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THE WOODEN INNER COFFIN
OF TAKHENEMET
IN THE CZARTORYSKI MUSEUM,
KRAKÓW

One of the most excellent pieces of the Czartoryski Museum in Kraków is a painted wooden anthropoid coffin,¹ once containing the mummy of a noble woman named Takhenemet according to its inscriptions. The coffin of Takhenemet presumably has been made sometime around the middle of the 26th Dynasty.

I. DESCRIPTION

The backgrounds of the scene panels of the lid are dark blue. The figures are depicted on cream-coloured background which has turned into golden-toned due to the varnishing process obviously in order to imitate gilding. In consequence the overall layout emphasises the pattern of 'golden figures' on the dark blue background resulting in a very impressive artistic composition. The colours of pictorial illustrations are blue, green and red. The inscription panels are written in black on cream-coloured and red backgrounds alternately, on the lid as well as the back of the case. The footboard and the crown of the head remained unvarnished.

¹ Inv. No. MNK XI-481. L.: 184 cm, max. w.: 54 cm. The coffin coming from Thebes as given in the list of the objects bought for Prince Władysław Czartoryski in Egypt, was shipped from Luxor to the Czartoryski Museum in Krakow in 1884. I owe a thank to Dr. Dorota Gorzelany (Department of Ancient Art, National Museum in Kraków) for these data of the piece.

*The exterior of the lid**Scene panel 1*

The crown of the head which provides a round-shaped surface for decoration is encircled by a stylised floral garland bordered by a red head-band. The round scene panel itself represents the goddess *Nephthys* appearing in a kneeling position and with raised hands. Her figure is accompanied by three text columns on both sides.

Right columns

1. *dd-mdw n Nbt-hwt*
2. *[snt] ntr di.s prt-hrw k3w 3pdw*
3. *sntr mnht htpw*

'Words spoken by Nephthys, the divine sister. May she grant prt-hrw: oxen, fowls, incense, clothing; htpw-offering, ...'

Left columns

1. *df3w irp hwt nb(wt) nfr(wt)*
2. *w^cb(wt) hwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3*
3. *n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-*

'... and df3w-offering, wine, everything good and pure, everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Ta-'

The text with abrupted end continues in a panel of four lines below the goddess, the middle two lines of which are rather fragmentary and thus almost illegible where the lid and the case join – in the very place of the names of the father and the mother. One can, however, try to complete it according to the other texts occurring on the coffin.

Text

1. *-hnm^t m3^c-hrw nb im3h hr ntr 3 nb pt hry ntrw nbw*
2. *[^cn^hw im=f s3t B3k-n-rn=i m3^c-hrw nb im3h]*
3. *hr ntr 3 nb pt hry ntrw [mwt=s nb(t) pr T3-b3k-n-]*
4. *-Hnsw m3^c-hrw nb im3h hr ntr 3*

'-khenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods

[who live through him, daughter of Bakenreni, justified, possessor of veneration]

by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods, [whose mother is the lady of the house, Tabaken-]

-khonsu, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god.'

Wig and face

The striped wig is covered by a stylised vulture head-dress falling about the forehead. An interesting iconographical feature showed by the Krakow coffin

is the representation of the fringe of curled hair running along the lower edge of the wig which occurs only on a few female coffin before the second half of the 7th century BC, but after that date it became more frequent.²

The face of her mask has orange-yellowish colour with a pinkish-red nuance, a characteristic feature of some female coffins used during the 25th-26th Dynasties.³ The cheeks are round, and the facial features are generally characterised by the gently arched rounded outlines and with a relatively big nose and ears. Both ear lobes are adorned by small red piercings.⁴

The two dark blue lappets of the wig partially cover the floral motifs of the many-striped, richly decorated *usekh*-collar which is fitted to the shoulder by hawk heads on both sides.

Scene panel 2

The characteristic motif of the coffin type is the goddess *Nut* bending one knee on a *nwb*-symbol, wearing bead-net patterned robe, with outspread, four-partite wings and arms holding *maat* feathers. The face and the arms of the goddess are painted in green. Her figure is attributed with the sun disc containing her name upon her head. The head of the goddess adorned with sun disc partly overlaps the collar, providing a further iconographic clue to a more correct dating of the coffin.⁵

By the edge of her wings (on both sides) there are additional short inscriptions to determine the cosmic role she plays in the given iconographical context (*Nwt mswt ntrw*: 'Nut, mother of the gods'). Under the four-partite wings vertical text columns can be found.

Under the right wing:

1. *hṭp-di-nsw n Wsir*
2. *Wnn-nfr ntr ʿ3 nb pt*
3. *hry ntrw nbw*
4. *Rʿ-hr-3ḥty ntr ʿ3*
5. *nb pt di.sn prt-hrw ḥ3 m*
6. *t ḥ3 m ḥnkt*
7. *ḥ3 m k3w ḥ3 m 3pdw*
8. *ḥ3 m sntr ḥ3 m mn[ḥt]*

² J. H. Taylor, *A Priestly Family of the 25th Dynasty*, CdÉ LIX (1984), 52; one of the early occurrences is the coffin of *Tjesraperet* (Florence 2159).

³ Taylor 1984, 52.

⁴ Ears appear to be regularly represented on female coffins from the second half of the 8th century BC; the painted representation of piercings in the earlobes, however, can be observed from only as late as the second half of the 7th century BC, see Taylor 1984, 52.

⁵ J.H. Taylor, *Theban Coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: dating and synthesis of development*, In: N Strudwick – J.H. Taylor, (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis – Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, 115.

9. *h3 m htpw nb(w) h3 m df3w nb(w)*
 10. *h3 m hwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) w^cb(wt) hwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir*
 11. *nb(t) pr T3-hnmt m3^c-hrw nb im3h hr*
 12. *hr ntr 3 nb pt hry ntrw nbw n^hw (im=f)*

'(1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris, (2) Wenennefer, the great god, Lord of heaven (3) The One upon all gods, (4) Ra-Harakhty, the great god, (5) Lord of heaven so that they may grant prt-hrw consisting of one thousand (6) loaves of bread, one thousand jugs of beer, (7) one thousand oxen, one thousand fowls, (8) one thousand of incense, one thousand of clo[thing], (9) one thousand of every htpw-offering and one thousand of every df3w-offering, (10) one thousand of everything good and pure and everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, (11) lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration (12) by the great god, Lord of Heaven, The One upon all gods who live (through him).'

Under the left wing:

1. *htp-di-nsw n Wsir hnty imntyw ntr 3 nb 3b-*
 2. *-dw di.f htpw nb(w) df3w nb(w) irp*
 3. *irtt hwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) w^cb(wt) hwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3*
 4. *n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-hnmt*
 5. *m3^c-hrw nb im3h hr ntr 3*
 6. *nb pt hry ntrw nbw*
 7. *s3t B3k-n-rn=i*
 8. *m3^c-hrw nb im3h*
 9. *hr ntr 3 nb pt hry*
 10. *ntrw nbw n^hw*
 11. *im= f n k3 n*

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Abydos so that he may grant every htpw-offering and every df3w-offering, wine, (3) milk, everything good and pure, everything sweet (4) for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, (5) justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, (6) Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods, (7) daughter of Bakenreni, (8) justified, possessor of veneration (9) by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon (10) all gods who live (11) through him, for the ka of'

The Nut-representation is followed by another single text line placed between two block-friezes:

htp-di-nsw Gb iry-p^t ntrw di.f htpw nbw df3w nbw irp irtt hwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) w^cb(wt) n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-hnmt m3^c-hrw nb im3h hr

'An offering which the king gives to Geb, Hereditary prince of the gods so that he may grant every htpw-offering and every df3w-offering, wine, milk,

*everything good and pure for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by ...*⁷

Scene panel 3

The *htp-di-nsw* formula succeeded by a horizontal figural zone, which – typically on this type of coffins – represents a version of the scene⁶ depicting the Judgement in the Netherworld and – as a logical consequence of the favourable outcome of the events – the presentation of the transformed and glorified deceased to the gods, i.e. her introduction into the divine society. On the right the line of illustrations starts with the representation of the weighing of the heart accompanied by the figure of the Soul-devourer. The monster shares the scene field under the balance with a West-symbol indicating the otherworldly territory of the events. In front of the balance the deceased herself is escorted by the personification of *Maat*⁷ and led by the ibis-headed *Thoth* who holds the papyrus recording the result of the judgement, both being divine mediators (*psychopompoi*) in this context. She moves forward in their company to the presence of (1) the hawk-headed and mummy-shaped sun god wearing sun disc and uraeus on the head and holding an *w3s* sceptre, and (2) *Osiris* wearing a long, green cloak with red stripes and the *atef* crown. Both aspects of the „great god” alluded to many times in the accompanying texts are presented an offering table with a lotus flower on the top. The former is embraced by *Isis*, the latter is escorted by both divine sisters, *Isis* and *Nephthys* with pieces of linen hanging from their left arms, while *Nephthys* holding an additional small piece of linen in her right hand.⁸

The line is closed by five mummy-shaped figures: dwellers of the Underworld, one after the other with a head of an ibis (probably alluding iconographically to the figure of *Thot* appearing on the other side of the composition), a man, a baboon, a jackal and a hawk constituting the group of the four sons

⁶ Typ D1 according to the typology of Ch. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* (MÄS 35), München 1976, 44-48. For similar (or almost the same) arrangement and composition of the same scene, see: Abb.19 (Genf D 60, coffin of *Tjesmutperet*). The scene of the representation of the Judgment in the Underworld with *Osiris* and the sun god does not appear on the coffins of the *Besenmut*-family at all, but occurs on the inner coffin of *Ta-aa*, a member of the *Hor A*-family (Taylor 1984, 54). Variations for the composition of the scene: J.P. Elias, *Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation* (Diss. Univ. Chicago, 1993), 457 (Table 35).

⁷ Seeber 1976, 143-144 + Abb. 23 and 24.

⁸ See the same motif on, e.g. CG 41018 (A. Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou*, CGC Nos 41042-41072, Le Caire 1913, p. 192 and figs. 23-24).

of *Horus*. With the exception of the bearded human-headed figure they hold pieces of red and green striped linen on their arms and *maat* feathers in their hands.⁹

This line of illustrations is flanked by a pair of single text columns.

On the left: *Bḥdty ntr ʕ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw nbw*

'The Behdety, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods'

On the right: *di.f ḥtpw nbw df3w nbw*

'May he grant every ḥtpw-offering and every df3w-offering.'

Following this, another text line is surrounded by two block-friezes:

ḥtp-di-nsw Rḥ-ḥr-3ḥty ntr ʕ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw di.f prt-ḥrw k3w 3pdw sntr mnḥt ḥtpw nb(w) df3w nb(w) df3w nb(w) irp ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wḥb(wt)

'An offering which the king gives to Ra-Harakhty, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon the gods so that he may grant prt-ḥrw: oxen, fowls, incense and clothes; every ḥtpw-offering and every df3w-offering, wine, everything good and pure.'

Scene panel 4

The next unit focuses on the mummified deceased lying on the lion-shaped bier in the purification tent with the *ba* bird hovering above him (= vignette of BD 89).¹⁰ Under the bier four vessels (canopic jars without top) and – as far as it can be determined – most probably a stylised bag containing *idmy* textile are placed.¹¹

This scene is bordered by a single text column on both sides.

On the left: *dd-mdw n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt*

'Words spoken by Osiris Takhenemet, lady of the house.'

On the right: *dd-mdw n Wsir Skr ḥry-ib Štyt*

'Words spoken by Osiris-Sokaris, residing in Štyt.'

⁹ Red linen for the wrapping of the corpse connotes mythologically to *Osiris* in red shroud / garment; with a network of beads arranged in rhomboidal pattern (a tradition originating with the 12th Dynasty mummy images / anthropoid coffins. For the sons of *Horus* and the offering of linen / cloth, see B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten (GOF IV/7)*, Wiesbaden 1975, 151 and CT VI 359 d-e.

¹⁰ Elias 1993, 458.

¹¹ G. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, Le Caire 1921, 32; H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 70), Leuven, 1996), 65-66; and for the same object on the same spot, see: G. Lise, *La civica raccolta Egizia*, Milano 1974, fig. 9 (Inv. no. 1016); Taylor 2003, pl. 64 (BM EA 22814); A. Gasse, *Les sarcophages de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire du Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, Città del Vaticano 1996, pl. XLVII, 2 (Inv. no. 25005.2.1). C.f. the pieces of linen held by different deities represented in the scenes of the lid, and the linen as a standard item of the offering formulae inscribed on the surfaces of the Kraków coffin.

These are followed by three other columns after a vertical block-frieze on both sides.

Text columns on the left:

1. *Bḥdty ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw*
2. *nbw ʿnh(w) ntr ʿ3 nb*
3. *pt di.f ḥtpw nb(w) dḥw*

‘The Behdety, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods who live, the great god, Lord of heaven so that he may grant every ḥtpw-offering and dḥw-offering.’

Texts columns on the right:

1. *Bḥdty ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw*
2. *di.f ḥtpw nbw dḥw*
3. *nbw irp irtt ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt)*

‘The Behdety, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon the gods: May he grant every ḥtpw-offering and every dḥw-offering, wine, milk and everything good.’

In the same scene panel, on both edges of the lid a hawk (obviously the divine aspect *Behdety* invoked in the texts) can be seen with outstretched wings and sun disc with uraeus upon the head, presenting *wedjat* eyes.¹²

On the left side another text column attaches to this:

di.f ḥtpw nb(w) dḥw nb(w)

‘May he grant every ḥtpw-offering and dḥw-offering.’

The next two horizontal friezes surround a further separating text band.

dd-mdw n Wsir ḥnty imntyw ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw di.f ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pt T3-ḥnmt m3ʿ-ḥrw

‘Words spoken by Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon the gods. May he grant everything good and pure, everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified.’

Scene panel 5

Now – almost uniquely in the case of the decoration of this type of coffins known by me – the scene of the mummified deceased is succeeded by another long horizontal scene panel, with the sun bark in the centre of the composition.¹³ Although this scheme with the scenes of the Judgement of the Dead and

¹² For the motif, see A. Niwiński, In: S. Bickel, *In ägyptischer Gesellschaft. Aegyptiaca der Sammlungen BIBEL + ORIENT an der Universität Freiburg Schweiz*, Freiburg 2004, 119-121 and Abb. 38d.

¹³ For one rare parallel of the arrangement, see E. Schiapparelli, *Esplorazione della „Valle delle Regine” nella necropoli di Tebe. Relazione sui lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto (Anni 1903-1920)*, Torino 1923, 193, fig. 151.

that of the sun bark *as consecutives* has some rare parallels where they are followed and not separated by the scene with the funerary bier.¹⁴

In front of and behind the bark there are a pair of adoring baboons, accompanied with the figure of the deceased on the left side. The hawk-headed sun god hides in his *k3r* of the bark. In front of the chapel *Hathor* and *Maat* with an unnamed member of the crew, the hawk-headed *Horus* with a gaff which allows him to hold Apophis down,¹⁵ and a goddess (*Siaret*) are standing on the prow.¹⁶ The prow of the barque is decorated with the squatting figure of the rejuvenated sun-child. Behind the chapel the sign Gardiner T 18¹⁷ and the steersman can be seen.

The scene with the solar boat is framed by a text column on each side.

On the left: *ḏd-mdw n nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt*

'Words spoken by Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet.'

On the right: *di.f ḥtpw nbw ḏf3w nbw irp*

'May he grant every ḥtpw-offering, every ḏf3w-offering and wine.'

The line of the hip, i. e. the border zone between the upper and lower part of the body with characteristically different composition schemes is strongly marked by two bands consisting of four lines, each of them containing red, blue and green sections alternately. The pattern of the separating bands is completed by a single line of hieroglyphic inscription inserted between them:

¹⁴ Gasse 1996, pl. XLII (Inv. no. 25001.2.1). Other examples with the sunboat scene: V. Schmidt, *Sarkofager, Mumiekister, og Mumiehylstre i det gamle Aegypten, Typologisk Atlas*, København, 1919, fig. 1121 (= the coffin of Gautseshen, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, AEIN 1522; M. Jørgensen, *Catalogue Egypt III. Coffins, Mummy Adornments and Mummies from the Third Intermediate, Late, Ptolemaic and Roman periods*, Copenhagen 2001, 7.1, 204-205) and fig. 1130.

¹⁵ For the figure, i.e. the rabbit-headed Geb of the New Kingdom versions who seems to have been replaced by the hawk-headed god only later, cf. the representation in the tomb of Osorkon II, see M. Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage* (OBO 236), Fribourg – Göttingen 2008, 88 and n. 424; for the motif in the context of the *Apophisvernichtung*, see Müller-Roth 2008, 78-79, 471-481. The same motif frequently occurs on *krsw*-type coffins, e.g. CGC 41001 (B': hawk-headed god), 41002 (B': human-headed god), 41009 (B: hawk-headed god), 41014 (B': human-headed god), 41018 (B: *Horus* with a red spear), 41020 (the deceased), 41021 (the deceased) (A. Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à l'époque saïte, Nos. 40001-40041*, Le Caire 1913, 3, 40-41, 118, 160, 189, 200, 211-212).

¹⁶ W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, Leiden 1991, 184-187; Ch. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen VI* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 115), Leuven–Paris–Dudley, MA, 2002, 193; G. Roulin, *Le livre de la Nuit* (OBO 147/1), Fribourg – Göttingen 1996, 65; Müller-Roth 2008, 86-87.

¹⁷ For the sign T 18 manifesting an instrument used for the execution of criminals, see K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den Altägyptischen Pyramidentexten I*, Hamburg 1962, 194-196 (Pyr. 230c); J. Capart, *ZÄS* 36 (1898), 125-126; Roulin 1996, 77; Müller-Roth 2008, 57-58.

ḥtp-di-nsw n Wsir Skr ḥry-ib Štyt di.f ḥtpw ḏḥw nb(w) irp irtt ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wꜥb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt)

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris-Sokaris, residing in Štyt so that he may grant ḥtpw-offering, ḏḥw-offering and wine, everything good and pure, and everything.'

Scene panel 6

In the place of the text column used as axial division which usually divides the lower part of the body (approx. the zone of the legs) into two vertically symmetrical halves, in this case we can find the large-sized representation of *Osiris*¹⁸ standing in his shrine ornamented with *hkr*-frieze on the top. The figure of *Osiris* (labelled by the short title *Wsir ḥnty imntyw*) has exactly the same features and wears the same garment as the deity represented in the vignette of BD 125 above.

The standing god is flanked by two mummy-shaped, bearded and human-headed protective gods from the circle of the sons of *Horus* in funerary chapels in both lateral zones. Their chapels are bordered by block-friezes in both sides and below the panel. Each of them holds pieces of linen and *maat* feathers in the hand similarly to their images in the Judgement scene above. The pattern of the linen held by them is in accordance with that of the garment of the central figure. The divine figures arranged around *Osiris* can only be identified by the accompanying texts surrounding them that invoke *Geb*, *Duamutef* and *Imsety*. In the third lateral scene panel below them *wedjat* eyes are placed in a similar way.

Upper left figure, front:

ḏd-mdw n Gb iry-pꜥt nꜥrw di.f

'Words spoken by Geb, Hereditary prince of the gods. May he grant

Upper left figure, back:

1. *pꜥt-ḥrw kꜣw ʒpdw snꜥr mnḥt*

2. *ḥtpw nb(w) ḏḥw nb(w) irp irtt*

3. *ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wꜥb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wꜥb(wt)*

pꜥt-ḥrw: oxen, fowls, incense and clothing;

¹⁸ Similar arrangement & iconography: Schmidt 1919, fig. 1118 (Copenhagen, NM AAa78); Torino, Museo Egizio, Inv. no. Suppl. 5248 = Schiapparelli 1923, 199 and fig. 165 (= A.M. Donadoni-Roveri, *Passato e futuro del Museo Egizio di Torino*, Torino 1988, 69-70 (No. 13); *Egyptian Civilization. Religious Beliefs*, Torino 1988, 222); see also Elias 1993, 172 and n. 170. C.f. a funerary stela from the 30th Dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period (BM EA 8462) where *Osiris* wears a similar garment: S. Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, London 1992, fig. 14; and Brussels E. 8396: L. Limme, L'accroissement de la collection, In: B. van de Walle – L. Limme – H. de Meulenaere, *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. La collection égyptienne. Les étapes marquantes de son développement*, Bruxelles 1980, 45-46, fig. 10.

*every ḥtpw-offering, every df3w-offering, wine, milk,
everything good and pure, everything good and pure.'*

Upper right figure, front:

dd-mdw n Dw3-mwt=f di.f ḥtpw nb(w)

'Words spoken by Duamutef. May he grant every ḥtpw-offering.'

Upper right figure, back:

1. *dd-mdw n Gb iry-p^ct ntrw di.f*

2. *ḥtpw nb(w) df3w nb(w)*

'Words spoken by Geb, Hereditary prince of the gods. May he grant every ḥtpw-offering and every df3w-offering.'

The lateral panels with the protective gods are separated from one another by a single horizontal text line flanked by two block-friezes.

Left bordering line: *ḥtp-di-nsw n Wsir Skr ḥry ntrw di.f*

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris-Sokaris, The One upon the gods so that he may grant...'

Right bordering line: *ḥtp-di-nsw R^c-ḥr-3ḥty ntr 3*

'An offering which the king gives to Ra-Harakhty, the great god.'

Lower left figure, front: *dd-mdw n Imsty jnk s3=*

Lower left figure, back:

1. *=k Ḥrw mr(y)=k wnn[=i] m s3=k*

2. *r^c nb nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt m3^c-ḥrw*

*'Words spoken by Imsety: I am your son, Horus, whom you love. I exist as your protection every day, lady of the house, Ta-khenemet, justified.'*¹⁹

Lower right figure, front: *dd-mdw n Gb[iry-p^ct ntrw di.f]*

'Words spoken by Geb, [Hereditary prince of the gods. May he grant]

Lower right figure, back: *df3w nb(w) irp irtt*

'every df3w-offering, wine and milk.'

The last lateral scene panels with the *wedjat* eyes are separated from the second panel of standing deities by one band consisting of four lines, each of them containing red, blue and green sections alternately.

Wedjat on the left, back: *di.f ḥtpw 'May he grant ḥtpw-offerings.'*

Wedjat on the left, back: *di.f ḥtpw nb(w) 'May he grant every ḥtpw-offerings.'*

The previous large decoration field with the figure of *Osiris* in the centre is divided from the next zone on the feet by a single text line framed by two friezes in the customary way.

*ḥtp-di-nsw n Wsir ḥnty imntyw ntr 3 nb 3bdw di.f[ḥtp(w) nbw df3w nb(w)]
df3w nb(w) irp irtt*

¹⁹ For the excerpts from BD 151 called „Canopic Utterances” inscribed on the lower part of Saite coffin lids, see ELIAS 1993, 650, 708, and 776.

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Abydos so that he may grant [every *ḥtpw*-offering and every *df̣w*-offering], every *df̣w*-offering, wine and milk.'

Scene panel 7

On the zone of the feet the central motif is a large figure of *Isis* with four-partite wings, bending one knee on a *nwb* sign, wearing bead-net patterned garment like the *Nut*-figure on the breast-zone. The face and the arms of the goddess are painted in green. She holds *maat* feathers in both hands. Below and above her wings text columns can be read running from the right to the left as follows:

Under her left wing, on the right:

(1) *dd-mdw n ʾst* (2) *di.s prt-ḥrw k3w 3pdw sntr* (3) *mnḥt ḥtpw* (4) *nb(w) df̣w nbw* (5) *irp irtt* (6) *ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) nb(wt)* (7) *ḥtpw*

'Words spoken by Isis. May she grant *prt-ḥrw*: oxen, fowl, incense, clothing; every *ḥtpw*-offering and every *df̣w*-offering, wine and milk, everything good, everything, *ḥtpw*-offering'

Above her left wing, on the right:

(8) *df̣w* (9) *di.s prt-ḥrw k3w* (10) *3pdw ḥtpw nb(w) df̣w*

'and *df̣w*-offering. May she grant *prt-ḥrw*: oxen, fowls; every *ḥtpw*-offering and every *df̣w*.'

Above her left arm:

(11) *nb(w) irp irtt*

'-offering, wine and milk,'

Above her right arm:

(12) *ḥwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir* (13) *nb(t) pr T3-ḥn* (14) *mt*

'everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet,'

Under her right wing, on the left:

(15) *s3t B3k-(16)-n-rn=i m3^c-ḥrw* (17) *nb im3ḥ ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry* (18) *ntrw nbw nb df̣w nb irp* (19) *di.f prt-ḥrw k3w 3pdw sntr* (20) *mnḥt*

'daughter of Bakenreni, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods, Lord of *df̣w*-offering, Lord of wine. May he grant *prt-ḥrw*: oxen, fowls, incense and clothing.'

The coffin is placed on a pedestal, on the sides of which a pattern of *ankh*-symbols standing between a pair of *w3s* scepters on *nb* signs runs along.²⁰

Scene panel 8

On the surface of the footboard appears the well-known representation of the *Apis* bull²¹ with ureus and sun disc between the horns. His task is to carry

²⁰ Taylor 2003, 118.

²¹ Taylor 2003, 107; J. Quaegebeur, *Apis et le Menat*, *BSFE* 98 (1983), 27-29; E. Winter, *Der*

the mummy of the deceased, whose lying body partly covered by a bead-net patterned shroud, to the entrance of the tomb depicted on the left.²² The lower part of the surface is decorated with blue and red strips.

Sides

On both sides of the lid a long text line runs along framed by two friezes. The upper frieze bordering the lid decoration is a block-frieze, the lower bordering zone, on the other hand, consists of dark blue, light green and red bands, while the edge of the lid is marked by the bead net-pattern on red background which continues on the edge of the case as well, in order to imitate as if the whole body of the coffin (symbolising a divine image) was an unseparated unit.²³

Text along the right side of the body:

ḥtp-dī-nsw n Wsir ḥnty imntyw ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw dī.f ḥtpw nb(w) df3w nb(w) irp irtt ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt m3ʿ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ ḥr ntr ʿ3 ḥry ntrw nbw ʿnhw im=f

‘An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Abydos so that he may grant every ḥtpw-offering and every df3w-offering, wine and milk, everything good and pure, everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, The One upon all gods who live through him.’

Text along the left side of the body:

ḥtp-dī-nsw n Wsir ḥnty imntyw ntr ʿ3 nbt (sic !) 3bdw dī.f prt-ḥrw k3w 3pdw sntr mnht ḥtpw nbw df3w nbw irp irtt ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 (sic !) n k3 Wsir nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt m3ʿ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw

‘An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Abydos so that he may grant prt-ḥrw: oxen, fowl, incense, clothing; every ḥtpw-offering, every df3w-offering, wine and milk, everything good, good and pure, everything good and sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon gods.’

Apiskult im Alten Ägypten, Mainz 1978, 6-11 and fig.3.; R.A. Fazzini, *Egypt, Dynasty XXII-XXV* (Iconography of Religions XVI, 10), Leiden 1988, 26 and pl. XLII.

²² For the typology, see A. Niwiński, In: Bickel 2004, 117-118, Abb. 37e (25th Dyn.) and Abb. 37f (26th Dyn.).

²³ The pattern is intended to refer to the shroud covering the mummified body of *Osiris*, see above n. 9. For the use of red painting at the joints of the case and lid of coffins as magical protection against evil threat, see J.H. Taylor, *Patterns of colouring on ancient Egyptian coffins from the New Kingdom to the 26th Dynasty*, In: W. V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, London 2001, 176.

The exterior of the case

On both sides of the case, similarly to those of the lid, a long text band runs along framed by two friezes (identical to the bordering friezes on the lid, see above).

Text on the right side of the body:

ḥtp-di-nsw n Wsir ḥnty imntyw ntr ʿ3 nbt (sic !) 3bdw Gb ury-pʿt ntrw di.f ḥtpw nb(w) df3w nb(w) irp irtt irtt (sic !) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir nbt pt T3-ḥnmt m3ʿ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ ḥr [ntr ʿ3 nb pt] ḥry ntrw nbw ʿnhw

‘An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great god, Lord of Abydos, Geb, Hereditary prince of the gods so that he may grant every ḥtpw-offering and df3w-offering, wine and milk, everything good and pure, everything good, everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by [the great god, Lord of heaven], The One upon all gods who live through him.’

Text on the left side of the body:

ḥtp-di-nsw n Wsir Wnn-nfr ntr ʿ3 ḥk3 dt di.f ḥtpw nbw df3w nbw [irp irtt] ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt m3ʿ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw nbw ʿnh(w) im=f nb sšd m itn=f

‘An offering which the king gives to Osiris Wenennefer, the great god, Ruler of eternity so that he may grant every ḥtpw-offering and every df3w-offering, [wine and milk], everything good and pure, everything good and pure, everything good and sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods who live through him, Lord of the sšd band²⁴ who is inside his disc.’²⁵

The outer side of the case under the wig is overlaid by vertical and horizontal text bands from beginning to end. There is no figural decoration here.

The central zone is covered along the whole length of the body with five text columns (from right to left):

1. *ḥtp-di-nsw Pth-Skr-Wsir ḥry-ib Štyt di.f ḥtpw nb(w) df3w nb(w) irp ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) wʿb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) [ndm(wt)] n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt m3ʿ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb pt ḥry [ntrw nbw]*

²⁴ Roulin 1997, 64-65; Ch. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen III* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 112), Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA, 2002, 742; É. Liptay, *Bandeau sur la tête – Aspects religieux d’un motif iconographique de la 21e dynastie*, BMHBA 96 (2002), 7-30. Here I would like to thank Katalin Anna Kóthay for her help with the interpretation of the passage.

²⁵ J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I (MÄS 19)*, Berlin 1969, 39-40; É. Liptay, *Between heaven and earth II. The iconography of a 21st Dynasty Funerary papyrus. Second part*, BMHBA 105 (2006), 19-23.

2. *ḥtp-di-nsw R^c-ḥr-3ḥty ntr ʕ3 s3b šwt pr m 3ḥt di.f ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) w^cb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt m3^c-ḥrw nb im3ḥ ḥr ntr ʕ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw nbw ʕnh(w) im=f*
3. *ḥtp-di-nsw Tm nb t3wy Twnw di.f b3=t m pt ḥ3t=t m dw3t t m ḥt=t mw m ḥḥ t3w n ʕnh(w) r fnd=t mhyt pr m Tm n k3 n Wsir*
4. *ḥtp-di-nsw n Gb iry-p^ct ntrw di.f krst nfr(t) m ḥrt-ntr m R3-st3w imnty W3st n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt m3^c-ḥrw nb im3ḥ ḥr ntr ʕ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw*
5. *ḥtp-di-nsw n R^c-ḥr-3ḥty ntr ʕ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw nbw di.f ḥtpw nb(w) df3w nb(w) [nfrw] ḥwt nb(wt) nfr(wt) w^cb(wt) ḥwt nb(wt) ndm(wt) n k3 n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-ḥnmt m3^c-ḥrw nb im3ḥ ḥr ntr ʕ3 nb pt ḥry ntrw*

'An offering which the king gives to Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, residing in Štyt so that he may grant every ḥtpw-offering and every df3w-offering, wine and milk, everything good and pure, everything [sweet] for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon [all gods].

An offering which the king gives to Ra-Harakhty, the great god, Multicoloured of plumage who goes forth from the horizon so that he may grant everything good and pure, everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods who live through him.

An offering which the king gives to Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan so that he may give your ba to the sky, your body to the Netherworld, bread to your belly, water to (your) throat, the air of life to your nose; the north wind which goes forth from Atum for the ka of Osiris.

An offering which the king gives to Geb, Hereditary prince of the gods so that he may grant perfect burial in the necropolis in Rosetau, in Western Thebes for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon the gods.

An offering which the king gives to Ra-Harakhty, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods so that he may grant every ḥtpw-offering and every [good] df3w-offering, everything good and pure, everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon the gods.'

The invocations are intended to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (1), Ra-Harakhty, Multicoloured of plumage (2), Atum (3), Geb (4), and Ra-Harakhty, Lord of heaven. The content of the third column, however, can be strongly distinguished from the other ones which simply seem to repeat the stereotype formulas occurring on the exterior surface of the coffin. In the text of the third column, however, the ordinary offering invocation contains liturgical parts of the BD 169 (*b3=t*

*m pt h3t=t m dw3t t m ht=t mw m h3 Bw n ʕnh(w) r fnd=t*²⁶ and BD 151b (*t3w n ʕnh(w) r fnd=t mhyt pr m Tm*).²⁷

On both sides of the bottom of the case horizontal text lines are placed one under the other.

The 33 text lines of the right side:

(1) *h3p-di-(2)-nsw n Wsir-(3)-Skr h3ry-ib Štyt* (4) *Rʕ-h3r-3h3ty ntr* (5) *ʕ3 nb pt h3ry ntrw* (6) *nbw Wsir h3nty imntyw* (7) *ntr [ʕ3 nb pt] nb 3bdw* (8) *Pth-Skr-Wsir h3ry-ib Štyt* (9) *Wsir Wnn-nfr ntr ʕ3* (10) *h3k3 dt di.sn prt-h3rw h3 m* (11) *t h3 m h3nkt h3 m* (12) *k3w 3pdw h3 m sntr* (13) *h3 m mnht* (14) *h3 m h3pw* (15) *h3 m h3pw nbw* (16) *h3 m h3pw* (17) *nbw h3 m h3pw nb(w)* (18) *h3 m df3w* (19) *nb(w) irp h3 m* (20) *irtt h3 m h3wt nb(wt)* (21) *nfr(wt) wʕb(wt)* (22) *h3 m h3wt nb(wt) ndm(wt)* (23) *n k3 n Wsir* (24) *nb(t) pr T3-h3nmt* (25) *m3ʕ-h3rw nb im3h* (26) *h3r ntr ʕ3 nb pt* (27) *h3ry ntrw nbw ʕnh(w)* (28) *nbw ʕnhw imyw=* (29) *=f n k3 n Wsir* (30) *nb(t) pr T3-(31)-h3nmt* (32) *[m3ʕ-h3rw nb im3h* (33) *h3r ntr ʕ3 nb pt]*

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris-Sokaris, residing in Štyt, Ra-Harakhty, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods, Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the great [god, Lord of heaven], Lord of Abydos, Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, residing in Štyt, Osiris Wenennefer, the great god, Ruler of eternity so that they may grant prt-h3rw: one thousand loaves of bread, one thousand jugs of beer, one thousand of oxen and fowls, one thousand of incense, one thousand of clothing; one thousand of h3pw-offering, one thousand of every h3pw-offering, one thousand of every h3pw-offering, one thousand of every h3pw-offering, one thousand of df3w-offering, one thousand (jugs) of wine, one thousand (jugs) of milk, one thousand of everything good and pure, one thousand of everything sweet for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven.'

The 31 text lines of the left side:

(1) *h3p-di-nsw* (2) *Rʕ-h3r-3h3ty ntr* (3) *ʕ3 nb pt h3ry ntrw* (4) *nbw di.f h3pw nb(w)* (5) *df3w nb(w) irp* (6) *irtt h3wt nb(wt) nfr(wt)* (7) *wʕb(wt) h3wt nb(wt) nfr(wt)* (8) *wʕb(wt) h3wt nb(wt) [ndm(wt)] n k3* (9) *n Wsir nb(t) pr T3-h3nmt* (10) *m3ʕ-h3rw* (11) *nb im3h h3r ntr* (12) *ʕ3 nb pt h3ry ntrw* (13) *nbw ʕnhw* (14) *im=f s3t* (15) *B3k-rn=i* (16) *m3ʕ-h3rw* (17) *nb im3h h3r ntr ʕ3* (18) *nb pt h3ry ntrw* (19) *nbw ʕnhw* (20) *im=f n k3* (21) *n Wsir nb(t) pr* (22) *T3-h3nmt* (23) *m3ʕ-h3rw* (24) *nb im3h h3r ntr ʕ3* (25) *nb pt h3ry ntrw* (26) *h3ry ntrw* (27) *nbw ʕnhw* (28) *ʕnhw* (29) *n k3 n Wsir* (30) *nb(t) pr* (31) *T3-h3nmt*

²⁶ For BD 169 on the exterior surface of the case (as „dorsal pillar”) on contemporary coffins, see: ELIAS 1993, 776 (CGC 41058 = Tabedjet II, wife of Besenmut II).

²⁷ Elias 1993, 579-580, 591-592.

'An offering which the king gives to Ra-Harakhty, the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods so that he may grant every ḥtpw-offering and every df3w-offering, wine and milk, everything good and pure, everything good and pure, everything [sweet] for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods who live through him, daughter of Bakenreni, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods who live through him for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet, justified, possessor of veneration by the great god, Lord of heaven, The One upon all gods who live, for the ka of Osiris, lady of the house, Takhenemet.'

The interior of the lid and the case

The inner surface of the lid and the case once were overlaid by inscriptions, but currently the text itself is visible only in some places, for the most part illegibly damaged. According to the contemporary analogies they must be experts of different BD spells or offering formulas. The legible parts on the sides, for example, suggest the latter possibility.

II. THE SYMBOLIC CONNOTATIONS OF THE ICONOGRAPHIC LAYOUT OF THE LID

By thorough observation of the overall scheme of the decoration covering the lid one can immediately establish the principles of arrangement. The decoration field of the lid is obviously divided into two halves; i.e. an upper and a lower decoration fields which can be easily distinguished as they display markedly different iconographical schemes. Furthermore, the two parts are prominently separated from each other by a pictorially expressed demarcation line. The difference resulted in a sharp visual contrast between the typically horizontal arrangement on the upper half and the lateral arrangement of the lower part.

II. 1. *Upper part*

The scene with the image of the mummy lying on the funerary bier which usually occupies the place at the top of the central panel (i.e. the apron texts) of contemporary anthropoid coffin lids is obviously meant to form the upper end of the lower lateral decoration zone.²⁸ The true significance of the rather unusual arrangement of the Krakow coffin lid reveals at the moment when one compares it to this usually applied scheme. By the rearrangement of the iconographic layout the compositor achieved that the scene with the mummified deceased fulfils a central role in the composition of *the upper part*. This way the unit becomes structurally separated from its regular place, i.e. the lower iconographic layout.

²⁸ Taylor 2003, 114; for analogies, see e.g. Schmidt 1919, fig. 1124 (Inv. no. BM 6671), 1127; Gasse 1996, pl. XLII (Inv. no. 25001.2.1) and XLVII, 2 (Inv. no. 25005.2.1); Lise 1974, fig. 9 (Inv. no. 1016).

The scene of the funerary bier (i.e. the deceased) is flanked by two hawks presenting *wedjat* eyes²⁹ between their outstretched wings. From above and below the scene with the funerary bier is bordered by two long horizontal text lines as dividers and two scene bands. The upper scene (weighing of the heart and introducing the deceased into the divine society) deals with events belonging to the *Osirian* netherworld, with the participation of the mummy-shaped and hawk-headed nocturnal aspect of the sun god. The obvious reason behind positioning the scene band regularly on the breast must be its direct contact with the heart of the deceased which as witness played a crucial role in the events.³⁰

The lower scene band, on the other hand, presents the solar aspect of the otherworldly journey where the hawk-headed sun god, one of the protagonists of the judgment scene recurs as the passenger of the bark. The divine child (the morning sun in its „child phase”³¹) sitting on the prow indicates that the change of the sun god / sun disc from boat to boat – i. e. the sunrise at dawn – has not yet taken place.

The three scenes appearing on the upper part of the lid represent parallel events happening to the deceased in different contexts. All of them refer to the *following* moment when entering the divine society / travelling and being reborn with the rising sun / awakening from the funerary bier become possible for *Takhenemet* eventually. On the other hand, the central role of the deceased, *Osiris* and the hawk-headed sun god which they play in the three succeeding compositions creates a strong, iconographically expressed connection among them conveying the basic conceptual background of afterlife beliefs.

Assuring the unbroken relation between the two components of human being, i.e. the cyclical returning of the *ba* (travelling on the sun bark) in order to rejoin its corpse residing in the realm of the dead (BD 89) seems to be the most important purpose in this context.

II. 2. Lower part

Inserting the scene with the funerary bier between the two long horizontal scene bands is not only an exiting iconographic solution, but places the deceased lying on the funerary bier in the exact centre of the upper part which occupies the central scene panel directly under the image of the winged *Nut* on the breast, and above the standing figure of *Osiris* and the

²⁹ See also e. g. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 1522 (see above, n. 14); K.A. Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, Warminster 1988, II, p. 140 (Inv. 529 = No. 59); Gasse 1996, pl. XXXVIII (Inv. no. 25013.2.1); Taylor 2003, pl. 61 and 65 (BM EA 25256 and 6691).

³⁰ Seeber 1976, 25.

³¹ E. Feucht, *Verjüngung und Wiedergeburt*, SAK 11 (1984), 411.

winged *Isis* on the lower zone, thus providing a vertical axis going along the whole length of the coffin lid that is to emphasise the key figures of the decoration.

The lower part – although entirely separated – rhymes with the upper decoration field in many other respects, too. Firstly, the central figure of the lower part is *Osiris* standing in his chapel who wears exactly the same garment with the *atef* crown as in the judgment scene, so linking thematically the upper and lower zones to each other. Furthermore, he is surrounded by two pairs of human-headed protective gods holding / presenting coloured pieces of linen and *maat* feathers in the same way as they do in the judgement scene. Moreover, as we have mentioned above, the colours of the linen held by the deities recall the colour pattern of the special cloak worn by *Osiris*. The *hkr*-frieze of his sanctuary also refers to the Judgement Hall and the vignette of the BD 125 on the upper zone; i.e. the mythical / ritual events took place there.³² The reappearing figures, colours and iconographic motifs unambiguously are used in order to create semantic and symbolic cohesion between the figures of the different scenes of the lid.

II.3. Texts

As for the offering invocations inscribed on the coffin and their cohesion with the figures in the scenes, it is worth mentioning that *Anubis*, one of the standard figures of the coffin decoration / inscriptions from the Middle Kingdom is somewhat surprisingly quite absent from the texts as well as from the scenes. *Geb*, on the other hand, seems to play a relatively important role on the coffin: he is represented once among the gods surrounding the figure of the standing *Osiris*, and invoked four times on the lid and once in the inscriptions appearing on the bottom of the case. It may be attributable to the fact that after the New Kingdom – together with *Nut* as parents of *Osiris* – he gradually gained more significance.³³

The other invoked gods, especially as for the single horizontal text lines to separate the different scene panels from each other, are different aspects of the great god and members of the circle protecting the body of *Osiris*, i.e. *Geb* and the sons of *Horus*.

³² The *hkr*-frieze as symbolic reference to the Judgement Hall: Taylor 2003, 111, n. 155.

³³ S. Grallert, *SAK* 23 (1996), 164. See also the triad of Re – Geb – Osiris in the often used formula: „Ach im Himmel bei Re / mächtig auf Erden bei Geb / gerechtfertigt in der *hrt-ntr* bei Osiris” (J. Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien I: Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches*, Heidelberg 2002, 147-148. According to its texts and scenes, the same triad obviously attached great importance to the Krakow coffin, too.

III. THE COFFIN AS SACRED ENVIRONMENT: THE CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND OF THE ICONOGRAPHICAL ARRANGEMENT

The new type of innermost coffins carefully sculpted in order to reproduce the body-contours was made of wood and consisted of two parts fitting together hermetically like a shell ('bivalve type').³⁴ The main purpose of the design was to express the divine qualities of the deceased which were gained through participating in the *Osirian* rebirth and the solar cycle simultaneously. As for the decoration surfaces provided by the new coffin type, the design of the frontal body-field seems to become the main vehicle carrying the greatest concentration of symbolic imagery.³⁵

The other typical feature was applying the coffin with pedestal and dorsal pillar to give it an explicitly sculptural form.³⁶ This technical / iconographic solution emphasises the symbolism of the coffin as *divine image*. The lid of the *standing* anthropoid coffin alludes to the ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth performed at the funeral, while *djed* pillars depicted on the bottom of the case recall the festive ritual of the Raising of the *Djed*, i.e. two *rites de passage* of primary importance for the transformation of the deceased. The standing position of the coffins and other pictorial allusions to important religious ceremonies organised by temples on the coffin³⁷ together were believed to give full guarantee for the eternal participation in them.

The standing position of the coffin also gives full meaning of the *Apis* bull regularly appearing on the footboard, obviously referring to the chthonic locale of the events; i. e. the Underworld under the earth.

One of the iconographic features characterising anthropoid coffins of the previous period, i. e. the (micro)cosmic circle bordered by the top of the head (scarab beetle / sky) and the footboard (*Apis* / underworld) disappeared as the figure of *Nephthys* became the typical motif of the former place. Furthermore, this is the reason why the winged figure of *Isis* whose logical iconographic position would be opposite that of *Nephthys* on the crown of the head has been placed on the feet.³⁸

A careful investigation of the coffin decoration can reveal several horizontal and vertical composition structures involving richly varied cosmic and mythical connotations.

³⁴ Taylor 2003, 112.

³⁵ Taylor 2003, 114.

³⁶ Taylor 2003, 112.

³⁷ See also the representation of the ritual of Raising of the *Djed* itself on a *krsu*-type rectangular coffin: CG 41001 *bis* (Moret 1913, fig. 14, pl. IV where *Horus* and *Thot* erect the *djed*-pillar).

³⁸ Taylor 2003, 116.

III.1. *Magical protection around the mummified deceased lying inside the coffin created by winged gods and goddesses*

On the chest-zone of the lid, under the collar *Nut* spreads out her wings in order to take the deceased under her protection, replacing the Lybian tradition of depicting the winged nocturnal aspect of the „great god” on the breast. The winged figures of kneeling *Nut* and *Isis* on the Karkow coffin are exact iconographical counterparts in every respect, this way emphasising the symbolical protection provided at the ends of the vertical axis. The circle of magical protection is completed or supplemented from both sides by the figures of the hawks with *wedjat* eyes that seem to follow the usual pattern according to which the lateral compartments bordering the central scene on lids of anthropoid coffins are traditionally used for representing winged protective gods or goddesses.

III.2. *The composition of scenes on the upper part of the lid*

As we mentioned above (II.2.), the vignette of the chapter 89 of the BD with the *ba* returning to the mummified body is flanked by two long scene bands. The three scenes this way seem to form a cycle, the conceptual backgrounds of which are mutually connected with and referring to each other. The central scene is evidently placed to ensure the free movement of the *ba*-aspect and the cyclical reintegration of all parts, components and aspects of the deceased. The free movement itself is represented in the lower scene band where the sun god and the *ba* of the deceased appear in the same sphere. It guarantees for the deceased that she would participate in the cyclical renewal. The vignette of the BD 125 also refers to eternal life in the afterworld, since the representation of the *following* events, i.e. her introduction to the divine society proves that she as deified being would gain a venerable status and sustenance among gods.

III.3. *The Stundenwache and BD 151*

Another divine circle appears around the body of *Osiris* (1) lying on the funerary bier in the purification tent which alludes to the mythical event of the nightly vigil evocated in the ritual context of *Stundenwache* in order to protect the mythical protagonist / the deceased against evil forces (see the liturgy of BD 169 inscribed on the bottom of the case). The divine circle surrounding the mummy covered by the lid refers, on the other hand, (2) to the situation represented on the vignette of the BD 151 where the members of the divine circle guarding the mummified body in the *funerary chapel* are enumerated.³⁹ By the head and the feet *Nephthys* and *Isis* mourn for him, at the same time protecting the deceased who has been identified with the god of the Underworld. The

³⁹ Assmann 2002, 164.

safety of the mummy rising from the death is guaranteed by apotropaic deities (in this case: *Imsety*, *Geb*, *Duamutef*, supplemented by an excerpt from the text of the same chapter)⁴⁰ and a pair of *wedjat* eyes on both sides. The circle of magical protection is completed on the back by the gods invoked in the funerary texts inscribed on the bottom of the case.

III.4. *The scene with the sun bark*

The scene with the solar bark seems to be derived from New Kingdom royal versions of the Book of the Night where the prow with the sun child is a common motif.⁴¹ On the other hand, the aspect of the hawk-headed sun god and the crew of the bark much rather allude to the boats appearing in the New Kingdom versions of the Book of the Day.⁴²

The motif of the two solar barks frequently appears on the two sides of the vaulted lid of *krsw*-coffins of the given period.⁴³ The parallel scenes with the simultaneous representation of the nightly and daily journey of the sun god conveying the meaning of the eternal continuity of solar cycle. Although the motif of the divine child sitting on the prow originally (in the New Kingdom) tends to feature the night bark, *krsw*-coffins apparently use the iconographic motif rather inconsequently.⁴⁴

While *krsw*-type coffins refer to the body of *Nut* as a whole, in the case of anthropoid coffins their lid for itself has the same connotation since it was identified with the nocturnal body of the sky goddess. Thus the depiction of *the pair of barks* is apt to condense complex cosmic implications, i.e. the symbolism of uninterrupted continuity of solar cycle. In the case of the Krakow anthropoid coffin, however, due to lack of space only one bark is represented

⁴⁰ Elias 1993, 708-711; M.K.W. von Falck, *Textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Götterreden und verwandten Texten auf ägyptischen Särgen und Sarkophagen von der 3. Zwischenzeit bis zur Ptolemäerzeit. (Diss. Münster 2001) II*, 149-155; Assmann 2002, 132.

⁴¹ A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (BS XL.1), New York 1954, pl. 192-196; K. Goebis, *GM* 165 (1998), 57-66; Roulin 1996, 75-76, with further references; Feucht 1984, 411 and n. 43; for broader connotations of the motif, see: W. Waitkus, *Die Geburt des Harsomtut aus der Blüte. Zur Bedeutung und Funktion einiger Kultgegenstände des Tempels von Dendera*, SAK 30 (2002), 380-382.

⁴² See e. g. Piankoff 1954, pl. 188-191; the hawk-headed god in the night bark appears to be an iconographic solution apparently influenced by representations and accompanying texts occurring on 21st Dynasty Theban funerary papyri: Roulin 1996, 80.

⁴³ E. Thomas, *JEA* 42 (1956), 65-79, esp. 69 where the author enumerates the representations of solar boats making circuit on arched lids of *krsw*-type coffins (e.g. Cairo 41001-2, 9, 14, 18, 22, 28, 31, 40, Leiden M 20; Florence 2126) and c.f. a modell *krsw* coffin with the same motifs (S. D'Auria – P. Lacovara – C.H. Roehrig, *Mummies and magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, Boston 1992 (repr.), 175-176).

⁴⁴ Roulin 1996, 80.

on the lid,⁴⁵ attributed with the divine child on the prow and flanked by adoring baboons (and the deceased) on both side.⁴⁶ The complexity of the motif consists in the fact – as it has been mentioned above – that the solar child traditionally appears to be the characteristic feature of the night bark,⁴⁷ while the composition of the crew strongly evokes another pattern, i.e. that of the solar boat of the Book of the Day. The solar child on the prow consequently appears to refer to the approaching moment of transferring the sun disc from one bark to another, and if so, the identification of the bark itself is not of primary importance, since it has no effect on the actual meaning: *the essence of the concept is the fact of the change* which is about to take place. The scene of the Krakow coffin depicts the last moments *before* the change of the barks,⁴⁸ presumably before dawn.

Through applying the scene with the solar bark, the Krakow coffin gets one more level of interpretation as *cosmogram*⁴⁹ as it becomes the reference to the

⁴⁵ See, on the other hand, the anthropoid coffin lid with the representation of *both* barks: Gasse 1996, pl. XXXII, 2 (In.no. D. 2067.5.1).

⁴⁶ For the *Sonnenaffen* adoring the rising sun / divine rebirth, see J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I (MÄS 19)*, Berlin 1969, 208-10, 344-345; J. Assmann, *ZÄS 110* (1983), 95; Feucht 1984, 411; S. Voß, *Ein liturgisch-kosmographischer Zyklus im Re-Bezirk des Totentempels Ramses' III. in Medinet Habu*, SAK 23 (1996), 391; J.C. Darnell, Hathor returns to Medamûd, SAK 22 (1995), 84. However, the motif sometimes seems to accompany the nocturnal aspect of the sun god, e.g. F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, Le Caire 1907, pl. LXXXVIII. C.f. the sunrise from an *otherworldly* point of view, according to which the roles of the eastern and western cardinal points are interchangeable, i.e. the place of sunset is the East, and that of sunrise is the West: Assmann 1969, 39, with reference to one of the inscriptions captioning the Schlußszene-composition in A. Piankoff – N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, New York 1957, No. 24; J.F. Borghouts, JEA 59 (1973), 114-115; J. F. Borghouts, *CdÉ 56/112* (1981), 273; J. van Dijk, *OMRO 66* (1986), 14 & n. 52.

⁴⁷ See above n. 41; nevertheless see the motif of the sunchild on the prow of both barks (the nightly and daily ones as well) appearing in the 21st Dynasty vignette of BD 168A (BM 10010, *Muthetepti*); A. Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, Freiburg – Göttingen 1989, fig. 4; A. Niwiński, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari* (Sarcophages) (CG 6029-6068), Le Caire 1996, fig. 53. See also E. Thomas, JEA 45 (1959), fig. 3; and c.f. the scene on a 21st Dynasty papyrus with Seth standing on the prow and defeating *Apophis* (Piankoff – Rambova 1957, fig. 54, Pap. *Heruben B*) which refers, on one hand, to the representation of the Book of the Day, but, on the other hand, it can be an allusion to the subject of the chapter 108 of the B. For the content of this chapter, see L. Kákósy, *Une version abrégée du chapitre 108 du Livre des morts*, In: *Studia Aegyptiaca VII*, Budapest 1982, 19-25; Borghouts 1973, 114-115, and Müller-Roth 2008, 56.

⁴⁸ Thomas 1956, 71, fig. of scheme D; another proof for this statement is the iconographic context of a 21st Dynasty version of the scene, see Piankoff – Rambova 1957, No. 11.

⁴⁹ Taylor 2003, 112.

eternally continuing celestial journey of the sun god across the sky (and through the netherworld) personified by the arched body of *Nut*, i.e. the coffin lid.

III.5. Sanctuary function and the figure of Osiris

As we have seen (II.2), the central figure of the lower part of the lid is the funerary god (*Osiris*) standing inside his chapel, flanked by the laterally arranged scene and text panels representing apotropaic gods in their own chapels on both sides. This arrangement strongly evokes the role of coffin as sanctuary, i.e. a typical function of the *ḳrsw*-type sarcophagi. The representation of *Osiris* in his shrine on the lower zone of the lid surrounded by apotropaic deities recalls, on the other hand, the traditional coffin layout used in the second half of the 21st dynasty which was to emphasise the role of the anthropoid coffin as funerary / divine sanctuary.⁵⁰

The special context, on the other hand, in which the god appears also has references to his role fulfilled in the scene and on the coffin. The special garment he wears seems to become an iconographical *topos* in funerary art as late as the Graeco-Roman Period.⁵¹

In our context the colourful pieces of linen offered by the sons of Horus seem to play a significant role not only here, but also in the scene of judgment and introduction into the divine society. Therefore one can inevitably associate them with the special garment worn by Osiris in both representations. Linen offering is to provide on one hand the bandages used for envelopping the body during the process of mummification, but some funerary texts make it obvious that the same symbolises the garment to be worn by the deceased after having transformed into a glorified and divine spirit. In consequence the linen clothes offered and received as funerary offering must have been meant to provide magical protection, rejuvenation and victory over enemies, i.e. identification with the fate of the divine ruler of the netherworld, Osiris, for its owner.⁵²

III.6. Texts

The long inscription bands running along both edges of the lid and case are evidently also intended to provide a strong magical protection for the deceased on these otherwise defenseless points where the two halves are fitted to each other.⁵³ Similar function must be attributed to the motif of the red bead-net pat-

⁵⁰ R. Van Walsem, *The Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, Leiden 1997, 358 (the tripartition of the legs); pl. 34-35.

⁵¹ D. Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris. Ein Studie zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 6), Mainz am Rhein 1990, 48-50.

⁵² Kurth 1990, 52-57.

⁵³ Cf. other pieces where the *Mehen* snake encircles the coffin around the edges (i.e. the mummy inside it), e.g. Firenze, inv. no. 2160 (*Tjesraperet*); Taylor 2003, 119.

tern applied on the same place which is widely used in the funerary context of the given period.⁵⁴

The five text columns – themselves are flanked by short horizontal lines from the head to the toes – on the back also seem to play an important part in the symbolism of the coffin. The monotonous repeating of stereotype offering formulas is markedly broken by the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula of *Atum*, that actually contains short liturgical fragments from the chapters 169 and 151b of the BD referring to the ritual texts cited during the nightly vigil (*Stundenwache*) which express the ultimate goal of the deceased (*b3 r pt / ḥ3t r dw3t*) that can be attained, on the other hand, only after the process of mummification, through rites performed during the funeral.⁵⁵ The words of invocation to *Atum*⁵⁶ (and so his figure) this way symbolically have been placed in the centre of the outer surface of the bottom. The liturgical fragments quoted from BD 169 and 151b inscribed there, on the other hand, appear to have strong iconographical (and ritual) connotations with some representations of the lid. It is worth mentioning first of all the figure of *Imsety* accompanied by the short „Canopic Utterance”, and the special garment worn by both figures of *Osiris* which can recall the same context, i.e. a sequence of events happening during the ritual when the deceased can finally gain power over his enemies after having received some selected types of clothes and weapons as markers of his distinguished status.⁵⁷

III.7. *Protective divine circles around the deceased*

According to the above, the protection surrounding the deceased has been multiplied, since it works

- a. around the deceased *actually* lying in the coffin (by divinities represented in scenes and invoked in texts);
- b. around the archetypal deceased lying on the funerary bier on the upper part of the lid, i.e. the central figure of the upper zone; and
- c. around the standing figure of *Osiris*; i.e. the central figure of the lower zone depicted inside his chapel.

Furthermore, one can draw the important conclusion that according to all indications the Krakow anthropoid coffin seems to take over some of the symbolic functions of *krsw*-type coffins, especially regarding (1) its sanctuary func-

⁵⁴ Taylor 2001, 167, 175 and 176.

⁵⁵ Elias 1993, 708-776; Assmann 2002, § 27 (p. 125), § 28 (126-127), 155-164.

⁵⁶ For the expression *mhy pr m Tm* referring to the cosmic creative activity of the invoked god: J. Zandee, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), B. Altenmüller 1975, 30-31; Elias 1993, 474, 579-580.

⁵⁷ The cloak can perhaps be identified with the *d3iw*-type mentioned in the chapter 169 of the BD: „Nimmt dir *sdb*-Kleid, deine Sandalen, deinen Stab und dein *d3jw*-Gewand, alle deine Waffen, daß du die Köpfe abschlägt und die Rebellen, die deinen Tod herbeigeführt haben.” (See Assmann 2002, 140-141).

tion and (2) the role it plays as medium manifesting or embodying the spheres of the celestial route of the sun. Consequently, it is questionable whether she originally did own any *ḳrsw*-coffin or not.

IV. THE COFFIN AS A PICTORIAL REFLECTION / ICONIC REPRESENTATION OF THE ERA

IV.1. *Inner coffins of the period; general features*

Used as part of a coffin set consisting of three parts, the type in discussion is always the inner piece of it, while the outer, largest coffin usually belongs to the *ḳrsw*-type.

As the most characteristic iconographical features of the upper part of the lid type in question one can stress the reappearance of the goddess *Nut* with outstretched wings on the breast, the horizontal figural zone below the goddess with the vignette of the BD 125 and the scene of the mummy on the bier with the *ba* bird hovering above it.

Approximately from the line of the waist on both sides text-blocks show up in the company of laterally arranged scene panels holding vignettes of mummy-shaped protective deities; an arrangement which produces a spectacular axial symmetry in the zone. Following the New Kingdom pattern there are texts on the top of the head and on the feet with the figures of *Nephthys* and *Isis*.

The bottom of the coffin case is usually decorated with a large-sized *dd*-pillar or vertical text columns, mostly excerpts cited from the BD.⁵⁸ Inside of both parts of the coffin further representations of the goddess (*Nut* or the goddess of the West) or texts inscribed in white on black-coloured base can be found.

IV.2. *Dating criteria*

Undertaking the typologization and relative dating of wooden sarcophagi of the 25th-26th Dynasties, M. RAVEN⁵⁹ examined the *Besenmut*-material. He divided the available coffins into four groups on the base of their chronological order. By the first generation still we can occasionally find cartonnages instead of the inner coffins made of wood.⁶⁰ This time the vignettes are more frequent than later and predominate over the surrounding texts.⁶¹ The second generation is, however, witness to a slow process of changing. At the time of the third and fourth generations it seems to be possible to separate two different types from each other: one is densely inscribed with texts, equipped with

⁵⁸ Elias 1993, 708.

⁵⁹ M. Raven, *On some coffins of the Besenmut family*, OMRO 62 (1981), 7-21.

⁶⁰ For example Boston 95.1407 b

⁶¹ See the former note.

only a few figural representations – it reflects the innovations of the Saite era. The other is illustrated with scenes more freely and abundantly – this raises the spirit of the Kushite period.

A significant addition to the above mentioned features is an orthographical problem, which must be accepted as decisive dating factor.⁶²

J.H. Taylor⁶³ (observing stylistic features in particular) and J.P. Elias⁶⁴ (studying first of all textual characteristics), examining the criteria at length, undertook the determination of the date of this type of coffins mainly on the evidence of the coffin-equipments belonging to the members of the *Besenmut*, *Montemhat* and *Hor A* families. This type of wooden inner coffins probably existed up to the time of the 6th century BC. In the following we will try to enumerate the most important iconographical features of the wooden inner coffin of *Takhenemet* which can be considered as dating factors, according to the criteria devised by Taylor.⁶⁵

From the beginning of the 7th century BC the winged scarab is replaced by the kneeling, crouching or standing *Nephthys* on the top of the head which after the early 7th century became the standard motif⁶⁶.

Sometime at the turn of the 8th and 7th centuries the colour of the female mask changed from yellow to rose.

The consequent representation of the ears can be observed from the second half of the 8th century BC, i.e. in the end of the 23rd Dynasty. The earrings or the pierce serving to fit the earring joined this from the second half of the 7th century BC (26th Dyn.).

On the breasts the figure of the goddess *Nut* came into general use on the account of the winged ram, which was customary in the previous period. The division of the wings of *Nut* became from three-partite to four-partite in the first half of the 7th cent. BC (25th-26th Dyn.). The head of *Nut* with the sun disc regularly overlapped the lower edge of the collar until the last quarter of the 7th century BC.⁶⁷

⁶² According to the results of A. Leahy (*SAK* 7 (1979), 141-153) who studied on the writing-method of the name Osiris, the *ntr*-sign (R 8) was introduced instead of the seated god-determinative (A 40) in the Libyan period and the usage of it became more and more frequent in the course of the 25th Dynasty. The progress of changing is comprehensible from about 740-730 B.C., one generation after *Takeloth III* and *Rudamon*. In the Saite period, however, this rule tends to change and the previous writing-method comes into prominence again.

⁶³ Taylor 1984, 27-57; Taylor 2001, 174-176; Taylor 2003, 111-119.

⁶⁴ Elias 1993, esp. 630-844.

⁶⁵ Taylor 1984, 2001, 2003.

⁶⁶ Taylor 1984, 51; Taylor 2003, 115-116.

⁶⁷ Taylor 2003, 115.

The increased number of horizontal registers on the upper body (c.f. the two long scene bands displayed on the coffin of *Takhenemet*)⁶⁸ is a later development, but sometimes occurred in earlier pieces.

The alternating coloured undercoat of the text bands on the lid became a characteristic feature from 700 BC (during the 25th Dyn.).⁶⁹

On the basis of the above, the coffin of *Takhenemet* could have been completed around the middle of the 7th century BC, or in the first third of the Saite era (cca. 675-630 BC).

IV.3. Peculiarities

It is important to emphasise, however, that a perfect parallel of the Krakow coffin has not been found among the roughly contemporary coffins of Theban *Monthu*-priests. On the other hand, undoubtedly are there some stylistic features which the examined piece shares with this coffin material: (1) the long text bands covering the bottom on the back; (2) the vignette of the chapter 89 of the BD appearing in prominent place, i.e. on the breast; (3) the kneeling winged figure of *Nut* on the breast with the sun disc including her name on the head.

As for the iconographical arrangement and selection of motifs applied on the coffin lid of *Takhenemet*, however, it can not be considered as a typical one at all. The arrangement and the number of the scenes displayed on the upper zone of the lid are uncommon, as well as the figure of the standing *Osiris* as central figure of the lower zone.

The physical appearance and typical features of the coffin of *Takhenemet*, on the other hand, do strongly remind us to a piece belonging to another coffin-group in some respects. The burials in question were found by E. SCHIAPPARELLI in the Valley of the Queens in the first years of the 20th century and the findings have been deposited in the Museo Egizio in Turin.⁷⁰ One group of the funerary ensembles consists of the coffins of the five children of an *Amon*-priest called *Paifu*, a family of 'lotus givers' cultivating ritual plants for use in temple ceremonies, among which some remains of wooden inner anthropoid sarcophagi⁷¹ - in their elaboration - unambiguously evoke the Krakow coffin. Particularly considerable is the

⁶⁸ A relatively close analogy may be Gasse 1996, pl. XLII (Inv.no. 25001.2.1), but the scene with the mummy lying on the bier is not flanked by the two long scene panels there.

⁶⁹ Taylor 1984, 55; Taylor 2001, 174.

⁷⁰ PM I, 2, 771; Schiapparelli 1923, 185-206; *Egyptian Civilization. Religious Beliefs*, 222; Donadoni-Roveri 1988, 69-70; Elias 1993, 145-172. See also the coffin of *Panes*, member of the Theban necropolis administration (Copenhagen NM AAa78, see n. 18 above).

⁷¹ S. 5241, S. 5247 and S. 5248.

lid belonging to *Takhaenbastet*⁷² because of its out-of-the-common decoration, the dark blue background⁷³ and the way of arrangement of the scenes. Similarly to the coffin of *Takhenemet*, the zone of the legs is divided here into three parts by a pictorial representation instead of the usual vertical text columns ('apron-text'): a large-sized scene of the standing *Osiris* in his shrine⁷⁴ flanked by *Isis* and *Nephthys*, as a rare parallel of that one which is represented on the coffin of the lady *Takhenemet*. E. SCHIAPPARELLI considered the findings as a creation of a „transitional period”, which bears the characteristic features not only of the Theban, but of the Saite period as well („*un periodo di transizione che per una parte offre i caratteri del periodo tebano e per l'altra quelli del periodo saítico*”).⁷⁵ According to recent results, however, the closest parallel to our piece, i.e. the coffin of *Takhaenbastet* was dated back to the middle or second half of the 26th Dynasty.⁷⁶

IV.4. *Archaism*

Many parts of the decoration of the lid suggest a deliberate attempt to reviving patterns of older coffin types, composition schemes and iconographical motifs. In other words, the iconography and the arrangement of the applied motifs reveal a strong archaism in some respects which fits well into the general archaising tendency characterising the period of the 25th-26th Dynasties.

The archaism which can be observed on the iconographic layout of the lid must be a result of a careful selection among past traditions of the Middle and New Kingdoms as well as those of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties and reflects the continuous efforts of the historical milieu to find the ideal arrangements of motifs and perfect iconographic solutions in the available older sources and well-known traditions which were considered to be apt to represent the multi-level conceptual background of contemporary Egyptian afterlife beliefs.

The experimental mind of the period reveals, on the other hand, a strong intellectual hesitation and spiritual insecurity. The process of selection can be interpreted as transgression of the original rules of usages (a kind of „crossing of boundaries” or „overstepping of limits” in anthropological sense), since the selected components emerge from their original systems or structures where

⁷² S. 4248.

⁷³ Elias 1993, 172, n. 170; Taylor 2001, 174-175.

⁷⁴ Donadoni-Roveri 1988, 69, No. 13. For a third parallel displaying the same motif, see the coffin of *Panes* (n. 18 and n. 70; Schmidt 1919, fig. 1118).

⁷⁵ Schiapparelli 1923, 197 and PM I, 2, 649.

⁷⁶ Elias 1993, 171-172; Taylor 2001, 174-175.

they played their special parts.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the transgression of original rules and avoiding original systems is the very circumstance that allows at the same time the components to fulfil divergent or even unconventional roles and interplay in the new structure / composition with each other.

The selection itself is able to characterise the intentions and ideas of the all-time compilers, revealing their opinions about and attitudes towards the world around them, which are determining factors during creation of reinterpretations.

Middle and New Kingdom traditions

The (re)appearance of the kneeling figures of *Isis* on the feet and *Nephthys* on the top of the head is a typical feature which links the coffins of the period with those used in the Middle and New Kingdoms. The same can be said of the breast zone where the kneeling figure of *Nut* succeeded the winged ram-headed nightly aspect of the sun god, i. e. the traditional layout of the previous period.⁷⁸ The four sons of *Horus* and the *wedjat* eyes were originally placed on the outer sides of the coffin case. The same tradition seems to be continued on outer coffins used by the Theban high priests and members of their families during the 21st Dynasty.⁷⁹

21st Dynasty traditions

The vulture head-dress is a frequent attribute appearing on female anthropoid coffins as early as the 21st Dynasty⁸⁰ which sometimes alternates with the simpler striped wig in later times.⁸¹ The uniform iconography of the winged *Isis* and *Nut* is also a legacy herited from the New Kingdom / 21st Dynasty.

As we mentioned above, the iconographical arrangement of the upper and the lower zones of the lid considerably differ from each other. The upper half of the decoration field (approx. between the lines of breast and waist) has a markedly and typically horizontal arrangement. On the other hand, the lower zone (on the legs) seemingly shows a vertically arranged composition. These features undoubtedly recall the composition structure of the coffins produced in the second half of the 21st dynasty.⁸² The sanctuary-like character, furthermore, also brings up or revive the artistic tradition of the same period.⁸³

⁷⁷ W. Iser, *The Fictive and the Imaginary*, Baltimore and London 1993, 6-7.

⁷⁸ Taylor 2003, 114

⁷⁹ G. Daressy, *Cercueils des Cachettes Royales*, Le Caire 1909, CG 61027, 61028, 61029, 61032. See also Gasse 1996, pl. XXXVII (Inv.no. XIII.2.2); Jørgensen 2001, 1:13 (Inv.no. AEIN 62).

⁸⁰ Van Walsem 1997, 113.

⁸¹ See for example the second coffin of *Nesmutaatneru* (MMA 95. 1407b-c: D'Auria – Lacovara – Roehrig 1992, No. 125), and the inner coffin of *Tabakenkhonsu* (MMA 96.4.3).

⁸² Van Walsem 1997, pl. 34-35 (See n. 41).

⁸³ Van Walsem 1997, 358-361.

The legacy of the Libyan period (22nd Dynasty)

The entire surface of the lid is varnished and the scenes have a dark blue background (presumably in order to imitate the colour of *lapis lazuli*) with yellowish figures (imitating gold) on it. The choice of this colour scheme is rather special, but represents a coffin type of the 22nd Dynasty.⁸⁴

Another innovation of the Libyan period is the introduction of the motif of the *Apis* bull (with or without mummy on its back) on the footboard of anthropoid inner coffins. It is also in the same period when *Osirian* motifs dominated along the vertical axis of the lower part of the coffin lid. The rare occurrence of the figure of *Osiris* standing in his shrine⁸⁵ in the Saite epoch proves that the tradition had not disappeared without any trace.

Additionally the proportion of the texts and scenes on the lid is worth mentioning which is much more characteristic of the Kushite period than the Saite era.

V. SEARCHING FOR *TAKHENEMET*

It turned out from the inscriptions of the coffin of *Takhenemet*⁸⁶ that her father's name was *Bakenreni* and her mother was called *Tabak(en)khonsu*. However, the owner of the coffin does not seem to be identifiable with anybody known from the previous studies. According to that she cannot be „*Takhenemti P*“, the wife of *Djedbastetefankh* and the mother of „*Neseramun V*“, who lived about the end of the reign of *Osorkon III*, since her father's name is *Hor*, and her grandfather was named *Pakhal*.⁸⁷ Of course she is not equal with „*Takhenemti II*“ as well, whose name appeared at the time of *Takeloth II* and *Osorkon III*: she is the daughter of „*Harsiese C*“ and „*Isetweret I*“ and the sister of „*Djedmutesankh VI*“ and „*Djedkhonsuefankh C*“.⁸⁸ Likewise, the parents

⁸⁴ Taylor 2001, 172-173 and 174-175.

⁸⁵ The *Osirian* motifs on the same place, e.g. the Abydos fetish are more frequent, see for example Copenhagen, Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg AEIN 1522 (see n. 14); BM EA 25256 (Taylor 2003, pl. 65); BM EA 6691 (Taylor 2003, pl. 61); Gasse 1996, pl. XXXVIII,1 (Inv.no. 25013.2.1).

⁸⁶ Her personal name reflects an important aspect of the intellectual character of the period when high-ranking priestesses strongly linked to cults of different child-gods playing the ritual role of the „divine mother“ or „nurse“ (*hnmt*) of them (FAZZINI 1988, 8-14; J. TAYLOR, In: I. SHAW (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 2000, 361-362. *Takhenemet* seems to be a popular female name mainly in the second half of the Third Intermediate Period and became less frequently used in the 25th-26th Dynasty. I wish to thank Peter Gaboda for his help with the interpretation of the name.

⁸⁷ M.L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1330-664 BC)*, Warminster 1975, Chart XV; K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC)*, Warminster 1972, § 166.

⁸⁸ Bierbrier 1975, Chart XVII; Kitchen 1972, § 184.

of three other *Takhenemti* are known to us from this period.⁸⁹ No one of them seem to be that person we are looking for. It is worth mentioning furthermore a certain *Takhenemet* whose funerary stela is dated back to the 25th Dynasty.⁹⁰

On the basis of the high-quality elaboration of the Krakow coffin lid, one would easily ascribe to its owner a noble origin. It is really tempting to assume that *Tabak(en)khonsu* whose coffin set⁹¹ was discovered by E. NAVILLE at a *Hathor*-chapel in Deir el-Bahri,⁹² i.e. the well-known burial place of *Djedthotefankh*⁹³ and his mother, *Nesmutaatneru*⁹⁴ (members of the *Hor A* family), might have been the mother of our coffin owner. *Tabak(en)khonsu* was probably the niece of *Djedthotefankh*, and according to some scholars actually his wife.⁹⁵ *Djedthotefankh* died young, without offspring.⁹⁶ If the coffin set of *Tabak(en)khonsu* is one generation later than that of *Nesmutaatneru* in fact, it can be dated back to the years between 675-650 BC, i.e. at the turn of the 25th and 26th Dynasties, which date is confirmed by the examination of her funerary stele.⁹⁷ One can suppose a second marriage of *Tabak(en)khonsu*, this time to the man named *Bakenren(i)* and at least a single daughter (*Takhenemet*) of them.

There is another possibility at the same time, which must also be taken into account. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the wooden coffin of lady *Takhenemet* is a richly decorated piece of a fine quality, with some really extraordinary and rarely occurring iconographic motifs, although the inscriptions (mostly monotonously repeated offering formulae) are undoubtedly chosen with much less caution. Since two further contemporaneous coffin lids (those of *Takhaenbastet* in Turin and *Panes* in Copenhagen mentioned above in IV.3) are known which do not only seem to display the same rarely occurring iconographic patterns (mainly as for the colour schemes and scene repertoires), but show the same discrepancy between a surprisingly high-quality iconographical repertoire and

⁸⁹ O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Recueil des inscr. hiéroglyphiques de la Glyptothèque NY Carlsberg*, Bruxelles 1936, Inscr. 972 and J. Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1892 (repr. Hildesheim – New York 1979), No. 2457; 2. P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, Den Haag 1916-1920, VII, Tf. 14; 3; G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit (Beiträge zur Ägyptologie I)*, Wien 1978, 6.8.

⁹⁰ Brooklyn Museum 08.480.201: J.F. Romano, *The Armand de Potter Collection of Ancient Egyptian Art*, In: *Studies in Honor of W.K. Simpson, II*, Boston 1996, 710 and fig. 6.

⁹¹ New York MMA 96.4.1-4; ELIAS 1993, 654-655, 663 (table 5), and 669.

⁹² PM I, 2, 649.

⁹³ Coffin set: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum Inv. no 1895, 153 and 155-156.

⁹⁴ Boston MFA 95. 1407a-d.

⁹⁵ Taylor 1984, 46; *Mummies and Magic* 1992, 173; Elias 1993, 283-284.

⁹⁶ Taylor 1984, 46 and n.1.

⁹⁷ P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, Glückstadt 1973, 188; Taylor 1984, 34.

a rather modest quality of texts, one can agree with J.P. ELIAS who supposed that the owners of the coffins displaying such extraordinary designs might have been associated somehow with the Theban artisans involved in coffin production.⁹⁸ According to the above the inner coffin of *Takhenemet* in Krakow must have been produced *at the same workshop* where those of *Takhaenbastet* and *Panes* were made, and this fact raises the question whether the owner of the Krakow coffin could have had certain family ties with the community of 'lotus givers' buried at Deir el-Bahri or Theban artisans who appear to have created their own, highly individualised Saite coffin lid style.

The two possibilities having been sketched above are only hypotheses. Without determining her identity, however, only on the basis of her wooden inner coffin of the highest quality, one can suppose that *Takhenemet*, the owner of the wooden anthropoid coffin in Krakow must presumably have had a privilege of a rich and magnificent funeral, perhaps equipped originally with a coffin set consisting of more than one part, of which nowadays only the inner coffin is available. The latter *in itself*, however, is a prominent piece among the similar relics manufactured around the second half of the 7th century BC.

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[All photographs courtesy of the Czartoryski Museum]

⁹⁸ Elias 1993, 172, n. 170.



Fig. 1, 2. Fragments of the coffin of Takhenemet,
Czartoryski Museum, Inv. No. MNK XI – 481.



Fig. 3, 4. Fragments of the coffin of Takhenemet, Czartoryski Museum, Inv. No. MNK XI – 481.

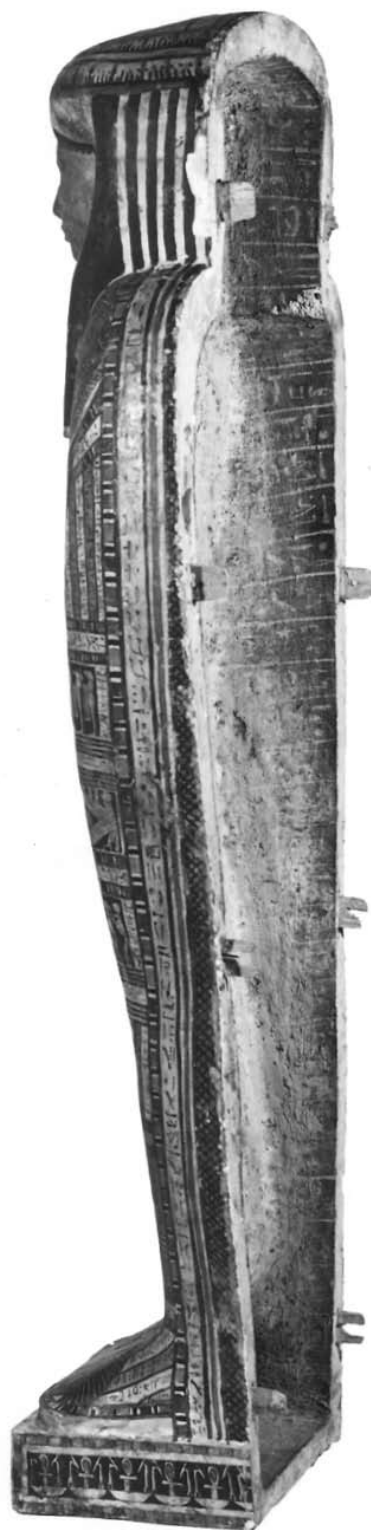


Fig. 5. Lid of the coffin of Takhenemet, Czartoryski Museum, Inv. No. MNK XI – 481.

