term "outline scribe" to describe the artist/craftsman who drew the preliminary representations, they received scribal training in the use of the brush as a drawing tool. Scribal training in draughtsmanship would have involved the careful study and practice of a wide repertoire of scenes needed for various assignments. The position of artist, as with many stations in Ancient Egypt, was hereditary, with sons following in the footsteps of their fathers.

3.3. Reparation and Working Conditions

Special communities, housing workmen employed on royal building projects, are known from the Old Kingdom onward. The most well known workman's village is from Deir el-Medina dated to the New Kingdom. The debris of the settlement yielded profuse written documentation concerning the daily life and religious beliefs of the community (Eaton-Krauss, 2001: 139). From ostraca excavated in the village of Deir el Medina, it appears that payment was made to the workmen on a regular basis, approximately once a month, in the form of commodities, (Janssen, 1975: 457). Basic wages consisted of monthly supplies of grain and emmer for bread, and barley for beer. Janssen (1975: 462) has calculated that the average workman received an approximate monthly ration of three hundred litres (or four *khar*) of emmer, which amounts to ten litres a day. Thus, drawing a conclusion that the ordinary workman, and to a higher degree the chiefs and scribes, received more grain than what they needed for daily consumption, and used part of their rations to barter in exchange for other commodities (Janssen, 1975: 463). Payment lists mention the delivery of special types of cakes that are inscribed in temple lists, these were probably sacrificial cakes, which were used in the temples and then given to the workers in the form of payment. In addition to receiving barley for making beer, the workmen were supplied with vessels containing beer as well as dates (either fresh or pressed into blocks) on a monthly basis. Vegetables were frequently delivered, with a workman receiving at least one bundle a month. As meat was a luxury, fish constituted the main source of protein. Janssen (1975: 481) estimates that the workmen received roughly 8.4 kilograms (or ninety-four *deben*) of fish a month, working out to an average of 0.24 kilograms of fish a day.

Woodcutters were contracted by the state to supply the workmen with wood for fuel, delivered at various times throughout the month. Janssen (1975: 485) once again estimates that each man received about seventy-five units of firewood monthly. Pottery was received at least two to three times a month. Pots were regular household containers and their breakage would have been a common occurrence (Janssen, 1975: 488)

Extra provisions were furnished in the form of other manufactured goods, such as sandals, basketry and garments. The workmen were rewarded for their services with extra foodstuffs, such as, loaves of bread, sesame-oil, fish, salt, natron, meat, beer and beans. It was not uncommon for the pharaoh to provide the workmen with oxen for consumption as a form of reward and for festival days.

Water-carriers provided the workmen with their daily rations of water.

In Deir el-Medina, the Egyptian craftsman worked throughout the year on a ten-day week with one rest day. This was often supplemented by the celebration of many festivals of the gods, some lasting several days. The average workday comprised of a four-hour shift in the morning followed by lunch and a nap, then another four-hour shift; even then, absenteeism was not an uncommon event (Aldred, 1995:198). Because artists operated from workshops, and they did not own and had no control over their tools, it would have been difficult to produce freely and offer their products for sale or barter. Some private work is attested to in the Old Kingdom and late New Kingdom, where artists at Deir el Medina conducted business in their own time.

3.4. The Production Process

The artistic process was extremely compartmentalised and highly specialised. An artist was always part of a team, and never finished his work independently from beginning to end. Not one single artistic personality controlled the production process; rather several groups of artists working together according to predetermined conventions. Each member of the team was substantially skilled in one part of the production process through a complex division of labour. The “factory/assembly-line” approach not only increased the speed of production, but also raised the level of productivity. The custom of depositing two funerary papyri, the *Book of the Dead* and the *Amduat*-type papyri together with the deceased led to an increase in the production of funerary papyri, and the number of workshops producing them. The papyri were prepared anonymously in the Theban workshops of the funerary equipment, and offered for the clients’ choice. After the papyrus was purchased, the texts and legends in the vignettes were supplemented with the names and titles of the owner. It was usually at this stage when the etiquette was painted and attached to the border of the scroll. It is possible that where the name of the deceased appears to have been written at the same time as the entire text, the manuscript was custom-made by professional artists or by the owner. These were probably more expensive and are seldom composed of more than three scrolls.

Niwiński (1989a: 18) presumes that a number of patterns of the *Book of the Dead* and the *Amduat*-type papyri were presented for the clients’ choice. He does not exclude the possibility that the quantity and style of the vignettes, as well as specifications for using the *Book of the Dead* chapters, may have also been chosen by the client. There appears to be distinct preference for specific chapters, as well as the custom of recording them in the same sequence, which seems to be evidence of a conscious choice of the spells. It may have been the artist who produced the vignettes that

committed the scribe to write the specific sequence of spells. The client may also have decided on the selection of chapters, or the priest may have determined the choice, as they were educated on the *Book of the Dead* contents and their preferred sequence (Niwiński, 1989a: 22). Thus, it can be assumed that specific chapters that are encountered more often than others reflect theological trends, the clients' preferences or the range offered by the workshop.

Quirke & Spencer (1996: 98) maintain that the vignettes were executed in separate workshops to the texts. They base this assumption on the inconsistencies between the vignettes and the text, where the text version is often inaccurate, squeezed into blank available spaces without consideration for the vignettes.

During this period, the representations are of greater importance than the text, correspondingly, the proportion of vignettes to text are higher. The vignettes, therefore, take precedence over the text (Niwiński, 1989a: 43). The spells do not necessarily correspond to the vignettes and are often full of errors. It seems that two artists, or a scribe and an artist were involved in the execution of the papyri. It can be seen from pVienna ÄOS 3859 (**Fig. 18b**) that the preliminary representation was drafted first in red. The illustration was then corrected and outlined in black. The scribe would subsequently fill in the required spells. Winlock (1942: 196) notes this process in pMMA 30.3.31 (**Plate 17**) where the artist drew the illustrations first and then "boldly sketched in solid black characters and their titles", the text was then filled in possibly by an apprentice, "whose hand was far less sure and not entirely faultless".

The trend changed during the late 21st Dynasty in the hieratic papyri where the emphasis was laid once more on the text rather than the vignettes, and the text was executed first followed by the vignettes. Many of these papyri consist exclusively of text, and an analysis of handwriting compared to the vignettes leads one to believe that only one person created each papyrus (for example, the papyri from 6.6. - Papyri Workshop 6).

Because the stelae from the same workshops display similar content and format to each other, it can be safely construed that, as with papyri of the preceding dynasty, the workshops either copied or referred to pattern books or designs, which were determined by the theology of the period. Judging from the difference in handwriting, line, stroke pressure, etc, it appears that the *modus operandi* of the workshops had also not changed from the 21st Dynasty. From the lack of space allocated to the text and the difference between the painted and written text, it is not difficult to conclude that the

representation was created first. Lastly, a scribe added the mandatory offering formula and name of the deceased once the stela had been purchased.

The freedom of artistic choice depended on a variety of factors: the clients' position in the society, and their demands, the range of the patterns at the disposal of the workshop, the artist's own ability and creative inventiveness, and the character of the funerary papyri or stelae to be made.

4. Physical Features of the Papyri and Stelae

4.1. Materials and Construction

4.1.1. The Papyri

As mentioned earlier, the papyri were composed of rolls measuring between forty to forty-eight centimetres in height and up to four metres in length (**Fig. 18c**). A roll consisted of twenty sheets of about sixteen to twenty centimetres width each. The rolls could be halved or quartered, twenty to twenty-four centimetres being the average height of the 21st Dynasty papyri (Janssen, 1975: 448).

Due to the precarious economic situation, older papyri or their fragments were occasionally reused as funerary manuscripts; the older texts were erased and new texts painted on top. Occasionally sheets of differing height were directly joined together. Traditionally, only one side of the papyri with the fibres running horizontal, the recto, was used as the writing surface, and occasionally covered with a thin layer of whitewash, which constituted the rolled inside of the scroll. At times, the verso, the back of the scroll was used for writing (Niwiński, 1989a: 76). The manuscript customarily begins at the right-hand end, which was strengthened with a narrow strip of papyri about five to nine centimetres wide attached vertically to the edge.

It is probable that specialised craftsmen produced the etiquettes separately, which were then pasted on the edge of another papyrus containing the religious contents. On a few occasions, the etiquette has been found joined to an empty papyrus, which was more than likely intended to be filled with texts and interred in the tomb. In most cases, the problem of lack of space is encountered on papyri (Niwiński, 1989a: 89).

4.1.2. The Stelae

On a comparison between numbers of stone and wooden stelae found in the Late Period, there are an overwhelming number of wooden ones, leading one to conclude that the typical Late Period Theban funerary stelae are wooden (Munro, 1973: 6). Sycamore wood (*ficus sycamores*) appears to have been especially popular at this time. The material from which the stelae were constructed is significant in itself, according to Chapter 109 of the *Book of the Dead*; the sycamore tree has great funerary

and mythological significance. Twin sycamores of turquoise were believed to stand at the eastern gate of heaven from which Re emerged each day. Sycamore trees were often planted near tombs and models of the leaves were used as funerary amulets (Wilkinson, 1992: 117). The sycamore was also popular for its abundant shade. This attribute led the Egyptians to regard it as a tree deity, who would offer shade and cooling water to the deceased or their souls in the form of the *ba*-bird (Germer, 2001: 537). The deep regard in which the Egyptians held the sycamore is reflected in their mythology. One of the titles of Hathor was “Lady of the Sycamore”, and the numerous representations of Nut and Hathor as sycamores receiving offerings or suckling the deceased bear further witness to its importance (Brewer, et al, 1992: 53)

There are, however, several stelae constructed from limestone, for example, sBSAE 933 (**Plate 192**), sBerlin P. 24038 (**Plate 226**) and sLausanne EG 485 (**Plate 193**). The carving on the limestone stelae is in light incised relief, or in the case of sBSAE 933, painted directly onto the surface without the characteristic white ground.

The stelae are generally small in size; however, the dimensions are not standardized. The dimensions can vary considerably from 34.3 centimetres in height and 23.7 centimetres wide, to 17.1 centimetres in height and 14 centimetres wide, and average around 2.5 centimetres in diameter. However, the limestone stelae could be bigger (compare the stone stelae in 7.1. - Stelae Workshop 1).

If a large enough piece of wood was not available, the stelae were fashioned by joining vertical pieces of wood with internal pegs that were oriented horizontally, as was the case in sLeiden EG – ZM2 42 (**Plate 217**) (Van Wijngaarden, 1932:13). A brown ground, consisting of iron-rich clay, containing calcite similar in composition to the brown putty used in the construction of Third Intermediate Period coffins, was applied to the surface to make it even. A fine white ground, made from calcite and gypsum, was applied to the front and sides. The representation was then painted, followed by a layer of varnish, which was often applied to the surface (Berman, 1999: 261).

4.1.3. Colours

The colours contained within the papyri vary greatly between the manuscripts. In certain papyri, each vignette can be carefully painted in various colours, while in others the figures are outlined in black, often with red used as an accent. Approximately forty-five percent of the manuscripts contain brightly painted etiquettes, while the rest of the vignettes in the manuscript are outlined in black. More than fifty percent of the papyri in the study selection, especially the *Amduat* papyri, are monochrome rendered in black, or

contain two colours, mainly red and black (most of this type can be found in 6.6. Papyri Workshop 6, and 6.7. Papyri Workshop 7).

It appears that the manuscripts that have been brightly painted from the etiquette through to the last vignette belong to the early to middle period of the 21st Dynasty. This is in keeping with the Ramesside tradition of polychrome funerary papyri, for example, pBM 10472 (**Plate 8**), pBM 10541 (**Plate 4**), pSRVII 11488 (**Plate 3**), and pLouvre N. 6258 (**Plate 6**). pBM 10472 (**Fig. 56, Plate 8**) is unique in the use of gold leaf in the opening vignette.

Colour in the papyri of the late 21st Dynasty and early 22nd Dynasty is employed to a limited extent, and often only in the etiquettes; for example, pBM 10554 (**Plate 1**) is only outlined in black. The most commonly used colours include: black, white, red, green, blue, yellow and brown. Black is customarily used to outline the illustrations, and for writing the text. It is often used for the body of Anubis, the jackals, the scarabs, and the hair of the gods and deceased. White is used for most of the clothing of the deceased, and the mummified body of Osiris and Re-Horakhty, the white crown, the offering table and parts of the *heqa*-sceptre. Green can be used for foliage, such as trees, ivy, lettuce, leeks and parts of the lotus-flower, doors of tombs, the feathers of the ba-birds and falcons, and some of the clothing of the goddesses. Red is used to indicate stripes on banners, the bodies of several gods, such as Re-Horakhty, the sun disc, the bodies of rams, the red crown, fruit, vases, male skin colour, and various parts of decoration, for example, on the throne and the standards. Yellow is applied to colour the garments of certain gods, painted lines, and as a substitute for a gold colour.

In the stelae the colour usage generally continues in the papyri tradition. Black (carbon black) was used to paint the human-form body of Re-Horakhty, and Osiris. In sCairo 27.1.25.13 (**Plate 242**) the face of Re-Horakhty is painted green and his mummiform body is black. The hair, facial features and beards of the deceased are also painted black. Green was used to represent vegetation, such as the lotus flowers and vegetables. The shirts of the deities in human-form were painted green, as were the collars. The third layer of the wings of the winged sun disc was often painted in green. Red, from red ochre, was used to colour the sun disc. Male figures were also represented in red. The uraei, the wax perfume cone and sometimes the *was*-sceptres were also painted red. Pink was made from red ochre mixed with calcite and gypsum, and was often the colour of the earth. Blue was the colour used to paint the sky-glyph and the body of Nut. White was used essentially for the background, but in two instances, sBerlin P. 10258 (**Plate 263**) and sCairo RT 25.12.24.20 (**Plate 200**), the

background has been painted blue. White was also used to paint the garments of the gods and the deceased. Celestial bodies, such as the stars on the torso of Nut are also painted white, as can be seen in sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 (**Plate 206**). Yellow, consisting of orpiment or a mixture of orpiment and iron oxide, was used to paint the skin tone of the female deceased. It was also used in the altars, some of the sceptres, sections of the throne and can be used to replace the white on the clothing, and the white crown.

4.2. Representational Aspects

4.2.1. Design and Layout

Niwiński (1989a: 77) states that a well-composed manuscript was never decorated from edge to edge. The exposed edges, especially the ends were left blank, playing an important role in protecting the decorated part in the middle of the papyri. One or several bordering lines delineated space for the texts and vignettes from the top and bottom ends. The surface of the papyrus was divided into panels of various size and shape by means of vertical and horizontal lines. The artist then proceeded to fill it with texts and figures according to chosen patterns (Niwiński, 1989a: 83).

Niwiński (1989a: 81) has distinguished three types of compositions of funerary papyri of the 21st Dynasty:

- i. Vertical composition, occurring when the decorated surface of the papyrus is divided exclusively by means of vertical lines, separating particular scenes and columns of inscriptions (**Fig. 19a**).
- ii. Horizontal composition, where the major part of the decorated surface of the papyrus is divided into two registers by means of central horizontal lines (**Fig. 19b**).
- iii. Semi-horizontal composition, comprising of a varying combination of compositions i. and ii (**Fig. 19c**).

The bordering ornament at the beginning of the scroll around the etiquette is often coloured, while the inside of the scroll frequently proceeds without any colour, and is limited to parallel lines (Niwiński, 1989a: 19).

All the stelae are characterised by rounded tops, and a rectangular form. The lunette (top) is used to accommodate specific iconography, such as the winged sun disk. The surfaces of wooden funerary stelae are generally decorated from edge to edge, making the most of the limited space available. The background is typically painted white, extending to the sides and the lunette. It is not uncommon for some stelae to have another vignette painted on the reverse side, or an additional representation under the principal scene.

The stelae are characteristically brightly painted, and are normally covered with a thin layer of gesso plaster onto which only one initial vignette was executed. The representation depicts the deceased adoring a deity with an altar containing offerings between them, which constitute the primary content. The offering scene consists exclusively of the confrontation between the deceased and the deity, and all other elements are subordinated to it. The offering formula is reduced to a few short columns of generally cramped texts, and the symbols serve as protective imagery. The protective symbols help to unify the figures, in addition to framing and bracketing the scene, this works in arranging the elements of the stelae, and does not serve to partition the surface.

These stelae belong to the *Ganzbild* –type of the Third Intermediate Period, in which the main scene and text are integrated (Munro, 1973:11). The meaning of the *Ganzbild* stelae is projected through the representation, not the text. The basic formula for these single scene stelae is constantly repeated, but the way in which the individual elements are composed style, quality of workmanship all vary so that no two stelae are alike (Robins, 1997: 204). Here, the author has identified five compositional sub-groupings amongst the stelae of the 22nd Dynasty (**Fig. 20**):

- i. One plane of representation: the deceased standing on the right adores or offers to a deity, who is either seated or standing on the left. This constitutes the primary content and focus of the stelae. The scene takes up the entire pictorial surface resulting in the offering text being squeezed into the lunette.
- ii. Same compositional area as i. but the scene incorporates additional iconography. The lunette (top) is filled with protective symbols, such as the curved sky-sign, the *udjat*-eyes, and a winged sun disc, serving to break up the surface. Several columns of offering text are integrated between them and the main image, which still monopolises the majority of the surface area.
- iii. Two picture planes: the semi-circular lunette is completely separated from the main scene by a horizontal border, dividing the picture surface in two. This produces a rectangular composition for the main scene.
- iv. The compositional area is divided into three sections, the lunette, the main scene, and an additional secondary scene below normally representing the tomb and funerary garden, but can also consist of supplementary rows of text.

- v. The surface is divided into three planes, but the lunette consists entirely of offering text followed by the main scene located above supplementary rows of text.

The bordering ornament among the stelae can vary from rich iconographical representations, to a single linear border around the stelae, or to none at all.

4.2.2. The Use of Pattern Books/Model Papyri

It is still a matter of controversy among Egyptologists whether the various workshops possessed sets or books of texts and patterns of motifs. Niwiński (1989a: 23) suggests the existence of “thematic groups” of chapters of funerary papyri, which may have been recorded on separate prototype papyri; therefore, many small model papyri formed the prototype for the funerary papyri. It is probable that every Theban workshop producing funerary equipment possessed an entire collection of model papyri, onto which individual spells or groups of spells are recorded. Usually, only one chapter of the groups was copied, representing the entire series. From his study on the 21st Dynasty papyri, Niwiński (1989a: 43) also assumes that the pictorial compositions were generally preferred to textual ones.

For stelae, it appears that most of the workshops worked from a basic template, as the number of representational types during this time period is fairly limited.

4.3. The Etiquette and the Main scene

The initial representation, commonly referred to as the etiquette (**Fig. 21**), constitutes a substantial, although not repetitive element of the papyri from the 21st Dynasty (Niwiński, 1989a: 97). The scenes found in most of the etiquettes of the papyri are paralleled by corresponding representations on the wooden funerary stelae of the same period and later 22nd Dynasty (Daressy, 1900: 144; Niwiński, 1989a: 99). James (1985: 67) places these stylistically in the same category as the *Book of the Dead* papyri that contain only one initial vignette that conform to Niwiński's (1989a: 112 – 118) BD. 1.1 and 1.2 categories, and the stelae found with the 21st Dynasty burials are contemporary with the BD. 1.2 types.

The main function of the etiquette was to contain the name and titles of the deceased, and sometimes their parentage. It also played a parallel role as a substitute of the scene of adoration of the Great God by the deceased, and the recitation of a hymn, which had been represented in every New Kingdom private tomb. Berman (1999: 372) believes that the aim of the etiquette is to illustrate the purpose of the spells in the associated funerary texts. They would subsequently influence the transformation of the deceased into a viable spirit living in the afterlife.

The etiquette not only introduces the deceased to the judge of the dead, but also confirms that the written spells have yielded their desired result, and provisions for continued existence will be supplied for eternity. The representation of the deceased in the presence of one or more gods indicates that the deceased had been accepted by the gods and had been welcomed as one of them. It illustrates that the gods had become the deceased's acquaintances; and he or she could participate with the deities in their activities and share their privileges. The deceased was now also able to take part in the cosmic process, instead of being a mere spectator (Goff, 1979: 194). It may be for this reason that the deceased is very rarely portrayed with family members. The exceptions being pSRIV 952 (**Plate 33**), pBM 10541 (**Plate 4**), sBerlin 24038 (**Plate 226**), sChicago FM 31676 (**Plate 271**) and sBM 37899 (**Plate 239**) where the deceased are typically represented with another person who is presumed to be their spouse (four people are depicted in sChicago FM 31676).

Niwiński (1989a: 100) has also observed the occurrence of a second additional etiquette in the funerary manuscripts. These are usually placed on the left end of the manuscript and often echo the motif of the right-hand side, such as pBerlin P. 3153 (**Plate 31**) and pSRIV 999 (**Plate 66**), or in the case of pSRVII 11498 (**Plate 46**), consist of the figure of the deceased accompanied by a caption with his name and titles.

The quality of the etiquette and several of the first chapters are generally superior to the rest of the manuscript. The hieroglyphs can be very ornate and elaborate, suggestive of the style of the New Kingdom, which Niwiński (1989a: 92) asserts was a conscious attempt by the artists to emulate New Kingdom patterns.

As mentioned earlier, in many papyri, the etiquette is the only representation painted in colour, while the rest of the vignettes are outlined in black.

4.4. The Vignettes

Hornung (1999: 14) describes the vignette as a "symbolic representation summarising the intent or meaning of the spell in concise pictorial form that supports what is stated in the texts". During the reign of Thutmosis III (c. 1479 – 1425 B. C. E.), only a few spells were illustrated, thus only in certain circumstances, and for special emphasis, did the spells include a vignette. The opposite occurred during the Ramesside period (c. 1196 – 1070 B. C. E.) when only a few spells were not illustrated with a vignette. Consequently, the artists of the 21st Dynasty and the following Late Period (c. 712 – 332 B. C. E.) often used the vignettes as abbreviations for entire spells, which frequently appeared without the accompanying texts. In pLouvre N. 3069 (**Plate 118**) the representation of pseudo-texts, incomprehensible signs in several scenes

demonstrates that the artists felt there was little need to supplement the vignettes with words (Goff, 1979: 134).

Niwiński (1989a: 20) has developed the rule of *pars pro toto*, the principle of representation created by the ancient Egyptians for situations when the papyri was too short to contain many spells in their full text form and illustrated versions. Their solution was to use shortened versions of the texts, summaries of the spells and vignettes. These normally consisted of a few figures representing the entire spell series. An example can be observed in Fig. 22, the Four Baboons who sit in the barque of Re squat around the Lake of Fire from Chapter 126 of the Book of the Dead, this is followed by a representation of a human head emerging from a lotus, indicating Chapter 81a, with Chapter 87 beside it represented by a serpent with human legs. At times, illustrations of up to two or three *Book of the Dead* chapters can be found within one vignette. The current theory for this phenomenon is that the vignettes require less space than the text of the spell, resulting in a trend towards recording the vignette alone as a representation of one or more *Book of the Dead* spells. These fragments, abbreviations, and omissions therefore make up the “sum of elements that form a whole” (Niwiński, 1989a: 21), retaining their religious meaning and magical function.

Assuming Niwiński's *pars pro toto* rule to be true for the papyri, it may be put forward that the stelae are the extreme version of this rule. The stelae display all the essential elements required for a successful afterlife, just as the papyri do, however in a significantly abbreviated form. This premise would successfully tie Maspero's hypothesis of the stelae being a representation and expression of the tomb, and ultimately, the universe (Maspero, 1903: 23).

4.5. Pictorial Representation of Figural Types Within the Papyri and Stelae

A representative sample of figural depictions taken mainly from papyri containing etiquettes and figural illustrations from the early 21st Dynasty to the early 22nd Dynasty were compared in order to investigate the development of proportions to the figures depicted in the stelae. This comparison is based on Robins (1994a: passim) analysis of figural proportions. A thorough examination of the sample figures reveals that the artists generally did not conform to the system of proportions that were in use during the New Kingdom. It is, however, possible to gain an “ideal” figural type employed by the Egyptian artists, which varied from the early 21st Dynasty to the early 22nd Dynasty, and shall be described below.

4.5.1. Male and Female Forms

The figural forms of the early 21st Dynasty usually imitate those of the previous two dynasties. The rendering of male figures follows the New Kingdom tradition of being depicted in a generally feminised manner, with slender limbs, narrow shoulders, a relatively high small of the back, and no musculature. However, in the course of the early 21st Dynasty, the male form became taller and thinner. The level of the buttocks was raised, which caused the upper leg to be lengthened, and the knee was placed higher on the leg. The width across the shoulders was reduced, the upper arms became thinner, and the small of the back was placed higher on the torso. This can be seen in the representation of the owner in the etiquette of pBN 158-161 (**Fig. 23a, Plate 54**).

Feminisation of the male figure was enhanced further by the luxuriousness of their attire. Their clothing was composed of layers of loose-fitting pleated garments, which were gathered around the body in a fairly complex manner (Robins, 1994a: 255). The garments often consist of a pleated mid-calf length kilt, which was over-laid in the front by a billowing apron ending below the knee that was tied together by sashes. The chest and torso appear to be either bare or covered in a transparent fabric, often revealing the belly button. The sleeves are pleated, long, and flowing, terminating at the elbows. Another example of this can be seen in the attire worn in the etiquette of the pLouvre E. 17401 (**Fig. 23b, Plate 10**). This ensemble remained a constant element throughout the 21st Dynasty.

Female figures from the early 21st Dynasty also continue the slender New Kingdom traditions. Nevertheless, the feminine forms become more exaggerated in the representation of female proportions. The small of the back is raised higher, the shoulders narrowed, and the limbs become more slender. This style continues into the 21st Dynasty with the lower leg increasing in length, and the torso becoming shorter with extremely narrow waist and hips. The female figures moreover exhibit extremely thin ankles, for example, pBM 10490 (**Fig. 23c, Plate 9**).

The female attire consists of layered, pleated robes (common to both the 21st and 22nd Dynasties) and is less elaborate than the male dress. The garment is usually long, touching the floor, and the fabric is transparent, revealing the body beneath it. There are minor variations in the way the fabric was arranged around the figure. An example of this type of garment can be seen in the representation of the owner in pMMA 30.3.31 (**Fig. 23d**).

Both male and female figures are typically adorned with a broad collar and wear wide bands around their wrists.

A comparison of figural forms from this time reveal a general uniformity of proportions within the figures with regard to waist, shoulder and hip length, and buttocks and the small of the back. This trend was continued into the middle 21st Dynasty. There is not much variation in the representation of the male and female proportions from the early 21st Dynasty, as can be evidenced in the etiquettes of pSRVII 11493 (**Fig. 24a, Plate 13**) and pVienna ÄOS 3859 (**Fig. 24b, Plate 19**).

During the late 21st Dynasty, changes occur in the depiction of both the male and female figures, indicating a change in the concept of the “ideal” figure. The male figures are rendered according to a more masculine ideal in that the width of the shoulder, and waist increases, and the arms appear thicker. The small of the back and the buttocks are placed lower on the body, creating a longer torso, such as the figure of Pinudjem II in pBM 10793 (**Fig. 25a, Plate 23**). However, the musculature is still not indicated.

The female figures tend to exhibit a high waist, heavy buttocks and broad thighs, and the legs taper progressively towards the ankles. The breast is normally large, often drooping, and at times, rolls of fat are shown beneath. The figures do, however, still retain a very small waist, such as the owner of pLouvre N. 3280 (**Fig. 25b, Plate 141**). An additional garment-type can be observed in the female dress of this time. It is comprised of a long gown, hugging the curves of the body, worn with long sleeves or none at all. These are not transparent as with the contemporary transparent pleated gown, but conceal the entire body, for example, pSRIV 936 (**Fig. 25c, Plate 20**).

There is a marked difference in representation of the proportions of the figures of the 22nd Dynasty compared to those of the earlier 21st Dynasty. Female proportions become even heavier, with thicker arms and ankles. The hips become more curvaceous (e.g. **Plates 112 – 113**) although the small of the back is still very high and the waist is still narrow (a consistent feature throughout the two eras), for example, the pBM 10330 (**Fig. 26a, Plate 143**) and BM 10554 (**Fig. 26b, Plate 1**).

This predisposition is even more obvious in the figural forms on the stelae. Here, the female proportions are exaggerated further; the stomach becomes more defined, the level of the buttocks is lowered creating a longer slope between the small of the back, which is consistently high. The hips are greatly exaggerated, often curving into the stomach. There is much variation within the figures between the level of the knee, and the feet become enormous, supporting massive ankles, as can be seen in sTurin 1598 (**Fig. 27a**).

The male proportions exhibit more variation than those of the females, which may still adhere to a predetermined ideal. The border of the buttocks together with the

small of the back is generally lowered. This creates a longer torso, made wider by increased width in the shoulders. The placement of the knee varies from one stele to another. Thus, when compared to proportions of the late Old and Middle Kingdom, the stelae and some early 22nd Dynasty papyri seem to demonstrate deliberate archaism, with proportions being influenced by earlier models, for example, sAthens 198 (**Fig. 27b, Plate 257**).

The male figures wear an assortment of clothing, from variations of the elaborate pleated gowns to pleated wrap-around skirts, which reveal the leg up to the knee.

The poses depicted do not exhibit a great deal of variation from the papyri early 21st Dynasty to the majority of the stelae of the 22nd Dynasty (**Fig. 28**).

There does not appear to be any gender differentiation within the poses in the papyri etiquettes and stelae surveyed, typically both male and female deceased raise both hands in adoration, or offer libations to the god before them. However, anomalies do occur, in sBM 35896 (**Fig. 29a, Plate 234**) the deceased can be seen carrying offerings on his head, or sLouvre 3657 (**Fig. 29b, Plate 223**) and sCairo A. 9406 (**Plate 259**) the deceased is represented kneeling and playing his musical instrument. This is discussed further in 4. 6. 2. Iconography.

4.5.2. Deities

Throughout the two dynasties, figural forms of the gods were usually treated in a more conservative manner to that of the human forms. They retained much of their New Kingdom characteristics, especially in their dress consisting of a short kilt above the knee and tight-fitting corselet, or the ithyphallic mummiform figures. The human-form deity figures are normally adorned with a broad collar and wear arm, wrist, and ankle bands, which up until the Late Period are rare in representations of gods (Murray, 1970: 172). The proportions of the gods correspond to those of humans, even in the animal-headed figures, such as the ibis-headed figure of Thoth in pBM 10554 (**Fig. 30a, Plate 1**). Standing and seated mummiform figures are generally slender, exhibiting little modification between the two eras, as can be seen in pBN 158-161 (**Fig. 30b, Plate 54**). Artists of the 22nd Dynasty were not reticent in adopting "classical" poses, such as the striding human-form figure of Re-Horakhty, for example, sCairo RT 25.12.24 (**Fig. 30c, Plate 200**), which were fairly common on the stelae, and date back to the 17th Dynasty (Robins, 1994: 213).

Compositional value is retained in the etiquettes from the papyri and stelae, as the owners of the papyri or stelae and the deity depicted share the same hairline level. The figures of the gods and humans are often drawn on the same scale. The seated

ithyphallic mummiform figure is normally raised above the main baseline of the scene upon a dais of varying height and construction, for example, sOIM 1351 (**Fig. 30d, Plate 215**). Traditionally, this figure was depicted as a cult statue and, therefore, stands on a statue base. It can be observed from both periods, that where the deceased faces this sort of figure, both hairlines are on the same level, but they are standing on different baselines.

4.6. Iconography

The iconography of the 21st and 22nd Dynasty typically forms a direct continuation of New Kingdom traditions. The iconography employed in the papyri, and to a certain extent, the stelae, was not standardised into rigid patterns; they could be manipulated and customised to meet the individual needs of the deceased, the use of which, Goff (1979: 136) relates to the lack of a strong central authority. Therefore, during the 21st Dynasty, it was employed with absolute lack of restriction and leaves no impression of being confined to canonical traditions.

4.6.1 Iconography of the Papyri

4.6.1.1. The Etiquette

The majority of the papyri in the study selection contain an etiquette or sub-etiquette; however, this does not appear to have been considered an essential part of the funerary literature since many papyri do not contain an etiquette.

The deceased is always depicted in the etiquette, and is either portrayed together with a deity or alone. The most frequently encountered scene in the papyri portrays the deceased in the company of one or more gods (Goff, 1979: 194). Second to this, is the deceased partaking in the cosmic process (discussed under 4. 6. 1. 2. Vignettes, below). In pSRVII 10243 (**Plate 161**), the representation of the deceased has been replaced by her *ba*-bird, who holds up both hands in adoration, and in pSRVII 11506 (**Plate 74**) the deceased is represented together with his *ba*-bird adoring the deity. These representations demonstrate the pride of the owner, where they have been accepted by the gods and been welcomed as one of them.

The most popular motifs in the etiquettes are those of libation and offering, followed by scenes of adoration. In the libation and offering scenes, the deceased is typically depicted pouring with their left hand, and offering or censuring with their right. However, the order can be reversed as in pLouvre N. 3069 (**Fig. 31, Plate 118**), where the deceased offers a bunch of leeks in the left hand and libates or holds an *ankh*-sign in the right (**Fig. 35b**). The offering can also be presented with both hands.

The adoration scene comprises of the deceased holding up both hands before the god in the *dua*-gesture of adoration (**Fig. 32**). This represents the attitude of praise, adoration, worship and respect towards the gods (Wilkinson, 1992: 29).

Other gestures are also attested to, for example, in pSRIV 952 (**Plate 33**) and pBM 10472 (**Fig. 33**), the deceased's wife holds up a sistrum before the deity. Not only was the sound considered symbolically significant, but also the shape and decoration relate it to the divine. The upper section of this type of sistrum (*sesheshet*) is in the shape of a sanctuary or doors, across which metal rods are placed. The handle is decorated with the head of Hathor, and the pair of volutes flanking the door is shaped like the cow horns of the goddess. It was believed that it appeased and pacified any deity, male or female, based on the myth of the Solar Eye. According to this myth, Hathor as the daughter of Re, is pacified by music and dance (Manniche, 2001: 292 – 293).

The owner of pSRVII 11485/11573 (**Plate 28**) is represented passively with both hands at her sides, being offered life in the form of an *ankh*-sign by Osiris.

The scenes of the deceased being introduced by a divinity before the throne of Osiris are reminiscent of the vignettes from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* (Niwiński, 1989a: 102). Isis presents the deceased from pLuxor J 24 to an enshrined Osiris (**Fig. 34b**), and raises her left hand in adoration. In pLouvre E. 17401 (**Plate 10**), pBM 9932, and pFitzwilliam E. 92.1904, the sub-etiquette consists of the deceased standing before a scene of Chapter 125. In the sub-etiquette of pLouvre E. 17401, the deceased holds up a feather of *ma'at* in each hand, indicating his aspirations for a positive judgment in the court of Osiris. Other *Book of the Dead* chapters appearing in the sub-etiquettes include Chapter 145, which can be seen in pSRVII 10249 (**Plate 52**), Chapter 15 in pBM 10472 (**Plate 8**), pBM 10010 (**Figs. 57, 59**) and pLouvre N. 3293 (**Plate 47**), and Chapter 161 in pCMA 1921.1032 (**Plate 51**). In the latter (**Fig. 34a**), the deceased makes the *nis*- (summoning) gesture. Brunner-Traut (1977: 579) describes this as one of a series of speech gestures, which indicates an emphatic call or shout. The pose typically consists of a raised arm to the shoulder with the forearm and palm turned upwards.

A double etiquette was sometimes included in the papyrus, for example, pLeiden R. A. 58 (**Plate 24**), pBM 10330 (**Plates 143 & 158**) and pBM 10490 (**Plate 9**). Niwiński (1989a: 100) believes that this was an attempt to reconcile the Osirian and solar attributes of the great god.

In many papyri, the top of the etiquette can be bordered by a sky-sign held up by was-sceptres, or enclosed within an *uraei*-topped shrine, or framed by a painted line. In certain instances, a door leaf divides the etiquette from the rest of the manuscript. This may signify protection, and the transition to the after-world (**Figs. 35a – c**) (Wilkinson, 1992: 147)

In most of the scenes, the deceased is depicted in a standing pose, but in a few papyri, especially those that Niwiński (1989a: 192 – 197) has categorised as the type, A.III.1a from 6.4. Papyri Workshop 4, the deceased are depicted kneeling and offering their hearts (**Plates 19, 106 – 113**). The deceased is typically depicted the same size as the deity, but an exception can be seen in pVM 54-10 (**Plate 119**), where the deceased is drawn at least double the size of the enthroned Osiris and Thoth.

4.6.1.2. The Vignettes

While the etiquette announces the deceased to the gods, the vignettes communicate the owner's intentions. The complexity of the iconography in the vignettes reveals the expression of the aspirations of the deceased in their quest for an afterlife. Thus, the focus of all the papyri is the continuation of life after death, and on the gods who will support the deceased after death (Goff, 1979: 34). All these symbolic conceptions serve to illustrate the one theme of the never-ending cycle of descent into death for the ascent into renewed life (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 49).

The Egyptians believed that life and death were irreconcilable opposites that worked together to bring about eternal life. Neither situation prevails as they alternate, thereby bringing each other into being. This circuit came to be viewed as everlasting and self-regenerative life, or absolute and divine life, which was an eternally recurring divine act of creation. In the same way that the day rises out of the night, and the night out of the day, they believed that this was made possible through a mysterious co-operation where one half takes refuge in the other without being destroyed. The two points where these forces meet and combine are geographically located at the eastern and western horizons, named the Mountains of *Manu* and *Bakhu* (**Fig. 36**). Thus, the fundamental motif depicted in the papyri is that of the perpetually recurring cycle of the sun god. The illustrations depict his emergence from the watery abyss at dawn, his descent in the Western mountains, his journey through the nocturnal regions, his regeneration from the horizon of the Eastern mountains, and his re-ascent back into the vault of the heavens (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 29). A variant of this motif is represented in the terminal scene of pSRVII 10257 (**Plate 123**). The Hathor cow and the mountain with the deity holding the disk and the recumbent jackal with the flail (**Fig. 37a**) represent the descent

into the netherworld (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 40). In pSRVII 10231 (**Plate 72**) and pSRVII 10235 (**Figs. 37b – c, Plate 151,**), two mummies reclining in the curves of the mountain serve to illustrate the cosmic cycle (albeit in a highly abbreviated form). This image suggests the entrance into the netherworld and the subsequent resurrection of the deceased (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 36). The scarab and the ram-headed solar deity enclosed within the disk are represented on pSRVII 10231 (**Fig. 37b, Plate 72**), where the mummies receive revivifying rays. An unusual variation of the cycle can be seen in pVienna ÄOS 3859 (**Fig. 37d, Plate 19**). Here, the entire circuit is symbolised by two deities who alternately function to lower and raise the disk, this is emphasised by a falcon standing on a standard of the East on the right, representing the rising sun, and a falcon on the standard of the West, representing the setting sun (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 38). The horizon with the disk of Khepri from pSRVII 10256 (**Fig. 37e, Plate 115**) denotes a highly synthesised version of this concept.

The primary significance of these scenes is two-fold: to show the deceased in the company of the sun god so they can be identified with him; and they can reveal the mystery of the great god to the deceased. Since the deceased is also identified with Osiris, the main themes from his cycle of death to resurrection are depicted by representations of the embalming and mortuary ceremonies, such as Chapter 126 of the *Book of the Dead*, the purification in the Lake of Fire (**Fig. 38**), and Anubis bending over the mummy of the deceased on the lion-shaped couch (**Fig. 39**). These ultimately indicate the resurrection of the deceased, which can be observed by the figure of Osiris rising from the lion-couch (**Figs. 40a – b**) and the revivification of the deceased by the solar rays (**Fig. 41a**). Clark (1960: 253) notes that the latter scene depicts the journey of the sun through the Underworld, and illuminates the deceased lying in the tomb, who is at the same time Osiris in the Underworld. The revivification theme is carried over into the stelae, for example, in sLouvre E. 52 (**Fig. 41b, Plate 207a**); the life-giving rays are represented as lotus-blossoms emanating from the sun disk. The representation is similar to the Aten administering life from the Amarna Period.

The ultimate stage of rebirth is represented by Osiris enthroned upon the Double Stairway (**Fig. 42**), Piankoff & Rambova (1957: 59) believe that this motif probably illustrates a description of Osiris from Chapter 1 of the *Book of the Dead*:

*"I am purified in Busiris, the Elevated One, He is in the High Ground.
I am the Great God in Abydos on the day of Elevating the Earth".*

A major cause for fear in the 21st Dynasty was the assessment of the life of the deceased to determine eligibility for the afterlife. Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*

(Fig. 43a) played a protective role in the judgment of the deceased with the confession of innocence by the deceased of all his or her sins. The representation of a heart-shaped scarab amulet containing Chapter 30B (Fig. 43b) of the *Book of the Dead* furthermore protected the deceased's heart from bearing witness against him or her.

" O My heart which I had from my mother! O my heart which I had from my mother! O my heart of my different ages! Do not stand up as a witness against me, do not be opposed to me in the tribunal, do not be hostile to me in the presence of the Keeper of the Balance, for you are my ka which was in my body, the protector who made my members hale. Go forth to the happy place whereto we speed; do not make my name stink to the Entourage who make men. Do not tell lies about me in the presence of the god; it is indeed well that you should hear!..." (Faulkner & Andrews, 1985: 27 – 28)

Goff (1979: 168) has identified six sections that make up the Judgement scene:

- i. The deceased inspects the scene from a distance
- ii. He or she stands before a baboon crouching on a chest
- iii. They reach the scales that are to weigh their hearts against the feather of *Ma'at*
- iv. They recite Chapter 30B of the *Book of the Dead*
- v. They recite the negative confession before the forty-two Judges of the Netherworld
- vi. They reach the throne of Osiris

Five of these sections are found in pLouvre N. 3292 (Plate 63).

4.6.1.3. Deities

In the papyri study selection, the deceased typically stand before either Osiris or Re-Horakhty, the exceptions being pBM 10490 (Plate 9) and pAMS R. A. 58 (Plate 24) where both gods are depicted. In both manuscripts, Re-Horakhty is depicted human-form and Osiris is mummiform.

The most popular choice of funerary deities of the 21st Dynasty is Osiris. This attests to the importance placed on Osiris as a symbol of rebirth and the lord of the underworld during the 21st Dynasty. Osiris is typically represented mummiform, although in a few cases he is shown human-form. He is generally depicted enthroned upon a dais in the shape of a *ma'at* -hieroglyph, clutching a combination of the *heqa*-sceptre, flail and *was*-sceptre (Figs. 44a – b). These can either be held out in front of him in profile or shown frontally in crossed arms. In the papyri, he is depicted wearing a variety of crowns

(Fig. 45), either the white crown (Plates 12, 21, 22, 28), the *atef*-crown (Plates 8, 46, 48, 49 – the stairway scene), or the *nemes*-headdress combined with the sun disc (Plates 6 & 158).

Re-Horakhty is represented either human-form in a striding position (Fig. 30c), or mummiform and seated upon a throne on the *ma'at*-shaped dais or a mat-shaped platform (Fig. 30d). He is customarily shown wearing the *uraeus*-encircled sun disc, but in some papyri he wears other types of crown such as the horned *atef*-crown, and carries the same symbols of power as Osiris (Plates 114 & 115).

Several papyri contain representations of Isis, Nephthys, Hathor, *Ma'at* and Thoth, for example: pSRVII 10240 (Plate 12), pSRVII 11493 (Plate 13), pSRVII 11496 (Plate 14), SRVII 11501 (Plate 48), pAMS R. A. 58 (Plate 24) and BM 10008 (Plate 16), etc. They are typically shown in standing in human-form. The goddesses are often represented standing behind Osiris or Re-Horakhty, and sometimes behind the deceased. Often, more than one goddess is shown in a varying combination of Isis and Nephthys, or Hathor and Nephthys behind Osiris or Re-Horakhty. In pSRIV 979 (Plate 34), pSRVII 11501 (Plate 48), and pLouvre N. 6258 (Plate 6), the goddesses take on a protective function of embracing Osiris with winged arms. In pSRVII 10234 (Plate 122), the representation of the goddesses is substituted by a personified *ankh*-sign standing behind the throne of Osiris, holding an open fan/sunshade in the shape of a lotus. The open fan is generally believed to signify the holiness of the divine image, in this case, Osiris, it is also specifically used a symbol of the divine shade or shadow. The shade was understood to imbue the image with divine power and strength (Bell, 1985: 33 – 34).

4.6.1.4. Inscriptions

The captions of texts that accompanied the etiquette are generally written in vertical columns of ornamental hieroglyphs, even if the rest of the manuscript is in hieratic. This is typically placed above or between the figures. The text serves to identify the deceased by mentioning their names, titles and often, their parentage. When an etiquette is missing, the manuscript often remains anonymous. A short offering formula is often included, as well as captions naming the deity and their epithets.

4.6.2. Iconography of the Stelae

Specific areas of the stelae were reserved for particular iconography, which were typically adapted to the shape of the stelae. Three areas have been identified in this regard by Abdalla (1992: 99): the lunette, the principal scene and in a few cases, the bottom (third) register.

4.6.2.1. The Lunette

Iconography within the lunette does not appear to be an essential element of the stelae, and it is not unusual for a block of text containing the offering formula and name of the deceased to replace the imagery, such as in sPetrie UC 14695 (**Plate 240**).

On the majority of the stelae, the top of the lunette is framed by a curved sky-glyph. A representation of a winged solar disc, typically with two uraei, is usually placed beneath it (**Fig. 46**), although in some stelae, only the solar disc with the two uraei is represented. The winged solar disc was generally held to be a symbol of power. From the Middle Kingdom onwards, it was believed that when the king died he was reunited with the solar disc. During the 21st Dynasty this prerogative was usurped by private citizens who expected to receive the same distinction. Thus, the representation of the disc indicates the deceased's aspirations for identification with the disc and "for royal honours the symbol is a status symbol assuring prestige after death" (Goff, 1979: 251 – 253). In the 21st and 22nd Dynasty, the winged disc, the solar disc without the wings, falcons, and falcon-headed figures are labelled "the Behediti" (Goff, 1979: 249).

The uraei either flank the disc on the side or hang like a pendent below the disc. According to Abdalla (1992: 99), the two uraei are the instruments of terror by which Horus-Behedty overwhelms his enemies. In a few cases, the uraei are shown wearing the white and red crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt (**Fig. 47a**). Several uraei are depicted with *ankh*-signs around their necks (**Fig. 47b**).

The space below the winged sun disk is generally occupied by two *udjat*-eyes, with various groupings of hieroglyphs, a *nfr*-sign, or a scarab between the eyes (**Figs. 13d – e, 48a – b**). Several stelae contain a combination of the *shen*-sign, the water *mw*-sign, and a cup/pot-sign, or the cup by itself (**Figs. 13d, 48a**). The *shen*-sign is used in many of the stelae, it symbolises the all-embracing circuit of the sun and may even represent the sun itself. In tomb representations and stelae, the *shen*-sign is commonly placed between the two *udjat*-eyes corresponding to the midpoint of the cycle between the west (the right eye) and the east (the left eye) (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 36). The *shen*-sign may be associated with eternity and protection; a connotation often associated with the protection afforded by the falcon-god, Horus (Wilkinson, 1992: 193). Directly beneath it, the water-ripple symbolically repeats the act of libation performed by man, while the bowl below implies an offering of incense or food, thus completing the cultic act towards the god. It is possible that the *mw*-sign and the cup/pot are connected to the use of water for ritual purification of the deceased, whereby they were magically revived (Abdalla, 1997: 100).

Thus, the symbols of sky, water, and sun create a microcosm of earth, where the proper offerings and reverence to the god are observed. In addition, the sacred *udjat*-eyes of Horus represent physical prosperity and perfection, themes echoed by the was-sceptres on the sides (**Fig. 52a**), themselves denoting well-being. The hopes of the deceased for protection and continued well-being are thus symbolically represented (D'Auria, 1988: 165 – 166).

On a few stelae, two recumbent jackals with Osirian attributes, such as the *sekhem*-sceptre between their forelegs and a flail (Wilkinson, 1992: 65), have replaced the *udjat*-eyes (**Fig. 13e**). These jackals are usually arranged symmetrically facing each other and are typically placed on a pedestal symbolic of the tomb he is guarding (Wilkinson, 1992: 65). Abdalla (1992: 99) believes that these jackals probably indicate the authority and power of Anubis over the dead.

In two stelae, sMMA 28. 3.35 (**Fig. 49a, Plate 229**) and sBologna KS 1953 (**Fig. 49b, Plate 227**), the lunette is filled with a representation of a boat containing the sun disc. These boats represent the celestial journey of the sun. In sBologna KS 1953, the *akhet*-sign consisting of a sun disc between two peaks of the mountain glyph is placed in the centre of the boat preceded by the *shemset*- (follower) sign (**Fig. 49b**). This concept of the horizon embraces the idea of both sunrise and sunset (Wilkinson, 1992: 135). The *shemset*-sign may also allude to the presence of the deceased aboard the barque, participating in the cosmic cycle (Wilkinson, 1992: 187). These representations are very similar to the solar barque imagery used in the 21st Dynasty funerary papyri (**Figs. 50a – b**).

Another image appropriated from 21st Dynasty motifs is the arched form of Nut, whose body frames the sides and curved lunette of a few stelae (**Fig. 51a**). This motif implies the beginning of a new cycle, the birth of a New World after the eastern resurrection and the re-ascent back into the watery abyss (**Fig. 51b**). In both sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 (**Plate 206**) and sLouvre E52 (verso) (**Fig. 51a, Plate 207b**), the nocturnal journey of the sun is represented by a sun disc placed at Nut's mouth on her right, another in the middle of her star-studded torso, and one more at her pubic area representing the birth of the new day.

In sMMA 22.3.33 (recto) (**Plate 210a**), the lunette is decorated with an unusual motif of an outstretched falcon, gripping two *shen*-signs in his claws, flanked by two *udjat*-eyes. This image may allude to the protective qualities of the falcon and the endurance of the deceased in the afterlife.

4.6.2.2. The Main Scene

The main scene, where the deceased appears before a deity is always represented, regardless of whether the stele contains a lunette decoration or not.

The majority of the stelae consists of one plane of representation, and is not physically separated from the lunette by a border or elongated *pt*- (sky) glyph. Most of the stelae are framed on the sides by either two elongated *was*-sceptres (**Fig. 52a**) or the standards of the East and West (**Fig. 52b**). However, other frames can include two door leaves (**Fig. 52c**), or parallel painted lines. The sides of sLouvre E 52 (recto) (**Plate 207a**) are bordered by two heraldic symbols emerging from a man's head, on the right is the lotus symbolising Upper Egypt and on the left is the papyrus plant representing Lower Egypt. The selection of iconography for the edging at the sides appears to be personal choice, and was not considered an essential feature, as many stelae do not contain a border.

The figures are placed on a clearly defined baseline. Most of these consist of painted bands of horizontal lines, with some painted pink to represent the earth (or rose-coloured granite). It is not unusual for the deceased to be depicted on the same baseline as the deity, but in many occasions the god is either seated or standing on a raised dais often in the form of a *ma'at*-sign (e.g. **Plates 185, 212, 214**), a mat (e.g. **Plates 186, 215, 246**), or earth-glyph (e.g. **Plates 231, 234, 235a**), or a combination of the three as (e.g. **Plates 208, 221, 232**).

Abdalla (1992: 101) has classified the main scene according to the manner in which the deceased is depicted:

- i. Adoration scene
- ii. Libation and offering scenes
- iii. Standing without gesture
- iv. Presentation scene
- v. Anomalous scenes

The adoration scene makes up the largest group, almost three quarters of the study selection. Typically, the deceased is shown in profile with both arms outstretched in the traditional *dua*-gesture of adoration (Wilkinson, 1992: 29), such as sBSAe 933 (**Plate 192**), sBerlin 24038 (**Plate 226**) and sCMA 1921.1028 (**Plate 245**).

Approximately one quarter of stelae owners preferred to have themselves depicted burning incense, libating or offering to the deity. In the libation scenes, the libation is poured with the left hand, while the right is either held up in adoration, or extending the offering. In sBerlin 10258 (**Plate 263**), the deceased pours the libation on

the altar with his left hand and censes with an elongated offering stick in his right. The use of this instrument can be seen in a depiction in the tomb of Ramses III, 20th Dynasty (**Fig. 53**). In several stelae, the deceased offer a jar with both hands to the deity (**Fig. 54**). Two unusual offerings can be seen in sBM 66421 (**Plate 220**) and sBM 35896 (**Plate 234**). In the former, the deceased dressed in priestly garb, offers a small seated figure of *Ma'at* to Re-Horakhty with his left hand; and in the latter, the owner balances a plate of offerings topped with a crescent on his head with his right hand, and holds a censer with the other.

Scenes i and ii appear to be the most popular choices with the 22nd Dynasty stelae owners.

Two stelae, sBM 65354 (verso) (**Plate 267a**) and sBM 8449 (**Plate 262**), contain representations of the deceased with their arms at their sides. Only one stele contains a presentation scene. In sMMA 22.3.33 (recto) (**Plate 210a**), Anubis leads the deceased towards Re-Horakhty. Anubis holds the left hand of the deceased with his right hand and makes the *nis*- or summoning gesture to Re-Horakhty, maybe implying the priestly function of serving the deity, or the act of rejoicing (Wilkinson, 1992: 25). In her right hand, the deceased offers her heart to Re-Horakhty. This scene may allude to the presentation scene of Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*. In sMMA 22.3.33 (verso) (**Plate 210b**), the deceased (seated on the left) and her husband (facing opposite her on the right) both drink from two libation vases being poured by the tree goddess facing the front. This scene may allude to Chapters 58, 59 or 63a of the *Book of the Dead*. This stele also illustrates that more than one deity can be represented with the representation of Re-Horakhty and Anubis on the recto and the tree goddess in the verso.

As mentioned earlier, a double etiquette was sometimes included in the papyrus, that Niwiński (1989a: 100) believes was an attempt to reconcile the Osirian and solar attributes of the great god. A similar concept may be observed in sLouvre E. 52 (**Plate 207a – b**). The deceased stands adoring Re-Horakhty on the recto, and Osiris on the verso.

An anomalous scene can be seen in sCairo A 9406 (**Plate 259**) and sLouvre N 3657 (**Plate 223**), where both the deceased are represented playing the harp before Re-Horakhty.

It is also not unusual for more than two people, other than the deity and the deceased to be represented. In sBM 37899 (**Plate 239**) and sBerlin 24038 (**Plate 226**), two people, male and female, possibly a married couple, stand in adoration before an enthroned Re-Horakhty. In both cases, the male figure precedes the female. In sAthens

199 (**Plate 198**), a goddess crowned with a sun disc, stands behind a striding Re-Horakhty. Two goddesses are present in sCairo A. 9449 (**Plate 199**), a goddess with the feather of *Ma'at* on her head, embraces the deceased who stands in adoration before Re-Horakhty. Behind him stands another goddess with "Lady of the West" in hieroglyphs above her head.

The offering table is an essential part of the main scene. It is always depicted in the traditional form, tall and terminating in a bell-shaped stand at the bottom. It can either be represented overflowing with lavish offerings (**Fig. 55a**), such as wine, beer, loaves of bread, vegetables, fruits, dressed fowl, various cuts of meats and is usually topped by a bunch of lotus flowers, or can comprise of only the offering table topped by a single lotus flower (**Fig. 55b**). sCairo 27.1.25.13 (**Plate 242**), sBM 8484 (**Plate 190**), sLouvre 5789 (**Plate 252**) and sZagreb 567 (**Plate 254**) contain a representation of the *imyut*-symbol in front of the deity. This motif was commonly used in reference to Anubis in the papyri of the 21st Dynasty.

4.6.2.3. The Third/Bottom Register

Several stelae contain an additional third register (identified in 4.2.1. Design and Layout, as stelae compositional types iv and v, **Fig. 20**). This is typically located at the bottom of the stelae, and can consist of lines of supplementary text, or a funerary scene. sCairo RT. 25.12.24 (**Fig. 138a, Plate 200**) contains a scene depicting the cliffs of the necropolis, the pyramidion-shaped chapel, a mourning woman, and the garden of sycamore and date palms where the deceased would find shade and nourishment. Another version of this concept can be found in sTurin 1598 (**Fig. 146, Plate 253**). On sLouvre N 5789 (**Plate 252**), the bottom register consists of an alternating series of *ankh*-signs, *djed*-columns and *tjet*-motifs.

4.6.2.4. Deities

The deities commonly depicted are Re-Horakhty and Osiris. Anubis and Thoth are also attested to. Several goddesses such as Isis, the tree goddess, the snake-headed goddess and *Ma'at* can also be seen. And, as mentioned earlier, the figure of Nut was used on several occasions to adorn the outer edges of the stelae.

The representation of Re-Horakhty is by far the most popular deity in this study selection; an overwhelming majority of the stelae contain his image, attesting to the importance of this god in the 22nd Dynasty compared to that of Osiris of the 21st Dynasty. Re-Horakhty is typically drawn mummiform and seated on a throne (**Fig. 30d**), or standing, however he can be human-form with his right foot forward. He is always represented with a large disc upon his head, which is encircled by a *ureaus*.

Osiris is customarily represented as a mummy, although in sLouvre E 52 (**Plate 207b**), he is human-form in a striding position, and is usually depicted wearing the white crown.

The deity is always represented as a right-facing figure placed on the left side of the scene (from the observer's point of view) indicating the dominant position. The deceased always stands on the right, facing left. The placing of the figures indicates a hierarchical ranking of the deity over the human, as the right side was always considered the dominant side (Robins, 1994b: 33).

Both deities are represented holding the same *heqa*-sceptre, flail and was-sceptre. When mummiform, the attire is typically covered with crosshatched lines to represent the mummy wrappings, and when human-form, both gods wear a short knee-high kilt.

4.6.2.5. Inscriptions

All the stelae contain an inscription. These are typically written in ornamental hieroglyphs, which are normally painted in a darker colour onto a lighter coloured base that is traditionally a different colour to the stelae background.

Two types of invocation formulae were customarily used on the stelae. The first type, the *htp di nsw*-prayer invokes the use of the king as an intermediary, and the invocation typically commences with:

"An offering, which the king gives to Re-Horakhty, the Great God, Lord of Heaven. May He give invocation offerings to N..."

The second type, the *dd-in*-prayer is typically shorter and begins with the phrase:

"Words spoken by Re-Horakhty, Great God (or Lord of Heaven). May he give invocation offerings to N..."

5. Dating

There are several ways in which the approximate date for the manuscripts and stelae can be deduced. They can be dated with relative certainty if they, or elements of their accompanying funerary ensembles contain inscriptions that associate the deceased directly with a specific monarch or member of the clergy. The majority of these inscriptions are found on the leather mummy-braces and pendants that were placed around the neck of the deceased, and on portions of the linen wrappings, "inscription epigraphs" (Taylor, 2003: 96). The inscriptions on the mummy-braces and pendants contain text that includes the name and year of the current regent or the high priest of Amun. These are especially important as they relay the date of the burial to a specific

point on time, which can be dated within a small margin of error. Occasionally, a pharaoh and high priest are mentioned together, allowing an even closer date. This type of evidence is quite profuse in the 21st Dynasty, but is less common in the 22nd Dynasty.

Genealogical data offers a further method of dating the papyri and stelae. Several manuscripts also contain genealogies from which a relative date can be worked out, and offers an estimate of the date of the deceased's burial. The stelae sometimes also contain the names of the deceased's parents, infrequently their grandparents, which can aid to a limited extent in the dating process. However, with the exception of the first method, there is no absolutely undisputable manner in which a manuscript or stelae may be dated.

Niwiński (1989a: 14) believes that a detailed examination of the ensemble of the formal elements of the papyrus, such as the height of the scroll, the type of bordering pattern, the arrangement of the dividing lines on the papyrus surface, the number and density of the illustrating vignettes, and the colours used, can be of great importance for the dating of the funerary manuscripts.

These criteria, in conjunction with an analysis of the type and style of the coffin that accompanied the papyrus or stelae, can provide information as to the approximate date. For example, the yellow coffins of the 21st Dynasty and the white coffins of the 22nd Dynasty. Often the burial technique can play a leading role in determining a date, for example, 22nd Dynasty Theban mummies were often covered with a layer of resin, which has turned black over the years.

An examination of the iconographic repertoire, such as the increasing profusion of royal imagery in non-royal papyri (**Figs. 40a – b**), and the synthesis of these motifs into endless variations of the same theme all point to a date within the 21st or 22nd Dynasty.

An analysis of physical aspects of the papyri such as the style of execution and clothing can be misleading, often pointing to an earlier date, especially with the papyri of the early and middle 21st Dynasty, whose creators followed traditional Ramesside patterns. However, the conjunction of style and quality of execution, and religious content can allow for an approximation of a date.

The stelae do not typically contain inscriptions mentioning definite dates; they can only be dated with certainty if their ensembles contain date-specific information. However, their typology and style is peculiar to the 22nd Dynasty, which makes an approximate date possible.

Section 2: Papyri and Stelae Workshops in the 21st and 22nd Dynasty

6. The Papyri Workshops

The papyri examined in this study are categorised according to similarities in their style and iconography and content, based on a combination of the model of comparison developed by Freed (1996: passim) and Niwiński (1989a: passim). The papyri that exhibit significant common elements are regarded as being manufactured in the same workshop. However, the papyri in any of the workshops under discussion may show considerable variation, and it can be seen that most of the papyri do not contain all of the distinctive characteristics. To a large extent, 6.4. - Papyri Workshop 4 – Analogous Kneeling Figures, has proven to be the exception.

Each papyri workshop has been numbered chronologically to approximately the earliest date it was deemed to have been in production, and as with Freed's model given a name based on its most characteristic feature, for example, 6.1. - Papyri Workshop 1 – Classical, Affluent. However, some overlapping of production time does occur. Several of the papyri workshops span numerous decades, and consequently the members from each group have been placed in an estimated chronological order based upon the approximate dates defined by Niwiński (1989a: passim).

The Daressy Number refers to the number given by Daressy to the funerary ensemble of the cache at Deir el-Bahari, in many cases the numbers have been used to match pairs of papyri belonging to the same owner, which are typically the products of the same workshop. The acronym, "RC" in the Daressy Number category indicates the papyri that were found in the Royal Cache.

Photographs of representative examples from each workshop have also been included. The plates have been numbered according to the stylistic groupings that have been observed, and in the order that they were mentioned in the text.

6.1. Papyri Workshop 1 – Classical, Affluent

6.1.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Early 21 st Dynasty	pSRIV 955	<i>Hn(w)t-t3wy</i>	RC
	pSRIV 980 (Figs. 60, 74)	<i>M3^ct-K3-R^c</i>	RC
	pSRVII 11488 (Plate 3)	<i>P3-nqm I</i>	RC
	pBM 10490 (Plate 9, Fig. 23c)	<i>Nqmt</i>	-

	pMMA 30.3.31 (Plate 17, Figs. 23d, 64, 67b)	<i>N3-y</i>	-
	pMMA 30.3.32 (Plate 32)	<i>N3-y</i>	-
	pLouvre N. 6258 (Plate 6)	<i>Ndmt</i> and <i>Hry-hr</i>	-
Early/Middle 21 st Dynasty	pBerlin P. 3153 (Plate 31, Fig. 19a)	<i>Ns-y-Imn-nst-T3wy</i>	-
	pDresden 775 (Plate 5)	<i>nh-hf-n-Imn</i>	-
	pSkrine 2 (Plate 37, Fig. 69a)	<i>Ns-y-p3^cn</i>	-
	pLouvre E. 17401 (Plate 10, Figs. 23b, 61)	<i>Ns-y-p3-k3-šwty</i>	-
Middle 21 st Dynasty	*pSRIV 936 (Plate 20, Fig. 25c)	<i>G3t-sšn</i>	A. 152
	*pSRVII 10265 (Plate 39)	<i>G3wt-šsn</i>	A. 152
	*pSRIV 952 (Plate 33)	<i>T3-nfr</i> and <i>3st-im-^ch-bit</i>	A. 151
	*pSRVII 10244 (Plate 2)	<i>T3-nfr</i> and <i>3st-im-^ch-bit</i>	A. 151
	SRIV 979 (Plate 34)	<i>^ch3-nfr-Imn P3-h3-rw</i>	A. 115
	pCairo J. 95705	<i>P3(3)-h3-h3t</i>	A. 115
	pSRIV 981 (Plate 21, Fig. 69b)	<i>P3-di-Imn</i>	A. 114
	pSRVII 10654 (Plate 49, Figs. 42, 72b, 72d)	<i>P3-di-Imn</i>	A. 114
	pSRVII 11493 (Plate 13, Fig. 24a)	<i>Nsty-t3-nbt-t3wy</i>	A. 9
	pSRVII 11496 (Plate 14, Fig. 65, 67a, 70)	<i>T3-wd3t-R^c</i>	A. 144
	SRVII 11500 (Plate 35)	<i>T3-wd3t-R^c</i>	A. 144
	pSRVII 11501 (Plate 48, Figs. 40a, 50b, 72a, 72c)	<i>Hnsw-rnp</i>	A. 120
	pBM 10002 (Plate 18, Fig. 22)	<i>T3-mniw</i>	-
	pBM 10008 (Plate 16)	<i>T3-mniw</i>	-
	pBM 10006 (Plate 36)	<i>Mwt-im-wi3</i>	-
	pBM 10010 (Plate 7, Figs.	<i>Mwt-htp-ti</i>	-

	57, 59)		
	pBM 10472 (Plate 8, Figs. 33, 56, 58)	<i>In-h3-y</i>	-
	pBM 10541 (Plate 4)	<i>Ndmt and Hry-hr-s3-imn</i>	-
	pBM 10674 (Figs. 73a – g)	<i>Mh-dsw-hnsw</i>	-
	pBN 170-173 (Plate 11, Figs. 62c, 63)	<i>Tnt-Imn</i>	-
	pLouvre N. 3293 (Plate 47)	<i>Imn-m-s3f</i>	-
	pVienna AOS 3859 (Plate 19, Figs. 18b, 24b, 37d, 43a, 62b)	<i>Hnsw-ms</i>	-
Middle /Late 21 st Dynasty	pSRVII 10240 (Plate 12, Figs. 35b, 40b, 66)	<i>T3-šd-hnsw</i>	A. 137
	pSRVII 10268 (Plate 41)	Anonymous	Unidentified
	pBM 9904 (Plate 15)	<i>3st-m-3h-Bit</i>	-
Late 21 st Dynasty	pSRIV 933 (Plate 43)	<i>Mr-hnt-Imn</i>	A. 71
	pSRVII 10226 (Plate 42)	Anonymous	-
	pSRVII 10266 (Plate 50, Fig. 39)	<i>dd-hnsw-lwf-ʿnh</i>	A. 141
	pSRVII 11498 (Plate 46)	<i>dd-hnsw-lwf-ʿnh</i>	A. 141
	*pSRVII 11485/11573 (Plate 28, Fig. 44b)	<i>Ns-y-hnsw</i>	RC
	pSRVII 11492 (Plate 40)	<i>P3-di-Imn II</i>	RC
	pBM 10793 (Plate 23, Figs. 25a, 35a)	<i>P3-di-Imn II</i>	-
	pLouvre N. 3109 (Plate 38, Fig. 68b)	<i>ʿnh-nh-s-n-3st</i>	-
	pLouvre N. 3071 (Plate 45)	Anonymous	-
	pNicholson R402 (Plate 29, Fig. 68a)	<i>Mwt-im-hb</i>	-
Late 21 st /Early	pKelsey 81.4.21 (Plate 44)	Anonymous	-

22 nd Dynasty			
	pBerlin P. 3001 (Figs. 71a – b)	<i>Hr-m-^ch-bit</i>	-
	pBerlin P. 3009 (Plate 27)	<i>dd-mht-s-^cnh</i>	-
	pBerlin P. 3013 (Plate 26)	<i>nh-n-r^cf-n-r^c-sw</i>	-
	pAMS R. A. 58 (Plate 24)	<i>P3-diw-hnsw</i>	-
	pBM 10041 (Plate 22)	<i>Imn-h^c-w</i>	-
	pButenev/Burchardt (Plate 25)	<i>Imn-ms</i>	
Early 22 nd Dynasty	pBM 10554 (Plate 1, Figs. 30a, 62a)	<i>Ns-y-t3-nb-išrw</i>	-
	pOxford 1878.236 (Plate 30)	Anonymous	-

Table 2 - * Stelae owners

Papyri Workshop 1 forms the largest collection in this study, and is comprised of fifty-five manuscripts (Table 2).

Several papyri from Papyri Workshop 1 were discovered together in the same funerary ensembles: pMMA 30.3.32 was placed together with pMMA 30.3.31, pSRIV 936 with pSRVII 10265, pSRIV 952 with pSRVII 10244, pSRIV 981 and SRVII 10654, pSRVII 11500 with pSRVII 11496, pSRVII 10266 with pSRVII 11498, pSRVII 11492 was discovered with pBM 10793, and pSRIV 979 was paired with pCairo J. 95705.

6.1.2. Date

Papyri Workshop 1 appears to have been in operation from the early 21st Dynasty until at least the early 22nd Dynasty.

It is possible to date this group to approximately the early 21st Dynasty based on inscriptions found in the papyrus of Nodjmet, pBM 10490, which dates to the early reign of King Psusennes I (c.1039 – 991 B. C. E.), as Nodjmet died soon after the Year 1 of King Psusennes I. Additional dateable manuscripts from the early 21st Dynasty include pSRVII 11488, which belonged to Pinudjem I, and Maatkare, the owner of pSRVII 980, the daughter of Pinudjem I. pSRIV 955 belonged to Henuttawy, the daughter of Ramesses XI and wife of Pinudjem I, who died at the latest in the early years of King Psusennes I (Niwiński, 1989a: 127).

Thirty-four manuscripts can be attributed to the middle or late 21st Dynasty based on inscriptions on their respective mummy-linen and mummy-braces. A date for the middle 21st Dynasty can be established from pSRIV 952 and pSRVII 10244 which

belong to Tsay-Nefer, the son of High Priest Menkheperre, and his daughter, Gautseshen, who is the owner pSRVII 10265 and pSRIV 936.

The two papyri, pSRVII 11492 and pBM 10793 of Pinudjem II, who died in the Year 10 of Siamun, attest to the date of the late 21st Dynasty. Pinudjem II's wife, Neskhons, the owner of pSRVII 11485 died five years before him in the Year 5 of King Siamun (c. 978 – 959 B. C. E.).

pBM 10554, which belong to Nesitanebtasheru, the daughter of the High Priest Pinudjem II, can be dated to the early 22nd Dynasty. Her husband, Djedptahiufankh, is known to have died under the reign of Shoshenq I (c. 945 – 924 B. C. E.).

6.1.3. Style and Execution

The representations, especially those from the earlier manuscripts (**Plates 2 – 9**) are rendered according to New Kingdom traditions or canons. As a group, the papyri exhibit a high quality of execution that suggests the employment of a highly skilled labour force. This quality appears to have been maintained throughout the duration of the workshop to early 22nd Dynasty, as can be ascertained from the exceptional quality of draughtsmanship of the manuscript pBM 10554 (**Plate 1**).

As with New Kingdom figural proportions, the figures appear to conform to an ideal type, displaying similarities in build and dress. The male figures exhibit almost identical characteristics with their small pointed knees, and general feminisation of proportions, which was discussed earlier in 4.5.1. Male and Female Forms. The figures are tall and slender with narrow shoulders and waists, and high buttocks. Consequently, the legs are longer and the arms are long and thin, a feature also common in the female figures. Both genders share a very high arch under the foot. The female proportions are more fleshed-out than those of the male figures; the hips are heavy and curvaceous tapering into extremely thin ankles and small feet. The female figures are extremely tall and slender. They seem to conform to an ideal of feminine beauty in their proportions and analogous facial features. The facial features, such as the eyes and nose are somewhat large.

Males and females wear the same make-up lines around the large eyes, and the broad collar is decorated with decorative parallel lines.

6.1.4. Common Characteristics

The most striking feature of this workshop is the exceptionally high standard execution of the vignettes and texts. As a rule, the papyri are skilfully composed, and expertly rendered. The majority of the papyri form a continuation of New Kingdom artistic and iconographic traditions. The prevalent appearance of the manuscripts, such as the

bordering ornament, arrangement of texts and vignettes, and the proportion of text to vignettes, are strongly reminiscent the funerary papyri of the Ramesside-era.

The texts still play an important role, especially in the earlier papyri. The contents of the manuscripts are easily recognisable, and both text and vignettes of the various *Book of the Dead* chapters usually correspond to the traditional versions from the New Kingdom (Niwinski, 1989a: 118), even though new versions are encountered, especially within the papyri of the later 21st Dynasty.

The manuscripts are characterised further by a rich use of iconography and meticulous attention to detail. As a result, the vignettes are very elaborate and highly detailed, which can be seen in the lavish overflowing offering tables, the details on the clothing, jewellery and head-dresses, and ornate decoration on shrines and furniture, for example, pAMS R. A. 58 (**Plate 24**) and pBM 10541 (**Plate 4**). The etiquettes and vignettes are painted with various colours through out. pBM 10472 is unique in the utilisation of gold leaf in the opening vignette, on the sun disk, face of the falcon and the leg feathers (**Fig. 56**). Alexander (1965: 49) states that the use of gold in this manuscript is sophisticated, and not an early example of this art form. She believes that the gold is not singled out as a symbolic material, but is used on account of the rich lustre it imparts to the images – a rich colour among other rich colours.

The manuscripts produced by this workshop generally exude a sense of wealth and privileged circumstance.

A distinctive aspect of Papyri Workshop 1 is the patronage of a distinguished clientele. This establishment catered to the funerary needs of several 21st Dynasty high priests of Amun, such as Herihor (pSRVII 10541, **Plate 4**), Pinudjem I (pSRVII 11488, **Plate 3**), Pinudjem II (pBM 10793, **Plate 23**), and their immediate families. The client list includes a number of papyri of several prominent women in the Theban hierarchy. The following papyri, pBM 10490 (**Plate 9**), pLouvre N. 6258 (**Plate 6**), and pSRVII 10541 (**Plate 4**) belong to Nodjmet, the wife of Herihor with whom she shares the manuscripts. She is identified by her titles as the “the King’s Mother of the Lord of Two Lands, and the Chief of the Harem of Amunresonther” with her name in a cartouche (Kitchen, 1986: 42). pSRIV 936 and pSRVII 10265 are owned by Gautseshen, the daughter of Menkheperre, who identifies herself as the “Chief of the Harem of Amun (of the 3rd phyle) and Chief of the Harem of Monthu” (Kitchen, 1986: 67). In the papyrus, pSRIV 980 that belongs to Maatkare, the daughter of Pinudjem I, the epithets contained therein, “God’s Wife and Adoratrix; King’s Daughter, and Daughter of a Chief Queen...” are used to describe her

station. Nesikhons, the wife of Pinudjem II, claims the title of Viceroy of Nubia and First Chief of the Harem of Amun in her funerary papyrus, pSRVII 11485/11573 (**Plate 28**).

Another important feature of this workshop is the inclusion of a series of extensive genealogies in the papyri between the patrons from the early 21st Dynasty to the early 22nd Dynasty. For example, Nodjmet, known from the papyri pBM 10490, pLouvre N. 6258, and pBM 10541, may be tentatively identified as the grandmother of Pinudjem I, the mother of Piankh, and the wife of Herihor (Kitchen, 1986: 42). The papyrus pSRVII 1148/11573 belongs to Neskhons, the wife of High Priest Pinudjem II, who was also the daughter of Smendes II (Kitchen, 1986: 67). Smendes II was also the grandfather of Pinudjem I (Lesko, 1994: 180). This lineage can be traced further to manuscript pBM 10554, which was owned by Nesitanebtasheru, the daughter of Neskhons and Pinudjem II. Nany, another daughter of Pinudjem II by a lesser wife, can be identified through her funerary manuscripts pMMA 30.3.31 (**Plate 17**) and pMMA 30.3.32 (**Plate 32**). This workshop was also patronised by both sons of the High Priest Menkheperre, Pinudjem II and his brother, Tsay-Nefer, the owner of pSRVII 10244 (**Plate 2**) and pSRIV 952 (**Plate 33**).

Due to the lengthy period that the workshop was in production, there is significant variation between the papyri in terms of composition and design, however, they all display significant similarities in terms of style and iconography. The proportion of vignettes and text varies in each manuscript, as does the design and layout, and a number of groupings can be discerned.

A strong Ramesside tradition can be recognised in the “classical” grouping, which comprises of: pSRIV 980, pSRVII 11488 (**Plate 3**), pBM 10541 (**Plate 4**), pDresden 775 (**Plate 5**), pLouvre N. 6258 (**Plate 6**), pBM 10010 (**Plate 7**), pBM 10472 (**Plate 8**), and pBM 10490 (**Plate 9**). These manuscripts are still rendered according to New Kingdom patterns, in some cases forming a direct continuation of the New Kingdom traditions as the majority of these manuscripts appear to have been created around the early to the middle 21st Dynasty. The figures are drafted according to the New Kingdom system of proportions, and the representations are highly elaborate and brightly painted. The bordering ornament consists of a thick, colourful, painted line, framing the entire composition. The papyri are skilfully composed on several registers with vignettes accompanying the texts, all of which are written in hieroglyphs. The texts play a leading role, and the manuscripts contain a distinctly higher percentage of text than the later papyri from the same workshop. The papyri typically commence on the left end of the roll, and are read to the right (Niwiński, 1989a: 119). pBM 10541, pLouvre N. 6258 and

pBM 10010 exhibit a predominantly Ramesside influence, which can be seen in the shape of the “solar” scene of the adoration of the setting sun, “Chapter 16” of the *Book of the Dead* (**Fig. 57**) (Niwiński, 1989a: 120).

With the exception of pBM 10490, these papyri belong to the *Book of the Dead* category of funerary literature; however, the terminal scene from pBM 10472 (**Fig. 58**) is derived from the final composition of the *Book of Gates*. A number of atypical motifs can also be identified in pBM 10010 (**Fig. 59**) and pSRIV 980 (**Fig. 60**). The former contains anomalous variations of the vignettes to Chapter 168 and 182 of the *Book of the Dead* (Faulkner & Andrews, 1985: 178 – 179). In the latter, Chapter 110 contains an unusual representation of a man, who is not the spouse of the deceased, but is represented working in the field on the deceased’s behalf.

The next grouping consists of: pLouvre E. 17401 (**Plate 10**), pBN 170-173 (**Plate 11**), pSRVII 10240 (**Plate 12**), pSRVII 11493 (**Plate 13**), pSRVII 11496 (**Plate 14**), pBM 9904 (**Plate 15**), pBM 10008 (**Plate 16**), pMMA 30.3.31 (**Plate 17**), pBM 10472 (**Plate 8**), pBM 10002 (**Plate 18**), and Vienna ÄOS 3859 (**Plate 19**). This group can be distinguished by the vignette from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* where the deceased is depicted in an attitude of joy (the *heh*-gesture), holding a feather in each hand (**Fig. 61**), and is often accompanied by a representation of the deceased holding their eyes, mouth, and heart (**Fig. 23b**). The main emphasis of the papyri is solar, with a strong focus on the solar cycle and the regeneration of the deceased. However, the vignettes and texts still contain the traditional corpus of the *Book of the Dead*, but with new iconographic motifs and compositions not known from the classical repertoire of the *Book of the Dead*. These include compositions such as the Creation of the World with Nut arched over Geb (**Fig. 62a**), the Hoeing of the Earth (**Figs. 62b – c**), which symbolises the regeneration of the sun god (**Figs. 37a – e**), and Osiris rising from the lion couch (**Figs. 37, 40a – b**). pSRVII 10240 (**Fig. 40b**) contains an atypical representation of a disk between two winged *udjat*-eyes with pendant cobras wearing the white crown. The disk emanates rays onto a recumbent Osiris who rises from the lion couch, wearing the sun disk with a *uraeus* and a short cloak. In pVienna ÄOS 3859 (**Fig. 37d**), the circuit of the sun disk is represented by two male deities holding the sun disk at opposite ends and is framed on each side by two hawks on standards representing the east and west, sunrise and sunset. The terminal scene from pBN 170-173 (**Fig. 63**) contains a new composition, which illustrates the regeneration of the deceased sun god. The vignette is comprised of a barque on a support containing a standing mummiform ram-headed god “The Great God, Lord of Heaven”, who is held

upright by Isis and Nephthys. Four lamps surround the barque, and the entire group is circled by red dots. A massive pair of arms with a disk between them, similar to those of the Twelfth Hour of the *Amduat*, encloses the barque. This is a well-known representation of the sun god who has already assumed the aspect of “flesh” and is being received by the personification of the Western Mountain.

New iconographic motifs from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*, the Judgement scene, such as the goddess with a symbol of the West for a head can be seen in pMMA 30.3.31 (**Fig. 64**), and the shrew mouse-headed god in pSRVII 11496 (**Fig. 65**) and pSRVII 10240 (**Fig. 66**) (Niwiński, 1989a: 123). Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* (**Figs. 67a – b**), and the Transformation Chapters 76, 78, 77 81, 83 – 88 play a central role, and are represented in each papyrus from this grouping. Several scenes from Chapter 125 are depicted a number of times in many of the manuscripts. These scenes usually consist of the deceased being accompanied by a god, often shrew mouse-headed, to have their hearts weighed. They are also usually depicted holding their hearts, eyes and mouth in their outstretched hands. The deceased is then represented making the *heh*-gesture while holding the feathers of *Ma'at* on the opposite side of the balance of justice. They are then brought before the god on a throne. The representation of the deceased before the forty-two judges is frequently included in these scenes. Other popular *Book of the Dead* spells include Chapter 126, Chapter 110 and Chapter 149/150.

The quantity of figural representations greatly exceeds that of the texts, which play a noticeable secondary role, while all emphasis is laid on the figural representations. The texts are written in hieroglyphs, normally composed in vertical columns, with the exception of pBM 9904 (**Plate 15**), which contains large blocks or pages of horizontal hieratic text.

The papyri from this grouping were all produced around the middle 21st Dynasty.

Niwiński (1989a: 130) notes the existence of several papyri, which can be grouped together based on either their style of handwriting, or the repertoire of *Book of the Dead* chapters or the execution of vignettes. Niwiński (1989a: 130) states further that pSRIV 936 (**Plate 20**), pSRIV 981 (**Plate 21**), pBM 9904 (**Plate 15**) and pBM 10041 (**Plate 22**), form a family that was probably created in the same workshop where the same model papyri was used. These manuscripts are written in hieratic, or partially in hieratic and hieroglyphic. They can be relatively long, ranging between four to seven metres in length. pBM 10041 is an exception as it is much shorter, comprising only of Chapter 149 of the *Book of the Dead* that is reproduced using atypical vignettes. An

anomalous composition is found in pSRIV 981. The manuscript begins with the etiquette, followed by pages of text, behind which all the vignettes are grouped together. pSRIV 981 and pSRIV 936 are comparatively similar in terms of composition and the choice of illustrated spells. Together with the concluding section of pSRVII 10266 (**Plate 50**), they contain an analogous set of vignettes, such as Chapters 84, 81, 148, 105, 27/29/30, 114, 116, 112, 113, 137 and 195 of the *Book of the Dead*. The arrangement of repertoire and written spells for pSRIV 936 follows a similar sequence to those of pBM 10793 and pBM 10554 (Niwiński, 1989a: 130). pSRIV 936 contains one hundred and forty-eight *Book of the Dead* chapters with fifty-seven spells corresponding to the spells from pBM 10793, with forty-four in six identical sequences. Additionally, this manuscript contains fourteen spells that also occur in pBM 10554.

The next grouping is made up of pBM 10793 (**Plate 23**), pAMS R. A. 58 (**Plate 24**), pButenev/Burchardt (**Plate 25**), pBerlin P. 3013 (**Plate 26**), pBerlin P. 3009 (**Plate 27**), pSRVII 11485/11573 (**Plate 28**), Nicholson R402 (**Plate 29**) and pOxford 1878.236 (**Plate 30**). They are characterised by the etiquette being the only figural representation on the manuscript, and the remaining part containing hieratic text from the *Book of the Dead* arranged in blocks or horizontal pages conforming to Niwiński's type BD I.2 (Niwiński, 1989a: 112 – 118). pBerlin P. 3009 contains vertical columns of hieratic compared to the other papyri whose texts are composed in horizontal sheets. The deceased is represented before either Osiris or Re-Horakhty, except for pAMS R. A. 58, which contains a double etiquette of the deceased before both deities. Columns of vertical hieroglyphs are placed above and between the figures. In all cases, the etiquette is placed on one plane extending to the top to the bottom. These representations may either be brightly coloured or outlined in black. pNicholson R402 contains a small representation of a female sistrum-player beside a *benu*-bird (**Fig. 68a**), this appears to be part of the legend. A similar representation can be found in pLouvre N. 3109 (**Fig. 68b**) at the beginning of the Ninth Hour. This representation appears to be unique to these two papyri. The elements and design of the etiquette from pBerlin P. 3013 (**Plate 26**) corresponds closely with pOxford 1878.236 (**Plate 30**).

All the papyri from this grouping demonstrate a strong solar emphasis, and are Re-orientated. pBM 10793 is the longest containing eighty-four spells that includes a new composition found only in pBM 10554. pButenev/Burchardt includes Chapters 23, 25, the final section of Chapter 24, a variant of 25, 26, 28, 27 and 61. pNicholson R402 and pBerlin P. 3009 are the shortest, pNicholson R402 is comprised of only twelve lines of text, and pBerlin 3009 only of Chapter 136a respectively. pBerlin P. 3013 contains

Chapters 64, 30 and 133. pAMS R. A. 58 and pSRVII 11485/11573 bear striking resemblance to pBM 10793 in terms of their execution and style. pSRVII 11485/11573 is a deification decree of Amun for Neskons, the wife of Pinudjem II, but fits into this group based on its style of execution and layout. Both Pinudjem II and Neskons possessed a deification decree. The decree consists of a declaration from Amun that in return for good deeds, the deceased shall be divine in the other world, drink water, and partake in food offerings in the realm of the dead. Their souls and bodies would be deified in the necropolis, equal in rank and power to those of any other god or goddess (Lesko, 1994: 185). The papyri from this group were all created around the late 21st Dynasty or the early 22nd Dynasty.

pBerlin P. 3153 (**Plate 31**), pMMA 30.3.32 (**Plate 32**), pSRIV 952 (**Plate 33**), pSRIV 979 (**Plate 34**), pSRVII 11500 (**Plate 35**), pBM 10006 (**Plate 36**) and pSkrine 2 (**Plate 37**) have been grouped together based on their content. They are all comprised of the *Litany of Re* of the A. I. 1-category (Niwiński, 1989a: 159 – 168). Three *Book of the Dead* papyri were paired with three of these manuscripts from this workshop. As they are parallel in style to their accompanying papyri, it is more than likely that the same artist worked on both, for example, pMMA 30.3.31 and pMMA 30.3.32. The remaining three papyri exhibit similarities in style and iconography with other papyri from this workshop. Each papyrus appears to have been customised for their owners as none of the manuscripts share a corresponding arrangement of figures or number of figures. These range from eighteen representations of the great god in pSkrine 2, to sixty in pSRVII 11500. Subsequently, the length of each manuscript varies considerably. The etiquette is a fairly consistent feature, often echoing that of the accompanying papyrus, for example, pSRVII 11500 (**Plate 35**) and pSRVII 11496 (**Plate 14**).

Motifs from other figural papyri produced in this workshop can be found, for example, the lion/crocodile-headed goddess observed in pSRVII 10654 (**Fig. 69a**) can also be seen in pSRIV 981, pSkrine 2 (**Fig. 69b**) and pLouvre E 17401. Both pBN 170-173 and pSRVII 11496 contain a representation of a standard with two arms raised in a *ka*-sign (**Fig. 70**).

Nine *Amduat* papyri form an additional sub-group, comprising of pLouvre N. 3109 (**Plate 38**), pSRVII 10265 (**Plate 39**), pSRVII 11492 (**Plate 40**), pSRVII 10268 (**Plate 41**), SRVII 10226 (**Plate 42**), pSRIV 933 (**Plate 43**), pKelsey 81.4.21 (**Plate 44**), pLouvre N. 3071 (**Plate 45**), pBerlin P. 3001, and pSRVII 11498 (**Plate 46**). The characteristic feature of this group is the analogous manner in which the figures are illustrated: the figural forms are rendered in their entirety according to the New Kingdom figural

traditions engendered by this workshop, as opposed to the abbreviated, stick-type figures illustrating the *Amduat* in the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings.

The majority of these manuscripts comprise of relatively faithful imitations of the last four hours of the royal *Amduat*, in which the figures are precisely drawn with all secondary detail, according to the rules of Egyptian art (Niwinski, 1989a: 175). They follow the correct sequence of events in full chronological order, with the exception of pLouvre N. 3109. Here, the artist has shown complete disregard for the correct sequence as the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Hours are combined, often on the same register.

The manuscripts can be either colourful or outlined in black. The papyri consist of two or three registers separated by two parallel lines, which echoes the bordering ornament. As a rule, four or five columns of vertical hieroglyphs separate the four hours of the *Amduat*. A band of horizontal hieroglyphs situated under the top border typically runs across the entire length of the manuscript.

Both pSRVII 11498 and pBerlin P. 3001 contain motifs of the *Book of the Dead*. pSRVII 11498 (**Plate 46**) begins with the deceased seated on an ornate chair holding a lotus flower and bud before a lavish offering table, followed by a representation of the Mounds of Chapter 149, and the Field of Offerings from Chapter 110 on the top register, and more representations from Chapter 110 on the bottom register. These scenes are divided from the second half of the manuscript by a semi-circle. This is followed by various figures of the Eleventh Hour of the *Amduat*, terminating with the deceased before the semi-circle of the Twelfth Hour and the etiquette. pBerlin P. 3001 (**Fig. 71a**) contains a representation of the deceased kneeling before the balance of Truth and two female deities with the feathers of *ma'at* in their hair. Amit, the devourer sits behind the deceased, and above him is a depiction of Chapter 126 of the *Book of the Dead*. The papyrus also contains an inverted representation of a mummiform Osiris (**Fig. 71b**). pKelsey 81.4.21 has been tentatively placed into this group as it contains analogous content of the 12th Hour as pBerlin P. 3001, both are recorded in vertical columns of hieroglyphic text.

These manuscripts were produced from the middle 21st Dynasty to late 21st Dynasty, some possibly created in the very early 22nd Dynasty.

pLouvre N. 3293 (**Plate 47**), pSRVII 11501 (**Plate 48**), pSRVII 10654 (**Plate 49**) and pSRVII 10266 (**Plate 50**) form a highly analogous group in terms of layout, content and style. These papyri place strong emphasis on the identification of the deceased with Osiris, the resurrection of the deceased, and the solar cycle. They all contain a

prominent scene of Osiris on the Double Stairway (**Fig. 42**), revivification by the solar rays, the symbolic movement of the sun, and a complex composition of a personified *djed*-column (**Figs. 72a – d**). These new scenes are commonly interspersed with traditional *Book of the Dead* chapters, such as Chapters 138 and 140.

pBM 10674 (**Figs. 73a – g**) is unique in that it includes a series of divine forms from the *Litany of Re*, and the bulk of the manuscript is made up of twelve scenes of twelve barques, imagery borrowed from the royal *Amduat* reflecting the nocturnal journey of the sun.

6.1.5. Observations

It is possible that this particular workshop was in operation during the New Kingdom. It is also more than likely that this workshop was located within the Temple of Amun where the services of highly skilled artists would be available on demand to the high priests and their families.

pLouvre E. 17401 (**Plate 10**), pBN 170-173 (**Plate 11**), pSRVII 11493 (**Plate 13**), and pSRVII 11496 (**Plate 14**) may be related to each other based on their particular style and content, these may have been produced using the same pattern-book, possibly even created by the same artist (Niwiński, 1989a: 135). The work of another individual artist can be discerned from a comparison of pBM 10793 (**Plate 23**), pBM 10472 (**Plate 8**), and pBM 10554 (**Plate 1**). They share similarities in drawing style, such as the arches of feet and profile of the face. Lesko (1994: 183) comments that due to the exceptional nature of pBM 10554: the care displayed in the execution, the generous space allotments, the long vignettes, the owner's numerous priestly titles, and the title *B'kt p3īpu n Imn R'*, Servant of the Scrolls of Amun-Re, Nesitanebtasheru (Pinudjem II's daughter) may have been the author and scribe.

The work of another artist can be observed in pLouvre N. 3293 (**Plate 47**), pSRVII 11498 (**Plate 46**), pSRVII 10654 (**Plate 49**) and pSRVII 11501 (**Plate 48**). It is interesting to note that pLouvre N. 3293 (**Plate 47**), belonging to Amunemsaf, chief of the shield-bearers of Amun, was discovered in the same funerary ensemble as pLouvre N. 3292 (**Plate 63**) which has been ascribed to 6.3. - Papyri Workshop 3. Piankoff (1935: 139) attributes this to a promotion, which occurred after pLouvre N. 3292 was procured.

In several of the papyri dating to the early and middle 21st Dynasty, such as pSRVII 980, pLouvre N. 6258 (**Plate 6**) and pBM 10541 (**Plate 4**), the status of the deceased (**Fig. 74**) is indicated by a discrepancy in scale between figures of a lower rank, such as the priests and serving figures, to those of the deceased.

In papyri that contain representations of couples, gender differentiation, in keeping with New Kingdom conventions, is indicated by the female figure placed in the subordinate position behind the male figure (Robins, 1994b: 34 – 35), for example, pBM 10541 (**Plate 4**). In pLouvre N. 6258 (**Plate 6**), the couple are both seated, the female figure's knees overlap the buttocks of the male figure, and she embraces the male figure with her forward arm, which Robins (1994b: 35) believes is typical of the New Kingdom rules of compositional gender differentiation. In both instances, however, the female figure is depicted sharing the same hairline as the male figure, and there is no apparent discrepancy in scale. After the early to middle 21st Dynasty, the trend of sharing a manuscript disappeared, and this phenomenon is not repeated in the later papyri.

6.2. Papyri Workshop 2 – Compartments

6.2.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Early /Middle 21 st Dynasty	pAMS 34 (Figs. 50a, 51b)	<i>P3-y-sr</i>	-
	pBM 10011 (Plate 56)	<i>Imn-ms</i>	-
	pBN 158-161 (Plate 54, Fig. 23a, 30b)	<i>P3-y-sr</i>	-
Middle 21 st Dynasty	pSRVII 10225 (Plate 55)	<i>Wsr-h^ct-ms</i>	A. 105
	pSRVII 10249 (Plate 52, Figs. 75b, 76)	<i>T-wsr-h3t-ms</i>	A. 105
	pHavana (Plate 53, Fig. 75a)	<i>B3k-n-wr-n</i>	-
Middle/Late 21 st Dynasty	pCMA 1921.1032 (Plate 51, Figs. 34a, 75a)	<i>Hr-y</i>	-

Table 3

Papyri Workshop 2 consists of seven manuscripts (**Table 3**).

pSRVII 10225 and pSRVII 10249 were discovered together, and pBN 158-161 is comparable to pAMS 34 based on the similarity in bordering ornament and style.

6.2.2. Date

It appears that Papyri Workshop 2 was producing manuscripts from the early to the middle 21st Dynasty, maybe into late 21st Dynasty. This assertion is based on an analysis of the style, iconography and content, which places pAMS 34, pBM 10011 and pBN 158-161 in the early to middle 21st Dynasty date range. Inscriptions containing the

name of the High Priest Pinudjem II have been found on the mummy-braces of User-Hatmes, the owner of pSRVII 10225 and pSRVII 10249, which date the papyri to the middle of the 21st Dynasty. pCMA 1921.1032 appears to have been produced somewhat later than the rest.

6.2.3. Style and Execution

The draughtsmanship typically exhibits a high degree of proficiency. The pictorial elements are executed in the style typical of the New Kingdom, and the figures rendered according to the New Kingdom classical canons. Niwiński (1989a: 133) states that pSRVII 10249 and pAMS 34 were in all probability copied from good patterns recalling the *Book of the Dead* papyri of the New Kingdom, and were often mistakenly dated to the Ramesside period by earlier scholars such as Naville (1886), Seeber (1976), Luft (1977) and Munro (1988). Both male and female forms are typically represented as tall and slender with thin arms, and relatively small eyes.

6.2.4. Common Characteristics

The distinguishing feature of this workshop is the manner in which the papyri are composed: the picture-surface is skilfully divided into compartments (**Fig. 75a**). The vignettes are framed by two parallel ruled lines, which serve to separate the text from the image. The vignettes can occur on one or several registers, and together with the borders can be painted in various colours. The exception being pCMA 1921.1032 (**Plate 51**), which is outlined in black and red. The texts are written in vertical columns of hieroglyphs, separated from the vignettes or other columns of text by ruled lines. The etiquette is not a constant feature.

Another characteristic is the large dimensions; the papyri from this workshop are generally long and wide. The largest manuscript, pSRVII 10249, measures 5.20 metres in length and is 33 centimetres in height. pAMS 34 measures 3.65 metres in length and is 39 centimetres high.

The manuscripts can be divided into two groups based on their composition and content, the *Book of the Dead* and *Litany of Re* group, the A I.1-category (Niwiński, 1989a: 162 – 169). There seems to be a strict differentiation between the two types, as the motifs are not repeated in either type.

The *Book of the Dead* group is comprised of pAMS 34, pCMA 1921.1032 (**Plate 51**), pSRVII 10249 (**Plate 52**) and pHavana (**Plate 53**). The religious content adheres to the traditional corpus of *Book of the Dead* spells alongside new iconographic compositions such as the Creation of the World scene (**Fig. 51b**) from pAMS 34. pAMS consists of Chapters 141/3, 148, 126, a new composition, 86, 155, 110 and another new

motif. pCMA 1921.1032 is made up of Chapters 161, 145 and a new composition. pHavana contains Chapters 168, 195, a new composition, 148, 194, 108/116, 110, 59, 90, 186; and pSRVII consists of Chapters 145, 125, 110, 125/126/30B and 186. Chapter 186 (**Fig. 75b**) as the terminal scene with the deceased before a representation of the Western Mountain is a motif that became particularly popular, especially on coffins of this time (Niwinski, 1989a: 140).

The *Litany of Re* papyri group is comprised of: pBN 158-161 (**Plate 54**), pSRVII 10225 (**Plate 55**), and pBM 10011 (**Plate 56**). These follow a vertical composition on one register. Both pBN 158-161 and pBM 10011 are designated the titles of *Book of What is in the Netherworld* (Piankoff, 1964: 78,110).

The various figures of the deities are separated by one vertical column of text. The number of deities represents typical varieties between the papyri, but does not follow the same sequence: pSRVII 10225 contains sixteen forms of the great god, pBN 158-161 contains twenty-one forms, and pBM 10011 is comprised of twenty-eight forms. The divinities of pBN 158-161 and pBM 10011 are enclosed within shrines of which only the barrel-shaped roofs are indicated. pBN 158-161 contains the only full etiquette of this group, and pSRVII 10225 does not include one.

6.2.5. Observations

Gender differentiation can be observed in the papyri of Tawaser-hatmes, pSRVII 10249 (**Fig. 76**), whenever the deceased is portrayed with his wife; she is represented smaller than he is. In pHavana (**Plate 53**), both the deceased and his wife are rendered on the same scale, but as in pSRVII 10249, the female figures are placed behind the male figures.

6.3. Papyri Workshop 3 – Angular Male Figures

6.3.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Middle 21 st Dynasty	pSRVII 10229 (Plate 79)	<i>Ns-y-p3-nfr</i>	A. 98
	pSRVII 11503 (Plate 62, Fig. 78b)	<i>Ns-y-p3-nfr r</i>	A. 98
	pSRVII 10236 (Plate 80)	<i>di3-hnsw-iry</i>	A. 49
	pSRVII 10245 (Plate 97)	<i>Ns-y-Imn</i>	A.113
	pSRVII 10269 (Plate 61)	<i>Ns-y-Imn</i>	A.113
	pSRVII 10246 (Plate 83)	<i>dd-Pth-iwf-ꜥnh</i>	RC
	pAMS 40	<i>T3-yw-hry</i>	-

	pLuxor J. 24 (Plate 64, Fig. 34b)	<i>Tnt-wsr-t-sn-pr-sw</i>	A. 2
	pLouvre N. 3292 (Plate 63, Fig. 79)	<i>Imn-m-s3f</i>	-
Middle/Late 21 st Dynasty	pSRIV 544 (Plate 71)	<i>Ns-y-hnsw</i>	A. 42
	pSRVII 10247 (Plate 70)	<i>dd-hnsw-iws-^cnh</i>	A. 83
	pMMW 34/84 (Plate 91)	Anonymous	-
	pBM 10012 (Plate 87, Fig. 85)	<i>T3...</i>	-
	pLuxor J. 25 (Plate 69, Fig. 81)	<i>Ns-y-hnsw</i>	-
Late 21 st Dynasty	pBerlin P. 3005 (Plate 104, Fig. 86)	<i>Imn-Htp</i>	-
	pBerlin P. 3126 (Plate 75, Fig. 84)	<i>dt-Mwt-hn</i>	-
	pSRIV 548 (Plate 100)	<i>M3^ct-K3-R^c</i>	A. 132
	pSRIV 552 (Plate 101)	<i>T3-^c3-Imn</i>	A. 127
	pSRIV 554 (Plate 90)	<i>^cnh-f-n-hnsw</i>	A. 108
	pSRIV 655 (Plate 82)	Anonymous	-
	pSRIV 982 (Plate 59, Fig. 77b)	<i>B^ck-n-Mwt</i>	A. 94
	pSRVII 10231 (Plate 72, Fig. 37b)	<i>B^ck-n-Mwt</i>	A. 94
	pSRIV 999 (Plate 66, Fig. 35c)	<i>Mr-t-Imn</i>	-
	pSRVII 10227 (Plate 102)	<i>Mr-t-Imn</i>	-
	pSRIV 1001	<i>G3t-s3n</i>	A.139
	pSRVII 10221 (Plate 94)	<i>G3t-s3n</i>	A.139
	pSRVII 10230 (Plate 60, Figs. 19c, 77a, 78a)	<i>Imn-h^ct-m3</i>	A. 124
	pSRVII 11495 (Figs. 82a – b)	<i>Imn-h^ct-m3</i>	A. 124
	pSRVII 10233 (Plate 95)	<i>Imn-h^ct-m3</i>	-

	pSRVII 10239 (Plate 81)	<i>3st-y</i>	A.66
	pSRVII 10242 (Plate 96)	<i>T3-^c3-Imn</i>	A. 84
	pSRVII 10248 (Plate 84)	Anonymous	Unidentified
	pSRVII 10250 (Plate 98)	<i>Imn-ms</i>	-
	pSRVII 10272 (Plate 85)	<i>Ns-p3-k3-šwt</i>	A. 43
	pSRVII 10273 (Plate 103)	<i>P3-sb3-n-^h^c-nwt</i>	A. 85
	pSRVII 10274 (Plate 86)	<i>ḥnh-ḥfn-Mwt</i>	A. 140
	pSRVII 11506 (Plate 74, Fig. 38)	<i>P3-nb-km-imt-nḥtw</i>	A.61
	pChicago FM 31326 (Plate 57)	<i>3st-y</i>	-
	pBM 9918 (Plate 67)	<i>Imn-ms</i>	-
	pBM 9919 (Plate 58, Fig. 80)	<i>Tnt-s3-rkn</i>	-
	pBM 9970 (Plate 105)	<i>Tnt-šd-Mwt</i>	-
	pKansas 33-1389 (Plate 99)	<i>Ns-nfr-r</i>	-
	pKelsey 74.1.1 (Plate 88)	Anonymous	-
	pMilan E. 1026 (Plate 89)	Anonymous	-
	pMMA 25.3.31 (Plate 77, Fig. 83)	<i>G3wt-sšn</i>	-
	pMMA 25.3.32 (Plate 65)	<i>G3wt-sšn</i>	-
	pZagreb 883 (Plate 92, Fig. 85)	Anonymous	-
	pZagreb 887 (Plate 68)	Anonymous	-
Late 21 st /Early 22 nd Dynasty	pAMS 36 (Plate 78)	<i>ḏd-mn-t</i>	-
	pBerlin P. 3143 (Plate 93)	<i>3st-y-ḥ3</i>	-
	pSRVII 10241 (Plate 73)	<i>P3-dw3-ḥ^c(n)-nwt</i>	-
	pSt. Petersburg 4 (Plate 76)	<i>ḏd-Mwt-iw^f-ḥnh</i>	-

Table 4

Papyri Workshop 3 consists of fifty-two manuscripts (Table 4). It is the second largest workshop in operation at this time.

Many *Amduat* papyri from Workshop 3 were discovered in the same funerary ensembles as the figural/*Book of the Dead* papyri from the same workshop: pMMA 25.3.31 was paired with pMMA 25.3.32, pSRVII 10231 was from the same ensemble as pSRIV 982, and pSRVII 11506 belongs with pSRIV 954. Furthermore, pSRVII 10274 belongs in the same funerary ensemble as pSRVII 10652, pSRVII 10229 belongs with pSRVII 11503, pSRVII 10239 was paired with pChicago FM 31326, and pSRVII 10245 was paired with pSRVII 10269.

6.3.2. Date

Workshop 3 appears to have been in operation from approximately the middle 21st Dynasty to the early 22nd Dynasty. Six papyri, pSRVII 11503, pSRVII 10229, pSRVII 10245, pSRVII 10236, and pSRVII 10246 contain inscriptions on their mummy-braces and mummy-linen dating them to the middle 21st Dynasty, which spanned the pontificate of Menkheperre (c. 1015 – 992 B. C. E.), to the early pontificate of Pinudjem II (c. 990 – 969 B. C. E.), including the reign of King Amenemope (c. 993 – 984 B. C. E.).

pChicago 31326, pSRVII 10239, pSRVII 10221, pSRIV 1001, pSRVII 10230, pSRVII 11506, and pSRVII 10272 can be dated to the late 21st Dynasty based on the names of Psusennes II, Pinudjem II and the High Priest Psusennes inscribed on their funerary paraphernalia. This includes pSRIV 552, the manuscript of Maatkare, the daughter of Pinudjem II, whose mummy-braces contain the name of High Priest Psusennes. pSRVII 10274 belongs to Ankhefenmut, the son of the High Priest Menkheperre. The rest of the papyri can be attributed to the late 21st Dynasty based on their content, style and iconography. The mummy-braces of Djed-Menat, the owner of pAMS 36 contain the name of Osorkon I, which dates this manuscript to the early 22nd Dynasty.

6.3.3. Style and Execution

The illustrations in the various papyri differ extensively in respect to style and execution; however, the quality of the artwork is comparatively competent and proficient. In the figural/*Book of the Dead* papyri and etiquettes of the *Amduat* papyri, the male figures are characteristically tall, and have a square, angular quality. The female figures are slender with very long, skinny arms. They are fairly thin and willowy compared to the angularity of the male figures. The figures generally exhibit large facial features, hands and feet.

The style of several *Amduat* papyri is strongly reminiscent of the New Kingdom version; particularly those rendered in the 18th Dynasty royal tombs from the Valley of the Kings.

6.3.4. Common Characteristics

The majority of the papyri contain etiquettes, which are normally placed on the right, although the direction of reading varies between the papyri.

The papyri consist mainly of figural representations of contemporary funerary literature, but still contain a generally high proportion of text compared with workshops from the later 21st Dynasty. The arrangement of the various chapters and bordering ornament differs considerably from one manuscript to the other, which may be an indication of the large number of artists employed here, and/or, the various tastes of the clientele. They can be brightly painted or outlined in black and red.

In terms of content, the papyri can be divided into two types: the figural/*Book of the Dead* papyri, and the *Amduat*.

The figural/*Book of the Dead* papyri comprises of a comparatively homogenous group. Most of the papyri from this group appear to be similar in style and execution, and contain corresponding content. They are composed primarily of *Book of the Dead* motifs from the New Kingdom classical edition, such as Chapter 195 from pSRVII 10230 (**Fig. 77a**) and pSRIV 982 (**Fig. 77b**) alongside new iconographic designs. This can be seen in the final two scenes from pChicago FM 31326 (**Plate 57**), and varying combinations of the *Book of the Dead* with other funerary literature. The motifs are represented purely in figural form, and the etiquette and vignettes are painted in a variety of colours. The quantity of figural representations significantly exceeds that of the text.

A distinct relationship based on the similarity of content and style can be determined in pChicago FM 31326 (**Plate 57**), pBM 9919 (**Plate 58**), pSRIV 982 (**Plate 59**), pSRVII 10230 (**Plate 60**), pSRVII 10269 (**Plate 61**), pSRVII 11503 (**Plate 62**) and pAMS 40. All the papyri contain Chapter 196 of the *Book of the Dead*, the purification of the deceased by one or more deities. Chapter 125 includes various aspects of the weighing of the heart and the judgement scene, and Chapter 110, depicts the deceased working in the *Yaru* Fields. These manuscripts appear to focus on and emphasise the righteousness of the deceased and the attainment of eternal life. Other popular *Book of the Dead* spells include Chapter 149/150, which are typically composed of the wicker-work frail of the Fifth Mound, the centipede enclosed within an oval of the Sixth Mound, the crocodile nuzzling a vase of the Ninth Mound, a man brandishing a knife of the Tenth Mound, and a stepped oval representing the Eleventh Mound. Representations from Chapter 149/150 are often located adjacent to Chapter 110, and the motifs can be interspersed with them, for example, the end scenes from pChicago FM 31326 (**Plate**

57) and pSRVII 10230 (**Plate 60**). The Four Baboons and lamps of the Lake of Fire from Chapter 126 usually complete the selection (**Fig. 77b**) (Niwiński, 1989a: 126, Fig. 17).

In addition to the etiquette, many of the papyri contain a supplementary motif of the sun disk against the Western Mountain, or the disk emitting rays onto the deceased before Osiris (**Figs. 78a – b**). These images appear to be a representation of Chapter 130 to the *Book of the Dead*, which was often written in highly abbreviated, corrupt form within a number of vertical columns behind the etiquette. Chapter 195 is typically located close to this text, and is sometimes accompanied by a text that customarily replicates the purification ceremony. Niwiński (1989a: 133 – 135) states that it is a typical trend in the 21st Dynasty to place the purification scene near the solar chapters such as Chapter 130.

A strong solar emphasis can be seen in pLouvre N. 3292 (**Plate 63**), pLuxor J. 24 (**Plate 64**) and pMMA 25.3.32 (**Plate 65**), which contain at least one representation or text from Chapter 15, the Worship of Re. The ninth scene from pLouvre N. 3292 (**Fig. 79**) and the terminal scene of pLuxor J. 24 depict a semi-circular band and horizon from which a disk emerges flanked by *ba*-birds in the gesture of adoration. In pBM 9919 (**Fig. 80**) the sun disc emerges from the Western Mountain, and in pMMA 25.3.32, the etiquette is followed by the text from Chapter 15. Many papyri contain figural variations of the same theme, for example, in Chapter 125 from pSRVII 10230 (**Plate 60**), Osiris as the Supreme Judge is replaced by his solar equivalent-aspect compared to the same chapter from pSRIV 982 (**Plate 59**). Another variation can be seen in pLouvre N. 3292 (**Plate 63**) where a falcon-headed deity balances the scales, and a baboon wearing a disk mounted on a crescent moon precedes the deceased.

The next grouping of *Book of the Dead* manuscripts comprise of: pSRIV 999 (**Plate 66**), pMMA 25.3.32 (**Plate 65**), pBM 9918 (**Plate 67**), and pZagreb 887 (**Plate 68**). These are represented by the etiquette. The spells are written in horizontal pages of hieratic of the type BD I.2. (Niwiński, 1989a: 112 – 118) and are mainly focused on the solar aspect. pBM 9918 is unique in that the text is written in vertical columns of hieroglyphs that contain fragments of Chapter 125 and hymns to Re and Osiris. The date of production of the *Book of the Dead* manuscripts extends from the middle 21st Dynasty to the late 21st Dynasty.

The *Amduat* papyri make up the majority of the manuscripts produced by this workshop. These can be divided into figural papyri consisting of a mixture of the various hours of the *Amduat* with other nether-worldly compositions, and faithful representations of the *Amduat*.

pLuxor J. 25 (**Plate 69**), pSRVII 10247 (**Plate 70**), pSRIV 544 (**Plate 71**), pSRVII 10231 (**Plate 72**), pSRVII 10241 (**Plate 73**), pSRVII 11506 (**Plate 74**), pBerlin P. 3126 (**Plate 75**), pSt. Petersburg 4 (**Plate 76**), and pMMA 25.3.31 (**Plate 77**) consist primarily of figural representations, which are characterised by the arrangement of *Amduat* motifs that contain a fusion of imagery from other books of the netherworld. The *Amduat* motifs have been transformed and altered, as they have been taken out of their original configuration, and synthesised and supplemented with additional figures. These scenes continue the trend of complicated theological compositions that were introduced early in the 21st Dynasty (Niwiński, 1989a: 197).

pLuxor J. 25 (**Plate 69**), pSRVII 10247 (**Plate 70**), and pSRIV 544 (**Plate 71**), consist of a mixture of *Book of the Dead* motifs, which are greatly transformed, and other nether-worldly compositions. These papyri can be distinguished by their analogous content and similarity in style. They all contain an etiquette, with the deceased standing in adoration before Osiris, followed by the depiction of a varying number of seated deities representing the guardians of the Pylons of the Netherworld in Chapter 146 and 145 of the *Book of the Dead*. This is typically followed by representation of two to three looped serpents placed above each other. The Mounds of Chapters 149 and 150 are alluded to in the terminal scene of three serpents crawling from three houses (**Fig. 81**). This scene also occurs in pLouvre N. 3292 (**Plate 63**), which includes an additional serpent and house.

The terminal scenes of pSRVII 11495 (**Figs. 82a – b**) contain atypical imagery of composite solar/Osirian motives. The manuscript also includes text from Chapter 130 of the *Book of the Dead* and a purification scene from Chapter 195. These scenes are also contained in, and are analogous to its accompanying *Book of the Dead* manuscript pSRVII 10230 (**Plate 60**). However, it belongs to the *Amduat*-category due to the large amount of space taken up by the *Amduat* representations derived from the 10th and 11th Hours of the Royal *Amduat* (Niwiński, 1989a: 194 – 195). Shared reference to Chapter 17 of the *Book of the Dead* containing the two lions of the horizon with the sun disc can be seen in pSRVII 11495, pLouvre N. 3292 and pMMA 25.3.31. The disc in the latter contains a representation of a ram-headed deity walking with a long stick, and in pSRVII 11495, only the head of the ram is represented.

pSRVII 10231 (**Plate 72**), pSRVII 10241 (**Plate 73**), pSRVII 11506 (**Plate 74**), pBerlin P. 3126 (**Plate 75**), pSt. Petersburg 4 (**Plate 76**), and pMMA 25.3.31 (**Plate 77**) contain a fusion of the *Amduat* with other funerary compositions. With the exception of pSRVII 10241, all the papyri contain the semi-circle of the Twelfth Hour of the *Amduat*,

although the position of the semicircle varies between each papyrus. Every manuscript is uniquely arranged, and not one papyrus is analogous to each other. A number of papyri were created without dividing lines or registers, for example, pBerlin P. 3126, while others are composed on two or three registers, such as pMMA 25.3.31. In pSRVII 10231 dividing lines are drafted between the rows of deities. The composition of pMMA 25.3.31 follows the exact arrangement of the first *Amduat* group mentioned below. pSRVII 10231 contains a mixture of the *Litany of Re*, as can be observed in the row of divinities, the serpent with six legs and raised winged human arms of the Eleventh Hour of the *Amduat*. This figure is also found in pMMA 25.3.31 (**Fig. 83**) and pSRVII 10241. The terminal scene of pSRVII 10231 contains the semi-circular horizon of the Twelfth Hour of the *Amduat*, from which a head emerges and two mummies recline on its' slopes (**Fig. 37b**). pBerlin P. 3126 contains the representation of a snake-headed goddess towing the solar barque (**Fig. 84**), she is often represented standing at the bottom of the double-stairway of Osiris, or accompanying the deceased in Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*. The snake-headed goddess figure is repeated in pSRVII 11506, where the deity is seated holding a feather. This manuscript also contains several other motifs from the *Book of the Dead*, for example, Chapter 86, the spell for transformation into a swallow, the deceased ploughing the *Yaru* Fields of Chapter 110, and the Four Baboons around the Lake of Fire from Chapter 126.

This sub-group was created around the late 21st Dynasty.

The next group of papyri is characterised by their analogous composition and style of execution: the particular hours are divided horizontally into three registers that are separated by distinct vertical elements, such as lines, or columns of text (**Fig. 85**). The etiquette is typically placed on the right, and the manuscript is read from left to right. Members include: pAMS 36 (**Plate 78**), pSRVII 10229 (**Plate 79**), pSRVII 10236 (**Plate 80**), pSRVII 10239 (**Plate 81**), pSRIV 655 (**Plate 82**), pSRVII 10246 (**Plate 83**), pSRVII 10248 (**Plate 84**), pSRVII 10272 (**Plate 85**), pSRVII 10274 (**Plate 86**), pBM 10012 (**Plate 87**), pKelsey 74.1.1 (**Plate 88**), pMilan E. 1026 (**Plate 89**), pSRIV 554 (**Plate 90**), pMMW 38/84 (**Plate 91**), and pZagreb 883 (**Plate 92**). These papyri are, for the most part, faithful imitations of the royal *Amduat* from the Valley of the Kings. The style of drawing recalls the 18th Dynasty royal tombs, especially those of Thuthmosis III, Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III. The figures are typically rendered according to the abbreviated (stick) figure-type painted in the tombs, and are also only outlined in black. Red is the only other colour used, serving to highlight key texts or iconography within the manuscript, however, the etiquette may be painted in a variety of colours. The content of

the papyri also follows the chronological sequence of the Royal *Amduat* and contains most of the figures from the final four hours, however, the complete repertoire is not always illustrated and sometimes only one hour can be represented.

A number of these manuscripts contain a supplementary abbreviated version of the *Amduat*, written in retrograde, cursive hieroglyphs. This is usually inserted between the etiquette and the illustrated *Amduat* (Niwiński, 1989a: 175). The etiquette of pAMS 36 and pSRVII 10239 contain a similar representation of Hathor behind the seated deity on the left.

In the following group, pBerlin P. 3143 (**Plate 93**), pSRVII 10221 (**Plate 94**), pSRVII 10233 (**Plate 95**), pSRVII 10242 (**Plate 96**), pSRVII 10245 (**Plate 97**), pSRVII 10250 (**Plate 98**) and pKansas 33-1398 (**Plate 99**), the arrangement of motifs from the royal *Amduat* breaks with the long-established tradition of representing the *Amduat* in three registers. Niwiński (1989a: 181) maintains that although the individual figures were accurately reproduced, there was no importance attached to the copying of the structural elements, and therefore, the figures were placed on one or two registers. These papyri reflect the initial phase of the evolution of the *Amduat* papyri within the late 21st Dynasty, attesting to the influence of other theological compositions. They also may indicate economic considerations on the part of the owner. pKansas 33-1398 and pSRVII 10233 are both composed alike. They consist of a single, horizontal register framed by two parallel lines, onto which the various figures of the 11th and 12th Hours have been drawn. Two vertical lines of hieroglyphs separate the various hours.

A relationship to the first *Amduat* group can be determined from the style of execution of the representations and arrangement of the papyri where vertical columns of text divide the individual hours. The religious content is also derived from the last four hours of the *Amduat*, albeit in an extremely abbreviated form, especially pSRVII 10250 (**Plate 98**).

These papyri were produced from the middle 21st Dynasty, during the reign of Pinudjem II, to the reign of Psusennes II in the late 21st Dynasty.

The following group of manuscripts, pSRIV 548 (**Plate 100**), pSRIV 552 (**Plate 101**), pSRVII 10227 (**Plate 102**), pSRVII 10273 (**Plate 103**), pBerlin P. 3005 (**Plate 104**), and pBM 9970 (**Plate 105**), can be distinguished by their parallel content and similar sequence of events, which Niwiński (1989a: 175) has referred to as a "family". The contents are derived purely from the last four hours of the *Amduat*; no motifs or figures from other books of the netherworld are included. All the papyri from this group are comprised of an etiquette representing the deceased before Osiris, located on the right

of the manuscript, and are read from left to right (**Fig. 86**). The etiquette is often enclosed within a shrine topped by *uraei* with disks upon their heads. The main focus appears to be the Eleventh Hour, which is located directly adjacent to the etiquette. Four goddesses seated atop double-headed snakes from the Eleventh Hour, holding a hand to their faces, typically occur at the end of the papyrus, next to the etiquette. The text usually consists of vertical columns of hieroglyphs. The various hours form a continuous sequence of events, and are not separated by vertical columns of text, the exceptions being pSRVII 10227 (**Plate 102**) and pSRVII 10273 (**Plate 103**). The papyri are arranged on either two or three registers, and the Eleventh Hour is represented on any one of these. In some papyri, the motifs from the various hours are represented together on the same register, but still retain the correct chronological order. The style of execution varies considerably; the figures can be highly abbreviated, as in pSRIV 552, or depicted realistically, for example, pSRVII 10273 and pBerlin P. 3005 (**Fig. 86**), or they can contain a mixture of both, as in pSRVII 10227. All these papyri appear to have been created around the late 21st Dynasty.

6.3.5. Observations

Given the characteristics of the last-mentioned sub-group, it is possible for one to conclude that the artists were allowed a certain amount of latitude in which to experiment with the fusion of motifs from the funerary literature of the time, culminating into a series of complex iconographic compositions.

It is more than likely that the same artist produced pChicago FM 31326 (**Plate 57**) and pBM 9919 (**Plate 58**), as they are almost identical in style and share similar content, for example, the analogous representation of Chapter 149 of the *Book of the Dead* in both papyri. It is also possible that the same hand may be identified in pAMS 40 and pSRIV 982 (**Plate 59**), as they contain similar iconography and the same style of execution.

pLuxor J. 25 (**Plate 69**), pSRVII 10247 (**Plate 70**), and pSRIV 544 (**Plate 71**), were all created roughly around the middle 21st Dynasty, and probably are the work of one individual artist.

6.4. Papyri Workshop 4 – Analogous Kneeling Figures

6.4.1. Members

Date	Mus. Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Late 21 st Dynasty	pBerlin P. 3127 (Plate 106, Fig. 98b)	<i>Imn-im</i>	-
	pBerlin P. 3128 (Plate 107, Fig. 98c)	<i>T-hm-n-Mwt</i>	-

	107)		
	pSRIV 555 (Plate 108)	<i>ʒst-ḫm-ḫ-bit</i>	A. 126
	pSRIV 645 (Plate 109)	<i>Tnt-sʒ-r-k-n</i>	-
	pSRIV 932 (Plate 110, Figs. 19b, 100a – b)	<i>ḏd-ḫnsw-ḏʒf-ḫ</i>	A. 107
	pSRVII 10238 (Plate 111, Figs. 43b, 88, 89, 91-94, 95b, 95d - 97, 98c, 101a)	<i>Ns-y-pʒt-tʒwy</i>	A. 26
	pBM 10004 (Plate 112)	<i>Pʒ-diw-ḫnsw</i>	-
	pBM 10007 (Fig. 98d)	<i>Pʒ-ʒb-wn-Mwt</i>	-
	pLouvre N. 3287 (Plate 113, Figs. 90, 95a, 95c, 98a, 101b)	<i>Tʒ-bʒk-n-ḫnsw</i>	-
	pTurin ME 1769 (Fig. 87)	<i>Mḥ-ʒiw-rdy-skb</i>	-
	pWarsaw MN 199 628 (Plate 114, Fig. 99)	<i>Tʒ-ḫm-n-Mwt</i>	-

Table 5

Workshop 4 consists of eleven manuscripts (**Table 5**). Due to the similarities in style and execution, pWarsaw MN 199 628 and pBerlin P. 3128 have been identified as belonging to the same owner. Both papyri are related to each other with regard to the same characteristic details, such as the upper bordering ornament that consists of a thickly painted band of colour while a single line is drawn under the figures (Niwiński, 1989a: 193).

6.4.2. Date

This workshop appears to have been in production from the late 21st Dynasty. pSRVII 10238 can be dated with certainty to the late 21st Dynasty since the name of Pinudjem II (c. 990 – 969 B. C. E) is inscribed on the accompanying mummy-linen. The remaining papyri are dated to the late 21st Dynasty based on their style, iconography and religious content.

6.4.3. Style and Execution

The vignettes are competently drafted with an economy of line typical of the late 21st Dynasty. The male figures characteristically exhibit broad shoulders, a wide chest and long legs. The female figures are tall and slender with very thin arms. Both male and female figures have relatively small heads with large eyes.

6.4.4. Common Characteristics

Almost all the papyri from this workshop, pBerlin P. 3127 (**Plate 106**), pBerlin P. 3128 (**Plate 107**), pSRIV 555 (**Plate 108**), pSRIV 645 (**Plate 109**), pSRIV 932 (**Plate 110**), SRVII 10238 (**Plate 111**), pBM 10004 (**Plate 112**), pBM 10007, pLouvre 3287 (**Plate 113**), and Turin ME 1769 (**Fig. 87**) form one uniform group, based on their homogeneous content and analogous sequence of events. Niwiński (1989a: 192) describes this group as a “unique series of truly analogous, almost identical papyri”. The manuscripts consist predominantly of figural representations with the text serving as captions. The direction of reading is generally from right to left. The texts are typically written in hieroglyphs composed in vertical columns, with the exception of the captions that are written horizontally above the images. The bordering ornament is a permanent element, framing the entire composition. It can either consist of two or three sketched parallel lines in black ink, or two thick painted lines in colour. The papyri are typically composed horizontally on one register, with the exception of pSRIV 932, which is divided horizontally into two registers.

As mentioned above, the most characteristic attribute of this workshop is that most of the papyri are composed of analogous content that is arranged in an almost identical sequence. A sub-etiquette is always present, and placed at the right end of the roll on the right. Each manuscript commences with Chapter 87 of the *Book of the Dead*, where the deceased usually kneel before a winged serpent (**Fig. 88**), who may be bearded, and offer their hearts to him. This scene is followed by a seated figure of *Ma'at* holding a composite papyri and *ankh*-sign. *Ma'at* faces a phoenix that represents Chapter 83 of the *Book of the Dead*, with a small scarab below (**Fig. 89**). This is followed by a representation of a large heart-shaped amulet inscribed with Chapter 30B of the *Book of the Dead* (**Fig. 90**). Behind this scene is a representation of the goddess of the West, Imem-Tet (**Fig. 91**) with the sign of the West for a head, representing Chapter 8 of the *Book of the Dead*. She is depicted kneeling on a feast-sign with her arms raised in adoration. A *was*-sceptre and *djed*-column are illustrated above an alabaster basin (*hb*), the determinative for festival, forming a frame around an *ankh*-sign hanging over the

goddess's elbow. The next scene consists of four seated, mummiform figures of the Four Sons of Horus (**Fig. 92**) with their names:

"Imsety, Hapy, Dua-mutef and Khebeh-senef"

usually written above them, they are in turn followed by the baboon of Thoth (**Fig. 93**) seated on a standard, holding a feather of *ma'at*. Behind the baboon are Three Guardians of the Pylons of the Netherworld representing Chapter 145/146 of the *Book of the Dead* (**Fig. 94**). The first Guardian is normally depicted as a seated child, and the second is hippo-headed. The third is a seated double-headed Bes-figure crowned by two cobras, and can be depicted spewing snakes from his mouths. Each of the Guardians holds two knives in their hands. The Mounds or *iats* of Chapter 149/150 of the *Book of the Dead* typically follow this scene. The arrangement of the individual Mounds varies, but they usually consist of identical elements. The Fifth Mound is represented by a wickerwork frail (**Fig. 95a**) labelled above in hieroglyphs as:

"The Great Mound".

A representation of a centipede within an oval (**Fig. 95b**) illustrates the Sixth Mound, and the Ninth Mound is portrayed by a crocodile with its snout in a vase (**Fig. 95c**). This is normally labelled:

"The Mysterious Mound of the Netherworld".

A lamp-headed seated mummiform god holding a flagellum (**Fig. 95d**) represents the Twelfth Mound, and the Fourteenth Mound consists of a looped cobra enclosed in an oval-shape (**Fig. 95e**), and is named the:

"Mound of Old Cairo in the West of Heaven"

A recumbent jackal holding a crook and a flail on his back represents Chapter 138/140 (**Fig. 96**). The next scene, Chapter 148 illustrates the four rudders of heaven (**Fig. 97**), which are usually entitled:

*"The beautiful rudder on Heaven and upon earth, North;
the beautiful rudder on Heaven and upon earth, South;
the beautiful rudder on Heaven and upon earth, West;
the beautiful rudder on Heaven and upon earth, East".*

(Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 77 – 79). A cobra and an *udjat*-eye typically accompany each rudder, and in a number of the papyri, the cobras wear alternating white and red crowns.

The terminal scene represents Chapter 186 with the Hathor-cow emerging from the western mountain wearing a *menat*-necklace. This scene often contains variations of the motif, for example, a human figure emerges from the western mountain holding aloft

a sun disk in pSRIV 645 (**Plate 109**), pLouvre N. 3287 (**Fig. 98a, Plate 113**), and pBM 10004 (**Plate 112**). In the pBerlin P. 3127 (**Fig. 98b, Plate 106**), pSRVII 10238 (**Fig. 98c, Plate 111**), pSRIV 555 (**Plate 108**), and pBM 10007 (**Fig. 98d**) this figure is worshipped by either a representation of the deceased, their *ba*-bird, or a snake-headed goddess as can be seen in pSRVII 10238 (**Fig. 98c**). In the pBerlin P. 3128 (**Plate 107**), a sun disk containing a scarab emerges from the mountain.

An anomalous version of Chapter 186 is represented in the second scene of pWarsaw MN 199 628 (**Fig. 99, Plate 114**). This representation consists of a baboon on a standard in the adoration pose before the western mountain. A celestial barque emerges from the mountain supported by the horns of the Hathor-cow below. A convoluted disk is positioned above this group containing the head of a ram, which emanates rays and dotted lines onto the barque.

An atypical end scene is depicted in the end vignette of the top register of pSRIV 932 (**Plate 110**), instead of Chapter 186 (**Fig. 100a**). Here, the sun disk is placed on the backs of two lions facing each other (a possible reference to Chapter 17 of the *Book of the Dead*), and the *ba*-bird of the deceased raises his arms in adoration. The bottom register consists of scenes from the *Amduat*, and a representation of the mummy of the deceased on a barque whose ends terminate in lotus blossoms. A cobra with outstretched wings hovers above (**Fig. 100b**). This motif is also represented in pBerlin P. 3128.

Apart from Chapter 186, the bulk of pWarsaw MN 199 628 represents the *Litany of Re*. The linear style of execution can also be seen in pSRIV 932 and pLouvre N. 3287.

6.4.5. Observations

Due to the homogenous nature of the contents of the papyri, it is highly probable that the artists copied from one model papyrus. Niwiński (1989a: 193) believes that these “undoubtedly originate from the same pattern book”.

In pSRIV 932 (**Plate 110**), figures of the Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Hours of the *Amduat* occupy the lower register. They appear to be in chronological sequence reading from the left to the right of the roll, as in the classical version of the *Amduat*. This sequence is reversed in the top register, and is read from right to left.

No married couples share a papyrus, it appears that they were created only for one person, and thus only one person is depicted.

Gender appears to be differentiated through the kneeling pose in the substitute etiquette. The majority of the female figures kneel with both knees on the ground while

the male figures have only one knee on the ground with the other knee raised directly under their outstretched elbow (**Figs. 101a – b**). This appears to be in keeping with Egyptian artistic tradition, and the variation of the pose even differentiates gender through out the corpus of papyri in this study selection, the female deities are not excluded from the use of the pose.

6.5. Papyri Workshop 5 – Unique Contents

6.5.1. Members:

Date	Mus. Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Middle 21 st Dynasty	pCambridge E. 92.1904 (Fig. 32)	<i>Tn-phwf-nhtw</i>	-
	pBodmer C (Plate 116, Fig. 103b)	<i>Tn-phwf-nhtw</i>	-
	pBM 9932 (Plate 117, Fig. 102a)	<i>Tn-hw-phf^c</i>	-
Middle/Late 21 st Dynasty	pFlorence 3663 (Plate 128)	<i>T-šd-hnsw</i>	-
	pTurin ME 1770 (Fig. 102b)	<i>P3t-m-rw-rd-iw</i>	-
Late 21 st Dynasty	pBerlin P. 3148 (Plate 121)	Anonymous	-
	pBerlin P. 3152 (Plate 130)	Anonymous	-
	pSRIV 529	<i>Mn-Hpr-R^c</i>	A. 147
	pSRIV 967	<i>Mn-Hpr-R^c</i>	A. 147
	pSRIV 556 (Fig. 103a)	<i>nh-f-n-hnsw</i>	A. 108
	pSRIV 960	<i>dir-p3</i>	A. 123
	pSRVII 10257 (Plate 123, Figs. 37a, 111b, 117)	<i>dir-p3</i>	A. 123
	pSRVII 10234 (Plate 122, Figs. 41a, 113)	<i>Tnt-di-Mwt</i>	A. 91
	pSRVII 10251 (Fig. 44a)	<i>Tnt-diw-Mwt</i>	A. 91
	pSRVII 10254 (Plate 129, Fig. 119)	<i>Hry-wbn</i>	A. 133
	pSRVII 10256 (Plate 115, Figs. 37e, 104, 107)	<i>Hry-wbn</i>	A. 133
	pSRVII 10267 (Plate 126,	<i>dd-hnsw-iwf-nh</i>	-

	Figs. 108, 114b, 118a – b)		
	pBM 10018 (Figs. 36, 109)	<i>Hn-t3wy</i>	-
	pMIA 16.675 (Plate 125)	<i>dd-hnsw-f-^cnh</i>	-
	pMMA 25.3.33 (Plate 131, Fig. 114a)	<i>Ti-y</i>	-
	pLouvre N. 3069 (Plate 118, Figs. 31, 115, 116)	<i>B3k-w-Mwt-r-htw</i>	-
	pLouvre N. 3297 (Plate 124, Figs. 106, 110)	<i>B3k-n-Mwt</i>	-
	pVM 54-10 (Plate 119, Fig. 111a)	<i>Hn(w)t-t3wy</i>	-
	pTurin ME 1781 (Plate 127, Figs. 111c, 112)	<i>dhwt-y-ms</i>	-
Late 21 st /Early 22 nd Dynasty	pBerlin P. 3147 (Plate 120, Fig. 105)	<i>Ss-R^c</i>	-

Table 6

Papyri Workshop 5 consists of twenty-five manuscripts (Table 6).

Several papyri were discovered in the same funerary ensemble; these include pBM 9932, which was found with pCambridge E. 92.1904, pSRIV 529 was paired with pSRIV 967, pSRVII 10252 with pSRVII 10234, pSRVII 10254 with pSRVII 10256, and finally pSRVII 10257 was discovered with pSRIV 960. It is generally accepted that pVM 54 -10 and pBM 10018 belong to the same owner, and may even be fragments of the same papyrus. They can be ascribed to the same owner through similarities in style.

6.5.2. Date

According to the iconography, style, and content of the manuscripts, this workshop appears to have been manufacturing papyri from the middle 21st Dynasty to the early 22nd Dynasty. pBM 9932, pCambridge E. 92.1904 and pBodmer C may be recognised as the earliest examples from this workshop, based on a higher standard of draughtsmanship, a large percentage of text to representations, and the division of the papyri into defined sections, and have been ascribed to the middle 21st Dynasty. The majority of the papyri appear to have been manufactured during the late 21st Dynasty. pSRVII 10254, pSRVII 10256, and pSRVII 10257 contain the name of the High Priest Psusennes on their respective mummy-braces. pBerlin P. 3147 is attributed to the late 21st or early 22nd Dynasty based on the style of execution, and iconography utilised.

6.5.3. Style and Execution

As a whole, the vignettes are generally executed in a bold and confident manner; however, the illustration between the various papyri differs significantly in respect to quality of execution. All the figures, even those of the *Amduat*, are represented in their entirety, and include all secondary features. They are not rendered in the abbreviated, stick-figure manner common to Papyri Workshops 3, 6 and 7.

Due to the length of time spanned by the workshop, there is considerable variation within the proportions of the figures. However, most of the figures display a large head with large eyes surrounded by a heavy make-up line.

6.5.4. Common characteristics

The manuscripts from Papyri Workshop 5 represent a distinctive collection of atypical compositions in terms of iconography and style, and not one papyrus is analogous to each other. The representations are composed of an assortment and/or synthesis of motifs from the funerary literature of the time. Due to the profusion of iconography available, each manuscript is filled with unique variations and combinations of various funerary iconography so that every inch of space is utilised. For example, the terminal scene from pBM 9932 (**Fig. 102a**) appears almost cluttered, while the representations in pTurin ME 1770 (**Fig. 102b**) look as if they are placed *ad hoc* with no regard for the compositional arrangement.

The manuscripts consist primarily of figural representations, which significantly exceed the proportion of text. The figures can be either outlined in black with some elements painted in red, or they are painted in a variety of bright colours. The etiquette is not always a constant element. The bordering ornament often consists of two or three parallel lines, which are frequently coloured. The composition of the manuscripts vary considerably, and often no dividing lines are drafted,

This workshop produced both figural/*Book of the Dead* and *Amduat* papyri, although the distinction between the two can be ambiguous. Niwiński (1989a: 149) cites the example of pVM 54-10 (**Plate 119**), which is mainly decorated with a patchwork of motifs from the various books of the underworld. The manuscript would normally be classified as an *Amduat*, but is given the title *pry m hrw* (*Book of the Dead*) by the artist. The individual style of one artist is recognisable in the manuscript pairs of pBM 9932 and pCambridge E. 92.1904, and pBerlin P. 3147 and pBM 9941. However, these belong to the same classification A.III.1b assigned by Niwiński (1989a: 201). He, thus, assumes that the artists themselves decided upon the distinction between the two types of papyri.

The figural/*Book of the Dead* group comprises of pSRIV 556, pSRVII 10256 (**Plate 115**), pCambridge E. 92.1904, pBodmer C (**Plate 116**), pBM 9932 (**Plate 117**), pLouvre N. 3069 (**Plate 118**), and pVM 54-10 (**Plate 119**). Imagery from the *Book of the Dead* can be distinguished, however, these are greatly transformed. New variants of iconographical versions of the *Book of the Dead* are encountered, in particular is the peculiar figure of the *Medjed*, associated with Chapter 17 that appears in pSRIV 556 (**Fig. 103a**) and pBodmer C (**Fig. 103b**), “which may originate from the same workshop” (Niwinski, 1989a: 122). Furthermore, these figures are placed in an identical sequence. All the papyri contain new funerary compositions previously unattested to in the classical version of the *Book of the Dead*, such as the deceased prostrate before a crocodile (**Fig. 104**) representing the earth god, Geb in pSRVII 10256 (**Plate 115**), and the last two scenes from pLouvre N. 3069 (**Plate 118**).

Popular *Book of the Dead* spells include Chapters 148, 110 and 195.

The *Amduat* group (**Plates 120 – 131**) comprises of the majority papyri produced in Papyri Workshop 5. The representations on these manuscripts are not arranged, nor executed according to the classical royal *Amduat*, even though the artists used motifs from the royal tombs, and they are recognisable as such. The various divisions of the *Amduat* are confused and chaotic, and the representations of the various hours are abbreviated to the use of a few figures, which were probably the most representative of that particular division. As with the *Book of the Dead* papyri, the *Amduat* papyri include a mixture of motifs from other funerary texts. This includes various motifs from the *Book of the Dead* alongside compositions from other funerary literature, however these can be extremely transformed.

The terminal scene of pBerlin P. 3147 (**Fig. 105, Plate 120**) refers to Chapter 186 of the *Book of the Dead*, but is modified so that a ram emerges from the Western Mountain instead of the Cow of Hathor. This chapter is represented in its “traditional” form in pBerlin P. 3148 (**Plate 121**), pSRVII 10234 (**Plate 122**), and pSRVII 10257 (**Plate 123**).

A combination of the Eighth Division of the *Book of Gates* and the Tenth Division of the *Amduat* can be found in the terminal scene of pLouvre N. 3297 (**Fig. 106, Plate 124**) where eight lamps surround a lake that contains four black bodies (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 127).

pBM 10018 (**Fig. 36**), pBerlin P. 3148 (**Plate 121**), and pSRVII 10256 (**Plate 115**) (from the *Book of the Dead* group), include a vignette possibly representing Chapter 15 of the *Book of the Dead*, of a sun disc encircled by a serpent biting its own tail, known as

the *Ouroboros* (**Fig. 107**). The *Ouroboros* acted as a symbol of the eternity of time and the boundary of the universe. The Egyptians believed that chaotic forces were constantly threatening the world, and felt the need to place a guard around the earth (symbolically represented as the primeval mound). This function was fulfilled by a gigantic serpent with its tail in its mouth named *Sito*, the Son of the Earth (Clark, 1960: 240). Chapter 87 of the *Book of the Dead* describes him:

*"I am Sito, dilated with years, I die and am reborn every day,
I am Sito, who dwells in the furthest regions of the world"*

(Clark, 1960: 241). The disc is surmounted between the horns of a bull, flanked between the two lions of the Horizon, Shu and Tefnut, who are facing the opposite way. They contain the representation of a baboon in the adoration pose before the sun disc, and inside the disc is an illustration of a seated child. The disc in the vignette on pBM 10018 contains the head-fetish of Osiris, which may refer to the Tenth Division of the *Book of Gates*. A similar representation of a disc containing an *udjat*-eye with arms extended radiating rays onto the backs of the two lions is found in pMIA 16.675 (**Plate 125**).

Even though each papyrus is uniquely composed, the majority of the papyri contain corresponding iconography. Niwiński (1989a: 139) observes a substantial number of figural variations of identical themes, and he states that each manuscript consists of an exclusive combination of motifs, "even within the same family or series of papyri". Variations of the creation of the world scene can be found in pSRVII 10267 (**Plate 126**), pBM 10018, pTurin ME 1770 (**Fig. 102b**) and pLouvre N. 3297 (**Plate 124**). In pSRVII 10267 (**Fig. 108**), the elongated body of Nut is stretched out over the representation of a reclining Geb and Shu, whose arms are supported on each side by two ram-headed deities. They are followed by the *ba*-bird of the deceased perched in a barque, preceding a sphinx that is flanked by two crowns. pBM 10018 is unique in that two variations of this theme are placed next to each other (**Fig. 109**), possibly personifying the day and night (Piankoff, 1935: 154). In the first representation, Nut is arched over a reclining snake-headed deity, and the second depicts the arched body of a phallic male deity covered in stars, with one leg forward enclosing the representation of a ram-headed deity holding a *was*-sceptre. Piankoff (1935: 155) has identified this god as Osiris, "the Lord of the *Dewat*", the god of the afterlife. The earth-god, Geb is coiled into a round shape with his feet near his head. A major transformation from the creation of the world motif can be found in pLouvre N. 3297 (**Fig. 110**) where the reclining figure of Geb is enclosed by an enormous serpent with a head on each end, and is flanked by

its two sets of human feet. A representation of a similar serpent can be found in the Tenth Hour of the *Amduat* (Hornung, 1979: Fig. 25).

A highly abbreviated variation of the solar cycle can be found in the pVM 54-10 (**Fig. 111a**) where two scarabs emerge at opposite ends of the disc that encloses the *udjat*-eye. Two similar representations of a soul-bird placed within a disc (**Figs. 111b – c**) are represented in pSRVII 10257 (**Plate 123**) and pTurin ME 1781 (**Plate 127**).

pTurin ME 1781 and pBerlin P. 3148 contain an identical scene of a personified wine press (**Fig. 112**) consisting of two deities twisting three or four human heads in a net, two corpses in the latter and four in the former, are placed beneath the net. A scaled-down version of this theme is included in pTurin ME 1770 (**Fig. 102b**).

A number of common elements may be observed within the papyri: the Four Sons of Horus are depicted in pFlorence 3663 (**Plate 128**), pLouvre N. 3096 (**Plate 118**), pSRVII 10234 (**Fig. 113, Plate 122**), pSRVII 10254 (**Plate 129**), and pBerlin P. 3147 (**Plate 120**). They are usually represented standing within the coils of a giant serpent. In the first two papyri, they are rendered directly behind the etiquette, separated by two columns of vertical hieroglyphs. In the first scene behind the etiquette of pSRVII 10254, the deceased is represented making a libation before a large pile of offerings to the Four Sons; three vertical columns of hieroglyphs separate them. The representation of the Four Sons precedes the terminal scene in pBerlin P. 3147 and pSRVII 10254.

The representation of a jackal-headed human-form deity with large breasts and a long tail, clutching a long serpent (**Figs. 114a – b**) can be found in pBerlin P. 3152 (**Plate 130**), pMMA 25.3.33 (**Plate 131**), and pSRVII 10257. In the latter papyrus, this figure accompanies the deceased to the Judgement scene of Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*.

Smaller, atypical representations such as the image of a goddess with the head of a feather often seated on or near a serpent (**Fig. 115**) are repeated in pLouvre N. 3069, and pMIA 16.675. A depiction of a large winged cobra in can also be found in pBM 9932, in pLouvre N. 3069, two of these figures have a lion and vulture for a head (**Fig. 116**).

The open fan motif is used twice in pBerlin P. 3147 (**Plate 120**), over the back of the representation of Osiris arising from the lion couch and in the terminal scene over the back of the standing ram of Amun-Re. This image is also represented over the back of the sphinx in the creation of the world scene in pSRVII 10267 (**Plate 126**) and as previously mentioned in 4.6.1.3. – Iconography, a personified ankh-sign holds an open

fan behind the enthroned form of Osiris in pSRVII 10234 (**Plate 122**). These are recurrent themes in New Kingdom royal iconography.

A number of motifs were copied from the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, specifically the tomb of Ramesses VI. pSRVII 10254, pSRVII 10257, pSRVII 10267, pBerlin P. 3148, and pTurin ME 1781 contain an image of the solar barque being towed by three or four jackals (**Fig. 117**), these are copies of similar scenes from the *Book of the Day* on the ceiling of Ramesses VI's tomb (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 75 – 76), which may also allude to Chapter 102 of the *Book of the Dead*. The terminal scene with the two conjoined torsos holding a serpent upon which stands a ram-headed sun god, worshipped by a *ba*-bird (**Fig. 118a**) in pSRVII 10267, is represented twice on the ceiling of Ramesses VI's tomb. In another representation from the same papyrus, the deceased is depicted wrapped in a long cloak upon which the head of a lion is depicted (**Fig. 118b**), he wears a necklace, and a crown made of two horns, a disc, and two plumes. This figure is repeated in pVM 54-10 and may originate from a similar figure in the second register of the Third Division of the *Amduat* (Hornung, 1979: Fig. 16). In the concluding scene of pSRVII 10254, a cat-headed deity leads the deceased toward an open door (**Fig. 119, Plate 129**), where the Four Sons of Horus stand within the coils of an enormous serpent. The forepart of the serpent's body passes under a triangular hill, and its head appears above the head and outstretched arm of the revived Osiris. This representation corresponds to a similar scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX, and is included in pVM 54-10. Similar cat-headed figures appear in pSRVII 10257 (**Plate 123**) leading the deceased and pBerlin 3152 (**Plate 130**).

6.5.5. Observations

The majority of manuscripts contain a selection of shared iconography, and vignettes, which may imply the use of pattern-books or model papyri specific to this workshop. Due to the vast number of adaptations to the contemporary funerary literature, and the introduction of new iconography, it would appear that the artists were given a certain amount of freedom in the exploitation of this literature. One may also assume that they were encouraged to do so by their patrons, based on the large number of papyri in this group. Niwiński (1989a: 204) believes that the artists producing the *Amduat*-type papyri “felt themselves absolutely free to decide which motifs from the very rich repertoire of iconographic patterns they wanted to copy”, and the transformation and atypical arrangement of traditional motifs may indicate the individual taste of the artist.

Due to a lack of abbreviated (stick-figure) *Amduat* papyri common to Papyri Workshop 3, one may conclude that this workshop did not generate this particular genre,

for example, pSRIV 556 was recovered from the same funerary ensemble as pSRIV 544 (**Plate 71**), which is an *Amduat* papyrus composed of the stick-type figures. Owing to similarities in artistic style and iconography, the latter manuscript has been placed in 6.3. - Papyri Workshop 3. This also indicates that the customers may have patronised more than one workshop at a time and that they were free to choose from whatever the different workshops had to offer.

This workshop may have served the less affluent Theban citizenry, and may have offered economy/discount versions of funerary manuscripts, for example, the majority of the papyri are generally less than 1.5 metres long and 25 centimetres high. The pBerlin P. 3148 (**Plate 121**) is unique in that the etiquette represents the female owner, but the rest of the papyrus depicts a male figure where the deceased should have been represented. It can be safe to assume that the etiquette was pasted onto the rest of the manuscript, which had been made for a male client, and that this discrepancy was not an issue for the buyer.

The same artist can be identified from pVM 54 –10 (**Plate 119**), pSRVII 10254 (**Plate 129**), pBM 10018 and pSRVII 10256 through the use of similar iconography and the style of drawing.

6.6. Papyri Workshop 6 – Anomalous *Amduats*

6.6.1. Members

Date	Mus. Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Late 21 st Dynasty	pBerlin P. 10466 (Plate 137)	<i>P3-wḥᶜ-n</i>	-
	pSRIV 543	<i>Imn-ḥtp</i>	A. 39
	pSRIV 546 (Plate 150, Figs 124a, 126)	<i>Imn-ḥtp</i>	A. 39
	pSRIV 631 (Plate 159)	Anonymous	-
	pSRIV 652 (Plate 146, Fig. 122)	<i>ḏd-Imn-twf-ᶜnh</i>	-
	pSRIV 1003 (Plate 156)	<i>ᶜnh-f-n-ḥnsw</i>	-
	pSRVII 10220 (Plate 160)	<i>ḏd-Mwt-is-ᶜnh</i>	-
	pSRVII 10223 (Plate 133)	<i>ḏd-Mwt-is-ᶜnh</i>	-
	pSRVII 10235 (Plate 151, Figs. 37c, 127)	Anonymous	-
	pSRVII 10237 (Plate 154)	Anonymous	A. 55
	pSRVII 10243 (Plate 161)	<i>T3-tw-ḥ-nwt</i>	A. 20

	pSRVII 10270 (Plate 164)	<i>T3-tw-ḥ-nwt</i>	A. 20
	pSRVII 10258 (Plate 145, Fig. 121)	Anonymous	Unidentified
	pHouston MFA 13-73 (Plate 155)	<i>Ns-ḥnsw</i>	-
	pAMS 39 (Plate 136)	<i>Tnt-R^c-ss</i>	-
	pLocn. Unkn. 4 (Plate 134)	<i>Ns-p3-nfr-hr</i>	-
	pHieroglyphic 1 (Plate 162)	<i>Pn-rnw</i>	-
	pBM 9948 (Plate 135)	<i>di-sw-n-mwt</i>	-
	pBM 10001 (Plate 163)	Anonymous	-
	pBM 10029 (Plate 138)	<i>Pn-šwt-3st</i>	-
	pBN 153-155 (Plate 147, Figs. 123b, 124b, 125)	<i>Ḥnsw-ms</i>	-
	pLouvre 3110 (Fig. 129)	Anonymous	-
	pLouvre 3139 (Fig. 130)	Anonymous	-
	pLouvre N. 3276 (Plate 149, Fig. 123a)	<i>ḏd-ḥnsw-iws-ḥnh</i>	-
	pLouvre N. 3280 (Plate 141, Fig. 25b)	<i>ḏd-ḥnsw-iws-ḥnh</i>	-
	pVienna ÄOS 3860 (Plate 132)	<i>P3-y-nfr</i>	-
	pYale Ct YBR 2754 (Plate 144)	<i>Mwt-im-mrs</i>	-
Late 21 st /Early 22 nd Dynasty	pSRIV 541 (Plate 148)	<i>Ḥnsw-im-hb (?)</i>	A. 106
	pSRVII 10228 (Figs. 120a – c)	<i>Ḥnsw-im-hb (?)</i>	A. 106
	pMB 295 (Fig. 128)	Anonymous	-
	pBM 9984 (Plate 157)	<i>Ns-Mwt</i>	-
	pBM 9987 (Plate 152)	Anonymous	-
	pZagreb 884 (Plate 153)	Anonymous	-
Early 22 nd Dynasty	pOIM 18039 (Plate 142)	<i>T3wy-hnwt-mwt</i>	-
	pBM 10063 (Plate 140)	<i>P3-diw-imnt</i>	-

	pBM 10330 (Plates 143, 158, Fig. 26a)	<i>dd-tnt-diy-wrt</i>	-
	pSt. Petersburg 3 (Plate 139)	<i>nh-hn-Mwt</i>	-

Table 7

Papyri Workshop 6 is made up of thirty-seven manuscripts (**Table 7**).

pSRIV 541 and pSRVII 10228, pSRVII 10270 and pSRVII 10243 were found together in the same funerary ensembles, and pLouvre N. 3280 belongs to the same owner as pLouvre N. 3276.

6.6.2. Date

This workshop appears to have been in operation from the late 21st Dynasty until the early 22nd Dynasty. The name of the High Priest Psusennes and Year 12 are inscribed on the mummy-linen of Amonhotep, the owner of pSRIV 546. Psusennes' name is also inscribed on the mummy-braces of pSRVII 10258. The remaining members of this group can be dated from the late 21st Dynasty to the early 22nd Dynasty based on similarities in content and style of execution.

6.6.3. Style and Execution

The illustrations are characterised by an extreme abbreviation of forms. It appears that the artists developed an economic "short-hand" style of drawing, which was presumably meant to increase productivity and reduce production time.

The degree of faithfulness of the motifs compared to the royal *Amduat* varies greatly, however, the basic *Amduat* imagery can still be observed even though the structure and composition is significantly transformed. The quality of draughtsmanship between the papyri fluctuates from poor, such as pSRIV 631 (**Plate 159**) and pSRVII 10237 (**Plate 154**), to highly competent in pLouvre N. 3276 (**Plate 149**).

There is considerable variation within the proportions of the male figures; however, the majority display a general tendency towards slenderness, almost appearing feminine in their proportions. With the exception of pBM 10330 (**Plates 143 & 158**), the female figures appear more uniform in their proportions and are also relatively slender.

6.6.4. Common Characteristics

This workshop can be distinguished through its use of highly abbreviated forms in which only the essentials of the various funerary texts are recorded.

Most of the papyri are fairly long, not measuring less than 1 metre in length, the longest of which is pSRIV 631 extending to 4.11 metres. The widths of the manuscripts vary between 15 and 40 centimetres.

Another feature is that the majority of the manuscripts from this group are drafted primarily in black, using red ink for highlights. However, pLouvre N. 3280 (**Plate 141**) contains an etiquette, which is painted white, green, and red. The role of the text varies, some papyri such as pMB 295, pLouvre N. 3110 and pLouvre N. 3139 do not contain any text, while pSRVII 10235, pBN 153-155 and pLouvre N. 3280 are comprised mainly of text. The etiquette is a fairly consistent feature, especially in the *Book of the Dead* papyri, and is generally located on the right end of the manuscript.

This workshop is characterised further by a great diversity in content, and by the liberal manner in which the various books of the underworld are combined. However, these manuscripts can be clearly divided into *Book of the Dead* and *Amduat* papyri based on their content. There is a distinct differentiation between the two types and unlike 6.5. Papyri Workshop 5, the contents of one are not found in the other.

pVienna ÄOS 3860 (**Plate 132**), pSRVII 10223 (**Plate 133**), pLocn. Unkn. 4 (**Plate 134**), and pBM 9948 (**Plate 135**) are primarily comprised of figural versions of the *Book of the Dead*. These are characteristically unmodified, traditional representations from this text. The manuscripts closely resemble the *Book of the Dead* papyri from 6.3. Papyri Workshop 3 in terms of religious content, but due to their style and execution, are considered low-cost imitations. Chapter 110 and various scenes from Chapter 125 are common to all the manuscripts. In pBM 9948, the text, consisting of Chapter 17, takes precedence over the accompanying vignettes that include Chapter 18, and run horizontally along the top of the manuscript. The execution of the etiquette is almost parallel to that of pVienna ÄOS 3869 (**Plate 132**). The *Book of the Dead* manuscript, pSRVII 10228 varies from this grouping in that it contains several atypical scenes not found in the traditional texts. Niwiński (1989a: 125) notes an unusual scene of Anubis and the seven demons (**Fig. 120a**) and two peculiar representations of a *ba*-bird of the deceased (**Figs. 120b – c**). The first bird is atop a *djed*-pillar, while the second bird is perched atop a mound with the feather of *maꜣat* at its feet.

The following *Book of the Dead* manuscripts are composed of one initial vignette, and the text is written primarily in sheets of horizontal hieratic text, conforming to Niwiński's BD 1.2 (Niwiński, 1989a: 112 – 118): pAMS 39 (**Plate 136**), pBerlin P. 10466 (**Plate 137**), pBM 10029 (**Plate 138**), pSt. Petersburg 3 (**Plate 139**), pBM 10063 (**Plate 140**), pLouvre N. 3280 (**Plate 141**), pOIM 18039 (**Plate 142**), pBM 10330 (**Plate 143**)

and pYale Ct YBR 2754 (**Plate 144**). They are characteristically analogous in style and execution. With the exception of pBM 10330, the etiquette is typically brightly painted, and all are carefully executed. The deity represented is Osiris, however, Re-Horakhty is portrayed in pBM 10029. The deity typically sits upon a throne atop a *maʿat*-shaped pedestal, wearing the *atef*-crown (or in pBM 10029, a disc with a *uraeus*). The markings on the throne and pedestal are almost identical in each manuscript. The scene is framed by two painted *was*-sceptres on the sides, and a sky-sign on the top.

The *Amduat* papyri generally consist of a mixture of the last four divisions. The various hours are not divided by lines or columns of text, and they form one continuous scene. The sequence of the hours are typically confused and the content is normally chaotic.

The *Amduat* papyri can be divided into two groups based on their composition and content. Both groups contain identifiable structural elements of the *Amduat* or highly abbreviated figures that are the most characteristic of the various hours of the *Amduat*. A transformed and extremely condensed version of the Twelfth Hour of the *Amduat* can be seen in pSRVII 10258 (**Fig. 121, Plate 145**), the motif is enclosed within an oval and contains only the most characteristic figures, such as the reclining mummy, the scarab, and the towers. An unusual representation of the semi-circle of the Twelfth Hour of the *Amduat* can also be seen in pSRIV 652 (**Fig. 122, Plate 146**).

The first group consists of fairly complicated compositions comprised of elements from the *Amduat* and other nether-worldly books. These include: pSRIV 652 (**Plate 146**), pBN 153-155 (**Plate 147**), pSRIV 541 (**Plate 148**), pLouvre N. 3276 (**Plate 149**), pSRIV 546 (**Plate 150**), pSRVII 10235 (**Plate 151**), pSRVII 10258 (**Plate 145**), pBM 9987 (**Plate 152**), and pZagreb 884 (**Plate 153**). The composition of pLouvre N. 3276 is the most complex of this group. It is framed like the Twelfth Hour of the *Amduat* with the semi-circle, reclining mummy, and head with outstretched arms at the end of the roll. This motif is repeated in the first register and includes the semi-circle, scarab and head with outstretched arms. The third register contains a representation from Part A of the *Book of the Earth* with a pair of arms emerging from the two foreparts of the *Aker* lions. This design can also be found in pBN 153-155 (**Figs. 123a & 123b**). This image may have been taken from a similar motif on the right wall of the sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of Ramesses VI (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 203).

The representation of a procession of soul-birds towing the solar barque in the second register is also included in pSRIV 631, pSRVII 10237 (**Plate 154**), pBN 153-155 is taken from the lower register of Part A of the *Book of the Earth* (Hornung, 1979: Fig

55). Further imagery from the *Book of the Earth* can be seen in the representation of the three birds sitting on oval mounds (**Figs. 124a – b**), which is also found in pSRIV 546, pBN 153-155, the bottom register of pMB 295 (**Fig. 128**) and the top register of pLouvre N. 3139 (**Fig. 130**). pBN 153-155 contains a motif of the god of the watery abyss (**Fig. 125**), Nun, emerging between two cobras, Isis and Nephthys, and lifting a solar barge derived from the Twelfth Hour of the *Book of Gates*. An atypical variation of the creation scene can be found in pSRIV 546 (**Fig. 126**). The solar barque from the *Amduat* is represented sailing along the stomach of the arched body of Nut, beneath which lies the mummy of the deceased being worshipped by a *ba*-bird. Three serpents with human legs and arms are towing another barque containing a fire-spewing serpent with a winged figure with a disk for a head. This image is reminiscent of the winged figure of the Eleventh Hour of the *Amduat*. Seven mummies standing within the coils of a fire-spitting serpent represent the Eighth Division of the *Book of Gates*. The procession of figures carrying disks may belong to the Eleventh Hour of the *Book of Gates*. This scene is very similar to a representation of Nut from the Osirion in Abydos, and the tomb of Ramesses VI (Niwinski, 1989a: 208). The first scene from pSRVII 10235 contains a representation of six mummies on couches, referring to the Fifth Division of the *Book of Gates*. Another six mummies within the coils of a serpent represent the Eighth Division, and the Tenth Division is implied by the presence of seven male figures referred to as the towers in Fourth Division of the *Amduat*. These can also be seen in the middle register of pLouvre N. 3110 (**Fig. 129**). Five male deities with stars above their heads towing the solar barque in the upper register of scene five (**Fig. 127**) is similar to a representation of the middle register of the Tenth Hour of the *Amduat* from the Tomb of Ramesses VI (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 194 – 200).

The composition of pHouston MFA 13-73 (**Plate 155**), pSRIV 1003 (**Plate 156**), pMB 295 (**Fig. 128**), pBM 9984 (**Plate 157**), pBM 10330 (**Plate 158**), pLouvre N. 3110 (**Fig. 129**), and pLouvre 3139 (**Fig. 130**) generally imitate the structure to the *Amduat*. They are composed on either two or three registers. These papyri are fairly short, consisting of an extremely reduced number of *Amduat* figures and images that are fused into one representation. For example, pSRIV 1003 only contains two images from the Tenth Hour, and in the Twelfth Hour only two figures pull the barque along the serpent. In pBM 10330, the snake upon which the figures tow the barque has four legs that may imply the serpent from the Eleventh Hour.

The second group of manuscripts consists of representations arranged horizontally on a single register. These are somewhat simple in design, and typically

consist of motifs from the *Amduat*. This group includes: pSRIV 631 (**Plate 159**), pSRVII 10220 (**Plate 160**), pSRVII 10237 (**Plate 154**), pSRVII 10243 (**Plate 161**), pHieroglyphic 1 (**Plate 162**) pBM 10001 (**Plate 163**), and pSRVII 10270 (**Plate 164**). The content and style of drawing is highly abbreviated, and the quality of the vignettes is of a generally poor standard.

6.6.5. Observations:

From the physical appearance of pSRIV 631 (**Plate 159**), pSRVII 10237 (**Plate 154**), pSRVII 10220 (**Plate 160**) and pSRVII 10223 (**Plate 133**), it is highly probable that the person who wrote the text also created the illustrations. The mediocre style of execution, lack of colour and embellishments, implies that Workshop 6 produced the more economic imitations of the *Book of the Dead* and the *Amduat*. For example, pBM 9984 (**Plate 157**) and pHouston MFA 13-73 (**Plate 155**) echo the layout and design of the *Amduat* papyri of Workshop 3, but are rendered in the style from this workshop.

There does not appear to be any correlation between the size of the manuscript and the quality of execution, since pSRIV 631 contains rather poor quality illustrations on one register, but is the longest manuscript in the group. Aesthetics may not have been an issue to the Thebans at this time.

The same hand may be detected in pSRIV 631 (**Plate 159**) and pSRVII 10237 (**Plate 154**), which are stylistically similar.

6.7. Papyri Workshop 7: Analogous *Amduats*

6.7.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Late 21 st Dynasty	pSRIV 1544 (Plate 169)	Anonymous	A. 32
	pBodmer 103 (Plate 166)	<i>Nb-ntr-w</i>	-
	pBodmer 108 (Plate 183, Fig. 133)	<i>dd-M3^ct-is-^cnh</i>	-
	pBallard (Plate 175)	Anonymous	-
	pBM 9982 (Plate 182)	Anonymous	-
	pWEM 3 (Plate 174, Fig. 132)	Anonymous	-
	pSkrine 1 (Plate 184, Figs. 135, 136)	<i>nh-hf-n-hnsw</i>	-
	pLouvre N. 3288 (Plate	Anonymous	-

	177, Fig. 134)		
	pLouvre N. 3451 (Plate 178)	Anonymous	-
	pNicholson R93 (Plate 176)	Anonymous	-
	pBerlin P. 3123 (Plate 179)	Anonymous	-
Late 21 st /Early 22 nd Dynasty	pSRIV 530 (Plate 168)	<i>ḏd-Imn-i3f-ḥnh</i>	-
	pCMA 1914. 725 (Plate 171, Fig. 131)	<i>Bw-iri(w)-h^cr-w^c-Mwt</i>	-
	pCMA 1914. 732 (Plate 170)	<i>B3-ḥn-Mwt</i>	-
	pCortona 394 (Plate 172)	Anonymous	-
	pBM 9974 (Plate 165)	<i>Bw-ḏwty-r^c</i>	-
	pBM 9975 (Plate 180)	Anonymous	-
	pBM 9980 (Plate 181)	<i>ḥnh-ḥfn-ḥnsw</i>	-
	pSt. Petersburg 1 (Plate 167)	<i>W3-s3-irk-n</i>	-
	pSt. Petersburg 2 (Plate 173)	<i>W3-s3-irk-n</i>	-

Table 8

Papyri Workshop 7 consists of twenty manuscripts (Table 8).

6.7.2. Date

Judging from the style of execution and contents of the papyri, Papyri Workshop 7 was in production from the late 21st Dynasty to the early 22nd Dynasty. The latter date is attested to by the manuscripts, pSt. Petersburg 1 and 2, which belong to Osorkon, the grandson of Osorkon 1. It is assumed that he died in the reign of his grandfather, c. 924 – 889 B. C. E. (Berlev, et al. 1998: 142).

6.7.3. Style and Execution

The quality of execution of these manuscripts is fairly competent and comparatively consistent, especially when compared to the quality of 6.6. – Papyri Workshop 6. pBM 9982 appears to be the most superior of the group with regard to the high quality of draughtsmanship, however, the compositional arrangement of every manuscript is relatively well designed.

The representations from each of the manuscripts are carefully illustrated, albeit in an extremely abbreviated form and the various divisions are represented by only a few figures, which makes the papyri from this workshop characteristically short in length.

6.7.4. Common Characteristics

The *Book of the Dead* group comprises of pBM 9974 (**Plate 165**), pBodmer 103 (**Plate 166**) and pSt. Petersburg 1 (**Plate 167**). These consist of Niwiński's (1989a: 152 – 155) BD 1.2 – type. The etiquettes are typically executed in a quick and economical style. The representations are efficiently drafted in black outline only, and can be framed by a single line, for example, pBodmer 103. Re-Horakhty is the only deity represented. The religious content and length of each manuscript varies.

The *Amduat*-type papyri from this workshop form a distinctive, comparatively analogous group, comprising of: pSRIV 530 (**Plate 168**), pSRIV 1544 (**Plate 169**), pCMA 1914.732 (**Plate 170**), pCMA 1914.725 (**Plate 171**), pCortona 394 (**Plate 172**), pSt. Petersburg 2 (**Plate 173**), pWEM 3 (**Plate 174**), pBallard (**Plate 175**), pNicholson R93 (**Plate 176**), pLouvre N. 3288 (**Plate 177**), pLouvre N. 3451 (**Plate 178**), pBerlin P. 3123 (**Plate 179**), pBM 9975 (**Plate 180**), pBM 9980 (**Plate 181**), pBM 9982 (**Plate 182**), pBodmer 108 (**Plate 183**), and pSkrine 1 (**Plate 184**). This workshop is characterised by the structural arrangement of the papyri, which still imitates the structure of the classical New Kingdom version of the *Amduat*. These manuscripts are arranged on either two or three registers, and all terminate with the semi-circular frame of the Twelfth Hour of the *Amduat*. In each of the manuscripts, the semi-circle is located at the right end of the roll, and reading commences from left to right.

The absence of an etiquette is a constant feature for all the papyri, and the representations are rendered only in black and red ink. The papyri are predominantly figural, however, text still plays a large role within the composition. pCMA 1914.725 is the only manuscript that does not contain text captions within the illustrated, delineated *Amduat* part of manuscript (the only text is written on the side, as mentioned below).

pSRIV 530, pBM 9980, pCortona 394, pCMA 1914.725, pSkrine 1, pLouvre 3451, pLouvre N. 3288, and pBerlin P. 3123 contain several columns of vertical hieroglyphs on the right end of the roll adjacent to the semi-circle of the Twelfth Hour. In pBM 9982 and pSkrine 1, the vertical columns of hieroglyphs are placed on the left at the beginning. pBodmer 108 contains a sheet of horizontal hieratic text on the left end of the roll (commencing on the left end of **Plate 183**).

The content is derived primarily from last four hours of the *Amduat*. The text and representations generally imitate those of the royal *Amduat*, although the traditional

sequence of events has been completely disregarded. This appears to be a common trend during the late 21st Dynasty. Thus, the arrangement of the manuscripts does not follow the classic “chronological” unfolding of the last four hours of the *Amduat*, they are typically jumbled and chaotic. For example, in the top register of pBallard, representations from the Eleventh Hour are followed by a condensed representation of the Tenth Hour, which are in turn followed by more figures from the Eleventh Hour. As a result, the papyri form one continuous, unrelated sequence of events. There are no vertical dividing lines or vertical columns of text within the semi-circular *Amduat* frame.

Most of the papyri are supplemented with one or two motifs derived from the First to the Eighth Hours. Many manuscripts contain the solar barque from the Third Hour with the small figure plying the rudder at the back of the barque (**Fig. 131**), with the exception of pLouvre N. 3451, SRIV 530, pSkrine 1 and pCMA 1914. 732. Additional images from the Third Hour, such as the baboon on a mound followed by a monkey enclosed within an oval, and a ram and jackal on a shrine (**Fig. 132**) can be found in the first register of pWEM 3. In the bottom register of pBodmer 108 (**Fig. 133**), the figures tow the solar barque along a serpent transfixed by knives and facing the opposite way, which may refer to the serpent of the Seventh Hour of the *Amduat* (Hornung, 1979: 48, Fig 20).

Although the content of most of the papyri is derived solely from the *Amduat*; several manuscripts contain very brief representations from other books of the netherworld. pLouvre N. 3288 (**Fig. 134**) contains a depiction of *Amit*, the devourer from Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*, and the two lions with the horizon above them from Chapter 17. pBM 9980 includes the mummiform human-figures within the coils of an enormous serpent from the Eighth Division of the *Book of Gates*. Supplementary motifs of a *ba*-bird worshipping four seated gods (**Fig. 135**) and a solar barque containing a fish and baboon (**Fig. 136**) are included in the first and last scene on the first register of pSkrine 1.

6.7.5. Observations

pSRIV 1544 is interesting in that although it is arranged on three registers, in order to preserve space, illustrations of the presentation of linen of the Ninth Hour are placed above the motifs of the first two registers where the rest of the text is located. The solar barge of the Twelfth Hour is not represented, but implied through the representation of figures towing the cord along a serpent, demonstrating Niwiński's *pars pro toto* rule (Niwiński, 1989a: 17 – 22)

Observing from the fairly consistent nature of the representations of the various motifs, this workshop operated according to predetermined standards, or worked from good sets of patterns.

Due to the anonymity of half of the group, it is impossible to make any observations concerning gender differentiation. Coincidentally, the papyri that do contain the names of the deceased, all belong to males.

7. The Stelae Workshops

As with the papyri workshops, the stelae under consideration in this study are classified according to similarities in their style and iconography and content, based on a combination of the model of comparison developed by Freed (1996: passim) and Niwiński (1989a: passim). This model has been used throughout to ensure overall standardisation of data and findings. Thus, in accordance to the papyri workshops, the stelae, which exhibit significant common elements, are regarded as being produced in the same workshop.

An attempt has been made to number each stela workshop chronologically to the earliest date it was believed to have started production, and as with the papyri workshops, given a name based on its most characteristic feature, for example, 7.2. - Classical, Striding Deity. Overlapping of production time appears to have occurred, for example, 7.2. - Stelae Workshop 2 – Classical, Striding Deities, 7.3. - Stelae Workshop 3 – Analogous Libations and 7.4. - Stelae Workshop 4 – Loose Offerings. Most of the stelae workshops span several decades, and consequently the members from each group have been placed in a roughly estimated chronological order based upon the approximate dates reached through an analysis of stylistic characteristics.

Photographs of representative samples of the research selection have also been included. These have been numbered according to either stylistic sub-groupings within a particular workshop in the order that they appear in the text, or if the stelae form one analogous group, they have been numbered chronologically according to their position on the members list.

7.1. Stelae Workshop 1 – Classical, Affluent

7.1.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Middle 21 st Dynasty	sCairo JE 29308 (Plate 185, Figs. 139a, 140)	<i>G3t-sšn</i>	A. 152
	sCairo JE 29310 (Plate 186)	<i>Tnt-dl-Mwt</i>	Unknown
	sCairo JE 29312 (Plate 187,	<i>T3-wi</i>	-

	Fig. 138a)		
	sCairo RT 20.12.24.13 (Plate 189)	<i>T3-nfr</i>	A. 151
	sLausanne EG/485 (Plate 193)	Anonymous	-
Late 21 st Dynasty	sBSAe 933 (Plate 192)	<i>Km3-wdt</i>	
	sBrussels E. 6283 (Plate 195)	<i>Hnsw-rnp</i>	-
	sCairo JE 29118 (Plate 188, Fig. 138c)	<i>Hnsw-rnp</i>	-
	sBM EA 642 (Plate 196, Fig. 137)	<i>P3-sb3-ᵑnh-n-nwt</i>	-
	sBM 8484 (Plate 190)	<i>P3-di-Imn</i>	-
	sPetrie UC 14226 (Plate 191)	<i>Ns-y-hnsw</i>	RC
	sVienna AOS 8463 (Plate 194)	<i>dd-hnsw-htp</i>	-
22 nd Dynasty	sBM 1224 (Plate 197, Fig. 138b)	<i>ᵑw3-r-m(r)-ti</i> and <i>Špsi-dnt</i>	-

Table 9

Stelae Workshop 1 consists of thirteen stelae (**Table 9**).

7.1.2. Date

The stelae were manufactured in the same workshop as Papyri Workshop 1, and can be dated from the middle 21st Dynasty to the middle 22nd Dynasty, maybe later.

A date from the middle 21st Dynasty can be established by the inscriptions from the funerary ensemble of Tsay-Nefer, the son of High Priest Menkheperre, who owns sCairo 20.12.24.13, pSRIV 952 and pSRVII 10244, and his daughter, Gautseshen, who is the owner of sCairo JE 29308, pSRVII 10265 and pSRIV 936. This period has also been proposed for sLausanne EG/458, as it bears a striking resemblance to the etiquette in pSRVII 11493 from the same time period. sBrussels E. 6283 has been placed in this period as it fits stylistically with the rest of the stelae

sPetrie UC 14226 attests to the date in the late 21st Dynasty. This stele belongs to Pinudjem II's wife, Neskhnos. She was the owner of pSRVII 11485 who died in the Year 5 of King Siamun (c. 978 – 959 B. C. E.). sBM EA 642 was excavated in Abydos,

but due to the stylistic similarity to this group, and that the fact that owner was the son of Menkheperre (c. 1045 – 992 B. C. E.), it is more than likely that the stele was created in the same workshop. A date of the middle 22nd Dynasty can be established by sBM 1224, which belongs to the High Priest, Jwrt, the son of Osorkon I. Jansen-Winkel (1990: 215 – 216) dates this stele from the end of Osorkon I's reign (c. 890 B. C. E.) to the beginning of Takeloth I's reign (c. 889 B. C. E.).

7.1.3. Style and Execution

As with the representations in the papyri, the illustrations are rendered according to New Kingdom traditions or canons. The stelae exhibit an extremely high quality of execution, which appears to have been maintained throughout the duration of the workshop.

The figural proportions are analogous to those of the papyri, conforming to the ideal type of 6.1. - Papyri Workshop 1. The male figures exhibit almost identical characteristics: they are tall and lean with narrow shoulders and waists, and high buttocks. The legs are long and the arms are slender, also a common feature in the female figures. The female figures are also tall and slender. There is no variation to the papyri figures in conforming to an ideal of feminine beauty in their proportions and analogous facial features. The eyes are large and almond-shaped, placed at the front of the face, and the nose is fairly prominent. However, naturalistic details are carefully added, such as the tendrils of hair covering the ears in sCairo JE 29308, and the double chin of the deceased in sCairo JE 29310.

The female proportions are more exaggerated than those of the male figures. The hips are plump and curvaceous tapering into slim ankles and small feet. The female figures wear two types of dress, a luxurious pleated transparent garment with tasselled edges, which is loosely draped around the body, and a simple, unadorned outline rendering of the pleated garment that appears to be the most popular choice. The male figures seem to prefer wearing a lavishly pleated garment that terminates at mid-calf. sBM 8484 is depicted wearing the leopard-skin regalia of a priest.

7.1.4. Common Characteristics

As a group, the figures on the stelae are analogous to each other in terms of style and proportion, and they are, as a rule, rendered according to the current canon of figural proportions evident in the papyri that were also produced around this time.

As with the papyri, Osiris is the predominant deity represented on the stelae, and is either depicted seated or standing. When more than one deity is represented, Osiris is placed in the dominant position preceded by the other gods and goddesses. He is

typically represented wearing the white crown with *atef*-feathers on the sides and a small disc in the middle. He characteristically sports a large wide collar, and carries the *heqa*-sceptre and flail. sBM EA 642 (**Plate 196**) contains the triad of Abydos, Osiris (standing mummiform), Horus and Isis (**Fig. 137**). sBrussels E. 6283 (**Plate 195**) contains a seated Osiris, preceded presumably, by Re-Horakhty and an unidentified female deity (the top left hand corner has broken off). sLausanne EG/485 (**Plate 193**) is atypical in that it is the only stela in the research selection that contains a representation of the deceased worshipping Thoth instead of Osiris or Re-Horakhty.

A distinctive feature of this workshop is the reference to current theology, containing contemporary motifs that can also be seen in the papyri. A strong emphasis on the solar aspect can be observed in sCairo RT 20.12.24.13 (**Plate 189**) sCairo JE 29310 (**Plate 186**), sCairo JE 29118 (**Plate 188**), and sBM 1224 (**Plate 197**). They contain various representations of the sun disc in solar barque in the lunette (**Figs. 138a – c**). The barque in sCairo 20.12.24.13 is flanked by two *ba*-birds, and sCairo JE 29118 by two baboons, all in attitudes of worship. In this pose, the baboons (*ian*) may be understood to represent the sun (Wilkinson, 1992: 73). The solar barque from sCairo JE 29310 contains the sun disc within the horizon and a hawk upon the standard of the west at the prow. In sVienna ÄOS 8463, the sun disc is placed within the horizon (the *akh*-symbol), and a scarab is depicted inside the disc, this is bordered by two large *udjat*-eyes. The barque from sBM 1224 contains a sun disc with a follower-sign in front and a swallow on the prow. A fish and a frog are represented beneath the boat (**Fig. 138b**), and two baboons are placed above the barque worshipping the sun disc. As a result of the mouth-brooding habits of the *Tilapia nilotica* or bulti fish (*ienet*), they were associated with creation by the creator god, Atum, who took his seed into his mouth and spat out the world. This process of creation was thus associated with fertility and rebirth in the after-world. Additionally, the bright breeding colours of the *Tilapia* led to its association with the sun. Labelled “red fish”, it was believed to accompany the solar barque as a guardian on its nocturnal journey (Brewer, 2001: 533-534). Brewer (2001: 534) also mentions that it was viewed as a form of the god Horus, who kills the enemies of the sun. Due to its especially prodigious nature, the frog (*kerer*) is considered a symbol of fertility, birth and regeneration (Wilkinson, 1992: 107). All lunettes are separated from the main part of the stelae by an elongated sky-sign, with the exception of sBM 1224. These themes correspond to the solar imagery contained in pLouvre N. 3293 (**Plate 47**), pSRVII 11501 (**Plate 48**), and pSRVII 10654 (**Plate 49**). sLausanne EG/485 appears to contain a direct allusion to Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* by

the deceased worshipping Thoth, who would write the judgement in the Weighing of the Heart scene. Direct reference to Anubis can be observed in the *imyut*-symbol (**Fig. 139a**) between the two figures in sCairo JE 29308, sCairo JE 29310, sCairo JE 29310, sCairo JE 29312, and sBM 8484. The *imyut*-symbol or fetish was widely recognised as the epithet of Anubis, "*Imy-wt* – He Who is in the Place of Embalming". The fetish consists of an animal hide attached to a pole based in a basket (**Fig. 139b**).

In sBrussels E. 6283, a falcon on a standard, the symbol of the west is placed between the deceased and the deity. Further allusion to the underworld can be observed in the representation of three striding jackals placed beneath the throne.

The iconography contained in the lunette is not consistent. For example, the lunettes of sBM EA 642 (**Plate 196**) and sCairo JE 29308 (**Plate 185**) contain a representation of a winged sun-disc with blocks of vertical hieroglyphs directly below, while sCairo RT 20.12.24.13, sCairo JE 29310, sCairo JE 29118 and sBM 1224, as mentioned earlier contain a solar barque. sPetrie UC 14226 (**Plate 191**), sBM 8484 (**Plate 190**), sLausanne Eg/485 (**Plate 193**), sBSAe 933 (**Plate 192**) and sBrussels E. 6283 do not contain any iconography.

Another attribute of this group is the lack of iconography on the sides, a feature common to a large amount of the stelae in the 22nd Dynasty; most of the stelae contain a painted band that frames the entire representation.

The majority of the stelae contain a small concave tapering table with a water jar and a single lotus blossom on the top. The offering table does not appear to be an essential aspect in the stelae, as sBM EA 642, sBM 8484 and sCairo JE 29312 do not contain one. In the place of an offering table in sCairo JE 29308, the deceased carries a small mat tightly packed with loaves and vegetables (**Fig. 140**). This is comparable to the etiquette from pBM 10002 (**Plate 18**) in which the deceased also offers a small mat loaded with offerings to the deity. sVienna ÄOS 8463 and sCairo JE 29312 contain heaped offering tables that are loosely packed, topped with a bunch of lotus blossoms, and jars of beer and lettuce beneath the table.

A distinctive sub-grouping can be observed in sBrussels E. 6283, sBM EA 642, and sBM 1224. Apart from being chiselled in incised relief in stone, they are typically larger in size than the other members of the workshop, and the representations are strongly reminiscent of the papyri from the middle to late 21st Dynasty.

It is not uncommon for a number of stelae to include additional lines of text, containing either a supplementary offering formulae or a prayer.

The dimensions of the stelae vary significantly, sBM EA 642 is the largest measuring ninety-four centimetres in height to sixty-one centimetres wide, and is nineteen centimetres thick. The rest of the stelae are somewhat smaller, varying in size between thirty-nine centimetres in height, sPetrie UC 14226, to twenty-six centimetres, sCairo JE 29118. The thickness of each averages approximately two centimetres.

As can be seen from above, the artists also utilised a variety of materials in different ways. sPetrie UC 14226, sCairo 20.12.24.13, sCairo JE 29118, sCairo JE 29308, and sBM 8484 are painted in the "typical" manner on wood overlaid with gesso. sBM EA 642, sBrussels E. 6283, and sBM 1224, sVienna ÄOS 8463 and sBSAe 933 are produced on stone, mainly limestone and are carved in low relief, and painted or merely painted directly onto the stone, as in sLausanne EG/485.

7.1.5. Observations

The representation of the deceased in sCairo JE 29310 is unique; she wears an unusual costume consisting of a black skirt that appears to be tied under the right breast, leaving part of the torso bare, and descends to above the ankles in front, but trails behind on the ground. The stele is also elaborately decorated, for example, the detailing in the short cloak of Osiris, his crown and the throne, and the offering table is loosely packed and loaded with offerings.

Divine aspirations can be observed in sCairo JE 29308 and sCairo JE 29310 where both deceased carry an *ankh*-sign. This is quite unusual as deities are customarily the only ones to bear the *ankh*-sign, Zayed (1968: 152) states that the deceased may be identifying themselves with Osiris, and may therefore, be permitted to be depicted carrying the *ankh*-sign. Deceased carrying the *ankh* can also be seen in several 21st Dynasty papyri, pSRVII 10240 (**Plate 12**), pSRIV 936 (**Plate 20**), pLuxor J. 25 (**Plate 69**) and pSRVII 10229 (**Plate 79**). However, this act was not peculiar to the Third Intermediate period, for example, a much earlier stele exists of a couple holding an *ankh*-sign in sCairo JE 88876, which dates to the 11th Dynasty.

It appears that the same artist who created sCairo RT 20.12.24.13 (**Plate 189**) of Tsay-Nefer produced at least one of his manuscripts, pSRVII 10244 (**Plate 2**), as the representation of Tsay-Nefer is analogous in each case. It can be observed that specific elements are shared between the two, for example, the thick painted line filled with stars (*seba*-signs) that separates the lunette from the body of the stelae, is duplicated in the band of stars framing the top of his papyrus. The etiquette on the stele is much more simplified than that of the papyrus. The representation has been reduced to two figures, the deceased kneeling and offering to an enthroned Osiris, with an offering formula

above. The offering table lavish and overflowing in the papyrus, consists of a *hetep*-mat with two flanking loaves of bread and a lettuce beneath.

As mentioned earlier, sLausanne EG/485 (Plate 193) exhibits a noticeable similarity in terms of figural proportions and style of execution to pSRVII 11493 (Plate 13), pSRVII 11496 (Plate 14), pBM 9904 (Plate 15), pBM 10008 (Plate 16), pMMA 30.3.31 (Plate 17), pBM 10472 (Plate 8), and pBM 10002 (Plate 18).

Even within the limited representation on the stelae, there is much variety within the dimensions, materials, and choice of motifs. This may indicate customisation to the individual preference of the clientele. As the figures on the stelae correspond to those of their accompanying papyri, it would be reasonable to assume that they were created at the same time as the papyri specifically for that particular individual.

Gender differentiation does not appear to be an issue for the workshop during this period, and is thus different to the papyri. sBrussels E. 6283 contains a representation of two people. The female deceased is placed directly in front of the deity in the dominant position, while the male deceased (presumably her spouse) is placed behind her. sBM 1224 also depicts a couple, but the male figure is placed before the female figure, in keeping with the tradition of representing couples at the time.

The materials used do not appear to have any influence on the size of the stelae, as the third largest stele, sPetrie UC 14226 is made from wood, while two of the stone stelae fall within in the average stelae dimensions. However, it must be stated that due to the abundance of limestone and the high rank of sBM EA 642, the stele would have been able to be much larger than what was typical of the time.

7.2. Stelae Workshop 2 – Classical, Striding Deity

7.2.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Early 22 nd Dynasty	sBrooklyn 37.1386E (Plate 208)	<i>Ns-y-ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd</i>	-
	sCairo 1.12.15.2 (Plate 209)	<i>ḏd-Mwt-iws-ḥnh</i>	-
	sCairo RT 25.12.24.20 (Plate 200, Figs. 30c, 55a, 146a)	<i>ḏd-Imn-iw-ḥnh</i>	-
	sBM 8450 (Plate 201)	<i>Ns-tr-n-m3ḥt</i>	-
	sBM 22916 (Plate 202)	<i>Nḥm-s-B3stt</i>	
	sBM 25262 (Plate 203)	<i>Tnt-ṣri-n-iḥnh</i>	
	sBM 27332 (Plate 204, Fig.	<i>dni-n-Ḥnsw</i>	-

	13e)		
	sBM 35622 (Plate 205)	Anonymous	-
	sMMA 22.3.31 (Plate 211, Fig. 144)	Anonymous	-
	sMMA 22.3.33 (Plates 210a – b, Figs. 141a, 142)	<i>Tnt-3st</i>	-
	sLouvre E 52 (Plates 207a – b, Figs. 41b, 51a, 143, 145, 146b)	<i>T3-prt</i>	-
Middle 22 nd Dynasty	sAthens 199 (Plate 198)	Unknown	-
	sCairo A 9449 (Plate 199)	<i>Ns-hnsw</i>	-
	sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 (Plate 206)	<i>Nt-nbw</i>	-
	sLouvre N. 3662 (Plate 212)	<i>Ns-t3-rt</i>	-

Table 10

Stelae Workshop 2 consists of fifteen stelae (Table 10).

7.2.2. Date

This workshop appears to have been in production from the early to the middle 22nd Dynasty, maybe even later. Due to the style of representation and execution of the stelae, it is possible to date them within the span of the early to the middle 22nd Dynasty. Unfortunately, there is no accompanying funerary equipment that can place any of the stelae within a more specific timeframe. An approximate dating sequence can be determined from the stylistic characteristics of the various stelae. The stelae that exhibit distinct Ramesside, classical proportions and a more refined line are assumed to have been created earlier than those who appear to have been created by less accomplished artists. sAthens 199, sCairo A. 9449, sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 and sLouvre N. 3662 can be dated to at least the middle 22nd Dynasty or later, due to their stylistic characteristics and general appearance. These can be considered the predecessors to the styles prevalent in the 25th and 26th Dynasties. The block-shaped pattern with alternating colours that frames sLouvre N. 3662 and sAthens 199 is very common during this period, as is the style of illustration and format seen in sCairo A. 9449 and sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 (these can be compared with the stelae from 7.9. – Stelae Workshop 9).

7.2.3. Style and Execution

The stelae that have been dated to the early 22nd Dynasty display a tendency to emulate the “classical” Ramesside style of drawing. The generic representation of the female figures implies that the figures were rendered according to a predetermined canon of proportions. They are typically tall and slender, the thighs are very gently rounded, and the legs taper slightly to proportionally correct ankles. However, there is an inclination towards increasing the size of the head, making the neck appear short. The deceased wear the identical type of garment that was also popular in the 21st Dynasty: a transparent, densely pleated long robe with long sleeves and tasselled edges, and decorated with a wide collar.

The figural proportions of the later stelae: sCairo A. 9449 and sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 become taller and thinner, and the size of the head is reduced. The forms become more linear, less feminine, losing the willowy grace characteristic of the slender female figures of the 21st Dynasty.

7.2.4. Common Characteristics

The stelae from this workshop represent a clearly homogenous group in terms of artistic proficiency and style of execution. However, two sub-groups can be distinguished based on the composition of the stelae. The first group consists of sAthens 199 (**Plate 198**), sCairo A. 9449 (**Plate 199**), sCairo RT 25.12.24.20 (**Plate 200**), sBM 8450 (**Plate 201**), sBM 22916 (**Plate 202**), sBM 25262 (**Plate 203**), sBM 27332 (**Plate 204**), sBM 35622 (**Plate 205**), sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 (**Plate 206**) and sLouvre E. 52 (**Plates 207a – b**). In this group, the figure of Re-Horakhty is typically depicted in a striding human-form pose. He wears a short kilt, with a tight-fitting shirt, and the familiar red sun disc encircled by a *uraeus*.

The second grouping comprises of sBrooklyn 37.1386E (**Plate 208**), sCairo 1.12.15.2 (**Plate 209**), sMMA 22.3.31 (**Plate 211**), sMMA 22.3.33 (**Plates 210a – b**) and contains a representation of an enthroned, mummiform Re-Horakhty.

Re-Horakhty is the predominant deity in both groupings, however an exception is sLouvre N. 3662 (**Plate 212**) where the deceased adores a seated, mummiform Osiris.

It is not uncommon for other deities to accompany the deceased or stand behind the deity, such as the figures of female deities in sAthens 199 (**Plate 198**), sCairo A 9449 (**Plate 199**), and sMMA 22.3.31 (**Plate 211**), Thoth in sMMA 22.3.33 (**Plates 210a – b**), sLouvre N. 3662 (**Plate 212**) and sBrooklyn 37.1386E (**Plate 208**). The female deities wear the traditional tight-fitting sheath dresses that distinguish them from the deceased. sMMA 22.3.33 (**Plates 210a – b**) and sLouvre E 52 (**Plates 207a – b**) contain

a second representation on the verso, onto which other deities are included. The arched figure of Nut frames the edge of the latter, with the deceased adoring a striding human-form Osiris (**Fig. 51a**). The arched form of Nut corresponds to the recto of sCairo A 9449 (**Plate 199**), and sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 (**Plate 206**).

The consistent presence of Re-Horakhty together with the solar disc in the lunette produces a strong solar theme, a motif that is carried on throughout the 22nd Dynasty. Direct reference to religious literature is strongly suggested in several stelae. Chapter 125 may be alluded to in the presentation of the deceased to Re-Horakhty by Thoth in sBrooklyn 37.1386E (**Plate 208**). In sMMA 22.3.33, Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead* is represented on the recto by the introduction of the deceased by Anubis to Re-Horakhty. Chapters 58 and 63A are also depicted on the verso, and consist of a representation of the tree goddess pouring libations from two tall water jars to the deceased and her spouse (**Fig. 141a**). Reference to the Creation of the World can be observed in the arched body of Nut who is covered in stars on her torso in sCairo A 9449 (**Plate 199**), sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 (**Plate 206**), and sLouvre E 52. In sMMA 22.3.31 and sMMA 22.3.33, the deceased both offer their hearts to the deity (**Fig. 142**). This gesture is reminiscent of the figures in etiquettes from 6.4. - Papyri Workshop 4.

The accompanying iconography on the remainder of the stelae is more general in nature, consisting of traditional protection symbols, such as the winged sun disc in the lunette, the *udjat*-eye, and afterlife motifs, such as the reclining jackals, and does not appear to allude to any specific afterlife literature. However, the iconography used can be fairly elaborate. In sLouvre E. 52, a papyri-form pillar frames the left side of the stele. The papyrus plant was symbol of the primeval marsh from which all life evolved, and the columns were believed to hold up the sky. This concept is graphically represented by the end of the curved sky sign resting on the papyrus clump, while the right side of the sky sign rests on a lotus plant column (**Fig. 143**). These plants symbolise Upper and Lower Egypt, and together with the sky sign, the elements represent the universe. The deceased's wish for rebirth is strongly indicated by the five columns of multicoloured lotus flowers emanating from the disc on Re-Horakhty's head onto the face of the deceased (**Fig. 41b**). Another version can be seen in sBM 8450, sBM 35622 and sLouvre N. 3662, where a line of *ankh*-signs and *was*-sceptres are directed towards the deceased. The west is alluded to in sMMA 22.3.31 where the female deity wears a falcon on her head (**Fig. 144**). An allusion to the protective and regenerative powers of Anubis, the god of afterlife can be observed in sCairo RT 25.12.24.20 and sBM 27332, in the form of two recumbent jackals (*lenpu*) in the lunette (**Fig. 13e**). The flail on the

back and the ceremonial ties around the neck typically displays the Osirian aspect of the afterlife (Wilkinson, 1992: 65).

The sun disc in the lunette can be represented in two forms, of which approximately half the stelae contain a representation of the sun disc flanked by two pendant uraei and two *udjat*-eyes, and the other half consist of the winged sun disc. In sLouvre E 52, sBM 22916 and sBM 35622, the uraei beside the sun disc wear *ankh*-signs around their neck. The curved sky-sign is also a constant feature on most of the stelae.

The deceased, all female, are depicted in the *dwa*-gesture of adoration.

An additional feature of this workshop is the notable attention to detail that can be observed in the skilfully painted details, particularly in the offerings, pleats and tassels of the garments.

The offering table takes up the majority of the central section of the stelae forming the focal point. The tables are symmetrically composed, and are typically depicted overflowing with gifts. Several stelae exhibit similar offerings that follow the same arrangement. The tables are either shaped in the form of the *hetep*-mat (**Fig. 55a**), or a lateral "T" (**Fig. 145**). The table is tightly packed with round loaves of bread at the bottom, covered by fruit, such as pomegranates and grapes. Dressed poultry or choice cuts of meat, such as, the foreleg of an ox, are then placed above. The motif of the foreleg of an ox has been included in mortuary scenes since the Old Kingdom. A bunch of lotus blossoms and buds with knotted stems top the ensemble, symbolising the rebirth of the deceased. A wine-jar with a lotus wrapped around it, and a bunch of lettuce, the symbol of fertility, are typically placed on the floor, flanking the table.

The iconography utilised in adorning the edges of the stelae varies between the individual stelae. sBrooklyn 37.1386E, sCairo 1.12.15.2, sBM 22916 and sMMA 22.3.33 are not framed on the sides. sBM 8450, sBM 27332, and sBM 35622 contain stylised representations of door leaves, serving a dual purpose as a symbolic threshold to the afterlife and protecting the deceased. As mentioned earlier, sLouvre E 52 contains the two columns of lotus and papyrus that signify Upper and Lower Egypt, and sCairo RT 25.12.24.20 contains a *was*-sceptre on either side, indicating power and dominion to the deceased. sAthens 199 and sLouvre N. 3662 are framed on the sides and the lunette by an intricate design of parallel lines divided into small alternating multicoloured segments on the outer band, and a linked chain design on the inner band in the former.

sCairo RT 25.12.24.20 contains an additional scene below the main representation that depicts an unusual representation of a cemetery in the Western Hills

with tomb superstructures (**Fig. 146a**). These comprise of three buildings (chapels), one crowned with a pyramidion, as was typical for funerary architecture at Deir el-Medina, and the other with *cavetto* cornices and cupolas. On the border between the desert and agricultural land, a woman squats on the ground making signs of mourning, tearing at her hair and exposing her breast. Behind her are a sycamore tree and two date palms hung with ripe fruit. An offering table with loaves and a water vessel stands between them.

The edges of sLouvre E 52 (**Fig. 146b**) and sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 is inscribed with hieroglyphic text, sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 is inscribed with two inscriptions, each beginning at the top and running down to the bottom edge on either side.

7.2.5. Observations

Judging from the meticulous attention to detail, skill of execution, and diversity of religious elements, the stelae were created by an experienced and well-established workshop that was fully versed in the current theological trends. Even though the principal representation is fairly homogenous, there is a certain amount of individuality in the way in which the elements are arranged, the choice of lunette decoration and the use of imagery within the stelae. Thus, it is more than likely that these stelae were custom-made for the deceased.

sMMA 22.3.33 (**Plate 210b**) represents one of the most creative, individualistic stelae in the entire group. Although the representation of a frontal facing tree-goddess is atypical, it is not unusual for frontal facing figures to be depicted in Egyptian art. A close parallel to this scene is a nude frontal facing woman with her arms outstretched weighing ingots of gold (**Fig. 141b**) which can be found as early as the late 5th to 6th Dynasty in the mastaba on Kairer in Memphis (Daoud, 1997: 7). Furthermore, Volokhine (2000: 57) has identified several female frontal forms in Egyptian art: The figure of Hathor, or more commonly, her fully frontal face was often depicted, for example, on the sistrum; the representation of Qedeshet, a Syro-Palestinian goddess occurs on a series of Egyptian stelae (Cornelius, 2004: Pls. 5.1-5.10, 5.14-5.18, 5.26), she is characteristically portrayed nude, facing frontally (and, in most cases, standing on a lion, holding lotus flowers and snakes (**Fig. 141c**)). The fully frontal figure of Nut was often painted onto the bottom of the sarcophagus in the later Third Intermediate and Ptolomaic Period as a symbol of rebirth.

Another unusual feature of this stele is the location of the spouse on the right and the deceased seated in the dominant position on the left. The left is typically the side where the deity would be represented.

The offering tables in sAthens 199, sCairo A 9449, and sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 have been simplified to a small altar with a water jar (a purification symbol) and a lotus blossom on top, and sLouvre N. 3662 does not contain one at all. This lack of embellishment is a feature typical of the later 22nd Dynasty.

The same hand can be detected in sMMA 22.3.31 and sMMA 22.3.33, the former belongs to the father and the latter to his daughter. The hand of another artist can also be seen in sBM 8850 and sBM 27332; and in sCairo RT 25.12.24.20 and sLouvre E. 52.

7.3. Stelae Workshop 3 – Analogous Libations

7.3.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Early 22 nd Dynasty	sBoston MFA 04.1763 (Plate 213)	<i>Ns-y-ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd</i>	-
	sBoston MFA 12.590 (Plate 214)	<i>ḏd-in(i)-hrt</i>	-
	sOIM 1351 (Plate 215, Fig. 30d)	<i>ḏd-ḥnsw-iws-ḥnh</i>	-
	sRSM 1911.261 (Plate 216)	<i>ḏd-ḥnh-3st</i>	-
	sLeiden EG-ZM2 42 (Plate 217)	<i>P3-m3-ḥft</i>	-
	sLiverpool 1973.4.235 (Plate 218)	Anonymous	
	sBM 8447 (Plate 219, Fig. 46)	<i>T3y-iw-ṣri</i>	-
	sBM 66421 (Plate 220)	<i>Ḥr-s3-3st</i>	-
	sBM 66425 (Plate 221)	<i>Ir</i>	-
	sManchester 1901 (Fig. 147)	<i>B3k-n-ḥnsw</i>	
	sOxford 1917.42 (Plate 222)	<i>T3-r-iw</i>	-
	sLouvre N. 3657 (Plate 223, Fig. 29b)	<i>ḏd-ḥnsw-iws-ḥnh</i>	-
	sLuxor 1 (Plate 224)	<i>S3t-ḥr-ḥn-im</i>	-
	sRSM 1956.147 (Plate 225)	<i>ḥnh-3st</i>	-

Table 11

Stelae Workshop 3 consists of fourteen stelae (Table 11).

7.3.2. Date

Based on the analogous representations and uniform quality of execution, the rest of the stelae are attributable to the early 22nd Dynasty as there is no accompanying funerary equipment that may produce a definite date. It is possible to definitively establish a date for one stele from this workshop. sLuxor 1 belongs to the great-granddaughter of Osorkon I, which dates the stele to around the middle 22nd Dynasty, it is also one of the few wooden stelae in the research selection that refers to the reign of any monarch with a cartouche in the inscription.

Due to the homogeneity of the group, it is also possible that the majority of the stelae were created around the same time during the early 22nd Dynasty.

7.3.3. Style and Execution

As a whole, the group exhibits an analogous quality of execution, and the figures are fairly uniform. The female figural proportions are corpulent, with a large breast disproportionately rendered under the arm. The buttocks and thighs are well rounded and the belly protrudes slightly. The female deceased wear the transparent pleated gown with tasselled edges. The male figures display slightly more variation in their proportions, but they generally exhibit a wide waist with thick legs, maybe to indicate muscle, however, the arms are still fairly slender. They wear a long-sleeved, transparent mid-calf length pleated garment with a short kilt underneath that ties in the front. The deceased in sBM 66421 wears the leopard skin of a priest. A large perfumed cone with a lotus bud beneath is prominently displayed upon their heads, with the exception of sLouvre N. 3657 who has a shaved head.

The facial features are also fairly uniform: the eyes are quite large with a well-defined brow set at the front of the face, and the nose juts out slightly. On the males, the ears are large and clearly rendered, while on the females the ear is not shown. The female deceased commonly wears long curly, tripartite wigs. The majority of the male owners most wear their hair long up to their shoulders these are tied back with a fillet.

7.3.4. Common Characteristics

The majority of the stelae contain an analogous composition. The figures of the deceased are depicted pouring a libation over the table of offerings with the one hand or offering a lamp, etc, and raising the other in the *henu*-gesture of praise. The exceptions being the owner of sLouvre N. 3657, who is depicted playing a harp, perhaps symbolising a musical offering to a seated Re-Horakhty (**Fig. 29b, Plate 223**), sBM

66421 offers a figure of *Maꜣat* to the deity, and the deceased in sRSM 1911.261 raises her arms in adoration.

Re-Horakhty is customarily mummified and enthroned; his arms are crossed clasping a crook in the one hand and a flail in the other. He wears the traditional red sun disc encircled by a pendent uraeus. In sOIM 1351 and sRSM 1911.261, the uraei wear the white crown. A criss-crossed design is painted across the arms imitating the mummy-wrappings, or the faience bead network that was placed on the wrapped body of the deceased (**Fig. 30d**). The throne is customarily placed upon a *maꜣat*-shaped pedestal, and in several stelae, the throne is decorated in a rich, cubed-pattern. Re-Horakhty is the only deity represented on the stelae, and as opposed to the previous stelae workshop, no additional deities accompany the deceased. The deceased are also represented alone, and are not accompanied by a spouse.

Two types of offering tables are depicted, and these include a varying quantity of offerings, which can either be simple or lavish. A simple table typically consists of a small concave altar topped with a large water pot and a single lotus blossom, for example, sBoston MFA 12.590 (**Plate 214**) and sLouvre N. 3657 (**Plate 223**). The offerings in sBoston MFA 04.173 (**Plate 213**), sOIM 1351 (**Plate 215**), sLeiden EG-ZM2 42 (**Plate 217**) and sLuxor 1 (**Plate 224**) are symmetrically designed and tightly packed upon a *hetep*-mat. They are loaded with breads, fruits, dressed poultry and a large bunch of lotus flowers on the top. One or two water-jars hang off the underside of the table, and a lettuce or water jar is placed beneath the table.

The iconography utilised by this workshop has become more limited compared to Stelae Workshop 1 and 2, and is restricted to the use of a few specific symbols. As with most stelae from this period, the curved sky sign is a consistent feature throughout the group. Two distinctive lunette designs can be observed: a winged sun disc with uraei (**Fig. 46**), and a *shen*-sign above a water and a pot/cup-sign flanked by two large *udjat*-eyes. The former appears to be the most popular choice. The uraei are typically pendant with several glyphs spelling “the Behdite” between them. sBoston MFA 04.1763 (**Plate 213**) contains an unusual representation of the uraei both wearing the white crown.

Despite the restrained use of iconography, the stelae are still reasonably detailed, especially in the offerings, the garments of the deceased and the throne. Naturalistic details such as tendrils of hair around the faces of the female deceased, and fat rolls along the belly are also illustrated.

The offering formulae is represented in a similar manner on all the stelae: five to eight short vertical columns of hieroglyphs have been strongly delineated in black and

are customarily painted on a yellow/brown background to separate the text from the white background of the stelae. The text contains a short customary invocation of offerings to Re-Horakhty, which were prevalent throughout Thebes during this period.

Most of the stelae are framed on the sides with *was*-sceptres, but the standard of the east and west can be seen in sOIM 1351 (Plate 215) and sLuxor 1 (Plate 224). sBM 66425 (Plate 221) does not contain any iconography on the sides.

In all the stelae, the main representation extends to the bottom edge leaving room only for a thin base line. There is no supplementary text or scenes below the main scene, and there does not appear to be any additional scenes on the verso.

All the stelae produced in this workshop are made from wood and covered with gesso and paint.

7.3.5. Observations

The homogeneity of the group indicates the use of a fixed design, maybe even the employment of a “master design”. The similarity and lack of idiosyncratic details, also suggests that these stelae were not customised for the particular individual, but crafted on a wholesale basis.

7.4. Stelae Workshop 4 – Loose Offerings

7.4.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Early 22 nd Dynasty	sBerlin 24038 (Plate 226)	<i>Hr</i> and <i>Mwt-ḥt-it</i>	-
	sBologna KS 1953 (Plate 227, Fig. 49b)	<i>Mwt-ḥ3t</i>	-
	sBM 42078 (Plate 228, Fig. 48a)	<i>P3-di-Tmn(m)-ipt</i>	-
	sMMA 28.3.35 (Plate 229, Fig. 49a)	<i>ḥfn-Mwt</i>	-
	sUPenn E. 2043 (Plate 230)	<i>T3-šri-t</i>	-

Table 12

Stelae Workshop 4 consists of five stelae (Table 12).

7.4.2. Date

The stylistic characteristics and uniform quality of execution place these stelae in the early 22nd Dynasty. However, due to the fleshier proportions of sUPenn E 2043, it may have been produced slightly later than the others.

7.4.3. Style and Execution

The general appearance of the stelae is orderly and well composed. The stelae are proficiently executed, and indicate the employment of a skilled workforce. The facial features are generally homogeneous, the profiles are almost identical in that there is a very slight concave slope between forehead and the nose, and the nostrils and lips are well defined. The male figures wear the typical transparent mid-length pleated garment, with short sleeves. On the male figures, the buttocks is barely indicated, and high up on the back. The torso is bare and the navel is large and clearly defined. Their hair is shoulder-length and all wear small beards perched on the edge of the chin. The female figures both wear tripartite wigs with a wide fillet, and the customary long, transparent pleated gown. The deceased all wear a perfumed cone with a single lotus bud upon their heads.

7.4.4. Common Characteristics

As with 7.3. – Stelae Workshop 3, Re-Horakhty is typically the only deity depicted, and is represented mummiform and enthroned. In sBM 42078 he is represented in human-shape. In this stele, the figural form of the deity is generally quite slender, the shoulders are fairly narrow with a slender waist, an attenuated lap and long thin feet. On all the mummiform figures, Re-Horakhty has his arms crossed with the crook in the right hand over the left shoulder facing right, and the flail over the right shoulder. The deceased stand before the deity and either offer to him or adore him with the *dua*-gesture.

The representation of the offerings and the offering table is fairly consistent throughout the group. The table is generally low to the ground, and consists of a *hetep*-mat supported by a narrow, concave tapering stand. The offerings are loosely packed, and appear to be floating above each other. Water jars, and/or lettuce are typically placed beneath the table.

The employment of iconography is not as tightly controlled as that of 7.3. – Stelae Workshop 3. Two types of lunette decoration can be distinguished below the requisite curved sky-sign: solar imagery and the *shen*-sign and *udjat*-eye combination. As with 7.1. – Stelae Workshop 1, the solar aspect is emphasised in sMMA 28.3.35 (Fig. 49a, Plate 229) and sBologna KS 1953 (Fig. 49b, Plate 227) by a solar barque. In the former, the barque contains a large uraeus encircling a sun disc, and in the latter, the sun disc is placed within a horizon-sign with a follower-sign on the prow, this is flanked by two *udjat*-eyes. The solar attributes are emphasised further by the representation of a scarab within the solar disc and a representation of the left *udjat*-eye within the disc

upon the head of Re-Horakhty. The solar barque scenes are reminiscent to those on the papyri of the 21st Dynasty. The rest of the stelae contain a *shen*-sign flanked by two *udjat*-eyes (Fig. 48a). In sBerlin 24038 (Plate 226), a winged sun disc is placed above the *shen-udjat* combination. The lunette is delineated and separated by a coloured band from the main scene in sBM 42078 (Plate 228), sMMA 28.3.35 (Plate 229) and sBologna KS 1953 (Plate 227).

The iconography bordering the edges is not a consistent feature, and sBM 42078 and sMMA 28.3.35 are the only two stelae that contain any. sBM 42078 consists of two flanking *was*-sceptres, and sMMA 28.3.35 contains the standards of the east and west.

7.4.5. Observations

The employment of the solar barque imagery in sBologna KS 1953 and sMMA 28.3.35, and the inclusion of a jointly owned stone stela, sBerlin 24038 implies less restriction placed upon the artists to conform to a single type of representation that is evident in 7.3. - Stelae Workshop 3.

sBologna KS 1953 contains marks where corrections were made to the figures of the deceased and the deity. This may indicate the work of an apprentice, where the figures were not rendered according to the workshops canon of proportions and were consequently corrected.

7.5. Stelae Workshop 5 – Earth-glyph Dais

7.5.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Early 22 nd Dynasty	sAthens 200 (Plate 231)	<i>H3-ny</i>	-
	sFlorence E. 2478 (Plate 232)	<i>T3-ḥ3-rw-n-Mwt</i>	-
	sLocn. Unkn. 12 (Fig. 148)	<i>T3-dī-3st-irt</i>	-
	sBM 8448 (Plate 233)	Anonymous	-
	sBM 35896 (Plate 234, Fig. 29a)	<i>ḥnh-hnsw</i>	-
	sMadrid 3519 (Plates 235a – b)	<i>T3-šri-t</i>	-
	sManchester 1900 (Fig. 149)	<i>ḏt-B^cstt-iw-ḥnh</i>	
	sMMA 22.3.34 (Plate 236)	<i>ḏd-B3stt</i>	-
	sLouvre N. 3794 (Plate 237)	<i>T3-ḥ-ms</i>	-

Table 13

Stelae Workshop 5 consists of nine stelae (**Table 13**).

7.5.2. Date

The stylistic characteristics and homogeneity of composition place this group in the early 22nd Dynasty.

7.5.3. Style and Execution

Viewed as a group, there is a strong tendency toward standardisation of format, and as a result, the compositions of all the stelae are fairly homogenous. The style and rendering of the figures is generally uniform, and no one stele appears to exhibit a higher degree of proficiency or skill than the next. The forms are typically simplified, and the detailing is restricted to the representation of the pleats and tassels in the garments worn by the deceased. The feminine forms are generally standardised into a type; however, these do not conform to any canonical principle. The arms are long and attenuated, attached to small slender shoulders that make the neck appear fairly large. The waist is wide and plump, curving out along the extremely fleshy buttocks and upper thighs and tapering into large ankles. The facial features also tend to be relatively uniform. The eyes are large and almond-shaped, almost extending across the width of the face. The ears are hidden by the wigs, which are worn in a variety of styles, possibly depending on the client's preference. These can be tripartite, full (hiding the shoulder) or worn short, for example, sFlorence E. 2478. The male figure of sBM 35896 has a large head with wide shoulders and long arms. The torso is long and wide and the belly protrudes slightly. The legs are fairly short tapering into small feet. He wears a transparent mid-length pleated garment that ties above the waist leaving the upper torso and arms bare.

7.5.4. Common Characteristics

The principal binding feature of this group is the composition, which depicts a mummiform Re-Horakhty enthroned upon a dais in the shape of an earth-glyph (which may also represent pink granite) while the deceased worships him with the customary *dua*-gesture of adoration. The representation of Re-Horakhty is also homogeneous, and he clasps the crook and *heqa*-sceptre across his chest, which is faced frontally. The throne can be either placed on a mat or directly on to the earth-glyph dais.

As with 7.3. Stelae Workshop 3, the use of iconography is confined to the use of only a few standard types. In the majority of the stelae, a winged sun disc with flanking uraei is placed beneath the curved sky-sign. In sAthens 200 (**Plate 231**) and sMMA 22.3.34 (**Plate 236**) the *uraei* are pendent, and contain additional hieroglyphs between them. sMMA 22. 3.34 and sLouvre N. 3794 two *shen*-signs beneath the winged disc, the

signs in the latter flank the water (*mw*)-sign. sBM 8448 (**Plate 233**) and sMadrid 3519 (**Plate 235a**) contain a representation of *udjat*-eyes.

When utilised, the iconography along the sides is confined to two types, and can consist of a representation of the standards of the East and West, two flanking was-sceptres, or no iconography at all. As is customary for this time period, the curved sky-sign is a consistent feature through out this group.

The offering table is somewhat simple in design, and as a result, does not contain many offerings. The table typically consists of a concave stand with a few loosely packed offerings of bread on a mat with a bunch of lotus blossoms above, or a water jar with a lotus blossom on top. sAthens 200 does not have an offering table; a bunch of upright lotus blossoms is placed in between the two figures instead.

An additional feature of this workshop is the uniform representation of the invocation formulae. In most of the stelae, a large proportion of the pictorial surface has been allocated to the invocation. It is located between the deceased and the deity, and is typically composed within a lightly coloured, rectangular shaped block, and the columns of hieroglyphic text are separated by thick lines of dark coloured paint. The offering formula appears to comprise predominantly of the *dd-in* prayer:

"Words spoken by Re-Horakhty, Great God, Lord of Heaven...May he give invocation (voice) offerings...to the Osiris of [name of the deceased]...the justified".

7.5.5. Observations

Within the standardisation of form and format there appears to be room for creativity, for example, the deceased in sBM 35896 (**Fig. 29a, Plate 234**) carries a plate of offerings on his head, which is topped by a crescent moon. This may possibly imply reference to Thoth. Artistic license is also shown where the deceased's elbow extends towards the edge of the stela, and the standard of the West is made to fit beneath without intersecting the arm. sMadrid 3519 (**Plate 235b**) is also unusual in that the stele itself contains two protruding *atef*-feathers with a solar-disc in the middle attached to the top of the lunette.

The hairstyle of the deceased in sFlorence E. 2478 (**Plate 232**) is fairly unique among feminine fashion of the time, and appears to be more popular in Late Period stelae, this is also comparable to the hairstyle worn by the deceased in sDurham N. 1975 (**Plate 268**) from 7.9. – Stelae Workshop 9.

7.6. Stelae Workshop 6 – Profile Re-Horakhty

7.6.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Early 22 nd Dynasty	sBristol H. 4586 (Fig. 150)	<i>Hr</i>	-
	sLeiden AH 28 (Plate 238)	<i>Nht-f-Mwt</i>	-
	sBM 37899 (Plate 239)	<i>Nht-f-Mwt & Šp-n-3st</i>	-
	sManchester 1899 (Fig. 151)	<i>Mn</i>	-
	sPetrie UC 14695 (Plate 240)	<i>Thfy</i>	-
	sUPenn 2045 (Fig. 152)	<i>3st-irt</i>	-

Table 14

Stelae Workshop 6 consists of six stelae (Table 14).

7.6.2. Date

A date of the early 22nd Dynasty can be estimated based upon stylistic characteristics and quality of execution.

7.6.3. Style and Execution

This group exhibits a general simplification of forms that indicates an economy of line, in that only the essential elements are represented, for example, sPetrie UC 14695 (Plate 240). The male figures are characterised by their uniform figural proportions. However, these are non-canonical with a large head, long slender arms that if left hanging at the sides, would reach beyond the knee. The torso is short with a high waist and buttocks. The male figures wear their hair long, and all sport short beards. The forms of the female figures adhere less to canonical principles than the male figures, but do also appear fairly uniform in execution. The arms are thin with small, slender shoulders, making the head too large for the body. The waist and hips have been narrowed slightly, as have the slim ankles onto which the legs taper. All the figures display rather large eyes and a prominent profile of the nose and mouth, thus emphasising the largeness of the head further.

The various forms are sharply outlined in a fairly thick dark line creating a strong linear appearance. The quality of execution varies between the stelae; however, this does not indicate a lack of proficiency or skill on the part of the artists.

7.6.4. Common Characteristics

A distinctive feature of Stelae Workshop 6 is the contour representation of Re-Horakhty, seated upon a throne on a pedestal, with his body and face in profile. Both hands clasping symbols of power, such as the *heqa*-sceptre, flail, and the *was*-sceptre. Additional shared attributes include the decoration on the throne, which has been reduced to a simple rectangular design. The deceased from sLeiden AH 28 (**Plate 238**) offers a lamp, sBristol H. 4586 (**Fig. 150**), a tall loaf, and sManchester 1899 (**Fig. 151**) pours a libation over the offering table. The rest raise their hands in the *dwa*-gesture of adoration.

There is typically not much embellishment or ornamentation; however, effort has been made to render the pleats and tassels in the garments, and the curls in the hair of sBM 37899. sBristol H 4586 is fairly detailed, with an abundant offering table, and the deceased wears the leopard skin of a priest, which is highly detailed (an artistic device that may focus attention on the status of the deceased).

The lunette decoration is not consistent, and is once again reduced to the use of a few symbols. The sun disc with flanking pendent uraei is the principal decoration in the sBristol H. 4586, sLeiden AH 28 and sManchester 1899. Several hieroglyphs are located under the disc. sUPenn 2045 (**Fig. 152**) contains a sun disc with flanking uraei, and sBM 37899 (**Plate 239**) contains only the requisite arched sky-sign. sPetrie UC 14695 (**Plate 240**) does not contain any lunette and framing iconography.

On sBristol H. 4586, sLeiden AH 28 and sUPenn 2045, the sides are framed by the standards of the east and west. Two flanking *was*-sceptres occupy the edges of sManchester 1899.

7.6.5. Observations

The pose of Re-Horakhty is most often seen on the mummified form of Osiris, and may express the fusion of solar and Osirian features that were originally manifest in 21st Dynasty funerary papyri.

7.7. Stelae Workshop 7 – Caricature Group

7.7.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Early 22 nd Dynasty	sAthens 201 (Plate 241)		-
	sCairo 27.1.25.13 (Plate 242)	<i>P3-di-Imn</i>	-
	sFitzwilliam E. 264.1932	<i>Tnt-ns-Imn</i>	-

	(Plate 243)		
	sOIM 1352 (Plate 244)	<i>dd-hnsw-iws-^cnh</i>	-
	sCMA 1921.1028 (Plate 245)	<i>dd-3st-iwf-^cnh</i>	-
	sCracow XI-646 (Plate 246)	<i>If-^cnh</i>	-
	sHilton-Price (Fig. 153)	Anonymous	-
	sBM 8451 (Plate 247)	<i>H^cy</i>	-
	sBM 22917 (Plate 248)	<i>Ns-Mwt</i>	-
	sBM 35895 (Plate 249)	<i>Š...</i>	-
	sBM 66424 (Plate 250)	<i>Hr-hbi</i>	-
	sLouvre N. 3795 (Plate 251, Fig. 48b)	<i>P3-diw-3st</i>	
	sLouvre E. 5789 (Plate 252)	<i>Rnpt-M3^c</i>	-
	sTurin 1598 (Plate 253, Fig. 154)	<i>Ns-y-hnsw-p3-hrd</i>	-
	sZagreb 567 (Plate 254, Fig. 155)	<i>K-im^c-wn-bw</i>	-
	sZagreb 568 (Plate 255)	<i>Nht-mwt</i>	

Table 15

Stelae Workshop 7 consists of sixteen stelae (Table 15).

7.7.2. Date

A date of the early 22nd Dynasty to the middle 22nd Dynasty, possibly later, may be proposed due to the extensive variation of style and quality. It can, therefore, be presumed that Stelae Workshop 7 was in production from the early 22nd Dynasty to at least the middle 22nd Dynasty.

7.7.3. Style and Execution

As opposed to the previous workshops, there does not appear to be any standardisation of format or form, especially with the male figural proportions. As a result, the figures display substantial discrepancy in proportion and dress. Many of the stelae exhibit awkwardness of execution, particularly in the proportions of the deceased. This has added an almost caricature-like quality to the figures. The various body parts are too thin, too long, or too short, as if the artists were unfamiliar with any canon of proportion. Many of the male figures seem to hunch forward towards the deity, for example, sCMA 1921.1028 and sZagreb 568. The costume includes the typical long transparent pleated robe, a short kilt, and a long, pleated mid-length kilt with a broad

band looped vertically across the left shoulder. sBM 66424 wears the leopard-skin sash of a priest.

It appears that an attempt has been made to scale down the size of the female figures. As a result, they are much smaller, especially the top of the thighs and waist, almost to the point where the upper body is too large for the figures. The arms are long with thick wrists and large hands. The legs taper gently towards thin ankles and proportionally sized feet. They all still wear the long, transparent pleated gown with long sleeves and tasselled edges, and a large wax cone upon their heads.

7.7.4. Common Characteristics

Re-Horakhty is the only deity represented, and is shown in the customary mummiform, enthroned pose grasping the crook and flail in crossed arms, with his chest facing frontally. On his head, he characteristically wears the sun disc encircled by a uraeus, which varies in size. He is generally uniformly rendered with a long upper body and a thin, attenuated lap. Additional characteristics include the simplified block design painted on the throne. The throne is often placed on a platform consisting of a *maʿat* - shaped hieroglyph, or a mat-shaped dais.

The deceased do not share their stelae, so there is only one person represented adoring the deity, or offering to him.

The most salient feature of Stelae Workshop 7 is that the stelae exhibit great variation in terms of iconography, style and quality of execution. In direct contrast with the previous Stelae Workshops 3, 5 and 6, there does not appear to be any restrictions placed on the artists in terms of iconography and style. For example, the secondary scene sTurin 1598 (**Fig. 154, Plate 253**) includes a necropolis with a depiction of the western hills on the left flanked by a tomb, three date palms and a sycamore tree on the right. A similar representation can be observed in sCairo RT 25.12.24.20 (**Fig. 146a, Plate 200**) from 7.2. Stelae Workshop 2. sLouvre N. 3795 (**Plate 251**) contains two additional rows of text at the bottom of the stele, and the lower part of sLouvre E. 5789 (**Plate 252**) includes an alternating row of *ankh*-signs, *djed*-columns and *tjet*-signs (Isis-knots) signifying resurrection and eternal life. Anubis is alluded to in the depiction of the *imyut*-symbol in sLouvre E. 5789 and sZagreb 567 (**Plate 254**).

The iconography in the lunette is also inconsistent through out the group. However, several stelae contain an analogous lunette decoration of a winged solar disc with flanking uraei that is typically located beneath a curved sky-sign (**Fig. 155**), representing the arch of the heavens (Wilkinson, 1992: 101). The wings (*djeneh*) extend across the entire lunette leaving no room for additional iconography. The requisite blocks

of vertical hieroglyphs are typically directly attached to the bottom of the winged disc. The hieroglyphs take up a sizeable percentage of space in the middle of the stelae. sLouvre N. 3795 and sZagreb 568 contain a representation of two large *udjat*-eyes, in the latter the *udjat*-eyes flank a winged sun disc with pendent uraei, and both the uraei wear the white crowns. sCairo 27.1.25.13 (**Plate 242**), sFitzwilliam E. 264.1932 (**Plate 243**), and sBM 22917 (**Plate 248**) do not contain any additional iconography, the text is directly attached to the curved sky-sign. sZagreb 567 (**Plate 254**) is atypical in that the sky-sign is not indicated.

Iconography framing the sides does not appear to be an essential feature in the workshop. The majority of the stelae are framed by a thin painted band, or do not include iconography on the sides. However, the stelae that do contain iconography along the sides are sHilton Price (**Fig. 153**), sLouvre N. 3795, sTurin 1598 and sZagreb 568 (**Plate 255**) which are reduced to the motif of the standards of the East and West.

The offering table is usually depicted loaded with offerings in a somewhat symmetrical design. The table is typically represented by a thick concave stand topped by a *hetep*-mat or lateral "T", these are usually loaded with round loaves bread flanking a water jar in the middle, fruit and vegetables topped by a dressed goose or a bunch of lotus blossoms. A water jar and lettuce are placed beneath the table on the floor. sCMA 1921.1028 (**Plate 245**) contains an additional date palm beside the table. Several stelae contain a simplified version of the table that consists of a concave stand with a water jar and lotus blossom on the top. In sLouvre E. 5789 (**Plate 252**) an *imyut*-sign is positioned between the two figures in the place of the table, and a large loaf of bread is placed above the lap of the deity.

7.7.5. Observations

Stelae Workshop 7 displays a provincial folk-art quality in the depiction of figural proportions. This is consistent with a new workshop, which lacks the strong tradition of stelae decoration. The considerable variation of quality implies the employment of unskilled artists, and maybe the workshop specialised in producing an economical rendering of the stelae. The awkwardness of the figures, irregular arrangement of hieroglyphs, and uneven edges, could also imply that they were created during a period of experimentation, maybe indicating a shift from the "traditional", standardised 22nd Dynasty stelae style. For example, the rendering of the shoulder and arm of the deceased from sZagreb 568, which is depicted in profile instead of frontally like the other stelae.

The use of earlier iconography can be seen in the representation of the *imyut*-symbol that most often accompanies the representation of Osiris, in sLouvre E. 5789 (Plate 252) and sZagreb 567 (Plate 255).

sLouvre N. 3795 includes two *udjat*-eyes flanking a *nfr*-sign (Fig. 48b). The *nfr*-sign is a consistent iconographical feature throughout the following dynasties, as is the prominent extended winged sun disc.

7.8. Stelae Workshop 8 – Archaised Male Figures

7.8.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Middle – late 22 nd Dynasty	sAthens 197 (Plate 256)	Anonymous	-
	sAthens 198 (Plate 257, Fig. 27b)	Anonymous	-
	sBerlin 10258 (Plate 263)	<i>P-di-hnsw</i>	-
	sBrooklyn 37.1385E (Plate 258)	<i>Tnt-sbk</i>	
	sBrooklyn 80.480.201 (Plate 264, Fig. 160)	<i>Tk-hnmt</i>	-
	sCairo A.9406 (Plate 259)	<i>Hr-d3</i>	-
	sDurham N. 1975 (Plate 268)	<i>Ns-y-wr</i>	-
	sFlorence 2477 (Plate 260, Fig. 158)	<i>Šb3</i>	-
	sFlorence 2480 (Plate 265)	<i>dd-Imn-iw-ḥnh</i>	-
	sLinköping (Plate 261)	Anonymous	-
	sLiverpool M 11066 (Plate 266)	Anonymous	-
	sLoc.Unkn. 14 (Fig. 156)	Anonymous	
	sBM 8449 (Plate 262)	<i>Hr-(h)b</i>	-
	sBM EA 65354 (Plates 267a – b, Fig. 159)	<i>T(n)t-di-ḥ3-ht</i>	-
	sMMA 22.3.32 (Plate 269)	<i>Ny-f-n-bw</i>	
	sUPenn E. 2044 (Plate 270, Figs. 52c, 157)	<i>df-ḥnh</i>	-

Table 16

Stelae Workshop 8 consists of sixteen stelae (**Table 16**).

7.8.2. Date

Judging from the style of representation and lack of proficiency in execution, it can be assumed that the stelae from this group were produced around the middle to late 22nd Dynasty.

7.8.3. Style and Execution

The style of execution of Stelae Workshop 8 represents a distinct break with the 22nd Dynasty representational tradition. As with the stelae from 7.7. - Stelae Workshop 7, there is no standardisation of proportions and composition. The male figures appear block-shaped in form, angular, and almost clumsy in their execution. They are sharply defined by a dark outline, which together with their large size and lack of interior detailing makes them appear flat against the lighter background. The male figures in sBerlin 10258 and sLiverpool M 11066 exhibit the same proportions and garment-type, which consists of a long mid-length kilt that is tied below the chest, leaving the upper torso and arms bare.

The execution of female forms is extremely varied, and fluctuates from masculine and bulky in sBrooklyn 80.480.201, to tall, angular and slender in sBM 65354. The facial features in both males and females also differ significantly. Generally, however, head is fairly flat, and the eyes are large, placed in the middle of the face.

7.8.4. Common Characteristics

The binding feature of this group is the deliberate archaisation of figural forms, especially those of the male figures. The male proportions are considerably bulky, with large heads and protruding facial features, such as the lips and nose. The arms of the deceased are very long, typically quite thick, and are attached to large round shoulders. The torso is longer, and the buttocks placed lower on the body, which makes the legs shorter, tapering slightly into wide ankles (**Fig. 27b**). Most of the figures wear a long kilt reaching to the mid-calf that is tied in the front; the bands reach to the lower edge of the kilt and terminate with a fringe. The deceased in sAthens 198 (**Plate 257**) wears the transparent pleated garment common during the 21st and early 22nd Dynasty.

The feminine forms do not display any canonical features prevalent in the previous workshops, and the forms are also not ordered. However, the majority of the figures have long arms with thick wrists, and disproportionately large feet. They either wear the long transparent gown with tasselled edges or a tight fitting sheath dress, for example, sBM EA 65354.

The figure of Re-Horakhty also does not display any inclination toward a standardised representation. The head and beak have become larger and more prominent, and as a result the head appears to be squashed into the shoulders.

Compositionally, three sub groupings can be determined based upon the pose of Re-Horakhty. In the first group: sAthens 197 (**Plate 256**), sAthens 198 (**Plate 257**), sBrooklyn 37.1385E (**Plate 258**), sCairo A 9406 (**Plate 259**), sFlorence 2477 (**Plate 260**), sLinköping (**Plate 261**), sBM 8449 (**Plate 262**), and sLoc.Unkn. 14 (**Fig. 156**), the figure of Re-Horakhty is represented in a human-form striding pose. This is reminiscent of the striding figures of 7.2. – Stelae Workshop 2. In this position, the shoulders are typically quite wide, supporting long chunky arms, and the waist appears fairly small. The legs are fairly bulky, maybe to indicate musculature, and tapering into heavy ankles. Re-Horakhty wears the customary short kilt with tight corselet, a wide collar and shoulder, arm and ankle bands.

In sBerlin 10258 (**Plate 263**), sBrooklyn 80.480.201 (**Plate 264**), sFlorence 2480 (**Plate 265**), sLiverpool M. 11066 (**Plate 266**), and sBM 65354 (**Plate 267a**), he is depicted in his customary 22nd Dynasty pose, mummiform and seated upon a throne. He grasps the traditional *heqa* -sceptre and flail in either the left or right hand. In sBerlin 10258 and sBM 65354, the seated figure of Re-Horakhty is human-form, with a large upper body, thin waist, and long arms. In the former, the god has disproportionately small legs. The deceased pours a libation onto a very small offering table with one hand and censors with the other.

The final grouping consists of sDurham N. 1975 (**Plate 268**), sMMA 22.3.32 (**Plate 269**) and sUPenn E. 2044 (**Plate 270**) where Re-Horakhty is represented mummiform and standing. He holds an *ankh*-sign in the left hand and a thickly painted *was*-sceptre in the other hand before him. This pose is typical of representations of the god in later stelae (comparable to the pose of the deities in 7.9. – Stelae Workshop 9). In sUPenn E 2044, the figure of Re-Horakhty contains a criss-cross pattern along the entire mummiform body to indicate wrappings (**Fig. 157**), or perhaps imitating the rhomboid pattering on the bead netting that is found over a vast majority of middle to late 21st Dynasty mummy-boards (Ikram & Dodson, 1998: 173).

The format of the stelae has become increasingly simplified, and there is rarely any embellishment or ornamentation, only the basic descriptive elements are depicted.

The iconography along the sides is also not uniform, maybe an indication of the client's preference. sAthens 197 (**Plate 256**), sFlorence 2480 (**Plate 265**) and sBM 8449 (**Plate 262**) include two flanking *was*-sceptres along the sides. sBrooklyn 37.1385E

(**Plate 258**), sCairo A 9406 and sUPenn E. 2044 (**Fig. 52c**) contain two door leaves representing the doors of the after-world, granting the deceased free access.

The lunette decoration consists of a curved sky-sign, which is consistent throughout the group. sAthens 197, sBerlin 10258, sCairo A. 9406, sDurham N. 1975, sBM 8449, and sBM EA 65354 contain a representation of winged sun disc with flanking uraei below the sky-sign. sBrooklyn 37.1385E, sBrooklyn 80.480.21, sFlorence 2477, sFlorence 2480, sLinköping, sLiverpool M. 11066 and sLocn.Unk. 14 contain a sun disc with pendent uraei. The uraei in sFlorence 2480 wear the white and red crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the sun disc in sFlorence 2477 is flanked by two jackals with a feather of *Ma'at* in their front paws reclining upon two shrines (**Fig. 158**). Two *udjat*-eyes with *shen*-signs alongside flank the disc in sBrooklyn 37.1385E. The lunette decoration for sLiverpool M. 11066 (**Plate 266**) and sBrooklyn 37.1385E is almost identical with two *shen*-signs placed laterally alongside two *udjat*-eyes flanking a sun disc with pendent uraei. The sides and lunette in sLinköping (**Plate 261**) is framed by the curving form of Nut, this motif can also be seen in sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 (**Plate 206**) and sLouvre E. 52 (**Plates 207a – b**) from 7.2. Stelae Workshop 2.

The representation of an offering table is not a consistent feature and was probably not considered essential. When present it is simplified to a small concave table containing a water jar and a lotus flower.

An additional binding feature of this group is the brevity of the offering formulae, and the apparent lack of concern for the arrangement of the texts within the stelae format. The glyphs themselves have an appearance of being very quickly rendered, almost careless. There does not appear to be any predetermined area for the invocation, and it is placed in various positions on the stelae. In sBM 8449 and sLinköping the text is painted directly onto the background without any dividing lines or separating block of colour. In sFlorence 2480, two vertical columns of texts are placed above each other between the two figures.

7.8.5. Observations

sCairo A. 9406 is unique in the representation of the deceased seated and playing a large harp to the standing deity, this is similar to the representation from sLouvre N. 3657 (**Fig. 29b, Plate 223**) in 7.3. - Stelae Workshop 3. In this version, two supplementary rows of text are painted below the main scene.

sBM EA 65354 contains an additional scene on the verso of the stele. The deceased is seated upon a chair atop a dais, with a large offering table of packed vertical loaves of bread before her (**Fig. 159**), three water jars on the floor, and a winged

goose above them. The offering text is written in large ornamental hieroglyphs that have been painted directly onto the background.

The lack of standardisation of figural proportions or format implies that the artists felt themselves free to experiment with different forms, and they could look back to monuments from the Old Kingdom, reusing the figural proportions to suit their needs. This workshop may represent a transitional phase in the development of the stelae towards the standardised “new” types of the 25th and 26th Dynasties. Elements of the later stelae can be seen in the offering table of sBM 8449 and sBM 65354 (verso), the table is low and wide, containing several upright angular loaves of bread. However, as with the archaisation of the figural proportions, the offering table format dates back to the Old Kingdom.

A major change in the essential elements of the stelae is heralded by the shift in importance of the offering table as an indispensable feature in the stelae. The significance of the table appears to have diminished, as roughly half the stelae in this group do not contain one.

sBrooklyn 80.480.201 contains an unusual figural representation of the female deceased (**Fig. 160**). She wears a long tight “wrap-around”, pleated skirt with the tie at the back, leaving the breast and shoulders exposed.

It also would appear due to the analogous representation of Re-Horakhty, and the lunette decoration the same artist who created this stele also created sLiverpool M. 11066.

The male figural forms and facial features of sFlorence 2480 (**Plate 265**) and sUPenn E 2044 (**Plate 270**) are very similar, and may indicate the hand of one artist.

7.9. Stelae Workshop 9 – Late

7.9.1. Members

Date	Museum Acc. #	Owner	Daressy #
Late 22 nd Dynasty or later	sChicago FM 31676 (Plate 271)	Anonymous	-
	sFlorence 2475 (Plate 272)	<i>ḥnh-Mwt-nfrt</i>	-
	sFlorence 2479 (Plate 273)	<i>N-Mwt-3s-b3k</i>	-
	sFlorence 2485 (Plate 274, Fig. 161)	<i>ḏd-Mwt-is-ḥnh</i>	-
	sLiverpool M. 13989 (Plate 275)	Anonymous	-

Table 17

Stelae Workshop 9 consists of five stelae (**Table 17**).

7.9.2. Date

Judging from the style of representation, it can be assumed that the stelae from this group were produced at the very earliest during the late 22nd Dynasty, but may probably date to later.

7.9.3. Style and Execution

The style of execution of Stelae Workshop 9 represents the product of the evolution of the 22nd Dynasty representational tradition. Two distinct female figural forms can be observed, often within one stele. In the first type, the female deity figures are typically represented tall, slim and angular, and wear the characteristic tight-fitting sheath dresses. The feminine forms of the deceased are more emphasised and is thus often depicted with large rounded hips, for example, sFlorence 2475 (**Plate 272**). They also wear the long, transparent robes with long sleeves characteristic of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties.

The facial features protrude out, creating a wide, flat facial area. They are reminiscent of the female figure from sBM EA 65354 (**Plates 267a – b**) from 7.8. - Stelae Workshop 8.

7.9.4. Common Characteristics

These stelae contain all the representational and iconographical elements common to the previous stelae workshops, however, they are standardised into a new, uniform format (**Fig. 161**).

The lunette is typically framed by the curved sky-sign above a winged sun disc. Additional text is delineated and placed between painted vertical lines attached to the underside of the winged sun disc. The lunette is then separated from the main part of the stelae by several thick painted bands of which the top band is decorated in a block-shaped pattern of alternating colours. This design recalls the pattern used in sAthens 199 (**Plate 198**) and sLouvre N. 3662 (**Plate 212**) from 7.2. - Stelae Workshop 2.

The customary offering formula has been relegated to the bottom of the stelae. These are written in horizontal lines of large ornamental hieroglyphs and are separated from the rest of the stelae and each other by a broad painted line that on the upper part serves as the base line for the main scene. The texts within the main scene generally function as captions to identify the deceased and the deities. These are attached to the lower horizontal band of the lunette and are placed between the figures. However, a condensed invocation may be squeezed in, for example, sFlorence 2479 (**Plate 273**) and sFlorence 2485 (**Plate 274**).

Several deities and family members can be represented on the stelae. The main deities worshipped can be either Re-Horakhty or Osiris, or both, for example, sFlorence 2479 (**Plate 273**). The figures of the deities are standing, mummiform, and carry the was-sceptre. The deities emulate those of the third sub-grouping in 7.8. - Stelae Workshop 8 (**Plates 268 – 270**), and are often represented on a small *ma'at*-shaped pedestal. Re-Horakhty wears either the sun disc with uraei, sChicago FM 31676 and sLiverpool M. 13989, or the white crown with *atef*-feathers, sFlorence 2485. The profile standing figure of Osiris with the white crown with *atef*-feathers recalls the Osirian representations of the late New Kingdom and 21st Dynasty.

The design of the offering table is inconsistent. It can consist of the small concave table topped by a water jar and a lotus blossom, or a short wide table with bread loaves and a large lotus blossom. The table in sFlorence 2485 consists of a wide mat-shaped surface filled with long, upright angular loaves of bread (the same type as sBM EA 65354 (**Fig. 159, Plates 267a – b**) from 7.8. - Stelae Workshop 8). Additional hieroglyphs indicating the wish for thousands of offerings are painted above the table.

7.9.5. Observations

Gender differentiation appears to be reversed in sChicago FM 31676, three of the female figures stand in front of the male figure in the dominant position directly before Re-Horakhty.

8. Observations and Remarks on the Papyri and Stelae Workshops

A thorough examination of the papyri has revealed a number of trends that came into play during the 21st and 22nd Dynasty.

8.1. Observations on the Papyri Workshops

Most noticeably, the continuation of the New Kingdom/ Ramesside style of representation appears to only have survived to approximately the middle 21st Dynasty. Many of the New Kingdom characteristics, such as representation of status, sharing of manuscripts, even colour were rejected in the manuscripts of the later 21st Dynasty. In the papyri from the early 21st Dynasty, the emphasis was on the elaborate use of colour, embellishment and ornamentation in the papyri of the deceased. Here, the status of the deceased was highlighted. This can be seen in the early papyri from Papyri Workshop 1 (**Plates 2 – 9**). From around the middle 21st Dynasty, a shift in focus can be observed with regard to the decoration of the papyri. New Kingdom and early 21st Dynasty status symbols, such as embellishment on furniture, piles of offerings, brilliant paint colour, and even personal ornamentation disappear from the illustrations. Furthermore, the

furnishings almost cease to be depicted on the papyri from the late 21st or 22nd, for example, pBM 10554 (**Plate 1**).

The size of the figures according to social status was an early 21st Dynasty phenomenon, a direct continuation of the classical, New Kingdom manner. This practice was terminated in the late 21st Dynasty. It may have no longer been deemed necessary to include servants in individual funerary manuscripts, as the focus of the texts were concentrated more on the deceased and their safe passage through the afterlife.

Another continuation of a New Kingdom tradition is the occurrence of married couples sharing a papyrus, which was relatively widespread during the early/middle 21st Dynasty. However, during the late 21st Dynasty, no one appears to share a papyrus, it would seem that the emphasis of the manuscript was on the individual, this could possibly also be interpreted as a response to the lack of tomb decoration and prevalence of communal burials. On the same note, the deceased was rarely represented with family members. These changes may be in part due to the doctrine that the deceased was an incarnation of Osiris (Niwinski, 1989b: 105 – 106), and therefore a deity, who was always in the company of other deities.

Gender differentiation, in terms of scale and position within the manuscript, can be observed in a small number of early to middle 21st Dynasty papyri. These occur in Papyri Workshop 1 and 2 where couples share manuscripts. The occurrence of individually owned manuscripts may also be attributed to the growing importance of women within the temple cult, and a general increase in status of women, as there is no difference in terms of content, size and quality between the various papyri belonging to males and females. For example, in the late 21st Dynasty manuscript, pBerlin P. 3148 (**Plate 121**), the etiquette represents the female owner, but the rest of the manuscript contains depictions of a male where the female owner should have been represented. It would appear that this gender blunder was not a matter of concern for the owner or the workshop. However, it can be seen that colour still played a role in differentiating gender, especially on papyri whose etiquettes and vignettes are painted, the males are still represented with a darker colour than the females.

A parallel development at this time was the copying and extensive reproduction of motifs from the New Kingdom royal tombs for personal use by the Theban nobility, for example, Papyri Workshop 5: pVM 54-10 (**Plate 119**), and from Papyri Workshop 6: pLouvre N. 3276 (**Plate 149**). Papyri produced in the late 21st Dynasty exhibit a profusion of previously exclusive royal imagery that has been transformed and synthesised into the late 21st Dynasty theology. This has created a distinct impression

that the artists were given license to experiment with the various iconographic motifs, transforming older, classical imagery and creating new ones. This trend is especially evident in the late 21st Dynasty papyri from Papyri Workshop 1 and 3, and Papyri Workshops 5, 6, and 7.

There is no differentiation of scale between the gods and the deceased (be it male or female). In the majority of the papyri, the etiquette is placed on the right, and the deity is always represented on the left in the dominant position facing the deceased on the right (Robins, 1994: 33). Female deities are typically represented standing behind the male deity. These characteristics are in keeping with artistic conventions dating as far back as the Middle Kingdom (Robins, 1994: 33). However, the figurative representation in the etiquette of pVM 54-10 (**Plate 119**) is unusual, as the kneeling deceased is drafted at least twice the size of an enthroned Osiris, although he is still represented in the dominant position on the left, facing right.

The similarity and sharing of iconography and motifs within the specific workshops supports the theory of the use of "pattern books" or at the very least, model papyri. Their employment is especially evident in the papyri from Papyri Workshop 4. Not only would the pattern books/model papyri speed up production, but could also facilitate in the choice of spells made by the owner or workshop.

People who owned two papyri generally patronised one workshop, but it seems as if they were free to shop around, for example pSRIV 556 and pSRIV 554 (**Plate 90**) belong to Ankhefenkhons, but they were created in Papyri Workshop 5 and Papyri Workshop 3 respectively. This is also the case for the funerary manuscripts of Amunemsaf, pLouvre N. 3292 (**Plate 63**) and pLouvre N. 3293 (**Plate 47**), which belong to Papyri Workshop 3 and Papyri Workshop 1, respectively.

Judging from the quality of execution and content, it appears that the various workshops may have targeted different socio-economic groups within the Theban citizenry. For example, Papyri Workshop 1 was patronised by the high priests of Amun and their families, who were certainly in a higher income and social bracket, compared to the quality of papyri belonging to the clientele of Papyri Workshop 6 or 7. In stating the above, it is highly likely that Papyri Workshop 1 was located in or nearby the temple of Amun, whose services the high priests could have had at their immediate disposal. It may be further postulated that the economy at Thebes during the 21st Dynasty was thriving, well enough for a married couple to each purchase their own individual manuscripts, and for nearly every person to possess two different types.

The length of the papyri does not appear to be proportional to the quality of execution. In some of the longer papyri, such as pSRIV 631 (**Plate 159**) from Papyri Workshop 6, the dimensions are 4.11 metres x 24 centimetres, but the quality of graphics is extremely poor. However, pBM 10554 (**Plate 1**) from Papyri Workshop 1 is over 40 metres in length by approximately 49 centimetres in height, and the illustrations are comparable to the representations from the early 21st Dynasty. It therefore appears that the quality of the representations was dependent upon the skill of the individual artist and workshop.

8.2. Observations on the Stelae Workshops

Generally, the stelae workshops from the early 22nd Dynasty exhibit a strong tendency toward standardisation of format and style, as is evident in Stelae Workshop 3, 5 and 6. The use of iconography is restricted to the employment of a few selected symbols. The most prevalent motifs are the sun disc with pendent uraei (with or without wings), and the *udjat*-eyes (**Fig. 48a**). Consequently, the stelae from these workshops lack the complex interplay of motifs that can be found in 7.1. - Stelae Workshop 1 and 7.2. - Stelae Workshop 2, for example, sLouvre E. 52 (**Plates 207a – b**). The curved sky-sign is utilised consistently through out.

The stelae from Stelae Workshops 7 and 8 (which can probably be attributed to the later part of the 22nd Dynasty) display a visible deterioration in quality of execution and skill level. These workshops are characterised by the apparent disregard for any previous canon of proportion possibly due to the lack of skilled artists and/or the de-regulation of figural proportions or representation. Owing to the variation of representation there is a distinct feeling of experimentation within the figural forms. However, what is lacking in proficiency is made up for with a noticeable enrichment of the iconographic repertoire, for example, the arched figure of Nut in sLinköping (**Plate 261**), and the use of the *imyut*-symbol and alternating *djed* and *ankh*-signs in sLouvre E. 5789 (**Plate 252**). In 7.9. - Stelae workshop 9, there are, once again, direct representations of Osiris, indicating a shift from Re-Horakhty as the sole deity in the stelae.

These changes coincide with the acceptance of the 23rd Dynasty by Theban citizens, in retaliation to the kings of the 22nd Dynasty. Kitchen (1986: Table 3) chronicles the overlapping of the 23rd Dynasty with the rule of Pedubast I in c. 818 B. C. E. during the reign of Shoshenq III (c. 825 – 773 B. C. E.). He states, "Once the reign of Shoshenq III is reached, there is almost no further mention of any 22nd Dynasty kings at Thebes" (Kitchen, 1986: 131). As soon as the independence of the 23rd Dynasty was established,

the Thebans dated their kings exactly, as they could ignore the senior line of kings with whom they had been in disagreement from the time of Takeloth II (c. 850 – 825 B. C. E) and Prince Osorkon (Kitchen, 1986: 130). Hence, it may be construed that the regulation of representation during the early 22nd Dynasty reflects strong controls on religious/funerary practices as a political tool. Consequently, with the recognition of an additional dynasty, the central authority was now divided in two, as both dynasties were in power “enjoying comparable status throughout Egypt” (Kitchen, 1986: 130). Therefore, the citizenry of Thebes may have regained former privileges that were unavailable to them during the early 22nd Dynasty.

Thus, the stelae from Stelae Workshop 7 and 8 (**Plates 241 – 270**) may represent a transitional phase in the evolution of the wooden stelae.

It is not uncommon for a couple to share a stele, for example, sBerlin 24038 (**Plate 226**), sBrussels E. 6283 (**Plate 195**), sBM 1224 (**Plate 197**), sBM 37899 (**Plate 239**). As opposed to the papyri workshops, in which sharing of manuscripts occurred mainly during the early 21st Dynasty, sharing does not appear to be more common in any specific time during the 22nd Dynasty.

Gender differentiation can generally be observed when two people of opposite sex are depicted on the same stelae. The male is always placed in the middle directly before the deity, and the female stands to the rear on the right. However, some exceptions do occur: in sBrussels E. 6283 the female deceased is placed directly in front of the deity in the dominant position, while the male figure is placed behind her. In verso of sMMA 22.3.33 (**Plate 210b**), the deceased is represented with her spouse; she is seated in the dominant position on the left and the spouse on the right. In sChicago FM 31676 (**Plate 271**), three of the female figures stand in front of the male figure in the dominant position directly before Re-Horakhty.

Size is also used to differentiate gender, in sBerlin 24038 (**Plate 226**), sBM 1224 (**Plate 197**), and sBM 37899 (**Plate 239**); the male figures are slightly larger than the female figures.

Differentiation between the deity and deceased is exhibited by the positioning of the figures within the stelae composition. As in the papyri etiquettes, the deity is always represented in the dominant position on the left facing the right (Robins, 1994: 33), and when depicted, the female deities are generally represented standing behind the male deity. The size of the deceased compared to the deity does not seem to have any special connotations, for example, in sCairo RT 20.12.24.13 (**Plate 189**), the kneeling deceased is depicted nearly twice the size as the deity to whom he is offering. This

image is comparable with that of pVM 54-10 (**Plate 119**). In sManchester 1900, the deity is placed upon an elevated platform, which raises him above the deceased. Both stelae may be more concerned with retaining compositional value than trying to make a statement as to their status compared with that of the deity. In the majority of the stelae, however, the deceased and deities share the same hairline, even though in many cases the deity is standing or seated upon a raised platform.

Due to the lack of explicit chronological data, such as cartouches in the invocation and inscriptions in accompanying funerary items, it is not possible to precisely date the stelae, and thus make an assumption as to whether certain workshops targeted various individuals, such as Papyri and Stelae Workshop 1.

As with the papyri, the size of the stelae is not proportional to level and proficiency of execution.

Within the comparison between the relationship of stylistic groupings of the papyri and stelae to each other, it is interesting to note the deterioration of artistic proficiency from the early 21st Dynasty to the late 22nd Dynasty.

9. Conclusion

The first part of this study began with an introduction to the papyri and stelae within the context of the historical background of the 21st and 22nd Dynasty. This also included an examination of the specific theology and political structure operating between Thebes and Tanis that is reflected in the development of the funerary papyri and stelae. The discussion further incorporated the funerary practices of the Third Intermediate Period pertaining to the use of tombs, their decoration and accompanying ensembles, as were the function and history of the papyri and stelae. This was followed by an examination into the lives of the artists in terms of the structure of their workshops, reparation, working conditions, and production processes.

The dissertation then analysed the physical aspects of the papyri and stelae, such as, materials and construction, representational features, pictorial representation of figural types, and the utilisation of specific iconography. A concise discussion on the dating of the papyri and stelae was also included.

Methodology involved undertaking the research on a descriptive and interpretative/comparative level. Panofsky's (1972: *passim*) model for describing pictorial works was used to interpret the various symbols on three levels. The first level constituted the world of artistic motifs; this signified the primary or natural subject matter. This was based on a pre-iconographical description, and the symbolism was interpreted through practical experience. The second level was comprised of the secondary or

conventional subject matter, which is made up of the world of images, stories and allegories. On this level, an iconographical analysis was undertaken that employed the knowledge of literary sources. The third level dealt with the intrinsic meaning or content, making up the world of “symbolical” values. For this level, an iconological interpretation was utilized, with the employment of synthetic intuition (the familiarity with the essential tendencies human mind), conditioned by personal psychology and “Weltanschauung.”

The inquiry was limited to the examination of symbols and iconography within a specific period, namely c. 1069 – 715 B. C. E, and the way in which they were used in this period. Thus, the significance of the symbol was made clear by its context, and by its relationship to other symbols among which it stands. And, as with Panofsky's (1972: *passim*) controls and Goff's (1979: *passim*) horizontal method, the historical background of the Third Intermediate Period in which the symbols were employed, was constantly borne in mind.

The comparison of the papyri and stelae was based on a combination of the model of comparison developed by Freed (1996: *passim*) and Niwiński (1989a: *passim*). The utilization of these models has functioned as a control or corrective in order to make each interpretation as impartial as possible.

The first objective of the dissertation was realised by acting on the assumption that specific groupings of manuscripts are products of different workshops. Thus, It was possible to definitively place 208 manuscripts out of 214 papyri into seven individual workshops. This was based upon their stylistic similarities and corresponding content.

6.1. - Papyri Workshop 1 is comprised of fifty-six manuscripts, and constitutes the largest group. The highest quality manuscripts were produced in this workshop, which was patronized by the high priests of Amun and their families. Thus, it is possible that this particular workshop was in operation during the New Kingdom. It is also more than likely that this workshop was located within the Temple of Amun where the services of highly skilled artists would be available on demand to the high priests and their families.

In several of the papyri dating to the early and middle 21st Dynasty, such as pSRVII 980, pLouvre N. 6258 (**Plate 6**) and pBM 10541 (**Plate 4**), the status of the deceased (**Fig. 74**) is indicated by a discrepancy in scale between figures of a lower rank, such as the priests and serving figures, to those of the deceased.

Within papyri that contain representations of couples, gender differentiation, in keeping with New Kingdom conventions, is indicated by the female figure placed in the subordinate position behind the male figure (Robins, 1994b: 34 – 35), for example, pBM 10541 (**Plate 4**). In pLouvre N. 6258 (**Plate 6**), the couple is both seated, the female figure's knees overlap the buttocks of the male figure, and she embraces the male figure with her forward arm, which Robins (1994b: 35) believes is typical of the New Kingdom rules of compositional gender differentiation. In both instances, however, the female figure is depicted sharing the same hairline as the male figure, and there is no apparent discrepancy in scale. After the early to middle 21st Dynasty, the trend of sharing a manuscript disappeared, and this phenomenon is not repeated in the later papyri.

Lesko (1994: 183) comments that due to the exceptional nature of pBM 10554 (**Plate 1**): the care displayed in the execution, the generous space allotments, the long vignettes, the owner's numerous priestly titles, and the title *b3kt p3ipw n Imn R^c*, Servant of the Scrolls of Amun-Re, Nesitanebtasheru (Pinudjem II's daughter) may have been the author and scribe.

6.2. - Papyri Workshop 2 is the smallest group consisting of only seven manuscripts. This group is typically characterized by the large dimensions of the papyri and the division of the manuscripts into skillfully rendered compartments. Gender differentiation can be observed in the papyri of Tawaser-hatmes, pSRVII 10249 (**Fig. 76**), whenever the deceased is portrayed with his wife; she is represented smaller than he is. In pHavana (**Plate 53**), both the deceased and his wife are rendered on the same scale, but as in pSRVII 10249 (**Plate 52**), the female figures are placed behind the male figures.

Both Papyri Workshops 1 and 2 exhibit an extremely high degree of proficiency, the quality of which is sustained throughout the "lifespan" of both the workshops. The representations were typically executed with a competent and skillful hand, strongly reminiscent of the Ramesside artistic tradition. The figures are all rendered according New Kingdom classical canons; conforming to an ideal type of a tall, slender build, narrow shoulders and waist and a high buttocks. These two workshops both contain the earliest manuscripts within the study selection. The papyri are characterized by meticulous attention to detail, highly elaborate vignettes and extensive use of rich colours. The contents of the manuscripts are easily recognizable, and both text and vignettes of the various *Book of the Dead* chapters generally correspond to the traditional versions from the New Kingdom.

6.3. - Papyri Workshop 3 contains the second largest grouping with fifty-two members. The representations within the individual manuscripts vary considerably in respect to style and execution; however, the *Amduat* papyri are strongly reminiscent of the versions found in the New Kingdom royal tombs. Judging from the figural compositions, it is possible for one to conclude that the artists were allowed a certain amount of latitude in which to experiment with the fusion of motifs from the funerary literature of the time, culminating into a series of complex iconographic compositions.

The manuscripts from Papyri Workshop 1, 2 and 3 contain a higher proportion of text compared with the later workshops.

6.4. - Papyri Workshop 4 consists of eleven papyri. The majority of the members of this workshop belong to a uniform, almost analogous group, in terms of content and composition. Due to the homogenous nature of the contents of the papyri, it is highly probable that the artists copied from one model papyrus. Niwiński (1989a: 193) believes that these “undoubtedly originate from the same pattern book”. The manuscripts are comprised predominantly of figural representations with the text serving as captions. It seems that the papyri were created only for one person, and thus only one person is depicted, as no married couples share a papyrus. Gender appears to be differentiated through the kneeling pose in the substitute etiquette. The majority of the female figures kneel with both knees on the ground while the male figures have only one knee on the ground with the other knee raised directly under their outstretched elbow (**Figs. 101a – b**). This appears to be in keeping with Egyptian artistic tradition, and the variation of the pose even differentiates gender through out the corpus of papyri in this study selection, the female deities are not excluded from the use of the pose.

The twenty-five manuscripts that belong to 6.5. - Papyri Workshop 5 represents the culmination of the fusion of artistic creativity and mass of funerary iconography available to the citizens of Thebes within the late 21st Dynasty. This group forms a distinctive collection of atypical compositions in terms of iconography and style. Each manuscript is filled with a profusion of iconography composed with unique variations and combinations so that every inch of space is utilized, and not one papyrus is analogous to each other. Thus, it would appear that the artists were given considerable freedom in the exploitation of this literature. One may also assume that they were encouraged to do so by their patrons, based on the large number of papyri in this group.

Due to a lack of abbreviated (stick-figure) *Amduat* papyri common to Papyri Workshop 3, one may conclude that this workshop did not generate this particular genre, for example, pSRIV 556 was recovered from the same funerary ensemble as pSRIV 544

(**Plate 71**), which is an *Amduat* papyrus composed of the stick-type figures. Owing to similarities in artistic style and iconography, the latter manuscript has been placed in 6.3. - Papyri Workshop 3. This also indicates that the customers may have patronised more than one workshop at a time and that they were free to choose from whatever the different workshops had to offer. Niwiński (1989a: 204) believes that the artists producing the *Amduat*-type papyri “felt themselves absolutely free to decide which motifs from the very rich repertoire of iconographic patterns they wanted to copy”, and the transformation and atypical arrangement of traditional motifs may indicate the individual taste of the artist.

Furthermore, this workshop may have served the less affluent Theban citizenry, and may have offered economy/discount versions of funerary manuscripts, for example, the majority of the papyri are generally less than 1.5 metres long and 25 centimetres high. pBerlin P. 3148 (**Plate 121**) is unique in that the etiquette represents the female owner, but the rest of the papyrus depicts a male figure where the deceased should have been represented. It can be safe to assume that the etiquette was pasted onto the rest of the manuscript, which had been made for a male client, and that this discrepancy was not an issue for the buyer.

6.6. - Papyri Workshop 6 is comprised of thirty manuscripts. The illustrations are characterized by an extreme abbreviation of forms, a type of “short-hand” style of drawing, in which only the absolute essential elements are recorded. Additionally, the manuscripts are typically rendered only in black outline with the use of red only for emphasis. From the physical appearance of pSRIV 631 (**Plate 159**), pSRVII 10237 (**Plate 154**), pSRVII 10220 (**Plate 160**) and pSRVII 10223 (**Plate 133**), it is highly probable that the person who wrote the text also created the illustrations. The abbreviation of forms, mediocre style of execution, lack of colour and embellishments, implies that 6.6. – Papyri Workshop 6 produced the more economic imitations of the *Book of the Dead* and the *Amduat*. For example, pBM 9984 (**Plate 157**) and pHouston MFA 13-73 (**Plate 155**) echo the layout and design of the *Amduat* papyri of 6.3. – Papyri Workshop 3, but are rendered in the style specific to this workshop. However, the content of each of the manuscripts is fairly diverse, containing a combination of the various funerary literature available at the time.

There does not appear to be any correlation between the size of the manuscript and the quality of execution, since pSRIV 631 (**Plate 159**) contains rather poor quality illustrations on a single register, but is the longest manuscript in the group. Aesthetics may not have been a concern to the Thebans at this time.

Twenty manuscripts can be ascribed to 6.7. - Papyri Workshop 7: Analogous *Amduats*. As the name of the workshop implies, the majority of the papyri form a distinctive, comparatively analogous group. The quality of execution is fairly competent and comparatively consistent. Observing the fairly uniform nature of the representations of the various motifs, this workshop operated according to predetermined standards, or worked from good sets of patterns. pSRIV 1544 (**Plate 169**) is interesting in that although it is arranged on three registers, in order to preserve space, illustrations of the presentation of linen of the Ninth Hour are placed above the motifs of the first two registers where the rest of the text is located. The solar barge of the Twelfth Hour is not represented, but implied through the representation of figures towing the cord along a serpent, demonstrating Niwiński's *pars pro toto* rule (Niwiński, 1989a: 17 – 22) Due to the anonymity of half of the group, it is impossible to make any observations concerning gender differentiation. Coincidentally, the papyri that do contain the names of the deceased, all belong to males.

In contrast to the illustrations within the manuscripts of Papyri Workshop 5, the representations from Papyri Workshops 6 and 7 display an impoverishment of iconography and an abrupt reduction of style and execution. This decline is emphasised further by the lack of colour, as they are both typically outlined in black.

It can also be observed that within the papyri workshops, several subgroups are evident, especially those that contain numerous manuscripts and span many decades, such as Papyri Workshop 1 and 3.

From a comprehensive examination of 103 stelae, it was possible to group 100 stelae into nine workshops.

It is significant to note that 7.1. - Stelae Workshop 1 is 6.1. - Papyri Workshop 1, to which thirteen stelae can be attributed. They contain the same attributes and style of execution as the papyri, and the illustrations are rendered according to New Kingdom artistic traditions. As with the papyri, the stelae exhibit a high quality of execution, which appears to have been maintained throughout the extent of the workshop. As can be expected, the figural proportions are analogous to those of the papyri, conforming to the ideal type of 6. 1. - Papyri Workshop 1. Moreover, the representations within several stelae mirror the ornate decoration found within the papyri, for example in sCairo JE 29310 (**Plate 186**), the detailing in the short cloak of Osiris, his crown and the throne, and the offering table is loosely packed and loaded with offerings. However, the stelae all lack iconography on the sides that is prevalent in the later Stelae Workshops 2 – 9. The content of the stelae constantly refers back to the current theology, containing

contemporary motifs present in the papyri, such as the solar barque imagery from sCairo RT 20.12.24.13 (**Plate 189**), sCairo JE 29310 (**Plate 186**), sCairo JE 29118 (**Plate 188**), and sBM 1224 (**Plate 197**). Divine aspirations can be observed in sCairo JE 29308 (**Plate 185**) and sCairo JE 29310 (**Plate 186**) where both deceased carry an *ankh*-sign. This is quite unusual as deities are customarily the only ones to bear the *ankh*-sign, Zayed (1968: 152) states that the deceased may be identifying themselves with Osiris, and may therefore, be permitted to be depicted carrying the *ankh*-sign. Deceased carrying the *ankh* can also be seen in several 21st Dynasty papyri, pSRVII 10240 (**Plate 12**), pSRIV 936 (**Plate 20**), pLuxor J. 25 (**Plate 69**) and pSRVII 10229 (**Plate 79**). However, this act was not peculiar to the Third Intermediate period, for example, a much earlier stele exists of a couple holding an *ankh*-sign in sCairo JE 88876, which dates to the 11th Dynasty

In contrast to the papyri from 6. 1. – Papyri Workshop 1, there is no discernable gender differentiation within the stelae indicating perhaps preference by the deceased, or gender dominance for whoever commissioned the stelae. For example, sBrussels E. 6283 contains a representation of two people. The female deceased is placed directly in front of the deity in the dominant position, while the male deceased (presumably her spouse) is placed behind her. Conversely, sBM 1224 (**Plate 197**) also depicts a couple, but the male figure is placed before the female figure, in keeping with the tradition of representing couples at the time.

Even within the limited representation on the stelae, there is much variety within the dimensions, materials, and choice of motifs. This may indicate customisation to the individual preference of the clientele. As the figures on the stelae correspond to those of their accompanying papyri, it would be reasonable to assume that they were created at the same time as the papyri specifically for that particular individual. The materials used do not appear to have any influence on the size of the stelae, as the third largest stele, sPetrie UC 14226 (**Plate 191**) is made from wood, while two of the stone stelae fall within in the average stelae dimensions. However, it must be stated that due to the abundance of limestone and the high rank of sBM EA 642, the stele would have been able to be much larger than what was typical of the time.

7. 2. - Stelae Workshop 2 consists of fifteen members. Judging from the meticulous attention to detail, skill of execution, and diversity of religious elements, the stelae were created by an experienced and well-established workshop that was fully versed in the current theological trends. The early stelae from this workshop emulate the Ramesside, classical style of drawing, and therefore, the figures appear to be rendered

according to a predetermined canon of proportions. The stelae represent a clearly homogenous group in terms of artistic proficiency and style of execution. However, even though the principal representation is fairly uniform, there is a certain amount of individuality in the way in which the elements are arranged, the choice of lunette decoration and the use of imagery within the stelae. Thus, it is more than likely that these stelae were custom-made for the deceased.

sMMA 22.3.33 (**Plate 210b**) represents one of the most creative, individualistic stelae in the entire group. Although the representation of a frontal facing tree-goddess is atypical, it is not unusual for frontal facing figures to be depicted in Egyptian art. A close parallel to this scene is a nude frontal facing woman with her arms outstretched weighing ingots of gold (**Fig. 141b**) which can be found as early as the late 5th to 6th Dynasty in the mastaba on Kairer in Memphis (Daoud, 1997: 7). Furthermore, Volokhine (2000: 57) has identified several female frontal forms in Egyptian art: The figure of Hathor, or more commonly, her fully frontal face was often depicted, for example, on the sistrum; the representation of Qedeshet, a Syro-Palestinian goddess occurs on a series of Egyptian stelae (Cornelius, 2004: Pls. 5.1-5.10, 5.14-5.18, 5.26), she is characteristically portrayed nude, facing frontally (and, in most cases, standing on a lion, holding lotus flowers and snakes (**Fig. 141c**)).

The fully frontal figure of Nut was often painted onto the bottom of the sarcophagus in the later Third Intermediate and Ptolomaic Period as a symbol of rebirth. Another unusual feature of this stele is the location of the spouse on the right and the deceased seated in the dominant position on the left. The left is typically the side where the deity would be represented.

The offering tables in sAthens 199 (**Plate 198**), sCairo A 9449 (**Plate 199**), and sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 (**Plate 206**) have been simplified to a small altar with a water jar (a purification symbol) and a lotus blossom on top, and sLouvre N. 3662 (**Plate 212**) does not contain one at all. This lack of embellishment is a feature typical of the later 22nd Dynasty.

7.3. – Stelae Workshop 3 is comprised of fourteen stelae. As a group, the stelae exhibit a similar quality of execution, and the figures are fairly uniform. The majority of the stelae contain an analogous composition. The homogeneity of the group indicates the use of a fixed design, maybe even the employment of a “master design”. The similarity and lack of idiosyncratic details, also suggests that these stelae were not customised for the particular individual, but crafted on a wholesale basis. Compared to

the previous two stelae workshops, the iconography becomes more limited, and is restricted to the use of a few specific symbols.

From this time on until the latter half of the 8th Century B. C. E., there is a concentrated solar focus within the representation of the stelae, the solar deity, Re-Horakhty being the only god represented. It can be observed that there is also an acute decline in iconography to more generalised motifs, which are not specific to the 21st or 22nd Dynasty. Many of these motifs are attested to in the earlier phases of Egyptian history.

Five stelae can be attributed to 7. 4. - Stelae Workshop 4. In keeping with the trend from 7.5. - Stelae Workshop 3, the group is fairly uniform in religious content and style of execution. However, the employment of the solar barque imagery in sBologna KS 1953 (**Plate 227**) and sMMA 28.3.35 (**Plate 229**), and the inclusion of a jointly owned stone stela, sBerlin 24038 (**Plate 226**) implies less restriction placed upon the artists to conform to a single type of representation that is evident in 7.3. - Stelae Workshop 3. There also appears to be more emphasis on the solar imagery, for example in sMMA 28.3.35 (**Fig. 49a, Plate 229**) and sBologna KS 1953 (**Fig. 49b, Plate 227**) by the inclusion of a solar barque, a scarab within the solar disc and a representation of the left *udjat*-eye within the disc of Re-Horakhty.

7. 5. - Stelae Workshop 5 is comprised of nine stelae. Continuing the tradition of the previous two workshops, there is a strong inclination towards standardization of format, and as a result, the compositions are fairly homogenous. There is a propensity for simplification of forms and details. The figures are also generally uniform, but do not conform to any discernable canonical principle. This standardisation also extends to the invocation formula, which is analogous in layout and content. Within the homogeneity of form and format there appears to be room for creativity, for example, the deceased in sBM 35896 (**Fig. 29a, Plate 234**) carries a plate of offerings on his head, which is topped by a crescent moon. This may possibly imply reference to Thoth. Artistic license is also shown where the deceased's elbow extends towards the edge of the stela, and the standard of the West is made to fit beneath without intersecting the arm. sMadrid 3519 (**Plate 235b**) is also unusual in that the stela itself contains two protruding *atef*-feathers with a solar-disc in the middle attached to the top of the lunette.

The hairstyle of the deceased in sFlorence E. 2478 (**Plate 232**) is fairly unique among feminine fashion of the time, and appears to be more popular in Late Period stelae, this is also comparable to the hairstyle worn by the deceased in sDurham N. 1975 (**Plate 268**) from 7.9. - Stelae Workshop 9.

7.6. - Stelae Workshop 6 consists of six members. This group represents a further simplification of forms that denotes an economy of line, in that only the essential elements are recorded. The profile, seated pose of Re-Horakhty is the characteristic feature of this group. This pose is typical of the mummified form of Osiris, and may express the fusion of solar and Osirian features that were originally manifest in 21st Dynasty funerary papyri.

Stelae Workshops 7 and 8 are the two largest workshops with sixteen members each.

7.7. - Stelae Workshop 7 displays a provincial folk-art quality in the depiction of figural proportions. Many of the stelae exhibit an awkwardness of execution, which has added a caricature-like quality to the figures. As opposed to the preceding stelae workshops, there does not appear to be any standardization of form or format, especially with figural forms. The extensive variation of quality implies the employment of unskilled artists, and maybe the workshop specialised in producing an economical rendering of the stelae. The awkwardness of the figures, irregular arrangement of hieroglyphs, and uneven edges, could also imply that they were created during a period of experimentation, maybe indicating a shift from the "traditional", standardised 22nd Dynasty stelae style. For example, the rendering of the shoulder and arm of the deceased from sZagreb 568 (**Plate 255**), which is depicted in profile instead of frontally like the other stelae. These characteristics are consistent with a new workshop, which lacks the strong tradition of stelae decoration.

The use of earlier iconography can be seen in the representation of the *imyut*-symbol that most often accompanies the representation of Osiris, in sLouvre E. 5789 (**Plate 252**) and sZagreb 567 (**Plate 255**). sLouvre N. 3795 (**Plate 251**) includes two *udjat*-eyes flanking a *nfr*-sign (**Fig. 48b**). The *nfr*-sign is a consistent iconographical feature throughout the following dynasties, as is the prominent extended winged sun disc.

7.8. - Stelae Workshop 8 represents a distinct break with 22nd Dynasty representational tradition. This workshop may represent a transitional phase in the development of the stelae towards the standardised "new" types of the 25th and 26th Dynasties. The binding feature of this workshop is the deliberate archaisation of figural forms, especially the male figures. Elements of the later stelae can be seen in the offering table of sBM 8449 (**Plate 262**) and sBM EA 65354 (verso) (**Plate 267b**), the table is low and wide, containing several upright, angular loaves of bread. However, as with the archaisation of the figural proportions, the offering table format dates back to the

Old Kingdom. There does not appear to be any attempt towards the rendering of an ideal figural type. As with the stelae from 7.7. – Stelae Workshop 7, there is no standardization of proportions and composition, this also extends to the figure of Re-Horakhty, which is still the only deity represented. The format of the stelae has become increasingly simplified, and there is no rarely any embellishment or ornamentation, only the basic descriptive elements are depicted. The lack of standardisation of figural proportions or format implies that the artists felt themselves free to experiment with different forms, and they could look back to monuments from the Old Kingdom, reusing the figural proportions to suit their needs.

A major change in the essential elements of the stelae is heralded by the shift in importance of the offering table as an indispensable feature in the stelae. The significance of the table appears to have diminished, as roughly half the stelae in this group do not contain one.

sCairo A. 9406 (**Plate 259**) is unique in the representation of the deceased seated and playing a large harp to the standing deity, this is similar to the representation from sLouvre N. 3657 (**Fig. 29b, Plate 223**) in 7.3. - Stelae Workshop 3. In this version, two supplementary rows of text are painted below the main scene.

sBM EA 65354 (**Plate 267b**) contains an additional scene on the verso of the stele. The deceased is seated upon a chair atop a dais, with a large offering table of packed vertical loaves of bread before her (**Fig. 159**), three water jars on the floor, and a winged goose above them. The offering text is written in large ornamental hieroglyphs that have been painted directly onto the background.

The final workshop in the study selection, 7.9. - Stelae Workshop 9, is comprised of five stelae. This workshop represents the ultimate transition in style and format to the stelae of the Late Period. The style of execution corresponds to the first phase in the evolution of the 22nd Dynasty stelae into the Late Period style. The stelae contain all the representational and iconographical elements common to the preceding, older workshops; however, they are standardized into a new, uniform format. The picture surface has been divided into set compartments, and the offering formula has been relegated to the bottom of the stelae. The number of people represented has increased with the inclusion of family members. Gender differentiation appears to be reversed in sChicago FM 31676 (**Plate 271**), three of the female figures stand in front of the male figure in the dominant position directly before Re-Horakhty.

The second objective in the dissertation was realized successfully, and it is possible for one to observe the hand of individual artists or a master and student in the study, even within one workshop.

This is especially evident in 6.1. - Papyri Workshop 1. pLouvre E. 17401 (**Plate 10**), pBN 170-173 (**Plate 11**), pSRVII 11493 (**Plate 13**), and pSRVII 11496 (**Plate 14**) may be related to each other based on their particular style and content, these may have been produced using the same pattern-book, possibly even created by the same artist (Niwiński, 1989a: 135). The work of another individual artist can be discerned from a comparison of pBM 10793 (**Plate 23**), pBM 10472 (**Plate 8**), and pBM 10554 (**Plate 1**). They share similarities in drawing style, such as the arches of feet and profile of the face. The work of another artist can be observed in pLouvre N. 3293 (**Plate 47**), pSRVII 11498 (**Plate 46**), pSRVII 10654 (**Plate 49**) and pSRVII 11501 (**Plate 48**). It is interesting to note that pLouvre N. 3293 (**Plate 47**), belonging to Amunemsaf, chief of the shield-bearers of Amun, was discovered in the same funerary ensemble as pLouvre N. 3292 (**Plate 63**) which has been ascribed to 6.3. - Papyri Workshop 3. Piankoff (1935: 139) attributes this to a promotion, which occurred after pLouvre N. 3292 (**Plate 63**) was procured.

It is noted that the artists in the earlier half of 6.1. - Papyri Workshop 1 also created corresponding wooden funerary stelae, for example, in Stelae Workshop 1, it appears that the same artist who created sCairo RT 20.12.24.13 (**Plate 189**) of Tsay-Nefer produced at least one of his manuscripts, pSRVII 10244 (**Plate 2**), as the representation of Tsay-Nefer is analogous in each case. It can be observed that specific elements are shared between the two, for example, the thick painted line filled with stars (*seba*-signs) that separates the lunette from the body of the stelae, is duplicated in the band of stars framing the top of his papyrus. The etiquette on the stele is much more simplified than that of the papyrus. The representation has been reduced to two figures, the deceased kneeling and offering to an enthroned Osiris, with an offering formula above. The offering table lavish and overflowing in the papyrus, consists of a *hetep*-mat with two flanking loaves of bread and a lettuce beneath. sLausanne EG/485 (**Plate 193**) also exhibits a noticeable similarity in terms of figural proportions and style of execution to pSRVII 11493 (**Plate 13**), pSRVII 11496 (**Plate 14**), pBM 9904 (**Plate 15**), pBM 10008 (**Plate 16**), pMMA 30.3.31 (**Plate 17**), pBM 10472 (**Plate 8**), and pBM 10002 (**Plate 18**).

It is also possible to observe the work of several individual artists in 6.3. - Papyri Workshop 3: It is more than likely that the same artist produced pChicago FM 31326 (**Plate 57**) and pBM 9919 (**Plate 58**), as they are almost identical in style and share

similar content, for example, the analogous representation of Chapter 149 of the *Book of the Dead* in both papyri. It is also possible that the same hand may be identified in pAMS 40 and pSRIV 982 (**Plate 59**), as they contain similar iconography and the same style of execution. pLuxor J. 25 (**Plate 69**), pSRVII 10247 (**Plate 70**), and pSRIV 544 (**Plate 71**), were all created roughly around the middle 21st Dynasty, and probably are the work of one individual artist.

In 6.5. - Papyri Workshop 5, the same artist can be identified from pVM 54 –10 (**Plate 119**), pSRVII 10254 (**Plate 129**), pBM 10018 and pSRVII 10256 through the use of similar iconography and the style of drawing.

The same hand may be detected in pSRIV 631 (**Plate 159**) and pSRVII 10237 (**Plate 154**), which are stylistically similar from 6.6. - Papyri Workshop 6.

The work of a specific artist can be seen within the stelae workshops. In 7.2. - Stelae Workshop 2, sBM 8450 (**Plate 201**) and sBM 27332 (**Plate 204**) and in sCairo RT 25.12.24.20 (**Plate 200**) and sLouvre E. 52 (**Plates 207a –b**) can be attributed to the same artist. Likewise, another hand can be detected in sMMA 22.3.31 (**Plate 211**) and sMMA 22.3.33 (**Plates 210a – b**), the former belongs to the father and the latter to his daughter. In 7.8. - Stelae Workshop 8, it would appear due to the analogous representation of Re-Horakhty, and the lunette decoration the same artist who created this stele also created sLiverpool M. 11066. The male figural forms and facial features of sFlorence 2480 (**Plate 265**) and sUPenn E 2044 (**Plate 270**) are very similar, and may indicate the hand of one artist.

sBologna KS 1953 from 7.4. - Stelae Workshop 4 contains marks where corrections were made to the figures of the deceased and the deity. This may indicate the work of an apprentice, where the figures were not rendered according to the workshops canon of proportions and were consequently corrected by the “master” artist.

The concluding aim of this study was to find out what happened to these artists when funerary papyri ceased to be made in the 22nd Dynasty. It has been concluded that further investigation is needed into this aspect. Due to the limited scope of this study in terms of materials and geography, the author was unable to definitively ascertain what happened to the artists once the stelae were permanently adopted into the funerary ensemble. A thorough examination is required of the entire funerary ensemble, including, mummy-boards, braces, coffins, etc, to determine the extent of the various papyri and stelae workshops. Through the comparison of 6.1. - Papyri Workshop I and 7.1. - Stelae Workshop 1, it was shown that the same artists were working on both stelae and papyri, and were extremely proficient in both media. It is thus probable that

funerary ensemble was produced together in the same workshops. Therefore, it was not a significant change to decorate the stelae and other funerary paraphernalia when the papyri fell out of favour with the Theban citizenry.

It is probable, however, that this shift may have brought about a change in style and aesthetics forcing the artist to work in a different style. It is also possible that due to the precarious political landscape of Thebes and a critical economic situation, the artists from the various papyri workshops may have moved to areas of higher demand, such as the major temples in Memphis or Tanis.

A striking aspect of the comparison between the papyri and stelae workshops is that the total production of stelae workshops compared to those of the papyri appears to be significantly reduced. It is a common assertion that the occurrence of one person owning two manuscripts doubled production of the papyri. However, it may be reasonable to assume that by the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty, the output was decreased by half once the stelae came into permanent use and only one was placed in the tomb. The incidence of two people sharing a stele is not a rare occurrence, for example, sBrussels E. 6283 (**Plate 195**), sBM 1224 (**Plate 197**), sMMA 22.3.33 (**Plate 210b**), sBerlin 24038 (**Plate 226**), sBM 37899 (**Plate 239**) and sChicago FM 31676 (**Plate 271**), and may represent the reduced economic circumstances of the Theban nobles.

The 22nd Dynasty stelae appear to have had a shorter production "life-span" than the papyri, they could have become less popular over time, maybe reflecting the political instability at Thebes. It is also likely that more than one style was in vogue at the same time, depending on the religious choices of the deceased, and the stelae in the research selection form only one section of the selection available to the citizens at the time, especially during the later part of the period when the 23rd Dynasty overlapped with the 22nd.

10. The Papyri and Stelae Catalogues

The following two catalogues represent all papyri and stelae known to the author up to April 2004. In no way is this list considered complete, due to the time restrictions placed on the study.

The following list of sources for the papyri and stelae has been taken from primary (direct) examination conducted in museums by the author, secondary sources such as publications, in printed and electronic format, and communication with other scholars.

As this study was not intended to be a totally new re-examination of 21st Dynasty papyri, most papyri sources are referenced according to Nawiński (1989a) in terms of dating, provenance, formal features, and ownership, which has been an invaluable guide in this research.

The papyri and stelae are catalogued according to the city where they are currently housed, followed by the museum and the museum accession number. The deceased's name, title, papyri and stelae dimensions, provenance (if available), bibliography, approximate date, colours, and workshop affiliation are subsequently added beneath. An additional category was added to the stelae catalogue that incorporates materials from which the stelae were produced. The designation "Location Unknown (Locn.Unkn)" refers to papyri and stelae from older literature, for example, the Hilton-Price catalogues, that have disappeared in modern times. Dates for the papyri and stelae have been established mostly from the accompanying funerary ensemble, such as inscriptions on the mummy-braces, wrappings, etc. When this information is unavailable, as is the case with many of the stelae, a general attribution to a period is endeavoured. If some information is missing, for example, dimensions, colours, etc, the respective spaces have been left blank.

No detailed iconographic description is included as this was done in the discussion of the various workshops (6 – 7).

10.1. The Papyri Catalogue

ANNE ARBOR

1. Kelsey Museum of Archaeology

1.1. Acc. No.: 74.1.1 (Plate 88)

Name: Anonymous

Title: Unknown

Dim.: L. ca. 37.5 cm x H. ca. 17.4 cm (Fragments)

Prov.: Unknown

Biblio.: Goudsmit, 1974: 78, pl. 24; Goudsmit, 1982: 18, No. 9
 Date: Third Intermediate Period
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

- 1.2. Acc. No.: 81.4.1 (Plate 44)**
 Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim.: H. ca. 24 cm x W. ca. 18 cm (Fragments)
 Prov.: Unknown
 Biblio.: Goudsmit, 1982: 17, No. 7
 Date: Third Intermediate Period
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

BERLIN

2. Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung

- 2.1. Acc. No.: P. 3001 (Figs. 71a – b)**
 Name: *Hr-m-ḥ-bit*
 Title: Scribe of the Temple of Amun
 Dim: L. 7. 56 m x H. 34 cm
 Prov: Collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823
 Biblio: Erman, 1894: 358; Erman, 1899: 432; Hornung, 1967: pls. 5 – 10; Jequier, 1894: 29 – 31; Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 15; Niwiński, 1989a: 86 – 87, Figs. 7, 8 (Berlin 1); Seeber, 1976: 142, Fig. 52
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty/ early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Red and black ink
 Affiliation: Workshop 1
- 2.2. Acc. No.: P. 3005 a-d (Plate 104, Fig. 86)**
 Name: *Imn-Htp*
 Title: Priest of Amun, Mut and Khons; Chief of the Altars in Karnak, Chief of the Scribes in the Temple of Amun, and Chief of all the Gods and Goddesses Temples in Upper and Lower Egypt
 Dim: L. 2.36 m x H. 39 cm
 Prov: Collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823
 Biblio: Museuminsel Berlin, 1991: 276, No. 170; Borchardt, 1889: 119; Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 17; Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 33c – d (Berlin 3); Schott, 1938: 21
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Multicoloured
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 2.3. Acc. No.: P. 3009 (Plate 27)**
 Name: *ḏd-mḥt-s-ḥ*
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim: L. 0.45 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823
 Biblio: Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 18 – 19; Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 1b (Berlin 6)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty/early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

2.4. Acc. No.: P. 3013 a-b (Plate 26)

Name: *ḥn-n-r^cf-n-r^c-sw*
 Title: *ḥtm*-priest of the Barque of Re
 Dim: L. 1.29 m x H. 25 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Borchardt, 1889: 119 – 120; Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 20; Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 2a – b (Berlin 10)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty/early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

2.5. Acc. No.: P. 3123 (Plate 179)

Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 0.75 m x H. 23.5 cm
 Prov: Collection Munutoli, purchased in 1823
 Biblio: Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 35; Niwiński, 1989a: Berlin 14; Pascal, 1998: 147
 Date: Late 21st/early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 7

2.6. Acc. No.: P. 3126 (Plate 75, Fig. 84)

Name: *dt-Mwt-ḥn*
 Title: Chantress of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.24 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823
 Biblio: Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 36; Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 36b (Berlin 17)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Blue, red, green, white, yellow and black
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

2.7. Acc. No.: P. 3127 (Plate 106, Fig. 98b)

Name: *Imn-im*
 Title: Overseer of the Barque of the Temple of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.72 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823
 Biblio: Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 36 – 37; Kohler, 1972: passim; Morenz, 1964: passim; Nagel, 1929: 104; Niwiński, 1989a: (Berlin 18); Schäfer, 1935: 18; Sethe, 1928: 12; Vandersleyen, 1975: 348, No. 341, pl. XLIV
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Brown, red, green, white and black
 Affiliation: Workshop 4

2.8. Acc. No.: P. 3128 (Plate 107)

Name: *T-ḥm-n-Mwt*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.35 m x H. 23 cm

Prov: Collection Minutoli, purchased in 1823
 Biblio: Erman, 1894: 358; Erman, 1899: 432; Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 37;
 Köhler, 1972: pl. 4 (6); Niwiński, 1989a: (Berlin 19)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Multicoloured
 Affiliation: Workshop 4

2.9. Acc. No.: P. 3143 (Plate 93)

Name: *3st-y-h3*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.06 m x H. 25 cm
 Prov: Collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823
 Biblio: Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 40; Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 36b (Berlin 22)
 Date: Late 21st/early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

2.10. Acc. No.: P. 3147 (Plate 120, Fig. 105)

Name: *Ss-R^c*
 Title: Master of the Storehouse of Mut
 Dim: L. 1.20 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823
 Biblio: Erman, 1894: 358 – 359; Erman 1899: 342; Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 40;
 Niwiński, 1989a: (Berlin 23); Sethe, 1928: 14
 Date: Late 21st/early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 5

2.11. Acc. No.: P. 3148 (Plate 121)

Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 1.40 m x H. 19 cm
 Prov: Collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823
 Biblio: Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 40; Niwiński, 1989a: (Berlin 24); Schott, 1938:
 passim; Schott, 1965: 186 – 187; Seeber, 1976: 211
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 5

2.12. Acc. No.: P. 3152 (Plate 130)

Name: Anonymous
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim: Unknown
 Prov: Collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823
 Biblio: Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 42; Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 48a (Berlin 25)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 5

- 2.13. Acc. No.: P. 3153 (Plate 31, Fig. 19a)**
 Name: *Ns-y-Imn-nst-T3wy*
 Title: Divine Father of the House, King of the Gods
 Dim: L. 1.57 m x H. 22.5 cm
 Prov: Collection of Minutoli, purchased in 1823
 Biblio: Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 42; Niwiński, 1989a: Figs. 50a – b, pl. 33a (Berlin 26)
 Date: Early or middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Blue, brown/red and black
 Affiliation: Workshop 1
- 2.14. Acc. No.: P. 10466 (Plate 137)**
 Name: *P3-wh^c-n*
 Title: God's Father of Amun
 Dim: L. 0.93 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Received from the State Library
 Biblio: Kaplony-Heckel, 1986: 50; Niwiński, 1989a: (Berlin 29);
www.antiquoegyptology.com
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: White, red, green and black
 Affiliation: Workshop 6

CAIRO

3. Egyptian Museum

- 3.1. **Acc. No.:** S.R. IV 529 + SRIV 10004 = J. 99638
Name: *Mn-Hpr-R^c*
Title: Third Prophet of Amun
Dim: Three sheets: L. 50, 5 cm x H. 25.5 cm
L. 51, 5 cm x H. 25.5 cm
L. 50, 5 cm x H. 25.5 cm
Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari (1891)
Biblio: Abdelhamid, 1982: 1 – 17, pl. III; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 5)
Date: Late 21st Dynasty, grandson of HP Menkheperre
Colours: Black and red
Affiliation: Workshop 5
- 3.2. **Acc. No.:** S.R. IV 530 = J. 4891 (Plate 168)
Name: *ḏd-Imn-i3f-^cnḥ*
Title: God's Father of Amun, King of the Gods
Dim: L. 0.64 m x H. 24 cm
Prov: Unknown
Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 6); Sadek, 1985: 173 – 175, pl. 33 (C. 22)
Date: Late 21st/early 22nd Dynasty
Colours: Red and black
Affiliation: Workshop 7
- 3.3. **Acc. No.:** S.R. IV 541 = J. 95644 (Plate 148)
Name: *Hnsw-im-hb (?)*
Title: Unknown

Dim: L. 1.49 m x H. 40 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy #: A. 106)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 30; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 7); Sadek, 1985: 213 – 217, pl. 43 (C. 30)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 6

3.4. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 543 = J. 95646

Name: *Imn-htp*
 Title: Scribe of the Army
 Dim: L. 1.42 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy #: A.39)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 25; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 9)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, Mummy-linen with Year 12 of Psusennes
 Colours: Green, yellow and black
 Affiliation: Workshop 6

3.5. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 544 = J. 36465 (Plate 71)

Name: *Ns-y-hnsw*
 Title: Chantress of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.55 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy #: A. 42)
 Biblio: Daressy & Smith, 1903: 154; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 10); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 82 – 83 (Pap. 5)
 Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black, white, red, green, and blue-grey
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.6. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 546 = J. 95648 (#'s 31 and 43) (Plate 150, Figs. 124a, 126)

Name: *Imn-htp*
 Title: Scribe of the Army
 Dim: L. 1.375 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy #: A.39)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: 209, Fig. 82 (Cairo 12); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 189 (Pap. 26)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, mummy-linen of HP Psusennes with Year 12
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 6

3.7. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 548 = J. 95650 = 14.7.35.8 (Plate 100)

Name: *M3^ct-K3-R^c*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.33m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy #: A. 132)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 35; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 13); Sadek, 1985: 125 – 129, pl. 18 (C. 10)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, daughter of HP Pinudjem II, mummy braces of HP Psusennes
 Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 3

- 3.8. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 552 = J. 95654 (Plate 101)**
 Name: *T3-3-Imn*
 Title: Musician-priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 0.94 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy #: A. 127)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 34; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 15); Sadek, 1985: 120 – 124, pl. 17 (C. 9)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, mummy braces of HP Pinudjem II
 Colours: White, black, blue, red and green
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.9. Acc. No.: S. R. IV. 554 = J. E. 95656 (Plate 90)**
 Name: *nh-f-n-hnsw*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 1.47 m x H. 23.5 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy #: A. 108)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 17); Sadek, 1985: 104 – 105, pl. 11 (C. 5); Saleh & Sourouzian, 1987: No. 236
 Date: End 21st Dynasty, c. 970 B. C. E.
 Colours: Red and black
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.10. Acc. No.: S. R. IV. 555 = J. 95657 (Plate 108)**
 Name: *3st-im-h-bit*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun
 Dim.: L. 1.36 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov.: From the tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el Bahari 1891 (Daressy #: A. 126)
 Biblio: Chassinat, 1903: pl. IV; Daressy, 1907: 33; Köhler, 1972: 45 – 58, pl. 3 (4); Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 18)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Red, yellow, green, pink, and blue
 Affiliation: Workshop 4
- 3.11. Acc. No.: S. R. IV. 556= J. 95658 (Fig. 103a)**
 Name: *nh-f-n-hnsw*
 Title: Divine Father of Amun-Re
 Dim.: L. 1.59 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov.: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy #: A.108)
 Biblio.: Bruyère, 1939: 184, Fig. 78; Niwiński, 1989a: 122, Fig.13 (Cairo 19)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: White, blue, red, green, and yellow.
 Affiliation: Workshop 5
- 3.12. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 631 (Plate 159)**
 Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 4.11 m x H. 11.5 cm
 Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 23); Sadek, 1985: 220 – 226, pls. 45 – 47 (C. 32)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 6

3.13. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 645 (Plate 109)

Name: *Tnt-s3-r-k-n*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun
 Dim: Unknown
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Köhler, 1972: pl. 4 (5); Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 25)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Multicoloured
 Affiliation: Workshop 4

3.14. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 652 = J. 95718 (Plate 146, Fig. 122)

Name: *dd-Imn-iwf-ḥnh*
 Title: Priest of Amun-Re
 Dim: L. 0.99 m x H. 27 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 28); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 192 – 193 (Pap. 28)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 6

3.15. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 655 (Plate 82)

Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 2.75 m x H. 23.5 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 29); Sadek, 1985: 88 – 94, pls. 4 – 7 (C. 2)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.16. Acc. No.: S. R IV. 932 = J. 95835 (Plate 110, Figs. 19b, 100a, 100b)

Name: *dd-ḥnsw-i3f-ḥnh*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 1.38 m x H. 25 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy #: A. 107)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 42a – b (Cairo 30)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Multicoloured
 Affiliation: Workshop 4

3.17. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 933 (Plate 43)

Name: *Mr-ḥnt-Imn*
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim: L. 1.46 m x H. 24.5 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A.71)

Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 28; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 30); Sadek, 1985: 145 – 150, pls. 26 – 27 (C.16)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty, daughter of HP Menkheperre

Colours: Black, red, white, yellow, green, blue, pink

Affiliation: Workshop 1

3.18. Acc. No.: S. R IV. 936 = J. 95838/ CG 4886 (Plate 20, Fig. 25c)

Name: *G3t-sšn*

Title: Lady of the House

Dim: L. 17.94 m x H. 33 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 152)

Biblio: Heerma van Voss, 1982a: 9, pl. 6; Milde, 1991: 8; Naville, 1914: passim; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 32)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty, daughter of HP Menkheperre, mummy-braces of King Amenemope

Colours: Black

Affiliation: Workshop 1

3.19. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 952 (Plate 33)

Name: *T3-nfr* and *3st-im-ḥ-b3t*

Title: Third Prophet of Amun, and his wife,

Dim: 8 fragments: First - L. 0.40 m x H. 24.9 cm,
Second - L. 0.52 m x H. 0.24.6 cm,
Third - L. 0.529 m x H. 0.24.7 cm,
Fourth - L. 0.521 m x H. 25 cm,
Fifth - L. 0.52 m x H. 25 cm,
Sixth - L. 0.525 m x H. 25.2 cm,
Seventh - L. 0.522 m x H. 25.4 cm,
Eighth - L. 0.306 m x H. 25 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy #: A. 151)

Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 38; Niwiński, 1989a: 165, Fig. 48a. (Cairo 33); Piankoff, 1964: 98 – 109, 158 – 164, pl. 5

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, son of HP Menkheperre, mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II

Colours: Black, white, reddish-brown and yellow

Affiliation: Workshop 1

3.20. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 955 = J.95865

Name: *Ḥn(w)t-t3wy*

Title: Wife of Pinudjem I

Dim: L. 3.67 X H. 45.5 cm

Prov: Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari (1891)

Biblio: Mariette, 1871 – 1876: 12 – 18 (Pap. No. 22); Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 36)

Date: Early 21st Dynasty

Colours: Red, yellow and black

Affiliation: Workshop 1

3.21. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 960 = J.95860

Name: *dir-p3*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun

Dim: H. 24 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 123)
Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 32; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 39)
Date: Late 21st Dynasty
Colours: Multicoloured
Affiliation: Workshop 5

3.22. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 967 = J.95866

Name: *Mn-Hpr-R^c*
 Title: Third Prophet of Amun
 Dim: H. 33 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 147)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 41)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, grandson of HP Menkheperre.
 Colours: Red and black
 Affiliation: Workshop 5

3.23. Acc. No.: S.R. IV. 979 = 95878 (Plate 34)

Name: ḥ3-nfr-Imn P3-ḥ3-rw
Title: God's Father of Amun
Dim: 3 fragments: L. 0.40 m x H. 23. 5 cm,
L. 0.615 m x H. 23.5 cm,
L. 0.63 m x H. 23.5 cm
Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 115)
Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: 167, Figs. 51a – b (Cairo 42); Piankoff, 1964:
66 – 71, 133 – 137, pl. 1
Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Menkheperre
Colours: Black
Affiliation: Workshop 1

3.24. Acc. No.: S. R. I. V. 980 = J. 26229 = CG 40007 (Figs. 60, 74)

Name: *M3^ct-K3-R^c*
 Title: Daughter of HP Pinudjem I
 Dim: L. 6.12 m
 Prov: From the Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari
 Biblio: Heerma van Voss, 1982a: 8, pl. 4a; Heerma van Voss, 1984: 805 – 806;
 Maspero, 1889a: pl. XXIV; Milde, 1991: 8; Naville, 1912: 7 – 19, pls. I – X;
 Niwiński, 1989a: 124, Fig. 15 (Cairo 43); Romer, 1981: 127; Seeber,
 1976: 210, Abb. 14
 Date: Early or middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Multicoloured
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

3.25. Acc. No.: S.R. IV 981 = J. 95879 (Plate 21)

Name: *P3-di-Tmn*
 Title: Prophet of Amun, Superintendent of the Mysteries...
 Dim: H. 22.5 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari (1891)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 31; Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 11 – 16 (Cairo 44)
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Multicoloured
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

- 3.26. Acc. No.: S. R. IV 982 = J. 95880** (Plate 59, Fig. 77b)
 Name: *B^ck-n-Mwt*
 Title: Priest of Amun, Divine Father of Mut
 Dim: H. 24 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari (1891)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: 126, 138, Figs. 17, 23, pls. 21a – b (Cairo 45); Seeber, 1976: 212
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Multicoloured
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.27. Acc. No.: S. R. IV 999** (Plate 66, Fig. 35c)
 Name: *Mr-t-Imn*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. m x H. cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari (1891)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 3a – b (Cairo 49)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.28. Acc. No.: S.R. I.V. 1001**
 Name: *G3t-sšn*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim: L. m x H. cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A.139)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 51)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of Pinudjem II
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.29. Acc. No.: S.R. I.V. 1003** (Plate 156)
 Name: *nh-f-n-hnsw*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 0.76 m x H. 25 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A.33)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 24; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 52); Sadek, 1985: 169 – 172, pl. 32 (C. 21)
 Date: 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 6
- 3.30. Acc. No.: S. R. I.V. 1544** (Plate 169)
 Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: Unknown
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 32)
 Biblio: Daressy & Smith, 1903: 157, pl. IX; Daressy, 1907: 24; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 56)
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline

Affiliation: Workshop 7

3.31. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10220 (Plate 160)

Name: *ḏd-Mwt-is-ḥ*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun

Dim: L. 0.92 m x H. 13 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 57); Sadek, 1985: 183 – 185, pl. 36 (C. 25)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black

Affiliation: Workshop 6

3.32. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10221 (Plate 94)

Name: *G3t-sšn*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun

Dim: L. 2.30 m x H. 23 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 139)

Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 36; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 58); Sadek, 1985: 159 – 162, pls. 30 – 31 (C. 19)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.33. Acc. No.: S. R. VII 10223 (Plate 133)

Name: *ḏd-Mwt-is-ḥ*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun

Dim: L. 1.26 m x H. 13 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 31 – 33 (Cairo 60); Seeber, 1976: 212

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black outline

Affiliation: Workshop 6

3.34. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10225 = J.34023 (Plate 55)

Name: *Wsr-ḥt-ms*

Title: Priest of Amun-Re, King of Gods, Scribe of the House of the Double Treasury

Dim: L. 2.15 m x H. 23 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 105)

Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 30; Niwiński, 1989a: 165, Fig. 48b (Cairo 62); Piankoff, 1964: 120 – 128, 173 – 175, pl. 8

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II, mummy-linen of HP Menkheperre with dates "Year 1" and "Year 48" of Menkheperre

Colours: Black, white, green, blue and red.

Affiliation: Workshop 2

3.35. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10226 (Plate 42)

Name: Anonymous

Title: Unknown

Dim: L. 1.53 m x H. 25 cm

Prov: Unknown (Tomb Bab el-Gusus?)

Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 24; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 63); Sadek, 1985: 134 – 135, pls. 19 – 21 (C.12)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Multicoloured
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

3.36. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10227 (Plate 102)

Name: *Mry-t-Imn*
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim: L. 2.43 m x H. 23cm
 Prov: Unknown (Tomb Bab el-Gusus?)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 64); Sadek, 1985: 138 – 142, pls. 23 – 24 (C.14)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.37. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10228 (Figs. 120a – c)

Name: *Hnsw-im-hb-R^c*
 Title: Scribe, Father of Amun-Re, King of the Gods
 Dim: L. 2.59 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 106)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 30; Niwiński, 1989a: 125, 153, Figs. 16, 44b – c (Cairo 65); Seeber, 1976: 212
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 6

3.38. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10229 (Plate 79)

Name: *Ns-y-p3-nfr*
 Title: Divine Father, Beloved of the God, Amun-Re, King of the Gods, Divine Father of Mut
 Dim: L. 2.44 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 98)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 30; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 66); Sadek, 1985: 114 – 119, pls. 15 – 16 (C. 8)
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II, mummy-linen of HP Menkheperre.
 Colours: White, red, black, yellow, blue and pink
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.39. Acc. No.: S. R. VII 10230 (Plate 60, Figs. 19c, 77a, 78a)

Name: *Imn-h^ct-mš*
 Title: Supervisor, Divine Father of Amun
 Dim: L. 2.45 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 124)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: 139, 144, Figs. 25, 34, pls. 26 – 28 (Cairo 67)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, mummy linen of HP Pinudjem II
 Colours: Yellow and black
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

- 3.40. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10231** (Plate 72, Fig. 37b)
 Name: *B^ck-n-Mwt*
 Title: Priest of the Domain of Amun
 Dim: L. 2.52 m x H. 22 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 94)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 68); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 163 – 168 (Pap.20); Schott, 1965: 194 – 195, pl. 3
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Etiquette is coloured in white, black, green and yellow, the rest of the papyrus is outlined in black.
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.41. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10233 = J. 34049** (Plate 95)
 Name: *Imn-h^ct-mš*
 Title: Prophet of Amun
 Dim: L. 2.18 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari (1891)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 70); Sadek, 1985: 180 – 182, pls. 34 – 35 (C. 24)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.42. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10234= J. 35404** (Plate 122, Figs. 41a, 113)
 Name: *Tnt-di-Mwt*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim: L. 3.11 m x H. 20 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 91)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 153; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 71); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 88 – 92 (Pap. 7)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: White, black, red, green and yellow
 Affiliation: Workshop 5
- 3.43. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10235 = J. 34000** (Plate 151, Figs. 37c, 127)
 Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 1.65 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 72); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 194 – 200 (Pap. 28)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 6
- 3.44. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10236** (Plate 80)
 Name: *di3-hnsw-iry*
 Title: God's Father of Amun-Re, King of the Gods
 Dim: L. 2.13 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 49)

Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 26; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 73); Sadek, 1985: 186 – 192, pls. 37 – 38 (C. 26)
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.45. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10237 (Plate 154)

Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 2.10 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 55)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 74); Sadek, 1985: 218 – 219, pls. 43 – 44 (C. 31)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 6

3.46. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10238 (Plate 111, Figs. 43b, 88, 89, 91, 92 – 94, 95b, 95d, 95e, 96, 97, 98c, 101a)

Name: *Ns-y-p3t-t3wy*
 Title: Priest of Amun, Scribe
 Dim: L. 2.255 m x H. 12 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 26)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 23; Hornung, 1979: Fig. 29; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 75); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 77 – 79 (Pap. 3)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, mummy-linen of HP Pinudjem II
 Colours: Red, dark red, blue, yellow, green and white
 Affiliation: Workshop 4

3.47. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10239 (Plate 81)

Name: *3st-y*
 Title: Chantress of Amun
 Dim: L. 2.23 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A.66)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 28; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 76); Sadek, 1985: 99 – 103, pls. 9 – 10 (C. 4)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of King Psusennes II
 Colours: Green, black, yellow and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.48. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10240 (531 & 40016) (Plate 12, Figs. 35b, 40b, 66)

Name: *T3-šd-hnsw*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim: L. 2.75 m x H. 28 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari (1891)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: 145, 154, Fig. 37, 45 (Cairo 77); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 150 – 155 (Pap. 18)
 Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

- 3.49. Acc. No.: S. R. VII 10241 (Plate 73)**
 Name: *P3-dw3-h^c(n)-nwt*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 1.18 m x H. 18 cm
 Prov: Unknown (Tomb Bab el-Gusus?)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 78); Niwiński, 2000: 40, Fig.15; Sadek, 1985: 202 – 212, pl. 42 (C. 29)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.50. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10242 (Plate 96)**
 Name: *T3-^c3-Imn*
 Title: Chantress of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.05 m x H. 18 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A.84)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 79); Sadek, 1985: 143 – 144, pl. 25 (C. 29)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.51. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10243 = J. 36464 (Plate 161)**
 Name: *T3-tw-h-nwt*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun, King of the Gods
 Dim: L. 1.26 m x H. 17 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 20)
 Biblio: Daressy & Smith, 1903: 156; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 80); Sadek, 1985: 155 – 158, pls. 29 – 30 (C. 18)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 6
- 3.52. Acc. No.: S. R. VII 10244 = J. 33997 (Plate 2)**
 Name: *T3-nfr-R^c* and *3st-im-^ch-bit*
 Title: Divine Father, Beloved of the Gods. Wife: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim: L. 5.70 x H. 35 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 151)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 38; Niwiński, 1989a: 143, Figs. 32, 33, pl. 22a (Cairo 81); Schott, 1965: 191
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, son of HP Menkheperre, mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II
 Colours: White, yellow/brown, and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 1
- 3.53. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10245 (Plate 97)**
 Name: *Ns-y-Imn*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 1.63 m x H. 25 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 113)

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 82); Sadek, 1985: 136 – 137, pl. 22 (C. 13)
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of Amenemope, HP Menkheperre
 and Pinudjem II
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.54. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10246 (Plate 83)

Name: *dd-Pth-iwḫ-ḥnh*
 Title: Priest of Amun-Re
 Dim: L. 2.84 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari 1881
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 83); Sadek, 1985: 106 – 110, pls. 12 – 13 (C. 6)
 Date: Early 22nd Dynasty mummy-braces of HP Iuput, mummy-linen of
 Sheshonq I and dates, Year 1, Year 10 and 11.
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.55. Acc. No.: S. R. VII 10247 = J. 33999 (Plate 70)

Name: *dd-ḥnsw-iws-ḥnh*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.73 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 83)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 29; Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 43 – 44 (Cairo 84)
 Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II
 Colours: White, red, green, pink and yellow
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.56. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10248 (Plate 84)

Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 1.76 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # unknown)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 85); Sadek, 1985: 111 – 113, pl. 14 (C. 7)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.57. Acc. No.: S. R. VII 10249 (Plate 52, Figs. 75b, 76)

Name: *T-wsr-ḥ3t-ms*
 Title: Scribe, Priest of Amun
 Dim: L. 5.20 m x 33 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 105)
 Biblio: Borchardt, 1908: 14, No. 33; Maspero & Roeder, 1912: 91, pl. 54;
 Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 22b – 25b (Cairo 86)
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II, mummy-linen
 with dates Year 1 of Amenemope, and Year 48 of Menkheperre.
 Colours: White, red, green, yellow, black, blue and pink
 Affiliation: Workshop 2

- 3.58. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10250 = J. 6262 = pap. Boulaq 9 (Plate 98)**
 Name: *Imn-ms*
 Title: Priest of Amun-Re
 Dim: L. 1.70 m x H. 23.7 cm
 Prov: Assassif
 Biblio: Mariette, 1871: 10, No. 9, pls. 40 – 44; Mariette, 1876: 180 (No. 432);
 Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 87); Sadek, 1985: 151 – 154, pls. 28 – 29 (C. 17)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty or early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.59. Acc. No.: S.F. VII. 10251 (Fig. 44a)**
 Name: *Tnt-diw-Mwt*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun-Re, King of the Gods
 Dim: L. 1.71 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 91)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1902: 153; Daressy, 1907: 29; Mathaf-al Misri, 1949: Fig. 158;
 Niwiński, 1989a: 194, Fig. 67 (Cairo 88)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Yellow and brown
 Affiliation: Workshop 5
- 3.60. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10254 = J. 31986 (Plate 129, Fig. 119)**
 Name: *Hry-wbn*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun-Re
 Dim: L. 1.91 m x H. 23.5 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 133)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 35; El Mahdy, 1989: 156; Mathaf-al Misri, 1949: Fig. 154;
 Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 89); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 75 – 76 (Pap. 2);
 Piankoff, 1949: 129 – 144, pls. 1 – 12; Schulz & Seidel 1997: 446, Fig.
 42; Schott, 1965: 197
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, granddaughter of HP Menkheperre, mummy braces of
 HP Psusennes, mummy-linen of King Siamun
 Colours: Black, red, white, green and brown
 Affiliation: Workshop 5
- 3.61. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10256 = 14. 7. 35. 6 (Plate 115, Figs. 37e, 104, 107)**
 Name: *Hry-wbn*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, the Great
 One of the Harem of Amun of the Fourth Phyle. Second Prophetess of
 Mut, *Hry-wbn* ...
 Dim: L. 1.98 m x H. 23.5 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 133)
 Biblio: Donadon, 1969: 142 – 145; El Mahdy, 1989: 106, pl. XI; Niwiński, 1989a:
 (Cairo 91); Piankoff, 1949: 129 – 144, pls. 1 – 12; Piankoff & Rambova,
 1957: 71 – 74 (Pap. 1); Schott, 1965: 186
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, granddaughter of HP Menkheperre, mummy braces of
 HP Psusennes
 Colours: Black, red, white, green and brown
 Affiliation: Workshop 5

- 3.62. Acc. No.: S.F. VII. 10257** (Plate 123, Figs. 37a, 111b, 117)
 Name: *dir-pw*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim: L. 2.67 m x H. 23.5 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 123)
 Biblio: Brunner, 1977: pl. 23; Bruyère, 1939: 231, Fig. 120; Hornung, 1979: Fig. 28, 31; Niviński, 1989a: (Cairo 92); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 84 – 87 (Pap. 6)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces and linen of HP Psusennes
 Colours: Black, red, white, green, blue and brown
 Affiliation: Workshop 5
- 3.63. Acc. No.: S.F. VII. 10258 = J. 95639** (Plate 145, Fig. 121)
 Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 1.78 m x H. 20 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891, (Daressy # unknown)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 23; Niviński, 1989a: (Cairo 93); Sadek, 1985: 193 – 195, pls. 38 – 39 (C. 27)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces, and linen of HP Psusennes
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 6
- 3.64. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10265** (Plate 39)
 Name: *G3wt-šsn*
 Title: Daughter of HP Menkheperre
 Dim: L. 4.77 m x H. 45 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891, (Daressy # A. 152)
 Biblio: Niviński, 1989a: (Cairo 94); Sadek, 1985: 95 – 98, pls. 7 – 9 (C. 3)
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of Amenemope
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 1
- 3.65. Acc. No.: S. R. VII. 10266 – 14.7.35.4 (# 166)** (Plate 50, Fig. 39)
 Name: *dd-hnsw-i vf-ḥnh*
 Title: Chief of the Granaries
 Dim: L. 7.14 m x H. 16.5 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 141)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 36; Niviński, 1989a: (Cairo 95); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 177 – 176 (Pap. 22)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black, red, white, green and blue
 Affiliation: Workshop 1
- 3.66. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10267** (Plate 126, Figs. 108, 114b, 118a, 118b)
 Name: *dd-hnsw-i vf-ḥnh*
 Title: Priest of Amun, God's Father of Thoth
 Dim: L. 3.54 m x H. 22 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus (?)
 Biblio: Bruyère, 1939: 189, Fig. 83; Niviński, 1989a: (Cairo 96); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 156 – 162 (Pap. 19); Seeber, 1976: 212

- Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black, white, green and yellow
 Affiliation: Workshop 5
- 3.67. Acc. No.: S.F. VII. 10268 = 14.7.35.5 (Plate 41)**
 Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 6.15 m x H. 36 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891, (Daressy # unknown)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 97); Sadek, 1985: 78 – 87, pls. 1 – 4 (C. 1)
 Date: Late or middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 1
- 3.68. Acc. No.: S. R. VII 10269 (Plate 61)**
 Name: *Ns-y-Imn*
 Title: Priest
 Dim: L. 1.65 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 113)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 6b (Cairo 98)
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of Amenemope, HP Pinudjem II and HP Menkheperre
 Colours: White, black, yellow, red and green
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.69. Acc. No.: S. R. VII 10270 (Plate 164)**
 Name: *T3-tw-h-nwt*
 Title: Mistress of the House, musician-priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.25 m x H. 15.5 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 20)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 30a – c (Cairo 99)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Red and black ink
 Affiliation: Workshop 6
- 3.70. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10272 (Plate 85)**
 Name: *Ns-p3-k3-šwty*
 Title: Overseer, Priest of Amun-Re
 Dim: L. 1.12 m x H. 25 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 43)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 25; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 101); Sadek, 1985: 130 – 133, pls. 18 – 19 (C. 11)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Psusennes
 Colours: Black and red, multicoloured etiquette
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.71. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10273 (Plate 103)**
 Name: *P3-sb3-n-h^c-nwt*
 Title: Priest
 Dim: L. 1.35 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 85)

Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 29; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 102); Sadek, 1985: 176 – 179, pls. 33 – 34 (C.25)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.72. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10274 (Plate 86)

Name: *ḥnh-ḥfn-Mwt*

Title: Priest of Amun-Re

Dim: L. 1.28 m x H. 36 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 140)

Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 36; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 103); Sadek, 1985: 163 – 168, pls. 31 – 32 (C. 20)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty, son of HP Menkheperre

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.73. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 10654= 23.4.40.2 (Plate 49, Figs. 42, 69a, 72b, 72d)

Name: *P3-diw-Imn*

Title: Prophet of Amun

Dim: L. 3.95 m x H. 23 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 114)

Biblio: Hornung, 1979: Fig. 24; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 107); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 109 – 116 (Pap. 10); Wilkinson 1992: 150: 4

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 1

3.74. Acc. No.: S. R. VII 11485/11573 = J. 26230 (Plate 28, Fig. 44b)

Name: *Ns-y-ḥnsw*

Title: Wife of *P3-ndm* II

Dim: L. 6.90 m x H. 44 cm

Prov: Royal Cache at Deir el-Bahari (1881)

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 109); Naville, 1912: passim

Date: Late 21st Dynasty. Died and was buried in Year 5 of King Siamun

Colours: Black, white, yellow and blue

Affiliation: Workshop 1

3.75. Acc. No.: S. R. VII 11488 = CG 40006 (Plate 3)

Name: *P3-ndm* I

Title: High Priest of Amun

Dim: L. 4.44 m x H. 37 cm

Prov: Royal Cache at Deir el Bahri (1881)

Biblio: Heerma van Voss, 1991: 155 – 157; Maspero & Roeder, 1912: No. 4761; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 111); Saleh & Sourouzian, 1987: No. 235, Fig. 235; Seeber, 1976: Abb. 2; Silverman, 1997: 136

Date: Early 21st Dynasty, son of Piankhi

Colours: White, red, blue, green and yellow

Affiliation: Workshop 1

- 3.76. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 11492 (Plate 40)**
 Name: *P3-ndm* II
 Title: High Priest of Amun
 Dim: L. 4.80 m x H. 32 cm
 Prov: Royal Cache at Deir el-Bahari (1881)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 114); Sadek, 1985: 227 – 228, pl. 48 (C. 33)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty; died and was interred Year 10 of Siamun
 Colours: Etiquette – white, blue, green and black
 Remainder – black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 1
- 3.77. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 11493 = CG. 40017 (Plate 13, Fig. 24a)**
 Name: *Nsty-t3-nbt-t3wy*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim: L. 4.29 m x H. 22.5 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 9)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 115); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 93 – 103 (Pap. 8); Seeber, 1976: 212
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black, red, blue and green
 Affiliation: Workshop 1
- 3.78. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 11495 (Figs. 82a – b)**
 Name: *Imn-h3t-ms*
 Title: Divine Father of Amun
 Dim: L. 3.88 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 124)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 33; Niwiński, 1989a: 195 – 196, Figs. 68 – 69 (Cairo 117)
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black, yellow/brown
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 3.79. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 11496 (Plate 14, Figs. 65, 67a, 70)**
 Name: *T3-wd3t-R^c*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Singer in the Choir of Mut.
 Dim: L. 4.32 m x H. 32 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 144)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: 123, Fig. 14b (Cairo 118); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 133 – 142 (Pap. 15); Seeber, 1976: 212; Schott, 1965: 191
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black, red, green, blue, white and yellow
 Affiliation: Workshop 1
- 3.80. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 11498 = 14.7.35.2 (Plate 46)**
 Name: *dd-hnsw-iwf-^cnh*
 Title: Overseer, Priest of Amun-Re
 Dim: L. 6.15 m x H. 28 cm
 Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 141)

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 120); Sadek, 1985: 196 – 208, pls. 39 – 41 (C. 28)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: White, pink, green, blue, red, yellow, black and brown

Affiliation: Workshop 1

3.81. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 11500= J. 34033 (Plate 35)

Name: *T3-wd3t-R^c* – Book of What is in the Netherworld

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun, Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, *T3-wd3t-R^c* ...

Dim: L. 3.80 m x H. 28 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 144)

Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 37; Niwiński, 1989a: 165, Figs. 49a – d (Cairo 122); Piankoff, 1964: 84 – 97, 147 – 157, pl. 4

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black, white, green, red and yellow

Affiliation: Workshop 1

3.82. Acc. No.: S.R. VII. 11501 (Plate 48, Figs. 40a, 50b, 72a, 72c)

Name: *Hnsw-rnp*

Title: Priest of Amun, the Scribe, Superintendent of the Household of Onuris

Dim: L. 4.30 m x H. 25.5 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 120)

Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 32; Hornung, 1979: Fig. 23; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 123); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 117 – 125 (Pap. 11); Schott, 1965: 187

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II

Colours: Black outline

Affiliation: Workshop 1

3.83. Acc. No.: S. R. VII 11503 (Plate 62, Fig. 78b)

Name: *Ns-y-p3-nfr*

Title: Divine Father of the Beloved God

Dim: L. 2.66 m x H. 23 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 98)

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: 134, Fig. 18, pl. 25c (Cairo 125)

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty; mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II

Colours: White, red, blue, green, black

Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.84. Acc. No.: S. R. VII 11506 - # 85 (Plate 74, Fig. 38)

Name: *P3-nb-km-imt-nhtw*

Title: God's Father of Amun, Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of Two Lands and of the Domain of Amun...

Dim: L. 2.70 m x H. 22.5 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 61)

Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 27; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 128); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 186 – 188 (Pap. 25)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II

Colours: Black and red ink

Affiliation: Workshop 3

3.85. Acc. No.: J. 95705Name: *P3(3)-h3-h3t*

Title: Mayor (?)

Dim: L. 0.33 m x H. 22 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 115)

Biblio: Daressy, 1907: 32; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cairo 129)

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Mehkheperre

Colours: Black

Affiliation: Workshop 1

CAMBRIDGE**4. Fitzwilliam Museum****4.1. Acc. No.: E 92.1904 (Fig. 32)**Name: *In-phwf-nhtw*

Title: Priest of Amun and Chief of the Sailors on of the God's Barque

Prov.: Deir el-Bahari, purchased in 1904. Bequeathed by Frank McClean

Dim.: L. 1.765 m x H. 37.9 cm

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: 104, 137, 141, Figs.11, 21, 22, 28, 29 (Cambridge);

Vassilika, 1995: 88 – 89, No. 40

Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty

Colours: White, red, black, brown

Affiliation: Workshop 5

CHICAGO**5. Field Museum****5.1. Acc. No.: 31326 (Plate 57)**Name: *3st-y*

Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun-Re, King of the Gods

Dim: H. 23 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 66). Purchased in Cairo in 1895, fund of A. Ryerson

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Chicago 1)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of King Psusennes II

Colours: Multicoloured

Affiliation: Workshop 3

6. Oriental Institute Museum**6.1. Acc. No.: OIM 18039 (A. I. C. # 94180) (Plate 142)**Name: *T3wy-hnwt-mwt*

Title: The House-Mistress, the Songstress of Amun-Re, Wife of the Scribe of the Double Treasury

Dim: L. 1.01 m x H. 24.5 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891

Biblio: Allen, 1960: 60 – 61, pls. I – IV; Niwiński, 1989a: (Chicago 3)

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Green, white, blue, black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 6

CLEVELAND

7. Cleveland Museum of Art

7.1. **Acc. No.: CMA 1914.724**

Name: *B3-ḥn-Mwt*

Title: The Osiris <of> *B3-ḥn-Mwt*, Son of the Dignitary, *Imn-ḥtp*, the Justified.

Dim: L. 12.2 cm x H. 20.6 cm – fragment

Prov: Thebes. Purchased from Joseph Hassan Ahmed in Luxor by Lucy Olcott Perkins through Henry W. Kent, as part of [283]

Biblio: Berman, 1999: 372 – 373, No. 282

Date: Late 21st or early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Unaffiliated

7.2. **Acc. No.: CMA 1914.725** (Plate 171, Fig. 131)

Name: *Bw-iri(w)-ḥr-w^c-Mwt*

Title: Lady of the House, Singer of Amunrasonther, *Bw-iri(w)-ḥr-w^c-Mwt*, the Justified, the [second wife?] of the God's Father of Amunrasonther, *B3-ḥn-Mwt*, the Justified, the Son of the One Beloved God, *Imn-ḥtp*, the Justified under Osiris

Dim: L. 0.48 m x H. 24.2 cm

Prov: Thebes. Purchased from Joseph Hassan Ahmed, by Lucy Olcott Perkins through Henry W. Kent. Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic trust

Biblio: Berman, 1999: 375 – 376, No. 284; Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 37b (Cleveland 1)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty or early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Black and red ink

Affiliation: Workshop 7

7.3. **Acc. No.: CMA 1914.732** (Plate 170)

Name: *B3-ḥn-Mwt*

Title: The God's Father of Amun, *B3-ḥn-Mwt*, son of *Imn-ḥtp* for Him in the Necropolis

Dim: L. 0.958 m x H. 21.2 cm

Prov: Thebes. Purchased from Joseph Hassan Ahmed in Luxor by Lucy Olcott Perkins through Henry W. Kent

Biblio: Berman, 1999: 376 – 377, No. 285;

<http://www.clevelandart.org/Explore/departmentsWork.asp?level=2&deptgroup=9&recNo=91&display=list>

Date: Late 21st to early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 7

7.4. **Acc. No.: CMA 1914.733**

Name: *Bw-iri(w)-ḥr-w^c-Mwt*

Title: Singer of the Choir for the Goddess, Mut

Dim: L. 24.3cm x H. 24.6 cm

Prov: Thebes. Purchased from Joseph Hassan Ahmed, by Lucy Olcott Perkins through Henry W. Kent. Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust

Biblio: Berman, 1999: 377 – 378, No. 286;
<http://www.clevelandart.org/Explore/work.asp?keywordid=1008&tab=2&recNo=18>

Date: Late Dynasty 21 or early Dynasty 22

Colours: Black

Affiliation: Unaffiliated

Notes: Consists of one sheet of sixteen lines in highly abridged hieratic

7.5. Acc. No.: CMA 1914.882

Name: *B3-ḥn-Mwt*

Title: The Osiris <of> *B3-ḥn-Mwt*, Son of the Dignitary *Imn-ḥtp*, the Justified

Dim: L. 12.2 cm x H. 20.6 cm (fragment)

Prov: Thebes. Purchased from Joseph Hassan Ahmed in Luxor by Lucy Olcott Perkins through Henry W. Kent

Biblio: Berman, 1999: 373 – 374, No. 283, Niwiński, 1989a: (Cleveland A)

Date: Late 21st or early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Black

Affiliation: Unaffiliated

7.6. Acc. No.: CMA 1921.1032 (Plate 51, Figs. 34a, 75a)

Name: *Ḥr-y*

Title: Master of the Storehouse, God's Father of Amunrasonther, Overseer of the Storehouse of Amun, and *wꜥb*-Priest of Amun, *Ḥr-y*, the Vindicated

Dim: L. 1.58 m x H. 23 cm

Prov: Probably Thebes. Purchased at Sotheby's through Howard Carter. The Charles Harkness Endowment Fund.

Biblio: Berman, 1999: 370 – 372, No. 281; Heerma van Voss, 1982a: 7 – 8, pls. 1 – 3; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cleveland 2)

Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black and red ink

Affiliation: Workshop 2

CORTONA

8. Museo dell'Academia

8.1. Acc. No.: 394 (Plate 172)

Name: Anonymous

Title: Unknown

Dim.: L. 0.635 m x H. 22.5 cm

Prov.: Unknown

Biblio: Botti, 1964: No. 394, Tav. III; Niwiński, 1989a: (Cortona)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black

Affiliation: Workshop 7

DRESDEN**9. Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen****9.1. Acc. No.: 775 (37) (Plate 5)**Name: *ḥh-ḥf-n-Imn*

Title: Scribe, Priest of Amun

Dim: L. 2.81 m x H. 25.5 cm

Prov.: Unknown, Theban-West? From the collection A. Ricci, Florenz purchased in Egypt in 1829, and bought for the museum in 1831

Biblio: Behrends, 1989: Fig. 150; Hase, 1836: 158, No. 405; Niwiński, 1989a: 145, Fig. 36 (Dresden 1); Wenig & Raumschüssel, 1977: 37 – 38, Cover (Cat. No. 37)

Date: Early or middle 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black, red

Affiliation: Workshop 1

FLORENCE**10. Museo Archeologico****10.1. Acc. No.: 3663 (Plate 128)**Name: *T-šd-ḥnsw*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun

Dim: L. 1.25 m x H. 24 cm

Prov: From the collection of Nizzoli

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Florence); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 130 – 132 (Pap. 14)

Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 5

GENEVA**11. Library Dr. Martin Bodmer****11.1. Acc. No.: pap.Bodmer C (Plate 116, Fig. 103b)**Name: *In-phwḥf-nḥtw*

Title: Divine Father of Amun, King of the Gods, Overseer of the Sailors of the Barque of the Temple of Amun

Dim: L. 3.73 m x H. 21 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Bissing, 1928: 37 – 39, pl. I; Müller, Wessel & von Beckerath, 1961: 130 (Cat. 213); Niwiński, 1989a: 194, Fig. 67 (Geneva); Spiegelberg, 1928: 152 – 153

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty

Colours: Multicoloured

Affiliation: Workshop 5

11. 2. Acc. No.: pap. Bodmer 103 (Plate 166)

Name: *Nb-ntr-w*
 Title: Father of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.00 m x H. 23.5 cm
 Prov: Collection Baron Zouche, Inv.No. 18
 Biblio: Valloggia, 1991: pls. I – III
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 7

11. 3. Acc. No.: pap. Bodmer 108 (Plate 183, Fig. 133)

Name: *dd-M3^ct-is-^cnh*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim: Unknown
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Valloggia, 1998: 441 – 453, pls. I – III
 Date: 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 7

HAGUE**12. Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum****12.1. Acc. No.: M.M.W. 38/84 (Plate 91)**

Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 0.765 m x H. cm
 Prov: Unknown, Thebes (?)
 Biblio: Boddens Hosang, 1989: 68, pl. 33
 Date: Late 21st or early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

HAVANA**13. Museo Nacional****13.1. Acc. No.: Havana (Plate 53, Fig. 75a)**

Name: *B3k-n-wr-n*
 Title: *w^cb*--Priest
 Dim: L. 3.25 m x H. 33.5 cm
 Prov: Purchased in Luxor in 1858 by William Frankland Hood; in 1924 sold at Sotheby's, since 1949 in the collection of Joachim Gumá Herrera Conde de Lagunillas
 Biblio: Lipinska, 1982: 137 – 142; Niwiński, 1989a: 142, Fig. 31 (Havana)
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: White, black, red, yellow, green, gilded details

Affiliation: Workshop 2

HOUSTON

14. Museum of Fine Arts

14.1. Acc. No.: MFA 13 –73 (Plate 155)

Name: *Ns-hnsw*

Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun

Dim: L. 0. 60 m x H. 24 cm

Prov: Annette B. Finnegan Collection, purchased in London in 1931 (Haggs Brothers)

Biblio: Heerma van Voss, 1982b: 56 – 59; Niwiński, 1989a: (Houston)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black

Affiliation: Workshop 6

KANSAS CITY

15. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

15.1. Acc. No. 33-1398 (Plate 99)

Name: *Ns-nfr-r*

Title: Son of *Ns*

Dim: L. 1.06 m x H. 22.8 cm

Prov: Thebes (?)

Biblio: Heerma van Voss, 1990: 451 – 454; Heerma van Voss, 1992: 265 – 266;
<http://www.echoesofeternity.umkc.edu/Underworldbook.htm>

Date: 21st Dynasty

Colours: White, black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 3

LAWRENCE

16. The University of Kansas Spencer Research Library

16.1. Acc. No. The Ballard Papyrus (Plate 175)

Name: Unknown

Title: Anonymous

Dim: Unknown

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Mirecki, 2000: passim

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 7

LEIDEN**17. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden****17.1. Acc. No.: AMS 34 (Figs. 50a, 51b)**Name: *P3-y-sr*

Title: Priest of Amun

Dim: L. 3.65 m x H. 39 cm

Prov: From the collection of J. d' Anastasi, purchased in 1828

Biblio: Heerma van Voss, 1982a: 11, pl. 12 (Pap. Leiden T 7); Leemans, 1840: 240 – 241 (T.7); Naville, 1886: 94 (Ld), pl. CLIII; Niwiński, 1989a: (Leiden 3); Schneider & Raven, 1981: Cat. No. 119

Date: Early or middle 21st Dynasty

Colours: White, red, black and green

Affiliation: Workshop 2

17.2. Acc. No.: AMS 36 (Plate 78)Name: *dd-mn-t*

Title: Divine Father of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, Son of Re

Dim: L. 1.33 m x H. 0.28 cm

Prov: From the collection of J. d' Anastasi, purchased in 1828

Biblio: Heerma van Voss, 1982a: 13, pl. 16 (Pap. Leiden T 77); Jecquier, 1894: 32; Leemans, 1840: 257 – 258; Niwiński, 1989a: (Leiden 17)

Date: Early 22nd Dynasty, mummy-braces of Orsokon I

Colours: Black outline, details in red

Affiliation: Workshop 3

17.3. Acc. No.: AMS 39 (Plate 136)Name: *Tnt-R^c-ss*

Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun

Dim: L. 0.60 m x H. 25 cm

Prov: From the collection of J. d' Anastasi, purchased in 1828

Biblio: Heerma van Voss, 1982a: 10, pl. 8 (Pap. Leiden T 26); Heerma van Voss, 1986: 14, pl. 4; Niwiński, 1989a: (Leiden 6)

Date: Late 21st or early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Black

Affiliation: Workshop 6

17.4. Acc. No.: AMS 40Name: *T3-yw-hry*

Title: Singer of the Temple of Amun in Karnak

Dim: L. 1.85 m x H. 30.5 cm

Prov: From the collection of J. d' Anastasi, purchased in 1828

Biblio: Heerma van Voss, 1971: passim, pls. 1 – 4; Heerma van Voss, 1982a: 7 – 8, pls. 5a, 9, 10, 11b (Pap. Leiden T 3); Heerma van Voss, 1986: 11 – 13, pls. 6, 8; Leemans, 1840: 255 (T 72), 232 – 235; Niwiński, 1989a: (Leiden 1); Schneider & Raven, 1981: 117, 119, Cat. 117 – 118; Seeber, 1976: 211

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 3

17.5. Acc. No.: AMS 48

Name: Anonymous

Title: Unknown

Prov.: From the collection of J. d'Anastasi, purchased 1928

Dim.: L. 1.22 m x H. 25 cm

Biblio.: Leemans, 1840: 249 (T. 27); Niwiński, 1989a: 98, Fig. 9 (Leiden 7)

Date: Late 21st of early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Black and red ink

Affiliation: Unaffiliated

17.6. Acc. No.: AMS R. A. 58 (Plate 24)Name: *P3-diw-hnsw*

Title: Overseer

Prov.: Purchased from Mr. Ruysenaars, Amsterdam, a Dutch diplomat in Alexandria in 1852

Dim.: L. 2.255 m x H. 24.5 cm

Biblio.: Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 4a (Leiden 21)

Date: Late 21st or early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Yellow, white, green, blue, and details in red ink (etiquette)

Affiliation: Workshop 1

18. LOCATION UNKNOWN**18.1. Acc. No.: Location Unknown 4 (Plate 134)**Name: *Ns-p3-nfr-hr*

Title: Scribe, Priest of Amun-Re, King of the Gods

Dim: L. 1.018 m x H. 17.5 cm

Prov: Private possession

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Location Unknown 4); Schlögl, 1978: (Advertisement at the end of the book)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black outline

Affiliation: Workshop 6

LONDON**19. British Museum****19.1. Acc. No.: BM 9904 (Plate 15)**Name: *3st-m-3h-Bit*

Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun

Dim: L. 4.11 m x H. 31.2 cm

Prov: Deir el-Bahari, Collection Barker (217), acquired in 1833

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 17–19 (London 2); Naville, 1886: 68; Shorter, 1938: 2

Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Blue, white, brown and black

Affiliation: Workshop 1

- 19.2. Acc. No.: BM 9918 (Plate 67)**
 Name: *Tmn-ms*
 Title: Overseer of the Builders of the Temple of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.65 m x H. 19 cm
 Prov: Collection of Lavoratori (341)
 Biblio: Naville, 1886: 62 (Ak); Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 1a (London 3)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red ink
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 19.3. Acc. No.: BM 9919 (Plate 58, Fig. 80)**
 Name: *Tnt-s3-rkn*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun-Re, King of the Gods
 Dim: L. 1.70 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Unknown, Thebes
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (London 4); Quirke, 1992: 101, Fig. 79
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Blue, yellow, red, green, white, black, and pink, figures outlined/traced in red, then coloured. Hieroglyphics in black
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 19.4. Acc. No.: BM 9932 (Plate 117, Fig. 102a)**
 Name: *In-hw-phf*
 Title: Superintendent of the Sailors of the Barque of the Temple of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.52 m x H. 45.5 cm
 Prov: Collection Libri (Boene)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 45 – 46a (London 5); Seeber, 1976: 211
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Yellow, red, white, and black
 Affiliation: Workshop 5
- 19.5. Acc. No.: BM 9948 (Plate 135)**
 Name: *dt-sw-n-mwt*
 Title: Mistress of the House and Musician-Priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.215 m x H. 21.6 cm
 Prov: Unknown, Collection Blacas, acquired in 1866.
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (London 8); Shorter, 1938: 2, pl. X
 Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 6
- 19.6. Acc. No.: BM 9970 (Plate 105)**
 Name: *Tnt-šd-Mwt*
 Title: Musician-Priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 2.16 m x H. 24.8 cm
 Prov: Thebes, collection Strangford
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (London 10); Quirke, 1997: 166, Fig. 96
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black, red, blue and yellow
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

19.7. Acc. No.: BM 9974 (Plate 165)

Name: *Bw-ḡwty-rꜥ*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 0.40 m x H. 12.7 cm (unfinished)
 Prov: Collection of Anastasi (43)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 4b (London 11)
 Date: Late 21st or early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 7

19.8. Acc. No.: BM 9975 (Plate 180)

Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 0.60 m x H. 23 cm
 Prov: Collection Salt (33, 39)
 Biblio: British Museum, 1922: 297; Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 38a (London 12)
 Date: Late 21st or early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 7

19.9. Acc. No.: BM 9980 (Plate 181)

Name: *ꜥnh-hfn-hnsw*
 Title: Scribe of Divine Offerings in the Temple of Amun
 Dim: L. 0.622 m x H. 24 cm – fragment
 Prov: Thebes, from the collection of Anastasi (12)
 Biblio: Blackman, 1917: pl. 27; British Museum, 1922: 297; Niwiński, 1989a: 12, Fig. 1 (London 14); Quirke, 1992: 100, Fig. 77
 Date: Late 21st or early 22nd Dynasty, c. 950 B. C. E.
 Colours: Black and red ink
 Affiliation: Workshop 7

19.10. Acc. No.: BM 9982 (Plate 182)

Name: *Ns-Mwt-ꜥ3-nr*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 0.84 m x H. 24.1 cm
 Prov: From the collection Salt (121-2)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 34a (London 16); British Museum, 1922: 297
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 7

19.11. Acc. No.: BM 9984 (Plate 157)

Name: *Ns-Mwt*
 Title: Musician-Priestess of Amun, King of the Gods
 Dim: L. 0.635 m x H. 17.8 cm
 Prov: From the collection Salt
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 40a (London 18)
 Date: Late 21st or early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red ink
 Affiliation: Workshop 6

19.12. Acc. No.: BM 9987 (Plate 152)

Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 0.37 m x H. 22.9 cm
 Prov: Collection Butler (526)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 38b (London 20)
 Date: Late 21st or early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 6

19.13. Acc. No.: BM 10001 (Plate 163)

Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 1.26 m x H. 19 cm
 Prov: Collection Hay (485)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 40b (London 23)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 6

19.14. Acc. No.: BM 10002 (Plate 18, Fig. 22)

Name: *T3-mniw*
 Title: Mistress of the House
 Dim: L. 1.43 m x H. 28 cm
 Prov: Collection Barker (211), purchased 1833
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 46b – 47b (London 24); Quirke, 1997: 49, Fig.28
[http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe?IXDB=compass&IXSR=kv7&IXSS=IXFPFX %3dgraphical%252ffull%252f%26IXsearchterm%3dpapyrus%26%257bUPPER%257d%253av2 free text index%3dpapyrus%26IXDB %3dcompass%26IXNOMATCHES %3dgraphical%252fno match%252html%26%2524%2b%2528with%2b%20searchable index%2529%2bso rt%3d%252e&IXFIRST=54&IXMAXHITS=1&IXSPFX=graphical/full/&IXsearchterm=papyrus&submit-button=summary](http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe?IXDB=compass&IXSR=kv7&IXSS=IXFPFX%3dgraphical%252ffull%252f%26IXsearchterm%3dpapyrus%26%257bUPPER%257d%253av2free%20text%20index%3dpapyrus%26IXDB%3dcompass%26IXNOMATCHES%3dgraphical%252fno%20match%252html%26%2524%2b%2528with%2b%20searchable%2529%2bso%20rt%3d%252e&IXFIRST=54&IXMAXHITS=1&IXSPFX=graphical/full/&IXsearchterm=papyrus&submit-button=summary)
 Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black, green, red, yellow and blue
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

19.15. Acc. No.: BM 10004 (Plate 112)

Name: *P3-diw-hnsw*
 Title: Scribe, *w^cb*-Priest of Amun, Divine Father of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.25 m x H. 19 cm
 Prov: Collection Sams (15)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 41a – b (London 26)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black, red, yellow and white
 Affiliation: Workshop 4

19.16. Acc. No.: BM 10006 (Plate 36)

Name: *Mwt-im-wi3*
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim: L. 1.93 m x H. 22 cm – in three fragments

Prov: Collection Sams (Barker 215), acquired in 1833
 Biblio: Lanzone, 1881 – 1885: pl. CCXXXV; Mengedoht, 1893: 151 – 152;
 Niwiński, 1989a: (London 28); Piankoff, 1964: 72 – 77, 138 – 141, pl. 2
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black, red, yellow and blue
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

19.17. Acc. No.: BM 10007 (Fig. 98d)

Name: *P3-šb-wn-Mwt*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun, King of the Gods
 Dim: L. 1.969 m x H. 14.6 cm
 Prov: From the collection Sams (26)
 Biblio: Ions, 1968: 30; Köhler, 1972: 46; Niwiński, 1989a: (London 29)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black, red and yellow
 Affiliation: Workshop 4

19.18. Acc. No.: BM 10008 (Plate 16)

Name: *T3-mniw*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.613 m x H. 9.52 cm {cut and framed at present: 9.5 cm high}
 Prov: Collection Barker (210) acquired in 1833
 Biblio: Lanzone, 1882: pl. CLXIII; Niwiński, 1989a: 146, Fig. 39, pls. 29a – d
 (London 30); Quirke, 1997: 35, Fig. 19; Seeber, 1976: 211, Abb. 16
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, "Year 3" of Amenemope or Siamun inscribed on coffin
 Colours: Multi-coloured
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

19.19. Acc. No.: BM 10010 (Plate 7, Figs. 57, 59)

Name: *Mwt-ḥtp-ti*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 2.89 m x H. 33.66 cm
 Prov: Collection Murray acquired in 1861
 Biblio: British Museum, 1922: 294; British Museum, 1930: 80; Faulkner &
 Andrews, 1985: 148, 168 – 169, 173, 178 – 179; Naville, 1886: 59, pls.
 CLXXIII, CLXXXVII, CXC VII, CCVII-CCVIII; Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 7b
 (London 31); Piankoff, 1974: pls. 41 – 42
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Red, white, blue and black
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

19.20. Acc. No.: BM 10011 (Plate 56)

Name: *Imn-ms*
 Title: Priest, Scribe of the Treasury of the Domain of Amun, *Imn-ms*, the
 Justified
 Dim: L. 1.59 m x H. 23.5 cm – four fragments
 Prov: Collection Salt (696)
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: 167, Fig. 52a (London 32); Piankoff, 1964: 78 – 83, 142
 – 146, pl. 3
 Date: Early or middle 21st Dynasty

Colours: Red and black
Affiliation: Workshop 2

19.21. Acc. No.: BM 10012 (Plate 87, Fig. 85)

Name: *T3...*
Title: Mistress of the House, Chantress of Amun
Dim: L. 3.33 m x H. 21.5 cm
Prov: Collection Barker (208) acquired in 1833
Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 36a (London 33)
Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty
Colours: Black and red
Affiliation: Workshop 3

19.22. Acc. No.: BM 10018 (Figs. 36, 109)

Name: *Hn-t3wy*
Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun
Dim: L. 1.23 m x H. 19.7 cm
Prov: Unknown
Biblio: British Museum, 1922: 296; Derchain, 1974: 91; Ions, 1968: 30; James, 1985: 62, Fig. 73; Lanzzone, 1882: pl. CLIX; Mysliwiec, 1978: 83, Figs. 52, 64; Niwiński, 1989a: 200, Fig. 74 (London 36); Piankoff, 1935: 155; Schott, 1965: 187, 195
Date: Late 21st Dynasty, granddaughter of HP Menkheperre
Colours: Black, red and yellow
Affiliation: Workshop 5

19.23. Acc. No.: BM 10020

Name: *P3-n-m3^ct*
Title: The Divine Father of Amun-Ra, Scribe of the Sacred Records of the Temple of Amun, Superintendent of the Treasury of the Temple of Amun, Chief Keeper of the Records of Amun.
Dim.: L. 2.74 m x H. 44.1 cm
Prov.: From the Collection Barker (213), acquired in 1833.
Biblio.: Niwiński, 1989a: 121, Fig. 12 (London 38); Quirke & Spencer, 1996: 75, Fig. 54; Seeber, 1976: 212; Shorter, 1938: 6
Date: Middle 21st Dynasty
Colours: Red, blue, and black
Affiliation: Unaffiliated

19.24. Acc. No.: BM 10029 (Plate 138)

Name: *Pn-šwt-3st*
Title: Scribe
Dim: L. 1.08 m x H. 25.4 cm
Prov: From collection of Anastasi (1076)
Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 5a (London 40)
Date: Late or early 22nd Dynasty
Colours: Multicoloured
Affiliation: Workshop 6

19.25. Acc. No.: BM 10041 (Plate 22)Name: *Imn-h^c-w*

Title: Divine Father of Amun-Re, King of the Gods

Dim: L. 0.97 m x H. 24.1 cm

Prov: From collection of Athanasi (151)

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 20a – b (London 45)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty, early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Brown, red, black and white

Affiliation: Workshop 1

19.26. Acc. No.: BM 10044 (Fig. 21)Name: *dd-hnsw-iws-^cnh*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun

Dim: L. 1.32 m x H. 24.1 cm

Prov: Excavated in Thebes by Lord Belmore in 1891

Biblio: British Museum, 1843: pl. 2; Niwiński, 1989a: (London 46)

Date: Early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Blue, black and red

Affiliation: Unaffiliated

19.27. Acc. No.: BM 10063 (Plate 140)Name: *P3-diw-imnt*

Title: Head Baker of the Temple of Amun

Dim: L. 0.91 m x H. 24.7 cm

Prov: Unknown, Thebes

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (London 48); Quirke, 1992: 220, Fig. 170

Date: Early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Red, blue, black, brown, and white

Affiliation: Workshop 6

19.28. Acc. No.: BM 10330 (Plates 143 & 158, Fig. 26a)Name: *dd-tnt-diy-wrt*

Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun

Dim: L. 0.73 m x H. 23.5 cm

Prov: From the collection of Anastasi

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 5b (London 57)

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Black outline

Affiliation: Workshop 6

19.29. Acc. No.: BM 10472 (Plate 8, Figs. 33, 56, 58)Name: *In-h3-y*

Title: Chantress of Amun, Chief of Concubines of Osiris, Chief of the Concubines of Nebtu and Khnum

Dim: L. 4.43 m x H. 42 cm

Prov: Purchased in 1888 in wooden figure of Osiris (BM 20868)

Biblio: Andrews, 1978: 88 – 98; British Museum, 1922: 294; British Museum, 1930: 80; Budge, 1899: passim; Faulkner & Andrews, 1985: 10, 43; Freed, 1983: 28, 30, 91, 93; Heerma van Voss, 1982a: 9 – 10, pl. 7; James, 1985: 59, Figs. 66, 67; Niwiński, 1983a: 81, Fig. 9;

Niwiński, 1989a: 149, Fig. 43 (London 58); Rossiter, 1984: 53 – 58;
 Seeber, 1976: 212;
<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB = compass& IXSR =zq7& IXSS = IXFPFX %3dgraphical%252ffull%252f%26 IXsearchterm%3dpapyri%26%257bUPPER%257d%253av2 free t ext tindex%3dpapyri%26 IXDB %3dcompass%26 IXNOMATCHES %3dgraphical%252fno matches%252html%26%2524%2b%2528with%2bv2 searchable index%2529%2bsort%3d%252e& IXFIRST =33& IXMAX HITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/lq& IXimg=ps340494.jpg&submit-button=summary>

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, wife of the mayor of Esna

Colours: Black, red, blue, green and yellow

Affiliation: Workshop 1

19.30. Acc. No.: BM 10490 (Plate 9, Fig. 23c)

Name: *Ndmt*

Title: Unknown

Dim: L. 3.96 m x H. 22.86 cm

Prov: Royal Cache at Deir el-Bahari

Biblio: British Museum, 1922: 295; Budge, 1899: passim; Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 49a – c (London 59); Seeber, 1976: 210

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, buried in the early years of Psusennes I, wife of Herihor

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 1

19.31. Acc. No.: BM 10541 (Plate 4)

Name: *Ndmt* and *Hry-hr-s3-imn*

Title: High Priest of Amun, and the Royal Mother

Dim: L. 4.19 m x H. 34.6 cm

Prov: Royal Cache at Deir el-Bahari, Gift of King Edward VII

Biblio: British Museum 1909: pls. I, XLI; British Museum, 1930: 80 – 81, Fig. 29; James, 1985: 62, Fig. 72; Naville, 1886: 108; Niwiński, 1989a: (London 60); Niwiński, 1989c: 96, Fig. 7; Robins, 1995: 139 – 142; Schulz & Seidel, 1997: 329, Fig. 8; Seeber, 1976: 210; Shorter, 1938: 14 – 15, pl. V; Taylor, 1998: 1143 – 1155;

<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB = compass& IXSR =xl1& IXSS = IXFPFX %3dgraphical%252ffull%252f%26 IXsearchterm%3dpapyrus%26%257bUPPER%257d%253av2 free text tindex%3dpapyrus%26 IXDB %3dcompass%26 IXNOMATCHES %3dgraphical%252fno matches%252html%26%2524%2b%2528with %2bv2 searchable index%2529%2bsort%3d%252e& IXFIRST =48& IXMAXHITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/& IXsearchterm=papyrus& IXimg=ps262172.jpg&submit-button=summary>

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, c. 1070 B. C. E., buried in the early years of King Psusennes I

Colours: White, red, green, yellow and blue

Affiliation: Workshop 1

19.32. Acc. No.: BM 10554 – The Greenfield Papyrus (Plate 1, Figs. 26b, 30a, 62a)Name: *Ns-y-t3-nb-išrw*

Title: Priestess

Dim: L. 40.538 m x H. 47 – 49 cm – cut into 96 sheets, 47 cm high and placed between glass

Prov: Royal Cache at Deir el-Bahari, named after Mrs Edith Greenfield, the donor of the papyrus to The British Museum, whose husband acquired it in Egypt in 1880

Biblio: Budge, 1912: passim; Faulkner & Andrews, 1985: 102, 149, 153; Heerma van Voss, 1982a: pl. 5b; Heerma van Voss, 1997: 183 – 185; James, 1985: 48 – 49, Figs. 53 – 54; Milde, 1991: 8; Niwiński, 1989a: (London 61); Pinch, 1994, Fig. 9; Quirke, 1997: 20, Fig. 10; Seeber, 1976: 211; Shaw & Nicholson, 1995: 93; Schulz & Seidel, 1997: 448, Fig. 43;

<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB = compass& IXSR =xl1& IXSS = IXFPFX %3dgraphical%252ffull%252f%26 IXsearchterm%3dpapyrus%26%257bUPPER%257d%253av2 free text tindex%3dpapyrus%26 IXDB %3dcompass%26 IXNOMATCHES %3dgraphical%252fno matches%252html%26%2524%2b%2528with%2bv2 searchable index%2529%2bsort%3d%252e& IXFIRST =51& I XMAXHITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/& IXsearchterm=papyrus&submit-button=summary>

Date: Early 22nd Dynasty, daughter of HP Pinudjem II

Colours: Black outline

Affiliation: Workshop 1

19.33. Acc. No.: BM 10674 (Figs. 73a – g)Name: *Mh-dsw-hnsw*

Title: Scribe, Overseer of the Estates of Amun, King of the Gods

Dim: L. 3.20 m x H. 11 cm

Prov: Presented by Lord Lindsay

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: 170 – 173, Figs. 57 – 58f (London 62)

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black outline

Affiliation: Workshop 1

19.34. Acc. No.: BM 10793 (Plate 23, Figs. 25a, 35a)Name: *P3-ndm II*

Title: High Priest of Amun

Dim: L. 68.5 cm x H. 38 cm

Prov: The Royal Cache at Deir el-Bahari, Thebes

Biblio: British Museum, 1966: 35, pl. XI; Maspero, 1889a: 512, pl. I; Munro, 1996: passim; Niwiński, 1989a: (London 63); Quirke, 1992: 29, Fig. 17;

<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB = compass& IXSR =dj5& IXSS = IXFPFX %3dgraphical%252ffull%252f%26 IXsearchterm%3dpapyri%26%257bUPPER%257d%253av2 free text tindex%3dpapyri%26 IXDB %3dcompass%26 IXNOMATCHES %3dgraphical%252fno matches%252html%26%2524%2b%2528with%2bv2 searchable index%2529%2bsort%3d%252e& IXFIRST =36& IXMAX>

[HITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/lq& IXimg=k104272.jpg&submit-button=summary](#)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty, c. 990 – 969 BCE

Colours: White, blue, yellow, green, and black

Affiliation: Workshop 1

20. The Wellcome Institute for the History and Understanding of Medicine

20.1. Acc. No.: Wellcome Egyptian Manuscript (WEM) 3 (Plate 174, Fig. 132)

Name: Anonymous

Title: Unknown

Dim: L. 1.5 m x H. 24.3 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Quirke & Tait, 1994: 145 – 149, pls. XV, XVI

Date: 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black outline

Affiliation: Workshop 7

LUXOR

21. Luxor City Museum

21.1. Acc. No.: J. 24 (on loan from Cairo Museum, S. R. VII. 10253) (Plate 64, Fig. 34b)

Name: *Tnt-wsr-t-sn-pr-sw*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun

Dim: L. 1.215 m x H. 21.5 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus, Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 2)

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: 136, 140, Figs. 19, 26 (Luxor 1); Ranke, 1952: 395 ad I, p.355, 23; Romano, 1979: 160 – 161, Fig. 135, No. 248

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, mummy-braces of HP Pinudjem II, mummy-linen of HP Menkheperre

Colours: Black, red, green, blue, white and yellow

Affiliation: Workshop 3

21.2. Acc. No.: J. 25 (on loan from EM, Cairo S. R. VII. 10252) (Plate 69, Fig. 81)

Name: *Ns-y-hnsw*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun

Dim: L. 1.24 m x H. 24 cm

Prov: Tomb Bab el-Gusus (?)

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Luxor 2); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 80 – 81 (Pap. 4); Romano, 1979: 162 – 163, Fig. 136, No. 251

Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black, white, red, yellow, green and blue

Affiliation: Workshop 3

MANCHESTER**22. John Rhylands University Museum****22.1. Acc. No.: Hieroglyphic 1 (Plate 162)**Name: *Pn-rnw*

Title: Scribe

Dim: L. 0.98 m x H. 24.3 cm

Prov: From the collection of the Earls of Crawford and Belcarres, purchased for the library in 1901

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 36b – 37a (Manchester 1)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colors: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 6

MARSEILLES**23. Musée Borély****23.1. Acc. No.: MB 295 (Fig. 128)**

Name: Anonymous

Title: Unknown

Dim: Unknown

Prov: From the collection Clot-Bey

Biblio: Maspero, 1889b: 62; Nelson, 1978: 62; Niwiński, 1989a: 208, Fig. 81 (Marseilles 3)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty or early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Black outline

Affiliation: Workshop 6

MILAN**24. Museo Archeologico****24.1. Acc. No.: E. 1026 (Plate 89)**

Name: Anonymous

Title: Unknown

Dim: L. 0.72 m x H. 24.7 cm

Prov: Purchased in 1830 by G. Acerbi

Biblio: Levi, 1884: 566 – 583; Lise, 1979: 27, pl. 93 (No. 71); Niwiński, 1989a: (Milan)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty or early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Black

Affiliation: Workshop 3

MINNEAPOLIS**25. Minneapolis Institute of Arts****25.1. Acc. No.: MIA 16.675 (Plate 125)**Name: *dd-hnsw-f-ḥ*

Title: Priest of Amun, King of the Gods
 Dim: L. 1.00 m x H. 24.7 cm
 Prov: Purchased in 1916 from the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia
 Biblio: The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1916: 59, No. 7; The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1917: 27; The Minneapolis Institute of Arts 1931: 9; Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 48b (Minneapolis)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Multicoloured
 Affiliation: Workshop 5

NEW HAVEN

26. Beineke Library, Yale University

26.1. Acc. No.: Ct YBR 2754 (part of N. 3132) (Plate 144)

Name: *Mwt-im-mrs*

Title: Chantress of Amun

Dim: Cut into six sheets:

1. L. 13.5 cm x H. 16.5 cm
2. L. 13.5 cm x H. 17.3 cm
3. L. 19.9 cm x H. 17.3 cm
4. L. 20.8 cm x H. 17.5 cm
5. L. 20.1 cm x H. 17.4 cm
6. L. 30.3 cm x H. 17.4 cm

Prov: Previously owned by Eduard Naville, donated to the Library by Stanley B. Rich on 21 December 1973

Biblio: Bohlecke, 1997: 115 – 127, Figs. 3 – 11; Emmel, 1989/90: 55; Naville, 1886: 36

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Blue, red, green, yellow, orange-red and black

Affiliation: Workshop 6

NEW YORK

27. Metropolitan Museum of Art

27.1. Acc. No.: MMA 25.3.31 (Plate 77, Fig. 83)

Name: *G3wt-sšn*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun-Re

Dim: L. 1.18 m x H. 23.5 cm

Prov: Deir el-Bahari, MMA Tomb 60 – Winlock's excavations in 1924

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (New York 8); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 81 – 184 (Pap. 24 A); Schott, 1965: 188

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: White, red, green, yellow and black

Affiliation: Workshop 3

27.2. Acc. No.: MMA 25.3.32 (Plate 65)

Name: *G3wt-sšn B*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun-Re

Dim: L. 1.40 m x H. 22 cm

Prov: Deir el-Bahari, MMA Tomb 60 – Winlock's excavations in 1924

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (New York 9); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957:185 and Frontispiece (Pap. 24B); Winlock, 1926: 30, Fig. 30
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Etiquette: black, white, red, dark and light green, and yellow, the rest of the manuscript is in black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

27.3. Acc. No.: MMA 25.3.33 (Plate 131, Fig. 114a)

Name: *Ti-y*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.225 m x H. 23.5 cm
 Prov: Deir el-Bahari, MMA Tomb 60 – Winlock's excavations in 1924
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (New York 10); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 179 – 180 (pap. 23)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black, red, white and green
 Affiliation: Workshop 5

27.4. Acc. No.: MMA 30.3.31 (Plate 17, Figs. 23d, 64, 67b)

Name: *N3-y*
 Title: Chantress of Amun/ Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 5.64 m x H. 30 cm
 Prov: Deir el-Bahari, Thebes, Tomb MMA 65
 Biblio: Breasted, 1936: Fig. 272; Dorman, 1984: 45 and cover; Heerma van Voss, 1982a: 9, pl. 4b; Niwiński, 1989a: 123, 144, Figs. 14a, 35 (New York 13); Niwiński, 2000: 31, Figs. 10a – b; Winlock, 1930: 19 – 28; Winlock, 1942: 47, Figs. 78a – 79b
http://www.metmuseum.org/explore/newegypt/htm/wk_frame.htm
 Date: Early 21st Dynasty, daughter of HP Herihor, buried under pontificate of HP Masaharti and reign of Smendes
 Colours: Black, red, yellow, green
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

27.5. Acc. No.: MMA 30.3.32 (Plate 32)

Name: *N3-y*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 2, 045 m (decorated panel 1.575 m) x H. 30 cm
 Prov: Deir el-Bahari, Thebes, Tomb MMA 65
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (New York 14); Piankoff, 1964: 114 – 118, 170 – 172, pl. 7; Winlock, 1930: 19 – 20, Fig. 25
 Date: Early 21st Dynasty, daughter of HP Herihor, buried under pontificate of HP Masaharti and reign of Smendes
 Colours: Red, bluish-green, black and brown
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

OXFORD

28. Ashmolean Museum

28.1. Acc. No.: 1878. 236 (Plate 30)

Name: Anonymous

Title: Unknown
 Dim.: L. 0.53 m x H. 20 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Moorey, 1983: 61, Fig. 26; Niwiński, 1989a: (Oxford 1)
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

29. Bodleian Library

29.1. Acc. No.: pSkrine 1 (Plate 184, Figs. 135 – 136)

Name: *ḥnh-hf-n-ḥnsw*
 Title: God's Father of Amun, King of the Gods
 Dim.: L. 1.20 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Purchased in Egypt by Col. Vivian, presented in 1913 by Vivian Skrine
 Biblio: Blackman, 1917: passim; Niwiński, 1989a: (Oxford 2)
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 7

29.2. Acc. No.: pSkrine 2 (Plate 37, Fig. 69b)

Name: *Ns-y-p3ḥn*
 Title: Priest, Scribe
 Dim.: L. 2.44 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Purchased in Egypt by Col. Vivian, presented in 1913 by Vivian Skrine
 Biblio: Blackman, 1918: passim; Niwiński, 1989a: (Oxford 3)
 Date: Early or middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

PARIS

30. Bibliothèque Nationale

30.1. Acc. No.: 153- 155 (fragments) (Plate 147, Figs. 123b, 124b, 125)

Name: *Ḥnsw-ms*
 Title: Priest of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, Goldsmith of the Domain of Amun, *Ḥnsw-ms*
 Dim: First fragment # 154: L. 0.42 m x H. 24 cm
 Second fragment # 153: L. 0.75 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Collection Cailliaud gathered in 1820 – 1821
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1983: 82, Fig. 5; Niwiński, 1989a: (Paris 6); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 210 – 215 (Pap. 30); Seyffarth, 1833: pl. II, No. 3
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 6

30.2. Acc. No.: 158- 161 (fragments) (Plate 54, Figs. 23a, 30b)

Name: *P3-y-sr*
 Title: God's Father of Amun, *P3-y-sr* (the noble), *P3-y-sr*, the Justified
 Dim: L. 1.86 m x H. 37 cm (Length of fragments, 0. 58, 0.37, 0.40, and 0.51m)
 Prov: Collection Cailliaud, gathered in 1820 – 1821

Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: 167, Fig. 52b (Paris 8); Piankoff, 1964: 165 – 169, 110 – 111, pl. 6

Date: Middle or early 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black, green, pink, red, green and blue

Affiliation: Workshop 2

30.3. Acc. No.: 170-173 (Plate 11, Figs. 62c, 63)

Name: *Tnt-Imn*

Title: Mistress of the House, Chantress of Amun

Dim: L. 3.25 m x H. 21-22 cm

Prov: Collection Thédénat-Duvent

Biblio: Hornung, 1979: 237, Fig. 40; Niwiński, 1989a: 136, 147, Figs. 20, 41 (Paris 9); Piankoff, 1936: 49 – 70; Seeber, 1976: 211; Wiedemann, 1878: 103; Wiedemann, 1900: 155 – 160

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black, red, green and yellow

Affiliation: Workshop 1

31. Musée du Louvre

31.1. Acc. No.: N. 3069 (Plate 118, Figs. 31, 115, 116)

Name: *B3k-w-Mwt-r-htw*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun-Re

Dim: L. 1.06 m x H. 21.6 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Boreux, 1935: 418; Champollion, 1827: 147 (T3); Deveria, 1881: 12 – 13; Niwiński, 1989a: 156, Fig. 47 (Paris 11); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 128 – 129 (Pap.13)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black and yellow

Affiliation: Workshop 5

31.2. Acc. No.: N. 3071 (Plate 45)

Name: Anonymous

Title: Unknown

Dim: H. 37 cm

Prov: Thebes?

Biblio: Boreaux 1932: 419; Deveria, 1874: 21 – 39 (Il. 9); Jequier, 1894: 31; Niwiniski, 1989a: (Paris 13); Pierret, 1878b: 103 – 148; Sadek, 1994: 323 – 335

Date: Middle to late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 1

31.3. Acc. No.: N. 3109 (Plate 38, Fig. 68b)

Name: *ḥnh-nḥ-s-n-3st*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun

Dim: H. 44 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Deveria, 1881: 39, II.2; Jequier, 1894: 32; Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 39a (Paris 16)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 1

31.4. Acc. No.: N. 3110 (Fig. 129)

Name: Anonymous

Title: Unknown

Dim: H. 20 cm

Prov: From the collection Drovetti

Biblio: Deveria, 1874: 47, II.12; Niwiński, 1989a: 207, Fig. 80 (Paris 17)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black outline

Affiliation: Workshop 6

31.5. Acc. No.: N. 3132 (part of Ct YBR 2754)

Name: *Mwt-im-mrs*

Title: Chantress of Amun

Dim: L. 33.8 m x H. 17 cm (fragment)

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Deveria, 1874: 475, III.33; Niwiński, 1989a: (Paris A); Dewachter, 1986: 32 – 33 (Cat. No. 12)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Blue, red, green, yellow, orange-red and black

Affiliation: Workshop 6

31.6. Acc. No.: N. 3139 (Fig. 130)

Name: *P3-diw-Imn*

Title: Beloved of the Gods

Dim: H. 26 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Deveria, 1874: 46, III.10; Niwiński, 1989a: 206, Fig. 79 (Paris 25)

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 6

31.7. Acc. No.: N. 3276 (Plate 149, Fig. 123a)

Name: *ḏd-ḥnsw-iws-ḥnḥ*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun-Re

Dim: L. 1.935 m x H. 24.5 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Champollion, 1827: 148 (T. 6); Deveria, 1874: 40 – 43 (III.4); Niwiński, 1989a: (Paris 33); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 203 – 209 (Pap. 29); Schott, 1965: 194

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 6

- 31.8. Acc. No.: N. 3280** (Plate 141, Fig. 25b)
 Name: *dd-hnsw-iws-ḥnh*
 Title: Musician- Priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 2.18 m x H. 25 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Andreu, 1997: 166, No. 79; Cenival, Yoyotte & Ziegler, 1987: 277; Champollion, 1827: 154, (T. 19); Devéria, 1874: 124 – 125, Ill. 100; Deveria, 1881: 124; Niwiński, 1989a: (Paris 34)
 Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: White, green and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 6
- 31.9. Acc. No.: N. 3287** (Plate 113, Figs. 90, 95a, 95c, 98a, 101b)
 Name: *T3-b3k-n-hnsw*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.06 m x H. 21.4 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Champollion, 1827: 147 – 148 (T. 8); Chassinat, 1903: 129 – 163; Devéria, 1874: 11 – 12, I. 3; Deveria, 1881: 11; Niwiński, 1989a: (Paris 36); Wilkinson 1992: 58: 2
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 4
- 31.10. Acc. No.: N. 3288** (Plate 177, Fig. 134)
 Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: H. 24 cm
 Prov: Brought from Egypt by Napoleon's Expedition
 Biblio: Devéria, 1874: 44 – 45, Il. 7; Niwiński, 1989a: (Paris 37)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty or early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 7
- 31.11. Acc. No.: N. 3292** (Plate 63, Fig. 79)
 Name: *Imn-m-s3f*
 Title: Chief of the Shield-bearers
 Dim: L. 4.49 m x H. 38 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Boreux, 1932: 422; Champollion, 1827: 144 – 146 (T.1); Devéria, 1874: 1 – 8; Deveria, 1881: 68; Piankoff, 1935: 139 ff; Nagel, 1929: 1 – 127, pls. I – VIII; Niwiński, 1989a: (Paris 38); Schott, 1965: 188, No. 11; Seeber, 1976: 212; Spiegelberg, 1894: 68;
http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=17865
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Multicoloured
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 31.12. Acc. No.: N. 3293** (Plate 47)
 Name: *Imn-m-s3f*
 Title: Chief of the Shield-bearers

Dim: L. 2.68 m x H. 23.5 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Champollion, 1827: 146 – 147 (T.2); Devéria, 1874: 8 – 11; Niwiński, 1989a: (Paris 39); Piankoff, 1935: 139 – 157
 Date: Middle 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

31.13. Acc. No.: N. 3297 (Plate 124, Figs. 106, 110)

Name: *B3k-n-Mwt*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 0.99 m x H. 22 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Champollion, 1827: 148 (T. 5); Devéria, 1874: 13 – 15 (I.5); Deveria, 1881: 13; Lanzone, 1882: pl. CCLVII; Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 126 – 127 (pap. 12); Niwiński, 1989a: (Paris 41)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black white, green, blue, yellow, and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 5

31.14. Acc. No.: N. 3451 (Plate 178)

Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: H. 25 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Devéria, 1874: 39 – 40 (Il. 3); Deveria, 1881: 39; Jequier, 1894: 32; Cenival, Yoyotte & Ziegler, 1987: 274 – 275; Niwiński, 1989a: (Paris 43)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 7

31.15. Acc. No.: N. 6258 (Plate 6)

Name: *Ndmt* and *Hry-hr*
 Title: High Priest of Amun, and his wife
 Dim: L. 8.92 m x H. 34.6 cm
 Prov: Royal Cache in Deir el-Bahari acquired by Pierret in 1877
 Biblio: Bonhême, 1987: 130; Naville, 1878: 29 ff; Naville, 1886: 108–109 (Pq); Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 8 – 10 (Paris 47); Pierret, 1878b: 131 – 134
 Date: Early 21st Dynasty, wife of HP Herihor who died in the early reign of King Psusennes.
 Colours: Multicoloured
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

31.16. Acc. No.: E. 17401 (Plate 10, Figs. 23b, 61)

Name: *Ns-y-p3-k3-šwty*
 Title: Scribe, Accountant of the Grain of the Domain of Amun
 Dim: L. 2.70 m x H. 19 cm
 Prov: Purchased from the Baron Mallet
 Biblio: Niwiński, 1989a: (Paris 50); Niwiński, 1997: 23, Figd. 2 – 3; Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 104 – 108 (Pap. 9); Seeber, 1976: Abb. 15; Ziegler,

1982: 290 – 291, No. 245;

http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=17858

Date: Early or middle 21st Dynasty

Colours: Green, yellow, black and red

Affiliation: Workshop 1

RICHMOND

32. Virginia Museum

32.1. Acc. No.: VM Acc. # 54-10 (Plate 119, Fig. 111a)

Name: *Hn(w)t-t3wy*

Title: Princess, Lady of Two Lands

Dim: L. 8 mx H. 43.5 cm

Prov: Thebes. Purchase the Adolphus D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund, 1954

Biblio: Brown, 1973: Fig. 42; Mayo, 1998: 18 – 19; Niwiński, 1989a: 148, Fig. 42 (Richmond); Piankoff, 1949: 138; Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 162, Note 11; Kunsthalle Basel, 1953: 55, No. 141

Date: Late 21st Dynasty/early 22nd Dynasty

Colours: Red, black, white and yellow

Affiliation: Workshop 5

ST PETERSBURG

33. St Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies

33.1. Acc. No.: pButenev/Burchardt (Plate 25)

Name: *Imn-ms*

Title:

Dim: L. 98.5 cm x H. 19.5 cm

Prov: Probably Thebes. Anastasi Collection, donated to Captain Butenev in 1833, and by the latter to Dr. J. Burchardt

Biblio: Berlev, et al, 1998: 138, pls. 155 – 157; Evgenova, 1957: 12

Date: 21st Dynasty

Colours: Ochre and black

Affiliation: Workshop 1

34. St Petersburg NRL

34.1. Acc. No.: St Petersburg 1 (Plate 167)

Name: *W3-s3-irk-n*

Title: Prophet of Amunresonther

Dim: L. 79 cm x H. 23.5 cm

Prov: Thebes, Medinet Habu

Biblio: Berlev, et al, 1998: 141, pls. 158 – 159; Niwiński, 1989a: (Leningrad 4)

Date: 22st Dynasty, reign of Osorkon I – his grandfather

Colours: Ochre and black

Affiliation: Workshop 7

34.2. Acc. No.: St Petersburg 2 (Plate 173)Name: *W3-s3-irk-n*

Title: Prophet of Amunresonther

Dim: L. 80 cm x H. 23.5 cm

Prov: Thebes, Medinet Habu

Biblio: Berlev, et al, 1998: 143, pl. 161; Evgenova, 1957: 10, pl. 2; Niwiński, 1989a: (Leningrad 5); Wreszinski, 1897 – 1913: 30, No. 43

Date: 22st Dynasty, reign of Osorkon I – his grandfather

Colours: Ochre and black

Affiliation: Workshop 7

34.3. Acc. No.: St Petersburg 3 (Plate 139)Name: *nh-hn-Mwt*

Title: God's Father of Amun

Dim: L. 84 cm x H. 24.5 cm

Prov: Thebes, Prince Bagration Collection till 1858

Biblio: Berlev, et al, 1998: 144, pls. 159 – 160; Evgenova, 1957: 10; Niwiński, 1989a: (Leningrad 6)

Date: 22st Dynasty

Colours:

Affiliation: Workshop 6

34.4. Acc. No.: St Petersburg 4 (Plate 76)Name: *dd-Mwt-iwf-nh*

Title: God's Father of Mut, God's Father of Amunresonther

Dim: L. 1.12 m

Prov: Thebes, bought from gravediggers in 1834 – 1835. In the A. S. Norov collection till 1850

Biblio: Berlev, et al, 1998: 144, pls. 162 – 163; Evgenova, 1957: 13; Niwiński, 1989a: (Leningrad 7)

Date: 22st Dynasty

Colours: Black

Affiliation: Workshop 3

SYDNEY**35. Nicholson Museum****35.1. Acc. No.: R93 (Plate 176)**

Name: Unknown

Title: Unknown

Dim: L. 0.60 m x H. 24 cm

Prov: Probably Thebes. Original collection of Sir Charles Nicholson, presented in 1860

Biblio: Trendall, 1967: 529, Fig. 10

Date: 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black

Affiliation: Workshop 7

- 35.2. Acc. No.: R402** (Plate 29, Fig. 68a)
 Name: *Mwt-im-ḥb*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Sistrum-Player of Amun-Re
 Dim: L. 0.54 m x H. 24.5 cm
 Prov: Probably Thebes. Original collection of Sir Charles Nicholson, presented in 1860
 Biblio: Bonami, 1858: 62; Reeves, 1870: 39; Sowada & Ockinga, 2003 (in press)
 Date: 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black
 Affiliation: Workshop 1

TURIN

36. Museo Egizio

- 36.1. Acc. No.: ME. 1769** (Fig. 87)
 Name: *M^c-šiw-rdy-skb*
 Title: Mistress of the House, musician-priestess of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.74 m x H. 16.5 cm
 Prov: From the Collection Drovetti
 Biblio: Fabretti, Rossi & Lanzone, 1882: 207; Lanzone, 1882: pls. LXXI – LXXII; Niwiński, 1989a: (Turin 2)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Red, white, black, blue, green, pink and yellow
 Affiliation: Workshop 4
- 36.2. Acc. No.: ME. 1770** (Fig. 102b)
 Name: *P3t-m-rw-rd-iw*
 Title: Priest of Amun, King of the Gods
 Dim: L. 0.97 m x H. 25 cm
 Prov: Collection of Drovetti
 Biblio: Fabretti, Rossi & Lanzone, 1882: 229; Niwiński, 1989a: 201 – 202, Figs. 75 – 76 (Turin 3)
 Date: Middle or late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black outline
 Affiliation: Workshop 5
- 36.3. Acc. No.: ME. 1781** (Plate 127, Figs. 111c, 112)
 Name: *ḏhwty-ms*
 Title: Priest of Amun-Re, Scribe Who Reckons the Grain of the Domain of Amun
 Dim: L. 1.02 m x H. 24 cm
 Prov: Collection of Drovetti
 Biblio: Fabretti, Rossi & Lanzone, 1882: 214; Lanzone, 1882: pls. CCLV – CCLVI; Niwiński, 1989a: (Turin 10); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 169 – 170 (Pap 21); Rossi, 1878: 1204 – 1224; Schott, 1938: 88 – 93, pl. VI
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 5

VIENNA**37. Kunsthistorisches Museum****37.1. Acc. No.: ÄOS Inv. No. 3859 (Plate 19, Figs. 18b, 24b, 37d, 62b)**Name: *Hnsw-ms*

Title: Chief Archivist of the Treasury of the Amun Temple

Dim: L 4.10 m, H. 15.5 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Demel, 1944: 1 – 16; Hornung, 1979: 232, Fig. 29; Meulenaere, 1978: 226-229; Niwiński, 1989a: (Vienna 1); Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 143 – 149 (Pap. 16 – 17); Seeber, 1976: 211; Silverman, 1997: 17, 121; <http://www.khm.at/system2E.html?/staticE/page18.html>

Date: Middle 21st Dynasty, c. 1000 B. C.

Colours: Green, red, yellow, black, and grey.

Affiliation: Workshop 1

37.2. Acc. No.: ÄOS Inv. No. 3860 (Plate 132, Fig. 43a)Name: *P3-y-nfr*

Title: Priest of Amun, Scribe of the Silver house of the Temple of Amun, and Chief of the Gold Houses of Amun.

Dim: L. 2.547 m x H. 23 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Heerma van Voss, 1977: 88; Muller, Wessel & von Beckerath, 1961: 130, No. 212; Niwiński, 1989a: (Vienna 2); Satzinger, 1984: 33 (Pap.14); Seeber, 1976: 204; Seipel, 1993: 298

Date: 21st Dynasty

Colours: Black

Affiliation: Workshop 6

WARSAW**38. Warsaw National Museum (Museum Narodowe)****38.1. Acc. No.: MN. 199 628 (Plate 114, Fig. 99)**Name: *T3-hm-n-Mwt*

Title: Mistress of the House, Musician-Priestess of Amun

Dim: L. 1.26 m x H. 23 cm

Prov: From the collection Minutoli; purchased in Egypt about 1823; sold at auction in Cologne in 1875.

Biblio: Andrzejewski, 1959: passim; Catalogue Minutoli, 1875; Hornung, 1979: 227, Fig. 19; Mariette, 1871 – 1876: pls.19 – 21 (Pap. 23); Maspero, 1895: 197; Niwiński, 1989a: 169, 170, Figs. 55, 56 (Warsaw); Schäfer, 1935: Fig. 17; Sethe, 1928: 12

Date: Late 21st Dynasty

Colours: White, black, green, red, yellow, and pink

Affiliation: Workshop 4

ZAGREB**39. Musee Archéologique**

- 39.1. Acc. No.: 883** (Plate 92, Fig. 85)
 Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 1.495 m x H. 43.5 cm
 Prov: Collection Baron von Koller, collected in Egypt between 1815 – 1826
 Biblio: Monnet Saleh, 1970: 165; Niwiński, 1989a: (Zagreb 1)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red ink
 Affiliation: Workshop 3
- 39.2. Acc. No.: 884** (Plate 153)
 Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: L. 0.54 m x H. 19.5 cm
 Prov: Collection Baron von Koller, collected in Egypt between 1815-1826
 Biblio: Monnet Saleh, 1970: 165; Niwiński, 1989a: (Zagreb 2)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty or early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 6
- 39.3. Acc. No.: 887** (Plate 68)
 Name: *I-dd-tw-hnsw*
 Title: Priest
 Dim: L. 0.93 m x H. 25 cm
 Prov: Collection Baron von Koller.
 Biblio: Monnet Saleh, 1970: 168; Niwiński, 1989a: (Zagreb 4)
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty or early 22nd Dynasty
 Colours: Black and red
 Affiliation: Workshop 3

10. 2. The Stelae Catalogue

ATHENS

1. National Archaeological Museum of Athens

- 1.1. **Acc. No.:** 197 (Plate 256)
 Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: H. 21 cm x W. 19 cm
 Prov: The Rostovitz Collection, donated to the National Archaeological Museum in 1904
 Biblio: Portner, 1908: 11, No. 35, Tafel XI
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood, painted
 Colours:
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8
- 1.2. **Acc. No.:** 198 (Plate 257, Fig. 27b)
 Name: Anonymous
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: H. 30 cm x W. 20 cm
 Prov: The Rostovitz Collection, donated to the National Archaeological Museum in 1904
 Biblio: Chrysikopoulos, 2001: 271 – 287; National Archaeological Museum, 1995; Portner, 1908: 11, No. 32, Tafel X
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood, painted
 Colours: Black, colours have fallen off
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8
- 1.3. **Acc. No.:** 199 (Plate 198)
 Name: Unknown
 Title: Chantress of Amun
 Dim: H. 30 cm x W. 25 cm
 Prov: The Rostovitz Collection, donated to the National Archaeological Museum in 1904
 Biblio: Chrysikopoulos, 2001: 271-287; National Archaeological Museum, 1995; Portner, 1908: 11, No. 31, Tafel X
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood, painted
 Colours: Blue, red, black and yellow
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2
- 1.4. **Acc. No.:** 200 (Plate 231)
 Name: *H3-ny*
 Title: Chantress of Amun
 Dim: H. 22 cm x W. 20.5 cm
 Prov: The Rostovitz Collection, donated to the National Archaeological Museum in 1904

Biblio: National Archaeological Museum, 1995; Portner, 1908: 11, No. 33, Tafel XI

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Wood, painted

Colours: Inscription in black

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 5

1.5. Acc. No.: Inv. No. 201 (Plate 241)

Name:

Title: Unknown

Dim: H. 22 cm x W. 21.5 cm

Prov: The Rostovitz Collection, donated to the National Archaeological Museum in 1904

Biblio: Portner, 1908: 11, No. 34, Tafel XI

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Wood, painted

Colours: Red, green, blue and black. Inscription in black

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

BASEL

2. Antikenmuseum Basel

2.1. Acc. No.: BSAe 933 (Plate 192)

Name: *Km3-wdt*

Title: Chantress of Osiris

Dim: H. 27.5 cm x W. 21.5 cm x D. 3 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Wiese, 2001: No. 104a

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Limestone – carved relief

Colours: None

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1

BERLIN

3. Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung

3.1. Acc. No.: Berlin 10258 (Plate 263)

Name: *P-di-hnsw*

Title: Overseer of the Estate

Dim:

Prov: Thebes

Biblio: Schoske, 1990: 72, No. 25; <http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>, No. 10

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Wood and painted gesso

Colours: Blue, brown, red, white, yellow, green, black. Inscription in black on white

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

- 3.2. Acc. No.: Berlin 24038** (Plate 226)
 Name: *Hr* and his wife, *Mwt-h^c-it*
 Title: Craftsman, and Chantress of Amun
 Dim: H. 26 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Priese, 1991: 166 – 167, No. 99
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Limestone, carved relief
 Colours: None
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 4

BOLOGNA

4. Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna

- 4.1. Acc. No.: KS 1953** (Plate 227, Fig. 49b)
 Name: *Mwt-h3t*
 Title: Overseer of the Estate
 Dim: H. 21 cm x W. 15 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Bresciani, 1985: 80 – 81, No. 29, Tav. 42; Curto, 1961: 80, No. 46, Tav 26; Kminek-Szedlo, 1895: 218 – 373, No. 1953; Museo Archeologico di Bologna, 1990: 154, No. 102
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Black, ochre, white, green
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 4

BOSTON

5. Museum of Fine Arts

- 5.1. Acc. No.: MFA 12.590** (Plate 214, Fig. 13d)
 Name: *dd-in(i)-hrt*
 Title: *w^cb*-Priest of Amun
 Dim: H. 24.5 cm x W. 20.6 cm
 Prov: Unknown, from the estate of Henry Williamson Haynes, gift of Sarah Blanchard, 1912
 Biblio: D'Auria, et al, 1988: 165, No. 119;
<http://www.mfa.org/artemis/fullrecord.asp?oid=142011&did=200>
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, red, blue, black. Inscription in dark brown/black on white
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3
- 5.2. Acc. No.: MFA 04.1763** (Plate 213)
 Name: *Ns-hnsw-p3-hrd*
 Title: Mistress of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim:
 Prov: Sheik abd el-Qurna
 Biblio: D'Auria, et al, 1988: 165, No. 118

Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, red, blue, black.
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3

BRISTOL

6. Bristol Museum

- 6.1. **Acc. No.:** H. 4586 (Fig. 150)
 Name: *Hr*
 Title: Great Prophet of Amun at Opet, the One True, the Amenuensis of the House of Amun, *Hr*
 Dim:
 Prov: Ramesseum area, Quibell and Petrie excavations in the Ramesseum, 1896 – 7
 Biblio: Porter & Moss, 1964: 680, 21c; Quibell, 1898: 17, pl. XX, No. 6
 Date: 22nd Dynasty – Osorkon 1
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Unknown
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 6

BROOKLYN

7. Brooklyn Museum of Art

- 7.1. **Acc. No.:** 37.1385E (Plate 258)
 Name: *Tnt-sbk*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim: H. 25 cm x W. 21 cm
 Prov: Thebes. Purchased from the NYHS in September, 1948. Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund
 Biblio: NYHS Catalogue, 1873: No. 95; NYHS Catalogue, 1915: No. 96; Porter & Moss, 1964: 799.
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Green, red, black and white. Inscription in black on yellow with green dividing lines
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8
- 7.2. **Acc. No.:** 37.1386E (Plate 208)
 Name: *Ns-y-ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd*
 Title: Unknown (writing effaced)
 Dim: H. 24.8 cm x 21.6 W. cm x D. 3 cm
 Prov: Thebes
 Biblio: NYHS Catalogue, 1873: 11, No. 84; NYHS Catalogue, 1915: 7, No. 95; Emily Lowe Gallery, 1975: 15
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Green, red, black and white
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2

- 7.3. **Acc. No.:** 08.480.201 (Plate 264, Fig. 160)
Name: *Tk-hnmt*
Title: Lady of the House
Dim: H. 27.3 cm x W. 23.9 cm x D. 2 cm
Prov: Unknown. The De Potter Collection, C. 6
Biblio: Ranke, 1952: 366, No. 26
Date: 22nd Dynasty
Material: Wood and painted gesso.
Colours: Red, brown, white, black and blue. Hieroglyphs in black on brown separated by blue lines
Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

BRUSSELS

8. Royal Museums of Art and History

- 8.1. **Acc. No.:** E. 6283 (Plate 195)
Name: *Hnsw-rnp*
Title: *w^cb*-Priest of Amun
Dim: H. 42 cm x W. 39 cm
Prov: Karnak
Biblio: De Putter & Karlshausen, 1992: 90, 174; Lefebvre & Van Rinsveld, 1990: 144; Limme, 1979: 36 – 37; Van Rinsveld, 1993: 263 – 268;
<http://www.oudegracht4.nl/treasures/treasures.asp?lan=E>
Date: 22nd Dynasty
Material: Stone, incised low relief
Colours: None
Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1

CAIRO

9. Egyptian Museum

- 9.1. **Acc. No.:** JE 29118 – A. 9912 (Plate 188, Fig. 138c)
Name: *Hnsw-rnp*
Title: *w^cb*-Priest of Amun
Dim: H. 26 cm x W. 17.8 cm
Prov: Deir el-Bahari, 1891
Biblio: Zayed, 1968: 153, pl. 8b
Date: 22nd Dynasty
Material: Wood and painted gesso
Colours: White, red, green and black
Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1
- 9.2. **Acc. No.:** JE 29308 – A. 9918 (Plate 185, Figs. 139a, 140)
Name: *G3t-sšn* – owner of pSRVII 936 & pSRVII 10265
Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun, Chief of the Harim of Monthu
Dim: H. 43 cm x W. 33 cm
Prov: Deir el-Bahari 1891 (Daressy # A. 152)
Biblio: Porter & Moss, 1964: 640; Zayed, 1968: 152, pl. 8a
Date: 21st Dynasty, daughter of Menkheppere

Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, red, green and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1

9.3. Acc. No.: JE 29310 – A. 9443 (Plate 186)

Name: *Tnt-di-Mwt*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim: H. 30.8 cm x W. 25.5 cm
 Prov: Priests' Cache, Deir el-Bahari
 Biblio: Zayed, 1968: 154 – 156, pl. 9
 Date: 21st Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours:
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1

9.4. Acc. No.: JE 29312 – A. 9410 (Plate 187, Fig. 138a)

Name: *T3-wi*
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun
 Dim: H. 28.5 cm x W. 17.5 cm
 Prov: Deir el-Bahari
 Biblio: Abdalla, 1988: 5 – 6, Figs. 2 – 3
 Date: 21st Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, red, green and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1

9.5. Acc. No.: 1.12.15.2 (Plate 209)

Name: *dd-Mwt-iws-ḥ*
 Title: Chantress of Amun
 Dim: H. 26 cm x W. 20 cm
 Prov: Deir el-Bahari, 1907
 Biblio: Porter & Moss, 1964: 776; Zayed, 1968: 159 – 160, pl. 12a
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, red, green and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2

9.6. Acc. No.: RT 20.12.24.13 (Plate 189)

Name: *T3-nfr* – owner of pSRIV 952 and pSRVII 10244
 Title: Second Priest of Amun, Second Priest of Month
 Dim: H. 28.5 cm x W. 22 cm
 Prov: Deir el-Bahari, 1907 (Daressy # A. 151)
 Biblio: Daressy, 1900: 141 – 148; Daressy, 1907: 17; Maspero, 1915: 274 – 81;
 Porter & Moss, 1964: 641; Zayed, 1968: 160 – 161, pl. 12b
 Date: 21st Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, red, green and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1

9.7. Acc. No.: RT 25.12.24.20 (Plate 200, Figs. 30c, 55a, 146a)

Name: *dd-Imn-iw-ḥ*

Title: Lady of the House
 Dim: H. 27.6 cm x W. 23 cm x D. 2.7 cm
 Prov: Deir el-Bahari, Thebes
 Biblio: Munro, 1973: 7; Porter & Moss, 1964: 653, 2s; Saleh & Sourizian, 1987: No. 243; Schulz & Seidel, 1997: 489, No. 120;
<http://www.egyptianmuseum.gov.eg/details.asp?which2=657>
<http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>, No. 3
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Blue, red, green, white, brown and black. Inscription in black on white
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2

9.8. **Acc. No.:** 27.1.25.13 (Plate 242)

Name: *P3-di-Tmn*
 Title: Scribe
 Dim:
 Prov: Thebes
 Biblio: Piehl, 1886: lx (a); Porter & Moss, 1964: 648;
<http://www.bergerfoundation.ch/wat1/picture?ref=8119-3182-3852.60&babel=eng&type=medium>
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, blue, green, red and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

9.9. **Acc. No.:** A. 9406 (Plate 259)

Name: *Hr-d3*
 Title: Chief of the Musicians of Amun
 Dim: H. 30.4 cm x W. 22 cm
 Prov: Sheik 'Abd el-Qurna, intrusive burials, Theban Tomb 376, Fakhry excavations in 1943
 Biblio: Blume, 1994: pl. vi; Fakhry, 1943: 411 – 412, pl. XXVII, Fig. 66; Hickmann, 1954: 359, Fig. 53; Hickmann, 1956: 269, pl. IXVI (A) Fig. 7; Munro, 1973: Tafel 1, Abb. 3; Porter & Moss, 1964: 677; Schott, 1934 – 40, v. 68, pl. ii (6); <http://www.bergerfoundation.ch/wat1/picture?ref=8119-3182-3852.59&babel=eng&type=medium>
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, red, brown, red, green and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

9.10. **Acc. No.:** A. 9449 (Plate 199)

Name: *Ns-hnsw*
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim:
 Prov: Thebes
 Biblio: Munro, 1973: Tafel 2, Abb. 6
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours:

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2

CAMBRIDGE

10. Fitzwilliam Museum

10.1. Acc. No.: E. 264.1932 (Plate 243)

Name: *Tnt-ns-Imn*

Title: Chantress of Amun

Dim: H. 24 cm x W. 19 cm

Prov: Thebes

Biblio: British Museum, 1922: 113, No. 44; Munro, 1973: pl. 1; Porter & Moss, 1964: 808; Vassilika, 1995: 44; <http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>, No. 12

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Wood and painted gesso

Colours: Blue, red, green, white brown and black. Inscription in black on brown

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

CLEVELAND

11. Cleveland Museum of Art

11.1. Acc. No.: CMA 1921.1028 (Plate 245)

Name: *dd-3st-iwf-ḥnh*

Title: Doorkeeper of the Temple of Amun

Dim: H. 25.9 cm x W. 25.2 cm x D. 2 cm

Prov: Thebes, the Charles Harkness Endowment Fund

Biblio: Berman, 1999: 260 – 261, No. 185

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Wood and painted gesso

Colours: Blue, red, green, white, and black

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

CHICAGO

12. Field Museum of Natural History

12.1. Acc. No.: FM 31676 (Plate 271)

Name: Four Unnamed People

Title: Unknown

Dim:

Prov: Thebes

Biblio: Allen, 1936: 40, pl. XVIII

Date: Late 22nd Dynasty, or later

Material: Painted limestone

Colours: Black, red

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 9

13. Oriental Institute**13.1. Acc. No.: OIM 1351 (Plate 215, Fig. 30d)**Name: *dd-hnsw-iws-ḥ*

Title: Lady of the House, the Wife and Favourite... Daughter of the Prophet of Amunresonther, Chief of the Mysteries of the Holy Garment of the Gods

Dim: H. 25 cm x W. 22 cm

Prov: Ramesseum area, Quibell and Petrie excavations in the Ramesseum, 1896 – 7. Gift of the Egyptian Research Account, 1896

Biblio: Porter & Moss, 1964: 680, 21d; Quibell, 1898: 17, pl. XX, No. 4;
<http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>, No. 7Date: 22nd Dynasty – Osorkon 1

Material: Wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, red, brown, green, yellow. Inscription in black on yellow/brown

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3

13.2. Acc. No.: OIM 1352 (Plate 244)Name: *Iri-k3-Rḥ*Title: Lady of the House, *Iri-k3-Rḥ*, Daughter of the *Hm-ntr* priest, *Hr-s-3st*

Dim:

Prov: Ramesseum area, Quibell and Petrie excavations in the Ramesseum, 1896 – 7. Gift of the Egyptian Research Account, 1896

Biblio: Porter & Moss, 1964: 680, 21d; Quibell, 1898: 17, pl. XXI, No. 9;
<http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>, No. 9Date: 22nd Dynasty – Osorkon 1

Material: Wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, blue, green, red. Inscription in dark brown on yellow ochre

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

CRACOW**14. Czartoryski Museum****14.1. Acc. No.: XI-646 (Plate 246)**Name: *If-ḥ*

Title: Overseer of the Estate of Amun

Dim: H 23,6 cm x W 25,9 cm

Prov: Egypt, Thebes; bought in Egypt in 1885

Biblio: Porter & Moss, 1964: 806; Moczulska & Iiwa, 1972: 85 – 100, No 33, Szyszkó, 1973: 253 – 363

Date: 22 – 23rd Dynasty

Material: Wood (African mahogany?) and paint

Colours: Blue, red, green, white brown and black

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

DURHAM**15. Oriental Museum, University of Durham****15.1. Acc. No.: N. 1975 (Plate 268)**Name: *Ns-y-wr*

Title: Lady of the House

Dim: H. 30.2 cm x W. 22.1 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Birch, 1880: 316 – 317; <http://artworld.uea.ac.uk/objects/103/details.html>Date: Late 22nd Dynasty

Material: Stone – carved relief

Colours: Red and yellow

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

EDINBURGH**16. Royal Scottish Museum****16.1. Acc. No.: RSM 1911. 261 (Plate 216)**Name: *dd-ḥnh-3st*

Title: Lady of the House

Dim:

Prov: Thebes, Hilton Price Collection

Biblio: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1895: pl. xxxix, p. 56 [205]; Munro, 1973: Tafel 1, Abb. 1; Murray, 1970: pl. xlix [2]; Porter & Moss, 1964: 804; Sotheby, 1911: pl. xx, No. 853; <http://www.akhet.co.uk/stele.htm> (middle right)Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, red, blue, green and black. Inscription in black on light yellow

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3

16.2. Acc. No.: RSM 1956. 147 (Plate 225)Name: *ḥnh-3st*

Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun

Dim:

Prov: Thebes, Rhind Collection

Biblio: Porter & Moss, 1964: 804; <http://www.akhet.co.uk/stele.htm> (middle left)Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, yellow, green, red, black and blue. Inscription in black on yellow

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3

FLORENCE**17. Museo Archeologico di Firenze****17.1. Acc. No.: 2475 (Plate 272)**Name: *ḥnh-Mwt-nfrt*

Title: Lady of the House
 Dim: H. 28.5 cm x W. 14.8 cm
 Prov: Unknown, collection Ricci 1832
 Biblio: Bosticco, 1972: 20, No. 9, Fig. 9; www.globalegyptianmuseum.com
 Date: Late 22nd Dynasty, or later
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, yellow, red, green-blue and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 9

17.2. Acc. No.: 2477 (Plate 260, Fig. 158)

Name: *Sb3*
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim: H. 26 cm x W. 21.5 cm
 Prov: Unknown, Rosellini (1828 – 29)
 Biblio: Bosticco, 1972: 17 – 18, No. 6, Fig. 6
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, yellow, red, green, blue and black. Inscription in black on yellow
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

17.3. Acc. No.: 2478 (Plate 232)

Name: *T3-h3-rw-n-Mwt*
 Title: Lady of the House, Daughter of the Scribe of the Pharaoh, *Hr*
 Dim: H. 29.5 cm x W. 19.5 cm
 Prov: Thebes, Collection Ricci
 Biblio: Bosticco, 1972: 17, No. 5, Fig. 5
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Green, yellow, blue, red, black and grey. Inscription in black on yellow
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 5

17.4. Acc. No.: 2479 (Plate 273)

Name: *N-Mwt-3s-b3k*
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim: H. 29 cm x W. 19 cm
 Prov: Thebes, Collection Ricci
 Biblio: Bosticco, 1972: 20, No. 10, Fig. 10
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Green, yellow, blue, red, black and grey. Inscription in black on yellow
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 9

17.5. Acc. No.: 2480 (Plate 265, Fig. 47a)

Name: *dd-Imn-iw-eh*
 Title: Son of *Rm3(?)*
 Dim: H. 19.5 cm x W. 15 cm
 Prov: Thebes, Collection Rosellini (1828 – 29)
 Biblio: Bosticco, 1972: 18 – 19, No. 7, Fig. 7

Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Blue, red, yellow, black, and green. Inscription in black on yellow
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

17.6. Acc. No.: 2485 (Plate 274, Fig. 161)

Name: *ḏd-Mwt-is-ḥ*
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim: H. 32.5 cm x W. 26 cm
 Prov: Unknown, Rosellini (1828 – 29)
 Biblio: Bosticco, 1972: 19, No. 8, Fig. 8
 Date: Late 22nd Dynasty, or later
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Blue, red, yellow, black, and green
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 9

LAUSANNE

18. Liebigabe Musée Cantonal d'Archeologie

18.1. Acc. No.: Eg/485 (Plate 193)

Name: Anonymous
 Title: Lady of the House, Chantress of Osiris
 Dim: H. 29 cm x W. 24 cm x D. 4.5 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Wiese, 2001: No. 104b
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Painted limestone
 Colours: Yellow, red and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1

LEIDEN

19. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden

19.1. Acc. No.: AH 28 (Plate 238)

Name: *Nḥt-f-Mwt*
 Title: God's Father
 Dim: H. 23.5 cm x W. 21 cm x D. 2.5 cm
 Prov: Thebes
 Biblio: Raven & Schneider, 1981: 120, No. 12, Van Wijngaarden, 1932: 12, No. 16, pl. V
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, red, green and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 6

19.2. Acc. No.: Temp. No. EG – ZM2 42 (Plate 217)

Name: *P3-m3^c-ft*
 Title: Priest of Amun
 Dim: H. 28 cm x W. 23.5 cm
 Prov: Unknown, Thebes?

Biblio: Van Wijngaarden, 1932: 12 – 13, No. 17, pl. V
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Blue, black, white, red, and brown
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3

LINKÖPING

20. Linköping Museum

20.1. Acc. No.: Linköping (Plate 261)

Name: *Hnsw-ms*
 Title: King's Acquaintance,
 Dim: H. 28 cm x W. 23.5 cm
 Prov: Thebes (?)
 Biblio: Björkman, 1971: 48 – 49, No. 3, pl. 15
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, yellow, blue, red-brown, red, green and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

LIVERPOOL

21. Liverpool Museum

21.1. Acc. No.: Liverpool M. 11066 (Plate 266)

Name: Unknown (name effaced)
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: H. 24.8 x W. 18.2 cm
 Prov: Unknown, from the Mayer Collection, given to the museum in 1867
 Biblio: www.globalegyptianmuseum.com
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, red, blue, yellow and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

21.2. Acc. No.: Liverpool M. 13989 (Plate 275)

Name: *H3t*
 Title: Unknown (text effaced)
 Dim: H. 27.5 x W. 24 cm x D. 2 cm
 Prov: Unknown, from the Mayer Collection, given to the museum in 1867
 Biblio: Gatty, 1879: 36, No. 183; www.globalegyptianmuseum.com
 Date: Late 22nd Dynasty, or later
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Green, red, black and yellow
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 9

21.3. Acc. No.: Liverpool 1973. 4.235 (Plate 218)

Name: Unknown (name effaced)
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: H. 21 cm x W. 19 cm x D. 2.5 cm

Prov: Unknown, gift of the Trustees of the Wellcome Foundation for the History of Medicine, 1973

Biblio: www.globalegyptianmuseum.com

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, red, green, yellow and black

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3

21.4. Acc. No.: Liverpool 24.11.81.7 (Plate 206)

Name: *Nt-nbw*

Title: Lady of the House

Dim: H. 30 cm x W. 26 cm x D. 1.8 cm

Prov: Luxor, Thebes. Presented to the museum in 1881 by the Earl of Denbigh

Biblio: Bienkowski & Tooley, 1995: 83, No. 134;

www.globalegyptianmuseum.com

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Wood and painted gesso

Colours: Blue, black, green, brown, white, pink and yellow

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2

LOCATION UNKNOWN

22.1. Acc. No.: No. 12 (Fig. 148)

Name: *T3-di-3st-irt*

Title: Lady of the House

Dim: Unknown

Prov: Ramesseum area, Quibell and Petrie excavations in the Ramesseum, 1896 – 1897

Biblio: Porter & Moss, 1964: 680, 21e; Quibell, 1898: 17, pl. xxi, No. 12

Date: 22nd Dynasty – Osorkon 1

Material: Wood and painted gesso

Colours: Red, yellow, blue, green and white

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 5

22.2. Acc. No.: No. 14 (Figs. 52b, 156)

Name: Anonymous

Title: Daughter of *ḥnh-hsw*, the Prophet of Amun-Ra

Dim: Unknown

Prov: Ramesseum area, Quibell and Petrie excavations in the Ramesseum, 1896 – 1897

Biblio: Porter & Moss, 1964: 680, 21e; Quibell, 1898: 17, pl. xxi, No. 14

Date: 22nd Dynasty – Osorkon 1

Material: Wood and painted gesso

Colours: Red, blue, green and white

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

22.3. Acc. No.: Hilton-Price (Fig. 153)

Name: Anonymous

Title: Unknown

Dim: Unknown

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Price, Hilton, 1897 – 1908: 214, No. 2017
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Unknown
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

LONDON

23. The British Museum

23.1. Acc. No.: EA 642 (Plate 196, Fig. 137)

Name: *P3-sb3-ḥn-n-nwt*

Title: Priest

Dim: H. 94 cm x W. 61 cm x D. 19 cm

Prov: Abydos, Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund (1900)

Biblio: Quirke, 1992: 99;

<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe?IXDB=compass&IXSR=z4&IXSS=IXFPFX%3dgraphical%252ffull%252f%26IXsearchterm%3dstelae%26%257bUPPER%257d%253av2free%20text%20index%3dstelae%26IXDB%3dcompass%26IXNOMATCHES%3dgraphical%252fno%20matches%252html%26%2524%2b%2528with%2bv2searchable%20index%2529%2bsort%3d%252e&IXFIRST=27&IXMAXHITS=1&IXSPFX=graphical/full/&IXsearchterm=stelae&submit-button=summary>

Date: 21st Dynasty, son of Menkheppere

Material: Limestone, incised relief

Colours: None

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1

23.2. Acc. No.: BM 1224 (Plate 197, Fig. 138b)

Name: *ḥw3-r-m(r)-ti* and *Ḥpsi-dnt*

Title: High Priest of Amun and Chief of All the Forces of Egypt, and his sister

Dim: H. 57 cm x W. 45 cm

Prov: Thebes

Biblio: British Museum, 1909: 215, pl. XXVIII, No. 777

Date: Late 22nd Dynasty, son of Osorken II or III

Material: Limestone, incised relief

Colours: None

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1

23.3. Acc. No.: BM 8447 (Plate 219, Fig. 46)

Name: *T3y-iw-ḥri*

Title: Chantress of Amun, Wife of the Overseer of Singers, *Ns-mwt*

Dim: H. 25.5 cm x W. 19 cm

Prov: Not recorded, maybe Thebes

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 12 – 13, pls. 10 – 11(1); British Museum, 1843: pl. 22; British Museum, 1904: 83, No. 136; Munro, 1973: pl. 1; Porter & Moss, 1964: 808

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, blue, yellow, red, green, brown and black. Inscription in black on brown

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3

23.4. Acc. No.: BM 8448 (Plate 233)

Name: Anonymous

Title: Not recorded

Dim: H. 26 cm x W. 23.3 cm

Prov: Unknown

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 13, pls. 12 – 13 (1); British Museum, 1904: 83, No. 131;
British Museum, 1922: 115, No. 55

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, blue, yellow, black, red, pink, brown and green. Inscription
in black on yellow

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 5

23.5. Acc. No.: BM 8449 (Plate 262)

Name: *Hr-(h)b*

Title: *w^cb*-Priest of Amun

Dim: H. 28 cm x W. 27 cm

Prov: Not recorded

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 14, pls. 14 – 15 (2)

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: Blue, yellow, black, red and green

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

23.6. Acc. No.: BM 8450 (Plate 201)

Name: *Ns-tr-n-m3^ct*

Title: Lady of the House, Chief Chantress of Month, and Daughter of the
Overseer of Works of the Estate of Amun, *nh-p3-hrd* and *T3-s-pt*

Dim: H. 27.3 cm x W. 24.5 cm

Prov: Thebes

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 15, pls. 16 – 17 (1); British Museum, 1904: 83, No. 135;
British Museum, 1922: 107, No. 3

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, blue, brown, red, green, pink, grey. Inscription in black on
brown

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2

23.7. Acc. No.: BM 8451 (Plate 247)

Name: *H^cy*

Title: *w^cb*-Priest of Amun

Dim: H. 34.3 cm x W. 23.7 cm

Prov: Not recorded

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 12, pls. 9 – 10 (2); British Museum, 1904: 82, No. 124;
British Museum, 1922: 112, No. 33

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, green, brown, black, red, pink and blue. Inscription in black
on white

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

23.8. Acc. No.: BM 8484 (Plate 190, Fig. 54)

Name: *P3-di-Imn*

Title: Prophet of Amunresonther, Overseer of the Craftsmen of the Estate of Amun

Dim: H. 28 cm x W. 19.3 cm x D. 6.5 cm

Prov: Not recorded, probably Thebes

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 9 – 10, pls. 2 – 3 (2); British Museum, 1904: 75, No. 84; British Museum, 1922: 102 – 103, No. 114

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Cedar wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, blue, red, black, grey, green. Inscription in black on grey

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1

23.9 Acc. No.: BM 22916 (Plate 202)

Name: *Nhm-s-B3stt*

Title: Overseer of the Chamber of the Estate of Amun, Son of *P3-diw-hnsw*

Dim: H. 25 cm x W. 21 cm

Prov: Thebes, acquired 1890 (Sabatier Collection)

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 16, pl. 19, No. 2; British Museum, 1904: 74, No. 81; British Museum, 1922: 113, No. 43; Legrain, 1893: 61, No. 90

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Ficus sycomorus

Colours: White, red, black, green, blue, brown, yellow, pink. Inscription in black on a brown-yellow ground between blue lines

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2

23.10. Acc. No.: BM 22917 (Plate 248)

Name: *Ns-Mwt*

Title: Daughter of *Ns-hwt-hr*

Dim: H. 17.1 cm x W. 14 cm

Prov: Not recorded. Sabatier collection, 1891

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 10, pls. 2 – 3 (3); British Museum, 1904: 74, No. 79; British Museum, 1922: 44, No. 49; Legrain, 1893: 67, No. 91

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: Yellow, white, red, blue, grey, black, green. Inscription in black on grey

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

23.11. Acc. No.: BM 25262 (Plate 203)

Name: *Tnt-šri-n-iʿnh*

Title: Priestess

Dim: H. 30.5 cm x W. 23.1 cm

Prov: Not recorded, acquired in 1894

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 14, pls. 14 – 15 (1); British Museum, 1904: 75, No. 131; British Museum, 1922: 113, No. 45

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, black, red, blue, green, and brown. Inscription in blue on brown
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2

23.12. Acc. No.: BM 27332 (Plate 204, Fig. 13e)

Name: *dni-n-Hnsw*

Title: Wife of *ḥnh-hnsw*, Lady of the House and Musician of Amun

Dim: H. 33 cm x W. 27 cm

Prov: Not recorded

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 15, pls. 18 – 19 (1); British Museum, 1904: 82, No. 122; British Museum, 1922: 112, No. 35; James, 1985: 67, Fig. 80; Quirke, 1992: 59, pl. 41; Robins, 1997: 204, Fig. 245;

<http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>, No. 4;

<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB = compass& IXSR = of4& IXSS = IXFPFX %3dgraphical%252ffull%252f%26 IXsearchterm%3dstelae%26%257bUPPER%257d%253av2 free text tindex%3dstelae%26 IXDB %3dcompass%26 IXNOMATCHES %3dgraphical%252fno matches%252html%26 IXspage%3dsearch%26%2524%2b%2528with%2bv2 searchable index%2529%2bsort%3d%252e& IXFIRST =28& IXMAXHITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/& IXsearchterm=stelae& IXspage=search&submit-button=summary>

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: Red, black, green, white, brown, and blue. Inscription in black on reddish-brown

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2

23.13. Acc. No.: BM 35622 (Plate 205)

Name: Anonymous

Title: Unknown

Dim: H. 26 cm x W. 23.5 cm

Prov: Not recorded

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 15, pls. 16 – 17 (2)

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, red, black, blue. Inscription effaced

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2

23. 14. Acc. No.: BM 35895 (Plate 249)

Name: Š...

Title: Lady of the House, Wife of the *w^cb*- Priest of Amun, *Nht.f-Mwt*, Son of *Imn-ms*

Dim: H. 25.9 cm x W. 24.8 cm

Prov: Not recorded. Acquired in 1875, presented by W. Franks

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 10, pls. 4 – 5 (1); British Museum, 1904: 83, No. 131; British Museum, 1922: 107, No. 1

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, red, black, yellow, blue, green, pink. Inscription in black on yellow

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

23. 15. Acc. No.: BM 35896 (Plate 234, Fig. 29a)Name: *ḥnḥ-hnsw*Title: Overseer of the Chamber of the Estate of Amun, Son of *P3-di-hnsw*

Dim: H. 27.5 cm x W. 24 cm

Prov: Thebes, acquired 1879

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 12, pl. 8 (1); British Museum, 1904: 83, No. 134; British Museum, 1922: 107, No. 4; Porter & Moss, 1964: 809

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, red, black, green, blue, brown. Inscription in black on an orange-brown ground between blue lines

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 5

23. 16. Acc. No.: BM 37899 (Plate 239, Fig. 55b)Name: *Nḥt-f-Mw t& Šp-n-3st*Title: *it-ntr* priest of Amun, and his daughter, Lady of the House

Dim: H. 27.5 cm x W. 20.7 cm

Prov: Thebes

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 10 – 11, pls. 4 – 5 (1); British Museum, 1904: 74, No. 82; British Museum, 1922, p. 107, No. 2; Porter & Moss, 1964: 808; Quirke, 1992: 10;

[http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB = compass& IXFIRST =1& IXMAXHITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/&\\$\\$+with+all+unique+id+index+is+\\$\\$=OBJ5004&submit-button=summary](http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB = compass& IXFIRST =1& IXMAXHITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/&$$+with+all+unique+id+index+is+$$=OBJ5004&submit-button=summary)Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, blue, reddish-brown, yellow and black. Inscription in black on yellow

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 6

23. 17. Acc. No.: BM 42078 (Plate 228, Fig. 48a)Name: *P3-di-Imn(m)-ipt*Title: *mry-ntr* priest, and Door-Opener of the Sky in Karnak, Son of the *it-ntr* priest of Amun, *Wnn-nfr*

Dim: H. 30.7 cm x W. 27 cm

Prov: Not recorded

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 13 – 14, pls. 12 – 13 (2)

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, blue, green, black, red, brown and pink. Inscription in black on white

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 4

23. 18. Acc. No.: BM EA 65354 (recto & verso) (Plates 267a – b, Fig. 159)Name: *T(n)t-di-š3-ḥt*

Title: Lady of the House

Dim: H. 21 cm x W. 17.5 cm

Prov: Qurnah, Thebes. Bequeathed by Sir Robert Mond in 1939

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 16 – 17, pls. 20 – 21;

<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB =>

[compass& IXFIRST =1& IXMAXHITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/&\\$+with+all unique id index+is+\\$=OBJ5006&submit-button=summary](#)

Date: 22nd Dynasty – 25th Dynasty

Material: Wood

Colours: Yellow, red, blue, and black. Inscription in black on yellow

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

23. 19. Acc. No.: BM 66421 (Plate 220, Fig. 5a)

Name: *Hr-s3-3st*

Title: Prophet of Amunresonther, Son of the Prophet of Amunresonther and Secretary of Upper Egypt, *Nb-ntr-w*

Dim: H. 33 cm x W. 24.3 cm

Prov: Not recorded

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 11, pls. 6 – 7 (2); Fazzini, 1988: 27, pl. XLV, No. 3; Teeter, 1997: pl. 5

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, blue, pink, brown, black, red and green. Inscription in black on brown

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3

23. 20. Acc. No.: BM 66424 (Plate 250)

Name: *Hr-hbi*

Title: Prophet of Amun, Son of the Prophet of Amun, and Secretary of the Lord of Two Lands, *Hr*

Dim: H. 29 cm x W. 23.5 cm

Prov: Not recorded. Zouche collection, 1979

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 13, pls. 10 – 11 (2)

Date: 22nd Dynasty (Maybe Osorkon II)

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, blue, red, black, green, pink, brown. Inscription in black on brown

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

23. 21. Acc. No.: BM 66425 (Plate 221)

Name: *Tr*

Title: Doorkeeper, Son of *dd-m3't-iwf-ḥnḥ*, Son of *Tr*

Dim: H. 26 cm x W. 21 cm

Prov: Unknown. Zouche collection, 1979

Biblio: Bierbrier, 1987: 11, pls. 6 – 7 (1)

Date: 22nd Dynasty

Material: Sycamore wood and painted gesso

Colours: White, blue, yellow, green, red, black, brown, and pink. Inscription in black on a buff background

Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3

24. The Petrie Museum

24.1. Acc. No.: Petrie UC 14226 (Plate 191)

Name: *Ns-y-ḥnsw* – owner of pSRVII 11485/11573

Title: Wife of Pinudjem II

Dim: H. 39.5 cm x W. 22 cm
 Prov: The Royal Cache, Deir el-Bahari (1891). Bought by Amelia Edwards
 Biblio: Edwards, 1983: 81; Petrie, 1918: 218, Fig. 88; Stewart, 1983: 3, pl. 47;
http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk/search/detail/results/detail.asp?01_objectidentifier=UC14226
 Date: Late 21st Dynasty, died and was buried in Year 5 of King Siamun
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Green, blue, white, red, black and brown. Inscription in black on white
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1

24.2. Acc. No.: Petrie UC 14695 (Plate 240)

Name: *Thfy*
 Title: Doorkeeper of the Temple of Amun
 Dim: H. 23 cm x W. 18.5 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Stewart, 1983: 5, pl. 7;
http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk/search/detail/results/detail.asp?01_objectidentifier=UC14695
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Red, blue, yellow, white and black. Inscription in black on yellow
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 6

LUXOR

25. Luxor Museum

25.1. Acc. No.: Luxor 1 (Plate 224)

Name: *S3t-hr-hn-im*
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim:
 Prov: Ramesseum area
 Biblio: Nelson, 1986: 27, pl. 1
 Date: 22nd Dynasty, great-granddaughter of Osorkon I
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Red, blue, green, white and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3

MADRID

26. Museo Arqueológico Nacional

26.1. Acc. No.: 3519 (Plates 235a – b)

Name: *T3-šri-t*
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim: H. 42.8 cm x W. 20 cm
 Prov: Unknown, acquired in 1876
 Biblio: Perez-Die, 1996: 100, Fig.6;
<http://www.oudegracht4.nl/treasures/treasures.asp?lan=E>
 Date: 22nd Dynasty, great-granddaughter of Osorkon I

Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Red, green, yellow and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 5

MANCHESTER

27. Manchester Museum

27.1. Acc. No.: 1898

Name: *T3-n-ḥm-sr*
 Title: Favourite and Singer of Amun-Re of the 4th class
 Dim:
 Prov: Ramesseum area, Quibell and Petrie excavations in the Ramesseum, 1896 – 7
 Biblio: Quibell, 1898: 17, pl. xxi, No. 10; Porter & Moss, 1964: 680, 21b
 Date: 22nd Dynasty, Osorkon I
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours:
 Affiliation: Unaffiliated

27.2. Acc. No.: 1899 (Fig. 151)

Name: *Mn*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim:
 Prov: Ramesseum area, Quibell and Petrie excavations in the Ramesseum, 1896-7
 Biblio: Quibell, 1898: 17, pl. xxi, No. 11; Porter & Moss, 1964: 680, 21b
 Date: 22nd Dynasty, Osorkon I
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours:
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 6

27.3. Acc. No.: 1900 (Fig. 149)

Name: *ḏt-B^cstt-iw-ḥnḥ*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim:
 Prov: Ramesseum area, Quibell and Petrie excavations in the Ramesseum, 1896 – 7
 Biblio: Quibell, 1898: 17, pl. xx, No. 5; Porter & Moss, 1964: 680, 21b
 Date: 22nd Dynasty, Osorkon I
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours:
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 5

27.4. Acc. No.: 1901 (Figs. 52a, 147)

Name: *B3k-n-ḥnsw*
 Title: Son of *P3-di-Mwt*
 Dim:
 Prov: Ramesseum area, Quibell and Petrie excavations in the Ramesseum, 1896 – 7
 Biblio: Quibell, 1898: 17, pl. xxi, No. 11; Porter & Moss, 1964: 680, 21b

Date: 22nd Dynasty, Osorkon I
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours:
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3

MUNICH

28. Münchner Öffentlichen Sammlung im Antiquarium

28.1. Acc. No.: Ant. 705

Name: *Hr-hrd*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: H. 28 cm x W. 20 cm
 Prov: Sammlung Mook
 Biblio: Portner, 1904: 46 – 47, pl. XXIII (34)
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, green, blue, red and black
 Affiliation: Unaffiliated

NEW YORK

29. The Metropolitan Museum

29.1. Acc. No.: MMA 22.3.31 (Plate 211, Fig. 144)

Name: Unknown (maybe Siah?)
 Title: *w^cb*-Priest of Amun
 Dim: H. 25.8 cm
 Prov: Reappropriated 11th Dynasty tomb, cemetery 801, at Mentuhotep Temple area in Deir el-Bahari, Rogers Fund 1922
 Biblio: Porter & Moss, 1964: 654, No. 801a
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, green, red, yellow, black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2

29.2. Acc. No.: MMA 22.3.32 (Plate 269)

Name: *Ny-f-n-bw*
 Title: Priest of Amun
 Dim: H. 27.3 cm
 Prov: Reappropriated 11th Dynasty tomb, cemetery 801, at Mentuhotep Temple area in Deir el-Bahari, Rogers Fund 1922
 Biblio: Porter & Moss, 1964: 654, No. 801b
 Date: 22nd Dynasty, son of Siah, owner of MMA 22.3.31
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, green, red, yellow, black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

29.3. Acc. No.: MMA 22.3.33 (Recto & verso) (Plates 210a – b, Figs. 141a, 142)

Name: *Tnt-3st*
 Title: Divine Songstress of Amun

Dim: H. 23.4 cm
 Prov: Reappropriated 11th Dynasty tomb, cemetery 801, at Mentuhotep Temple area in Deir el-Bahari, Rogers Fund 1922
 Biblio: Fazzini, 1997: 27, pl. XLV, No's. 1 – 2; Graefe, 1981: 169; Porter & Moss, 1964: 654, No. 801c; Winlock, 1942: 53 – 54, pl. 89
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, green, red, yellow, black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2

29.4. Acc. No.: MMA 22.3.34 (Plate 236)

Name: *dd-B3stt*
 Title: *w^cb*-Priest of Amun, Scribe of the [House of the] Divine Adoratrice of Amun
 Dim: H. 29.3 cm
 Prov: Reappropriated 11th Dynasty tomb, cemetery 801, at Mentuhotep Temple area in Deir el-Bahari, Rogers Fund 1922
 Biblio: Porter & Moss, 1964: 654, No. 801d
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, green, red, yellow, black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 5

29.5. Acc. No.: MMA 28.3.35 (Plate 229, Fig. 49a)

Name: *fn-Mwt*
 Title: Scribe of the Double Treasury
 Dim: H. 23 cm x W. 18.2 cm
 Prov: Deir el-Bahari, Mentuhotep Temple area, cemetery 832. Found in 1914 - 15 by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition
 Biblio: Breasted, 1936: Fig. 276; Metropolitan Museum, 1983: 103, No. 41; Porter & Moss, 1964: 652; Ranke, 1936: 24, Fig. 26
 Date: 22nd Dynasty, mummy-braces of Osorkon I
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, yellow, green, red, and black. Inscription in black on white
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 4

OXFORD

30. Ashmolean Museum

30.1. Acc. No.: 1917.42 (Plate 222)

Name: *T3-r-iw*
 Title: Mistress of the House
 Dim:
 Prov: Thebes
 Biblio: <http://www.antiquoegipto.com/>
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Red, green, black and white
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3

PARIS**31. Musée du Louvre**

- 31.1. Acc. No.: E. 52 (old no. N. 3663) Recto and Verso** (Plates 207a – b, Figs. 41b, 51a, 143, 145, 146b)
 Name: *T3-prt*
 Title: Mistress of the House
 Dim: H. 31 cm x W. 29 cm x D. 2.6 cm
 Prov: Thebes
 Biblio: Schulz & Seidel, 1997: 432, Fig. 23; Silverman, 1997: 432, Fig. 23;
http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=17861;
<http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>, No 2
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Green, white, blue, red, brown, yellow, black. Inscription in black on red
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2
- 31.2. Acc. No.: N. 3657** (Plate 223, Fig. 29b)
 Name: *dd-hnsw-iws-ḥḥ*
 Title: Priest, Musician
 Dim: H. 29.5 cm x W. 22.4 cm x D. 2 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Andreu, 1997: 173; El Mahdy, 1989: 106, pl. XLV; Ions, 1968: 50; Manniche, 1991: 59, Fig. 33; <http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>, No. 1
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, red, black, green, blue, brown. Inscription in black on brown
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 3
- 31.3. Acc. No.: N. 3662** (Plate 212)
 Name: *Ns-t3-rt*
 Title: Daughter of *ḥnp-p3-ḥrd*
 Dim: H. 25.5 cm x W. 22.4 cm x D. 1.7 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Champollion, 1889: 20; Mysliwiec, 1979: 205, Abb. 5b, No. 34;
<http://www.antiquoegyptio.com/>
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Blue, red, brown, green, white and black. Inscription in black on red
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 2
- 31.4. Acc. No.: N. 3794** (Plate 237)
 Name: *T3-ḥ-ms*
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim: H. 25.1 cm x W. 18.2 cm x D. 2.2 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=17862

Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, green, red, pink, blue, brown, black. Inscription in black on brown
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 5

31.5. Acc. No.: N. 3795 (Plate 251, Fig. 48b)

Name: *P3-diw-3st*
 Title: Scribe of the Temple of Amun
 Dim: H. 20.8 cm x W. 15.7 cm x D. 3.6 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=17864
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, blue, green, red, black, and yellow. Inscription in black on brown
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

31.6. Acc. No.: E. 5789 (Plate 252)

Name: *Rnpt-M3^c*
 Title: God's Father of Amun
 Dim: H. 27.5 cm x W. 17 cm x D. 3.8 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=17863
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, blue, yellow, red, green and black. Inscription in black on yellow-brown
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

PHILADELPHIA

32. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

32.1. Acc. No.: Upenn E. 2043 (Plate 230)

Name: *T3-šri-t*
 Title: Chantress of Amun
 Dim: H. 25 cm
 Prov: Ramesseum area, Quibell and Petrie excavations in the Ramesseum, 1896-7
 Biblio: Capel & Markoe, 1996: 164, No. 87; Quibell, 1898: 17, pl. xx, No. 2; Porter & Moss, 1964: 680, No. 21a
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, green, red, and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 4

32.2. Acc. No.: Upenn E. 2044 (Plate 270, Figs. 52c, 157)

Name: *df-^cnh*
 Title: Divine Father of Amun
 Dim:

Prov: Ramesseum area, Quibell and Petrie excavations in the Ramesseum, 1896 – 7
 Biblio: Quibell, 1898: 17, pl. xxi, No. 7; Porter & Moss, 1964: 680, 21a; Silverman, 1997: 284, pl. 98; <http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>, No. 5
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Blue, yellow, red, black, and green. Inscription in black on yellow
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 8

32.3. Acc. No.: Upenn E. 2045 (Fig. 152)

Name: *3st-irt*
 Title: Lady of the House
 Dim:
 Prov: Ramesseum area, Quibell and Petrie excavations in the Ramesseum, 1896 – 7
 Biblio: Quibell, 1898: 17, pl. xxi, No. 8; Porter & Moss, 1964: 680, 21a
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours:
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 6

TURIN

33. Museo Egizio

33.1. Acc. No.: 1598 (Plate 253, Figs. 27a, 154)

Name: *Ns-y-hnsw-p3-hrd*
 Title: Mistress of the House, the Noblewoman of Amun, Whose Mother is the Opener of the Doors of Heaven (?) of the Temple of Amun
 Dim: H. 29.5 cm x W. 17 cm
 Prov: Unknown
 Biblio: Scamuzzi, 1964: pl. XCII, No. 1598; <http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm> No. 11
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: Green, white, black and pink
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

VIENNA

34. Kunsthistorisches Museum

34.1. Acc. No.: ÄOS 8463 (Plate 194)

Name: *dd-hnsw-htp*
 Title: *w^cb*-Priest of Amun
 Dim: H. 37,3 cm x W. 33,1 cm x D. 7 cm
 Prov: Unknown, Sammlung Kronprinz Rudolf. Taken over in 1955 from the Museum für Völkerkunde IC
 Biblio: Komorzynski, 1955: 71, Anm. 49; <http://www.oudegracht4.nl/treasures/treasures.asp?lan=E>
 Date: 22nd Dynasty, c. 945 – c. 735 B. C. E.

Material: Limestone, carved low-relief
 Colours: None
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 1

ZAGREB

35. Zagreb Archaeological Museum

35.1. Acc. No.: 567 (Plate 254, Fig. 155)

Name: *K-im^c-wn-bw*
 Title: God's Father of Amun
 Dim: H. 23.5 cm x W. 19.5 cm
 Prov: Purchased in 1868 from the Franz Koller collection
 Biblio: Monnet Saleh, 1970: 40, No. 22
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, green, blue, red and black
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

35.2. Acc. No.: 568 (Plate 255, Fig. 47b)

Name: *Nht-mwt*
 Title: Unknown
 Dim: H. 26.3 cm x W. 22.5 cm
 Prov: Purchased in 1868 from the Franz Koller collection
 Biblio: Monnet Saleh, 1970: 39, No. 21
 Date: 22nd Dynasty
 Material: Wood and painted gesso
 Colours: White, red, black and brown
 Affiliation: Stelae Workshop 7

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11.1.1. Electronic Resources

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<http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>

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<http://www.khm.at/system2E.html?/staticE/page18.html>

<http://www.louvre.fr/louvrea.htm>

<http://www.mfa.org>

<http://www.oudegracht4.nl/treasures/treasures.asp?lan=E>

<http://www-oi.uchicago.edu>

<http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk>

<http://www.thebanmappingproject.com>

<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk>

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26. pBerlin P. 3013 (Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 2a – b, Berlin 10)
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136. pAMS 39 (Heerma van Voss, 1982a: 10, pl. 8)
137. pBerlin P. 10466 (www.antiquoegyptology.com)
138. pBM 10029 (Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 5a, London 40)
139. pSt. Petersburg 3 (Berlev, et al, 1998: 144, pls. 159 – 160)
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144. pYale Ct YBR 2754 (Bohlecke, 1997: 115 – 127, Figs. 3 – 11)
145. pSRVII 10258 (Sadek, 1985: 193 – 195, pls. 38 – 39 [C. 27])
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150. pSRIV 546 (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 189 [Pap. 26])
151. pSRVII 10235 (Piankoff & Rambova, 1957: 194 – 200 [Pap. 28])
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- 157. pBM 9984 (Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 40a, London 18)
- 158. pBM 10330 – *Amduat* (Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 5b, London 57)
- 159. pSRIV 631 (Sadek, 1985: 220 – 226, pls. 45 – 47 [C. 32])
- 160. pSRVII 10220 (Sadek, 1985: 183 – 185, pl. 36 [C. 25])
- 161. pSRVII 10243 (Sadek, 1985: 155 – 158, pls. 29 – 30 [C. 18])
- 162. pHieroglyphic 1 (Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 36b – 37a, Manchester 1)
- 163. pBM 10001 (Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 40b, London 23)
- 164. pSRVII 10270 (Niwiński, 1989a: pls. 30a – c, Cairo 99)

Papyri Workshop 7:

- 165. pBM 9974 (Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 4b, London 11)
- 166. pBodmer 103 (Valloggia, 1991: No. 13)
- 167. pSt. Petersburg 1 (Berlev, et al, 1998: 141, pls. 158 – 159)
- 168. pSRIV 530 (Sadek, 1985: 173 – 175, pl. 33 [C. 22])
- 169. pSRIV 1544 (Daressy & Smith, 1906: 157, pl. IX)
- 170. pCMA 1914.732 (Berman, 1999: 376 – 377, No. 285)
- 171. pCMA 1914.725 (Berman, 1999: 375 – 376, No. 284)
- 172. pCortona 394 (Botti, 1964: No. 394, Tav. III)
- 173. pSt. Petersburg 2 (Berlev, et al, 1998: 143, pl. 161)
- 174. pWEM 3 (Quirke & Tait, 1994: 145 – 149, pls. XV, XVI)
- 175. pBallard (Photo Spencer Library)
- 176. pNicholson R93 (Photo Nicholson Museum)
- 177. pLouvre N. 3288 (Description de l' Egypte. Antiquités, 1809 – 1828: pl. 44)
- 178. pLouvre N. 3451 (Cenival, Yoyotte & Ziegler, 1987: 274 – 275)
- 179. pBerlin P. 3123 (Pascal, 1998: 147)
- 180. pBM 9975 (Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 38a, London 12)
- 181. pBM 9980 (Quirke, 1992: 100, Fig. 77)
- 182. pBM 9982 (Niwiński, 1989a: pl. 34a, London 16)
- 183. pBodmer 108 (Valloggia, 1998: 441 – 453, pls. I – II)
- 184. pSkrine 1 (Blackman, 1917: passim)

Stelae Workshop 1:

- 185. sCairo JE 29308 (Zayed, 1968: 152, pl. 8a)
- 186. sCairo JE 29310 (Zayed, 1968: 154 – 156, pl. 9)

187. sCairo JE 29312 (Abdalla, 1988: 5 – 6, Figs. 2 – 3)
188. sCairo JE 29118 (Zayed, 1968: 153, pl. 8b)
189. sCairo RT 20.12.24.13 (Zayed, 1968: 160 – 161, pl. 12b)
190. sBM 8484 (Bierbrier, 1987: 9 – 10, pls. 2 – 3 [2])
191. sPetrie UC 14226
(http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk/search/detail/results/detail.asp?01_objectidentifier=UC14226)
192. sBSAe 933 (Wiese, 2001: No. 104a)
193. sLausanne Eg/485 (Wiese, 2001: No. 104b)
194. sVienna ÄOS 8463 (www.globalegyptianmuseum.com)
195. sBrussels E. 6283
(<http://www.oudegracht4.nl/treasures/treasures.asp?lan=E>)
196. sBM EA 642
(<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB =compass& IXSR =zk4& IXSS = IXFPFX %3dgraphical%252ffull%252f%26 IXsearchterm%3dstelae%26%257bUPPER%257d%253av2 free text tindex%3dstelae%26 IXDB %3dcompass%26 IXNOMATCHES %3dgraphical%252fno matches%252html%26%2524%2b%2528with%2b v2 searchable index%2529%2bsort%3d%252e& IXFIRST =27& IXMAXHITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/& IXsearchterm=stelae&submit-button=summary>)
197. sBM 1224 (British Museum, 1909: 215, pl. XXVIII, No. 777)

Stelae Workshop 2:

198. sAthens 199 (Photo National Archaeological Museum of Athens)
199. sCairo A. 9449 (Munro, 1973: Tafel 2, Abb. 6)
200. sCairo RT 25.12.24.20 (Schulz & Seidel, 1997: 489, No. 120)
201. sBM 8450 (Bierbrier, 1987: 15, pls. 16 – 17 [1])
202. sBM 22916 (Bierbrier, 1987: 16, pl. 19 [2])
203. sBM 25262 (Bierbrier, 1987: 14, pls. 14 – 15 [1])
204. sBM 27332 (Robins, 1997: 204, Fig. 245)
205. sBM 35622 (Bierbrier, 1987: 15, pls. 16 – 17 [2])
206. sLiverpool 24.11.81.7 (Bienkowski & Tooley, 1995: 83, No. 134)
- 207a – b .sLouvre E. 52 (Schulz & Seidel, 1997: 432, Fig. 23)
208. sBrooklyn 37.1386E (Photo Brooklyn Museum)

- 209. sCairo 1.12.15.2 (Zayed, 1968: 159 – 160, pl. 12a)
- 210a – b. sMMA 22.3.33 (Fazzini, 1997: 27, pl. XLV, No's. 1 – 2)
- 211. sMMA 22.3.31 (Photo Author)
- 212. sLouvre N. 3662 (<http://www.antiquoegipto.com/>)

Stelae Workshop 3:

- 213. sBoston MFA 04.1763 (D'Auria, et al, 1988: 165, No. 118)
- 214. sBoston MFA 12.590 (D'Auria, et al, 1988: 165, No. 119)
- 215. sOIM 1351 (<http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>, No. 7)
- 216. sRSM 1911.921 (<http://www.akhet.co.uk/stele.htm> [middle right])
- 217. sLeiden EG-ZM2 42 (Van Wijngaarden, 1932: 12 – 13, No. 17, pl. V)
- 218. sLiverpool 1973.4.235 (www.globalegyptianmuseum.com)
- 219. sBM 8447 (Bierbrier, 1987: 12 – 13, pls. 10 – 11 [1])
- 220. sBM 66421 (Teeter, 1997: pl. 5)
- 221. sBM 66425 (Bierbrier, 1987: 11, pls. 6 – 7 [1])
- 222. sOxford 1917.42 (<http://www.antiquoegipto.com/>)
- 223. sLouvre N. 3657 (El Mahdy, 1989: 106, pl. XLV)
- 224. sLuxor 1 (Nelson, 1986: pl. 1)
- 225. sRSM 1956.147 (<http://www.akhet.co.uk/stele.htm> [middle left])

Stelae Workshop 4:

- 226. sBerlin 24038 (Museuminsel Berlin, 1991: 166 – 167, No. 99)
- 227. sBologna KS 1953 (Bresciani, 1985: 80 – 81, No. 29, Tav. 42)
- 228. sBM 42078 (Bierbrier, 1987: 13 – 14, pls. 12 – 13 [2])
- 229. sMMA 28.3.35 (Metropolitan Museum, 1983: 103, No. 41)
- 230. sUPenn E. 2043 (Capel & Markoe, 1996: 164, No. 87)

Stelae Workshop 5:

- 231. sAthens 200 (Photo National Archaeological Museum of Athens)
- 232. sFlorence 2478 (Bosticco, 1972: 17, No. 5, Fig. 5)
- 233. sBM 8448 (Bierbrier, 1987: 14, pls. 14 – 15 [2])
- 234. sBM 35896 (Bierbrier, 1987: 12, pl. 8 [1])
- 235a – b. sMadrid 3519 (www.globalegyptianmuseum.com)
- 236. sMMA 22.3.34 (Photo Author)
- 237. sLouvre N. 3794
(http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=17862)

Stelae Workshop 6:

- 238. sLeiden AH 28 (Raven & Schneider, 1981: 120, No. 12)

239. sBM 37899
([http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB =compass& IXFIRST =1& IXMAXHITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/&\\$ +with+all unique id index+is+\\$=OBJ5004&submit-button=summary](http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB =compass& IXFIRST =1& IXMAXHITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/&$ +with+all unique id index+is+$=OBJ5004&submit-button=summary))
240. sPetrie UC 14695
(<http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk/search/detail/results/detail.asp?01 objectiden tifier=UC14695>)

Stelae Workshop 7:

241. sAthens 201 (Photo National Archaeological Museum of Athens)
242. sCairo 27.1.25.13
(<http://www.bergerfoundation.ch/wat1/picture?ref=8119-3182-3852.60&babel=eng&type=medium>)
243. sFitzwilliam E. 264.1932 (Vassilika, 1995: 44, No. 43)
244. sOIM 1352 (<http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>, No. 9)
245. sCMA 1921.1028 (Berman, 1999: 260 – 261, No. 185)
246. sCracow XI 646 (Photo Czartoryski Museum)
247. sBM 8451 (Bierbrier, 1987: 12, pls. 9 – 10 [2])
248. sBM 22917 (Bierbrier, 1987: 10, pls. 2 – 3 [3])
249. sBM 35895 (Bierbrier, 1987: 10, pls. 4 – 5 [1])
250. sBM 66424 (Bierbrier, 1987: 13, pl. 10 – 11 [2])
251. sLouvre N. 3795
(http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=17864)
252. sLouvre E. 5789
(http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=17863)
253. sTurin 1598 (<http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>)
254. sZagreb 567 (Monnet Saleh, 1970: 40, No. 22)
255. sZagreb 568 (Monnet Saleh, 1970: 39, No. 21)

Stelae Workshop 8:

256. sAthens 197 (Photo National Archaeological Museum of Athens)
257. sAthens 198 (Photo National Archaeological Museum of Athens)
258. sBrooklyn 37.1385E (Photo Brooklyn Museum)
259. sCairo A. 9406 (Blume, 1994: pl. vi)
260. sFlorence 2477 (Bosticco, 1972: 17 – 18, No. 6, Fig. 6)
261. sLinköping (Björkman, 1971: 48 – 49, No. 3, pl. 15)
262. sBM 8449 (Bierbrier, 1987: 14, pls. 14 – 15 [2])

- 263. sBerlin 10258 (<http://www.hethert.org/stelaeofra.htm>, No. 10)
- 264. sBrooklyn 08.480.201 (Photo Brooklyn Museum)
- 265. sFlorence 2480 (Bosticco, 1972: 18 – 19, No. 7, Fig. 7)
- 266. sLiverpool M. 11066 (www.globalegyptianmuseum.com)
- 267a – b. sBM EA 65354
 ([http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB =compass& IXFIRST =1& IXMAXHITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/&\\$+with+all unique id index+is+\\$=OBJ5006&submit-button=summary](http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixclient.exe? IXDB =compass& IXFIRST =1& IXMAXHITS =1& IXSPFX =graphical/full/&$+with+all unique id index+is+$=OBJ5006&submit-button=summary))
- 268. sDurham N. 1975 (<http://artworld.uea.ac.uk/objects/103/details.html>)
- 269. sMMA 22.3.32 (Photo Author)
- 270. sUPenn E. 2044 (Photo UPenn)

Stelae Workshop 9:

- 271. sChicago FM 31676 (Allen, 1936: 40, pl. XVIII)
- 272. sFlorence 2475 (Bosticco, 1972: 20, No. 9, Fig. 9)
- 273. sFlorence 2479 (Bosticco, 1972: 20, No. 10, Fig. 10)
- 274. sFlorence 2485 (Bosticco, 1972: 19, No. 8, Fig. 8)
- 274. sLiverpool M. 13989 (www.globalegyptianmuseum.com)

11.4 Abbreviations

11.4.1. Museums and their Accession Numbers

AMS	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
Athens	National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Athens
Ballard	The University of Kansas, Spencer Research Library, Lawrence
Basel	Antiken Museum, Basel
Berlin P.	Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin
BM	The British Museum, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Bodmer	Library Dr. Martin Bodmer, Geneva
Bologna	Museo Civico, Bologna
Boston MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Bristol	Bristol Museum, Bristol
Brooklyn	Brooklyn Museum of Art, Brooklyn
Brussels	Royal Museum of Art and History, Brussels
Butenev/Burchardt	St Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg
Cairo JE	Egyptian Museum, Cairo
Cairo RT	Egyptian Museum, Cairo
Cambridge E.	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
Chicago FM	Field Museum, Chicago
CMA	Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland
Copenhagen	Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen
Cortona	Museo dell'Accademia, Cortona
Cracow	Czartoryski Museum, Cracow
Dresden	Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Dresden
Durham	Oriental Museum, University of Durham, Durham
Florence	Museo Archeologico, Florence
Havana	Museo Nacional, Havana
Hieroglyphic	John Rhylands University Museum, Manchester
Hilton-Price	Location Unknown, Hilton-Price Catalogue
Houston MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Houston
Kansas	Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City
Kelsey	Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Ann Arbor
Lausanne	Liebighaus Musée Cantonal d'Archeologie, Lausanne

Leiden	Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden, Leiden
Linköping	Linköping Museum, Linköping
Liverpool	Liverpool Museum, Liverpool
Luxor J.	Luxor City Museum, Luxor
Loc'n Unkn.	Location Unknown
Louvre N. or E.	Musée du Louvre, Paris
Madrid	Museo Archeológico Nacional, Madrid
Manchester	Manchester Museum, Manchester
MB	Musée Borély, Marseilles
MIA	Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis
Milan E.	Museo Archeologico, Milan
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MMW	Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, The Hague
Nicholson	Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney, Sydney
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, Chicago
Oxford	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Petrie UC	Petrie Museum, London
RSM	Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh
Skrine	Bodleian Library, Oxford
SRIV	Egyptian Museum, Cairo
SRVII	Egyptian Museum, Cairo
St. Petersburg	St. Petersburg NRL, St. Petersburg
Turin ME	Museo Egizio, Turin
UPenn	University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia
Vienna ÄOS	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
VM	Virginia Museum, Richmond
Warsaw MN	Warsaw National Museum, Warsaw
WEM	The Wellcome Institute for the History and Understanding of Medicine, London
Yale	Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven
Zagreb	Museum of Archaeology, Zagreb

11.4.2. Bibliographic Abbreviations

<i>AJA:</i>	American Journal of Archaeology, Baltimore, ab 1897: Norwood
<i>ASAE:</i>	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Le Caire.
<i>BIFAO:</i>	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire.
<i>BMMA:</i>	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
<i>BSFE:</i>	Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie. Réunions trimestrielles. Communications archéologiques, Paris.
<i>CdE:</i>	Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles.
<i>DE:</i>	Discussions in Egyptology, Oxford.
<i>FIFAO:</i>	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo.
<i>GM:</i>	Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen.
<i>JARCE:</i>	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, New York.
<i>JEA:</i>	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London.
<i>JEOL:</i>	Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux, Leiden.
<i>JNES:</i>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.
<i>MDAIK:</i>	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Mainz.
<i>MMAF:</i>	Memoires publiees par les membres la Mission Archeologiques Francaise au Caire
<i>NAWG:</i>	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil. hist., Göttingen
<i>OBO:</i>	Orbis biblicus et orientalis, Fribourg/Göttingen
<i>Phoenix:</i>	Phoenix, Bulletin uitgegeven door het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap EX ORIENTE LUX, Leiden
<i>PSBA:</i>	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London
<i>SAK:</i>	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg.
<i>VA:</i>	Varia Aegyptiaca, San Antonio 8/1 (1992).
<i>ZÄS:</i>	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Berlin.

11. 5. Alphabetical Accession Number Index**11.5.1. Papyri**

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pAMS 39	17.3.	Plate 136
pAMS 40	17.4.	
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pAMS R. A. 58	17.6.	Plate 24
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pBerlin P. 3013 a-b	2.4.	Plate 26
pBerlin P. 3123	2.5.	Plate 179
pBerlin P. 3126	2.6.	Plate 75, Fig. 84
pBerlin P. 3127	2.7.	Plate 106, Fig. 98b
pBerlin P. 3128	2.8.	Plate 107
pBerlin P. 3143	2.9.	Plate 93
pBerlin P. 3147	2.10.	Plate 120, Fig. 105
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pBerlin P. 3152	2.12.	Plate 130
pBerlin P. 3153	2.13.	Plate 31, Fig. 19a
pBerlin P. 10466	2.14.	Plate 137
pBM 9904	19.1.	Plate 15
pBM 9918	19.2.	Plate 67
pBM 9919	19.3.	Plate 58, Fig. 80
pBM 9932	19.4.	Plate 117, Fig. 102a
pBM 9948	19.5.	Plate 135
pBM 9970	19.6.	Plate 105
pBM 9974	19.7.	Plate 165
pBM 9975	19.8.	Plate 180
pBM 9980	19.9.	Plate 181
pBM 9982	19.10.	Plate 182
pBM 9984	19.11.	Plate 157

pBM 9987	19.12.	Plate 152
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pBM 10002	19.14.	Plate 18, Fig. 22
pBM 10004	19.15.	Plate 112
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pBM 10472	19.29.	Plate 8, Figs. 33, 56, 58
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pBM 10541	19.31.	Plate 4
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pBM 10793	19.34.	Plate 23, Figs. 25a, 35a
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pBN 170-173	30.3.	Plate 11, Figs. 62c, 63
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pChicago FM 31326	5.1.	Plate 57
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pCMA 1921.1032	7.6.	Plate 51, Figs. 34a, 75a
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pFlorence 3663	10.1.	Plate 128
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pKansas 33-1398	15.1.	Plate 99
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pKelsey 81.4.1	1.2.	Plate 44
pLoc'n Unkn.4	18.1.	Plate 134
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