

Gods at all hours: Saite Period coffins of the 'eleven-eleven' type

Jonathan Elias

AMSC Research

Carter Lupton

Milwaukee Public Museum

Abstract

A distinct coffin style known as the Eleven-Eleven, featuring a lid format with processions of eleven gods on the right and left sides, came into prominence in the later Saite Period (likely after 630 BC). It is a style found in multiple regions throughout Upper Egypt. Examples have been found at Akhmim, Thebes and Edfu. The current study presents new findings arising from analysis of an Eleven-Eleven coffin manufactured around 600 BC for the funerary preparer Djed-hor son of Padiamon and Neshmut-Renenutet from Akhmim (Milwaukee Public Museum A10264). Critical information relating to how the Eleven-Eleven was intended to function symbolically comes from a little known container fragment found at the end of the 19th century by Naville at the Delta site of Tell el-Baklieh (Hermopolis Parva). It shows that the twenty-two gods of the Eleven-Eleven style had protective functions linked to the Day- and Night-hour goddesses of the Stundenwachen tradition. The twenty-two deities served as guardians of the deceased during the eleven divisions between the twelve hours of Day- and the eleven divisions between the twelve hours of Night. With full hours and inter-hourly divisions properly supervised by deities, all aspects of time were therefore protected as the transformation of the deceased into a resurrected being occurred.

In the study of Egyptian coffins, typological analysis is often assisted by our willingness to formulate memorable names for the features we encounter. When types (or for that matter any stylistic details) are named well, discussion of them is potentially energized. This is hoped to be so with the *Eleven-Eleven* (11-11) type: a style of Egyptian coffin which becomes prevalent toward the end of the 7th century BC, distinguished by lids with formats that contain processions of eleven gods on each side, running perpendicular to the container's long axis. The sequences are presented in Table 1.

Our best estimate is that the *Eleven-Eleven* style arose at the end of the 7th century BC and continued to develop

during the early 6th century BC; a sarcophagus fragment from Akhmim (Copenhagen AEIN 132) shows that the basic imagery and textual formulae probably persisted into the 4th century BC.¹ Saite Period coffins of the type incorporate stylistic features such as the pedestals decorated with *ankh-neb-was* patterns and encircling serpent (*ouroboros/Mehen*) edge designs both of which Taylor dates after the mid-7th century BC at Thebes.² The style is not restricted to a particular site and seems to have been distributed rather widely. Wooden examples are known from several Upper Egyptian sites including Akhmim, Thebes and Edfu (Table 2).

Mummy's Right Side	Mummy's Left Side
1. Atum	1. Re-Horakhty
2. Osiris	2. Khepri kheper-djes-ef
3. Imsety	3. Hapy
4. Anubis 'who is in the wt-fetish'	4. Anubis 'foremost of the god's booth'
5. Duamutef	5. Qebehsenuf
6. Geb	6. Horus 'forehead without eyes'
7. Heqa-maa-it-ef 'Ruler-whom his father sees'	7. Kherybaqef 'one who is under his moringa tree'
8. Ir-ren-ef-djes-ef 'One who made his own name'	8. Shu
9. Wepwawet	9. Tefnut
10. Isis	10. Neith
11. Nephthys	11. Serqet

TABLE 1 - DIVINE PROCESSIONS ON COFFINS OF *ELEVEN-ELEVEN* STYLE

¹ KOEFOED-PETERSEN, 1951:pl. LXVII.

² TAYLOR, 2003:118-119.

BODY, COSMOS AND ETERNITY

Designation	Provenience	Occupant
Milwaukee, Wisconsin MPM A10264	Akhmim	Djedhor
British Museum EA 20650	Akhmim	Djedhor
British Museum EA 20745	Akhmim	Irethorrou
Cairo CG 41056	Thebes–Deir el-Bahri (1858)	Wennofer iii
Cairo CG 41064	Thebes–Deir el-Bahri (1858)	Hahat iii
Cairo CG 41065	Thebes–Deir el-Bahri (1858)	Tasherienese (f)
Cairo CG 41071	Thebes–Deir el-Bahri (1858)	Tadimon (f)
Cairo CG 26032 = Cairo TR 28-9-16-15	Akhmim	Pedihor
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art O.C. 22	Thebes–Deir el-Bahri area	Udjarenes (f)
Chicago, Field Museum 31839	Thebes–Deir el-Bahri area	Harwa
Ann Arbor, Michigan Kelsey Museum 89.1.3	Edfu –Nag el-Hassaia (?)	Djedhutymose
Turin–Schiaparelli Excavations Valle delle Regine 1923, no. 23.	Thebes–Valley of the Queens (QV 44)	Nesamontjamut
Turin–Schiaparelli Excavations Valle delle Regine 1923, no. 26.	Thebes–Valley of the Queens (QV 44)	Mutenmehihat (f)
Current location unknown Sarcophagus Fragment	Tell el-Baklieh	Ahmoese
Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothèque AEIN 132, Sarcophagus Fragment	Akhmim	Pahat
British Museum no. 825	Memphis	Nes-Qetiu

TABLE 2 -EXAMPLES OF ELEVEN-ELEVEN COFFINS AND SARCOPHAGI

Large sarcophagi belonging to this class are known from the north of Egypt, including the granite example (British Museum no. 825) produced for Nes-Qetiu son of Ahmoese, who served as chancellor and overseer of the treasury, and was interred in Campbell's tomb in the Giza necropolis. This object shows that the twenty-two gods used in the *Eleven-Eleven* format were broadly associated with the Amduat tradition, for the barque of Iuf is inscribed on one end.³

As far as the wooden coffins are concerned, the connection with Akhmim seems particularly strong, and if the stylistic innovations of the *Eleven-Eleven* format derive from that city, they may be part of the 'fluctuations in relative prosperity' favoring Akhmim over Thebes to which Taylor referred several years ago⁴. The lone example attributable to the Edfu region (Ann Arbor Michigan, Kelsey Museum, 89.3.1) has recently been fully published by T. G. Wilfong⁵.

1. History of Research

Our examination of the *Eleven-Eleven* type began in 1987 during the study of a mummy and its wooden anthropoid coffin which made its way from the site of Akhmim to the American Midwest. The coffin was inscribed for a temple functionary Djed-hor (a name exceedingly common at Akhmim). This particular Djed-hor was the son of Padiamon and the woman Neshmet-Renenut(et). The coffin is profusely inscribed with texts from the Book of the Dead and other spell sources. Although the texts were copied, transcribed and studied in detail, their sheer extent defied rapid publication. A brief description of the

coffin appeared in Ruth Brech's *Spätägyptische Särge aus Achmim* (2008), under the number B7. Her treatment relied upon an article that Lupton published in 2001⁶. That source was itself introductory and we intend to provide further clarification of the coffin's significance at this time, focusing on features of its lid (Figure 1).

Djed-hor's coffin (Milwaukee Public Museum, Catalog Number A10264) was originally brought to the United States by Adolph Meinecke, a trustee of the Milwaukee Public Museum. Meinecke donated both mummy and coffin to the museum around September 19, 1887. Research shows that the mummy was originally called 'Tja-hir' or 'Tha Hir' and was believed, at various times, incorrectly, to date to the 11th, 21st, or 16th Dynasty.⁷ A letter written by Adolph Meinecke's grandson, Ferdinand Meinecke, Jr. in 1962, suggests that the mummy and coffin were acquired during one of his grandfather's 'many business trips in Europe', and possibly in association with 'Stangen of Berlin.' This it seems is Carl Stangen, the proprietor (with his brother Louis) of a well-regarded 'tourists' bureau' established in the 1860s⁸ and headquartered in Berlin (10 Mohrenstrasse).⁹ This establishment was later absorbed into the Hapag Line in 1905.¹⁰ Stangen's importance in the tourist trade is comparable to that of Thomas Cook. He

⁶ LUPTON, 2001.

⁷ LUPTON, 2001:217.

⁸ Founding date put variously: 1863 by Enzensberger, H. M. (2001) *A Theory of Tourism*, p. 128. Originally published as *Vergebliche Brandung der Ferne: Eine theorie des Tourismus* *Mercur* 126 1958, 701-720. 1868 by RIPM Consortium Ltd, (2006) *Schlesische Theater-Zeitung* (1863) *Breslauer Theater-Zeitung* (1864), xvii, note 1.

⁹ *New York Times* April 21, 1895, 'Salon of Champ de Mars' col. 4.

¹⁰ Hapag operates the former Stangen business as the 'Hamburg-Amerika Linie Reisebüro' beginning around 1904. http://www.hapag-lloyd.com/en/about_us/history_between_1886_1918.html.

³ BUDGE, 1909:229.

⁴ TAYLOR, 2003:119.

⁵ WILFONG, 2013.



FIG. 1 - MPM A12064. THE COFFIN OF DJED-HOR, LID.

appears to have been particularly interested in arranging large group movements in connection with popular world's fairs and expositions.¹¹ The Stangen firm ran its first tour to Egypt before 1870 and would, after 20 years of activity there, have had the connections necessary to obtain artifacts recently excavated, to ship them in a scheduled way and then re-sell them fairly easily to wealthy business clients. Carl Stangen may have imported artifactual material directly from Egypt for sale in Germany and it is known that he himself traveled there. The likelihood that Adolph Meinecke acquired his mummies in Europe (rather than in Egypt) is supported by a notice in *The New York Times* (dated September 27, 1885) relating to Meinecke's recent trip there and his intention to eventually donate the material to the public.¹²

2. The Mummy Within: Radiological Examinations and Other Projects

The mummy found inside MPM A12064 is of an older male (40-50 years of age). Unlike the owners of many *Eleven-Eleven* coffins, the mummy found within MPM A12064 has been extensively researched. Carter Lupton arranged for the mummy's first CT scan on May 16, 1986 at the facilities of GE Medical Systems, New Berlin WI. A second CT scan, dated June 23, 2006, revealed the interesting fact that the mummy had undergone trepanation surgery (Figure 2). A more detailed CT scan (at .0625 mm slice thickness) performed at GE on Djed-hor's head and attached cervical vertebrae on April 5, 2011, showed the possibility that the edges of the circular craniotomy had significantly healed.¹³ At the same time, it is necessary to recognize that the full significance of this trepanation, located as it is on the summit of the mummy's cranium, does not exclude the possibility that it was performed to achieve an ideological or religious goal rather than a purely medical one. It is conceivable that the trepanation's purpose is, broadly speaking, magical and that this procedure was intended to facilitate the individual's transformation in addition to symbolic features of the coffin itself.

3. Indications of Persona on the Milwaukee Coffin

The texts on the coffin are extensive, in keeping with practices typical of elite funerary containers of the Saite Period (664–525 BC). Copies of the hieroglyphic texts on the left and right sides of the lid (Figures 3 and 4) show the overall quality of the inscriptions, and suggest that the owner of the coffin was of relatively high status within his community. The first two deities in each of the processions suffered damage and were otherwise accompanied by very cursory formulaic texts not reproduced in our figures. Translations have been omitted here for the sake of space, but are available in an earlier textual study, under the heading 'Canopic Spells (CS), Spells for raising the bier'.¹⁴

¹¹ *New York Times*, April 21, 1895, 'Salon of Champ de Mars' col. 4.

¹² *New York Times*, September 27, 1885, 'Art Notes' col. 1

¹³ ELIAS; LUPTON; HOPPA 2014.

¹⁴ ELIAS, 1993:557–584.



FIG. 2 - CT SCAN IMAGE OF THE HEAD OF MUMMY MPM A10264, SHOWING TREPANATION IN SUMMIT OF THE CRANIUM (1).

The coffin is of the inner anthropoid type, meaning that it was intended to contain the mummy directly, without intermediate containers. Its face is coated in green paint, to symbolically represent the flesh tone of the god Osiris. This is a feature found in many, but not all coffins of the type. All inner surfaces of the Milwaukee coffin are bare and uncoated, which is unusual for this type of burial container. More frequently, the inside surfaces of this coffin type are gessoed and inscribed, and often decorated with line drawings or even fully colored paintings of the goddess Nut on the lid interior and Amentet/Hathor on the trough interior. The name Djed-hor, son of Padiamon and Neshmet-Renenut (alternatively Neshmet-Renenutet), occurs repeatedly in the context of Book of the Dead spell material which fills nearly all of the available space on the coffin exterior.

These repeated instances further indicate that he held the position of *rhṯy wṯyw n pr-Mnw nb Ipw* 'washer [preparer] of wrapped (bodies), of the house of Min, lord of Ipu [Akhmim].' (e.g. Figure 4, 4L). This rather uncommon title has distinct associations in the realm of funerary body-cleansing and wrapping. The best known use of the term *rhṯy* occurs in the context of Book of the Dead spell

1, in the locative term 'Washerman's shores' leaving little mystery as to the function of those so-called. We can say that the coffin owner was a mortuary specialist attached to the temple of the god Min, the fertility god of Akhmim.

Confirming the identity of the mummy is, however, complicated by the existence in the British Museum of a second mummy¹⁵ carried in an inner anthropoid coffin inscribed for the same man (British Museum EA 20650) noticed in several gallery guidebooks¹⁶ and most recently discussed by Brech¹⁷ under her number B6.

Although the British Museum coffin is of *Eleven-Eleven* type, it is not identical to MPM A10264; its face is painted in a red flesh tone, its texts are less elaborate, and its lid includes the motif of the Fetish of Abydos high up on its chest (an Akhmimic regionalism). The same stylistic

¹⁵ The authors wish to thank Dr John H. Taylor of the British Museum for providing access to British Museum EA 20650 at various times in the course of our on-going work on MPM A10264. Our interest in and correspondence concerning the relationship between these two coffins dates back to 1987.

¹⁶ BUDGE, 1924: 90-91; SMITH, 1938.

¹⁷ BRECH, 2008: 110-113.



FIG. 3 - MPM A10264. TEXTS FROM COFFIN'S RIGHT SIDE.

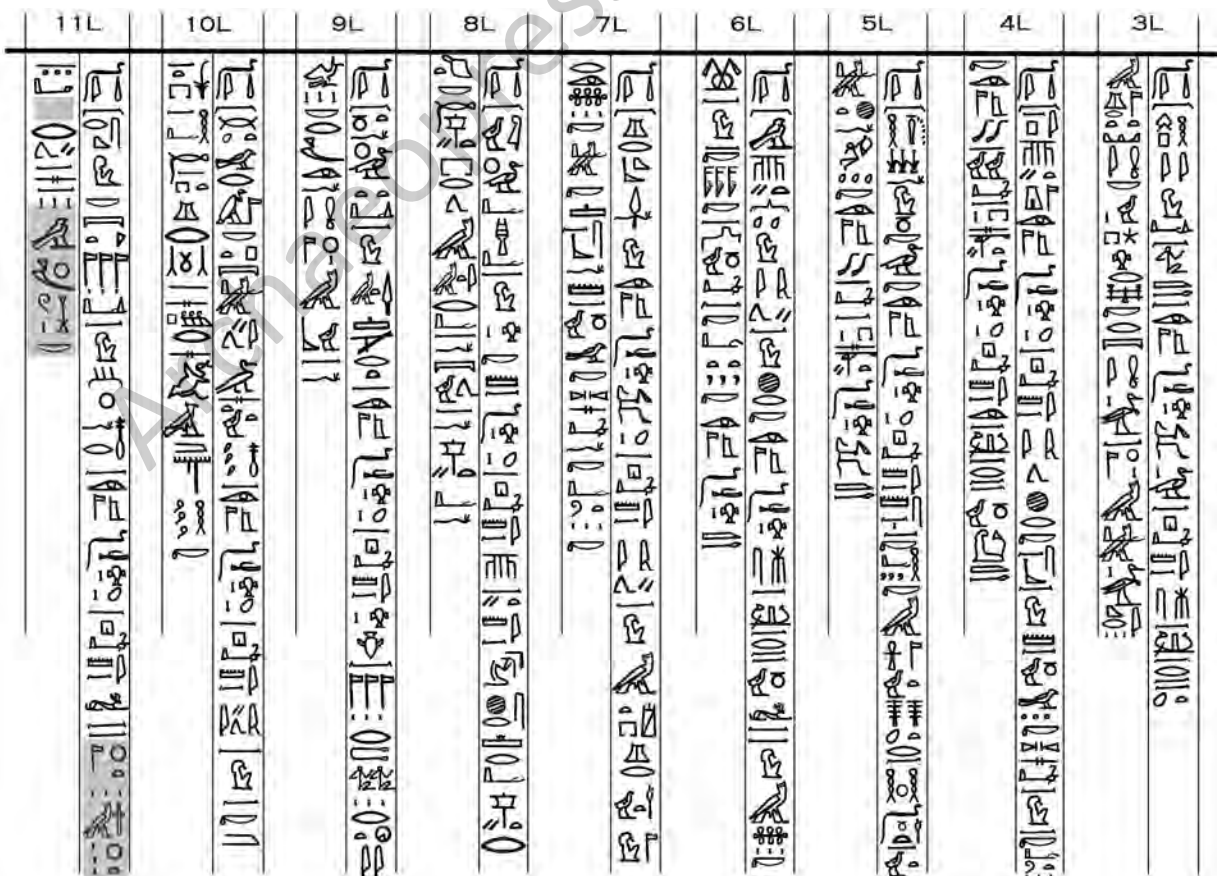


FIG. 4 - MPM A10264. TEXTS FROM COFFIN'S LEFT SIDE.

BODY, COSMOS AND ETERNITY

feature appears on coffin Cairo CG 26032 (unpublished, but displayed in the Egyptian Museum Cairo) belonging to Pedihor, whose face is similarly toned red.¹⁸

On British Museum EA 20650, there is a slight adaptation of the title met with on the Milwaukee specimen, showing that Djed-hor was alternatively known as a *hry rhty* 'chief washer,' suggesting that Djedhor had been promoted during the interim between the manufacture of the two coffins.

The translation of the title has been viewed as being problematic. Brech's emphasis on reading the 'dual horns' determinative as *wꜥ.ty* is not borne out by the full orthography on Djed-hor's coffins, on which the horns are everywhere inscribed above a horizontal line which derives from the hieratic writing of the title *rhty* (Wb. II, 448). The Milwaukee specimen determines the group *rhty*, with a 'strong-arm' determinative (Gardiner sign-list D40) with two quail chicks (*ww*) and a *-ty* ending. These are plausibly explained as the forepart of a spelling of the term *wty*, which relates to bandaging activity. A late limestone sepulchral stela (Cairo CG 22163)¹⁹ contains several instances of the title *hry rhty pr-Wsir*, which includes the cloth determinative (Gardiner sign-list S28) as if to say that bandaging is involved. Any doubt as to Djed-hor's function, dissolves in the face of until now, unknown information found on the British Museum specimen. On the head end of the trough of British Museum EA 20650, Djed-hor is once described as a *krf n pr-Mnw*. This title can be translated as 'wrapper of the house of Min,' which confirms that Djed-hor's other titles relate to funerary preparation and that the reading of the dual horns above the horizontal line is best taken as *rhty* in line with Book of the Dead spell 1 (i.e., 'washerman').

4. Broad Facets of the *Eleven-Eleven* Style

Several symbolic elements on the coffin lid are closely connected with the *Eleven-Eleven* type, some of which are important for determining its chronological position. These include:

The image of the goddess Nut set low and separate from the broad collar design

This stylistic development (i.e., the lower position for the goddess) is attested on the green-faced wooden coffin of the high steward Ibi, found in the Asasif area of the Theban necropolis in 1975.²⁰ This object, used to hold embalming residues, provides a *terminus post quem* for this kind of Nut positioning, in the decade following Ibi's appointment under the god's wife Nitocris in year 26 of Psamtik I (639 BC).

Nut's arms are stretched outward in the form of feathered wings. On coffin lids of *Eleven-Eleven* type, each of Nut's hands grips an *ankh* lightly colored, outlined in black, with red infilling in the looped part of the glyph. These project

upward and *wedjat*-eyes flank the goddess' head with the space they define. Nut kneels on a baseline formed of multicolored rectangles, or upon a palace façade (*serekh*). Unlike earlier Upper Egyptian coffins of the Saite Period, Nut is usually separated from the collar itself and even the solar disk containing the goddess' name is kept below the collar and never superimposed on it. The lower positioning of the Nut image permits text to enter the area above her wings and below the collar design. Coffins of *Eleven-Eleven* type do not show Nut kneeling on the *nwb*-glyph representing gold.

The Ram-on-a-standard motif, positioned to either side of the goddess Nut

These elements are referred to in Gauthier's work as rams of Amon (*beliers d'Amon*) on account of their double plumes, but they are better understood as guardians or power agents (*b3w*) associated with the Fetish of Abydos. The text that accompanies them in certain examples, indicate that they were specifically understood as that ram 'great of dignity' which had the power to 'penetrate the netherworld' and shed light upon the darkness (e.g., BD spell 9). This light-giving interpretation is supported by the fact that the motif generally includes a candle atop the standard with the striding ram, or in front of it, to one side. A large *wedjat* eye is often included directly above the ram.

The ouroboros serpent encircles the lid until its head meets the tail

The *ouroboros* serpent (not necessarily identical to Mehen) conveys the sense of an eternal cycle. The head of the serpent generally meets the tail at the coffin toe. It is included on many coffins of *Eleven-Eleven* type; its use is central to understanding the symbolic logic of coffins so-designed.

The main text apron of the lid of Eleven-Eleven coffins contains the text of BD 89

The purpose of Book of the Dead spell 89 is to facilitate the 'mooring' of the *ba* with the mummified body within the tomb. Coffins of *Eleven-Eleven* type include this spell in preference to other spells commonly used in the columns of the lid text apron during the Saite Period, most particularly, Book of the Dead spell 154. Very frequently, a figure of Anubis is shown standing over the mummy on its bier. The arms of this figure frequently stretch out horizontally. Such is the case with MPM A10264.

5. Function of the *Eleven-Eleven* Style

Important clues to the meaning of the *Eleven-Eleven* design are provided by examining texts that occur on a fragment of an object that appears to be a sarcophagus, owned by the *fkty*-priest, *hry-wdb* and overseer of the six temples (*imy-r3 gs-pr 6*) Ahmose,²¹ which Edouard Naville discovered at

¹⁸ ELIAS, 2006:9–10.

¹⁹ KAMAL, 1905:147.

²⁰ GRAEFE, 1975:17.

²¹ It is interesting that a *fkty*-priest named Ahmose is also known from a stela found at Akhmim. This individual was involved there in activities

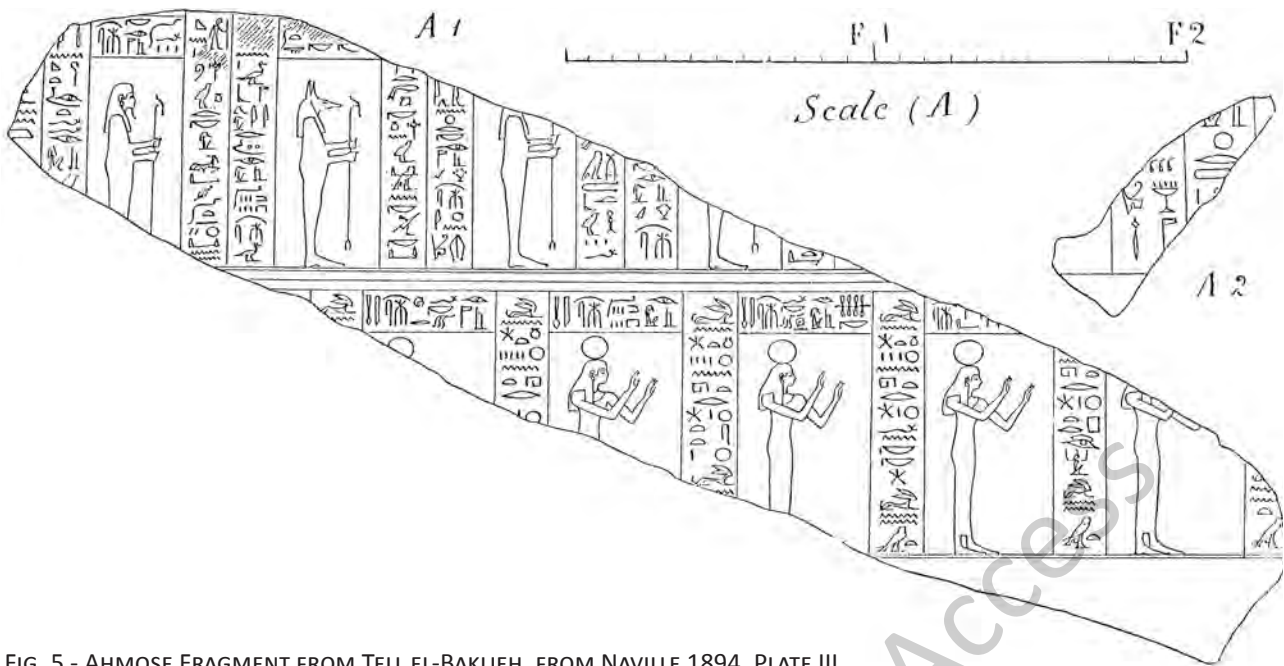


FIG. 5 - AHMOSE FRAGMENT FROM TELL EL-BAKLIEH, FROM NAVILLE 1894, PLATE III.

Tell el-Baklieh (Hermopolis Parva) in the north-central Delta²². This object, which we will hereinafter refer to as the *Ahmose Fragment* (reproduced in Figure 5) preserves in its upper register, elements of five deities belonging to the right side procession (R3-Imsety, R4-Anubis *imy-wt*; R5-Duamutef, R6-Geb, and R7-*hk3-m33-it-f*) along with texts commensurate with those found associated with these deities on MPM A10264, Cairo CG 41056, 41064, 41065 and 41071. The lower register of the *Ahmose Fragment* from el-Baklieh contains images of Hour-goddesses with disks on their heads and their arms angled in front of the body in gestures of adoration. Each goddess 'exists as magical protection' (*wmn.i m s3.k*) for Ahmose This lower register preserves just enough information to show that the *Eleven-Eleven* format is directly connected with *Stundenwachen* tradition related to Osiris' protection and resurrection, namely, the names of three day-hours which are not otherwise known in connection with the *Eleven-Eleven* format: the 2nd hour of Day *Ptr-hh*; the 3rd hour of Day *Fn-kkw* and the 4th hour of Day *Stt* (Table 3).

Deity on Coffin's Right (<i>Eleven-Eleven</i> Format)	Hour of Day	Name of Hour
Osiris	2	<i>Ptr-hh</i>
Imsety	3	<i>Fn-kkw</i>
Anubis <i>imy-wt</i>	4	<i>stt</i> (> <i>stwt</i>)

TABLE 3 - CONCORDANCE OF GODS AND DAY-HOURS ON THE AHMOSE FRAGMENT FROM TELL EL-BAKLIEH

connected the House of Life (GARDINER, 1938:173 no. 45) and coincidentally held a prophet's post in the cult of Thoth, which could explain the presence of an object of his at Hermopolis Parva, in the Deltaic nome of Thoth.

²² NAVILLE, 1894: pl. III, A1.

One of the interesting aspects of this finding is that the Day-hour names found on the *Ahmose Fragment* (which stand in alignment with texts found on 11/11 style coffins) are not exactly those found in contemporary Book of Day documents, such as those inscribed on the sarcophagi of Kushite kings Anlamani and Aspelta,²³ which date to the period 620–580 BC. The name of the 2nd hour of Day on the *Ahmose Fragment* (*Ptr-hh*), 'Who millions behold' is an abbreviated form of the fuller name of the 3rd hour of Day found on the burial containers of the Kushite kings 'she whom the bas acclaim and millions behold.' The 3rd hour of Day on the *Ahmose Fragment* (*Fn-kkw* perhaps an error for or *Nfnfn-kkw* 'who unrolls darkness') is not found in the Kushite version of the Book of Day, unless it is a variant for similarly-composed 2nd Day-hour name (*Hrs-kkw*) 'who dispels darkness.' The name of the 4th Day-hour, *Stt*, is determined by a sun disk, and unless intended to be read *stt-R*, is interpretable as simply being the word *stt* > *stwt* 'rays.'

This information, fragmentary though it is, suffices to show that multiple versions of the Book of Day (and presumably Book of Night) existed in the 25th–26th Dynasties beyond those already accounted for in the Kushite royal sarcophagi, and in the sepulchre of the treasurer Ramose (TT 132), which presumably dates to the time of Taharqa (690–664 BC).²⁴ Furthermore, the texts incorporated into the *Eleven-Eleven* processional formulae arose from a *Stundenwachen* spell source which developed independently of the textual material which gave rise to the 6th century BC Napatan version.

²³ DOLL, 1978:31-61.

²⁴ PIANKOFF, 1942.

BODY, COSMOS AND ETERNITY

Furthermore, the *Ahmoose Fragment* establishes that the twenty-two gods featured in the *Eleven-Eleven* style had protective functions linked to the Day- and Night-hour goddesses of the *Stundenwachen* tradition arising out of the Amduat. What is most interesting here is that the twenty-two deities served as guardians of the deceased during the eleven divisions between the twelve hours of Day- and the eleven divisions between the twelve hours of Night. The twenty-two gods formed an interstitial layer of protection covering the transitional phases between discreet hours in the netherworldly time. With full hours and inter-hourly divisions both properly guarded by layers of deities, all aspects of time were therefore supervised and safe as the transformation of the deceased into a resurrected being was achieved.

In the case of the two coffins of *Eleven-Eleven* type inscribed for Djedhor we have long entertained the idea that he must have had a second coffin made for himself (British Museum EA 20650) following a promotion to the office of 'chief washerman of the temple of Min.' This presupposes that the coffin inscribed with the lower order title (MPM A10264) would have been seen as worthless to him. This is a rather prosaic solution and does not really fit the facts in a compelling way. If MPM A10264 was deemed irrelevant to Djedhor, and presumably sold off to another individual, why are there no signs of re-inscription? It is also the case that MPM A10264 is textually extremely full, meaning that it is covered with well-rendered, complex spell material from the Book of the Dead, and the newly recognized *Stundenwachen* sources, whereas British Museum EA 20650 is far less complete in this regard, meaning that its text zones (with the exception of the text apron containing Book of the Dead spell 89) are filled with repetitive formulae.

We wonder then, given that both coffins are inner ones (rather than nested inner and outer types) whether we are dealing with a system where the green-faced MPM A10264 and the red-faced British Museum EA 20650 were meant to represent the transformation of a single person from a green Osirian stage to a "red stage" warm with life. Djed-hor's promotion to the post of 'chief washerman' on British Museum EA 20650 might have expressed the expectation that his restored form would emerge from death in this improved social condition.

Bibliography

- BRECH, Ruth (2008) – *Spätägyptische Särge aus Achmim. Eine Typologische und chronologische Studie*. Gladbeck: PeWe-Verlag.
- BUDGE, Ernest (1909) – *British Museum: A guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- BUDGE, Ernest (1924) – *British Museum: A Guide to the First Second and Third Egyptian Rooms*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- DOLL, Susan Kay (1978) – *Texts and Decoration on the Napatan Sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta*. Ann

- Arbor: Brandeis University, Michigan University Microfilms International, PhD Dissertation.
- ELIAS, Jonathan Paul (1993) – *Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation*. Ann Arbor: University of Chicago, Michigan University Microfilms International, PhD Dissertation.
- ELIAS, Jonathan Paul (2006) – *The Akhmim Mummy Project: Preliminary Report of Work Performed 15–23 February 2006: Part I: Inspection of Coffins in the Egyptian Museum*. Submitted to the Permanent Committee of the Supreme Council of Antiquities
- ELIAS, Jonathan Paul; LUPTON, Carter; HOPPA, Robert (2014) – *Evidence of Trepanation in a 26th Dynasty Mummy from Akhmim, Egypt*. In *Proceedings of the 7th World Congress of Mummy Studies*. San Diego. Forthcoming.
- GARDINER, Alan Henderson (1938) – The House of Life. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24, p. 157–179.
- GAUTHIER, Henri (1913) – *Cercueils Anthropoïdes des Prêtres de Montou* (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, N^{os} 41042–41072). Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale.
- GRAEFE, Erhart (1975) – Fouilles de l'Assassif 1970–1975. Le Superstructure du Tombeau d'IBI (No 36). *Chronique d'Égypte* 50, p. 13–21
- KAMAL, Ahmed Bey (1905) – *Stèles Hiéroglyphiques d'Époque Ptolémaïques et Romaine* (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, N^{os} 22001–22208). Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale.
- KOEFOED-PETERSEN, Otto (1951) – *Catalogue des Sarcophages et Cercueils Égyptiens*. Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg No. 4. Copenhagen. Fondation Ny Carlsberg.
- LUPTON, Carter (2001) – An historical study of two Egyptian mummies in the Milwaukee Public Museum. In WILLIAMS, E, ed. – *Human remains: conservation, retrieval and analysis. Proceedings of a Conference held in Williamsburg, VA, Nov. 7-11th 1999* (British Archaeological Reports International Series 934). Oxford: Archaeopress, p. 215-225.
- NAVILLE, Edouard (1894) – *Ahnas el Medineh (Heracleopolis Magna) with Chapters on Mendes, The Nome of Thoth, and Leontopolis*. Eleventh Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- PIANKOFF, Alexandre (1942) – Le Livre du Jour dans la Tomb (No 132) de Ramose. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 41, p. 151–158.
- SCHIAPARELLI, Ernesto (1923) – *Relazione sui Lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto (Anni 1903–1920)*. Vol 1 *Esplorazione della 'Valle delle Regine' nella Necropoli di Tebe*. Torino: R. Museo di Antichità
- SMITH, Sidney (1938) – *A Handbook to the Egyptian Mummies and Coffins Exhibited in the British Museum*. London: The British Museum.
- TAYLOR, John (2003) – Theban Coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: dating and

synthesis of development. In STRUDWICK, Nigel;
TAYLOR, John, eds. – *The Theban Necropolis: Past,
Present and Future*. London: British Museum Press, p.
95-121.

WILFONG, T. G. (2013) – *Life, Death and Afterlife
in Ancient Egypt: The Djehutymose Coffin*. Kelsey
Museum Publication, 9 Ann Arbor. Michigan: Kelsey
Museum of Archaeology.

Archaeopress Open Access