

# Montu priestly families at Deir el-Bahari in the Third Intermediate Period



**Abstract:** The mostly intact Twenty-fifth Dynasty *qrsw*-coffin sets of Heresenes and Montu priests Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) were discovered on the Upper Terrace at Deir el-Bahari by Émile Baraize in 1932–1933, but have never been fully studied or published. The Twenty-second Dynasty intact cartonnage of the *hsyt n hnw n imn* Shauamunimes (Cairo TR 21.11.16.5) was purchased in Gurna in 1893, said to come from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna. Other coffin and cartonnage fragments belonging to Montu priests and *hsyt n hnw n imn* were found in recent excavations on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple. This paper outlines the development of a necropolis particularly favored by Montu priests in the Hatshepsut temple and the area east of it. It describes the *qrsw*-coffin sets from the Baraize find and discusses the identity of several *hsyt n hnw n imn* named Shauamunimes from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

**Keywords:** Deir el-Bahari, Baraize, Montu priests, *hsyt n hnw n imn*, *qrsw*-coffin set, cartonnage, Heresenes, Padiamunet (iii), Nespaqashuty (vi), Shauamunimes, Twenty-second Dynasty, Twenty-third Dynasty, Twenty-fifth Dynasty

The Valley of Nebhepetra Montuhotep was associated with the cult of the god Montu at least by the Eleventh Dynasty when Nebhepetra constructed his mortuary monument there on the west bank at Thebes with foundation plaques naming Montu and Montu-Ra (Sheikholeslami 2018). Probably around the beginning of the New Kingdom, and especially during the reign of Hatshepsut, the Valley was incorporated into the domain of the cult of Amun, then gaining ascendancy at Karnak particularly for the legitimization of the ruler, who was believed then to be the god's offspring. In the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the area became a favored burial place for the priests of Montu.

Cynthia May Sheikholeslami

Independent researcher

## The research trail and acknowledgments

It is now 86 years since the winter of 1932–1933 when Emile Baraize discovered (but never published), a cache of Twenty-fifth-Dynasty burial equipment in what is now designated Tomb XVIII in front of the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut on the Upper Terrace at Deir el-Bahari. Sixty-four years have elapsed since Bruyère (1956) published a list of the objects and the names, titles, and genealogical information from them, and since Kees (1956) studied the three main *qrs*w sets of Heresenes, Padiamunet (iii), and Nespaqashuty (vi), and they both attempted to reconstruct a family tree on the basis of connections with information from other monuments (see Payraudeau 2014/I: 157, Fig. 47, and Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 67, Fig. 2 for the family tree with the dating assigned by Payraudeau). Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) were priests of Montu, descendants of the vizier Nespaqashuty B and his wife Diesenesyt A, daughter of Takelot III. I first saw the beautifully preserved inner coffins of Heresenes, Padiamunet (iii), and Nespaqashuty (vi) in 1975 and for the ensuing 43 years, as time and opportunity permitted, I have been on the trail of the objects discovered by Baraize, attempting to reconstitute his find and collate the texts. It has been a long path, and I have been helped immeasurably along the way by inspectors and officials from what is now the Ministry of Antiquities of Egypt, particularly from the West Bank Inspectorate at Luxor, as well as by the staff of the Luxor Museum, for which I am extremely grateful.

I was privileged to begin my studies of the *qrs*w and outer anthropoid coffins and shabti boxes stored in the tombs of Neferu (TT 319) and Padiamunope (TT 33) in 1976 and on several subsequent occasions, until eventually many of the objects were moved to the magazine of the Luxor Museum, where I was able to continue work with the coffins as they underwent conservation, and with the remaining pieces that were transferred to the el-Taref Magazine when the TT 33 project directed by Traunecker began its work. Now some objects have been transferred from the Luxor Museum to the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization and the Grand Egyptian Museum in Cairo and to the Sohag Museum. At least one object, the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette of Padiamunet (iii), was sold in New York in 1952, and the outer anthropoid coffin of Heresenes was seized when someone was trying to get it out of Egypt illegally, and in the 1990s it was noted in the Museum of Seized Objects in the Citadel in Cairo (currently closed for renovation) and included in the Bonn Totenbuch database, along with the papyrus found under the head of Heresenes in her inner coffin now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo (JE 96272; Scalf 2017: 98, Fig. 8.2, 115, Fig. 9.7).

In 1999, endeavoring to find more fragments belonging to the coffins of priests of Montu published by Moret (1913) and Gauthier (1913), I visited the Polish–Egyptian Mission at the Hatshepsut temple to see if they had located any of the shafts shown in the sanctuary in Wilkinson’s 1827 plan. This attracted the attention of the mission to the possibility of shafts dug into the floors, and under the direction of Franciszek Pawlicki, Mirosław Barwik, and particularly Zbigniew Szafranski during the subsequent decade of work on the Upper Terrace, eventually 16 tombs were located, one of which turned out to be the likely location of Baraize’s find (Tomb XVIII). I have been fortunate to have been invited to join the team of the Polish–Egyptian Mission at the Hatshepsut Temple to continue work on the Baraize find and other discoveries.

The interconnected shafts inside the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut proved to contain fragments of burial equipment of ancestors of Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi), some of which have now been studied by Frédéric Payraudeau (2018, in this volume). Although Bernard Bruyère described part of the cartonnage of the vizier Padiamunet (ii) discovered by Baraize, it seems unlikely it was originally from

Tomb XVIII; it may have wound up there perhaps at some later time due to disturbance of his original burial, probably in one of the shafts inside the Southern Chapel.

Fragments of the coffins of the vizier Pami (ii) were found by Herbert A. Winlock in a cache of coffin fragments from the northern half of the middle terrace (for Winlock's photograph, see Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 66, Fig. 2), and I am grateful to the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for permission to work on several occasions with the photographs and tomb cards in the Winlock archive, which include this and other Third Intermediate Period material from Deir el-Bahari from his excavations.

Working in the Northwest Chapel, Barwik (2003) excavated three interconnected shafts that included objects belonging to two *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* named Shauamunimes, one of whom was the daughter of a priest of Montu, and the other of a Pakharu, who is probably the vizier who married another daughter of Takelot III, Irbastetudjanefu, whose burial equipment has long been in Paris. This discovery suggested that the Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnage of another *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* Shauamunimes, daughter of a *ms (wr)* of the Libyan Meshwesh, which had no provenance given in the register of the Egyptian Museum Cairo, might also be from Deir el-Bahari. Although it was recently learned that this cartonnage was purchased in Gurna and was said to come from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Maspero 1883: 307, 311 [No. 4937]), it may in fact originate from a tomb in the close vicinity of Hatshepsut's temple, as in the Twenty-first and early Twenty-second Dynasties a number of sometimes reused tombs were located on the periphery of the Hatshepsut enclosure, including the entrance to the Bab el-Gusus cache of coffins of priests and priestesses of Amun in a corridor tomb extending below the first court. It has therefore been included in this project.

Four intact mummies, in the Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnage of Shauamunimes and in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffins of Heresenes, Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi), were studied with the support of a grant I received from the Antiquities Endowment Fund through the American Research Center in Egypt, administered by the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo (Sheikholeslami and Ikram 2017). The results are published in this volume (Ikram et al. 2018).

Documentary photography of the objects from the Baraize find, now scattered in various museums and magazines in Luxor and Cairo, has been undertaken by the Polish–Egyptian Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, under the direction of Zbigniew Szafrński.

I am grateful to Erhart Graefe and Kenneth Griffin for their interest in and study of the texts from the *Stundenritual* inside the vaulted lids of the *qrs*w coffins of Heresnes and Nespaqashuty (vi), published in their papers in this volume (Graefe 2018; Griffin 2018).

It is to be hoped that before the centennial of Baraize's discovery occurs in 2032–2033, the objects from the find can all be relocated, documented, conserved, studied, and published, so that it will be possible to reconstitute Tomb XVIII at least on paper, and perhaps in virtual reality, and that many of these objects, along with funerary equipment belonging to members of the same family from other shafts, will be displayed in different museums in Egypt to attest to the fine quality of high elite burial ensembles dating to the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties.

This material is also important documentation for the post-New Kingdom history of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, and can be included with items of the same date discovered during Naville's and Winlock's earlier excavations at the site, as well as from the more recent Polish–Egyptian excavations (Szafrński 2015).

The memorial temple built for Hatshepsut in the Valley had become a notable ruin already in the days of Richard Pococke in the mid-18th century (Sheikholeslami 2003), when many mummies could be observed among the monastic structures with a pharaonic building still underneath. A map prepared by the savants from Napoleon's expedition shows a sphinx-lined processional way leading to the temple enclosure from the flood plain, as well as some remains of the lower terrace and the ramps leading to the middle and upper terraces. A granite gateway was featured among the remains of the Coptic monastic structures built on the pharaonic walls of the Upper Terrace. Early 19th-century explorers frequenting the site included Giovanni Belzoni, who excavated in the whereabouts of the lower terrace, and Henry Westcar, who gave the name Deir el-Bahari to the site. It was probably at this time that an assemblage, still buried under deep mounds of debris, containing the burial equipment of Hor, son of the Montu priest Ankhhor (British Museum EA 15655, EA 27735<sup>1</sup>), belonging to a Twenty-fifth Dynasty priest, was recovered from the area.

A map, drawn by John Gardner Wilkinson in 1827, presenting pits flanking the bark shrine of the sanctuary (Sheikholeslami 2003), provides the earliest indications of the presence of tomb shafts on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple. Their existence (Tombs V and VI) was confirmed by the excavations of the Polish–Egyptian mission in 1998–1999 (Pawlicki 2000); two other shafts (Tombs IV and VII) were also

discovered in the sanctuary at the time (for the tomb numbering, see the plan in Szafranski 2015: 184, Fig. 1). In the mid-19th century, the French consul in Alexandria, Raymond Sabatier, was granted a *firman* to collect coffins from Deir el-Bahari (Bruyère 1956: 26–27), and part of his collection included the coffin of another priest of Montu, Besenmut (British Museum EA 22940), presumably belonging to a group of coffins removed by V. Galli Maunier in 1854 from the shafts in the northwest corner of the Middle Terrace. The shafts were then re-discovered by Édouard Naville in 1894 at the northern end of the middle colonnade (Sheikholeslami 2003). It was also in 1854 that Heinrich Brugsch visited Thebes, reporting afterwards a shaft opening into two chambers in the doorway between the Eighteenth Dynasty and Ptolemaic sanctuaries on the Upper Terrace; the existence of this shaft (Tomb VII) was once again confirmed by the Polish–Egyptian mission in 1998–1999 (Pawlicki 2000).

John Beasley Greene cleared the debris from above the northwest chapel on the Upper Terrace in 1855 without noticing any of the three shafts (Tombs XV, XVI, XVII), which became visible only when the Polish–Egyptian mission cleared the chapel in 2000. For over a century the shafts nearly escaped recognition, although Naville must have seen the northernmost one (Tomb XVI) and all the shafts proved to be connected underground (Sheikholeslami 2003; Barwick 2003). Among the finds from the shafts were fragments of the *qrsw*-coffin of a *hsyt n hnw n imn* named Shauamunimes,

1 For photographs, see the British Museum online collections database.

daughter of Montu priest Pakharu (Barwik 2003: 125, Figs 3, 4, Pl. 80). An anthropoid coffin fragment also names a *hsyt n hnw n imn* named Shauamunimes and bears the name Pakharu, possibly the same as the Montu priest on the *qrs*w-coffin fragment (Barwik 2003: 124, Fig. 2, Pl. 79), although the traces preceding his name do not suit this title. Fragments of a cartonnage from the same location mention an otherwise unattested *it-ntr mry-ntr; wnwy nw pt m ipt-swt* Paenkharu, probably from the same family (Barwik 2003: 127, Figs 6, 7), as the priests of Montu in this period often bore those titles. His ancestry included a person entitled *idnw (n) pr-hd* and [*sš?*] *wdhw n pr imn <p?*>, and since a number of priests of Montu also had these functions in the late Twenty-third Dynasty (Sheikholeslami 2009), these fragments may possibly attest to two generations in another family of Montu priests interred at Deir el-Bahari. However, whether the three objects naming a Pakharu refer to one and the same man is not certain.

Among the many coffins (including the Roman coffin of Heter) retrieved in 1857–1858 from nine shafts located most likely in front of the hypostyle hall of Hatshepsut's Hathor Chapel at the southern end of the middle terrace were *qrs*w-coffin sets, dated probably to the Twenty-fifth and early Twenty-sixth Dynasties, belonging to members of the Besenmut family of Montu priests (Sheikholeslami 2003; see the family tree in Bohnenkämper 2015: 135, Table 2). These were subsequently taken by Auguste Mariette to the Bulaq Museum and later published in the *Catalogue général* of the Egyptian Museum by Alexandre Moret (1913) and Henri Gauthier

(1913). In 1895, Naville discovered an intact shaft in the northwestern corner of the hypostyle hall of the Hathor Chapel at Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1894–1895: 34–35). It contained the *qrs*w-coffin set of Nesmutaatneru, mother of Montu priest Djeddjehutyuefankh, as well as her son's own *qrs*w set, and the *qrs*w set belonging to a woman named Tabakenkhonsu, daughter of Montu priest Hor, himself the son of Montu priest Neseramun and grandson of Montu priest Ankhpakhered. While Tabakenkhonsu is usually assumed to have been the wife of Djeddjehutyuefankh, her relationship to other deceased buried in the same shaft is unknown.

In the 1932–1933 season, Émile Baraize discovered at Deir el-Bahari a shaft containing the *qrs*w-coffin sets of two other priests of Montu, Padiamunet (iii) and his nephew Nespaqashuty (vi) (Baraize 1933). Another *qrs*w set belonging to a woman named Heresenes, granddaughter of the vizier Djedkhonsuuefankh (E), usually assumed to have been the wife of Padiamunet (iii), was also discovered in the same shaft (Bruyère 1956). The inner coffins of the three sets, all containing intact mummies, were accompanied by canopic chests with jars containing the viscera of the deceased (for an examination of human remains, see Ikram et al. 2018, in this volume).

The Montu priest Padiamunet (iii) was the grandson of Takelot III through his mother, the king's daughter Diesenesyt (for the family tree, see Payraudeau 2014: 157, Fig. 47; Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 67, Fig. 3). On his father's side, Padiamunet (iii) was the great-grandson of the vizier Pami (ii), who was also the last attested Egyptian

entitled viceroy of Kush [Fig. 1]. Fragments of the burial equipment of Pami (ii) had been discovered by Herbert E. Winlock in a cache of coffin fragments on the Middle Terrace (Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 66, Fig. 2). The cartonnage of Padiamunet (iii)'s grandfather, the vizier Padiamunet (ii), was also discovered by Baraize, probably in one of the shafts (Tombs VIII–XIV) that were cleared by the Polish–Egyptian mission inside the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut in 2003–2007, yielding some fragments of his cartonnage (see Payraudeau 2018, in this volume). In 2008–2009, the Polish–Egyptian mission rediscovered the

shaft (Tomb XVIII) that had most likely contained the *qrsw*-sets of Heresenes, Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) in the court in front of the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut (Szafranski 2013: 136–139). It is clear that the southern part of the Upper Terrace at Deir el-Bahari had served as a burial place for this elite Theban family for some four generations in the Twenty-second/Twenty-third to Twenty-fifth Dynasties.

Summing up, altogether 16 Third Intermediate Period shafts (Tombs IV–XX) (Szafranski 2015: 184, Fig. 1) have now been rediscovered on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut Temple. These tombs

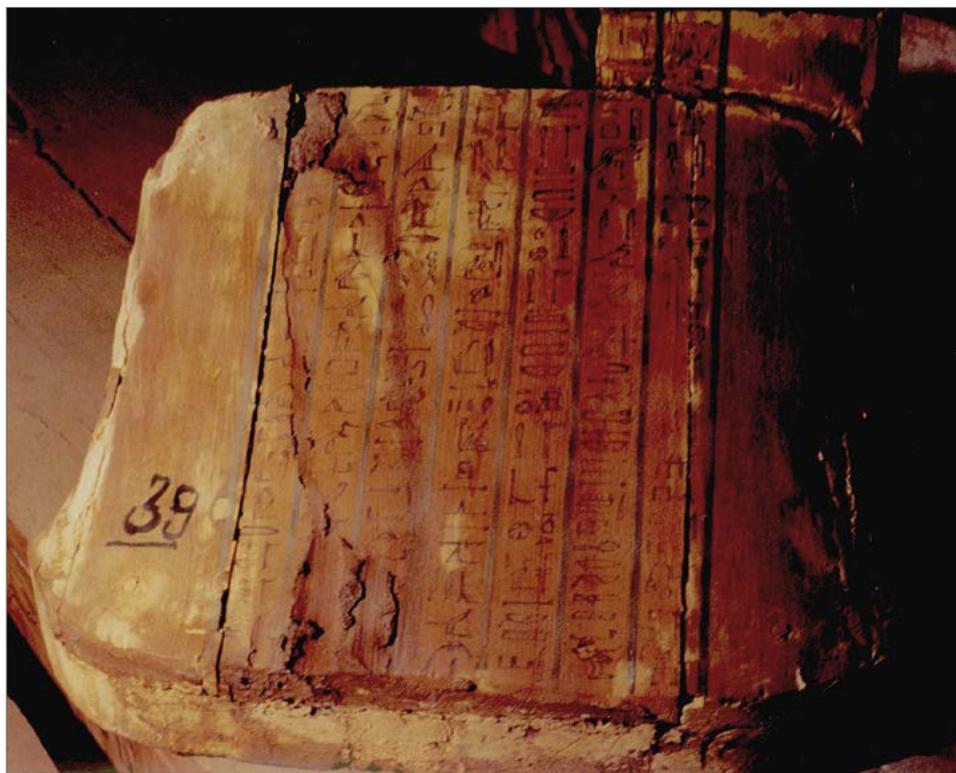


Fig. 1. The outer anthropoid coffin footpiece of Padiamunet (iii) with titles of *hm-ntr mntw nb iwnw*, *hm ntr mntw nb drty*, *s3 nswt n kš* in the third column from the right (Courtesy of the Ministry of Antiquities of Egypt/photo C.M. Sheikholeslami)

most probably originally contained Third Intermediate Period burials, particularly those of the elite families who served the cult of Montu.

It appears hardly accidental that the tomb of Montuemhat's father, Montu priest and Mayor of Thebes Nesptah A, was dug under the southeastern corner of the lower colonnade in the first court of the Hatshepsut temple, where his *grsw* coffin (Vassalli 1994: 110–112, Figs 8–10) was apparently discovered by Vassalli (Sheikholeslami 2003). Nesptah A's father and brother, both viziers, had chosen to be buried in the precincts of the Hatshepsut temple, already an elite burial ground used by some of their predecessors in office. The tomb of Montuemhat's grandfather, the vizier Khaemhor A, was located in the first court, just south of the ramp leading up to the Middle Terrace of the temple. Descendants of Montuemhat's cousin Raemmaakheru, son of his uncle, the vizier Paherer/Harsiese G and Djedmutesankh, might have been buried there as well, as the coffin lid of the Montu priest Paherer, son of the Montu priest Khaemhor (probably Khaemhor C, son of Raemmaakheru and Kakai) and Neskonsu, was later reused for a Roman burial located where the orchard of Nebhepetra had once flourished. The coffin lid is of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty type with a green face, dated to 650–625 BC (Taylor 2003). **Raemma-akheru**, son of the vizier Paherer/Harsiese G, was also a priest of Montu and probably served as mayor of Thebes, succeeding Nesptah A before Montuemhat assumed the position, and thus was probably an older cousin. Paherer being a rare name, it suggests

that this priest of Montu was a descendant of the vizier. However, the name Khaemhor was frequently used in the Montuemhat family, beginning with the vizier Khaemhor A, father of the vizier Paherer/Harsiese G and grandfather of Montuemhat.

Montuemhat himself, a number of whose relatives were priests of Montu, and who, through his cousin Tabatja, was related to the Besenmut family of Montu priests by marriage (Bohnenkämper 2015: 135, Fig. 2), located his vast temple tomb (TT 34) not far to the east of the Hatshepsut temple complex, along the southern side of the causeway leading to it.

The largest tomb in the Theban necropolis, belonging to the lector priest Padiamunope (TT 33), whose maternal family was associated with the cult of Montu in Armant, was also located there. A text found in the tomb entreats the “followers of Montu” to enter and study the texts and representations carved in the tomb (Traunecker 2014: 220–221; 2018: 136–137). Some texts naming Montu were also found in the present entrance area of the tomb, originally the porch at the rear of the porticoed court west of the open court with an entrance pylon. Thus, it may be assumed that the *šmsw mntw* included many of the priests of Montu buried in *ḫ int*.

Another text, found in the second court of the tomb of Montuemhat, may refer to the same sort of activity under the protection of Montu, on the occasion of an appearance of Amun, perhaps during the Feast of the Valley, which was associated with the cult of Amunope at the small temple of Medinet Habu (Djeme), in which Montu participated as the son honoring his deceased father during the rites of Khoiak:

Ô les doyens du palais, les nobles de la résidence, les courtisans qui (2) [///], [///], les prêtres ouâb, les prêtres ritualistes, [///] [qui gouvernent ? //] [/// province ?] en entier, tout homme, qui viennent à l'avenir, chacun dans son office dans le temple, qui naviguent vers le nord, qui naviguent vers le sud afin de voir Amon lors de son apparition, qui viennent pour ? (3) [///] ? [///] ent pour se divertir [à] l'ouest de Thèbes, qui passent devant cette tombe, qui entrent dans cet escalier (= hypogée), **Montou seigneur de Thèbes vivra pour vous, il vous fera rester en vie, vos enfants vous nourriront après une vieillesse durable comme ceci a été fait pour (moi) (4) [///] voyant ceci [///] les inscriptions, de sorte qu'on fasse pour vous de les réciter, veuillez écouter les paroles de vos ancêtres, [de sorte] que vous désiriez du fond de votre cœur accomplir un bienfait** (translation Desclaux 2014/I.4: 187, emphasis added)

A few priests of Montu of the Third Intermediate Period were associated with the treasury of Amun and/or the treasury of the pharaohs at Karnak (Sheikholeslami 2009). The treasury of Shabaqa was located behind the temple of Ptah (Licitra, Thiers, and Zignani 2014: 557–560), southwest of the temple of Montu, which was apparently convenient for the priests who served in the cult of Montu and who simultaneously worked in the treasury. An association with the treasury can be traced through the family of Montu priests Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) (Payraudeau 2014/II: dossiers 85, 89, 90, 101, 109, 162, 169) [see Table 1]. Their father and grandfather,

respectively, the vizier Nespaqashuty B, married to Diesenesyt, daughter of Takelot III, bore the titles *sš pr-ḥd n pr imn* [*hr s3 tp*], *imy-r pr-ḥd pr-3* and *rḥ nswt m3<sup>c</sup> mry.f* as well, indicating thus his personal relationship with Takelot III. His own father, the vizier Padiamunet (ii) is attested as *imy-r sšw pr-ḥd pr imn* on the outer anthropoid coffin of his great-grandson, Montu priest Nespaqashuty (vi). The vizier Pami (ii) had associated duties as *sš wdḥw pr imn* and *sš w3ḥ ḥtp-ntr ntrw nbw*, responsible for recording offerings, some of which certainly emanated from the treasury. More importantly, he also was a *ḥm-ntr* priest of Montu in both Tod and Armant, on top of being a *s3 nswt n kš* [see Fig. 1]. Regardless of the scope of his supervision over Kush, according to some sources limited to the Upper Egyptian territory between Edfu and Aswan (see Payraudeau 2014/I: 187, Note 115; Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 68), the Kush region no doubt remained the source of gold for the treasury coffers. The link between Kush and Egypt through the viceroy of Kush may have facilitated the acceptance of Kushite rulers in Thebes a few years later. On his statue Cairo JE 36938, Padiamunet (ii)'s great-grandfather Paenwwpeqer (i) is said to be attached to the treasury of Amun as *idnw pr-ḥd n pr-imn* (Payraudeau 2014/II: Dossier 89) and he is also in charge of the distribution of divine offerings as well as being titled 'eyes and ears of the king', another indication of a close relationship between the lineage of Montu priests and royalty. The name Paenwwpeqer, referring to a district of Abydos,

possibly indicates an Abydene origin for the family (Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 69), although by the time of Paenwpeqer (i) it was already well established in the Theban hierarchy.

The vizier Pami (ii)'s association with the cult of Montu as well as the administration of Kush may be one reason behind the important role of the priests of Montu in ensuring the legitimization of the Kushite rulers in Thebes, who apparently were accepted there without contest as the line of Takelot III and the Twenty-second Theban Dynasty came to an end about 750 BC (Sheikholeslami 2018; for the chronology, see Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 404–405). It is noteworthy that on the outer anthropoid coffin lids of both Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi), Pami (ii) is given an extended string of titles, being apparently the most distinguished of the ancestors of these Montu priests. Pami (ii)'s titulary is also quite complete on the lid of the *qrs*w-coffin of Padiamunet (iii), whereas Nespaqashuty (vi) displays pride in the titulary of his namesake, the vizier Nespaqashuty B on his own *qrs*w.

The titles of the family from the Baraize group, as recorded from their burial equipment, are usually not all given in a single string, but different titles are given (often singly) on both the exterior and interior coffin surfaces. Although a frequent practice for other elite coffins of the time, it makes their interpretation rather difficult. The most extensive titularies and genealogies tend to be written on the lids of the outer anthropoid cof-

fins, which were apparently meant to be viewed standing in an upright position as the carving of the face mask indicates. Outer coffin lids with face masks may have been the part of the burial equipment that was displayed at the funeral, while the mummy was in the process of being sealed in an inner anthropoid coffin and its decoration was being completed, and the parts of the *qrs*w-coffin were awaiting assembly in the tomb after the two anthropoid coffins had already been lowered into the tomb shaft. Thus, unless all parts of a set of burial equipment can be examined, some titles may be overlooked. Their distribution and ranking on the coffin sets require further study. Whether there is a chronological sequence of titles reflecting the course of a person's career is uncertain, although it is generally assumed that apparently lower-ranking titles reflect earlier stages of a career.

The earlier members of the family who served under the Twenty-second Theban/Twenty-third Dynasty also give prominence to their service in the cult of Amun. As may be observed in other contexts, Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi), descendants of Takelot III, instead feature *hm-ntr mntw nb w3st* (and sometimes even *mntw nb nst t3wy*, showing Montu's re-assertion of his Middle Kingdom role as a Theban deity, legitimator of kings, and hence backer, alongside Amun, of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty) as their most important and prominent title. Although this might be taken for a decline in status, the superb quality of their burial ensembles belies such an interpretation.

## THE BARAIZE GROUP

The first report on Baraize's discovery of a cachette of coffins and various funerary objects belonging to the "high priests and viziers" of the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties, found beneath the floor paving stones of the Hall of Offerings and the vestibule in front of it in the southern half of the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, mentions the following objects: four *qrsu* coffin sets, two of men, the "high priests" of Montu Padiamun and Nespaqashuty, and two of women, boxes with the canopics of the deceased, four wooden Osiris statuettes, various wooden shabti boxes, one painted standing wooden falcon as well as four crouching ones, eight recumbant jackals, also in painted wood, two cartonnage masks, and some Coptic material (Baraize 1933).

Although the shaft tomb had probably been disturbed already in antiquity, as the reference to Coptic material in the Baraize report may suggest, at the time of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty burials it may have resembled the intact Twenty-fifth Dynasty tomb shaft as discovered by Naville in the northwestern sector of the hypostyle hall of the Hathor Chapel at the southern end of the second terrace. Naville describes the opening of the tomb that contained the burials of the priest of Montu Djeddjehutyiuefankh, his mother Nesmutaatneru, and another woman Tabakenkhonsu, as follows: "At the bottom of a pit about 13 feet (3.96 m) deep, bricks and stones closed the narrow entrance to the tomb, which opened into a small, rock-hewn chamber. The space was nearly filled with three large wooden coffin-cases placed near each other, of

rectangular form, with arched lids, and a post at each of the four corners. On the two nearest the entrance were five wooden hawks, one on each post, and one about the middle of the lid. Each coffin-case had at the foot of the lid a wooden jackal, with a long tail hanging over the end. Wreaths of flowers were laid on them, and at head and foot stood a box containing a great number of tiny glazed shabtis" (Naville 1894–1895: 34–35).

Bruyère and Kees, in 1956, each published papers on the finds made by Baraize in the winter of 1932–1933, focusing on retrieving the prosopographic information from the objects.

Bruyère noted that the tomb was partly disturbed in the Coptic period, and listed the following objects, stored in the tomb of Neferu (TT 319) at that time: three large painted wooden *qrsu* coffins among a mix of boxes, broken empty coffins, unwrapped mummies and various objects of traditional funerary equipment. Bruyère noted that each *qrsu* coffin contained, customarily, a double coffin and a cartonnage, intact mummies with bead-nets bearing their names and titles, which he attributed to a single family, that of Montu priests Padiamunet and Nespaqashuty and the woman Her[ib]sens, wife of Pami and mother of Nespaqashuty, and shabti boxes bearing the same names. Found in the debris were fragments of the cartonnage of a vizier Padiamunet, assumed by Bruyère to have come from the same tomb, shabti boxes of Diesenesyt, a daughter of Takelot II and wife of Nespaqashuty, Tashakepher, the wife of Ankhpakhered and the mother of Her[ib]sens, Tashaiu, and Irethorru

(same Montu priest as CCG 41016, son of the *wꜥb* of Amun Pefiu, Moret 1913: 168–174; Jansen-Winkel 2009: 436–437 [52.164]). Bruyère, although he had not seen the interiors of the coffins of Nespaqashuty and Padiamunet himself, recorded some of the names and titles from the exteriors of the *qrsw*- and inner anthropoid coffin of Nespaqashuty, and the outer and inner anthropoid coffins of Padiamunet as well as from their shabti boxes [Fig. 2]; the shabti box of Diesenesyt; the cartonnage fragment of the vizier Padiamunet, and the *qrsw*- and

outer and inner coffins of Her[ib]sens. Photographs taken by Baraize, included in Bruyère’s report, show the *qrsw*-coffin of Nespaqashuty, partly restored, as well as his outer and inner coffins; the outer and inner coffins of Padiamunet (the inner coffin, in the center of its lid, facing the head end, bears a statuette that looks like a *b3*-bird or a crouching falcon); the *qrsw*-coffin with a detail of the lid of Her[ib]sens and her outer and inner anthropoid coffins with a crouching falcon statuette in the center of the lid facing the head end of the inner coffin.



Fig. 2. Nespaqashuty (vi) shabti box end, naming his father the vizier Padiamunet (ii), his mother Her(es), and her father the *rwd* <sup>3</sup> *hsf n niwt* (name lost); left, detail with the broken name of his mother’s father (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo W. Wojciechowski; editing C.M. Sheikholeslami)

Table 1. Data relating to the ancestors of Montu priests Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) (Based on Payraudeau 2014/II: dossiers)

Dossier No.	Object	Prosopographical data for:
85	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Cairo JE 36940 statue</li> <li>▶ Fragments of <i>qrs</i>w anthropoid coffin and cartonnage from Deir el-Bahari</li> <li>▶ British Museum EA 22913 Osiris statuette</li> <li>▶ Copenhagen MN 3545 stela of his son <i>p3-diw=f</i></li> </ul>	Vizier Pami (ii), son of Amun priest Padiamunet (i), father of the god's father Padiwef
89	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Cairo JE 36938 statue</li> </ul>	Treasury deputy Paenwwpeqer (i), son of Iahweben
90	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ British Museum EA 74909 coffin</li> </ul>	Amun priest and <i>rwd ʕ3 hsf n niwt</i> Paenwwpeqer (ii), possibly son of Padiamunet (i) and brother of the vizier Pami (ii)
101	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Louvre E 3863 coffin of Pami (iv), CCG 41036 <i>qrs</i>w of Pami (iv)</li> <li>▶ Louvre E 18846 coffin of Pa[enwwpeqer] (iii)</li> </ul>	Vizier Pakharu, son of the vizier Pami (ii), father of the Amun priest Pami (iv) and Paenwwpeqer (iii)
109	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Cartonnage fragment of Padiamunet (ii) from Deir el-Bahari</li> <li>▶ Coffin fragments from Deir el-Bahari</li> <li>▶ Mummy bandages with year 27 of a king <i>wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup></i> from Deir el-Bahari</li> <li>▶ Shabti box Luxor Museum J 315</li> <li>▶ <b>Outer and inner anthropoid coffins of Nespaqashuty (vi)</b></li> <li>▶ <b>Outer and inner anthropoid coffins of Padiamunet (iii)</b></li> </ul>	Vizier Padiamunet (ii), son of the vizier Pami (ii), grandfather of the Montu priest Padiamunet (iii), great-grandfather of the Montu priest Nespaqashuty (vi)
162	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Philadelphia E 2043 stela</li> </ul>	Scribe of the stable in the Amun domain Nespanetjerendjeraa B, son of the treasury deputy Paenwwpeqer (i) and brother of the Amun priest Padiamunet (i)
169	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Coffin fragment from Deir el-Bahari</li> <li>▶ <b>Outer and inner anthropoid coffins of Padiamunet (iii)</b></li> <li>▶ Shabti box of Padiamunet (iii)</li> <li>▶ <b><i>qrs</i>w and outer and inner anthropoid coffins of Nespaqashuty (vi)</b></li> </ul>	Vizier Nespaqashuty B, son of the vizier Padiamunet (ii), father of the Montu priest Padiamunet (iii) and grandfather of the Montu priest Nespaqashuty (vi)

→

In February 1953, Kees (1956) viewed the three out of four *qrs*w-coffin sets, i.e., those belonging to Padiamunet (iii), Nespaqashuty (vi) and Heresenes, stored in the tomb of Neferu (TT 319), claiming that Baraize must have found them in the antechamber to the chapel of Tuthmosis I.

Both Bruyère and Kees were primarily interested in the prosopographical information from the texts on the coffins discovered by Baraize.

Some of the data relating to the ancestors of Montu priests Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) has only now been re-studied, along with related monuments, and published by Payraudeau (2014/II: dossiers) [Table 1]. Aston (2009: 216–217) lists the objects discovered by Baraize in the Tomb Groups (TG) 887–894 [Table 2]. Lists of the contents of the shaft, discovered by Baraize, feature apparent inconsistencies, as the shabti box of Diesenesyt, for example, gives no indication of parentage and since it is a Twenty-fifth Dynasty type, it may

belong to the daughter of Padiamunet (iii), Diesenesyt B, rather than to the daughter of Takelot III. In addition to the shabti boxes of Tashaiu, one side panel of her *qrs*w-coffin is still extant. Apparently the two men and two women with *qrs*w-coffin sets in the same shaft discovered by Baraize were Padiamunet (iii) and his nephew Nespaqashuty (vi), Heresenes, and Tashaiu. The relationship of the two women to the two men or to each other, if any, is not known. The papyrus under the head of Heresenes' mummy was identified in the Egyptian Museum Cairo by the Bonn Totenbuch project (Cairo JE 96272; Scalf 2017: 98, Fig. 8.2, 115, Fig. 9.7).

Complete documentation, with corrections and current locations, of the objects from this find that have been re-located and photographed is intended for future publication. However, this paper handles the relatively intact *qrs*w-coffin sets of Padiamunet (iii), Heresenes, and Nespaqashuty (vi) from the Baraize find. Other papers in this volume (Graefe 2018;

Table 1. (continued)

294	<p>► <b>Shabti box of Nespaqashuty (vi)</b> [Fig. 2]</p>	<p>Father of the mother of the Montu priest Nespaqashuty (vi), son of the Montu priest Pami (v), son of the vizier Nespaqashuty B, son of the vizier Padiamunet (ii) Nespaqashuty (vi)'s mother is named as <i>hr</i> [sic for <i>hr.s?</i>], daughter of a <i>ḥm-ntr imn m ipt-swt, rwd ʕ3 ḥsf n [ni]wt</i> whose name, although damaged, was read by Bruyère and others as [...]<i>nt</i>; the reading is clearly incorrect to judge by the surviving traces [Fig. 2 leftmost column]. His name is not preserved in any other documents of this family.</p>
-----	--	---

Table 2. Objects discovered by E. Baraize in Tomb Groups (TG) 887–894 relating to the ancestors of the Montu priests Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) (Based on Aston 2009: 216–217)

No.	Name of TG owner	Objects related to the owner's burial equipment
1.	Padiamunet (priest of Montu) TG 887	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ <i>qrs</i>w-coffin</li> <li>▶ Outer and inner anthropoid coffins</li> <li>▶ Bead net</li> <li>▶ Shabti boxes</li> <li>▶ Canopic chest and jars (painted pottery jars with stone lids, Luxor Museum J.75)</li> <li>▶ Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure (sold on the antiquities market in 1952)</li> </ul>
2.	Heresenes (daughter of Ankhpakhered v) TG 888	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ <i>qrs</i>w-coffin</li> <li>▶ Outer and inner anthropoid coffins</li> <li>▶ Bead net</li> <li>▶ Shabti boxes</li> </ul>
3.	Nespaqashuty (priest of Montu) TG 889	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ <i>qrs</i>w-coffin</li> <li>▶ Outer and inner anthropoid coffins</li> <li>▶ Bead net</li> <li>▶ Shabti boxes containing blue-glazed shabtis</li> </ul>
4.	Diesenesyt (daughter of Takelot III) TG 890	▶ Shabti boxes
5.	Tashakheper (wife of Ankhpakhered v?) TG 891	▶ Shabti boxes
6.	Tashaiu TG 892	▶ Shabti boxes
7.	Irthorru TG 893	▶ Shabti boxes
8.	Padiamunet (i) (vizier) TG 894	▶ Cartonnage fragments
9.		▶ Four wooden Osiris figures
10.		▶ Painted wooden standing falcon
11.		▶ Four wooden crouching falcons
12.		▶ Eight wooden recumbant jackals
13.		▶ Two cartonnage masks
14.		▶ <i>qrs</i> w-coffin set of another woman

Griffin 2018) concern the *Stundenritual* texts inside the lids of their *qrs*w-coffins. The intact mummies from these three sets have been dealt with in this volume as well (Ikram et al. 2018) and the cartonnage fragments of the vizier Padiamunet (i) have been discussed (Payraudeau 2018, in this volume).

The titles held by the priests of Montu Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) and the woman Heresenes are summarized in the table below (the exact distribution on the components of the sets will be studied in a future publication) [Table 3].

Unlike the vizier Nespaqashuty B, his son Padiamunet (iii) and grandson Nespaqashuty (vi) did not hold titles in the civil administration of Thebes or the administration of the domain of Amun. It was probably at the death of the vizier Nespaqashuty B that the administrative duties passed to the ancestors of Montuemhat, the first vizier being Harsiese F, great-grandfather of Montuemhat. Succeeding him, Harsiese F’s sons Nesmin A, Khaemhor A, and Pediese C were all viziers as well. In the following generation, before Montuemhat, both

Table 3. Titles held by the priests of Montu Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi), and the woman Heresenes

Object and owner	Titles
Heresenes	
▶ <i>qrs</i> w-coffin set	<i>nbt pr, nbt pr špst</i>
▶ Canopic chest	<i>nbt pr</i>
▶ Shabti box	<i>nbt pr</i>
Padiamunet (iii)	
▶ <i>qrs</i> w-coffin set	<i>hm-ntr mntw nb w3st (var. nb nst t3wy), imy 3bd.f pr imn (hr s3 4-nw), sm3ty w3st, hm wn, it ntr mry ntr, hpt wd3t mwt nbt pt, hm-ntr qbhw (n hns w m bnnt), [hm n] (3)ht n mwt nbt pt, w<sup>c</sup>b w3st, hm ntr</i>
▶ Canopic chest	<i>hm-ntr mntw nb w3st, it ntr mry ntr; imy 3bd.f pr imn hr s3 4-nw, hm ntr sm3ty w3st, hm ntr ury ntr; hm ntr imy-r st hntt</i>
Nespaqashuty (vi)	
▶ <i>qrs</i> w-coffin set	<i>hm-ntr mntw nb w3st (var. nb nst t3wy), hpt wd3t n mwt nbt pt, qbhw hns w m bnnt, rh nswt (m<sup>3c</sup> nr:f), hm ntr it ntr; hm wn, imy 3bd.f n pr imn hr s3 tp, hm ntr qbhw, hm ntr hm wn, it ntr mry ntr</i>
▶ Canopic chest	Titles not preserved
▶ Shabti box	<i>hm ntr mntw nb w3st, [hpt wd3t n mwt] nbt pt, hm ntr qbhw hns w m bnnt, hm wn</i>

viziers were sons of Khaemhor A: Paherer/Harsiese G and Nesmin B. Khaemhor A's third son, Nesptah A, the father of Montuemhat, was a *hm-ntr* priest of Montu and also mayor of Thebes.

If Padiamun (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) did not hold important posts in the civil and religious administration, then what was it that entitled them to high-elite (for the designation, see Taylor 2018: 350–351) burial equipment? Their position as *hm-ntr* priests of Montu must have come first, as it is the most prominent title on their burial equipment (as was demonstrated for the elite Besenmut Montu priestly

family by Bohnenkämper 2015). Second, there were several other priestly titles, e.g., *hpt wd3t n mwt nbt pt*, *hm-ntr qbhꜣw n hꜣsw m bnnt*, *hm wn*, which they shared and which connected them to three other major Theban cults: Mut (as the Distant Goddess), Khonsu, and Osiris, all of which were important in ensuring the legitimization of the ruler (for further discussion of the issue, see Sheikholeslami 2018). These titles provide further indications of their importance in Theban ritual performance. In addition, Nespaqashuty (vi) had the epithet *rh nswt m3ꜣ mr.f*, indicating a close relationship with the king.



Fig. 3. The left side fo the *qrsw-coffin* proper with the eye panel at the head end: top, Heresenes; bottom, Nespaqashuty (vi) (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

The three complete *qrs*w-coffins discovered by Baraize may have been made in the same workshop [Fig. 3 top and bottom] (for the *qrs*w-coffin of Padiamunet (iii), see Sheikholeslami 2014a). Among contemporary *qrs*w-coffins featuring a lid decoration derived from the Transit of the Solar Barks [Figs 4, 5]

which accompanied the Awakening of Osiris in his Shrine (Roberson 2013) as embodied in the *qrs*w-coffin itself and the Osiriform coffins containing mummies (Sheikholeslami 2014a; forthcoming c), only these three feature texts and representations inside the vaulted *qrs*w-coffin lids derived from the Ritual of the Hours



Fig. 4. Heresenes *qrs*w-coffin lid; on the proper right side (below) the evening bark of the sun god is towed towards the foot end; on the proper left side (above) the morning bark of the sun god is towed towards the head end; the text on the central plank begins at the head end (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

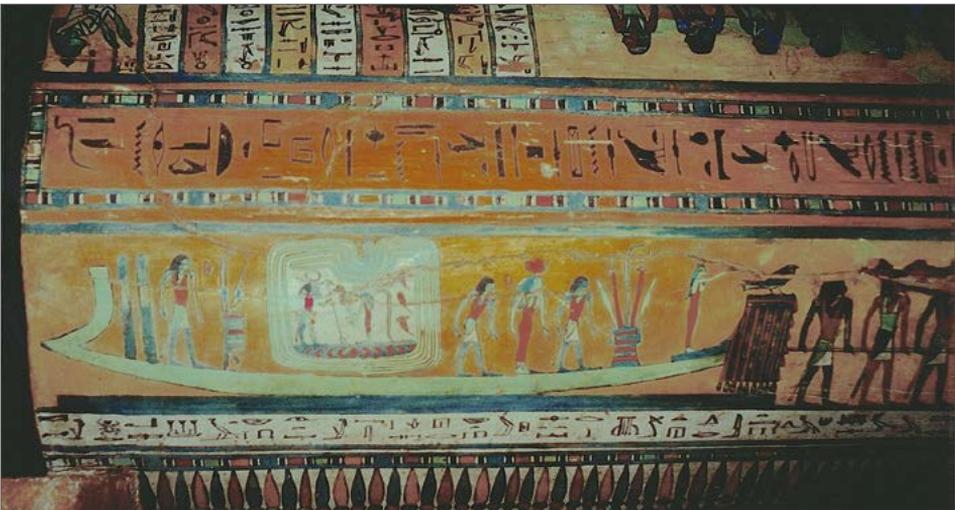


Fig. 5. Proper right side of the Heresenes *qrs*w-coffin lid, detail of the evening bark of the sun god; notice retrograde text naming Heresenes and her mother Tashakheper below (Photo C.M. Sheikholeslami)



Fig. 6. Padiamunet (iii) *qrs*w-coffin lid interior with outstretched figure of Nut seen from below, flanked by day hours on her right and night hours on her left, both numbered starting from the head end (Photo C.M. Sheikholeslami)

of the Day and the Hours of the Night (*Stundenritual*) [Figs 6, 7], first attested on the vaulted ceiling of the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut (Sheikholeslami 2010b; forthcoming c; and see Graefe 2018 and Griffin 2018, both in this volume). While the versions inside the *qrs*w-coffin lids were not direct copies of the Hatshepsut chapel version, it is perhaps not accidental that this ritual appears on monuments from the same location, about seven centuries apart, attesting not only to the royal connections and traditions of the priestly family, but also to their taste for reviving older traditions, characteristic of the period when the coffins were decorated.



Fig. 7. Nespaqashuty (vi) *qrs*w-coffin interior view towards the foot end with figure of Nut stretched inside the vaulted lid with her feet at the foot end, flanked by the day hours on her right and the night hours on her left (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

Furthermore, the decoration evoking the Transit of the Solar Barks and the Awakening of Osiris appears on the *qrs*w-coffins of the Besenmut family (Taylor 2003: 117 *qrs*w-coffin lid design 2), in the tomb of the treasurer of Taharqa, Ramose (Sheikholeslami forthcoming c), and in the most subterranean rooms of the tomb of Padiamunope, which were apparently intended to represent the tomb of Osiris (Traunecker 2018: 142). Traunecker (2018: 143–145) has in fact suggested that the cenotaph in the tomb of Padiamunope is modeled on the Osiricium at Abydos, a popular pilgrimage destination in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, along the route connecting it to the site of the so-called tomb of Osiris in the archaic cemetery at Abydos. Members of the Kushite royal family were also buried at Abydos. The same themes appear in the decoration of Kushite royal tombs, most notably that of Qalhata, mother of Tanwetamani, at el-Kurru (Sheikholeslami forthcoming c). One may suggest that the *šmsw mntw*, who are entreated to visit and study the tomb of Padiamunope, were in effect Montu priests who were buried in *B int*, most particularly on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple. They were also perhaps the mode of transmission of these themes to the decoration of the Kushite royal tombs in the south.

The dominant color in the decoration of the *qrs*w- and inner coffins of the Baraize group is a golden yellow ground. While the lid design of the inner coffins resembles that of some of the inner coffins of the Besenmut family, the color scheme of the latter is predominantly dark red. Some of the *qrs*w-coffins of Ankhfenkhonsu (i)'s family have a figure

of Nut with the hour goddesses outside or inside the lid, but all except one lack the *Stundenritual* texts (see further detail in Sheikholeslami forthcoming c), and all but one have natural wood backgrounds to which the decoration is applied. The golden yellow ground may be meant to imitate gold, particularly for the inner anthropoid coffins, and is thus an indication of the connections of the two priests of Montu to the royal family of Takelot III through his daughter Diesenesyt A.

The lid of the inner anthropoid coffin of Heresenes has a broad floral collar around the shoulders, at the bottom of which is a figure of Nut kneeling on a shrine with her wings outstretched to the edges of the lid. Below her wings, flanking the shrine, are text columns alternately on gold and white ground. Across the upper torso is a horizontal text band with a gold ground bordered by multi-colored rectangles. The lid surface below this is divided into four registers divided by horizontal text bands on either side of a central column of text; all texts are written on a gold ground bordered by multi-colored rectangles. The top three registers on each side have text columns on either gold or white ground with *pr-nw* shrines containing figures of mummiform deities. Flanking the central column in the bottom register are *wꜥꜥt*-eyes on top of the shrines. A figure of Isis kneeling on the *nwb*-sign adorns the tops of her feet. Heresenes' blue tripartite wig with echelons representing stylized curls or braids of hair is adorned with the beige wings of a vulture on the lappets ending with a plain gold band on either side of

her face. The eyes on Heresenes' face are inlaid. The bottom of the lid has a palace façade design.

The inner coffin lid of Heresenes shows many similarities in iconography and layout to those of Pami (iv) (Louvre E 3863) (Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 74–75, Cat. 26), of Djedjhutiyuefankh (Ashmolean 1895.153–156; color illustration Taylor 2018: 354, Fig. 4), and of Tabakenkhonsu (Metropolitan Museum of Art 94.6.1–3<sup>2</sup>) (in this case, the color scheme of the inner coffin is blue on a white ground, as for her *qrs*w-coffin), all originating from the intact tomb, discovered by Naville, in the hypostyle hall of the Hathor chapel at the southern end of the middle terrace, although the *qrs*w-coffins of the latter two are quite different. The remains of Pami (iv)'s *qrs*w (CCG 41036) bear blue texts on a white ground (Moret 1913: 298–301; Jansen-Winkel 2007: 359), like that of Tabakenkhonsu (for a discussion of the date of her *qrs*w, contemporary with that of Tytenese, sister-in-law of Nesptah A, the father of Montuemhat, see Sheikholeslami 2014b: 461), whereas the *qrs*w of Djedjhutiyuefankh is the same type as that of Heresenes (Taylor 2003: 117 *qrs*w case exterior design 3), with a dark gold ground, but lacking the eye panel at the head end of the box and the *Stundenritual* texts and hour goddess representations on the interior. Taylor (2003: 98) dates the *qrs*w (Louvre E 3872) and inner coffin (Paris Musée de l'Opéra 17, now deposited at the Louvre; Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 73, Cat. 24) of Irbastetudjanefu,

daughter of Takelot III, the *qrs*w- (CCG 41036) and inner coffin (Louvre E3863) of her son Pamiu (iv), and the coffins of Padiamunet (iii), a grandson of Takelot III, to the late 8th century BC (i.e., about the middle of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty). In turn, Jansen-Winkeln (2007: 393 [44.24]) dates the *qrs*w-coffin of Irbastetudjanefu to the late Twenty-second/Twenty-third Dynasty, while

Sheikholeslami (2017: 330–331) argues that the writing of the name of Takelot III that appears on the lid of Irbastetudjanefu’s *qrs*w-coffin should be contemporary with his reign, so that she may have predeceased her father. The funerary equipment of the grandchildren of Takelot III and their contemporaries is likely to date to the period about 725 BC.

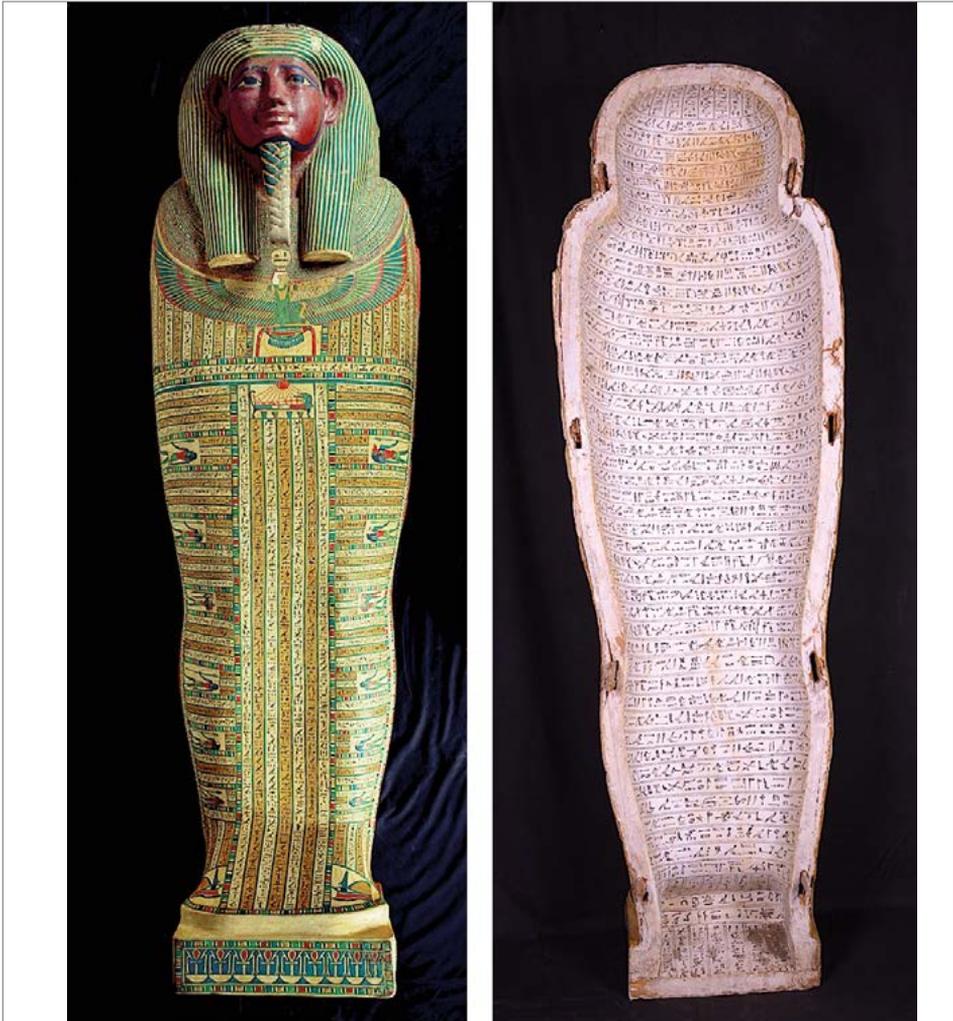


Fig. 8. Nespaqashuty (vi), inner anthropoid coffin: left, top of lid, right, interior of lid (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

The inner anthropoid coffins of Padiamunet (iii) (Sheikholeslami 2014a) and Nespaqashuty (vi) [Fig. 8] were certainly made in the same workshop, perhaps at the same time, as their iconography and layout (Taylor 2003: 98, 114, and Pl. 63, inner coffin lid design 3, Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty) and the hands of their texts are quite similar. The face mask of Padiamunet (iii)'s lid was covered with red wax, a unique example of this technique (Sheikholeslami 2014a) [Fig. 9]. The interior

of both is plain white with horizontal lines of texts in black (Taylor 2003: 116, inner coffin interior design 3, Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties) [Fig. 8 right]. The interior of Heresenes' inner coffin, in contrast, has black texts written in horizontal bands with alternating white or yellow ground and blue borders.

The outer anthropoid coffins of all three sets are similar, being made of plain wood with only the wig cover, face mask, and broad collar in polychrome (Taylor

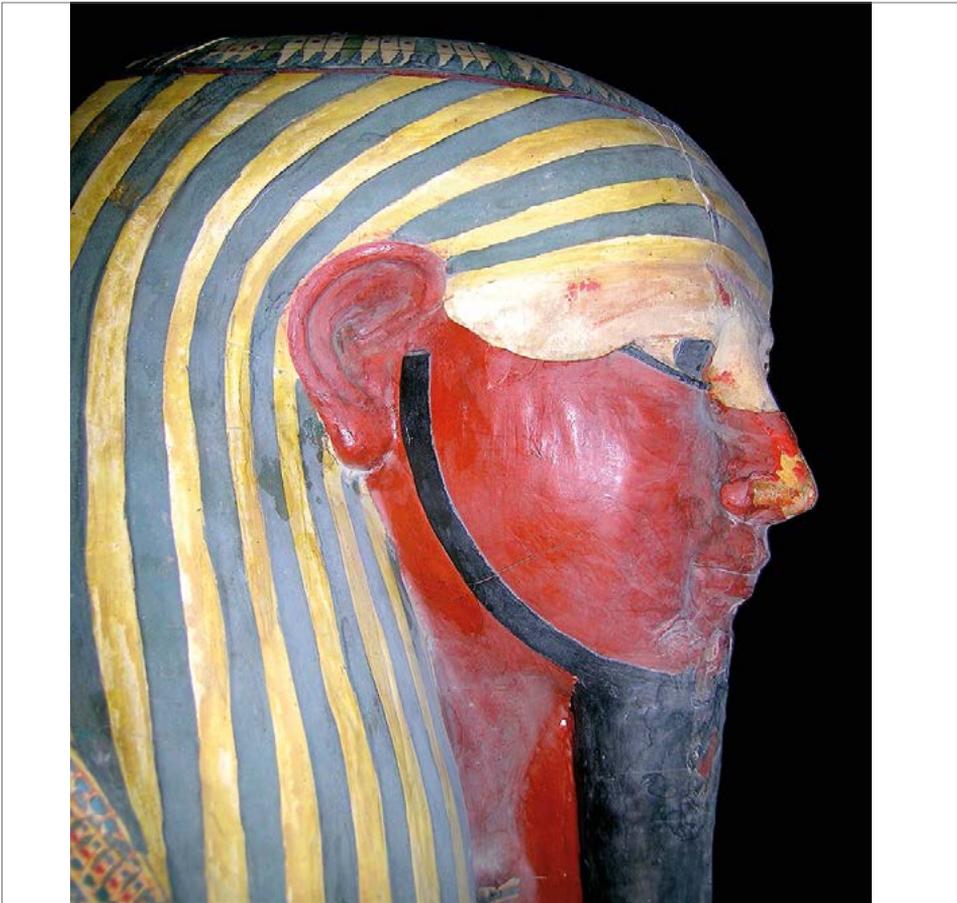


Fig. 9. Padiamunet (iii) inner anthropoid coffin lid, detail showing the red wax covering of the face mask (with the beard and pupil and the outline of eye in black wax and cornea of the eye in white wax) (Photo C.M. Sheikholeslami)



Fig. 10. Outer anthropoid coffins standing on the foot end: left, Padiamonet (iii); right, Nespaqashuty (vi) (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photos M. Jawornicki)

2003: 116 and Pl. 71, intermediary coffin lid design 1, Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty) [Fig. 10]. Below the collar, on the lids of the outer anthropoid coffins of Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi), is a vignette of the deceased on his bier with the rays of the sun shining down on him (from Book of the Dead Spell 154) at the top of columns of texts with the names, titles, and genealogy of the deceased. The interior of the boxes of both priests has a falcon with wings extended, standing on a plinth facing Mehetweret as a couchant cow with a disk between her horns and a *menat* around her neck on a plinth, the vignette from Book of the Dead Spell 71, at the head end, followed by horizontal lines of texts from Book of the Dead spells [Fig. 11]. The exteriors of the boxes of the two priests of Montu begin with the deceased worshipping at the left foot end, facing the deities

from the Book of the Dead Spell 125, and conclude at the right foot end with the scene of the judgment of the deceased, which is a vignette of Book of the Dead Spell 125 (Taylor 2003: 116–117, intermediary coffin exterior case walls design 1, Twenty-fifth–early Twenty-sixth Dynasty; for Padiamunet’s outer anthropoid coffin, see Sheikholeslami 2014a: 113, Fig. 3, 114, Fig. 5, 120, Fig. 13). These two outer anthropoid coffins, meant to be viewed standing upright on the foot end during the funeral, were probably made at the same time and by the same craftsman. The middle coffin of Heresenes is somewhat different, as the vignette of Book of the Dead Spell 125 is at the top of the curved head end of the box; the interior was not described.

The *qrsu* sets discovered by Baraize were probably made sometime about the middle of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, that is, 725–700 BC.

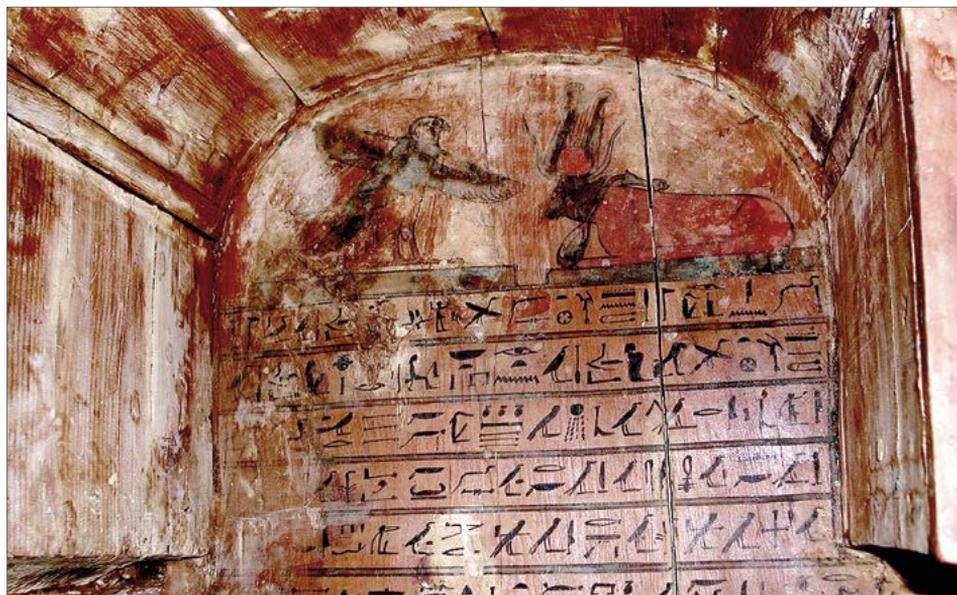


Fig. 11. Nespaqashuty (vi) outer anthropoid coffin, head end of the interior of the box with the vignette from Book of the Dead Spell 71 at the top (Photo C.M. Sheikholeslami)

## THE *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* FROM DEIR EL-BAHARI

The title of *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn*, ‘praise-singer of the interior of the temple of Amun’ (for this translation, see Sheikholeslami forthcoming b), is known only from the Third Intermediate Period, and is mainly attested at Thebes (possibly because there is simply more surviving evidence from there). Whether the holders of this title were celibate virgin priestesses, like the Roman Vestal Virgins, or could marry (Sheikholeslami 2002; forthcoming b; Koch 2012: 188–195) is debatable, with no conclusive evidence to settle this question. Only one woman bearing both the title *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* and the title *nbt pr* is attested (CCG 41035, Moret 1913: 290–298, Pl. XXXVI): once there is the title *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* before her name, in one case there is simply *nbt pr*, generally thought to indicate a married woman, and in two other instances there is no title before her name. So far as is known, no person claims a man and a *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* as his/her parents. However, should it have been only women that adopted ‘temple names’, as suggested by the fact that among more than 100 holders of the title attested there are many who have the same name (see Koch 2012: 230–254 for most of the corpus), then perhaps upon the termination of their temple service, if it was not for life, as has generally been assumed (although there is no evidence of how many *ḥsyt n ḥnw* were serving in the Amun temple at any one time, or whether they had a fixed period of service or whether it was a lifetime position), they could have married and produced offspring. Since

many of these women are known from burial equipment, on which it is the only title they are given (in contrast to *šm<sup>c</sup>yt* and *iḥyt*, female members of the musical staff of the temple, who are also designated as *nbt pr*), the latter alternative seems unlikely. The *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* seem to have succeeded each other by the procedure of an incumbent title holder ‘adopting’ a second woman as her ‘daughter’, a practice attested also for the God’s Wives of Amun. The fact that they are only attested as ‘mothers’ of ‘daughters’, never sons, further supports the claim that the ‘mother–daughter’ relationship is an adoptive one.

At least three daughters of Montu priests served as *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* at Karnak during the Twenty-fifth and possibly into the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. One of them, otherwise unattested, is Ankhshepenwepet, daughter of the Montu priest Besenmut, known from a door hinge naming the God’s Wife Amunirdis I (British Museum EA 51059) (Jansen-Winkel 2009: 278 [51.26]; Koch 2012: 234 [19]; Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 334, Cat. 157). It is not possible to identify which of the several priests of Montu named Besenmut was her father or whether she is the same as any other *ḥsyt n ḥnw* with the same name (Koch 2012: 234–235 [18, 20–21]). It seems unlikely that the same *ḥsyt n ḥnw* Ankhshepenwepet is named on the Louvre door hinges honoring the God’s Wife Nitocris (Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau: 334–335, Cat. 158a,b).

The second daughter is the owner of a *qrsu*-coffin set from the Maunier find

in Cairo (CCG 41019, Moret 1913: 194–199, with CCG 41060–41061, Gauthier 1913: 363–375). The *qrs*w-coffin of Dimutshepenankh called Tameryamun, daughter of the Montu priest and  $\text{3 } pr n t3 \text{ šnwt } [n] pr-imn, sš \text{ htp-ntr } [n] pr imn$  Nebnetjeru, was unusually large, and the outer and inner anthropoid coffins were perhaps made of cedar with unusually fine carpentry. The face masks of both anthropoid coffins were originally gilded (carefully scraped off, perhaps in antiquity). The quality of her burial equipment is an indication of her elite status. Her grandfather Merkhonsu had the same titles as her father. Two of these titles (*hm-ntr mntw nb w3st, sš htp-ntr [n] pr imn*) were also shared by her brother Harsiese and his son Nesmin, whose coffin lid was found in the backfill of the tomb of Kheruef (Habachi 1958: Pl. 12

[8]). The find spots of Dimutshepenankh's and Nesmin's burial equipment indicate that yet another family of the priests of Montu must have been buried in the area of the Hatshepsut temple in the Valley.

The third is the daughter of Montu prophet Pakharu and Djedmutesankh named Shauamunimes, whose *qrs*w-coffin fragments were found in a shaft in the northwest chapel on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple (Barwick 2003: 125, Figs 3–4, Pl. 80; Koch 2012: 244 [58]).

There is a considerable difference of opinion among scholars about how many different temple praisers of Amun with the name Shauamunimes and its variants existed. There are six, possibly seven, artifacts, presented in the following table [Table 4], naming a *hsyt n hnw n imn* called Shauamunimes, all parts of

Table 4. Artifacts from the burial equipment naming a *hsyt n hnw n imn* called Shauamunimes

No.	Object	Dating	Principal references
1.	Cartonnage Cairo TR 21.11.16.5  Said to be from Qurnah, contains a mummy  Daughter of <i>ms (wr) mšwš</i> Takelot	Twenty-second Dynasty: Osorkon I	Maspero 1883: 307, 311 (No. 4937) Jansen-Winkel 2007: 392 [21] Koch 2012: 244 (59) Taylor 2017 Sheikholeslami forthcoming a
2.	Wooden stela Houston MNS 30.1997.328	Twenty-second Dynasty	Saleh 2007: 210 (56) Koch 2012: 244–245 (61) Sheikholeslami forthcoming a
3.	Named on CCG 41035 as 'mother' of Meresamun, daughter of Osorkon of Teudjoi, grandson of a	Twenty-third/Twenty-fifth Dynasty pennant writing of Osiris = post 750 BC (Leahy 1979)	Moret 1913: 290–298, Pl. XXXVI Aston 2009: 207 (TG 856) Koch 2012: 244 (60) Sheikholeslami forthcoming c

3.	( <i>continued</i> ) king Takelot (probably Takelot II rather than III) Name written <i>š3-t3-ımn-m.s</i> or <i>šm-ımn-m-s</i> (and variants)		
4.	Wooden bivalve coffin Rio 532* in the shape of a cartonnage with cartonnage-like decoration, contains mummy  Name written <i>š3-ımn-m-sw</i>	Twenty-third/Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Brancaglion 2002 dates to Twenty-third Dynasty)	Kitchen 1990/I: 144–149; II: Pls 136–138 (No. 58) Brancaglion 2002 Jansen-Winkel 2007: 480 (44.21) Koch 2012: 243–244 (57)
5.	Wooden anthropoid coffin fragment(s) Deir el-Bahari, Hatshepsut temple, Upper Terrace, Northwest Chapel, excavations and debris from ramp leading to the upper terrace  Daughter of (uncertain title) Pakharu	Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Barwik 2003: 122 dates to the Libyan period, not earlier than the Twenty-third Dynasty)	Barwik 2003: 124, Fig. 2, Pl. 79 with fragment 125, Fig. 5, Pl. 81
6.	Wooden <i>qrsw</i> -coffin fragments Deir el-Bahari, Hatshepsut temple, Upper Terrace, Northwest Chapel, excavations  Daughter of Montu priest Pakharu and Djedmutesankh	Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Barwik 2003 dates to Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasty)	Barwik 2003: 125, Figs 3–4, Pl. 80
7.	Wooden anthropoid coffin fragment Deir el-Bahari, debris between the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut and the Tuthmosis III temple platform  Traces of text suit the title and name	Date uncertain, but likely Twenty-third to Twenty-sixth Dynasty	Barwik 2003: 123, 127, Fig. 8

\* Coffin destroyed in a fire that consumed the Brazil National Museum on 3 September 2018. I would like to thank Prof. Antonio Brancaglion for sharing his photographs of it with me during his visit to Cairo in 2013.

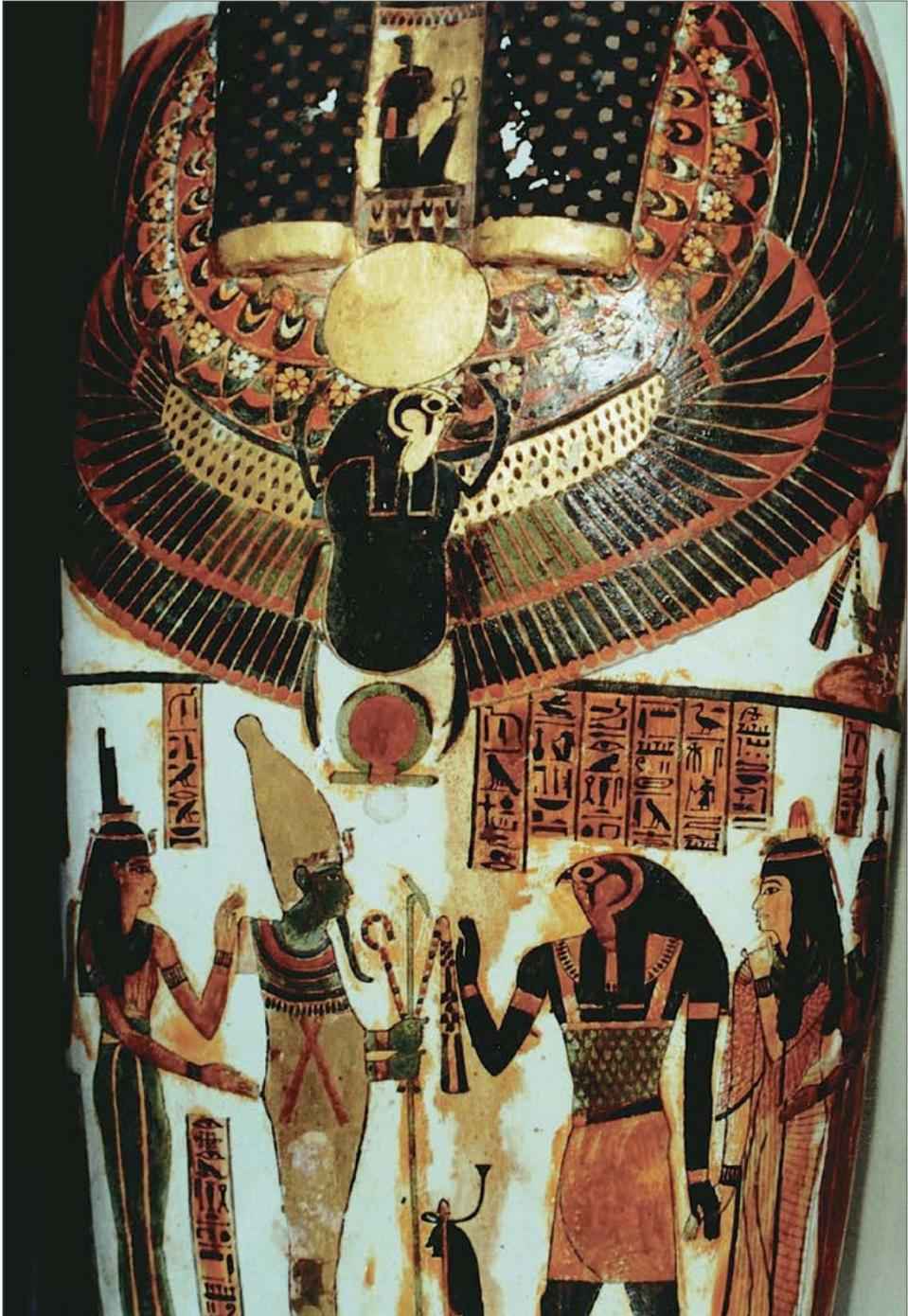


Fig. 13. Cartonnage of the *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn s3-imn-im.s* Cairo TR 21.11.16.5 (Photo C.M. Sheikholeslami)

burial equipment. The earliest *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* named Shauamunimes is the owner of the intact cartonnage Cairo TR 21.11.16.5 [see *Table 4*: No. 1; see *Fig. 13*], dated by close stylistic parallelism to the reign of Osorkon I (Sheikholeslami forthcoming a; Taylor 2017). Her father, Takelot, is titled *ms (wr) mšwš* (for a discussion of this title, see Sheikholeslami forthcoming a). The Shauamunimes named on the Houston stela [see *Table 4*: No. 2], which is stylistically dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty, is likely to be the same person as the owner of the intact Cairo cartonnage TR 21.11.16.5 with its mummy (Sheikholeslami forthcoming a; for the mummy, see Sheikholeslami and Ikram 2017; Ikram et al. 2018, in this volume).

The coffin CCG 41035 [see *Table 4*: No. 3], which served for the burial of the *ḥyst n ḥnw n imn* Meresamun, names her father as Osorkon *p3 t3wd3y*, a place name associated with the Middle Egyptian site of el-Hibeh, where the High Priest of Amun Osorkon B resided. He is identified as the grandson (*s3 [n] s3 nswt [n] nb t3wy*) of a Takelot, who is most likely Takelot II (although some authors cite him as the son of a Takelot, and some see the king as Takelot III; see the discussion by Payraudeau 2014/II: 448, dossier 66 and Note 19). A person identified as *mwt.s* ‘her mother’ (but never as part of the filiation naming her father) is often identified as a Shauamunimes, although her name is written differently: on side 1 as *mwt.s šm-imn-im.st* (with no title); on side 3 as *mwt.s ḥs ḥnw imn š3-t3-imn-m.s*; and twice on side 4 as *mwt.s šm-imn-m.s* (with no title) and as *mwt.s nbt pr šm-imn-*iw*-m*. The *nbt pr* appearing before her name on side 4 has occasioned

much discussion and been considered as evidence that *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* were not celibate and could marry (Sheikholeslami 2002; forthcoming b). However, it is more likely that *šm-imn-m-s(t)* is the adoptive mother of the *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* Meresamun. The writing of her name on side 3 as *š3-t3-imn-m.s* could be considered a defective writing of Shauamunimes. Ranke (1935–1977/I: 324, 19) considers *šm-imn-im.s* to be a variant of *š3-t3-imn-m.s* and, although he does not include any examples of *š3-imn-im.s*, he interprets the writing with *š3-m...*, as syllabic orthographies of *šm...* (as in Ranke 1935–1977/I: 327, 16–17). The name Shemamunimes, not attested in either Ranke 1935–1977 or elsewhere, might be considered to be a different name, although it is never written quite the same way each time it occurs on the coffin of Meresamun. If it is not another name, then there seems to be some phonetic and orthographic reduplication with *š3-imn* being written as *šm* and then followed again by *imn*. Since it is with the name written as Shemamunimes that the title *nbt pr* occurs, it could also be suggested that this is the name of the biological mother of Meresamun, indicating, in consequence, that the names of both her biological and her adoptive (Sha[ta]amunimes) mothers were used on her coffin. However, as *nbt pr* occurs only once on this coffin, it is more probably a scribal error by someone used to writing biological filiations. In addition, given the fact that the name of Mersamun’s ‘mother’ never occurs after the name of her father, as would be expected in a text giving biological filiation, it seems preferable to consider the *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* Shemamunimes and variants (for Shauamunimes) as the

adoptive mother of the *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* Meresamun. Adoption of one woman by another to succeed her in a temple office is well attested for the God's Wives of Amun of the period.

Kitchen (1990/I: 147), followed by Payraudeau (2014/II: dossier 66 with Note 19), suggests that the wooden coffin Rio 532 [see *Table 4*: No. 4] contained the mummy of the (adoptive) mother of Meresamun.

The wooden coffin in Brazil, also known as the Rio coffin, dated about 750 BC, was presented to the emperor Dom Pedro II of Brazil during his visit to Egypt in 1876 by Khedive Ismail. There is still a mummy inside it [see *Table 4*: No. 4] and it is decorated in the style of a cartonnage. The texts have no filiation, although the name has a variant writing *š3-imn-m-sw*. The decoration of this bivalve wooden coffin in the form of a cartonnage resembles, in many respects, the cartonnage of the supervisor of the doorkeepers Padiament British Museum EA 6682; the gray ground is also found on the cartonnage of Tjenetmutengebtiu British Museum EA 22939; both are dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty. The Rio coffin also has some iconography similar to the inner coffin of Takhebkhenem British Museum EA 6691 (Taylor 2003: 114 and Pl. 61 inner coffin lid design 1, Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasty), part of a 'lower elite' three-coffin set (Taylor 2018: 366, color illustration Fig. 12), with a design derived from Taylor's two-falcons type of cartonnage. In both coffins, the wigs have vulture wings and lappet bands, the ram-bird has wings extended almost straight with a solar disk on its head, and ribbons flanking its tail, while the bottom two registers show funerary deities along with Isis and

Nephtys flanking the Abydos fetish. The two middle registers of Takhebkhenem's coffin, with the falcon-headed bird and body on the bier, are replaced in Shauamunimsu's coffin by Sokar crouching on a shrine flanked by Behedet as a winged falcon and *udjat*-eyes, a feature that appears on Taylor's Design 1 cartonnages (Taylor 2003: 105–106).

This combination of features attested on both Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnages and Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffins suggests a date for the Rio coffin in the transitional period during the late Twenty-third Dynasty, before the introduction of the pennant writing of the name of Osiris. It may also be noted that the writing of the *š3*-sign (Gardiner V16), present on the Rio 532 coffin and discussed by Kitchen (1990/I: 147, Note 3), appears also on the canopic chest of Heresenes (Sheikholeslami 2010a: 408–409) [Fig. 14 last column on the left]. Although not a precise chronological indicator, it shows some scribal practices to be prevalent during the late Twenty-third to Twenty-fifth Dynasties.

If the name of Shauamunimes is a traditional 'temple name' for *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn*, as suggested, then the Brazil coffin might indicate its owner's desire to make the Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffin look somewhat archaic. The Brazil coffin is also interesting due to an apparently separate board attached over the foot of the bivalve coffin, a standard technique in cartonnages. These features would mark the coffin as being transitional between the Twenty-second Dynasty type of elite burial equipment, consisting of a cartonnage inside a wooden anthropoid coffin, and the type introduced in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, consisting of a *qrs*w-coffin

and one or two nested bivalve anthropoid coffins with the mummy frequently covered with a bead net, but lacking a cartonnage case. A CT scan showed the top of her head almost reaching the level of the chin of the coffin mask; her orbits had round, dense artificial eyes completely filling the cavities (Brancaglion 2011). As with the Cairo Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnage mummy, her throat and neck had subcutaneous packing. A scarab was placed in the bandages approximately over her heart, and there was a small pack of other amulets close

to her hands between her legs. Her age at death was estimated to be 50 years. As the coffin had never been opened, it is not known whether it had any interior decoration or texts.

Barwik considers the daughter of Pakharu [Table 4: Nos 4, 5 and 6] to be the same person. However, this is not certain or even likely. Pakharu [see Table 4: No. 5] is probably not the same person as the priest of Montu Pakharu [see Table 4: No. 6], since the traces shown before the name in the drawing and photograph of the coffin fragments [Table 4: No. 5]



Fig. 14. Heresenes canopic chest, front side with figure of Imsety; note writing of *s3* sign in the last column on the left, which also appears on the Rio coffin of Shauamunimsu (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

(Barwik 2003: 124, Fig. 2, Pl. 79) do not suit the *w3st* emblem exactly, if the title was *hm ntr mntw nb w3st* as on the *qrsw*-coffin fragment [see *Table 4*: No. 6]. The cartonnage-like decoration of this piece is also not usually found on anthropoid coffins used with *qrsw*-coffin ensembles (such as *Table 4*: No. 6). A fragment of a wooden anthropoid coffin, perhaps part of the coffin in question [*Table 4*: No. 5], was found in debris on a ramp leading to the upper terrace (Barwik 2003: Pl. 81). The cartonnage of the *it [ntr] mry [ntr], wn ʿwy nw pt m ipt-swt p-n-h3rw*, also found in the shafts in the Northwest Chapel on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, is likely to belong to still another person with this name, so far otherwise unattested (Barwik 2003: 127, Figs 6 and 7, 128, Fig. 9).

The coffin fragment in question [*Table 4*: No. 5] might have belonged to a vizier Pakharu, who is known from the *qrsw* of his son Pami (iv), CCG 41036, from the Maunier discovery, blue design on white ground, as on the coffin fragment [*Table 4*: No. 5], which, like the Rio coffin [*Table 4*: No. 4], is a wooden coffin with a cartonnage-like decoration. The vizier Pakharu is titled *hm-ntr imn[-rʿ nswt ntrw, tbyty, s3b], imy-r niwt, ʒty* on his son's *qrsw*-coffin. However, the traces before the name of Pakharu on the fragment [*Table 4*: No. 5] do not suit the foot of the *ʒty* bird that would be expected in the title of vizier before his name. Instead, they might be traces of *nswt* (written  with the traces being the bottom of *sw-* and the left end of *n-*) *ntrw*, and the vizier was identified only by his priestly title on this section of the coffin lid, a not uncommon practice at this time. The vizier Pakharu's wife was

Irbastetudjanefu, daughter of Takelot III, and sister of Diesenesyt A, who was married to the vizier Nespaqashuty B, both parents of the Montu priest Padiamunet (iii) from the Baraize find. It is not unlikely that Pami (iv)'s father, the vizier Pakharu, was himself buried somewhere in the Hatshepsut temple.

The *qrsw*-coffin fragments [*Table 4*: No. 6] have the texts painted in blue with polychrome images on a plain wood background. The design of the vaulted lid representing the sky shows mummiform falcons at the four corners. One of the scenes between them shows the separation of Geb and the sky goddess Nut arched over him. According to Taylor (2003: 117; 2018: 355), this is the earlier type of *qrsw* lid design (see the *qrsw*-coffin of the priest of Montu Hor, British Museum EA 15655, for example), which makes its dating to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty probable.

The Shauamunimes of the *qrsw* [see *Table 4*: No. 6] and the one of the wooden anthropoid coffin fragment [see *Table 4*: No. 5] are unlikely to be the same as the Shauamunimsu of the Rio coffin [see *Table 4*: No. 4]. Without further evidence, it is preferable to consider the owners of these coffins [*Table 4*: Nos 4, 5, and 6] to be different individuals named Shauamunimes(u).

According to Koch (2012: 243–245), there are five persons with this name. Koch's suggestion that her No. 60 [see *Table 4*: No. 3], the 'mother' of Meresamun, is identical with the owner of the Cairo cartonnage [see *Table 4*: No. 1] must be rejected, as the cartonnage dates to the early Twenty-second Dynasty (Osorkon I), while the early *qrsw*-type

coffin dates to the late Twenty-third/early Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Koch has also misdated the *qrs*w fragment excavated by Barwik (her No. 58), which clearly belongs not to the Twenty-second but to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty [see *Table 4*: No. 6]. She has ignored the other two fragments published by Barwik [see *Table 4*: Nos 5 and 7].

In conclusion, the following *hsyt n hnw n imn* named Shauamunimes should be distinguished [*Table 5*]. It can be assumed on these grounds that at least four, possibly five, should the Rio coffin not belong to the same person named as the

‘mother’ of Meresamun in B, or even six, if the fragment in E cannot be assigned to C or D, praise-singers of the interior of Amun during the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties shared the same name. Where their genealogy is known, they are members of the upper echelons of Libyan or Theban society, and even though their burial ensembles have been preserved only fragmentarily, it is clear that, originally, they were provided with fine quality equipment. The vizier Khaemhor A, the grandfather of Montuemhat, also placed his daughters Diamunshepenankh and Ditmutshepen-

Table 5. List of *hsyt n hnw n imn* named Shauamunimes

No.	Individual	Identification
A.	Owner of cartonnage Cairo TR 21.11.16.5 (dated to the reign of Osorkon I, said to come from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna) and most probably the same as the owner of the Twenty-second Dynasty stela Houston MNS 30.1997.328	Daughter of the Meshwesh <i>ms</i> or <i>ms wr</i> Takelot
B.	Adoptive mother of Meresamun named on CCG 41035 with a variant writing of the name as Shemamunimes; possibly the same as the owner of the late Twenty-third Dynasty wooden coffin imitating cartonnage Rio 532, where the name is written Shauamunimsu	Meresamun’s father Osorkon <i>p3 t3wd3y</i> is most likely a grandson of Takelot II; her coffin has been dated to the early–mid Twenty-fifth Dynasty
C.	Daughter of the vizier Pakharu, wooden anthropoid coffin fragments with cartonnage-type decoration in blue on a white ground from Deir el-Bahari	The vizier Pakharu was married to Irbastetudjanefu, daughter of Takelot III, and probably held office about 760–735 BC, late Twenty-third/early Twenty-fifth Dynasty; the coffins of her brothers Paenwweqer (iii) and Pami (iv) (a <i>qrs</i> w-coffin set) date to the mid-Twenty-fifth Dynasty
D.	Daughter of the priest of Montu Pakharu and Djedmutiuesankh, owner of wooden <i>qrs</i> w-coffin fragments from Deir el-Bahari	Twenty-fifth Dynasty, early type of <i>qrs</i> w-coffin lid design in a higher elite assemblage
E.	Coffin fragment from Deir el-Bahari with traces of the title <i>hsyt n hnw n imn</i> and the name Shauamunimes	This fragment could be part of the burial equipment of either C or D above, or be yet another praise-singer with the same name.



Fig. 15. Nespaqashuty (vi) mummy with bead net in the box of the inner anthropoid coffin (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

ankh as *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* (Koch 2012: 251–252 [88], 252 [89]), continuing a tradition among the Theban elite.

## HUMAN REMAINS

Four mummies have been studied (Sheikholeslami and Ikram 2017; Ikram et al. 2018, in this volume): those from the burials of Padiamunet, Heresenes, and Nespaqashuty listed above, and the one contained in the intact cartonnage of the *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* named Shauamunimes, possibly also originally buried at, or at least in the vicinity of, Deir el-Bahari (according to Maspero 1883: 307, 311 [No. 4937], purchased in Gurna and said by the seller to have come from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna). They were selected in order to have a diachronic sample from the same area, or even the same site, in the Third Intermediate Period, as well as to study the mummification

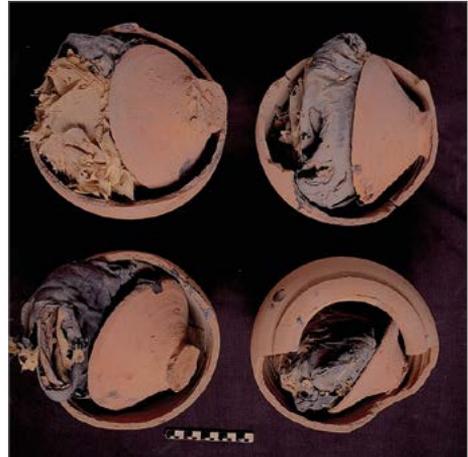


Fig. 16. Heresenes canopic jars (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

of three mummies from the same burial shaft representing two generations of a single family.

The mummies of the priests of Montu have their hands crossed across their chests, a position previously thought to be characteristic only of mummies from the Ptolemaic period, and in the case of Padiamunet (iii) also holding objects shaped like the crook and flail of Osiris, a unique occurrence in mummies of the period studied to date. In contrast to what is stated by Aston (2009: 216–217), none of these three mummies

from the Baraize shaft was enclosed in a cartonnage, although all were provided with bead nets [Fig. 15]. The mummy of Heresenes had a papyrus with Book of the Dead Spell 162 (Cairo JE 96272) placed beneath her head inside the box of her inner coffin (Scalf 2017: 98, Fig. 8.2, 115, Fig. 9.7). The contents of the canopic jars from the Baraize group have been studied as well (Ikram et al. 2018, in this volume). Those of Heresenes were most unusually packets partly coated with a black resinous substance and inserted into broken pottery jars with shallow cups for lids [Fig. 16].

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The study of the funerary objects discovered by Baraize in 1932–1933 in the shaft in front of the Southern Chapel of the Temple of Hatshepsut, now designated Tomb XVIII on the Upper Terrace of the temple, has drawn attention to the importance of the Hatshepsut temple as a necropolis in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and particularly to the burials of the priests of Montu. As discussed, the necropolis gradually expanded towards the east until it crossed the boundary of the Hatshepsut temple enclosure, extending beyond it into Asasif with the great temple tombs of Padiamunopet (TT 33) and Montuemhat (TT 34).

The viziers, who were the ancestors of the two Montu priests from the Baraize find, served during the Twenty-second/ Twenty-third Dynasties, until their administrative functions were assumed by the ancestors of Montuemhat, probably about the time that the Kushites took control of Thebes (about 750 BC).

The fact that one of these Theban viziers, Pami (ii), is the last documented individual to bear the title of viceroy of Kush, even if his actual administrative power did not extend south of Aswan, probably facilitated the acceptance of the Kushites as rulers in Thebes without significant conflict.

Although deprived of its administrative functions, the devotedly royalist family of Pami (ii) showed its flexibility by turning to service in the cult of Montu, the traditional patron of the kings of Thebes in the Middle Kingdom, and joined other priests of Montu in supporting the new Kushite rulers. In addition, they had priestly duties in the cults of Mut, Khonsu, and Osiris that further enhanced the legitimacy of the foreign rulers in Egyptian eyes. The quality of their burial equipment indicates that their support of the recognized rulers, whoever they were, was amply rewarded.

**Cynthia May Sheikholeslami**

Independent researcher

Cairo, Egypt

cynmay@aucegypt.edu

**How to cite this article:**

Sheikholeslami, C.M. (2018).

Montu priestly families at Deir el-Bahari in the Third Intermediate Period.

In Z.E. Szafrński (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2*.

Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2

(pp. 325 -363). Warsaw: University of Warsaw

Press.

<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3310>

## References

- Aston, D.A. (2009). *Burial assemblages of Dynasty 21–25: chronology, typology, developments* [=Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 21]. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- Baraize, E. (1933). Une nouvelle cachette funéraire à Deir el Bahari. *Chronique d'Égypte*, 8(16), 258–259
- Barwik, M. (2003). New data concerning the Third Intermediate Period cemetery in the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari. In N. Strudwick and J.H. Taylor (eds), *The Theban necropolis: past, present, and future* (pp. 122–130). London: British Museum Press
- Bohnenkämper, L. (2015). Diener von Month und Amun. Zur Tradierung von Priestertiteln in der *Bs-n-Mwt*-Familie. In L.D. Morenz and A. El Hawary (eds), *Weitergabe: Festschrift für Ursula Rössler-Köhler zum 65. Geburtstag* (pp. 103–135). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag
- Brancaglioni, A. (2002). From Egypt to Brazil: an Egyptian collection in Rio de Janeiro. In M. Eldamaty and M. Trad (eds), *Egyptian Museum collections around the world I* (pp. 155–162). Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities
- Brancaglioni, A. (2011). *The scientific study of the Egyptian mummies*. Retrieved from <http://estudios-egiptologia.blogspot.com/2011/03/scientific-study-of-egyptian-mummies.html> [accessed: 1.12.2018]
- Bruyère, B. (1956). Une nouvelle famille de prêtres de Montou trouvée par Baraize à Deir el Bahari. *ASAE*, 54, 11–33
- Desclaux, V. (2014). *Les Appels aux passants en Égypte ancienne : approche historique d'un genre littéraire* (unpubl. Ph.D. diss.). Université Lumière-Lyon 2
- Gauthier, H. (1913). *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos 41042–41072: Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale
- Gombert-Meurice, F. and Payraudeau, F. (2018). *Servir les dieux d'Égypte : Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d'Amon à Thèbes, Paris*. Grenoble–Paris: Musée de Grenoble; Somogy
- Graefe, E. (2018). The Ritual of the Hours of the Day on the inner vault of the Qrsw-coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty from Deir el-Bahari. In Z.E. Szafrński (ed.), *Deir el-Bahari studies II* [=PAM 27/2] (pp. 143–181). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press

- Griffin, K. (2018). The Ritual of the Hours of the Night on the coffins of Heresenes and Nespaqashuty from Deir el-Bahari. In Z.E. Szafrński (ed.), *Deir el-Bahari studies II* [=PAM 27/2] (pp. 183–224). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press
- Habachi, L. (1958). Clearance of the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes (1957–1958). *ASAE*, 55, 325–350
- Ikram, S., Prates, C., Sousa, S., and Oliveira, C. (2018). A medley of mummies from Deir el-Bahari. In Z.E. Szafrński (ed.), *Deir el-Bahari studies II* [=PAM 27/2] (pp. 237–258). Warsaw: Warsaw University Press
- Jansen-Winkeln, K. (2007). *Inschriften der Spätzeit II. Die 22.–24. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- Jansen-Winkeln, K. (2009). *Inschriften der Spätzeit III. Die 25. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- Kees, H.A.J. (1956). Beiträge zur Geschichte der thebanischen Vezirfamilie Pimui. *ASAE*, 54, 141–148
- Kitchen, K.A. (1990). *Catalogue of the Egyptian collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips
- Koch, C. (2012). “Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen”: Gottesgemahlinnen und Musikerinnen im thebanischen Amunstaat von der 22. bis zur 26. Dynastie [=Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel 27]. Dettelbach: Röhl
- Leahy, A. (1979). The name of Osiris written . *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 7, 141–153
- Licitra, N., Thiers, C., and Zignani, P. (2014). A major development project of the northern area of the Amun-Ra precinct at Karnak during the reign of Shabaqo. In E. Pischikova, J. Budka, and K. Griffin (eds), *Thebes in the first millennium BC* (pp. 549–564). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing
- Maspero, G. (1883). *Guide du visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*. Boulaq: Au Musée
- Moret, A. (1913). *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire. Nos 41014–41041: Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à l'époque saïte*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale
- Naville, E. (1894–1895). The excavations at Deir el Bahari during the winter, 1894–95. *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological Report*, 33–37
- Pawlicki, F. (2000). Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 1998/99. *PAM*, 11, 153–166
- Payraudeau, F. (2014). *Administration, société et pouvoir à Thèbes sous la XXII<sup>e</sup> dynastie bubastite* [=BdE 160]. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale
- Payraudeau, F. (2018). Third Intermediate Period funerary assemblages from the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Part 1: Coffins and cartonnages from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fifth Dynasties. In Z.E. Szafrński (ed.), *Deir el-Bahari studies II* [=PAM 27/2] (pp. 301–324). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press
- Ranke, H. (1935–1977). *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I–III*. Glückstadt: Augustin
- Roberson, J.A. (2013). *The awakening of Osiris and the transit of the solar barques: Royal apotheosis in a most concise book of the underworld and sky* [=Orbis biblicus et orientalis 262]. Fribourg–Göttingen: Academic Press; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

- Saleh, H. (2007). *Investigating ethnic and gender identities as expressed on wooden funerary stelae from the Libyan Period (c. 1069–715 B.C.E.) in Egypt* [=BAR IS 1734]. Oxford: John and Erica Hedges
- Scaif, F. (ed.) (2017). *Book of the Dead: Becoming god in Ancient Egypt* [=Oriental Institute Museum Publications 39]. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
- Sheikholeslami, C.M. (2002). A stela of two women from Abydos (Cairo JE 21797). In M. Eldamaty and M. Trad (eds), *Egyptian Museum collections around the world II* (pp. 1109–1118). Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities
- Sheikholeslami, C.M. (2003). The burials of priests of Montu at Deir el-Bahari in the Theban necropolis. In N. Strudwick and J.H. Taylor (eds), *The Theban necropolis: past, present, and future* (pp. 131–137). London: British Museum Press
- Sheikholeslami, C.M. (2009). The end of the Libyan period and the resurgence of the cult of Montu. In G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. Demarée, and O.E. Kaper (eds), *The Libyan period in Egypt: Historical and cultural studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties. Proceedings of a conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007* [=Egyptologische uitgaven 23] (pp. 361–374). Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten
- Sheikholeslami, C.M. (2010a). Palaeographic notes from Twenty-fifth Dynasty Thebes. In Z.A. Hawass, P. Der Manuelian, and R.B. Hussein (eds), *Perspectives on ancient Egypt: studies in honor of Edward Brovarski* (pp. 405–421). Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte
- Sheikholeslami, C.M. (2010b). The night and day hours in Twenty-fifth Dynasty sarcophagi from Thebes. In L. Bares, F. Coppens, and K. Smoláriková (eds), *Egypt in transition: Social and religious development of Egypt in the first millennium BCE. Proceedings of an international conference, Prague, September 1–4, 2009* (pp. 376–395). Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague
- Sheikholeslami, C.M. (2014a). Resurrection in a box: the 25th Dynasty burial ensemble of Padiamunet. In R. Sousa (ed.), *Body, cosmos and eternity: new trends of research on iconography and symbolism of Ancient Egyptian coffins* (pp. 111–124). Oxford: Archaeopress
- Sheikholeslami, C.M. (2014b). Sokar-Osiris and the goddesses: some Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty coffins from Thebes. In E. Pischikova, J. Budka, and K. Griffin (eds), *Thebes in the first millennium BC* (pp. 453–482). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing
- Sheikholeslami, C.M. (2017). Stela of Tamiw naming a king Takelot (Liverpool 24.11.81.7). In R.K. Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the library of Seshat: Studies presented to Janet H. Johnson on the occasion of her 70th birthday* [=SAOC 70] (pp. 325–344). Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
- Sheikholeslami, C.M. (2018). Montu priests in Third Intermediate Period Thebes. In E. Pischikova, J. Budka, and K. Griffin (eds), *Thebes in the first millennium BC: art and archaeology of the Kushite period and beyond* (pp. 375–393). London: Golden House Publications

- Sheikholeslami, C.M. (forthcoming a). A Libyan singer in the Karnak Temple choir: cartonnage of Shauamunimes (Egyptian Museum TR 21.11.16.5). In J. Dawson and H. Strudwick (eds), *Cambridge Coffin Conference proceedings*
- Sheikholeslami, C.M. (forthcoming b). A new Twenty-fifth Dynasty *hsyt n hnw n imn* (Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley 5-508). Prague
- Sheikholeslami, C.M. (forthcoming c). A question of *qrsws*. In A. Amenta (ed.), *Second Vatican Coffins Conference proceedings*
- Sheikholeslami, C.M. and Ikram, S. (2017). Twenty-second and Twenty-fifth Dynasty mummies from Thebes: X-ray and CT-scan examination project. *Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 210, 22–32
- Szafrański, Z.E. (2013). Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Seasons 2008/2009 and 2009/2010. *PAM*, 22, 131–151
- Szafrański, Z.E. (2015). Tombs of the Third Intermediate Period in the Upper Terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut. In Z.E. Szafrański (ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies* [=PAM 24/2] (pp. 183–204). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press
- Taylor, J.H. (2003). Theban coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Dating and synthesis of development. In N. Strudwick and J.H. Taylor (eds), *The Theban necropolis: Past, present, and future* (pp. 95–121). London: British Museum Press
- Taylor, J.H. (2017). Two lost cartonnage cases of the early Twenty-second Dynasty. In C. Jurman, B. Bader, and D.A. Aston (eds), *A true scribe of Abydos: essays on first millennium Egypt in honour of Anthony Leahy* [=OLA 265]. Leuven–Paris–Bristol, CT: Peeters
- Taylor, J.H. (2018). Evidence for social patterning in Theban coffins of Dynasty 25. In J.H. Taylor and M. Vandenbeusch (eds), *Ancient Egyptian coffins: craft traditions and functionality* [=British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 4] (pp. 349–386). Leuven–Paris–Bristol, CT: Peeters
- Traunecker, C. (2014). The “funeral palace” of Padiamenope: tomb, place of pilgrimage, and library. Current research. In E. Pischikova, J. Budka, and K. Griffin (eds), *Thebes in the first millennium BC* (pp. 205–234). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing
- Traunecker, C. (2018). Abydenian pilgrimage, immortal stars and Theban liturgies in the tomb of Padiamenope (TT33). In E. Pischikova, J. Budka, and K. Griffin (eds), *Thebes in the first millennium BC: Art and archaeology of the Kushite period and beyond* (pp. 126–151). London: Golden House Publications
- Vassalli, L. (1994). *L'egittologo Luigi Vassalli (1812–1887): disegni e documenti nei Civici Istituti Culturali Milanesi*. Milan: Edizioni ET

