

Third Intermediate Period coffins and cartonnages from Hatshepsut's chapel.

Part 2: the funeral assemblage of Vizier Padiamunet



Abstract: In an earlier article (Payraudeau 2018c), the funerary material found in the shafts of Hatshepsut's chapel was presented. This second study completes the work by publishing the coffin and cartonnage assemblage of Vizier Padiamunet, dating from the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty, which features rather original decoration and texts.

Keywords: Deir el-Bahari, Twenty-second Dynasty, Vizier Padiamunet, coffin, cartonnage case, Third Intermediate Period

During the excavations of funeral pits on the third terrace of Hatshepsut's temple, particularly in the cultic chapel of the queen, hundreds of fragments of funerary material were discovered (Szafrński 2001: 196–199; 2007: 245–251; 2015; Sheikholeslami 2018). These finds were evidently linked to the discoveries made by Émile Baraize in the 1930s (Bruyère 1956; Aston 2009a: 216–217). The most significant funerary furnishings appear to have belonged to Vizier Padiamunet, an eminent figure at the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty, whose relatives were buried in and around the chapel of Hatshepsut throughout the 7th century and probably until the mid-6th century BC. This article, following an earlier study on more dispersed materials (Payraudeau 2018c), aims to provide insight into the composition of Padiamunet's burial assemblage.

Frédéric Payraudeau¹

¹ Sorbonne Université

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GENERAL PRESENTATION OF THE BURIAL ASSEMBLAGE

The funerary furnishings of Vizier Padiamunet were looted in antiquity and later scattered during work on the temple in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. According to a report published in 1954 by Bernard Bruyère, Émile Baraize discovered, in 1934, the funerary furnishings of the priests of Montu—Padiamunet and Nespaqashuty—as well as those of the lady Heresnes, all from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, along with elements of the burial of Vizier Padiamunet—a fragment of cartonnage and a shabti box—in the same tomb on the third terrace of Hatshepsut's temple (Bruyère 1956: 13–14). However, restoration work and excavations in Hatshepsut's chapel, carried out by the Polish-Egyptian team, led to the discovery of numerous additional fragments of the same cartonnage, found this time in shaft-tombs VIII, IX, and X inside the chapel. Since the so-called “Baraize tomb” has been identified in the vestibule in front of this chapel, it must be concluded that not only were small fragments of Padiamunet's funerary furniture scattered by Baraize's workers, but also that Baraize had discovered the shafts in the chapel and not just tomb XVIII. It is, therefore, doubtful that the fragment of cartonnage and the shabti box were originally found in tomb XVI-II for two reasons. First, this tomb must have already contained three (or four)

large coffin sets from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Second, most of the fragments and a cloth bearing the vizier's name were found in tomb VIII (Szafrński 2015: 187–188). It is thus virtually certain that this last shaft-tomb was the burial place of the vizier, perhaps buried with his wife, Shepenhutaat, whose burial materials were found in the same area.

Given the importance of this figure (Payraudeau 2014a/I: 178; II: 471–473 (No. 109)), a series of more prestigious objects found in tomb VIII probably belonged to him, allowing us to reconstruct his funeral trousseau:

- a fragmentary cartonnage case;
- a fragmentary inner coffin;
- a fragmentary outer coffin;
- four limestone canopic vases without inscription (Majewska 2007: 114–115; Szafrński 2007: 250–251);
- a wooden shabti box, Luxor Museum J 315, now in Suez Museum;
- a group of terracotta shabtis (Makowska 2015: 143);
- an openwork shrine, perhaps to house the coffins, featuring figures of the goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Neith, Selkis, and Seshat in two different modules (Majewska 2007: 126–127; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2015), and possibly a *uraeus* frieze (Majewska 2007: 124–125; Szafrński 2007: 250, Fig. 11).¹

1 As the vizier was one of the most important individuals buried there, it seems likely that this magnificent chest was dedicated to his funeral. Fragments of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures were also found, but none can be linked to Padiamunet's burial with a high degree of certainty.



Fig. 1. The main fragment of Vizier Padiamunet's cartonnage case, NMEC (PCMA UW | photos W. Wojciechowski)

THE CARTONNAGE CASE

This object has a complex history. A large fragment of cartonnage, identified as the rear section, was mentioned by Bruyère (1956: 14) among the materials found by Baraize in 1932. It is impossible to determine the exact location where this part was found, as Baraize appears to have excavated both Hatshepsut's chapel and that of Thutmose I, as well as the vestibule in front of them. Initially stored in Queen Neferu's tomb and later in the tomb of Padiamenope (TT33), the fragment was transferred to the Carter Storehouse on the West Bank in 2005

(as No. 161) before being moved to the New Museum of Egyptian Civilization in Cairo. Excavations led by the Polish-Egyptian expedition in the southern complex from 2006 to 2013 brought to light more than 100 additional fragments from pits inside the chapel of Hatshepsut (registered as Cg30). A partial assemblage had already been transferred to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo for an exhibition in 2007 (Majewska 2007: 118–119). The coloring, material, and inscriptions confirm that these fragments belong to the same object discovered earlier by

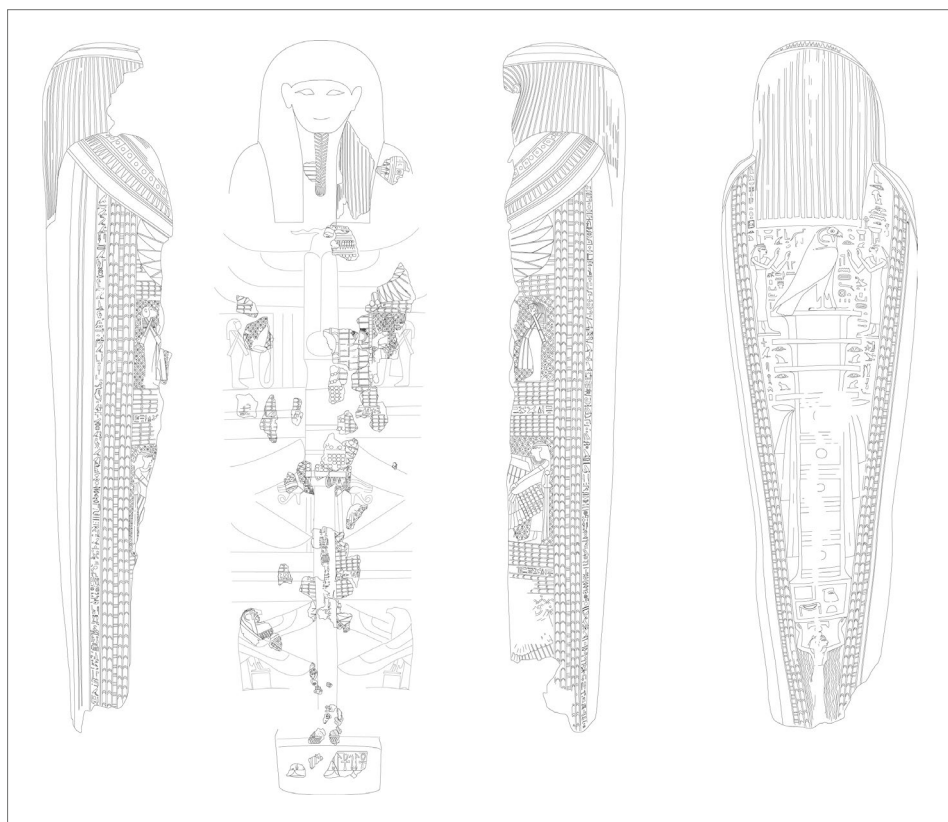


Fig. 2. General reconstruction of the cartonnage case (Processing F. Payraudeau)

Baraize. However, the original findspot of this fragment is somewhat unclear in the publication that Bruyère devoted to it after Baraize's death. Bruyère appears to suggest that this fragment was found in the well outside the chapel, alongside the assemblages of the priests Nespaqashuty and Padiamunet, as well as



Fig. 3. Inner part of the case with the stitching (PCMA UW | photo W. Wojciechowski)

the lady Hersenes. This is unlikely, given the limited space in this well —now identified as tomb XVIII— and the fact that the rest of the funerary furniture was found in the well inside the chapel. The scattering of cartonnage fragments across multiple pits is undoubtedly due to modern cleaning and backfilling. This dispersal of fragments,² along with missing sections, has hindered a complete reconstruction of the object, while its convex shape has further limited the possibility of creating an overall drawing.

The mummy case is a traditional cartonnage case [Figs 1, 2], constructed in one piece and therefore without internal decoration (Taylor 2006: 277–281). It is made of linen and paste, with some wooden elements for specific parts (e.g. beard, wig). The stitching is located, as is typical, at the back in an I-shape, similar to other examples from the mid- and late Twenty-second Dynasty (Hunkeler 2021: 8, Table 1), and is very discreet [Fig. 3]. The external decoration clearly indicates that this mummy case should be dated to around the late Twenty-second Dynasty (main typology in Taylor 2003: 104–107, 111). It appears to derive from the famous “two falcons” design (Taylor 2003: 106, design 2B; Aston 2009a: 283, Type III), featuring only one ram-headed falcon, as seen on other cartonnages or inner coffins from this period (Phase IV

- 2 As previously mentioned, the Baraize fragment is now in the NMEC, while the fragments from the Polish excavations are partially housed in the Cairo Museum and partially stored in the magazine at Deir el-Bahari. Additionally, some fragments have been identified among the objects stored in Queen Neferu's tomb (information courtesy of P. Chudzik). During a visit to TT 33, I was also able to identify a fragment there (information courtesy of S. Einaudi). These latter fragments likely originated from the Baraize fragment and became dispersed when it was subsequently stored in various locations.

by Aston 2009a: 283; Taylor 2003: 114).³ Various decorative elements emphasize the deceased's identification with Osiris and highlight the role of the solar cycle in his resurrection.

A large wig, painted in blue and yellow, covers the head [Fig. 4:a]. The mask is painted in a flesh tone and has a beautiful

curved wooden beard [Fig. 5:b]. The large necklace has a complex design combining different geometric and floral elements [Fig. 5]. The top of the head bears a winged scarab, a pattern frequently used in this area [Fig. 6] (Taylor 2003: 107). According to a recent analysis (Mauric-Barberio 2024), this design may have originated



Fig. 4. Fragment of wig (left) and beard (right) (PCMA UW | photo W. Wojciechowski)

- 3 See, in particular, the cartonnage cases Louvre E 5534 (Ziegler 1990: 72–73) and that of the priest Pakhar, discovered in Deir el-Bahari (Barwik 2003: 127, Fig. 6). The same decorative pattern is also found on some inner coffins, such as that of Princess Irbastetudjanefu, now in Paris, Musée de l'Opéra No. 17 (Taylor 2006: Pls 51, 52, 54, 63; Payraudeau 2018a: 73, Cat. No. 24) and that of a lady of the same name in Rouen, Musée des antiquités, Inv. No. 1857.10 (Aufière 1987: 21–22, Pl. III), though the latter lacks the fetish.

from a vignette in the sixth hour of the *Book of Amduat*, depicting the dead body of Ra, identified with Osiris, reborn after his union with his *ba*-soul and wearing a scarab on his head.

The upper part of the torso displays a large winged ram deity with a solar disc, representing Ra in his final transformation at sunrise [Fig. 7]. Below this figure are vertical blue and red bands and two *uraei*, both bearing the traditional crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, which should be identified with Nekhbet and Wadjet, as indicated by a text on the side of the cartonnage case (see commentary below).⁴ This pattern seems to have been borrowed from the final hour of the *Book of Caverns*, where it represents the nocturnal sun after its union with Osiris in its final transfor-

mation before rising at the first hour of the day (Taylor 2003: 106; 2006: 266–270). Nevertheless, this representation of a winged ram has recently been convincingly identified with the *ba*-soul of Ra uniting with his deceased body, itself identified with Osiris (Mauric-Barberio 2024). This union corresponds to the sixth hour of the *Book of Amduat* and the *Book of the Earth*, but the union of the *ba* with the body is also mentioned in Spell 89 of the *Book of the Dead*.

On either side stand two children of Horus [Figs 7 and 8]: on the right side of the mummy, Amset and Hapy; on the left, a jackal-headed Duamutef and falcon-headed Qebehsenuef (Taylor 2003: 106; 2006: 267–269, noting that the absence of Osiris is more frequent in earlier examples). The children of Horus are mummified, with a wide blue and green ribbon tied in front of them. They wear a red *stola* around their necks.⁵



Fig. 5. Remnants of the collar on the left side (PCMA UW | photo W. Wojciechowski)



Fig. 6. Upper part of the head with the scarab (PCMA UW | photo W. Wojciechowski)

- 4 A parallel can be found on the cartonnage case London BM EA 30720 (Taylor 2003: Fig. 49, early 8th century BC). In other examples, both *uraei* wear a White Crown (Taylor 2003: Fig. 62; 2006: 269).
- 5 For a similar one, see the cartonnage case Cairo TR 21/11/16/6, dated to the mid-Twenty-second Dynasty (Payraudeau 2018b: 425, Figs 2–3).

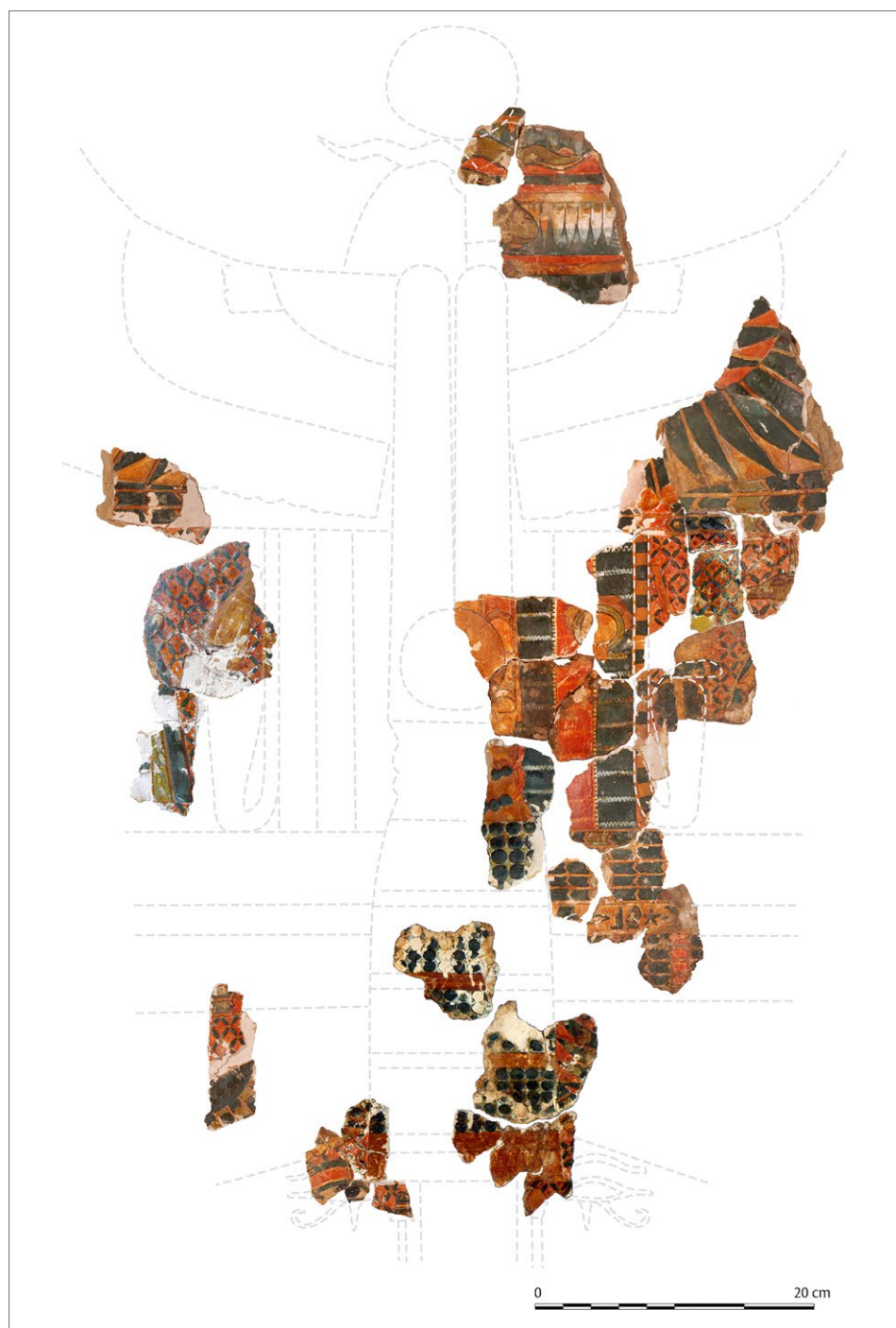


Fig. 7. Fragments of the central part: winged-ram, uraei, and children of Horus (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

The background design of this section, as well as the entire cover part of the mummy case, features a beadnet pattern with blue beads on a red background. Beadnets are a well-known element of funerary material (Aston 2009a: 290–293). However, they are rarely shown on cartonnages, and I am aware of only three other examples, dating to the late 9th century BC and the middle of the following century.⁶

Below this scene, a traditional “two falcons” design would typically feature

a second falcon, but it is absent here, as in other examples from the late Twenty-second Dynasty. Instead, the mummy case of Padiamunet displays in this space a large Abydenian fetish, identifying the body of the deceased with the chthonic god in regeneration (Taylor 2006: 269).⁷ This motif holds a prominent position here [Figs 7 and 9], with the feathers of the crown reaching up to the body of the winged ram.⁸ The top of the dome is decorated with alternating rows of pearls and yellow stripes.



Fig. 8. Image of Qebehsenuef (PCMA UW | photo W. Wojciechowski)

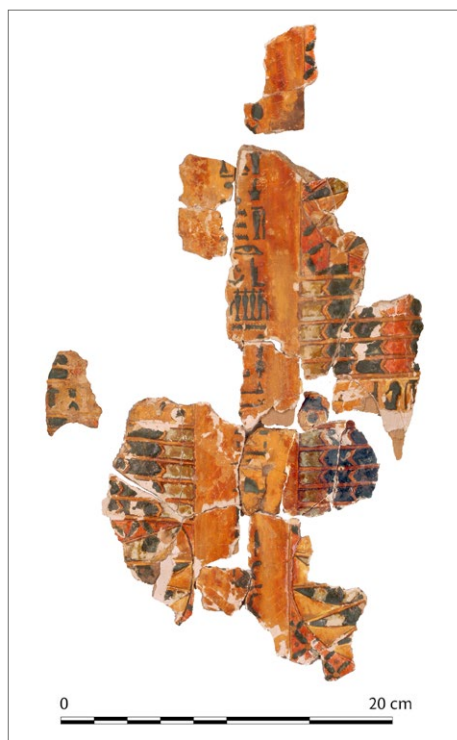


Fig. 9. Fragments of the lower part: pole of the Abydos fetish (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

- 6 Cartonnage Edinburgh A.1956.355 (Dodson and Manley 2010: 64–66, No. 19); Louvre E 5534 (Ziegler 1990: 72–73), and the closely related Louvre E 13025 (unpublished).
- 7 For the Abydenian fetish, see Otto 1975: 47–48; Coulon 2003; 2011.
- 8 A similar design appears on cartonnage Louvre E5534 (Ziegler 1990: 72–73) and, though less obviously, on the inner coffin of Princess Irbastetudjanefu, Paris, Musée de l'Opéra 17 (Taylor 2003: Fig. 62).

As on most of the cases, the fetish is protected by a range of deities and amulets, often in pairs, which have their origins in the fetish protections depicted on temple walls.⁹ In the upper register, the winged goddesses Isis and Nephthys spread their wings, accompanied by protective *udjat* eyes [Figs 9 and 10], while in the lower register, two falcons assume the same position (Taylor 2006: 274) [Fig. 11]. The remains of two stands, supporting nothing, flank the pole of the fetish, similar to its representation in the Temple



Fig. 10. Image of a winged goddess on the side (PCMA UW | photo W. Wojciechowski)

of Sety I at Abydos (Jéquier 1920: 415; Calverley, Broome, and Gardiner 1933: Pl. 10) and on the Cairo statue JE 36967 (Brandl 2008: Taf. 179 c). In fact, one would normally expect to see instead the two figures of Khnum's ram, traditionally associated with the protection of this symbol (Coulon 2011: 98, n. q).

The foot of the fetish, which also serves as a column of text, is flanked in its lower part by two or three lion-headed deities whose bodies are covered by vultures ([Fig. 12], Coulon 2011: 89). The foot of the fetish itself is embedded in the mountain sign, painted pink with black dots to imitate the granite of the Theban Mountain. Unlike the typical representation, this motif does not take the shape of the *dw* sign and therefore does not form, together with the fetish, the rebus *3b-dw* = Abydos (Coulon 2011: 89). However, this *h3st* motif does appear at the base of the fetish inside the Louvre bivalve cartonnage E5534 (Ziegler 1990: 73), which shares other characteristics with the cartonnage of Padiamunet. The foot of the cartonnage case is rounded at the front and decorated with a frieze of alternating '*nh*' signs and *w3s*-scepters on *nb* baskets, a frequent motif on cartonages from the Twenty-second Dynasty [Fig. 13].

The various sections and registers of the cartonnage, as well as the horizontal straps, are composed of bands of multicolored chevrons arranged in

9 E.g. the Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos (Winlock 1921: Pl. 1); Temple of Sety I at Abydos (Calverley, Broome, and Gardiner 1933: Pl. 10); Temple of Hibis (Davies 1953: Pl. 25); stela (Coulon 2011: 89, 93); coffin London BM EA 6659 (Taylor 2003: Fig. 53); cartonnage Louvre E 5334, inner decoration (Ziegler 1990: 73), and the cartonnage case Cg31 of the lady Shepenhutaat (Payraudeau 2018c: 312, Fig. 10). The decoration of the stela of Perinefer, Bologna, MCABO EG 1915, closely resembles the decoration on cartonages from the Libyan period, since the fetish is flanked by two *udjat* eyes, two falcons (Horus of Behedet), and Isis and Nephthys (Fusari 2017: 24, Fig. 1).

rows of three or five — a motif that first appeared in the last three decades of the 9th century BC and became increasingly prevalent in later examples.

As in classical cartonnages of Twenty-second Dynasty, the decoration includes few texts, written in black on a yellow background.

The Abydenian fetish supports an axial column of text that can be read as follows:



[*hṭp-di-nswt...di-ḥprt-hrw*] *t [hṇqt] ih [3pd] mrḥt mnḥt snṯr qbḥ Wsir hnty Īmntt di-ḥtpw n wsir ḥm-nṯr Īmn t3ty P3-[di-Īmnt...]* *m3'-hrw s3 mi-nn P3[miw...]*

“[Offering given by the King to... so he gives an invocation-offering consisting]¹⁰ of bread, [beer], beef, [duck], unguent, alabaster, incense, and libation to Osiris-Khentymentet, so he gives offerings to the Osiris, the prophet of Amun, Vizier Pa[diamunet...], justified, son of the like-titled, Pa[miu...]¹¹”

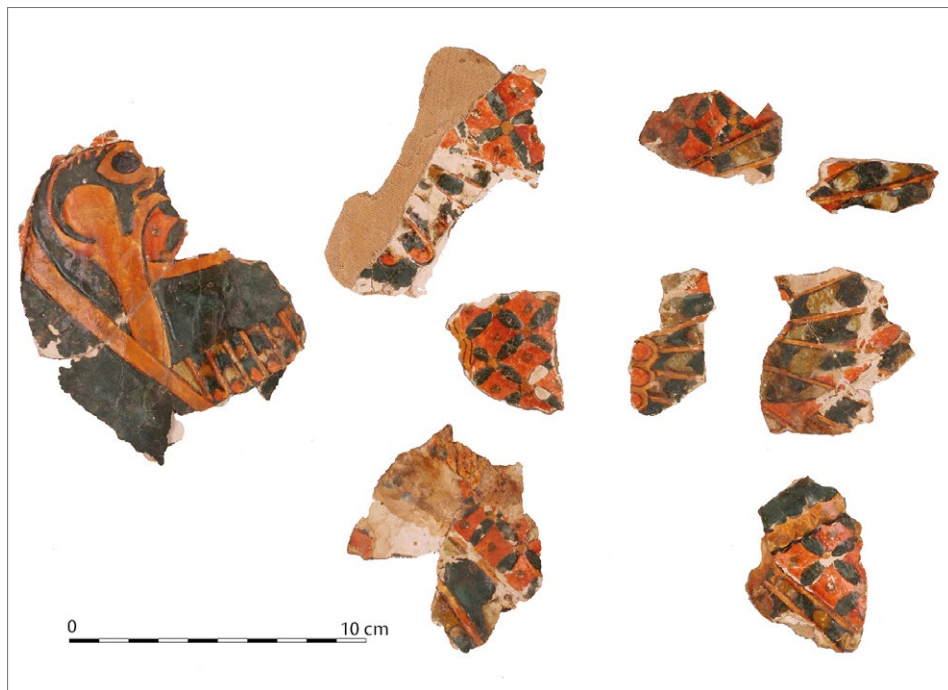


Fig. 11. Fragments of the lower part: falcon and wings (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

¹⁰ The beginning of the text is lost, but probably included the traditional formula *hṭp-di-nswt*, although the organization of the rest is hardly canonical.

¹¹ Since the fragments are not joined, it is possible that the filiation was longer, with *P3* possibly belonging to a more distant ancestor, such as *P3-di-Īmnt*, father of Vizier *P3-miw*, and grandfather of our *P3-di-Īmnt* or *P3-n-ww-pqr* his great grandfather.

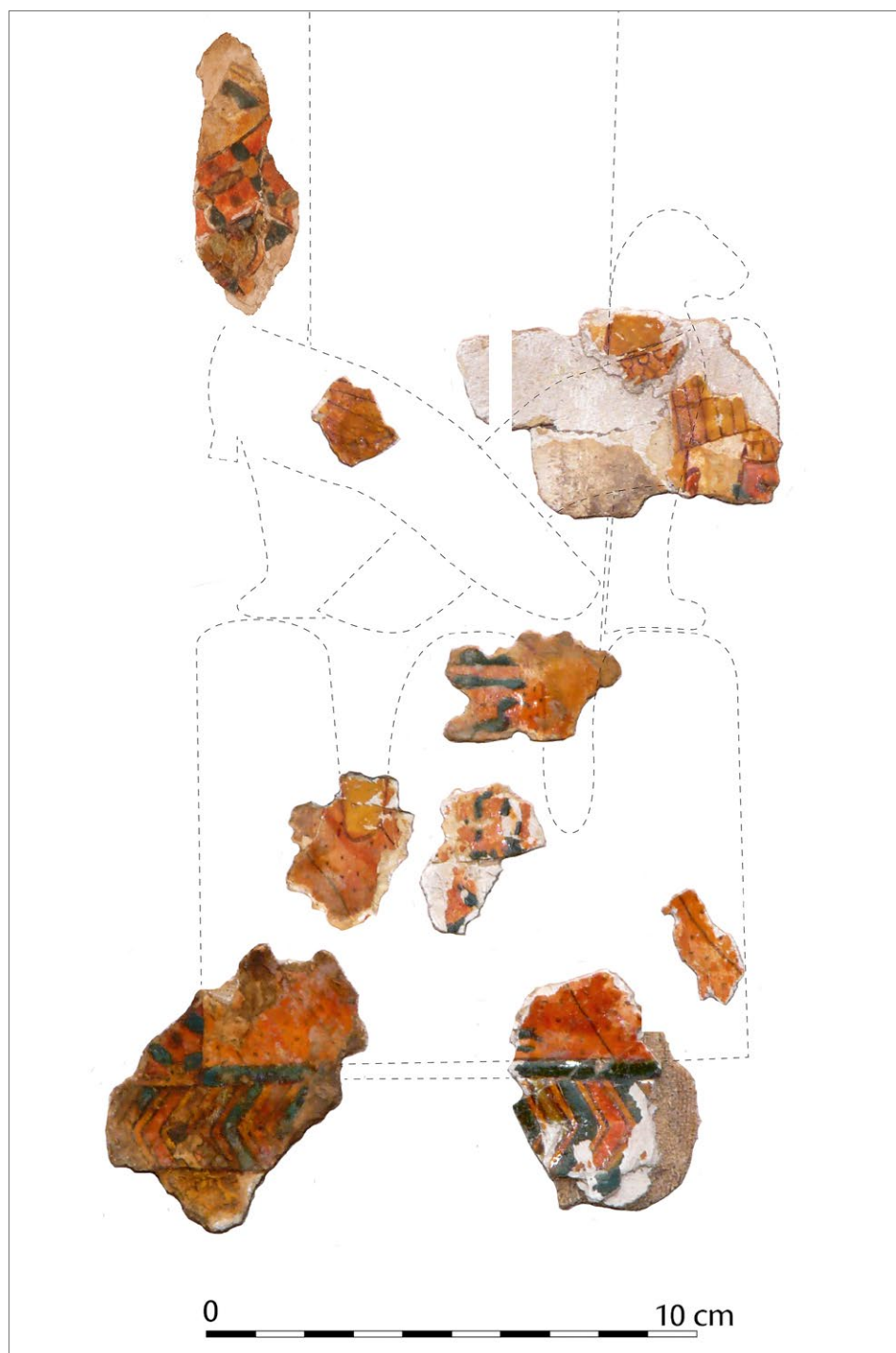


Fig. 12. Fragments from the foot of the fetish with lion-headed figures (Processing F. Payraudeau)

The four horizontal bands imitating mummy straps bear the following texts:

Upper right:



im3hw Wsir Īms[t ḥm-ntr Īmn mr niwt t3ty] P3-di-Īmnt m3'-hrw

“The *imakh* (before) Os[iris] and Imse[t, the prophet of Amun, Vizier] Padiamunet, justified”.

Upper left:



[im3hw] Wsir Dw3-mwt[ef ḥm-ntr] Īmn t3ty P3-di-Īmnt

“[The *imakh*] (before) Osiris and Duamut[ef, the prophet] of Amun, Vizier Padiamunet”.

Lower right:



im3hw [Wsir] Hpy ḥm-ntr Īmn mr niwt t3ty P3-[di-Īmnt] m3'-hrw

“The *imakh* (before) Hapy, the prophet of Amun, the director of the city, Vizier Pa[diamunet], justified”.



Fig. 13. Fragments from the foot box of the cartonnage case (Processing F. Payraudeau)

Lower left:



im3hw Wsir Qbh-snw-f hm-ntr Imn mr niwt t3ty P3-di-Imnt

“The *imakh* Osiris Qebhsenuf, the prophet of Amun, the director of the city, Vizier, Padiamunet”.

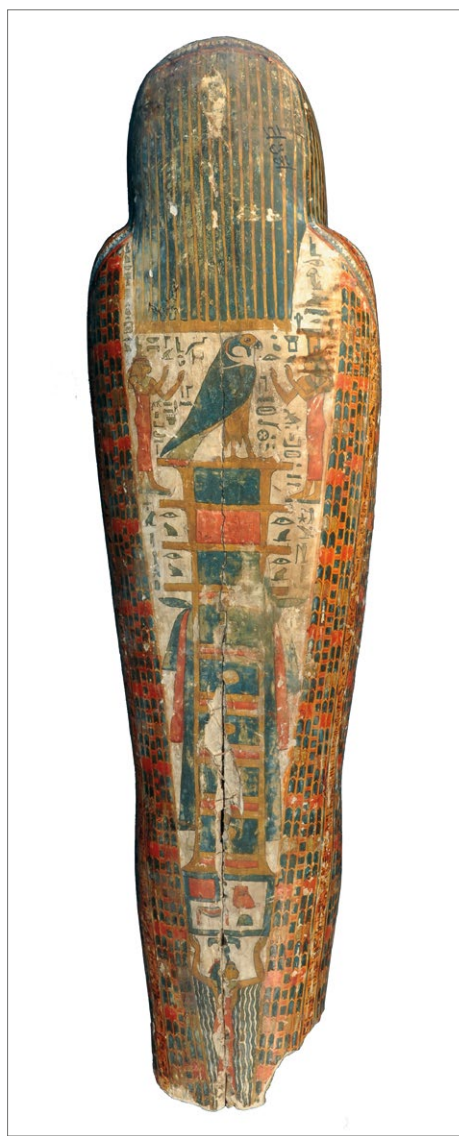


Fig. 14. Cartonnage case of Padiamunet: rear part (PCMA UW | photo W. Wojciechowski)

The rear part of the cartonnage case [Fig. 14] features a traditional vignette associated with Spell 15 (formerly Spell 16) of the *Book of the Dead*. At its center is a yellow *djed*-pillar, adorned with alternating red and blue stripes and ribbons in the same colors (Taylor 2003: 107; 2006: 269–270). Atop the pillar sits a solar falcon. Both the falcon and the pillar are protected by Isis, “God’s mother and mistress of the sky” (left), and Nephthys (right). The pillar is identified in the inscription as “Osiris-Wennefer” on the right side and



Fig. 15. Cartonnage case of Padiamunet: rear part, lower register with Nut (PCMA UW | photo W. Wojciechowski)

as “Osiris, master of Busiris, who is at the head of the House of Gold” on the left. The *djed*-pillar is also flanked by the names of the four Horus children, each accompanied by the *s3* (“protection”) sign: Amset and Hapy

on the left, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef on the right. The whole scene is a further evocation of the union of Ra and Osiris, the prelude to the sun’s rebirth. It is surrounded by the following inscription:

Right:



hm-ntr n Imn mr niwt t3ty P3-di-Imnt m3 'hrw

“The prophet of Amun, director of the city, Vizier Padiamunet, justified”.

Left:



hm-ntr n Imn t3ty s3b P3-di-Imnt m3 'hrw

“The prophet of Amun, chief justice, Padiamunet, justified”.

The *djed*-pillar rests on a *hwt-nbw* sign, beneath which is a depiction of the goddess Nut, identified by the hieroglyphic signs representing her name on her head, maybe accompanying a solar disc [Fig. 15]. Her arms are raised, allowing water to flow along and down from them.¹² The figure of Nut, as the mother of both Osiris and the Sun God, is typically shown inside the covers of coffins. However, since it was not possible to place it inside the cartonnage, the artist may have chosen to incorporate this motif here instead (Taylor 2006: 276). In this representation, Nut wears a red sheath dress and a blue wig with a red headband, the regular attributes of the Sycamore Goddess.¹³ She appears to

be pouring water for the deceased, suggesting that she is identified here with the Sycamore Goddess from the vignette in Spell 50 of the *Book of the Dead*. She participates in the resurrection of the deceased by welcoming him into the necropolis as Hathor-Imentet and providing him with food and libations. While the canonical scene featuring the sycamore tree is common on coffins from the Twenty-first Dynasty, it virtually disappears from cartonnage decoration in the Twenty-second Dynasty, where it is instead represented in a simplified form, with only Nut offering libations.¹⁴ The association between Nut pouring water and a scene of solar resurrection has been documented since the

12 For a parallel to this rare scene, see the inner part of the cartonnage case Louvre E21611: Étienne 2009: 92–93, No. 65 and the discussion in Barguet 1962: 8–10. Nut can be seen with her arms raised, supporting the sky; see Billing 2002: 325, Figs 2 and 3.

13 See the scenes in TT 1 (Senedjem), 16 (Panchesy), TT 51 (Userhat).

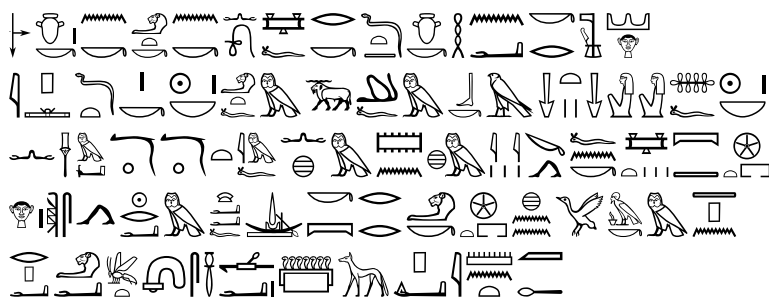
14 See the cartonnage case Brooklyn 35.1265 = Taylor 2006: Pl. 54 (b).

New Kingdom (Billing 2002: 375, Fig. C27 (TT 216), and 381, Fig. C37 (TT 299)). The connection between these two scenes on the back of the Padiamunet cartonnage lies in Nut's role in the cycle of solar re-

birth (Billing 2002: 266–267), a central theme in the cartonnage's decoration.

On each side of the cartonnage case, a column of text runs from the head to the foot.

Left text:



ibꜥk nꜥk ḥꜣtyꜥk nꜥk n wꜣꜣf rꜥk dt ibꜥk ḥnꜥk r ḥrt-ntr ḥr ip dtꜥk rꜥ nb ḥꜣtyꜥf m bꜣ phꜥf m bīk snwty sꜣꜣf rꜥ nb n ḥm nsns<t> imꜥf n ḥm.n ḥmyw sꜣmꜥf nꜥk wꜣwt pt tꜣ dwꜣt ḥr šms Rꜥ m ḥꜥꜣf dꜣꜣꜥk ḥr(t) r ḥꜣꜣk dwꜣt ḥnn bꜣꜥk m tꜣ pn rpꜥt ḥꜣty- ḥtmty bīty smhr wꜥty tꜣty sꜣb Pꜣ-di-Imnt mꜣꜥ-ḥrw

“Your heart is yours, your muscle–heart is yours, it will not go away from you forever, your heart is yours up to the necropolis, your body will be reckoned every day, its front is a ram, its rear is a falcon, the two sisters are its protection every day, the slicers¹⁵ will not have power on it, the demolisher demons will not destroy him, he will lead you along the paths of the sky, the earth and underworld, following Ra when he rises, may you cross the heaven with the Duat before you, may your *ba*-soul land on this earth, prince and count, seal of the king, unique courtier, judge and magistrate, Padiamunet, justified”.

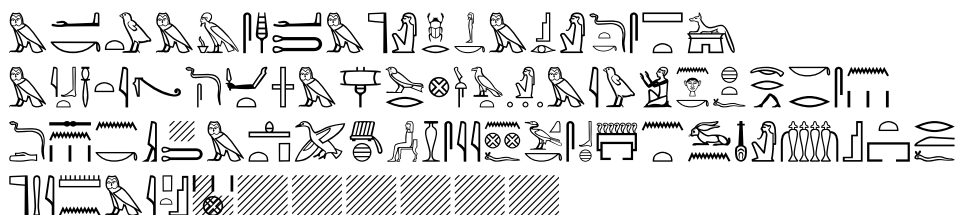
This text appears to have been composed from various sources. Firstly, the beginning of the text seems inspired by the opening lines of Spell 26 of the *Book of the Dead*, which ensures the deceased has control over his heart and body.¹⁶ Secondly, one passage seems to be a direct allusion to the decoration of the

cartonnage, as its torso depicts a hawk with a ram's head, flanked by two *uraei* wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt (the *snty*). The text on the cartonnage case is, therefore, a composition that adopts this tradition and clarifies the meaning of the image depicted on the cartonnage case.

15 There is a verb *nsns*, “to slice, cut” (Erman and Grapow 1928: 335.1; Lesko 1984/II: 34), attested in pAnastasi I, 16, 5 = Fischer-Elfert 1986: 138, n. y, who corrects Alliot 1955: 3.

16 This spell is used on three other coffins, which all appear to date from the end of the Third Intermediate Period, for example, see Taylor 2010: 172–173, 176.

Right text:



Mk tw m b3 s 'h' tw m tr hprk Wsir dt-k sst3 m izbt tit dsrt imy(t) T3-wr imntyw m iw3-i n hr-k hft spr-k r-sn dd-sn n-k ii tw m htp p3 im3h hsy n niwt-f 'q-k sbht nt Wnnfr hnty st r gs-f hm-ntr Imn m lpt-swt [... P3-di-Imnt]

“You are protected as a *ba*, you are standing when the god makes you Osiris, your body is hidden in the East, a sacred image who is in Ta-wer of the Westerners, when I worship your face when you reach them. May they say to you “come in peace”, the pensioned, praised of his city, when you enter the porch of Wennefer who presides over the place,¹⁷ at his side, the prophet of Amun in Karnak [...Padiamunet]”.

This text, like the previous one, seems to combine extracts from spells of the *Book of the Dead* and other traditions. From the Twenty-first Dynasty onward, side texts on coffins and mummy boards often consist of original compositions

that reuse or refer to various texts.¹⁸ By the Twenty-second Dynasty, this phenomenon was well known from funerary papyri, many of which quote Spell 26, among other texts of often unknown origin (Lenzo 2023: 304–308).

THE INNER COFFIN CF38A

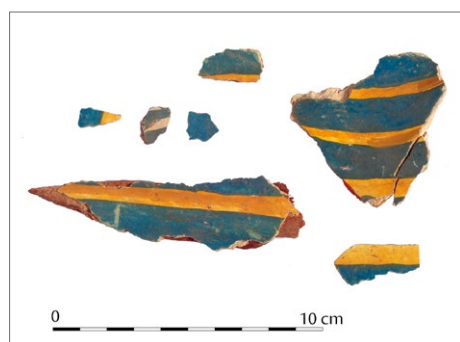


Fig. 16. Fragments of the inner coffin: parts of the wig (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

Aside from the cartonnage case, Vizier Padiamunet was buried inside a set of two wooden coffins, both of which were largely destroyed. It has sometimes proved difficult to separate fragments from the inner and outer coffins, but their shape and layout can be determined.

The wooden inner coffin Cf38A displays an anthropomorphic shape. It appears to have had a yellow background. The simple decoration conforms to the

¹⁷ For this epithet of Osiris, see Leitz 2002–2003: 849–850.

¹⁸ Hence, these are already present on some objects from the first half of the Twenty-first Dynasty, for which see Joubert 2024: 251–254.

Outer/Intermediary Coffin Lid Design 1 by Taylor (Taylor 2003: Figs 52 and 71). A few elements of a blue and yellow striped wig are all that remains from the upper part of the cover [Fig. 16]. Below, the decora-

tion is confined to a few columns (possibly five) of blue-painted text on a yellow background. Among the fragments of this text, parts of the vizier's titles can be recognized on the left side [Fig. 17]:



[...] *t3ty t3tytj s3b P3-di-Imnt wḥm 'nh*

“[...] the vizier, judge and magistrate, Padiamunet, whose life is renewed.”¹⁹

Another fragment contains extracts from the *Book of the Dead*. First, in column 1, we find the beginning of Spell

133 (3), which glorifies the deceased as a participant in the solar journey. Then, in column 2, we have Spell 53 (3–5),

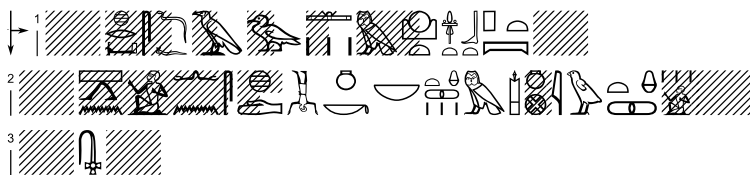


Fig. 17. Fragments of the inner coffin: parts of the lid (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

¹⁹ This expression, which appeared at the end of the Middle Kingdom (Doxey 1998: 102 and n. 97), was sometimes reintroduced during the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the context of the 8th century BC, it probably bears witness to the archaizing movement.

which addresses the integrity and purification of the body of the deceased, identified with Ra. The choice of these

extracts is somewhat original, as they are not commonly found on coffins from all eras.²⁰



[¹] [...*hr*] *sdfzw m zht izbt pt [hr brw Nwt dsrꜣs wꜣwt n R* ²¹]

[²] [...*šm.nꜣi nn*] *šhd. Īnk nb t m Īwn[w]. iw tꜣ[i m pt hr R* '...]

[³] [...] *nsr (?) [...]*

“[¹] [...] The provisioners fall in the eastern horizon of the sky [at the word of Nut as she clears the ways for Ra...] [²] [...I will not walk] upside down. I am a lord over bread in Helio[polis]. [My] bread [is in heaven with Ra...] [³] [...] fire (?) [...]”

THE OUTER COFFIN CF38B

The sarcophagus, or outer coffin, was made of wood and is, like the inner one, anthropomorphic. Only some parts of the

lid are preserved, revealing fragments of a large column of text [Fig. 18].



[...*hm-ntr Īmn m Īpt*]-*swt mr niwwt tꜣty Pꜣ-di-Īmnt mꜣ'-hrw*

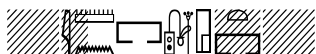
“[...prophet of Amun in Ipet]-sut, director of the cities, Vizier Padiamunet, justified”.

The outer part of the box was decorated with a line of text featuring large signs, but only some fragments are preserved, making it impossible to read anything [Fig. 19]. The inner part of the

box was painted yellow with a text in large blue hieroglyphic signs on the sides. A few fragments from the foot area feature elements of the vizier's titles [Fig. 20]:

²⁰ For Spell 53, attested only on papyrus during the Third Intermediate Period (nine items according to the *Totenbuchprojekt* database), see Munro 2001: 32; Heerma van Voss 2003. For Spell 133, also absent from coffins during the Third Intermediate and Saite Periods (Elias 1993: 514–553) and attested on 19 papyri from this period, see Haikal 1983. This spell describes the rising of Ra on the horizon after gathering up his own body parts, followed by the journey of the deceased among the crew of the solar barque, as seen on the chapels of Tutankhamun (Piankoff 1952: 57–59) and in many copies of the *Book of the Dead* (Munro 2001: 74).

²¹ Reconstruction based on Chapter 133 of the *Book of the Dead*, as preserved in the papyrus of Ankhefenkhonsu, Vatican No. 19651, I, 2 (Haikal 1983: 201).



[...sš mdt n] pr Īmn sš hwt [ntr pr Īmn...]

“[...the scribe of the stable] of Amun’s domain, the scribe of the temple [of Amun’s domain...]”.²²

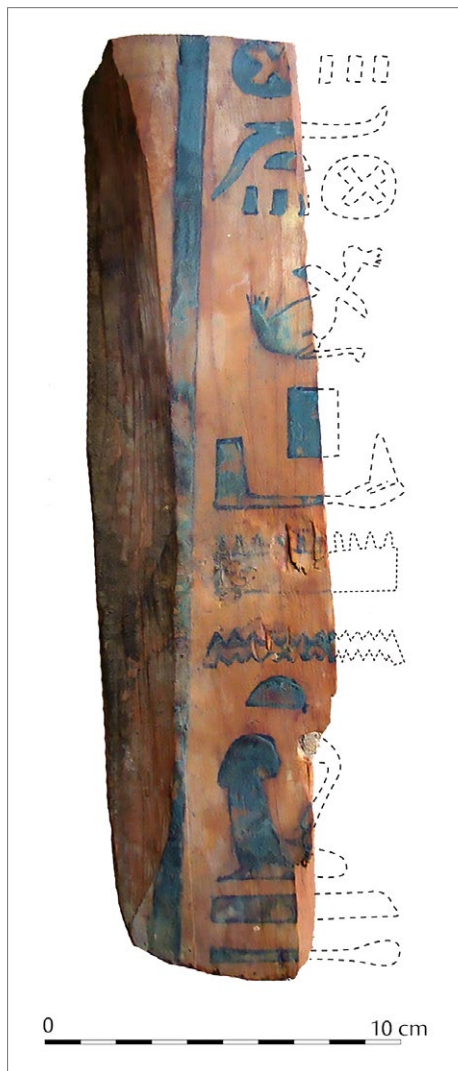


Fig. 18. Fragment of the outer coffin: part of the lid (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

The bottom of the box may have been adorned with a figure of the mummified falcon-god Sokar, as in *Design 5* by Taylor, which is commonly found during the 8th century BC (Taylor 2003: 95, Fig. 75; Sheikholeslami 2014b). At least part of a falcon’s eye can be made out on one fragment [Fig. 21].

THE SHABTI BOX LUXOR J 315

The vizier’s wooden shabti box was found by Emile Baraize during the 1934 excavation season on the third terrace of the temple (Bruyère 1956: 14) and has been kept at the Luxor Museum under number J315. It is now displayed in the Suez Museum. The box is rectangular, with two shorter sides and a rounded top [Fig. 22]. The lid consists of four boards of unequal size; of these, the two at the ends of the lid appear to have been fixed. A thick whitewash covers the whole object, perhaps applied after the box had been closed. The object therefore belongs to type VII of the Aston typology (Aston 2009a: 369–371). It bears a single vertical inscription painted in black, in a graphic style clearly reminiscent of the inscriptions on the cartonnage case [Fig. 23]:

22 For this sequence of titles for Vizier Padiamunet, see the coffin of his grandson, Padiamunet (iii): Payraudeau 2014a/II: 473, g).



Fig. 19. Fragments of the outer coffin: parts of the box (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)



Fig. 20. Fragments of the outer coffin: parts of the inner inscription (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)



Wsir ḥm-ntr n Ḥmn m Ḳpt-swṯ mr nīwt t3ty P3-di-Ḥmnt m3'-ḥrw

“The Osiris, prophet of Amun in Karnak, director of the city, Vizier Padiamunet, justified”.

COMMENTS AND DATE

In terms of the quality of its construction and some of the original details of its decoration, the funerary assemblage of Vizier Padiamunet was certainly worthy of his high status.

The originality of the texts on the cartonnage and the extracts from the *Book of the Dead* on the coffins are striking, as is the luxury of the openwork shrine. This underlines the importance of this figure in Thebes: vizier and governor of the city,

he also exercised eminent functions in the domain of Amun, notably as head of the temple scribes (Payraudeau 2014a/I: 178; II: 471–473 (No. 109)). This high position both in the administration and in royal circles is reflected in his burial in the necropolis. Although his father, Vizier Pamiu, was undoubtedly the initiator of the family necropolis of the Third Intermediate Period at Deir el-Bahari, it was likely Padiamunet who was the first to be buried in Hatshepsut's chapel on the temple's third terrace, where his burial initiated a whole series of burials for his descendants, continuing until the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Payraudeau forthcoming).²³



Fig. 21. Fragments of the outer coffin: inner parts of the box (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)



Fig. 22. Shabti box of Padiamunet, Suez Museum (IFAO | photo A. Leclerc)

²³ New data, which will be presented in a forthcoming article, sheds fresh light on Padiamunet's family, confirming that Lady Shepenhouthaat was indeed his wife (cf. Payraudeau 2018a: 67; 2018c: 303) and that another son of the vizier was buried in the area, confirming the existence of a family necropolis.

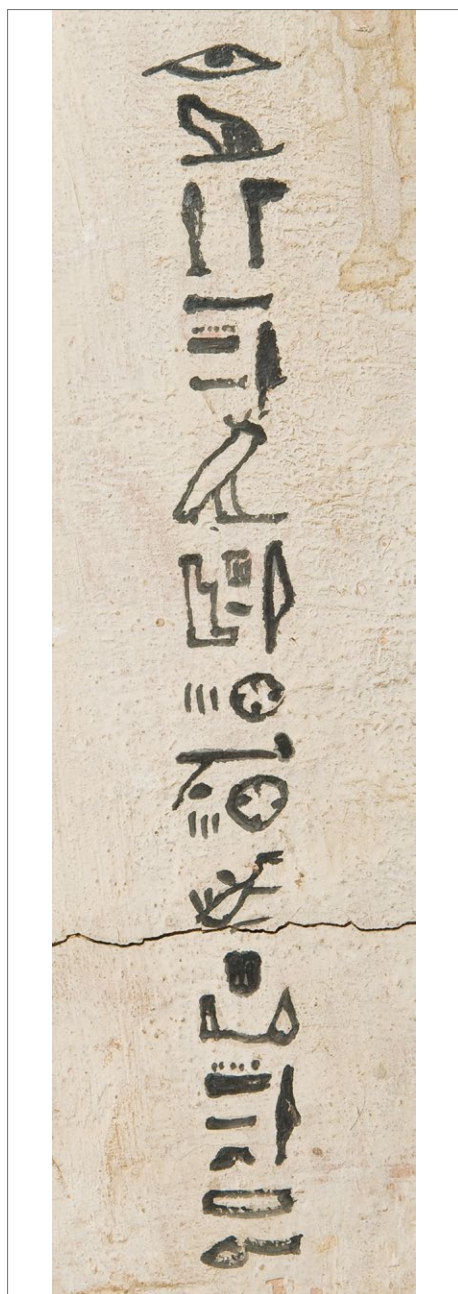


Fig. 23. Shabti box of Padiamunet, Suez Museum, detail (IFA0 | photo A. Lecler)

The clues enabling us to date this ensemble seem to indicate a period around 775–750 BC. The cartonnage case does not display any of the stylistic innovations that appeared around 750/725 BC (on which see Taylor 2003: 111–112). Technically, it is made in one piece and is not bivalve, and it does not have a square footbox. Its decoration does not feature very elaborate texts from funerary literature, aside from the originality of the short lateral texts. The only notable feature is the beadnet in the background, also attested on two specimens from the 9th and 8th centuries BC.²⁴ The palaeographic evidence is not particularly compelling, but it should be noted that none of the writing of the name of Osiris is in the so-called Kushite writing, with the pennant sign replacing the seated god determinative (Leahy 1979). The use of an outer anthropomorphic wooden coffin is well attested up until the 7th century BC, but from the middle of the 8th century onward, many elite burials of Theban notables featured a *qrs*w coffin instead, particularly those of the Padiamunet family (Taylor 2003: 111–113; Aston 2009a: 284–285; Sheikholeslami 2014a).²⁵

Each of these elements can certainly be found separately after 750 BC, as a result of the differentiated development of production in the Theban workshops, but it would be quite astonishing to find all of them together in an assemblage later than 750 BC.

Other elements allow us to refine this date range to about 775–750 BC. Vizier

²⁴ See herein, n. 6.

²⁵ His sister-in-law Irbastetudjanefu, his grandson Padiamunet, his nephew Pamiu, his grandson Nespaqashuty, their relative Heresnes.

Pakhar and Nespaqashuty (B), brother and son of Padiamunet, both married daughters of King Takeloth III.²⁶ It is impossible to know if one of these princesses was significantly younger than her sister or if the apparent leap in generation actually occurred on the side of the vizier's family, with Pakhar being a younger brother of Padiamunet who was about the same age as his nephew. Nor do we know whether the two prin-

cesses married elderly and influential officials to reinforce royal authority over Theban society or whether they married civil servants in the early stages of their careers.²⁷ In any case, these marriages place Padiamunet in the generation between Osorkon III and Takeloth III. The latter's reign ended between 760–740 BC, according to scholars (Aston 2009b; Payraudeau 2020: 35). This firmly places Padiamunet's *floruit* in the first half of the



Fig. 24. Linen from Padiamunet's burial (Photo M. Jawornicki)



Fig. 25. Linen from Padiamunet's burial (Drawing A. Stupko)

²⁶ See the discussion in Aston and Taylor 1990; Payraudeau 2014a: § 8.3.3.

²⁷ It seems almost certain that the princesses were young when they married, since it is hard to imagine an official marrying an elderly princess, with the accompanying risk of having no offspring.

in keeping with the archaizing trend that affected royal protocols from his reign onwards (Bonhême 1987: 172–173; Beckerath 1999: 194–195). These writings are also known for the Kushite king Piankhy, but it is not certain that his reign lasted until year 27, the latest reliable date being year 24 (Jansen-Winkel 2006: 262). Moreover, the end

of Piankhy's reign is now thought to have been around 714 BC, and a year 27 would fall within the last two decades of the 8th century BC,³⁰ which is far too late for the style of the Padiamunet cartonnage case. By contrast, the year 27 of Osorkon III, around 765 BC,³¹ would fit perfectly with the style of the cartonnage case.

CONCLUSION

The funerary material of Vizier Padiamunet, published here, places his burial within a solid artistic and chronological framework. The vizier was provided with fairly traditional funerary furnishings (three anthropoid coffins), of a quality reflecting his high social rank, along with a few original features (openwork caskets, certain texts). There is little

doubt that this burial dates to the reign of Osorkon III, based on the textual and stylistic data. As a result, this burial appears to be one of the earliest in the third terrace sector of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari and one of the key elements in the development of this new elite cemetery in the first half of the 8th century BC.³²

Prof. Frédéric Payraudeau

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6312-230X>

Sorbonne Université

fpayraudeau@sfr.fr

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³⁰ After most scholars accepted the reversed order of Shabataqa and Shabaqa's reigns: Payraudeau 2014b; 2020: 185–186; Jurman 2017.

³¹ 760 for Kitchen 1996: 588; 766 for Broekman 2009: 96; 765 for Payraudeau 2020: 35.

³² For this, see Payraudeau forthcoming.

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